

## NARENDRA MODI THE MAN INDIA NEEDS

#### Editor

डॉ. प्रिय रंजन त्रिवेदी Dr. Priya Ranjan Trivedi



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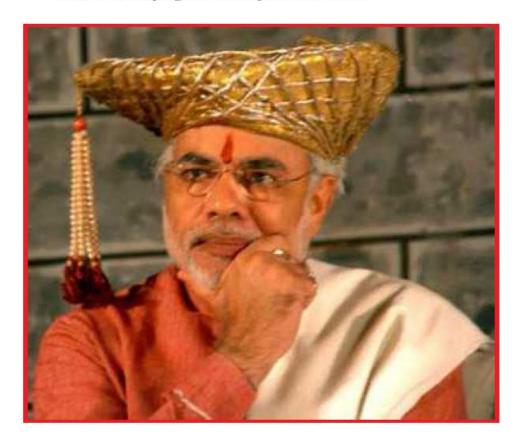


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#### **PREFACE**

I have great pleasure in presenting this timely publication titled "Narendra Modi: The Man India Needs". I on behalf of be teaching fraternity and all the 660 recognised universities in the country offer best wishes to Shri Narendrabhai Modi who has been installed as the 15<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of India on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2014.

Everybody in this country has been observing the outstanding contribution of Shri Narendra Modi during the last 13 or 14 years specially regarding the sustainable development of Gujarat. There is an urgent need for replicating the Gujarat Model for all other States as well as Union Territories in the country.

India has been facing different burning problems relating to peacelessness, unemployment, poverty, pollution, faulty educational system and population explosion. I am sure that all these issues will merit the consideration of Shri Narendra Modi so that all these problems are tackled at the earliest.

It will be a pleasure to cooperate with the NDA Government at the Centre for implementing different programmes in order to provide skill based training to the young boys and girls with a view to creating employment in the country by launching job oriented training as well as development programmes.

I am quite hopeful that Shri Narendra Modi will be coming upto the expectation of the common mass as he has decided to throw himself into this new assignment with full of zeal and enthusiasm so that the Indian citizenry may take benefit of his knowledge and experience to the fullest extent of his abilities.

The next volume of this publication will be brought out very soon by incorporating the Agenda of Shri Narendra Modi after he discusses his master plan for implementing his ideas into action for making a new India under his dynamic leadership.

June 1, 2014 United Nations Global Day of Parents

Dr. Priya Ranjan Trivedi President, Confederation of Indian Universities (CIU)

प्यरेजन निवदा

#### ABOUT THE EDITOR Dr. PR TRIVEDI



Dr. Priya Ranjan Trivedi (64) is the world renowned environmental scientist, institution builder and a charismatic leader with more than 38 years of teaching and training experience in different areas of ecology, environment, disaster management, sustainable development, peace studies, conflict resolution, human rights, intellectual property rights, ecological tourism, geriatric care and institution building strategies. He

has been responsible for the establishment of many universities and professional / vocational institutions in India as well as in other countries of the world. He has authored the World Encyclopaedias on emerging subjects like environmental sciences, remote sensing, health care, global peace and security, production and operations management, materials management, bioinformatics, green business management, geriatric care, habitat and population studies etc.

As the President of the Confederation of Indian Universities (CIU) created during the NDA regime in the year 2004, Dr. Priya Ranjan Trivedi has tried to unite all the 660 universities in the country for optimising the available resources in the country with a view to stopping the duplication of efforts in the area of higher and tertiary education.

During his visits to different countries including USA, UK, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Sri Lanka, Nepal, South Korea, Mongolia, Zambia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Maldives, Indonesia, Russia, Poland, Dr. P R Trivedi has been transferring the appropriate technologies of institution building from India to the rest of the world.

He has received more than 55 international and national awards and appreciations conferred upon him in many countries of the world for his outstanding contribution in the areas of alternative dispute resolution, diplomatic studies, interfaith studies, spiritual development etc.

Dr. P R Trivedi has designed a masterplan paradigm for leading India by providing appropriate guidance to the Government of India in the areas of skill development, entrepreneurial leadership besides managerial competence among the young boys and girls by advocating the slogan "Catch Them Young" so that they could finally become didactics to educate their fathers, mothers, teachers and colleagues, rather the entire neighbourhood with no worries and miseries in the country.

## Chapter 1 WHO IS NARENDRA MODI?

New Delhi, May 26, 2014

Shri Narendra Damodardas Modi is the Prime Minister of India and he took oath as India's Prime Minister on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2014 after leading the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to a decisive victory in the 2014 Parliamentary Elections. He was the 14<sup>th</sup> and current Chief Minister of Gujarat. He resigned to take up the office of the Prime Minister of India.



Shri Narendra Modi showing the victory sign after the resultsof the 2014 Parliamentary Elections.

Shri Narendra Modi was a key strategist for the BJP in the successful 1995 and 1998 Gujarat State Election Campaigns, and was a major campaign figure in the 2009 Parliamentary Elections. He first became the Chief Minister of Gujarat in October 2001 after the resignation of his predecessor, Shri Keshubhai Patel, and following the defeat of BJP in the by-elections. In July 2007, he became the longest-serving Chief Minister in Gujarat's history, at

which point he had been in power for 2,063 days continuously. He is currently serving his fourth consecutive term as the Chief Minister.



Shri Narendra Modi being sworn in as the 15<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of India by the President Shri Pranab Mukherjee at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Shri Narendra Modi is a member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and is described as a Hindu nationalist by media, scholars and himself.

He is an important figure both within India and outside the country as his administration has been the point at issue for the incidents surrounding the 2002 Gujarat riots.

He has been praised for his economic policies, which are credited with creating an environment for a high rate of economic growth in Gujarat.

However, his administration has also been a subject matter of discussion to make a significant positive impact upon the human development of the State.

#### EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION



Shri Narendra Modi with his mother on his 63<sup>rd</sup> birthday on 17 September 2013.

Shri Narendra Modi was born on 17 September 1950 to a family of Grocers belonging to the backward Ghanchi community, in Vadnagar in Mehsana district of what was then Bombay Presidency (present-day Gujarat), India. He was the third of six children born to Shri Damodardas Mulchand Modi and his wife, Heeraben.

He helped his father sell tea at Vadnagar Railway Station. As a child and as a teenager, he ran a tea stall with his brother near a bus terminus.

He completed his schooling in Vadnagar, where a teacher described him as being an average student, but a keen debater who had an interest in theatre. That interest has influenced how he now projects himself in politics.



Shri Narendra Modi in his Early Childhood

Little is known of the two years that Shri Narendra Modi spent travelling, probably in the Himalayas, and he resumed selling tea upon his return. He then worked in the Staff Canteen of Gujarat State Road Transport Corporation until he became a full–time *pracharak* of the RSS in 1970.

He had been involved with the RSS as a volunteer from the age of eight and had come into contact with Shri Vasant Gajendragadkar and Shri Nathalal Jaghda, leaders of the Jan Sangh who later founded the BJP's Gujarat State Unit.

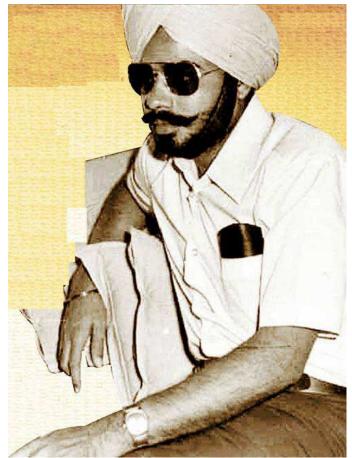
After Shri Narendra Modi had received some RSS training in Nagpur, which was a prerequisite for taking up an official position in the Sangh Parivar, he was given charge of Sangh's student wing, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, in Gujarat.



Shri Narendra Modi in his Early Childhood

Shri Narendra Modi organised agitations and covert distribution of Sangh's pamphlets during the Emergency. Shri Narendra Modi graduated with an Extramural Degree through Distance Education in Political Science from Delhi University. Shri Narendra Modi remained a *pracharak* in

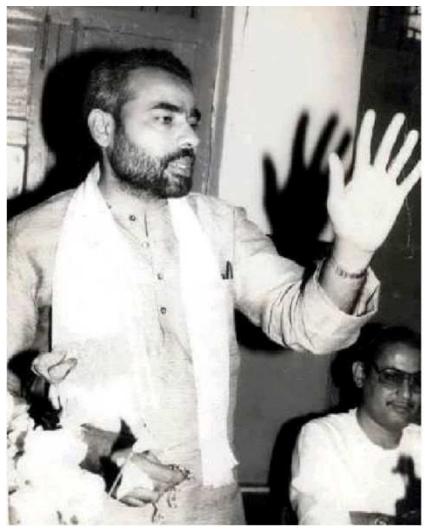
the RSS while he completed his Master's Degree in Political Science from Gujarat University.



Shri Narendra Modi in the guise of a Sikh during Emergency

#### EARLY POLITICAL CAREER

Shri Narendra Modi formally joined the RSS after the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. In 1975, the then Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi declared a State of Emergency and jailed political opponents. Shri Narendra Modi went underground in Gujarat, occasionally disguised, and printed and sent booklets against the Central Government to Delhi. He also participated in the movement against the Emergency under Shri Jayaprakash Narayan.



Shri Narendra Modi as a Sangh Pracharak

The RSS assigned Shri Narendra Modi to the BJP in 1985. While Shri Shankarsingh Vaghela and Shri Keshubhai Patel were the established names in the Gujarat BJP at that time, Shri Narendra Modi rose to prominence after organising Shri Murli Manohar Joshi's Kanyakumari-Srinagar *Ekta yatra* in 1991. In 1988, Shri Narendra Modi was elected as the Organizing Secretary of BJP's Gujarat unit, marking his formal entry into mainstream politics. As secretary, his electoral strategy was central to BJP's victory in the 1995 State Elections.



Shri Narendra Modi as a Political Strategist

In November 1995, Shri Narendra Modi was elected National Secretary of BJP and was transferred to New Delhi where he was assigned responsibility for the Party's activities in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Shri Vaghela defected from the BJP after he lost the 1996 Lok Sabha elections, having previously threatened to do so in 1995. Shri Narendra Modi was promoted to the post of General Secretary (Organisation) of the BJP in May 1998. While on the Selection Committee for the 1998 Assembly Elections in Gujarat, Shri Narendra Modi favoured supporters of Shri Keshubhai Patel over those loyal to Shri Vaghela, in an attempt to put an end to the factional divisions within the

Party. His strategies were credited as being key to winning the 1998 elections.

#### CHIEF MINISTER OF GUJARAT



Members of Shri Narendra Modi's former Council of Ministers with him at a Planning Commission meet in New Delhi

In 2001, Shri Keshubhai Patel's health was failing, and the BJP had lost seats in the by-elections. Allegations of abuse of power, corruption and poor administration were being made, and Shri Patel's standing had been damaged by his administration's handling of the Bhuj Earthquake of 2001. As a result, the BJP's national leadership sought a new candidate for the office of the Chief Minister, and Shri Narendra Modi, who had aired his misgivings about Shri Keshubhai Patel's administration, was chosen as a replacement. Shri L. K. Advani, a Senior Leader of the BJP, did not want to ostracise Shri Patel and was worried about Shri Narendra Modi's lack of experience in governance. Shri Narendra Modi declined an offer to be Patel's Deputy Chief Minister, informing Shri Advani and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that he was "going to be fully responsible for Gujarat or not at all", and on 7 October 2001, Shri Narendra Modi was appointed the Chief Minister of Gujarat, with the responsibility of preparing the BJP for elections in December 2002. As the Chief

Minister, Shri Narendra Modi's ideas of governance revolved around privatisation and small Government, which stood at odds with what political commentator Aditi Phadnis has described as the "anti-privatisation, antiglobalisation position" of the RSS.

#### FIRST TERM (2001-2002)

#### 2002 GUJARAT RIOTS

On 27 February 2002, a train with several hundred passengers including large numbers of Hindu pilgrims was burnt near Godhra, killing around 60 people. Following rumors that the fire was carried out by Muslim arsonists. spread violence throughout Estimates of the death toll ranged from 900 to over 2,000, while several thousand more people were injured. The Narendra Modi Government imposed a curfew in major cities, issued shoot-at-sight orders, and called for the army to prevent the violence from escalating. However, human rights organizations, opposition parties, and sections of the media all accused Gujarat's Government of taking insufficient action against the riots, and even condoning it in some cases.

In April 2009, the Supreme Court appointed a Special Investigation Team (SIT) to inquire into the Gujarat Government and Shri Narendra Modi's role in the incidents of communal violence. The SIT reported to the Court in December 2010 submitting that they did not find any substantial incriminating evidence against Shri Narendra Modi of willfully allowing communal violence in the State.

#### 2002 ELECTION

In the aftermath of the violence, there were widespread calls for Shri Narendra Modi to resign from his position as the Chief Minister of Gujarat. These came from both within and outside the State, including from the leaders of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Telugu Desam Party, which were allies in then BJP-led NDA Government at the Centre. The opposition Parties stalled the National Parliament over the issue. In April 2002, at the Executive meeting of BJP at Goa, Shri Narendra Modi submitted his resignation; however, it was rejected by the Party. On 19 July 2002, Shri Narendra Modi's Cabinet had an emergency meeting and offered its resignation to the Governor of Gujarat, Shri S. S. Bhandari, and the Assembly was dissolved. In the subsequent elections, the BJP, led by Shri Narendra Modi, won 127 seats in the 182-member assembly.

#### **SECOND TERM (2002-2007)**

Shri Narendra Modi's emphasis shifted during his second term from Hindutva to the economic development of Gujarat. Shri Narendra Modi's decisions curtailed the influence of organizations of the Sangh Parivar such as the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh (BKS) and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), which had become entrenched in Gujarat after the decline of Ahmedabad's textile industry. Shri Narendra Modi dropped Gordhan Zadafia, an ally of his former Sangh co-worker and VHP State Chief Praveen Togadia, from the Cabinet Ministry. When the BKS launched a farmers' agitation, Shri Narendra Modi ordered their eviction from houses provided by the Government. Shri Narendra Modi's decision to demolish 200 illegal temples in Gandhinagar deepened the rift with VHP. Various organisations of the Sangh were no longer informed Shri Narendra consulted nor of Modi's administrative decisions prior to their enactment.

The changes brought by Shri Narendra Modi in the period 2002–2007 has led to Gujarat being called an attractive investment destination. Aditi Phadnis writes that "there was sufficient anecdotal evidence pointing to the fact that

corruption had gone down significantly in the State". Shri Narendra Modi started financial and technology parks in the State. During the 2007 Vibrant Gujarat Summit, real estate investment deals worth Rs. 6.6 trillion were signed in Gujarat.

#### 2007 ELECTION

In the run up to the Assembly Elections in 2007 and the Parliamentary Election in 2009, the BJP stepped up its rhetoric on terrorism. On 18 July 2006, Shri Narendra Modi criticised the Indian Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, "... for his reluctance to revive anti-terror legislations" such as the Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act. He asked the Central Government to allow the States to invoke tougher laws in the wake of the 2006 blasts in Mumbai. Around this time Shri Narendra Modi frequently demanded the execution of Afzal Guru, a collaborator of the Pakistani jihadis who had been convicted of terrorism for his involvement in the 2001 Indian Parliament attack. As a consequence of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, Shri Narendra Modi held a meeting to discuss security of Gujarat's 1,600 km long coastline which resulted in Central Government authorisation of 30 high-speed surveillance boats.

In July 2007, Shri Narendra Modi completed 2,063 consecutive days as Chief Minister of Gujarat, making him the longest-serving holder of that post. The BJP won 122 of the 182 seats in the State Assembly in the 2007 election, and Shri Narendra Modi continued as the Chief Minister.

#### THIRD TERM (2007-2012)

#### **DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS**

Successive BJP Governments supported NGOs and communities in the creation of infrastructure projects for

conservation of groundwater. Gujarat is a semi-arid State and, according to Tushaar Shah, was "... never known for agrarian dynamism".

By December 2008, more than 500,000 structures had been constructed, of which 113,738 were check dams. While most check dams remained empty during the pre-monsoon season, they helped recharge the aquifers that lie beneath them. 60 of the 112 tehsils which were found to have over-exploited the groundwater table in 2004 had regained their normal groundwater level by 2010, meaning that Gujarat had managed to increase its groundwater levels at a time when they were falling in all other Indian States.

As a result, production of genetically-modified Bt cotton, which could now be irrigated using tube wells, increased to become the largest in India.

The boom in cotton production and utilization of semi-arid land saw the agricultural growth rate of Gujarat increase to 9.6% in the period 2001–2007.

Though public irrigation measures in the central and southern areas, such as the Sardar Sarovar Project, have not been as successful in achieving their aims, for the decade 2001–2010, Gujarat recorded an agricultural growth rate of 10.97%, the highest among all Indian States.

The Shri Narendra Modi's Government also succeeded in bringing electricity to every village in Gujarat. Shri Narendra Modi also greatly changed the system of power distribution in the State, with a significant impact on farmers. The State greatly expanded the Jyotigram Yojana Scheme, in which the agricultural electricity supply was rewired to separate it from other rural power supplies.



The Sardar Sarovar Dam, undergoing a height increase in 2006.

The electricity supplied was then rationed to fit scheduled demand for irrigation, resulting in a cost reduction. Initial farmer protests died down when the farmers who benefited found that supply had become more regular.

In his third term, progress was made on the Gujarat International Finance Tec-City project, considered as one of Shri Narendra Modi's pet projects. The first phase, which encompassed two skyscrapers, GIFT One and Two, was completed in 2012.

#### DEBATE ON GUJARAT'S DEVELOPMENT

Shri Narendra Modi's Government has worked to brand Gujarat as a State of dynamic development, economic growth and prosperity, using the slogan "Vibrant Gujarat". Critics for no reason have pointed to Gujarat's relatively poor record on human development, poverty alleviation, nutrition, and education.



Shri Narendra Modi addressing law graduates at the Gujarat National Law University.

#### SADBHAVANA MISSION AND FASTS

During late 2011 and early 2012, Shri Narendra Modi undertook a series of fasts as part of a *Sadbhavna Mission* (Goodwill Mission), meant to reach out to the Muslim community in Gujarat.

Shri Narendra Modi announced that he believed that his fast would "further strengthen Gujarat's environment of peace, unity and harmony."

The mission started on 17 September 2011 in Ahmedabad with a three-day fast. He subsequently observed 36 fasts in 26 districts and eight cities. Although some criticised his fast as a public relations mission, Shri Narendra Modi himself denied that the mission was about wooing "any particular community or religion".

In 2011, the Supreme Court complimented the Gujarat Government for its land acquisition policy as there were "no complaints of any forcible acquisition" whereas issues of farmers and poor being uprooted are pouring in from all other States.

#### PRESS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

In 2011, the Gujarat State Organisation of the Indian National Congress Party banned the Gujarati-language TV 9 television channel from covering its events and prevented access to its press conferences. Shri Narendra Modi criticised this decision.

Journalists on Twitter who spoke against Congress, were blocked. Here they banned a TV channel. Their crime is that they exposed cracks in the *ghar nu ghar* (own your home) scheme of the Congress. Yet this Party talks about democracy.

Shri Narendra Modi interacted on Google+ on 31 August 2012. The chat session was also broadcast live on YouTube. The questions were submitted before the chat, and those broadcast were mostly based on issues about education, youth empowerment, rural development and causes of urbanisation. The hashtag #ModiHangout became the most trending term in India at Twitter on the day of the session, whereas #VoteOutModi, used by Modi's opponents, became the third most trending term in the country. The event made Modi the first Indian politician to interact with netizens through Shri Narendra live chat on the internet.

#### FOURTH TERM (2012-PRESENT)

In the 2012 Gujarat Legislative Assembly elections, Shri Narendra Modi won from the constituency of Maninagar with a majority of 86,373 votes over Sanjiv Bhatt's wife, Shweta, who was contesting for the Indian National

Congress. The BJP won 115 of the 182 seats, continuing the majority that the Party has had throughout Shri Narendra Modi's tenure, and allowing the Party to form the Government, as it has in Gujarat since 1995.

In later by-elections, the BJP won an additional four assembly seats and 2 Lok Sabha seats that were all held by the Indian National Congress prior to the by-elections, even though Shri Narendra Modi never campaigned for its candidates. This brought the number of seats held by the BJP in the State Assembly up to 119.



Shri Narendra Modi at the inauguration of a hospital in Kheda district, Gujarat.

#### **CENTRAL POLITICS**

#### PATH TO CANDIDACY FOR PRIME MINISTER

Shri Narendra Modi had been a significant figure in the 2009 Parliamentary Election campaign. On 31 March 2013, Shri Narendra Modi was appointed to the BJP Parliamentary Board, the highest decision-making body of the Party. On 9 June 2013, Shri Narendra Modi was appointed Chairman of the BJP's Central Election

Campaign Committee for the 2014 General Election, at the national level executive meeting of BJP.



Shri Narendra Modi and other BJP leaders after the Party's National Executive Meet. He was named the Chairman of Central Election Campaign Committee during this meet.

The Party's senior leader and founding member Shri Lal Krishna Advani resigned from all his posts at the Party following the selection, protesting against leaders who were "concerned with their personal agendas"; the resignation was described by *The Times of India* as "a protest against Shri Narendra Modi's elevation as the Chairman of the Party's Election Committee".

However, Shri Advani withdrew his resignation the next day at the urging of RSS Chief Shri Mohan Bhagwat. In September 2013, BJP announced Shri Narendra Modi as their Prime Ministerial candidate for the 2014 Lok Sabha Election.

#### 2014 GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Shri Narendra Modi contested the election from two constituencies: Varanasi and Vadodara. His candidature was supported by spiritual leaders Baba Ramdev and Shri Morari Bapu, and by economists Shri Jagdish Bhagwati and Shri Arvind Panagariya, who have stated that they, "...are impressed by Shri Narendra Modi's economics."



Shri Narendra Modi addressing his first rally after being declared as the Prime Ministerial candidate of the NDA at Rewari, Haryana.

#### **ELECTION VICTORY**

Shri Narendra Modi won from both seats he contested; defeating Shri Arvind Kejriwal, leader of the Aam Aadmi Party, in Varanasi and Shri Madhusudan Mistry of the Indian National Congress in Vadodara (by a margin of 5,70,128 votes, the second highest ever). He led the BJP-led NDA to a decisive victory in the general elections in which the ruling Indian National Congress suffered its worst ever defeat.

Almost 4000 people were present at the ceremony held in the forecourt of the magnificient Rashtrapati Bhawan. Lakhs and Crores of the Indian Citizenry including the mother of Shri Narendra Modi watched the ceremony on television. Minutes after Shri Narendra Modi was sworn in, a new website of the Prime Minister's Office was launched with a short message from Shri Narendra Modi "On 16<sup>th</sup> May 2014, the people of India gave their verdict. They delivered a mandate for development, good governance and stability. As we devote ourselves to take India's

development journey to newer hights, we seek your support, blessings and active participation. Together we will script a glorious future for India. Let us together dream of a strong, developed and inclusive India that actively engages with the global community to strengthen the cause of world peace and development". He promised in his signed message to use the "website as a very important medium of direct communication between us".

#### INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

To attract foreign investment in Gujarat during his time as the Chief Minister, Shri Narendra Modi made visits to countries such as China, Singapore and Japan. He also visited China in November 2006 to study the Special Economic Zones that were about to be implemented in Gujarat. He again visited in September 2007 and later in November 2011. A month after his visit of 2011, the Chinese Government released 13 diamond traders from India who had been jailed by the Shenzhen Customs, which Shri Narendra Modi attributed to his diplomatic efforts and statesmanship.



Shri Narendra Modi speaking at the World Economic Forum's India Economic Summit 2008 in New Delhi.

In 2005, Shri Narendra Modi was denied a diplomatic visa to the United States. In addition, the B-1/B-2 visa that had previously been granted to him was also revoked, under a Section of the Immigration and Nationality Act which makes any foreign Government official who was responsible or "directly carried out, at any time, particularly severe violations of religious freedom" ineligible for the visa. In July 2013, BJP president Shri Rajnath Singh visited the US and gave a speech urging the US to grant Shri Narendra Modi a visa to visit the country. In response to Shri Rajnath Singh's visit, 65 Members of the Indian Parliament allegedly signed a letter to US President Barack Obama requesting that the policy of denying Shri Narendra Modi a visa be upheld. However, the veracity of some of the signatures has been called into question, as Shri Sitaram Yechury and purported signatories have denied ever signing such a petition in March 2014, when asked if Washington was ready to do business with Shri Narendra Modi, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Nisha Biswal commented that "the United States has welcomed every leader (of India)", and "a democratically elected leader of India will be a welcome Partner".

A report in April 2014 in the *Sunday Guardian* revealed that by the end of 2012, a reversal in foreign policy towards Shri Narendra Modi by Obama had occurred. Previously, during the tenure of former secretary of State Ms. Hillary Clinton, efforts were made to "get Shri Narendra Modi", apparently for the 2002 Gujarat riots, but in reality "for taking stands that may be different from that favoured by the US administration". The clandestine operation had run through European NGOs, and efforts were made to find mass-graves in Gujarat, which could be presented as "evidence of genocide" to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva. According to the report, despite six years of searching, aided by local politicians, "no evidence whatsoever of mass graves was uncovered".

In 2011, the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, impressed with the development of Gujarat, invited Shri Narendra Modi to visit Pakistan and address prominent business leaders. They also asked him to consider a flight between Karachi and Ahmedabad, on account of the historical cultural and economic relations between the two regions of Gujarat and Sindh.

Shri Narendra Modi wanted to help Pakistan out of its power crisis, especially in Sindh, suggesting Pakistan can follow the 'Gujarat Model' in two ways — Gujarat Solar Park and Kalpasar Project.

In April 2014, in a move described as "unexpected", senior Pakistani diplomats told *The Daily Telegraph* that Shri Narendra Modi is their preferred choice for the Prime Minister of India, "as he could provide the strong leadership necessary for peace talks".

The United Kingdom refused to deal with Shri Narendra Modi for a decade following the 2002 violence but lifted its diplomatic boycott in October 2012. Later, in March 2013, the European Union, of which the UK is a member, also ended its boycott, saying that talking with Shri Narendra Modi was a separate issue from that of protecting human rights and the rights of women.

#### PERSONALITY AND IMAGE

Shri Narendra Modi is a vegetarian. He has a frugal lifestyle with a personal staff of three. He is a workaholic and an introvert. He writes poems in Gujarati. As a speaker, he is known as a crowd-puller.

In the critical opinion of Somini Sengupta, writing for the New York Times in a 2009 article on the Supreme Court's ordering of an investigation into Modi's role in the 2002 Gujarat riots, "Shri Narendra Modi has assiduously sought to reinvent himself from a scruffy mascot of Hindu nationalism to a decisive corporate-style administrator".

Shri Narendra Modi has been labelled by the media and some articles in peer-reviewed journals as a controversial, polarising, and divisive figure, but British economist Jim O'Neill, author of the BRIC report, wrote on his blog that Shri Narendra Modi is "good on economics", one of the things that "India desperately needs in a leader".

In August 2013, financial analyst Chris Wood, chief strategist of CLSA, wrote in his weekly *Greed & Fear* that "the Indian stock market's greatest hope is the emergence of Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi as the BJP's Prime Ministerial candidate".



Shri Narendra Modi meeting the South Korean Ambassador in Gandhinagar.

#### AWARDS AND RECOGNITIONS

• Gujarat Ratna by Shri Poona Gujarati Bandhu Samaj at Ganesh Kala Krida Manch on celebration of centenary year.

- *e-Ratna* award by the Computer Society of India
- Best Chief Minister In a nationwide survey conducted in 2007 by *India Today* magazine, Shri Narendra Modi was declared the Best Chief Minister in the country.
- Asian Winner of the fDi Personality of the Year Award for 2009 by *FDi magazine*.
- In March 2012, Modi appeared on the cover of the Asian edition of *Time*, one of India's few politicians to have done so.
- Shri Narendra Modi was featured in *Time's* 2014 Time 100 list of the most influential people in the world.



Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi signing the register after taking oath as the Prime Minister of India on 26 May 2014.

# Chapter 2 BJP'S NARENDRA MODI IS THE NEW PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

Power in India has been transferred to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the leader Shri Narendra Modi following an election in the world's largest democracy. The ruling Congress Party conceded defeat yesterday and BJP are set to win a healthy majority of seats. The success for the BJP in the election tracks predicted results from exit polls.



Following the victory, Shri Narendra Modi posted on social networking site Twitter "India has won. Good days are

about to come". He then visited his mother to seek her blessing: he touched her feet, she put a vermillion mark on his head and gave him sweets. Thereafter, Shri Narendra Modi travelled from his home in the Indian State of Gujarat to Delhi. In Delhi, a victory parade was held for Shri Narendra Modi.

US President Barack Obama and UK Prime Minister David Cameron have both congratulated Shri Narendra Modi and invited him to visit Washington and London respectively. Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, said BJP had won an "impressive victory".

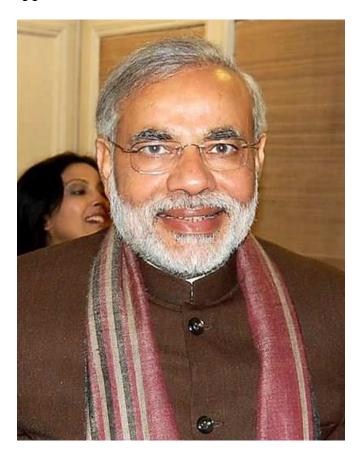


President Pranab Mukherjee, Vice President Hamid Ansari and the new Prime Minister Narendra Modi with the Heads of SAARC Countries and Mauritius at Rashtrapati Bhavan

When Shri Narendra Modi invited leaders of all nations of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) grouping for his oath-taking-ceremony, the foreign media and international leaders hailed it as a move that could pave way for reforms as for as India's relationship with its neighbours was concerned. While some called it a move that was mint to improve 'trade ties' as Shri Narendra Modi has been focusing on pro-development and business agenda others called it a strategic move to bring in peace talks.

# Chapter 3 GUJARAT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2002

The 2002 Gujarat Legislative Assembly Elections were necessitated by the resignation of Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi and the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly in July 2002, eight months before its term was due to expire. Shri Narendra Modi resigned due to widespread allegations that he had taken insufficient action to prevent the riots that took place a few months earlier. The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party was led by Shri Narendra Modi, with the Indian National Congress being the chief opposition.



The Legislative Assembly of Gujarat is elected from 182 constituencies, which were contested by a total of 21 Parties and several hundred independent candidates. The Bharatiya Janata Party won a 127 seats, thus achieving an absolute majority in the assembly. Shri Narendra Modi was sworn in for a second term as Chief Minister.

### RESUTLS OF THE 2002 STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTION IN GUJARAT

Party	Seats won
<b>BJP</b> (Bharatiya Janta Party)	127
Congress (Indian National Congress)	51
JD(U) (Janata Dal (United))	2
Independent	2

#### LIST OF WINNER CANDIDATES

Following candidates won election from their respective seats:

**Keys:** BJP INC JD(U) Independent

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	Abadasa	Jadeja, Narendrasinh Madhavsinhaj	ВЈР
45	Amreli	Dhanani, Pareshbhai Dhirajlal	INC
133	Anand	Patel, Dilipbhai Manibhai	BJP
5	Anjar	Dr. Acharya, Nimaben Bhavesh	INC

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
157	Ankleshwar	Patel, Ishwarsinh Thakorbhai	BJP
72	Asarva	Jadeja, Pradipsinh Bhagvatsinh	BJP
43	Babra	Undhad, Bavkubhai Nathabhai	BJP
124	Balasinor	Pathak, Rajesh (Pappu Pathak)	BJP
166	Bardoli	Patel (Rathod), Anilkumar Mohanbhai	INC
61	Bavla	Lakum, Kantibhai Ramabhai	BJP
109	Bayad	Solanki, Ramsinhji Rupsinhji	INC
139	Bhadran	Parmar, Rajendrasinh Dhirsinh	INC
29	Bhanwad	Madam, Vikrambhai Arjanbhai	INC
156	Bharuch	Mistry, Rameshbhai Narandas	BJP
57	Bhavnagar City (North)	Trivedi, Mahendrabhai Shantibhai	BJP
58	Bhavnagar City(South)	Oza, Sunil Balkrishnabhai	BJP
105	Bhiloda	Dr. Joshiyara, Anil	INC
3	Bhuj	Ahir, Shivjibhai Karshanbhai	INC
138	Borsad	Solanki, Bharatbhai Madhavsinh	INC

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
49	Botad	Patel, Saurabh	BJP
132	Chaklasi	Vaghela, Shankerbhai Desaibhai	INC
92	Chanasma	Desai, Malajibhai Devajibhai	INC
176	Chikhli	Patel, Bhartiben Nardevbhai	INC
172	Choryasi	Patel, Narottambhai	BJP
141	Chotaudepur	Rathwa, Shankarbhai Vichhiyabhai	ВЈР
10	Chotila	Jinjariya, Popatbhai Savshibhai	Independent
145	Dabhoi	Prof. Patel, Chandrakant Motibhai	ВЈР
114	Dahod	Damor, Terinhbhai Badiyabhai	BJP
177	Dangs-Vansada	Bhoye, Madhubhai Jeloyabha	INC
102	Danta	Gadhvi, Mukeshkumar Bhairavdanji	INC
69	Dariyapur- Kazipur	Barot, Bharatkumar Chimanlal	ВЈР
7	Dasada	Makwana, Manaharlal Maganlal	INC
65	Daskroi	Patel, Babhubahi Jamnadas	BJP
159	Dediyapada	Vasava, Maheshbhai Chhotubhai	JD(U)

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
98	Deesa	Rabari, Govabhai Hamirabhai	INC
66	Dehgam	Thakor, Jagdish	INC
96	Deoder	Patel, Bhemabhai Ramsingbhai	Independent
116	Devgadhbaria	Khabad, Bachubhai	BJP
59	Dhandhuka	Pandya, Bharatbhai Baldevbhai	BJP
99	Dhanera	Patel, Harjivanbhai Hirabhai	ВЈР
46	Dhari	Tanti, Balubhai Jivrajbhai	BJP
179	Dharmpur	Patel, Kishanbhai Vestabhai	INC
60	Dholka	Chudasama, Bhupendrasinh	BJP
22	Dhoraji	Radadiya, Vithalbhai Hansrajbhai	INC
12	Dhrangadhra	Jadeja, Indravijaysinh K.	BJP
31	Dwarka	Manek, Pabubha Virambha	INC
<b>50</b>	Gadhda	Maru, Pravinbhai Tidabhai	INC
68	Ellisbridge	Sheth, Bhavinbhai Nalinibhai	BJP
175	Gandevi	Patel, Karsanbhai Bhikhabhai	ВЈР
79	Gandhinagar	Dr. Chavda, C. J.	INC
56	Ghogha	Solanki, Parshottambhai Odhavjibhai	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
120	Godhra	Bhatt, Hareshkumar Induprasad	BJP
20	Gondal	Jadeja, Jayrajsinh Temubha	BJP
118	Halol	Parmar, Jayadrathsinhjee Chandrasinhjee	ВЈР
11	Halvad	Kavadiya, Jayantilal Ramjibhai	BJP
106	Himmatnagar	Chavada, Ranjitsinh Narsinh	BJP
104	Idar	Vora, Ramanlal Ishwarlal	BJP
173	Jalalpor	Patel, Rameshbhai Chhotubhai	ВЈР
76	Jamalpur	Devadiwala, Usmangani Ismailbhai	INC
154	Jambusar	Mori, Chhatrasinh Pujabhai	BJP
28	Jamjodhpur	Saparia, Chimanlal Dharamsinhbhai	ВЈР
30	Khambhaliya	Chavada, Karubhai Naran	BJP
<b>25</b>	Jamnagar	Trivedi, Vasuben Narendra	BJP
26	Jamnagar (Rural)	Dr. Parmar, Dinesh	INC
16	Jasdan	Bavaliya, Kunvarjibhai Mohanbhai	INC
21	Jetpur	Korat, Jashuben Savajibhai	BJP
142	Jetpur-Ravi	Baria, Vechatbhai Hamirbhai	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
158	Jhagadia	Vasava, Chhotubhai Amarsinh	JD(U)
24	Jodia	Bhojani, Parsotambhai Nanjibhai	BJP
82	Jotana	Makwana, Ishwarbhai Dhanabhai	BJP
42	Junagadh	Mashroo, Mahendra Liladhar	BJP
81	Kadi	Thakor, Baldevji Chanduji	INC
27	Kalawad	Faldu, Ranchhodbhai Chanabhai	BJP
80	Kalol	Dr. Patel, Atul K.	BJP
119	Kalol (Panchmahal)	Chauhan, Prabhatsinh Pratapsinh	BJP
71	Kalupur	Shaikh, Mohammed Farooq Husainmiya	INC
167	Kamrej	Rathod, Pravinbhai Chhaganbhai	BJP
97	Kankarej	Khanpura, Dharshibhai Lakhabhai	INC
125	Kapadvanj	Shah, Bimal Kumar Kayantilal	BJP
153	Karjan	Kanodia, Nareshkumar Mithalal	BJP
128	Kathlal	Zala, Gautambhai Jesangbhai	INC
36	Keshod	Boricha, Madhabhai	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		Lakhabhai	
<b>75</b>	Khadia	Bhatt, Ashok	BJP
140	Khambhat	Shukal, Shirishkumar Madhusudan	ВЈР
103	Khedbrahma	Chaudhari, Amarsinh Bhilabhai	INC
87	Kheralu	Desai, Ramilaben Rambhai	BJP
47	Kodinar	Solanki, Dinubhai Boghabhai	BJP
33	Kutiyana	Odedara, Karsanbhai Dulabhai	ВЈР
44	Lathi	Bhadani, Bhecharbhai	BJP
9	Limdi	Bharvad, Bhavanbhai Jivanbhai	INC
113	Limdi(Dahod)	Bhuriya, Maheshbhai Somajibhai	ВЈР
115	Limkheda	Babubhai, Soniyabhai Shabhor	ВЈР
122	Lunavada	Maliwad, kalubhai Hirabhai	BJP
129	Mahemdavad	Chauhan, Sundarsinh Bhalabhai	ВЈР
130	Mahudha	Thakor, Natvarsinh Fulsinh	INC
54	Mahuva	Dr. Kalsariya, Kanubhai Valabhai	ВЈР
165	Mahuwa	Dhodiya, Mohanbhai	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		Dhanjibhai	
41	Maliya	Joshi, Bhikhabhai Galabhai	INC
62	Mandal	Patel, Pragjibhai Naranbhai	BJP
84	Mansa	Prof. Patel, Mangalbhai	BJP
77	Maninagar	Modi, Narendra	BJP
35	Manavadar	Sureja, Rateebhai Gordhanbhai	BJP
2	Mandvi	Patel, Chhabilbhai Naranbhai	INC
34	Mangrol	Dr. Chudasama, Chandrikaben Kanjibhai	INC
162	Mangrol (Surat)	Vasava, Ganpatbhai Vestabhai	ВЈР
137	Matar	Adv. Rao, Rakesh	BJP
110	Meghraj	Parmar, Bhikhiben Girvatsinh	BJP
83	Mehsana	Patel, Anilbhai Tribhivandas	BJP
108	Modasa	Parmar, Dilipsinh Vakhatsinh	BJP
13	Morbi	Amrutia, Kantilal Shivabhai	BJP
180	Mota Pondha	Chaudhari, Jitubhai Harjibhai	INC
4	Mundra	Dhua, Gopalbhai Gabhabhai	BJP
131	Nadiad	Desai, Pankajkumar (Gotiya) Vinubhai	ВЈР
<b>78</b>	Naroda	Kodnani, Mayaben	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		Surendrabhai	
143	Nasvadi	Bhil, Kantibhai Trikambhai	BJP
174	Navsari	Patel, Mangubhai Chhaganbhai	ВЈР
161	Nijhar	Vasava, Pareshbhai Govindbhai	INC
168	Oldpad	Patel, Dhansukhbhai Nathubhai	ВЈР
152	Padra	Parmar, Poonam Ranchhodsinh	ВЈР
100	Palanpur	Kachoriya, Kantilal Dharamdas	ВЈР
51	Palitana	Mandaviya, Mansukhbhai Laxmanbhai	ВЈР
91	Patan	Patel, Anandiben	BJP
181	Pardi	Patel, Laxmanbhai Babubhai	INC
135	Petlad	Patel, Chandrakant Dahyabhai	ВЈР
32	Porbandar	Modhavadiya, Arjunbhai Devabhai	INC
107	Prantij	Rathod, Deepsinh Shankarsinh	ВЈР
94	Radhanpur	Chaudhari, Shankarbhai Lagdhirbhai	ВЈР
117	Rajgadh	Chauhan, Fatesinh	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		Vakhatsinh	
17	Rajkot-1	Limbasiya, Tapubhai	ВЈР
18	Rajkot-2	Vala, Vajubhai Rudabhai	ВЈР
19	Rajkot (Rural)	Parmar, Siddharth Mayaram	ВЈР
160	Rajpipla	Vasava, Harshadbhai Chunilal	BJP
48	Rajula	Solanki, Hirabhai Odhavjibhai	BJP
73	Rakhiyal	Zadafia, Gordhanbhai Pragjibhai	BJP
123	Randhikpur	Bhabhor, Jashvantsinh Sumanbhai	BJP
149	Raopura	Patel, Yogesh	BJP
6	Rapar	Shah, Babubhai Meghji	INC
67	Sabarmati	Dr. Patel, Jitubhai Babubhai	BJP
93	Sami-Harij	Thakor, Dilipkumar Virjibhai	BJP
144	Sankheda	Tadvi, Kantibhai Bhaijibhai	BJP
111	Santarampur	Pandya, Prabodhkant Damodar	BJP
64	Sarkhej	Shah, Amit Anilchandra	ВЈР
134	Sarsa	Solanki, Jasvantsinhji (Jasubha) Amarsinhji	BJP
53	Savarkundla	Virani, Kalubhai	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
146	Savli	Gohil, Upendrasinhji (Bapu) Pratapsinhji	BJP
148	Sayajiganj	Sukhadiya, Jitendra	BJP
121	Shahera	Ahir (Bharwad), Jethabhai Ghelabhai	BJP
74	Shaherkotda	Vaghela, Jitendrakumar Umakant	BJP
70	Shahpur	Patel, Kaushikkumar Jamnadas	ВЈР
<b>52</b>	Shihor	Nakrani, Keshubhai Hirjibhai	BJP
89	Sidhdhapur	Rajput, Balvantsinh Chandansinh	INC
136	Sojitra	Ambalal, Ashabhai Rohit	BJP
38	Somnath-Veraval	Barad, Jesabhai Bhanabhai	INC
163	Songadh	Vasava, Nagarbhai Diveliyabhai	INC
170	Surat City (East)	Gilitwala, Manish Natvarlal	INC
169	Surat City (North)	Gejera, Dhirubhai Haribhai	BJP
171	Surat City (West)	Chapatwala, Bhavnaben Hemantbhai	ВЈР
55	Talaja	Gohil, Sheevabhai Jerambhai	BJP
37	Talala	Parmar, Govindbhai Varjangbhai	ВЈР
14	Tankara	Kundaria, Mohanbhai	BJP

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		Kalyanji	
126	Thasra	chauhan, Bhagvansinh Raysinh	BJP
182	Umargaon	Varli, Shankarbhai Manglabhai	INC
127	Umreth	Patel, Vishnubhai Chhotabhai	BJP
39	Una	Vansh, Punjabhai Bhimabhai	INC
88	Unjha	Patel, Narayanbhai Lallubhai	ВЈР
23	Upleta	Makadia, Pravinbhai Mohanbhai	BJP
101	Vadgam	Parmar, Dolatbhai	INC
8	Wadhwan	Kela, Dhanrajbhai Govindbhai	BJP
147	Vadodara City	Lakhawala, Bhupendra	BJP
151	Vadodara (Rural)	Dilibha, Chudasama	BJP
155	Vagara	Patel, Rashida Iqbal	INC
90	Vagdod	Thakor, Jodhaji Galabji	INC
150	Vaghodiya	Shrivastav, Madhubhai	BJP
178	Valsad	Desai, Dolatbhai Nathubahi	BJP
15	Wankaner	Somani, Jyotsanaben Jitendrabhai	BJP
95	Vav	Rajput, Hemaji Daraghaji	INC
85	Vijapur	Patel, Kantibhai Ramabhai	ВЈР

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
63	Viramgam	Dodiya, Vajubhai Parmabhai	BJP
40	Visavadar	Bhalala, Kanubhai Mepabhai	BJP
86	Visnagar	Patel, Prahladbhai Mohanlal	BJP
164	Vyara	Chaudhary, Tusharbhai Amarsinhbhai	INC
112	Zalod	Katara, Bhurabhai Jetabhai	BJP

# Chapter 4 GUJARAT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 2007

Party	Seats won
<b>BJP</b> (Bharatiya Janta Party)	117
Congress (Indian National Congress)	59
NCP (Nationalist Congress Party)	3
<b>JD</b> ( <b>U</b> ) (Janata Dal (United))	1
Independent	2

### **CONSTITUENCIES AND WINNERS**

The following is the list of the members of the Gujarat Vidhan Sabha

**Keys:** BJP INC NCP JD(U) Independent

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	ABADASA	JAYANTILAL PARSHOTTAM	BJP
45	AMRELI	DILEEPBHAI SANGHANI	BJP
13 3	ANAND	PATEL JYOTSNABEN RAJUBHAI	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
5	ANJAR	DR.SMT.NIMABAHEN BHAVESHBHAI ACHARYA	BJP
15 7	ANKLESHWAR	ISHWARSINH THAKOREBHAI PATEL	BJP
72	ASARVA	PRADEEPSINH BHAGVATSINH JADEJA	BJP
43	BABRA	BAVKUBHAI NATHABHAI UNDHAD	INC
12 4	BALASINOR	MANSINH KOHYABHAI CHAUHAN	INC
16 6	BARDOLI	KUNVARJIBHAI NARSINHBHAI HALPATI	INC
61	BAVLA	KANTILAL RAMABHAI LAKUM	BJP
10 9	BAYAD	UDESINH PUNJAJI ZALA	BJP
13 9	BHADRAN	RAJENDRASINH DHIRSINH PARMAR	INC
29	BHANWAD	MULU AYAR BERA	BJP
15 6	BHARUCH	DUSHYANTBHAI RAJNIKANT PATEL	BJP
57	BHAVNAGAR CITY(NORTH)	VIBHAVARI DAVE	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
58	BHAVNAGAR CITY(SOUTH)	SHAKTISINH GOHIL	INC
10 5	BHILODA	ANILBHAI JALJIBHAI JOSHIYARA	INC
3	BHUJ	VASANBHAI AHIR	ВЈР
13 8	BORSAD	AMIT AJITSINH CHAVDA	INC
49	BOTAD	SAURABH PATEL	BJP
13 2	CHAKLASI	SHANKARBHAI DESAIBHAI VAGHELA	INC
92	CHANASMA	RAJNIKANT PATEL	BJP
17 6	СНІКНІ	NARESHBHAI MAGANBHAI PATEL	BJP
17 2	CHORYASI	NAROTTAMBHAI TRIKAMDAS PATEL	BJP
14 1	CHOTAUDEPUR	GULSINHBHAI RANGALABHAI RATHWA	BJP
10	CHOTILA	JINJAIYA POPATBHAI SAVSIBHAI	INC
14 5	DABHOI	SIDHDHARTH CHIMANBHAI PATEL	INC
11 4	DAHOD	VAJESINGHBHAI PARSINGBHAI PANADA	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
17 7	DANGS-VANSADA	VIJAYBHAI RAMESHBHAI PATEL	BJP
10 2	DANTA	GADHAVI MUKESHKUMAR BHERAVDANJI	INC
69	DARIYAPUR- KAZIPUR	BHARATKUMAR CHIMANLAL BAROT	ВЈР
7	DASADA	SHAMBHUPRASAD BALDEVDASJI TUNDIYA	BJP
65	DASKROI	BABUBHAI JAMANADAS PATEL	BJP
15 9	DEDIYAPADA	AMARSINH RAMSINH VASAVA	INC
98	DEESA	LILADHARBHAI KHODAJI VAGHELA	ВЈР
66	DEHGAM	JAGDISH THAKOR	INC
96	DEODER	ANILKUMAR AMRUTLAL MALI	BJP
11 6	DEVGADHBARIA	TUSHARSINH KANAKSINH MAHARAOL	NCP
59	DHANDHUKA	RANCHHODBHAI KARSHANBHAI MER	INDEPENDE NT
99	DHANERA	MAFATLAL MOTIRAM PUROHIT	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
46	DHARI	MANSUKHBHAI PANCHABHAI BHUVA	BJP
17 9	DHARMPUR	CHHANABHAI KOLUBHAI CHAUDHARI	INC
60	DHOLKA	KANJIBHAI RAYABHAI TALPADA	INC
22	DHORAJI	JAYESHBHAI VITHTHALBHAI RADADIA	INC
12	DHRANGADHRA	HARILAL MOHANLAL PATEL	INC
31	DWARKA	PABUBHA VIRAMBHA MANEK	BJP
50	GADHDA	ATMARAM MAKANBHAI PARMAR	BJP
68	ELLISBRIDGE	RAKESH JASHVANTLAL SHAH	BJP
17 5	GANDEVI	LAXMANBHAI PARSOTTAMBHAI PATEL	BJP
79	GANDHINAGAR	SHAMBHUJI CHELAJI THAKORE	BJP
56	GHOGHA	PARSOTTAMBHAI ODHAVJIBHAI SOLANKI	BJP
12	GODHRA	CHANDRASINJI	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
0		KANAKSINHJI RAOLJI	
20	GONDAL	CHANDUBHAI BACHUBHAI VAGHASIA	INC
11 8	HALOL	JAYDRATHSINHJI CHANDRASINHJI PARMAR	BJP
11	HALVAD	DEVJIBHAI GOVINDBHAI FATEPARA	INC
10 6	HIMMATNAGAR	PRAFUL KHODBHAI PATEL	BJP
10 4	IDAR	RAMANLAL ISHWARLAL VORA	BJP
17 3	JALALPOR	RAMESHBHAI CHHOTUBHAI PATEL	BJP
76	JAMALPUR	SABIRBHAI ABDULKARIM KHEDAWALA	INC
15 4	JAMBUSAR	KIRANKUMAR LAXMANBHAI MAKWANA	INC
28	JAMJODHPUR	BRIJRAJSINHJI HEMANTSINHJI JADEJA	INC
30	KHAMBHALIYA	MEGHJIBHAI DAYABHAI KANZARIYA	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
25	JAMNAGAR	VASUBAHEN NARENDRABHAI TRIVEDI	BJP
26	JAMNAGAR(RURAL)	LALJI PREMJI SOLANKI	BJP
16	JASDAN	BHARATBHAI KHODABHAI BOGHARA	BJP
21	JETPUR	JASHUBAHEN SAVJIBHAI KORAT	BJP
14 2	JETPUR-RAVI	MOHANSINH CHHOTUBHAI RATHWA	INC
15 8	JHAGADIA	CHHOTUBHAI AMARSINH VASAVA	JD(U)
24	JODIA	RAGHAVJI HANSRAJBHAI PATEL	INC
82	JOTANA	JASHODABAHEN CHATURBHAI PARMAR	BJP
42	JUNAGADH	MAHENDRA LILADHAR MASHRU	BJP
81	KADI	NITINKUMAR RATILAL PATEL	BJP
27	KALAWAD	RANCHHODBHAI CHANABHAI FALDU	BJP
80	KALOL	SURESHKUMAR	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		CHATURDAS PATEL	
11 9	KALOL(PANCHMAH AL)	ARVINDSINH DAMSINH RATHOD	BJP
71	KALUPUR	MOHAMMADFAROOQ HUSSAINMIYAN SHAIKH	INC
16 7	KAMREJ	BHARATIBAHEN AMRUTBHAI RATHOD	BJP
97	KANKAREJ	BABUBHAI JESANGBHAI DESAI	BJP
12 5	KAPADVANJ	MANIBHAI DEVJIBHAI PATEL	INC
15 3	KARJAN	CHANDUBHAI MOTIBHAI DABHI	INC
12 8	KATHLAL	ZALA GAUTAMBHAI JESANGBHAI	INC
36	KESHOD	VANDANABAHEN MANSUKHBHAI MAKWANA	BJP
<b>75</b>	KHADIA	ASHOK BHATT	BJP
14 0	КНАМВНАТ	SHIRISHKUMAR MADHUSUDAN SHUKLA	BJP
10 3	KHEDBRAHMA	ASHWINBHAI LAXMANBHAI KOTWAL	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
87	KHERALU	BHARATSINHJI SHANKARJI DABHI	BJP
47	KODINAR	SOLANKI DINUBHAI BOGHABHAI	BJP
33	KUTIYANA	KARSHANBHAI DULABHAI ODEDARA	BJP
44	LATHI	HANUBHAI VIRJIBHAI DHORAJIYA	BJP
9	LIMDI	KIRITSINH JITUBHA RANA	BJP
11 3	LIMDI(DAHOD)	BACHUBHAI NATHABHAI KISHORI	INC
11 5	LIMKHEDA	CHANDRIKABAHEN CHHAGANBHAI BARIYA	INC
12 2	LUNAVADA	HIRABHAI HARIBHAI PATEL	INC
12 9	MAHEMDAVAD	SUNDARSINH BHALABHAI CHAUHAN	BJP
13 0	MAHUDHA	NATVARSINH FULSINH THAKORE	INC
54	MAHUVA	KANUBHAI VALABHAI KALSARIA	BJP
16 5	MAHUWA	ISHWARBHAI NARSINHBHAI VAHIA	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
41	MALIYA	LAVJIBHAI THAKARSHIBHAI RAJANI	BJP
62	MANDAL	PRAGJIBHAI NARANBHAI PATEL	BJP
84	MANSA	BABUJI MOHANJI THAKOR	INC
77	MANINAGAR	NARENDRA MODI	ВЈР
35	MANAVADAR	JAWAHAR PETHALJI CHAVDA	INC
2	MANDVI	DHANJIBHAI GOVINDBHAI SENGHANI	BJP
34	MANGROL	BHAGWANJIBHAI LAKHABHAI KARGATIYA	BJP
16 2	MANGROL(SURAT)	GANPATBHAI VESTABHAI VASAVA	BJP
13 7	MATAR	DEVUSINH JESINGBHAI CHAUHAN	BJP
11 0	MEGHRAJ	MAHENDRASINH SHANKARSINH VAGHELA	INC
83	MEHSANA	MISTRY YOGESH HASMUKHBHAI TULSI BUNGLOWS	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
10 8	MODASA	DILIPSINH VAKHATSINH PARMAR	BJP
13	MORBI	KANTILAL SHIVLAL AMRUTIA	BJP
18 0	MOTA PONDHA	JITUBHAI HARJIBHAI CHAUDHARI	INC
4	MUNDRA	RAMESHBHAI VACHHRAJ MAHESHWARI	BJP
13 1	NADIAD	PANKAJKUMAR VINUBHAI DESAI	BJP
78	NARODA	MAYABAHEN SURENDRAKUMAR KODNANI	BJP
14 3	NASVADI	DHIRUBHAI CHUNILAL BHIL	INC
17 4	NAVSARI	MANGUBHAI CHHAGANBHAI PATEL	BJP
16 1	NIJHAR	PARESHBHAI GOVINDBHAI VASAVA	INC
16 8	OLDPAD	KIRITBHAI GANGARAM PATEL	BJP
15 2	PADRA	DINESHBHAI BALUBHAI PATEL	INDEPENDE NT
10	PALANPUR	GOVIND MADHAV	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
0		PRAJAPATI	
51	PALITANA	MAHENDRASINH PARAKRAMSINH SARVAIYA	BJP
91	PATAN	ANANDIBAHEN MAFATBHAI PATEL	BJP
18 1	PARDI	USHABAHEN GIRISHKUMAR PATEL	BJP
13 5	PETLAD	NIRANJANBHAI PARSOTTAMDAS PATEL	INC
32	PORBANDAR	ARJUNBHAI DEVABHAI MODHVADIA	INC
10 7	PRANTIJ	JAYSINHJI MANSINHJI CHAUHAN	BJP
94	RADHANPUR	SHANKARBHAI LAGDHIRBHAI CHAUDHARI	BJP
11 7	RAJGADH	FATESINH VAKHATSINH CHAUHAN	BJP
17	RAJKOT-1	GOVINDBHAI UKABHAI PATEL	BJP
18	RAJKOT-2	VAJUBHAI RUDABHAI VALA	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
19	RAJKOT-3(RURAL)	BHANUBAHEN MANOHARBHAI BABARIYA	BJP
16 0	RAJPIPLA	HARSHADBHAI CHUNILAL VASAVA	BJP
48	RAJULA	HIRABHAI ODHAVJIBHAI SOLANKI	BJP
<b>7</b> 3	RAKHIYAL	VALLABHBHAI GOBARBHAI KAKADIYA	BJP
12 3	RANDHIKPUR	JASHVANTSINH SUMANBHAI BHABHOR	BJP
14 9	RAOPURA	YOGESH NARANBHAI PATEL	BJP
6	RAPAR	BABUBHAI MEGHJI SHAH	INC
67	SABARMATI	GEETABAHEN YOGESHBHAI PATEL	BJP
93	SAMI-HARIJ	RATHOD BHAVSINHBHAI DAHYABHAI	INC
14 4	SANKHEDA	ABHESINH MOTIBHAI TADVI	BJP
11 1	SANTARAMPUR	PARANJAYADITYASIN HJI KRUSHNAKUMARSIN	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
		HJI PARMAR	
64	SARKHEJ	AMIT ANILCHANDRA SHAH	BJP
13 4	SARSA	JAYANTBHAI RAMANBHAI PATEL (BOSKI)	NCP
53	SAVARKUNDLA	KALUBHAI VIRJIBHAI VIRANI	BJP
14 6	SAVLI	KHUMANSINH RAYSINH CHAUHAN	INC
14 8	SAYAJIGANJ	JITENDRA RATILAL SUKHADIYA	BJP
12 1	SHAHERA	JETHABHAI GHELABHAI BHARWAD	BJP
74	SHAHERKOTDA	SHAILESH MANHARBHAI PARMAR	INC
70	SHAHPUR	GYASUDDIN HABIBUDDIN SHAIKH	INC
<b>52</b>	SHIHOR	KESHUBHAI HIRJIBHAI NAKRANI	BJP
89	SIDHDHAPUR	JAYNARAYAN NARMADASHANKAR VYAS	BJP
13 6	SOJITRA	AMBALAL ASHABHAI ROHIT	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
38	SOMNATH- VERAVAL	RAJSHIBHAI VIRABHAI JOTVA	BJP
16 3	SONGADH	PRABHUBHAI NAGARBHAI VASAVA	INC
17 0	SURAT CITY(EAST)	RANJITBHAI MANGUBHAI GILITWALA	BJP
16 9	SURAT CITY(NORTH)	NANUBHAI BHAGWANBHAI VANANI	BJP
17 1	SURAT CITY(WEST)	KISHOREBHAI RATILAL VANKAWALA	BJP
55	TALAJA	BAVNABAHEN RAGHAVJIBHAI MAKWANA	BJP
37	TALALA	BHAGWANBHAI DHANABHAI BARAD	INC
14	TANKARA	MOHANLAL KALYANJIBHAI KUNDARIA	BJP
12 6	THASRA	RAMSINH PRABHATSINH PARMAR	INC
18 2	UMARGAM	RAMANLAL NANUBHAI PATKAR	BJP
12 7	UMRETH	LALSINH UDESINH VADODIYA	INC

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
39	UNA	KALUBHAI CHANABHAI RATHOD	BJP
88	UNJHA	NARAYANBHAI LALLUDAS PATEL	BJP
23	UPLETA	PRAVINBHAI MOHANBHAI MAKADIA	BJP
10 1	VADGAM	FAKIRBHAI RAGHABHAI VAGHELA	BJP
8	WADHWAN	VARSHABAHEN NARENDRABHAI DOSHI	BJP
14 7	VADODARA CITY	BHUPENDRA GATULAL LAKHAWALA	BJP
15 1	VADODARA(RURAL)	UPENDRASINHJI PRATAPSINHJI GOHIL	BJP
15 5	VAGARA	IQBAL IBRAHIM PATEL	INC
90	VAGDOD	JODHAJI GULABJI THAKORE	INC
15 0	VAGHODIYA	MADHUBHAI BABUBHAI SRIVASTAVA	BJP
17 8	VALSAD	DOLATBHAI NATHUBHAI DESAI	BJP

No ·	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
15	WANKANER	MOHAMMADJAVED ABDULMUTALIB PIRJADA	NCP
95	VAV	PARBATBHAI SAVABHAI PATEL	BJP
85	VIJAPUR	KANTIBHAI RAMABHAI PATEL	BJP
63	VIRAMGAM	KAMABHAI GAGJIBHAI RATHOD	BJP
40	VISAVADAR	KANUBHAI MEPABHAI BHALALA	BJP
86	VISNAGAR	RUSHIKESH GANESHBHAI PATEL	BJP
16 4	VYARA	PUNABHAI DHEDABHAI GAMIT	INC
11 2	ZALOD	DITABHAI BHIMABHAI MACHHAR	INC

## Chapter 5 GUJARAT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 2012

The 2012 Gujarat Legislative Assembly Elections were held in the Indian State of Gujarat in December 2012 for all 182 Members of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly. Incumbent Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi of Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), in power since 2002, was running for his fourth term.

Elections were held in two phases, the first on 13 December and second on 17 December 2012. Total voting turnout of both phases was 71.32%, highest since 1980. Results were declared on 20 December 2012.

The BJP, led by Shri Narendra Modi, won 116 seats out of total 182 seats and formed the Government while INC won 60 seats. BJP has been in power in Gujarat since 1995.

After bypolls in June and December 2013, BJP, won more four assembly seats which were held by INC, increasing the tally of BJP in the Assembly to 120, which is 3 more than the assembly election of 2007.

#### **POLLS**

Elections were held in two phases, the first on 13 December and second on 17 December 2012.

#### PHASE-I

First phase of polling was held on 13 December 2012 witnessed 70.75% of record breaking voting. Within three hours, the voter turnout was 18 per cent and by 1 pm it was 38 per cent.

The figure went up to 53 per cent by 3 pm, concluding with 70.75%.

Legend	Statistics
Voting turnout	70.75%
Constituencies	87
Break-up	Saurashtra : 7 Districts : 48 Seats South Gujarat : 7 Districts : 35 Seats Ahmedabad Rural : Part of 1 District : 4 Seats
Total voters	1,81,86,045
Candidates	846 including 47 women
Polling Booths	21,268
ID Card Distribution	99.65% voters
Photo Electoral Roll coverage	99.53% voters
EVM Machines used	25,000
EVM Fault rate	0.01%
Remarks	Peaceful polling. Poll boycotted in two villages in Junagadh and Surendranagar district(Dhulkot village)

### DISTRICT WISE POLLING DATA PHASE-I TEST SAURASHTRA

District	Percentage
Porbandar	66.39%

District	Percentage
Amreli	67.21%
Jamnagar	68.48%
Bhavnagar	69.11%
Junagadh	69.71%
Surendranagar	69.79%
Rajkot	71.01%

### AHMEDABAD RURAL

District	Percentage
Ahmedabad Rural	
Sanand	
Viramgam	68.41%
Dholka	
Dhandhuka	

### SOUTH GUJARAT

District	Percentage
Dangs	68.76%
Surat	69.58%
Valsad	73.79%
Bharuch	75.11%
Navsari	75.59%

District	Percentage
Тарі	80.43%
Narmada	82.21%

### **Phase-II**

Phase-II of polling was held on 17 December 2012 witnessed voting turnout of 71.85%.

### DISTRICT WISE POLLING DATA PHASE-II AHMEDABAD

District	Voting Turnout
Ahmedabad	70.10%

### **KUTCH**

### **District Voting Turnout**

Kutch 67.77%

### **CENTRAL GUJARAT**

District	Voting Turnout
Anand	74.89%
Kheda	72.17%
Vadodara	72.27%
Panchmahal	71.48%

District	Voting Turnout
Dahod	68.48%

### NORTH GUJARAT

District	Voting Turnout
Gandhinagar	74.45%
Banaskantha	74.89%
Sabarkantha	75.56%
Mehsana	73.64%
Patan	70.92%

With 71.85% of Phase-II voting turnout following the Phase-I turnout of 70.75%, the resultant final voting turnout stood at 71.32%.

### 1980 TO 2012 LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS STATISTICS IN GUJARAT

Liectors	8	9	4	3	33,238,19 6	0	4
Voters	7,981,995	12,955,22 1	18,686,75 7	17,063,16 0	20,455,16 6	21,873,37 7	27,158,62 6
Turnou t	48.37%	52.20%	64.39%	59.30%	61.54%	59.77%	71.32%

The average turnout percentage in Gujarat had decreased from 64.39% in 1995 to 59.77% during the last four state elections (1995, 1998, 2002, 2007)as per the Election Commission of India statistics.

Gujarat Assembly Elections - 2012 shows a significant change with the turnout reaching 71.32% comparing to the statistics of past six assembly elections since year 1980. Overall, the Gujarat Assembly Elections - 2012 remains a well executed task by the Election Commission, responsible Government agencies, all machinery and the associated manpower.

Communicative awareness programmes by the Election Commission for exercising the voting right, in addition with distribution of the Photo Electoral roll among the voters also seem to have played a good role for the higher percentage turned up for the voting.

Significantly unlike past elections in the country where there would have been proactive efforts from the contestants and parties to pursue the voters for voting, past few elections in the state of Gujarat shows the rising pattern of voting.

#### RESULTS

Counting of votes was held on 20 December 2012. Results were as following.

Total Seats: 182 Results declared: 182

Party	Seats won
Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)	116
Indian National Congress (INC)	60
Gujarat Parivartan Party (GPP)	2
Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	2

Party	Seats won
Janata Dal (United) (JD(U))	1
Independent	1

BJP lost in 16 seats by the margin of less than 2%. The Congress won 46% seats with a margin of less than 5%.

# LIST OF WINNING CANDIDATES Following candidates won election from their respective seats: Keys: BJP INC GPP NCP JD(U) Independent

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
1	Abdasa	Chhabilbhai Naranbhai Patel	INC	60704	7613
2	Mandvi	Tarachand Jagashi Chheda	BJP	61984	8506
3	Bhuj	Dr Nimaben Aacharya	BJP	69174	8973
4	Anjar	Ahir Vasanbhai Gopalbhai	BJP	64789	4728
5	Gandhidham	Maheshwari Ramesh Vachchhraj	BJP	72988	21313
6	Rapar	Patel Vaghajibhai Dharamshibhai	BJP	55280	9216
7	Vav	Shankarbhai Lagdhirbhai Patel	BJP	72640	11911
8	Tharad	Parbat Patel	BJP	68517	3473

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
9	Dhanera	Patel Joitabhai Kasnabhai	INC	87460	30291
10	Danta	Kharadi Kantibhai Kalabhai	INC	73751	26990
11	Vadgam	Manilal Jethabhai Vaghela	INC	90375	21839
12	Palanpur	Patel Maheshkumar Amrutlal	INC	75097	5284
13	Deesa	Vaghela Liladharbhai Khodaji	ВЈР	66294	17706
14	Deodar	Chauhan Keshaji Shivaji	BJP	76265	20809
15	Kankrej	Khanpura Dharshibhai Lakhabhai	INC	73900	600
16	Radhanpur	Thakor Nagarji Harchandji	ВЈР	69493	3834
17	Chanasma	Dilipkumar Virajibhai Thakor	ВЈР	83462	16824
18	Patan	Desai Ranchhodbhai Mahijibhai	ВЈР	67224	5871
19	Sidhpur	Balvantsinh Chandansinh Rajput	INC	87518	25824
20	Kheralu	Bharatsinhji Dabhi	BJP	68195	18386
21	Unjha	Patel Narayanbhai Lalludas	BJP	75708	24201
22	Visnagar	Patel Rushikesh Ganeshbhai	ВЈР	76185	29399
23	Becharaji	Patel Rajanikant Somabhai	ВЈР	68447	6456
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No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
24	Kadi	Chavada Rameshbhai Maganbhai	INC	84276	1217
<b>25</b>	Mehsana	Nitinbhai Patel	BJP	90134	24205
26	Vijapur	Patel Prahladbhai Ishvarbhai	INC	70729	8759
27	Himmatnagar	Chavda Rajendrasinh Ranjitsinh	INC	85008	12356
28	Idar	Ramanlal Vora	BJP	90279	11380
29	Khedbrahma	Ashvin Kotwal	INC	88488	50137
30	Bhiloda	Anil Joshiyara	INC	95799	31543
31	Modasa	Thakor Rajendrasinh Shivsinh	INC	88879	22858
32	Bayad	Vaghela Mahendrasinh Shankersinh	INC	74646	35923
33	Prantij	Baraiya Mahendrasinh Kacharsinh	INC	76097	7014
34	Dehgam	Kaminiba Rathod	INC	61043	2297
35	Gandhinagar South	Thakor Shambhuji Chelaji	ВЈР	87999	8011
36	Gandhinagar North	Patel Ashokkumar Ranchhodbhai	BJP	73551	4225
37	Mansa	Chaudhari Amitbhai Harisingbhai	INC	78068	8028
38	Kalol	THAKOR BALDEVJI CHANDUJI	INC	64757	343
39	Viramgam	Tejeshree Patel	INC	84930	16983

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
40	Sanand	Karamsibhai Virjibhai Patel	INC	73453	4148
41	Ghatlodiya	Anandiben Patel	ВЈР	154599	110395
42	Vejalpur	Chauhan Kishorsinh Babulal	ВЈР	113507	40985
43	Vatva	Pradipsinh Bhagwatsinh Jadeja	ВЈР	95580	46932
44	Ellisbridge	Rakesh Shah	BJP	106631	76672
45	Naranpura	Amit Shah	ВЈР	103988	63335
46	Nikol	Panchal Jagdish Ishwarbhai	ВЈР	88886	49302
47	Naroda	Wadhwani Nirmalaben Sunilbhai	ВЈР	96333	58352
48	Thakkar Bapanagar	Kakadiya Vallabhbhai Gobarbhai	ВЈР	88731	49251
49	Bapunagar	Rajput Jagrupsinh Girdansinh	ВЈР	51058	2603
50	Amraiwadi	Patel Hasmukhbhai Somabhai	ВЈР	108683	65425
51	Dariyapur	Gyasuddin Habibuddin Shekh	INC	60967	2621
<b>52</b>	Jamalpur- Khadia	Bhatt Bhushan Ashok	ВЈР	48058	6331
<b>5</b> 3	Maninagar	Narendra Modi	ВЈР	120470	86373
54	Danilimda	Shailesh Manubhai Parmar	INC	73573	14301

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
55	Sabarmati	Arvindkumar Gandalal Patel	ВЈР	107036	67583
56	Asarwa	Rajanikant Mohanlal Patel	ВЈР	76829	35045
57	Daskroi	Patel Babubhai Jamnadas	ВЈР	95813	37633
<b>5</b> 8	Dholka	Chudasama Bhupendrasinh Manubha	ВЈР	75242	18845
59	Dhandhuka	Kolipatel Laljibhai Chaturbhai	ВЈР	77573	28277
60	Dasada	Makwana Punambhai Kalabhai	BJP	65404	10640
61	Limbdi	Kolipatel Somabhai Gandalal	INC	72203	1561
62	Wadhwan	Doshi Varshaben Narendrabhai	BJP	83049	17558
63	Chotila	Shamjibhai Bhimjibhai Chauhan	BJP	72111	11972
64	Dhrangadhra	Kavadiya Jayantibhai Ramjibhai	ВЈР	87621	17403
65	Morbi	Kantilal Amrutiya	BJP	77386	2760
66	Tankara	Kundariya Mohanbhai Kalyanjibhai	ВЈР	63630	15407
67	Wankaner	Pirzada Mahamadjavid Abdulmutalib	INC	59038	5311
68	Rajkot East	Rajguru Indranil Sanjaybhai	INC	60877	4272

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
69	Rajkot West	Vajubhai Vala	BJP	90405	24978
70	Rajkot South	Govind Patel	BJP	77308	28477
71	Rajkot Rural	Bhanuben Manoharbhai Babariya	ВЈР	57753	11466
72	Jasdan	Gohel Bholabhai Bhikhabhai	INC	78055	10847
73	Gondal	Jadeja Jayrajsinh Temubha	ВЈР	79709	19766
74	Jetpur	Radadiya Jayeshbhai Vitthalbhai	INC	85827	18033
75	Dhoraji	Vitthalbhai Hansrajbhai Radadiya	INC	76189	26258
76	Kalavad	Chavda Meghjibhai Amarabhai	ВЈР	49027	6119
77	Jamnagar Rural	Raghavji Hansraj Patel	INC	60499	3304
78	Jamnagar North	Jadeja Dharmendrasinh Merubha	INC	61642	9448
79	Jamnagar South	Trivedi Vasuben Narendrabhai	ВЈР	55894	2862
80	Jam Jodhpur	Shapriya Chimanbhai Dharamshibhai	ВЈР	75395	28191
81	Khambhalia	Poonamben Hematbhai Maadam]	ВЈР	79087	38382
82	Dwarka	Pabubha Virambha Manek	ВЈР	70062	5616
83	Porbandar	Babubhai Bhimabhai Bokhiria	ВЈР	77604	17146

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
84	Kutiyana	Kandhal Sarmanbhai Jadeja	NCP	61416	18474
85	Manavadar	Chavda Jawaharbhai Pethalajibhai	INC	72879	4402
86	Junagadh	Mashru Mahendrabhai Liladharbhai	BJP	66669	13796
87	Visavadar	Keshubhai Patel	GPP	85967	42186
88	Keshod	Arvindbhai Keshavbhai Ladani	ВЈР	53772	7937
89	Mangrol	Chudasama Rajeshbhai Naranbhai	ВЈР	68452	15714
90	Somnath	Barad Jasabhai Bhanabhai	INC	56701	2096
91	Talala, Gujarat	Jashubhai Dhanabhai Barad	INC	62722	1478
92	Kodinar	Solanki Jethabhai Danabhai	BJP	63319	8477
93	Una	Vansh Punjabhai Bhimabhai	INC	69824	7507
94	Dhari	Kotadiya Nalinbhai Nanjibhai	GPP	41516	1575
95	Amreli	Paresh Dhanani	INC	86583	29893
96	Lathi	Bavkubhai Nathabhai Undhad	INC	48793	2764
97	Savarkundla	Vaghasiya Vallabhbhai Vasharambhai	ВЈР	37246	2384
98	Rajula	Solanki Hirabhai Odhavjibhai	ВЈР	75447	18710

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
99	Mahuva	Makwana Bhavanaben Raghvbhai	ВЈР	57498	28352
100	Talaja	Shyal Bhartiben Dhirubhai	BJP	66357	32844
101	Gariadhar	Keshubhai Hirjibhai Nakran	BJP	53377	16028
102	Palitana	Rathod Pravinbhai Jinabhai	INC	69396	14325
103	Bhavnagar Rural	Parshottam Solanki	BJP	83980	18554
	Bhavnagar East	Vibhavari Dave	BJP	85375	39508
105	Bhavnagar West	Jitu Vaghani	BJP	92584	53893
106	Gadhada	Atmaram Makanbhai Parmar	BJP	66415	10342
107	Botad	Maniya Thakarshibhai Devjibhai	BJP	86184	10005
108	Khambhat	Patel Sanjaykumar Ramanbhai	ВЈР	74761	15386
109	Borsad	Parmar Rajendrasinh Dhirsinh	INC	83621	21034
110	Anklav	Amit Chavda	INC	81575	30319
111	Umreth	Jayantbhai Ramanbhai Patel	NCP	67363	1394
112	Anand	Dilipbhai Manibhai Patel	ВЈР	82956	987
113	Petlad	Niranjan Patel	INC	77312	12192

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
114	Sojitra	Parmar Punambhai Madhabhai	INC	65210	162
115	Matar	Chauhan Devusinh Jesingbhai	ВЈР	71021	6487
116	Nadiad	Desai Pankaj Vinubhai	BJP	75335	6587
117	Mahemdabad	Gautambhai Ravjibhai Chauhan	INC	68767	4181
118	Mahudha	Thakor Natvarsinh Fulsinh	INC	58373	13230
119	Thasra	Parmar Ramsinh Prabhatsinh	INC	78226	5500
120	Kapadvanj	Shankersinh Vaghela	INC	88641	6597
121	Balasinor	Chauhan Mansinh Kohyabhai	INC	87088	17171
122	Lunawada	Malivad Kalubhai Hirabhai	ВЈР	72814	3701
123	Santrampur	Damor Gendalbhai Motibhai	INC	68026	25654
124	Shehra	Ahir Jethabhai Ghelabhai	ВЈР	76468	28725
125	Morva Hadaf	Khant Savitaben Vechatbhai	INC	56886	11289
126	Godhra	C. K. Raul	INC	73367	2868
127	Kalol	RATHOD ARVINDSINH DAMSINH	ВЈР	69275	30056
128	Halol	Parmar Jaydrathsinh Chandrasinh	ВЈР	93854	33206

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
129	Fatepura	Katara Rameshbhai Bhurabhai	ВЈР	57828	6264
130	Jhalod	Garasiya Miteshbhai Kalabhai	INC	78077	40073
131	Limkheda	Bhabhor Jashvantsinh Sumanbhai	BJP	67219	15331
132	Dahod	Panada Vajesingbhai Parsingbhai	INC	73956	39548
133	Garbada	Bariya Chandrikaben Chhaganbhai	INC	69295	35774
134	Devgadh Baria	Bachu Khabad	BJP	113582	83753
135	Savli	Inamdar Ketanbhai Mahendrabhai	Independent	62849	20319
136	Vaghodia	Shrivastav Madhubhai Babubhai	ВЈР	65851	5788
137	Chhota Udaipur	Rathwa Mohansinh Chhotubhai	INC	65043	2305
138	Jetpur	Radadiya Jayeshbhai Vitthalbhai	INC	61966	4273
139	Sankheda	Bhil Dhirubhai Chunilal	BJP	80579	1452
140	Dabhoi	Balkrishna Patel	BJP	70833	5122
141	Vadodara City	Vakil Manisha Rajivbhai	BJP	103700	51889
142	Sayajigunj	Sukhadiya Jitendra Ratilal	ВЈР	107358	58237
143	Akota	Saurabh Patel	BJP	95554	49867
144	Raopura	Rajendra Trivedi	BJP	99263	41535

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
145	Manjalpur	Yogesh Patel	BJP	92642	51785
146	Padra	Patel Dineshbhai Balubhai	ВЈР	75227	4308
147	Karjan	Satish Patel	BJP	68225	3489
148	Nandod	Tadvi Shabdasharan Bhailalbhai	ВЈР	79580	15727
149	Dediapada	Motilal Vasava	BJP	56471	2555
150	Jambusar	Chhatrasinhji Pujabhai Mori	ВЈР	74864	18730
151	Vagra	Arunsinh Ajitsinh Rana	BJP	68512	14318
152	Zaghadia	Vasava Chhotubhai Amarsinh	JD(U)	66622	13304
153	Bharuch	Dushyantbhai Rajnikant Patel	ВЈР	92219	37190
154	Ankleshwar	Ishwarsinh Thakorbhai Patel	ВЈР	82645	31443
155	Olpad	Patel Mukeshbhai Zinabhai	ВЈР	106805	37058
156	Mangrol	Ganpatsinh Vestabhai Vasava	ВЈР	79255	31106
157	Mandvi	Vasava Parbhubhai Nagarbha	INC	83298	24394
158	Kamrej	Pansheriya Prafulbhai Chhaganbhai	ВЈР	126032	61371
159	Surat East	Gilitwala Ranjitbhai Mangubhai	ВЈР	72649	15789

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
160	Surat North	Choksi Ajaykumar Jashvantlal	BJP	59690	22034
161	Varachha Road	Kanani Kishorbhai Shivabhai	BJP	68529	20359
162	Karanj	Kachhadiya Janakbhai Manjibhai	BJP	65696	49439
163	Limbayat	Patil Sangitaben Rajendrabhai	BJP	79744	30321
164	Udhna	Narottambhai Patel	BJP	74946	32754
165	Majura	Sanghvi Harsh Rameshkumar	ВЈР	103577	71556
166	Katargam	Vanani Nanubhai Bhagavanbhai	BJP	88604	43272
167	Surat West	Kishorbhai Ratilalvankawala	BJP	99099	69731
168	Choryasi	Patel Rajendrabhai Parabhubhai	BJP	119917	67638
169	Bardoli	Parmar Ishwarbhai Alias Anilbhai Ramanbhai	вјр	81049	22272
170	Mahuva	Dhodiya Mohanbhai Dhanjibhai	BJP	74161	11687
171	Vyara	Punabhai Dhedabhai Gamit	INC	73138	13556
172	Nizar	Gamit Kantilalbhai Reshmabhai	ВЈР	90191	9924
173	Dang	Gavit Mangalbhai Gangajibhai	INC	45637	2422

No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Margin
174	Jalalpore	R C Patel	BJP	76797	17867
175	Navsari	Desai Piyushbhai Dinkarbhai	ВЈР	81601	15981
176	Gandevi	Mangubhai Chhaganbhai	ВЈР	104417	26177
177	Vansda	Chaudhari Chhanabhai Kolubhai	INC	105829	25616
178	Dharampur	Patel Ishwarbhai Dhedabhai	INC	82319	15298
179	Valsad	Bharatbhai Kikubhai Patel	BJP	93658	35999
180	Pardi	Kanubhai Mohanlal Desai	BJP	84563	37311
181	Kaprada	Chaudhari Jitubhai Harajibhai	INC	85780	18685
182	Umbergaon	Ramanlal Nanubhai Patkar	BJP	69450	28299

#### **BYPOLLS**

#### 2013

Four seats became vacant in 2012-13. Bypolls for them was held by Election Commission in June 2013. All four seats were held by Indian National Congress members. Morva Hadaf MLA Savitaben Khant died in December 2012 while Limbdi MLA Soma Ganda resigned later as he chose continue as a Member of Parliament. Jayesh Radadiya (Jetpur) and Vitthal Radadiya (Dhoraji) resigned as they left Indian National Congress and joined Bharatiya Janata

Party in March, 2013. In bypolls, INC lost all four seats and BJP won all of them.

The bypoll to Surat West was held on December 4, 2013 due to death of sitting BJP MLA Kishore Wankawala. BJP candidate Purnesh Modi won against INC candidate D I Patel in result declared on December 8, 2013. It was the first time NOTA (None of the above) button introduced in election in Gujarat. It was used by 2307 voters.

No.	Constituency	Former winner	Party	Bypoll winner	Party
61	Limbdi	Kolipatel Somabhai Gandalal	INC	Kiritsinh Rana	BJP
74	Jetpur	Radadiya Jayeshbhai Vitthalbhai	INC	Radadiya Jayeshbhai Vitthalbhai	BJP
75	Dhoraji	Vitthalbhai Hansrajbhai Radadiya	INC	Pravin Mankadiya	BJP
125	Morva Hadaf	Khant Savitaben Vechatbhai	INC	Nimisha Suthar	BJP
167	Surat West	Kishore Wankavala	BJP	Purnesh Modi	BJP

#### 2014

Rapar BJP MLA Vaghjibhai Patel died on January 30, 2014 following heart attack. Lathi MLA Bavku Undhad resigned as he quit INC and joined BJP in January. GPP MLA Keshubhai Patel resigned in February following his ill health. GPP was merged with BJP on 24 February 2014. Nalin Kotadiya who was representing Dhari in assembly, joined BJP along with party. Four more MLAs

Rajendrasinh Chavda, Jashubhai Barad, Chhabilbhai Patel and Parbhubhai Vasava quit INC and resigned as they joined BJP in February. Bypolls for all these seven seats were held on April 30 along with Indian general election, 2014. Voting turnout was 74.84% in Somnath, 70.19% in Abdasa, 56.62% in Rapar, 71.87% in Himmatnagar, 56.06% in Visavadar, 64.86% in Lathi and 67% in Mandvi which stood to an average of 65.92% in all seven constituencies. On May 16, 2014, the result of byepolls was declared along with Indian general election, 2014 result. BJP won four while INC won three seats of seven vacant seats. Out of five constituencies which were held by INC before there representatives joined BJP, they retained only one, Abdasa. BJP candidate Bharat Patel, son of former representative Keshubhai Patel, lost to INC candidate Harshad Ribadiya in Visavadar. Shaktisinh Gohil, the former Leader of Opposition, defeated Chhabil Patel in Abdasa.

No.	Constituency	Former winner		Bypoll winner	Party
6	Rapar	Vaghjibhai Patel	BJP	Pankaj Anopchand Mehta	BJP
87	Visavadar	Keshubhai Patel	GPP	Ribadiya Harshadkumar Madavjibhai	INC
96	Lathi	Bavku Nathabhai Undhad	INC	Bavku Nathabhai Undhad	BJP
90	Somnath	Jashubhai Dhanabhai Barad	INC	Jashubhai Dhanabhai Barad	BJP
27	Himmatnagar	Chavda Rajendrasinh Ranjitsinh	INC	Chavda Rajendrasinh Ranjitsinh	BJP

No.	Constituency	Former winner	Party	Bypoll winner	Party
01	Abdasa	Chhabil Patel	INC	Shaktisinh Gohil	INC
157	Mandvi	Vasava Parbhubhai Nagarbha	INC	Chaudhari Anandbhai Mohanbhai	INC

# Chapter 6 BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY CAMPAIGN FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 2014

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is one of the two major Parties in political circles in India and was the main opposition party during the 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha. It contested the 2014 Parliamentary election as the leading Party of the National Democratic Alliance (India) with Shri Narendra Modi as its Prime Ministerial candidate and Party President Rajnath Singh as the Chief of the Election Campaign. The important issues during the campaign included rising prices, corruption, the economy, security, infrasturcture such as roads, electricity and water.



The Party promised a vibrant and participatory democracy, inclusive and sustainable development, quality life, productive youth, globally competitive economy, open and transparent Government, pro-active and pro-people good governance in its manifesto.

#### **LEADERSHIP**

In March 2013, Shri Narendra Modi was appointed to the BJP Parliamentary Board, the Party's highest decision-making body, and was chosen to be chairman of the Party's Central Election Campaign Committee. On 10 June 2013, Shri Narendra Modi was selected to head the poll campaign for the elections at the national level executive meeting of BJP in Goa.

A fortnight after he was anointed as BJP's Prime Ministerial candidate, Shri Narendra Modi on Sunday relinquished the post of election campaign committee chief to which Party President Shri Rajnath Singh was appointed.

#### **BACKGROUND**

The 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha is due to complete its constitutional term on 31 May 2014. Hence the Parliamentary Election was declared by the Election Commission for the constitution of 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha in India. The election were held in nine phases from 7 April to 12 May 2014. Following its consecutive defeat in the 2004 and 2009 general elections, BJP had been the Principal Opposition Party in parliament and claimed to secure largest number of parliamentary seats under the leadership of its Prime Ministerial candidate Shri Narendra Modi who had been gaining ground for a national role after his continued term of 14 years as Gujarat Chief Minister.

#### ABOUT THE PARTY

The Bharatiya Janata Party is one of the two major Parties in political circles in India. Established in 1980, it is India's second largest Political Party in terms of representation in Parliament and in the various State Assemblies. The BJP's roots lie in the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, formed in 1951 by

Late Syama Prasad Mookerjee. For the 1977 Parliamentary Elections, the Jana Sangh merged with several parties to form the Janata Party to defeat the incumbent Congress Party. Following Janata Party's dissolution in 1980, the rank and file of the erstwhile Jana Sangh reconvened as Although the Bharativa Janata Party. initially unsuccessful, winning only two seats in the 1984 general election, the BJP soon came to power following general elections in 1996, 1998 and 1999. The BJP designates its official ideology and central philosophy to be "integral humanism", based upon a 1965 book by Late Deendayal Upadhyaya. Labelled as right-wing and "Hindu nationalist" by some, the Party advocates social conservatism, selfreliance as outlined by the Swadeshi movement, and a foreign policy centred on nationalist principles. Key issues for the BJP include the abrogation of the special constitutional status to Jammu and Kashmir (Article 370). building a Ram temple in Ayodhya and the implementation of a uniform civil code for all Indians. However, the NDA Government pursued none of these controversial issues and implemented a largely-neoliberal economic policy in favour of globalisation.

#### EXPANSION OF ALLIANCE

Following the declaration of Shri Narendra Modi as the head of the BJP's election campaign, Janata Dal (United) which had been a key ally of NDA for 17 years had walked out of the coalition as it feared Shri Narendra Modi's elevation would wean away its Muslim voters.

#### **ISSUES**

#### CORRUPTION

Corruption is widespread in India. India is ranked 95 out of a 179 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, but its score has improved consistently from 2.7 in 2002 to 3.1 in 2011. Historically, corruption has taken the role of a pervasive aspect of Indian politics and bureaucracy. In India, corruption takes the form of bribes, tax evasion, exchange controls, embezzlement, etc. Since the last general election in 2009, the 2011 Indian anticorruption movement by Anna Hazare, and other similar moves by Baba Ramdev, have gathered momentum and political interest. The anti-corruption movement activist Anna Hazare began a hunger strike at the Jantar Mantar in New Delhi in August 2011 with the chief legislative aim to alleviate corruption in the Indian Government through introduction of the Jan Lokpal Bill. Another aim, spearheaded by Baba Ramdev, was the repatriation of black money from Swiss and other foreign banks.

#### **ECONOMY**

Since 1991, when India undertook a series of reforms in the face of a balance-of-payments crisis, the nation has been governed by a broad agreement about its economy. Starting in 2012, India entered a period of more anaemic growth, with growth slowing down to 4.4%. Other economic problems also became apparent: a plunging Indian rupee, a persistent high current account deficit and slow industrial growth. Hit by the US Federal Reserve's decision to taper quantitative easing, foreign investors had been rapidly pulling out money from India though this has now reversed with the Stock market at near all time high and the current deficit narrowing substantially. Bloomberg account highlighted India's slowing economy amidst a record high current account deficit and a falling rupee in summer 2013. It pointed out to a lack of infrastructure investment and a Government increasingly likely to give subsidies the national finances cannot afford just before the election. Other points it mentioned were stagnant policymaking and an inefficient bureaucracy. The economy was the main issue in the campaign. The lack of a clear mandate as a result of the election could lead to an increase in the price of gold in the country.

#### **INFLATION**

Inflation remains stubbornly high at 7.55% as of August 2012, the highest amotrade (counting exports and imports) stands at \$606.7 billion and is currently the 9<sup>th</sup> largest in the world.

#### **MANIFESTO**

A Manifesto Committee was constituted by the Party to frame a manifesto for the Parliamentary Election. It was led by Shri Murli Manohar Joshi and MP Jaswant Singh, Shri MP Shri Yashwant Sinha, former Himachal Pradesh Chief Minister Shri Prem Kumar Dhumal, Sushil Kumar Modi. Shahnawaz Hussain and others as the Members of the Committee. On 7 April 2014, the day when the first phase of the Lok Sabha polls began, BJP unveiled its election manifesto. The manifesto covered a wide range of issues ranging from economic growth to social sector The manifesto focused on improving the problems. economy and infrastructure, ending policy country's and curbing wide spread corruption. The paralysis manifesto sought to achieve following aims:

- **Price Rise:** Manifesto proposed to lower inflation by taking steps such as, special Courts to stop hoarding and black marketing, setting up a Price Stabilization Fund, evolving a single 'National Agriculture Market, leveraging on technology to disseminate real time data, area specific crops and vegetables linked to food habits of the people.
- **Corruption:** The BJP said that to eliminate the scope of corruption, it will emphasise on technology enabled e-Governance. Apart from that public awareness, policy-driven governance and

- simplification of the tax regime have also been cited as solutions to the problem of corruption.
- **E-Governance:** There was a special mention of e-Governance and IT as an enabler of empowerment. The manifesto said that BJP will focus on increasing the penetration and usage of broadband across the country, leverage technology for e-Governance, generate IT based jobs in rural and semi-urban areas, use mobile and e-Banking to ensure financial inclusion.
- Open Govt., Accountable Administration: The manifesto said that Administrative reforms will be a priority for the BJP if it comes to power in the elections. The measures will include digitisation of Government records, opening up Government to draw expertise from the industry, academia and society into the services. BJP also emphasised that the hallmarks of its governance model would be Peoplecentric, Policy driven, Time bound delivery, Minimum Government, Maximum Governance.

The manifesto reiterated BJP's stand to explore all possibilities within the framework of the Constitution to facilitate the construction of the Ram Temple in Avodhya. Touching the other contentious issues like abrogation of Art 370 giving special status to Jammu and Kashmir and enactment of Uniform Civil Code were included in the manifesto. The manifesto gave high priority to revival of growth and job creation, but remained silent on the number of jobs to be created. It said no to FDI in multi-brand retail but said that FDI will be allowed in sectors wherever needed for job and asset creation, infrastructure and acquisition of niche technology and specialised expertise. The party promised to set up a Price Stabilisation Fund to check inflation, ensure fiscal discipline and pursue banking sector reforms to deal with the problem of rising bad loans. The manifesto said that a dedicated fund will be created for integrated development of Himalayan region. BJP

promised to bring all states on board to implement GST. The manifesto promised launch of Diamond Quadrilateral project of high speed train network and it sought to develop freight and industrial corridors and boost development of coastal areas through 'Sagar Mala' project.

#### **RALLIES**



Shri Narendra Modi addressing his first rally after being declared as the Prime Ministerial candidate of the NDA at Rewari, Haryana.

The BJP tried to redefine the idea of election rallies by pitching in experts from event management companies, advertisement firms and using technology for the maximum impact. The rallies were organised like a corporate event with the Party employing all the tools to reach out to the voters. Beginning on 26 March 2014 The PM candidate Narendra Modi planned to address 185 'Bharat Vijay' rallies across the country covering a total of 295 constituencies. Apart from the Prime Ministerial candidate of BJP the Party President Shri Rajnath Singh also planned to address about 155 to 160 election rallies in various constituencies. Senior leaders of the Party L. K. Advani, Sushma Swaraj, Arun Jaitley and Murli Manohar

Joshi and Chief Ministers of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Goa also decided to campaign in many constituencies.

#### PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES

The BJP fielded as many as 427 candidates and a total of 543 candidates including the Parties in NDA. The Prime Ministerial candidate Narendra Modi's candidature was fielded from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. At the same time, he was also fielded from Vadodara in his home region of Gujarat. L. K. Advani was given the Gandhinagar seat from Gujarat. BJP president Rajnath Singh shifted to Lucknow away from home constituency of Ghaziabad. Arun Jaitley, who contested for the Lok Sabha seat for the first time, was fielded from Amritsar. Party leader Sushma Swaraj is contested from home constituency of Vidisha. Party's vice-president Smriti Irani was fielded from high profile constituency of Amethi. Nomination of BJP candidate S. Gurumurthy was rejected from Niligiris for failing to submit mandatory forms during his nomination.

#### CHAI PE CHARCHA

Chai Pe Charcha is an innovative campaign organaised by the BJP along with the Citizens for Accountable Governance. In this campaign, the BJP's Prime Ministerial Candidate for 2014 General Elections, Shri Narendra Modi, interacted with people at a tea stall in the predetermined places using a combination of satellite, DTH, internet and mobile.

# Chapter 7 LIST OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE CANDIDATES IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 2014

#### **CONSTITUENCIES BY STATE**

### ANDHRA PRADESH (42)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Adilabad	ST	Ramesh Rathod	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
2	Peddapalli	SC	Dr. Sarath Kumar	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
3	Karimnagar	None	Ch. Vidyasagar Rao	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
4	Nizamabad	None	Endela Lakshminarayana	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
5	Zahirabad	None	K Madan Mohan Rao	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
6	Medak	None	Chagendla Narendranath	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
7	Malkajgiri	None	CH Malla Reddy	Telugu Desam Party	Won	April 30
8	Secunderabad	None	Bandaru Dattatreya	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
9	Hyderabad	None	Dr. Bhagawanth Rao	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 30
10	Chevella	None	Veerender Tulla	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
11	Mahbubnagar	None	Nagam Janardhana Reddy	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
12	Nagarkurnool	SC	Bakkan Narasimhulu	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
13	Nalgonda	None	Tera Chinnappa Reddy	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	April 30
14	Bhongir	None	Nallu Indrasena Reddy	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
15	Warangal	sc	Dr. Ramagalla Parameswar	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
16	Mahabubabad	ST	Banoth Mohanlal	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
17	Khammam	None	Nama Nageswara Rao	Telugu Desam Party		April 30
18	Araku	ST	Gummadi Sandhyarani	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
19	Srikakulam	None	K Rammohan Naidu	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
20	Vizianagaram	None	Ashok Gajapati	Telugu Desam	Won	May

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Raju	Party		7
21	Visakhapatnam	None	Dr. K Haribabu	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
22	Anakapalli	None	Avanti Srinivasa Rao	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
23	Kakinada	None	Thota Narasimham	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
24	Amalapuram	SC	Dr P.Ravindra Babu	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
25	Rajahmundry	None	Maganti Muralimohan	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
26	Anantapur	None	JC Diwakar Reddy	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
27	Naraspur	None	Gokaraju Gangaraju	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
28	Eluru	None	Maganti Venkateswara Rao	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
29	Machilipatnam	None	Konakalla Narayana	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
30	Vijayawada	None	Kesineni Nani	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
31	Guntur	None	Galla Jayadev	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
32	Narasaraopet	None	Rayapati Sambasiva Rao	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
33	Bapatla	SC	Sriram Malyadri	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
34	Ongole	None	Magunta Sreenivasulu Reddy	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
35	Nandyal	None	NMD Farookh	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
36	Kurnool	None	B.T. Naidu	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
37	Hindupur	None	Nimmala Kishtappa	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7
38	Kadapa	None	M Srinivasulu Reddy	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
39	Nellore	None	Adala Prabhakar Reddy	Telugu Desam Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
40	Tirupathi	SC	Karumanchi Jayaram	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
41	Rajampet	None	Daggubati Purandeswari	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	May 7
42	Chittoor	SC	N Sivaprasad	Telugu Desam Party	Won	May 7

# ARUNACHAL PRADESH (2)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Arunachal West	None	Kiren Rijiju	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by NERPF)	Won	April 9
2	Arunachal East	None	Tapir Gao	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by NERPF) <sup>[</sup>	Lost (#2)	April 9

# ASSAM (14)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/ None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Karimganj	SC	Krishna Das	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 12
2	Silchar	None	Kabindra Purkayastha	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (2)	April 12
3	Autonomous District	ST	Joyram Engleng	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 12
4	Dhubri	None	Dr. Debomoy Sanyal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 24
5	Kokrajhar	ST	Urkhao Gwra Brahma	Independent (Supported by BJP and ABSU)	Lost (#2)	April 24

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/ None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
6	Barpeta	None	Chandra Mohan Patowari	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 24
7	Gauhati	None	Bijoya Chakraborty	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
8	Mangaldoi	None	Ramen Deka	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
9	Tezpur	None	Ram Prasad Sharma	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 7
10	Nowgong	None	Rajen Gohain	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
11	Kaliabor	None	Mrinal Kumar Saikia	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 7
12	Jorhat	None	Kamakhya Prasad Tasa	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 7
13	Dibrugarh	None	Rameswar Teli	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 7
14	Lakhimpur	None	Sarbananda Sonowal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 7

# **BIHAR** (40)

	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Valmiki Nagar	None	Satish Chandra Dubey	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 12
2	Paschim Champaran	None	Dr. Sanjay Jayaswal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 12
3	Purvi Champaran	None	Radha Mohan Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 12
4	Sheohar	None	Rama Devi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
5	Sitamarhi	None	Ram Kumar Sharma	Rashtriya Lok Samata Party	Won	May 7
6	Madhubani	None	Hukumdev Narayan Yadav	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
7	Jhanjharpur	None	Virendra Kumar Choudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
8	Supaul	None	Kameshwar Choupal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 24
9	Araria	None	Pradeep Kumar Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 24
10	Kishanganj	None	Dr. Dilip Kumar Jaiswal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 24
11	Katihar	None	Nikhil Kumar	Bharatiya Janata	Lost	April

	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Choudhary	Party	(#2)	24
12	Purnia	None	Uday Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 24
13	Madhepura	None	Vijay Kumar Kushwaha	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#3)	April 30
14	Darbhanga	None	Kirti Azad	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
15	Muzaffarpur	None	Ajay Nishad	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
16	Vaishali	None	Rama Kishor Singh	Lok Janshakti Party	Won	May 12
17	Gopalganj	sc	Janak Ram	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 12
18	Siwan	None	Om Prakash Yadav	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 12
19	Maharajganj	None	Janardan Singh Sigriwal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
20	Saran	None	Rajiv Pratap Rudy	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
21	Hajipur	sc	Ram Vilas Paswan	Lok Janshakti Party	Won	May 7
22	Ujiarpur	None	Nityanand Rai	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7

	Constituency	Constituency Reserved for (SC/ST/None)		Party	Result	Poll Date
23	Samastipur	sc	Ram Chandra Paswan	Lok Janshakti Party	Won	April 30
24	Begusarai	None	Bhola Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
25	Khagaria	None	Chaudhary Mehboob Kaisar	Lok Janshakti Party	Won	April 30
26	Bhagalpur	None	Syed Shahnawaz Hussain	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 24
27	Banka	None	Putul Devi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 24
28	Munger	None	Veena Devi	Lok Janshakti Party	Won	April 17
29	Nalanda	None	Satyanand Sharma	Lok Janshakti Party	Lost (#2)	April 17
30	Patna Sahib	None	Shatrughan Sinha	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
31	Pataliputra	None	Ram Kripal Yadav	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
32	Arrah	None	R.K.Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
33	Buxar	None	Ashwani Kumar Choubey	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
34	Sasaram	SC	Chhedi Paswan	Bharatiya	Won	April

	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Janata Party		10
35	Karakat	None	Upendra Kushwaha	Rashtriya Lok Samata Party	Won	April 10
36	Jahanabad	None	Dr. Arun Kumar	Rashtriya Lok Samata Party	Won	April 17
37	Aurangabad	None	Sushil Kumar Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
38	Gaya	SC	Hari Manjhi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
39	Nawada	None	Giriraj Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
40	Jamui	SC	Chirag Paswan	Lok Janshakti Party	Won	April 10

# CHHATTISGARH (11)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Otobibaro'	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Sarguja	ST	Kamalbhan Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
2	Raigarh	ST	Vishnudeo Sai	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
3	Janjgir-	SC	Kamla Devi	Bharatiya Janata	Won	April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
	Champa		Patle	Party		24
4	Korba	None	Dr. Banshilal Mahato	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
5	Bilaspur	None	Lakhanlal Sau	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
6	Rajnandgaon	None	Abhishek Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
7	Durg	None	Sushree Saroj Pandey	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 24
8	Raipur	None	Ramesh Bais	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
9	Mahasamund	None	Chandu Lal Sahu	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
10	Bastar	ST	Dinesh Kashyap	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
11	Kanker	ST	Vikram Usendi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17

# GOA (2)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	North Goa			Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by MGP	won	April 12

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				and GVP)		
2	South Goa	None	Narendra Keshav Sawaikar	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by MGP'and GVP)	WYON	April 12

# GUJARAT (26)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Kachchh	SC	Vinodbhai Chavda	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
2	Banaskantha	None	Haribhai Chaudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
3	Patan	None	Liladharbhai Vaghela	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
4	Mahesana	None	Jayshreeben Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
5	Sabarkantha	None	Deep Sinh Rathore	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
6	Gandhinagar	None	Lal Krishna Advani	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
7	Ahmedabad East	None	Paresh Rawal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
8	Ahmedabad West	SC	Dr. Kirit Premjibhai Solanki	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
9	Surendranagar	None	Devjibhai Fatepura	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
10	Rajkot	None	Mohan Kundariya	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
11	Porbandar	None	Vitthalbhai Radadiya	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
12	Jamnagar	None	Poonamben Madam	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
13	Junagadh	None	Rajesh Chudasama	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
14	Amreli	None	Naranbhai Kachhadia	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
15	Bhavnagar	None	Bharatiben Dhirubhai Shiyal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
16	Anand	None	Dilipbhai Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
17	Kheda	None	Debusingh Chouhan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
18	Panchmahal	None	Prabhatsingh Chouhan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
19	Dahod	ST	Jasvantsinh	Bharatiya Janata	Won	April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Bhabhor	Party		30
20	Vadodara	None	Narendra Modi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
21	Chhota Udaipur	ST	Ramsinh Rathwa	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
22	Bharuch	None	Mansukhbhai Vasava	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
23	Bardoli	ST	Prabhubhai Vasava	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
24	Surat	None	Darshana Jardosh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
25	Navsari	None	Chandrakant Raghunath Patil	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
26	Valsad	ST	Dr. K.C. Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30

#### HARYANA (10)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Ambala	ISC:	Rattan Lal Kataria	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
2	Kurukshetra	None	Rajkumar Saini	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
3	Sirsa	SC	Sushil Indora	Haryana Janhit Congress (BL)	Won	April 10
4	Hissar	None	Kuldeep Bishnoi	Haryana Janhit Congress (BL)		April 10
5	Karnal	None	Ashwini Kumar Chopra	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
6	Sonepat	None	Ramesh shukla	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
7	Rohtak	None	Om Prakash Dhankar	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
8	Bhiwani- Mahendragarh	None	Dharamveer	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
9	Gurgaon	None	Rao Inderjit Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
10	Faridabad	None	Krishan Pal Gurjar	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

# HIMACHAL PRADESH (4)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Kangra	None	Snanta Kumar	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Kesult	Poll Date
2	Mandi	None	Ram Swaroop Sharma	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
3	Hamirpur	None	Anurag Thakur	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
4	Shimla	SC	Virender Kashyap	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7

# JAMMU AND KASHMIR (6)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
3	Anantnag	None	Mushtaq Ahmad Malik	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 24
1	Baramulla	None	Gulam Mohammad Meer	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	May 7
6	Jammu	None	Jugal Kishore Sharma	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
4	Ladakh	ST	Thupstan Chhewang	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 7
2	Srinagar	None	Fayaz Ahmed Bhat (Formerly Arif Majeed Pampori)	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 30
5	Udhampur	None	Dr. Jitendra Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17

#### JHARKHAND (14)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Rajmahal	ST	Hemlal Murmu	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
2	Dumka	ST	Sunil Soren	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
3	Godda	None	Nishikant Dubey	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
4	Chatra	None	Sunil Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
5	Kodarma	None	Dr. Ravindra Kumar Rai	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
6	Giridih	None	Ravindra Kumar Pandey	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
7	Dhanbad	None	Pashupati Nath Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
8	Ranchi	None	Ramtahal Chaudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
9	Jamshedpur	None	Vidhyut Mahato	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
10	Singhbhum	SC	Laxman Giluwa	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
11	Khunti	ST	Kariya Munda	Bharatiya Janata		April 17

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Party		
12	Lohardaga	ST	Sudarshan Bhagat	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
13	Palamau	SC	Vishnu Dayal Ram	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
14	Hazaribagh	None	Jayant Sinha	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17

#### KARNATAKA (28)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Chikkodi	None	Ramesh Vishwanath Katti	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
2	Belgaum	None	Suresh C. Angadi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
3	Bagalkot	None	P. C. Gaddigoudar	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
4	Bijapur	SC	Ramesh C. Jigajinagi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
5	Gulbarga	SC	Revu Naik Belamgi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
6	Raichur	ST	K. Shivanagouda Naik	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
7	Bidar	None	Bhagwant Khuba	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
8	Koppal	None	Karadi A. Sanganna	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
9	Bellary	ST	B. Sriramulu	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
10	Haveri	None	Shivakumar Udasi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
11	Dharwad	None	Pralhad Joshi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
12	Uttara Kannada	None	Anant Kumar Hegde	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
13	Davanagere	None	G. M. Siddeswara	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
14	Shimoga	None	B. S. Yeddyurappa	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
15	Udupi Chikmagalur	None	Shobha Karandlaje	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
16	Hassan	None	C. H. Vijayashankar	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
17	Dakshina Kannada	None	Nalin Kumar Kateel	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
18	Chitradurga	SC	Janardhana	Bharatiya Janata	Lost	April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Swamy	Party		17
19	Tumkur	None	G. S. Basavaraj	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
20	Mandya	None	Shivalingaiah	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
21	Mysore	None	Prathap Simha	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
22	Chamarajanagar	SC	A. R. Krishna Murthy	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
23	Bangalore Rural	None	P. Muniraja Gowda	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
24	Bangalore North	None	D. V. Sadananda Gowda	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
25	Bangalore Central	None	P. C. Mohan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
26	Bangalore South	None	Ananth Kumar	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
27	Chikballapur	None	B. N. Bachche Gowda	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17
28	Kolar	SC	M. Narayanaswamy	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 17

# KERALA (20)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Kasaragod	None	K Surendran	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
2	Kannur	None	P.C. Mohanan Master	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
3	Vadakara	None	V.K. Sajeeva	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
4	Wayanad	None	P.R. Rasmilnath	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
5	Kozhikode	None	C.K. Padmanabhan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
6	Malappuram	None	Adv. Sreeprakash	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
7	Ponnani	None	K. Narayanan Master	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
8	Palakkad	None	Sobha Surendran	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
9	Alathur	SC	Shajumon Vattekad	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
10	Thrissur	None	K.P. Sreesan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
11	Chalakudy	None	Adv. B. Gopalakrishnan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
12	Ernakulam	None	A.N. Radhakrishnan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
13	Idukki	None	Adv. Sabu Varghese	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
14	Kottayam	None	Noble Mathew	Kerala Congress (Nationalist)	Lost	April 10

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
15	Alappuzha	None	A.V. Thamarakshan	Revolutionary Socialist Party (Bolshevik)	Lost	April 10
16	Mavelikara	SC	P.Sudheer	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
17	Pathanamthitta	None	M. T. Ramesh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
18	Kollam	None	P.M. Velayudhan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
19	Attingal	None	Girijakumari S	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10
20	Thiruvananthapuram	None	O. Rajagopal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	April 10

#### MADHYA PRADESH (29)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Rocult	Poll Date
1	Morena	None	Anup Mishra	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
2	Bhind	SC	Bhagirath Prasad Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
3	Gwalior	None	Narendra Singh Tomar	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
4	Guna	None	Jaibhan Singh Pavaiya	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
5	Sagar	None	Laxmi Narayan Yadav	Bharatiya Janata		April 17

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Party		
6	Tikamgarh	SC	Virendra Kumar Khatik	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
7	Damoh	None	Prahlad Singh Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
8	Khajuraho	None	Nagendra Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
9	Satna	None	Ganesh Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
10	Rewa	None	Janardan Mishra	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
11	Sidhi	None	Riti Pathak	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
12	Shahdol	ST	Dalpat Singh Paraste	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
13	Jabalpur	None	Rakesh Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
14	Mandla	ST	Faggan Singh Kulaste	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
15	Balaghat	None	Bodh Singh Bhagat	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
16	Chhindwara	None	Chandrabhan Singh Chaudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Poll Date
17	Hoshangabad	None	Uday Pratap Singh ( Madhya Pradesh politician)	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 10
18	Vidisha	None	Sushma Swaraj	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
19	Bhopal	None	Alok Sanjar	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 17
20	Rajgarh	None	Rodmal Nagar	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 17
21	Dewas	SC	Manohar Utwal	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
22	Ujjain	SC	Prof. Chintamani Malviya	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
23	Mandsaur	None	Sudhir Gupta	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
24	Ratlam	ST	Dilip Singh Bhuria	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
25	Dhar	ST	Savitri Thakur	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
26	Indore	None	Sumitra Mahajan	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24
27	Khargone	ST	Subhash Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party	April 24

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
28	Khandwa	None	Singh Chauhan	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
29	Betul	ST	Jyoti Dhurve	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24

#### MAHARASHTRA (48)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Nandurbar	ST	Heena Vijaykumar Gavit	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
2	Dhule	None	Subhash Bhamre	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
3	Jalgaon	None	Ashok Tapiram Patil	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
4	Raver	None	Raksha Khadse	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
5	Buldhana	None	Prataprao Jadhav	Shiv Sena	Won	April 10
6	Akola	None	Sanjya Dhotre	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
7	Amravati	SC	Anandrao Adsul	Shiv Sena	Won	April 10
8	Wardha	None	Ramdas Tadas	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
9	Ramtek	SC	Krupal Tumane	Shiv Sena	Won	April 10
10	Nagpur	None	Nitin Gadkari	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
11	Bhandara- Gondiya	None	Nana Patole	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
12	Gadchiroli- Chimur	ST	Ashok Nete	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
13	Chandrapur	None	Hansraj Ahir	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
14	Yavatmal- Washim	None	Bhavna Gawli	Shiv Sena	Won	April 10
15	Hingoli	None	Subhash Wankhede	Shiv Sena	Lost (#2)	April 17
16	Nanded	None	D.B. Patil	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost (#2)	April 17
17	Parbhani	None	Sanjay Jadhav	Shiv Sena	Won	April 17
18	Jalna	None	Ravsaheb Danve Patil	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
19	Aurangabad	None	Chandrakant Khaire	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
20	Dindori	ST	Harischandra Chavan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
21	Nashik	None	Hemant Godse	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
22	Palghar	ST	Chintaman Vanga	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
23	Bhiwandi	None	Kapil Patil	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
24	Kalyan	None	Dr. Shrikant Shinde	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
25	Thane	None	Rajan Vichare	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
26	Mumbai North	None	Gopal Shetty	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
27	Mumbai North West	None	Gajanan Kirtikar	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
28	Mumbai North East	None	Dr. Kirit Somaiya	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
29	Mumbai North Central	None	Poonam Mahajan Rao	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
30	Mumbai South Central	None	Rahul Shewale	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
31	Mumbai South	None	Arvind Sawant	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
32	Raigad	None	Anant Geete	Shiv Sena	Won	April 24
33	Maval	None	Shrirang Chandu Barane	Shiv Sena	Won	April 17
34	Pune	None	Anil Shirole	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
35	Baramati	None	Mahadev Jankar	Rashtriya Samaj Paksha	Lost (#2)	April 17
36	Shirur	None	Shivajirao Adhalarao Patil	Shiv Sena	Won	April 17
37	Ahmednagar	None	Dilip Gandhi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
38	Shirdi	SC	Sadashiv Lokhande	Shiv Sena	Won	April 17
39	Beed	None	Gopinath Munde	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
40	Osmanabad	None	Ravindra Gaikwad	Shiv Sena	Won	April 17
41	Latur	SC	Dr. Sunil Gaikwad	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
42	Solapur	SC	Sharad Bansode	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
43	Madha	None	Sadabhau Khot	Swabhimani Paksha	Lost (#2)	April 17
44	Sangli	None	Sanjaykaka Patil	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
45	Satara	None	Ashok Waman Gaikwad	Republican Party of India (Athvale)	Lost (#4)	April 17
46	Ratnagiri– Sindhudurg	None	Vinayak Raut	Shiv Sena	Won	April 17

Constituency No.	( 'onetitiioness	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	( 'andidata	Party	Result	Poll Date
47	Kolhapur	INODA	Mandlik	Shiv Sena	Lost (#2)	April 17
48	Hatkanangle	None	Raju Shetti	Swabhimani Paksha	Won	April 17

#### MANIPUR (2)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Inner Manipur	None	R.K. Ranjan Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by MPP and NERPF)		April 9
2	Outer Manipur	ST	Gangmumei Kamei	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by MPP and NERPF)	Won	April 17

#### MEGHALAYA (2)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Kesult	Poll Date
1	Shillong	None	Shibun Lyngdoh	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by NERPF)		April 9
2	Tura	ST	P. A. Sangma	National People's Party		April 9

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				(India)		

#### MIZORAM (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Mizoram	ST		United Democratic Front	Lost	April 9

# NAGALAND (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Kesult	Poll Date
1	Nagaland	None	Neiphiu Rio	Naga People's Front (Supported by JDU and NCP)		April 9

### ODISHA (21)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Regult	Poll Date
1	Bargarh	None	Subash Chauhan	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
2	Sundargarh	ST	Jual Oram	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
3	Sambalpur	None	Suresh Pujari	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
4	Keonjhar	ST	Ananta Nayak	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
5	Mayurbhanj	ST	Dr. Nepol Raghu Murmu	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
6	Balasore	None	Pratap Sarangi	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
7	Bhadrak	SC	Sarat Dash	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
8	Jajpur	sc	Amiya Mallick	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
9	Dhenkanal	None	Rudra Narayan Pani	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
10	Bolangir	None	Sangeeta Kumari Singh Deo	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
11	Kalahandi	None	Pradeep Nayak	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
12	Nabarangpur	ST	Parsuram Majhi	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
13	Kandhamal	None	Sukanta Panigrahi	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
14	Cuttack	None	Sameer Dey	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
15	Kendrapara	None	Bishnu Das	Bharatiya Janata		April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Regult	Poll Date
				Party		17
16	Jagatsinghpur	SC	Baidhar Mallik	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
17	Puri	None	Ashok Sahu	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
18	Bhubaneswar	None	Pruthwiraj Harichandan	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
19	Aska	None	Mahesh Mohanty	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
20	Berhampur	None	Rama Chandra Panda	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
21	Koraput	ST	Shibashankar Ulka	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

### PUNJAB (13)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Gurdaspur	None	Vinod Khanna	Bharatiya Janata Party	vv on	April 30
2	Amritsar	None	Arun Jaitley	Bharatiya Janata Party	II ACT	April 30
3	Khadoor Sahib	None	Ranjit Singh Brahampura	Shiromani Akali Dal	Won	April 30
4	Jalandhar	SC	Pawan Tinoo	Shiromani	Lost	April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Akali Dal		30
5	Hoshiarpur	SC	Vijay Sampla	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30
6	Anandpur Sahib	None	Prem Singh Chandumajra	Shiromani Akali Dal	Won	April 30
7	Ludhiana	None	Manpreet Singh Ayali	Shiromani Akali Dal	Lost	April 30
8	Fatehgarh Sahib	sc	Kulwant Singh	Shiromani Akali Dal	Lost	April 30
9	Faridkot	SC	Paramjit Kaur Gulshan	Shiromani Akali Dal	Lost	April 30
10	Firozpur	None	Sher Singh Ghubaya	Shiromani Akali Dal	Won	April 30
11	Bathinda	None	Harsimrat Kaur Badal	Shiromani Akali Dal	Won	April 30
12	Sangrur	None	Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa	Shiromani Akali Dal	Lost	April 30
13	Patiala	None	Deependra Singh Dhillon	Shiromani Akali Dal	Lost	April 30

#### RAJASTHAN (25)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Ganganagar	ISC:	Nihalchand Meghwal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
2	Bikaner	SC	Arjun Ram Meghwal	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
3	Churu	None	Rahul Kaswa	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
4	Jhunjhunu	None	Santosh Ahlawat	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
5	Sikar	None	Swami Sumedanand	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
6	Jaipur Rural	None	Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
7	Jaipur	None	Ramcharan Vohra	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
8	Alwar	None	Mahant Chandnath	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
9	Bharatpur	SC	Bahadur Koli	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
10	Karauli- Dholpur	SC	Dr. Manoj Rajoriya	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
11	Dausa	ST	Harish Meena	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
12	Tonk-Sawai Madhopur	None	Sukhbir Singh Jaunapuria	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 24
13	Ajmer	None	Sanwarmal Jat	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
14	Nagaur	None	Chhotu Ram	Bharatiya Janata	Won	April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Chaudhary	Party		17
15	Pali	None	P.P. Choudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
16	Jodhpur	None	Gajendra Singh Shekhawat	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
17	Barmer	None	Col. Sona Ram Choudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
18	Jalore	None	Devji M Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
19	Udaipur	ST	Arjun Meena	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
20	Banswara	ST	Manshankar Ninama	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
21	Chittorgarh	None	C. P. Joshi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
22	Rajsamand	None	Hari Om Singh Rathore	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
23	Bhilwara	None	Subhash Chandra Baheria	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
24	Kota	None	Om Birla	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17
25	Jhalawar- Baran	None	Dushyant Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 17

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date	

### SIKKIM (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Sikkim	None	IN B	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 12

# TAMIL NADU (39)

Constitue ncy No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/No ne)	Candidate	Party	Result	Pol l Dat e
1	Thiruvallur	SC	V Yuvaraj	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
2	Chennai North	None	M Soundarapand ian	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
3	Chennai South	None	La Ganesan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	Apr il 24
4	Chennai Central	None	J K Raveendran	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
5	Sriperumbudu r	None	Masilamani	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24

Constitue ncy No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/No ne)	Candidate	Party	Result	Pol l Dat e
6	Kancheepura m	SC	Mallai Sathya	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
7	Arakkonam	None	R. Velu	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
8	Vellore	None	A. C. Shanmugam	Bharatiya Janata Party (New Justice Party Under BJP's Election Symbol)	Lost	Apr il 24
9	Krishnagiri	None	G. K. Mani	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
10	Dharmapuri	None	Anbumani Ramadoss	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Won	Apr il 24
11	Tiruvannamal ai	None	Ethiroli Maniyan	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
12	Arani	None	A. K. Moorthy	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
13	Villupuram	SC	K Umashankar	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
14	Kallakurichi	None	V P Eswaran	Desiya Murpokku Dravida	Lost	Apr

Constitue ncy No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/No ne)	Candidate	Party	Result	Pol l Dat e
				Kazhagam		24
15	Salem	None	L K Sudheesh	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
16	Namakkal	None	S K Vel	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
17	Tiruppur	None	N Dineshkumar	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
18	Erode	None	A. Ganesha Murthi	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
19	Nilgiris	SC	S. Gurumurthy (nomination rejected for failing to submit mandatory forms during his nomination.)	Bharatiya Janata Party	Nominati on Rejected	Apr il 24
20	Coimbatore	None	C. P. Radhakrishna n	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	Apr il 24
21	Pollachi	None	E. R. Eswaran	Kongunadu Makkal Desia Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
22	Dindigul	None	A Krishnamurth	Desiya Murpokku	Lost	Apr il

Constitue ncy No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/No ne)	Candidate	Party	Result	Pol l Dat e
			У	Dravida Kazhagam		24
23	Karur	None	N S Krishnan	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
24	Tiruchirappall i	None	AMG Vijayakumar	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
25	Perambalur	None	T. R. Pachamuthu	Indhiya Jananayag a Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
26	Cuddalore	None	CR Jayashankar	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
27	Chidambaram	SC	KI Maniratnam (nomination rejected[uhyt]) Sudha Manirathinem	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
28	Mayiladuturai	None	Agoram K	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
29	Nagapattinam	SC	Vadivel Ravanan	Pattali Makkal Katchi	Lost	Apr il 24
30	Thanjavur	None	Karuappa M. Murugananth am	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	Apr il 24
31	Sivaganga	None	H.Raja	Bharatiya Janata	Lost	Apr il

Constitue ncy No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/No ne)	Candidate	Party	Result	Pol l Dat e
				Party		24
32	Madurai	None	T Sivamuthuku mar	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
33	Theni	None	Azhagu Sundharam	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
34	Virudhunagar	None	V Gopalsamy (Vaiko)	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
35	Ramanathapu ram	None	D.Kuppuramu	Bharatiya Janata Party	Lost	Apr il 24
36	Thoothukudi	None	Joel	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
37	Tenkasi	SC	T. Sadhan Tirumalaikum ar	Marumalar chi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
38	Tirunelveli	None	S Sivanandha Perumal	Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam	Lost	Apr il 24
39	Kanyakumari	None	Pon Radhakrishna n	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	Apr il 24

#### TRIPURA (2)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Recult	Poll Date
1	Tripura West	None	Sudhindra Chandra Dasgupta	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by NERPF)		April 7
2	Tripura East	ST	Parikshit Debbarma	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by NERPF)		April 12

#### UTTAR PRADESH(80)



Narendra Modi, Chief Minister of Gujarat and Prime Ministerial candidate of the BJP was parliamentary candidate in Varanasi and won.

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Saharanpur	None	Raghav Lakhanpal	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
2	Kairana	None	Hukum Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
3	Muzaffarnagar	None	Dr.Sanjeev Balyan	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
4	Bijnor	None	Bhartendu Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
5	Nagina	SC	Dr. Yashwant Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
6	Moradabad	None	Kunwar Sarvesh Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
7	Rampur	None	Dr. Naipal Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
8	Sambhal	None	Satyapal Saini	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
9	Amroha	None	Kanwar Singh Tanwar	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
10	Meerut	None	Rajendra Agrawal	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
11	Baghpat	None	Dr. Satyapal Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
12	Ghaziabad	None	General (Retd.) V.K. Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
13	Gautam Buddha Nagar	None	Dr. Mahesh Sharma	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
14	Bulandshahr	SC	Dr. Bhola Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
15	Aligarh	None	Satish Goutam	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10
16	Hathras	SC	Rajesh Diwakar	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
17	Mathura	None	Hema Malini	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
18	Agra	SC	Prof. Ram Shankar Katheriya	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
19	Fatehpur Sikri	None	Choudhary Babulal	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
20	Firozabad	None	S. P. Singh Baghel	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
21	Mainpuri	None	B.S.S. Chouhan	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
22	Etah	None	Rajveer Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
23	Badaun	None	Vagish Pathak	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
24	Aonla	None	Dharmendra Kashyap	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
25	Bareilly	None	Santosh Gangwar	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
26	Pilibhit	None	Menaka Gandhi	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
27	Shahjahanpur	SC	Smt. Krishna Raj	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
28	Kheri	None	Ajay Mishra Taini	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
29	Dhaurahra	None	Smt. Rekha Verma	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
30	Sitapur	None	Rajesh Verma	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
31	Hardoi	SC	Anshul Verma	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
32	Misrikh	SC	Anju Bala	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
33	Unnao	None	Harisakshi Maharaj	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
34	Mohanlalganj	SC	Kaushal Kishore	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
35	Lucknow	None	Rajnath Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
36	Rae Bareli	None	Ajay Aggarwal	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
37	Amethi	None	Smriti Irani	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
38	Sultanpur	None	Varun Gandhi	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
39	Pratapgarh	None	Harivansh Singh	Apna Dal		May 7
40	Farrukhabad	None	Mukesh Rajput	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
41	Etawah	SC	Ashok Dohre	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
42	Kannauj	None	Subrat Pathak	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
43	Kanpur Urban	None	Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
44	Akbarpur	None	Devendra Bhole	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
45	Jalaun	SC	Bhanu Pratap	Bharatiya Janata		April

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Singh Verma	Party		30
46	Jhansi	None	Uma Bharti	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
47	Hamirpur	None	Pushpendra Singh Chandel	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
48	Banda	None	Bhairon Prasad Mishra	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
49	Fatehpur	None	Sadhvi Niranjan Jyoti	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
50	Kaushambi	SC	Vinok Sonkar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
51	Phulpur	None	Keshav Mourya	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
52	Allahabad	None	Shyama Charan Gupt	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
53	Barabanki	SC	Priyanka Singh Rawat	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
54	Faizabad	None	Lallu Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
55	Ambedkar Nagar	None	Hariom Pandey	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
56	Bahraich	SC	Savitri Bai	Bharatiya Janata		May

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Phule	Party		7
57	Kaiserganj	None	Brijbhushan Sharan Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
58	Shrawasti	None	Daddan Mishra	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
59	Gonda	None	Kirti Vardhan Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
60	Domariyaganj	None	Jagdambika Pal	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
61	Basti	None	Harish Dwivedi	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
62	Sant Kabir Nagar	None	Sharad Tripathi	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
63	Maharajganj	None	Pankaj Choudhary	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
64	Gorakhpur	None	Yogi Adityanath	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
65	Kushi Nagar	None	Rajesh Pandey	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
66	Deoria	None	Kalraj Mishra	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
67	Bansgaon	SC	Kamlesh Paswan	Bharatiya Janata		May 12

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Party		
68	Lalganj	SC	Neelam Sonkar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
69	Azamgarh	None	Ramakant Yadav	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
70	Ghosi	None	Harinarayan Rajbhar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
71	Salempur	None	Ravindra Kushwaha	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
72	Ballia	None	Bharat Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
73	Jaunpur	None	K.P. Singh	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
74	Machhlishahr	SC	Ramcharitra Nishad	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
75	Ghazipur	None	Manoj Sinha	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
76	Chandauli	None	Mahendra Nath Pandey	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
77	Varanasi	None	Narendra Modi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	May 12
78	Bhadohi	None	Virendra Singh Mast	Bharatiya Janata		May 7

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Party		
79	Mirzapur	None	Anupriya Patel	Apna Dal		May 12
80	Robertsganj	SC	Chnote Lai Kharwar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12

### UTTARAKHAND (5)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Tehri Garhwal	None	Mala Rajya Laxmi Shah	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
2	Garhwal	None	Maj. Gen. (Retd.) B.C. Khanduri	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
3	Almora	SC	Ajay Tamta	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
4	Nainital- Udhamsingh Nagar	None	Bhagat Singh Koshiyari	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
5	Haridwar	None	Dr. Ramesh Pokhriyal Nishank	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7

#### WEST BENGAL (42)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Cooch Behar	SC	Hemchandra Burman	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 17
2	Alipurduars	ST	Birendra Bora Oraon	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by GJM)		April 17
3	Jalpaiguri	SC	Satyalal Sarkar	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by GJM)		April 17
4	Darjeeling	None	S. S. Ahluwalia	Bharatiya Janata Party (Supported by GJM)		April 17
5	Raiganj	None	Nimu Bhowmick	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
6	Balurghat	None	Biswapriya Roychowdhary	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
7	Maldaha Uttar	None	Subashkrishna Goswami	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
8	Maldaha Dakshin	None	Bishnu Pada Roy	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
9	Jangipur	None	Samrat Ghosh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
10	Baharampur	None	Debesh Kumar	Bharatiya		May

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
			Adhikari	Janata Party		12
11	Murshidabad	None	Sujit Kumar Ghosh	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 24
12	Krishnanagar	None	Satyabrata Mukherjee	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
13	Ranaghat	SC	Supravat Biswas	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
14	Bangaon	SC	K.D. Biswas	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
15	Barrackpur	None	R.K. Handa	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
16	Dum Dum	None	Tapan Sikdar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
17	Barasat	None	P.C. Sarkar (Jr.)	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
18	Basirhat	None	Samik Bhattacharya	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
19	Jaynagar	SC	Biplab Mondal	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
20	Mathurapur	SC	Tapan Naskar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
21	Diamond Harbour	None	Avijit Das	Bharatiya Janata		May 12

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
				Party		
22	Jadavpur	None	Swarup Prashad Ghosh	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
23	Kolkata Dakshin	None	Tathagata Roy	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
24	Kolkata Uttar	None	Rahul Sinha	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
25	Howrah	None	George Baker	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
26	Uluberia	None	R.K. Mahanti	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
27	Sreerampur	None	Bappi Lahiri	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
28	Hooghly	None	Chandan Mitra	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
29	Arambagh	SC	Madhusudhan Bag	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
30	Tamluk	None	Badsah Alam	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
31	Kanthi	None	Kamalendu Pahari	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12
32	Ghatal	None	Md Alam	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 12

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
33	Jhargram	ST	Bikash Mudi	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
34	Medinipur	None	Prabhakar Tiwari	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
35	Purulia	None	Bikash Banerjee	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
36	Bankura	None	Subash Sarkar	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
37	Bishnupur	SC	Dr. Jayanta Mondal	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
38	Bardhaman Purba	SC	Santosh Roy	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
39	Bardhaman- Durgapur	None	Deboshree Chowdhury	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
40	Asansol	None	Babul Supriyo	Bharatiya Janata Party		May 7
41	Bolpur	SC	Kamini Mohan Sarkar	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30
42	Birbhum	None	Joy Banerjee	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30

#### CONSTITUENCIES BY UNION TERRITORY

#### ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	None	Bishnii	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 10

#### CHANDIGARH (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Chandigarh	None	Kirron Kher	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10

#### DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	None	Gomanbhai	Bharatiya Janata Party		April 30

#### **DAMAN AND DIU (1)**

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Daman and Diu	INODE	Lalubhai B. Patel	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 30

#### LAKSHADWEEP (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Lakshadweep	None	M.P. Sayed Mohammaed Koya		Won	April 10

#### NCT OF DELHI (7)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Chandni Chowk	None	Dr. Harsh Vardhan	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
2	North East Delhi	None	Manoj Tiwari	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
3	East Delhi	None	Maheish Girri	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
4	New Delhi	None	Meenakshi Lekhi	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
5	North West Delhi	SC	Udit Raj	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
6	West Delhi	None	Pravesh Verma	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10
7	South Delhi	None	Ramesh Bidhuri	Bharatiya Janata Party	Won	April 10

#### PUDUCHERRY (1)

Constituency No.	Constituency	Reserved for (SC/ST/None)	Candidate	Party	Result	Poll Date
1	Puducherry	None	K. Radhakrishnan	All India N.R. Congress	Won	April 24

## Chapter 8 NARENDRA MODI: A POLITICAL PHENOMENON

Shri Narendra Damodardas Modi has emerged as the indisputable Champion of the Lok Sabha Election 2014 by delivering the Party's best results ever in the Parliamentary Election of India. Shri Narendra Modi, who worked as a tea-seller in his childhood, has come a very long way to have excelled in the report card of the world's largest-ever electoral exercise. He will now serve the nation as the Prime Minister, with the goal of implementing the Gujarat model of development throughout the nation.



Shri Narendra Modi has governed Gujarat for 13 years as its Chief Minister. He was selected by Shri L.K. Advani, a leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), in 2001 to give a direction to the election campaign in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh. He was elected as the Chief Minister of Gujarat on 7 October 2001, and has been the longest-

serving Chief Minister of the State. In the 2012 Gujarat Legislative Assembly Election, he won his fourth consecutive term as the Chief Minister of Gujarat.

A career that started as an errand runner for the RSS is now perhaps on the way to reach its zenith. Yes, Shri Narendra Damodardas Modi has walked quite a distance wearing unflinching confidence on his sleeves. The Gujarat Chief Minister and BJP's Prime Ministerial candidate is a fascinating case study as the man opens up equal number of avenues for his critics as well as admirers.

Now since he is the Prime Minister designate of India, let's have a deeper look into Shri Narendra Modi's biography.

#### **HUMBLE BEGINNINGS**

The idea of struggle was never very distant for Shri Narendra Modi. He used to run a tea stall till the time RSS inducted him as a full-time member. With whatever minimal training he received from the Party's associates, he surged ahead and exhibited enough capability to be given the charge of the ABVP. His diligence and dedication towards the Party hardly ebbed despite the fact that he was simultaneously pursuing a Master's Degree in Political Science.

This 'average student' from Vadnagar tutored himself to take greater steps on a national level.

#### **FAMILY**

Although there isn't enough information about his personal life in the public domain, the political discourse sometimes throws up bits of facts and stories.

He was born into a middle class family of six in Vadnagar in Mehsana District (then Bombay State) to Shri Damodardas Mulchand Modi and Heeradben Modi.

He was bethrothed when quite young, but chose to walk away from the marriage and has remained a bachelor.

#### EARLY DAYS IN POLITICS

Shri Narendra Modi was drawn to politics in his early teens and was a member of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS). During the 1960's India-Pakistan war, even though he was only a young boy, he volunteered to serve soldiers traveling through railway stations. As a youth, he became a member of the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, a student body involved in anti-corruption. After having worked full time with them, he was then nominated as its representative in the BJP. He was also a campaigner in the RSS during his years in college and took on the task of encouraging the Party members. Partnering with Shri Shankersingh Vaghela, he began a strong cadre base in Gujarat. Shri Narendra Modi has come from a humble background and is known for his simple lifestyle. He has a reputation of being a workaholic and introvert. Shri Narendra Modi has tried to change his image from that of a Hindu Nationalist politician to that of a sincere administrator.

The BJP began getting political attention and formed a coalition Government in April 1990. After this, the BJP came to power in Gujarat in 1995. During this period, Shri Narendra Modi was responsible for the Somnath to Ayodhya Rath Yatra and a similar trek from Kanyakumari in Southern India all the way up to Kashmir in the north.

A careful observation of his rise to the national podium would evince how he remained glued to his fundamentals -

continuing agitations during the nationwide Emergency, organizing Murli Manohar Joshi's Ekta yatra (journey for unity), and impressing everyone with electoral strategy ahead of the 1995 state elections. As BJP tasted victory, Shri Narendra Modi relished his newly ordained post of the Party's General Secretary.

The workaholic and loyal 'sevak' moved to New Delhi to take up the new responsibility of managing the Party's activities in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Three summers whizzed past and Shri Narendra Modi already had the post of National Secretary of the BJP under his kitty.

#### FIRST STINT AS CHIEF MINISTER OF GUJARAT

Times were turbulent in Gujarat with allegations of corruption and poor governance doing the rounds. After Shri Shankarsingh Vaghela left the BJP, Shri Keshubhai Patel was made Chief Minister of Gujarat and Shri Narendra Modi became General Secretary of the Party in Delhi. Weak handling of the effects of the Bhuj Earthquake in 2001 prompted the BJP's national leaders to seek a new candidate as Chief Minister, after the removal of Shri Keshubhai Patel. In October 2001, Shri Narendra Modi was brought in to fill the vacuum and made Chief Minister of Gujarat despite his lack of experience in governance. Initially, the BJP was not very keen on having him at the forefront and the Party was contemplating the position of deputy CM for him, which he refused. He wrote to Shri L.K. Advani, and the then Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, stating that he was either "going to be fully responsible for Gujarat or not at all". In July 2007, he became the longest-serving Chief Minister in Gujarat's political history.

In the Gujarat Legislative Assembly Elections of 2012, Shri Narendra Modi won the constituency of Maninagar over the Indian National Congress, with a majority of 86,373 votes. The BJP won 115 out of the 182 seats and formed its Government in Gujarat. This was Shri Narendra Modi's fourth term as the Chief Minister. The following year in March, he was appointed as member to the BJP Parliamentary Board which is the highest decision-making body of the Party. He was also nominated as a member of the Party's Central Election Committee.

#### TAKING TOUGH CALLS

His rift with the VHP started to show after his muchcriticized decision of demolishing 200 illegal temples in Gandhinagar. This was just the trailer. Shri Narendra Modi was also vocal about PM Dr. Manmohan Singh's reluctance to revive anti-terror laws. He called for invoking tougher laws in States following the 2006 Mumbai blasts. Time and again, he has judiciously chosen issues to pontificate and attack the Central Government. In the wake of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, Shri Narendra Modi brought up the issue of security along Gujarat's coast. The UPA Government acted upon this immediately and sanctioned construction of 30 high-speed surveillance boats. Recently, he came down heavily on the Central Government for its weak approach towards Chinese incursions in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh and infiltration by Bangladeshis on the Indo-Bangladesh border.

#### A SELF-MADE MAN

Besides being a revered orator and a prolific writer, he is also a caring son and a man with his brand of humour. Those who have associated with him for long are of the opinion that the idea of power is exciting to him. Next time you wonder how he could garner so much of national attention, think of this. He underwent a rigorous training in the US on public relations and image management.

When it comes to taking lessons on brand building, he says there's no greater inspiration than Mahatma Gandhi. His eulogies about Mahatma Gandhi come from the fact that "He spoke of Ahimsa but carried a stick. He never wore a cap but the world wears a Gandhi Topi." His careful metamorphosis from a Hindutva Party man to a prodevelopment leader and change maker speaks volumes for his image-building ability. His two- year long escapade into the Himalayas and co-mingling with the yogic sadhus gave him a fair understanding of Hinduism. That partly explains why people listen to him in rapt attention when he talks of ideologies.

## FACE OF DEVELOPMENT - FAVORITE AMONG THE LEADERS OF INDIA INC.

He frequently refers to his P2G2 (Pro-people good governance) formula to substantiate his claims on holistic development. Some observers are of the opinion that Gujarat has been able to improve its agricultural output despite being a semi-arid state. The credit is given to the Gujarat Government's measures to scale up groundwater projects and initiatives to increase the use of micro-irrigation.

India Inc. is almost unanimous in their verdict. They want Shri Narendra Modi as the next Prime Minister. Reason? They seek a strong leadership that has a clear roadmap and actionable plans ready for execution. Indian business leaders from Shri Ratan Tata to Shri Mukesh Ambani seem to be convinced that for India to come out of its Gross Domestic Paralysis, a visionary and decisive leadership is essential. Empirical evidence suggests that Gujarat has

been able to position itself as a lucrative destination for investment. Under his aegis, according to a political commentator, the level of corruption receded and technology parks have seen the light of the day. His iconic call for "Minimum Government and Maximum Governance" has frequently struck the chord with the masses.

With so many brand images of Shri Narendra Modi existing in a juxtaposed manner, it is to be seen which one suits his greater agenda and helps him in the upcoming Lok Sabha polls.



Shri Narendra Modi in his Early Childhood



Shri Narendra Modi in his Early Childhood

#### NARENDRA MODI: FACTS AND INFORMATION

T 11 N	hr 1 D 1 1 M 1
Full Name	Narendra Damodardas Modi
Born	September 17, 1950 at Vadnagar, Bombay State, India
Religion	Hinduism
Father	Damodardas Mulchand Modi
Mother	Heeraben
Brothers	<ul> <li>Soma: A retired health officer. Now runs an old-age home in Ahmedabad.</li> <li>Prahlad: Runs a fair-price shop in Ahmedabad. He is also an activist fighting for the interests of fair-price shop owners.</li> <li>Pankaj Modi: Works in the information department, Gandhinagar.</li> </ul>
Residence	Gandhinagar, Gujarat
Marriage	The issue of his marriage became a minor controversy. It was later revealed that he had been betrothed as a child but had refused to acknowledge the union later on.
Teenage	As a teenager, he and his brother ran a tea stall.
Schooling	Did his schooling from Vadnagar. According to his teachers, he was an average student but had great interest in debates.
Education	Delhi University (BA) Gujarat University (MA).
Occupation	The 14 <sup>th</sup> and current Chief Minister of Gujarat. The Prime Minister designate of India.
Rashtriya	His image is that of a staunch RSS supporter and
Swayamsevak	Hindu nationalist. He has sparked controversy both
Sangh (RSS)	within India and abroad.
Start of politics	After receiving RSS training in Nagpur, he started with taking charge of the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the student wing of the RSS, in Gujarat.

Political Party	Bhartiya Janta Party
Constituency	Maninagar
Preceded by	Keshubhai Patel
Assumed office	10/07/01
General Secretary of the BJP	Soon thereafter, he was made the General Secretary of the BJP and started looking after the party's activities in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. His work led to the party's victory in those elections.
National Secretary of the BJP	In 1998, he became the National Secretary of the BJP.
First Term as Chief Minister of Gujarat (2001-02)	He replaced Keshubhai Patel as the CM of Gujarat, as the latter had been struggling to contain the problems of corruption and poor administration. Given his lack of experience at that time, Shri L. K. Advani was not very confident about his chances. On 7 October 2001, he was appointed the Chief Minister of Gujarat and was assigned the responsibility to prepare the BJP for elections in December 2002. However, he did exceedingly well, focusing on privatization and minimum interference in business, an ideology that was squarely at odds with that of the RSS.
Victory in the Elections of 2002	In the elections following immediately, he managed to win 127 out of the 182 seats.
Second Term as Chief Minister of Gujarat (2002-07)	During his second term, he shifted his focus entirely from Hindutva to aggressive economic expansion. He reigned in reactionary organizations like the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) as Gujarat saw its economy soar as investments poured in. An indicator of this was the Vibrant Gujarat Summit of 2007, which saw land leads worth Rs. 6,600 billion getting signed.
Elections 2007-08	Despite the troubled waters, he managed to win the 2007 election, bagging 122 of the 182 seats.
Third Term as Chief Minister of Gujarat (2007-12)	During his third term, he worked to turn around the agriculture / industry of Gujarat, launching a successful project to improve groundwater tables.  During this time, about 113, 738 were constructed. As

	cotton production in the state soared, the economy started growing rapidly, recording an all-time high compounded annual rate of 10.97%.
Sadbhavana Mission and Fasts	In what is seen as a stratagem to appease the Muslims, he observed a number of fasts under his Sadbhavana Mission or Goodwill Mission, to improve communal ties and promote peace in the state. However, this had next to no impact.
Adoption of Social Media	He is arguably the most net-savvy political leader in India. He was quick to realize the potential of Twitter and Google Plus hangouts, and has been using these effectively.
Fourth Term as Chief Minister of Gujarat (2012- present)	The 2012 elections came as no surprise to anyone as the BJP swept the assembly once again, winning 115 out of the 182 seats.
Role in National Politics	The year 2013 proved extremely fruitful for him as he projected himself on the center stage. The BJP elected him as Chairman of the Central Election Campaign Committee of the BJP, amid growing clamor for his name for the position of Prime Minister.
Prime Ministerial Candidate	In a decision that polarized the Party, the BJP decided to cash in on his growing popularity and selected him as the Prime Ministerial candidate for the 2014 polls. In September 2013, BJP announced him as the Prime Ministerial candidate for the 2014 Lok Sabha polls.
Awards and Appreciations	<ul> <li>Gujarat Ratna, conferred by Shri Poona Gujarati Bandhu Samaj</li> <li>e-Ratna award by the Computer Society of India</li> <li>Best Chief Minister, according to a 2006 India Todaysurvey</li> <li>Personality of the Year Award (Asia) for 2009 by the fDi magazine</li> <li>Featured on the cover of Timemagazine (Asia) in March 2012</li> </ul>

## Chapter 9 **QUALITIES OF SHRI NARENDRA MODI**



#### Quality Number 1: Life as an Open Book

Shri Narendra Modi is both an 'enigma' and an 'open book' for his supporters as well as his detractors.

#### Quality Number 2: Popularity at its Peak

Nobody can explain what exactly makes him so popular in India as well as in many countries of the world. At the same time, he is widely known as a person who wears his heart on his sleeves.

#### **Quality Number 3: Boldness and Fearlessness**

Even his opponents admire him for his bold and fearless stand on sensitive issues that can dent his carefully crafted image of a no-nonsense man.

#### **Quality Number 4: Patriotism since Childhood**

Shri Narendra Modi is a patriot since his childhood. During Indo-Pak war of 1965, he, as a 15 year old boy, volunteered to serve the soldiers in transit at the Railway Stations. Similarly, in 1967 at an age of 17 years, he served the flood affected people of Gujarat.



**Quality Number 5 : Spending Life as a Sanyasi**Shri Narendra Modi was born in an OBC family of grocers in Vadnagar of Gujarat. He wanted to become a Sanyasi when he was a child. In fact, he was always fascinated with

Sadhus, different forms of worship and meditation. He ran away from home after completing his school education. He visited many places including Ramkrishna Ashram of Belur in West Bengal. Finally, he reached the Himalayas and wandered aimlessly and stayed with unknown but yogic Sadhus for months. After two years of wandering in the Himalayas without money and with two pairs of clothes, he suddenly decided to come back to his home.



#### Quality Number 6: Hard Labour and Hard Work

After returning from the Himalayas, he ran a tea stall with his brother at the State Transport Office in Ahmedabad. He sold tea for many years. That was the time when he learnt what hardship really meant. It made him more determined and resolute in his approach towards life.

#### **Quality Number 7: Appearance and Looks**

Shri Narendra Modi is very particular about his appearance in public. He prefers trimmed beard and hair. As for his clothes, his favourite cloth store used to be Jade Blue of Ahmedabad. He ensures that he looks elegant whenever he moves out.

#### **Quality Number 8: Special Training**

Shri Narendra Modi has undergone a three-month course in the United States of America on public relations and image management. This could be one reason why he has succeeded in positioning himself as one of the most affable and sought after politicians in India.



#### **Quality Number 9: Obedient Son**

Shri Narendra Modi adores his mother and never forgets to take her blessings whenever he undertakes any new initiative-political or otherwise.

He went to meet his mother after it became clear that he is going to be the next Prime Minister. In fact, she is his only closest relation.

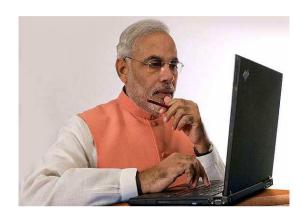


#### **Quality Number 10: Teetotaler and Vegetarian**

He has got all traditional virtues of an Indian man. He is a teetotaler. He doesn't drink, doesn't smoke. He is a complete vegetarian. In nut-shell, he is miles away from even minor vices.

#### **Quality Number 11: Smartness**

Women all over India and cutting over age bracket adore him. In his home State, he is seen as an ideal public figure and leader among women. A close look at his public meetings makes it abundantly clear that women outnumber men among attendees. Analysts say this is mainly because of his perfect leader like image exuding absolute power and authority.



#### **Quality Number 12: Writer and Poet**

He is a prolific writer and poet. He writes in Gujarati language and his favourite topics include life and teachings of Hindutva icons. He is a big fan of Swami Vivekananda. His most recent election campaign was christened as 'Vivekanand Yuva Vikas Yatra'.



#### **Quality Number 13: Labourious and Workaholic**

Shri Narendra Modi sleeps only three hours. He is a workaholic. As the Chief Minister of Gujarat, he reports to his office around 7 am in the morning and works as late as 10 pm or even late in the night.

#### **Quality Number 14: Quick Decision Maker**

While the country will take its time to make up its mind, Shri Narendra Modi has shown that he is a man in a hurry and will not leave any stone unturned to achieve his dream envisaged by him during and explained during his election caimpaigns.



#### Quality Number 15: Love for his Janmabhoomi

Vadnagar, an ancient town that's almost 2,500 years old, is Shri Narendra Damordas Mulchand Modi's birthplace. Indians strongly identify themselves with Janmabhoomi, and he is no different. He likes the Hatkeswar Mahadeo temple, built in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in his home town. His birthplace is unique in that it saw both Hinduism and Buddhism flourish. It is also a highly cultured town that is famous for singer-duo Tana and Riri who stumped none other than the legendary Tansen in the Mughal King Akbar's Durbar. Vadnagar was once the Capital of Guiarat and has a proud place in history also because the Chinese scholar Hsüan-tsang visited it during his 17-year journey through India in the seventh century and has narrated Vadnagar in detail in his fascinating memoirs.

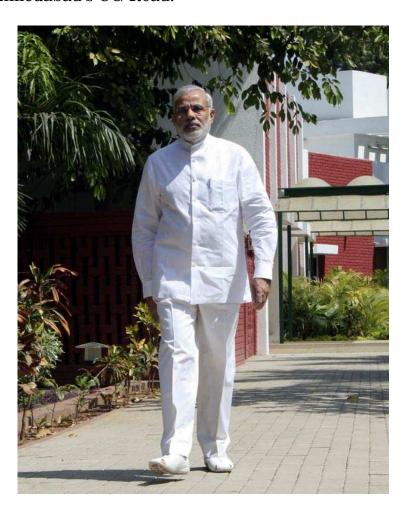
### **Quality Number 16 : Bondage with Brothers and Sister**

Shri Narendra Modi was born on September 17, 1950. He makes it a point to take the blessings of his mother

Heeraben on his birthday. He bonds reasonably well with his four brothers and sister but doesn't display it in public.

#### Quality Number 17: Found always Well Dressed

The most striking personal habit of Shri Narendra Modi is to wear well-ironed and wrinkle-free clothes, a habit he retains from his teenage years when he would fill hot water in a brass lota and iron his shirt using the vessel's heated bottom. He continues to lay stress on dressing well and, judging by his public appearances over the last couple of years he owns many Kurtas and Pyjamas/Paints and Shirts, all of them tailored by his favourite tailor in a shop on Ahmedabad's CG Road.



#### Quality Number 18: Clean and Green

Shri Narendra Modi is a cleanliness maniac. He keeps his desk, his home and general surroundings spic and span. There is no doubt that he is very comfort-oriented in the matter of designing his home and personal desk.



#### **Quality Number 19: Management Guru**

He can be dubbed one of the best copywriters in contemporary India. No Indian advertising agency is likely to match his ability to paraphrase ideas, launch new brands, re-launch people and events, write-rewrite copies to sell ideas or products as he does. His management ability specially his skills in managing the bureaucrats and technocrats has been widely appreciated as he has been successful in bringing productivity in the State.

## **Quality Number 20: Child-like Enthusiasm for Information Technology**

In closed-door meetings he likes multi-media presentations. He has a flair for technology and has a child-like enthusiasm for it. In meetings he has displayed that he has a fine sense of humour.

#### **Quality Number 21: Expert in Optimisation**

He is extremely prudent in money matters, and would like to pay the least and get the most while finalising contracts of various Departments/Ministries. He can be called economical if not a miser. Yes, he is very economical with his own money as well.

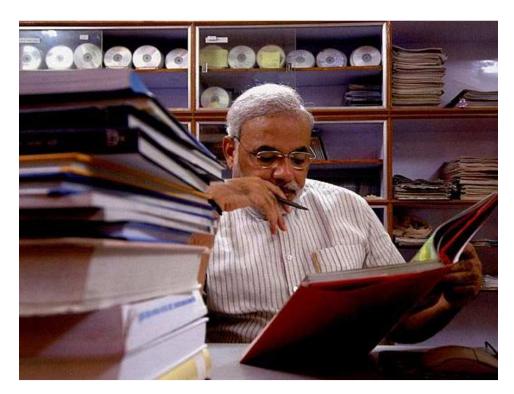
#### Quality Number 22: Conservative but Modern

Shri Narendra Modi has spent enough time in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Although he his very fluent in Hindi and Gujarati, his knowledge of English is reasonably okay but he is not comfortable speaking it. He has done his Master's Degree in Political Science but as an RSS pracharak he learnt all about India, Hinduism and family life when he was staying with RSS followers' families.

#### Quality Number 23: Having a Brighter Future

Those who believe in astrology may like to know that his moon sign is Scorpio, and sun sign is Virgo. His star constellation is Anuradha. He was born at 11 am on September 17, 1950. An astrologer who saw his Kundli says his Rahu Antardasha, considered good for those in politics, "is on till September 2014". Ahmedabad's best astrologer claims, "His planetary strength lies in Tula, no

Mangal in Chalit and Rahu in sixth house." Those in the know say that Lokmanya Tilak and Otto von Bismark had similar kundlis. According to current astrological transit, Saturn and Rahu in Tula and Jupiter's position in his kundli are helping his rise. One perforce thinks of destiny and X factor while talking about him because even as his Government is facing serious allegations encounters, his star is on the ascendant. The man's rise is impressive also when one considers that for almost three decades he lived with little money. When in his 20s, he arranged and acted in a play in Vadnagar to collect funds to build his school's boundary wall. He has even served tea in his maternal uncle's canteen at the bus stand in Ahmedabad while studying in college.



#### **Quality Number 24: God Fearing**

He fasts all nine days during Navratra every year – eating only one fruit a day during this time. He eschews the Navratra-Special Thali-meal which is traditionally allowed

once a day. He fasts out of devotion for Goddess Ambaji, and has changed the landscape of her shrine on the Gujarat-Rajasthan border. Out of reverence to Ma Amba he has built a Rs. 70 crore-plus Shaktipeeth Parikrama on the Gabbar hillock, considered highly sacred by devotees. This will be inaugurated soon.

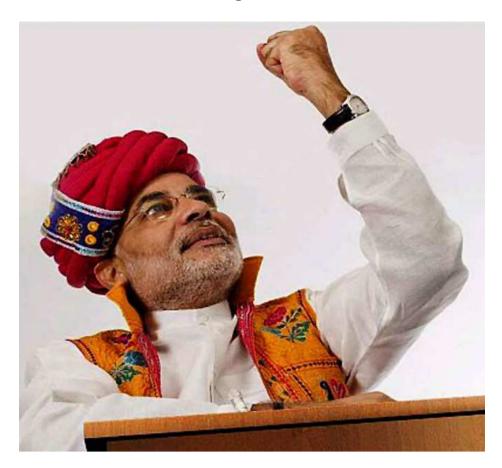
#### Quality Number 25: Internet / IT Friendly

He logs on to the internet every morning without fail and checks all that is written about him. Even if he is travelling, he gets newspapers and cuttings of what his critics are saying about him.



**Quality Number 26: Concious of his Attire** 

Oh yes, he is in love with the mirror. He poses like a model. He is very conscious of pictures that are sent out from his publicity office. He keeps a comb handy in his pocket all the time. He keeps half a dozen colourful 'Khes' Angvastras ready in the back seat of his car, and chooses one according to the crowd he is addressing.

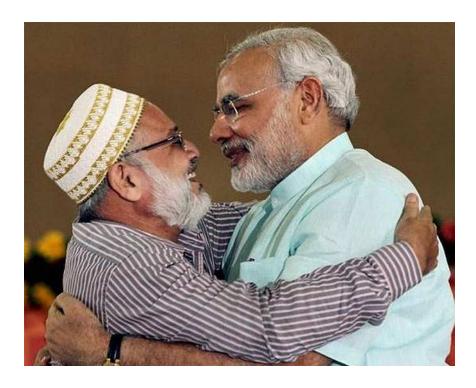


#### **Quality Number 27: Knows Cooking**

His favourite food is Bhakhri (crispy rotis) and Khichdi made in Gujarati style. He knows as to how to cook vegetarian food.

#### **Quality Number 28 : A Spiritualist**

He has met innumerable sadhus. He taught Gujarati to Sadhvi Ritambhara when he was a full-time worker in the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. The Sadhvi's Guru Swami Parmanand was fond of his 'spiritual quest'.



#### Quality Number 29: Quite Popular among Muslims

Unlike his image, he meets local Gujarati Muslims frequently. But the easy access given to them is among Gandhinagar's well-kept secrets. He has helped many Muslim entrepreneurs in the establishment of different enterprises in Gujarat.

#### Quality Number 30: Hard Task-Master

He is a hard task-master and treats Government officers as tools to achieve his political goals. He does not compromise on quality of work and the milestones set by him for achieving the desired goals.

#### **Quality Number 31: Expert in Time Management**

He has won so far because he knows the usefulness and uselessness of everyone around him. He recognises time and its value. He strikes when it is his time and bends otherwise.



## **Quality Number 32 : Has his own Implementation Style**

His Jyotigram Yojna to provide power to all Gujarati households 24x7 was almost impossible to implement, with the toughest resistance coming from users of electricity. But he plugged leakages, stopped theft, and forced farmers to pay pending bills running into crores of rupees. It was a very China-like implementation that he managed through the State Energy Minister. Those who are not his fans may hear him out in the coming days because he has provided power to all homes in Gujarat.

# Chapter 10 NARENDRA MODI TO HEAD BOTH GOVERNMENT AND ALLIANCE

Prime Minister-elect Shri Narendra Modi is likely to hold the position of the Chairman of National Democratic Alliance (NDA), following the example of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee who headed both the Government and the ruling coalition, according to a report published in The Economic Times.



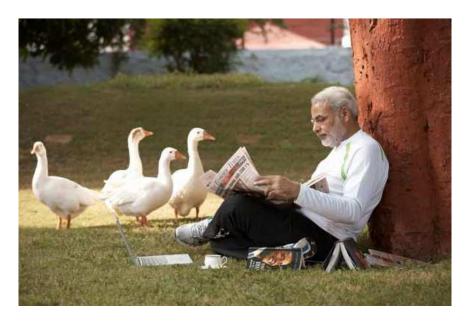
Top sources in the BJP said NDA's working Chairman Shri L.K. Advani had been told that Shri Narendra Modi will have to lead the coalition to ensure smooth functioning of the Government and the supporting alliance.

The fact that BJP President Shri Rajnath Singh and his predecessor Shri Nitin Gadkari are both said to be keen on joining the Government would mean that Shri Narendra Modi can also have a person of his choice as the next Party Chief.

But the final shape of the Government remained unclear. A powerful section of RSS is said to be of the view that there should be no hurry to induct Shri Rajnath Singh into the Shri Narendra Modi's Cabinet as his presence is needed to steer the Party through important Assembly Polls.

Party sources say Shri L.K. Advani may hold the post of Speaker till 2017 when a vacancy arises in Rashtrapati Bhawan after President Shri Pranab Mukherjee completes his term.

However, it remains to be seen if NDA would make him its Presidential candidate as the veteran leader would be 90 by then. Meanwhile, it was a busy Sunday with possible ministerial aspirants calling on Shri Narendra Modi.



The Tuesday meeting will confirm Shri Narendra Modi as the Party's Parliamentary Leader, after which he will meet President Pranab Mukherjee to formally start the process of forming the Government. The BJP was last in power 10 years ago, and some of the Ministers who served then are now past their sell by date, leaving Shri Narendra Modi a relatively small pool of experience at his disposal.

On the plus side, the Party's runaway success in the election has brought a lot of new faces into the decision-making lower house of Parliament. Like outgoing Finance Minister Shri P. Chidambaram, Shri Arun Jaitley is a corporate lawyer and a suave English-speaking politician seen as a moderate in the BJP. He would be a popular choice with investors.



Sources say that Shri Narendra Modi has been consulting his confidantes Shri Rajnath Singh, Shri Arun Jaitley and Shri Nitin Gadkari to decide on his Cabinet, but no one knows for sure what he has in mind as of now. Though there has been widespread speculations about the RSS' involvement and the leaders of the Hindutva outfit have also made their presence felt, they might not have a great say in the Cabinet formation, if Shri Narendra Modi's style of functioning is anything to go by.

# Chapter 11 NDA - 334 UPA - 60 WHY NARENDRA MODI'S WIN AND CONGRESS'S DEFEAT IN LOK SABHA ELECTIONS 2014 IS HISTORIC

Shri Narendra Modi has proved in letter and spirit what Napoleon Bonaparte said: "Impossible is a word to be found only in the dictionary of fools... Victory belongs to the most persevering."



The BJP's Prime Ministerial candidate has made history. Securing a resounding victory in the latest Indian Parliamentary elections, he has proved wrong all the prophets of doom. The absolute majority for his Party on its own is a first in 30 years. The larger National Democratic Alliance (NDA), in fact, has crossed the 300-seat mark.

Modi termed this historic win as a victory of people of India and the Indian democracy with an assurance to the 125 million people: "Achchhe Din Aane Wale Hain" -- or good times are ahead.

Most political pundits in the country, since 1996, had ruled out the possibility of a single-party majority in any future election, saying the era of coalition Governments is going to stay in India for ever.

But the people were determined to give a decisive mandate to a leader who could usher in a new regime of a stable Government at the Centre -- a pre-requisite for all-round growth and development for an emerging economy like India where one-third of the population is still below the poverty line.

The results are before us. Shri Narendra Modi has emerged as a symbol of hope for the youth of this country. People have posed unwavering confidence in his leadership. He will now have to meet their expectations by taking some radical measures to ensure political stability, economic growth and transparency in governance — the three promises he made to the people during his hectic whirlwind campaign throughout the length and breadth of the country in the last more than six months.

The moot question is: What has Shri Narendra Modi achieved, and how has he accomplished this near-impossible task?

He swept the entire western belt by bagging some 120 out of the 130 seats in Maharashtra, Goa, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The people of Gujarat have given a unique gift to their son of the soil by putting all the 26 seats in his kitty -- a feat achieved for the first time by any political Party since Independence.

Shri Narendra Modi himself won by a record margin of over 500,000 votes from Vadodara. All senior BJP leaders from Gujarat, including Shri L.K. Advani, retained their seats. So did Smt. Sushma Swaraj from Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh. Rajasthan Chief Minister Smt. Vasundhra Raje, who registered a remarkable victory in the Assembly Elections six months ago, also hit the bull's eye, scoring 25 out of 25 in her State.

Veteran BJP leader Shri Jaswant Singh, who contested as an Independent after being denied the ticket, lost in Barmer.

Other Chief Ministers also scored well for the Party: Shri Shivraj Singh Chauhan -- 27 out of 29 in Madhya Pradesh; Shri Manohar Parrikar -- two out of two in Goa; and Dr. Raman Singh -- nine out of 11 in Chhattisgarh. They all made valuable contributions for BJP's absolute majority and make it the first non-Congress Political Party to cross the half-way mark since Independence.

It was predicted by many analysts that a Modi wave was sweeping across western India. But no one believed that the BJP-Shiv Sena combine would virtually decimate the Congress-NCP alliance in Maharashtra. Even stalwarts like Home Minister Shri Sushil Kumar Shinde fell -- a rude shock to the Congress high command and Maratha

strongman Shri Sharad Pawar. The BJP-Shiv Sena-RPI alliance won 42 of the 48 seats, with all the big guns registering convincing victory, notable among them being Shri Nitin Gadkari and Shri Gopinath Munde.

There were conflicting assessments about the BJP incharge for Uttar Pradesh Amit Shah's claim that the Modi wave did exist in that part of the country as well, and that the Party would win more than 65 seats. Shah's social engineering and his shrewd planning and untiring ground work in the interiors of the state proved him right. Cutting across caste and religion barriers, BJP has achieved the most resounding victory in the State improving on its tally from 10 in 2009 to a whopping 71.

Top leaders like Shri Modi himself from Varanasi, Shri Rajnath Singh from Lucknow, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi from Kanpur, Shri Varun Gandhi from Sultanpur and his mother Smt. Maneka Gandhi from Pilibhit were all reelected with comfortable margins.

The story is no different in Bihar where reports of a Lalu Yadav-led RJD's resurgence stopping the Modi-wave proved to be a myth. Bihar Chief Minister Shri Nitish Kumar's JDU, which was in tatters after breaking its alliance with the BJP in the state, failed to make a mark. This has cast a shadow on Nitish's political future. The BJP-LJP alliance won 23 of the 40 seats in the State. Even Lok Sabha Speaker Smt. Meira Kumar of Congress lost.

In the north, Punjab was the only State where the BJP conceded ground to the Congress. Its senior leader Shri Arun Jaitley lost to the Congress heavy-weight and former chief minister Capt. Amarinder Singh. This was more a result of serious anti-incumbency of the Akali-BJP Government of Parkash Singh Badal. It is here that Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) of Arvind Kejriwal registered its

presence in a big way. The BJP-Akali combine won just six seats in Punjab.

The BJP also made major gains in Delhi, with seven out of seven, Jammu and Kashmir with two seats out of six, Uttarakhand with five out of five, Himachal Pradesh with four out of four. It also secured the lone Chandigarh seat, seven in Haryana out of ten, 12 in Jharkhand of 14 and nine in Chhattisgarh out of 11 -- all of them a result of the Modi wave.

The NDA's performance in the South and the East was along expected lines. The Party was expecting to open its account in Kerala but its senior leader Shri O. Rajagopal once again failed to win Thiruvananthapuram by a narrow margin.

AIADMK supremo J. Jayalalitha's performance in Tamil Nadu is commendable. She has won 38 of the 39 seats in the State and did not allow its arch rival DMK to even open its account. The NDA alliance of BJP, PMK, MDMK and a few other smaller Parties too failed to take off in Tamil Nadu.

The last minute entry of TDP into the NDA proved to be a master stroke with N. Chandrababu Naidu making a remarkable comeback in Seemandhra. The TDP-BJP combine won 17 seats in Seemandhra and Telangana regions. The YSR Congress and the TRS, too, did well -- all at the cost of the Congress Party.

Coming to Odisha, which was considered a potential battle ground for the BJP, Narendra Modi's vigorous campaign did help the BJP to take its vote share to new heights, though the party could manage only two seats. But the Modi wave has prepared the ground for a rich harvest by the BJP in future.

Similarly in West Bengal -- where the BJP's vote percentage in the 2009 Lok Sabha poll was in single digit, Modi's concerted campaign has done wonders in terms of generating a Modi wave. Although the Party could win only three seats, the BJP has certainly emerged as a formidable alternative to Mamata's Trinamool Congress in the State with the Left Front almost vanishing from the political scene in the State. The TMC has won more than 30 seats which is a high score by any standard.

Assam results have been encouraging as well, especially because the BJP refused to enter into alliance with any political Party. Victory in seven Parliamentary seats is a rich harvest by any reckoning. The North-East has gone along predicted lines with regional parties bagging practically all the seats.

The Congress Party's performance, along with its allies, has been dismal throughout the country. Almost all the senior leaders and union cabinet ministers have lost, barring a few. Same has been the fate of regional Parties like the SP, BSP, NC, DMK, JD-U, JD(S) and others. The Left Front, too, has bitten dust in its traditional bastion of West Bengal.

There is no doubt that Shri Narendra Modi has written a new chapter in the 65-year history of Indian Parliamentary democracy. The entire world watched with keen interest this peaceful transition. The change through ballot has strengthened people's faith in democracy. India has emerged on the global map as a vibrant democracy.

Now it is time for Shri Narendra Modi to emerge as a global leader to take India on the path of becoming a super power in every sense of the term. His testing time starts now.

Courtesy: DNA Web Team

# Chapter 12 WHAT HE SAID?

The following are some of the excerpts from the speeches of Shri Narendra Modi during the 2014 Parliamentary Election Campaigns:

# Excerpt 1

Even little children have been saying 'Ab Ki Baar Modi Sarkar' This means I have an army for polls 15 years later.

# Excerpt 2

I did barely one rally here but you have given me such affection.

# Excerpt 3

We have to take everyone together to run the nation.

# Excerpt 4

If there was no Gaekwad there would not have been a Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

# Excerpt 5

People have given us a clear mandate and supported NDA.

# Excerpt 6

We believe in Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas.

# Excerpt 7

I am Mazdoor Number 1. In coming 60 months I will dedicate every moment of my time to the people.

# Excerpt 8

This verdict is about taking the nation forward and working hard for the dreams of the people.

# Excerpt 9

A Government does not belong to any Party but to the nation. It does not belong to few people but each and every Indian.

# Excerpt 10

We never had the honour to die for the nation. But we have got a chance to live for Surajya.

# Excerpt 11

Be it Congress or BJP, in this election the leaders were those who have been born in a free India.

# Excerpt 12

Ours is a Party that has fought Congress and believed in patriotism and it has been able to secure blessings of people.

# Excerpt 13

In the history of India this is the 1<sup>st</sup> time a Party other than the Congress has secured a majority on its own.

# Excerpt 14

Gujarat has a record to its credit- 26 out of 26. When we used to talk about this people laughed.

# Excerpt 15

In the history of elections such a margin has not happened in a General Election. I am not talking about any by-election. Voters from Vadodara have given me a margin of 5.70 lakh votes even after I spent only 50 minutes after filing nomination here.

# Excerpt 16

This was first time a candidate did not get a chance to meet voters. Varanasi voted for Modi's Maun.

# Excerpt 17

Each and every voter gave me so much affection. You all worked as if you are Narendra Modi.

# Excerpt 18

You have elected me with a record margin from Vadodara.

# Excerpt 19

How are you all feeling? Ache Din (Crowd says Aane Wale Hain). I have come here to thank you all.

# Excerpt 20

People of Vadodara have set a record with victory margin of 5.7 lakh in general elections.

# Excerpt 21

I am thankful to all of you for having fulfilled your responsibilities.

# Excerpt 22

People of Varanasi trusted my silence when the Election Commission did not give me permission. They have supported me and these two are two main important political events in modern India.

# Chapter 13 NARENDRA MODI'S VICTORY IN THE INDIAN ELECTION

Shri Narendra Modi's victory in the Indian election is expected to improve trade ties between New Delhi and Washington and could eventually lift U.S. exports in industries ranging from pharmaceutical products to heavy infrastructure, U.S. officials and business leaders say.



Shri Narendra Modi addresses a public rally Friday, 16 May 2014 after his Party won its biggest victory in 30 years on promises to revitalize the economy.

But the prospects for greater economic ties, which suffered in recent years under India's ruling Indian National Congress, depend at least partly on relaxing U.S. diplomatic tensions with Shri Narendra Modi. On Friday Mr. Narendra Modi, whose pro-business credentials during Gujarat's rapid economic expansion have already lifted India's stock market, led his Bharatiya Janata Party toward an apparent victory that could make him prime minister later this month.

Depending on which officials join his Government, U.S. companies could benefit from a relaxing of recent policies that promoted Indian manufacturing and intellectual property at the expense of international rivals, U.S. business groups say.

"Looking at his reputation and track record in Gujarat, there were some good signs from his tenure there," said Linda Dempsey, vice president of international economic affairs at the Washington-based National Association of Manufacturers, a trade group.

Below are some U.S. sectors that could see benefits or challenges under Mr. Modi's Government:

### WAR FOR DRUGS

U.S. lawmakers and drug companies have blamed New Delhi for using its intellectual property laws to build up India's domestic drug industry at the expense of international competitors. The country's patent office in 2012 ordered Germany's BayerBAYN.XE +0.15% AG to issue a license allowing an Indian generics company to copy Bayer's patented cancer drug Nexavar—and market it at 1/30th the cost. "This is a sore issue in the relationship, and one would only hope that steps would be taken to improve protection for intellectual property," said Myron Brilliant, executive vice president at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the largest business lobbying group.

# **HOLLYWOOD vs. BOLLYWOOD**

The U.S. Trade Representative has put India on a list of countries with low intellectual property standards, but senior Washington officials say they're optimistic about working with the new Government on counterfeit movies and other issues. A U.S. official last month told reporters that better ties under a new Government could help

Hollywood better cooperate with India's Bollywood, since "pirates don't discriminate amongst the two types of movies."

# SOLAR FLARE-UP

The U.S. has twice taken a solar power dispute with India to the World Trade Organization, complaining that a major Indian Government program to expand its solar-generation capacity discriminates against American suppliers. The U.S. solar industry estimates India's rules put \$200 million to \$300 million in U.S. exports at risk. Indian officials respond that Washington has also supported protectionist policies and that U.S. officials make unreasonable demands on India's economy.

A new Government would likely move more quickly than the current one to address discriminatory rules that require some electronics and other products to be produced locally in India, business groups said.

### GOING ON DEFENSE

U.S. defense contractors and aircraft manufacturers made out OK under the current Indian administration, and they may not have it any better under Mr. Modi's watch. "Some of the industries in the U.S., particularly defense and aerospace, didn't see any particular difficulty making sales in India, not that it was easy," Ms. Dempsey said.

Defense-related cooperation requires a combination of bureaucratic maneuvering on both sides. U.S. firms are slowly building inroads in New Delhi, which for decades was a reliable customer of the Soviet Union and Russia on everything from warplanes to nuclear energy. Depending on how the new Government is formed, top U.S. defense exporters might have to rebuild some delicate relationships.

# Chapter 14 WHAT DOES MODI'S VICTORY MEAN FOR THE WORLD?

The world's biggest democracy and second-biggest country has a new leader, and he's a controversial one: Narendra Modi, the head of the Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, and the longtime chief minister of Gujarat, a state in the northwest of India. In a post here today, the Indian journalist Samanth Subramanian describes what the lengthy election campaign felt like, noting how Modi, who will forever be associated with the 2002 riots in Gujarat that left more than a thousand people dead, most of them Muslims, tacked to the center, emphasizing economic growth and anti-corruption measures rather than Hindu chauvinism.



From an international perspective, Modi's ascension to the Prime Minister's office raises two questions. Will India adopt a more strident and bellicose foreign policy than it did under Manmohan Singh, an Oxbridge-educated economist, and his Congress party? And will the new Government succeed in rebooting India's "economic miracle," which has sputtered in recent years?

During the election campaign, Modi didn't talk very much about foreign policy, which isn't voters' primary concern. But the B.J.P. has traditionally adopted a more aggressive stance toward Pakistan, Kashmir, and other international issues than the Congress party. Optimists suggest that Modi's desire to attract foreign investment, which he made a big theme of his campaign, will militate against any foreign-policy adventurism on his part. In what is perhaps an encouraging sign, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, called Modi on Friday, congratulated him on his victory, and invited him to visit Islamabad.

In the past, Modi has also had his issues with the U.S. Government, which denied him a visa in 2005, when memories of the Gujarat riots were still fresh. (Modi has always denied having anything to do with the killings. His critics accuse him of whipping up anti-Muslim feelings and doing nothing to prevent the pogrom. A special committee appointed by India's Supreme Court investigated his role, and found nothing to charge him with.) In recent years, as the prospect of Modi becoming India's leader has become more real, U.S. diplomats have reached out to him and tried to improve relations. On Friday, Benjamin Rhodes, a deputy national-security adviser. tweeted. congratulates BJP on its victory in India's historic election; we look forward to working w/ govt once formed to advance our partnership." A bit later, the White House announced that Modi would now be welcome to visit the United States.

Whatever tone Modi strikes on foreign affairs, his most urgent task will be to fulfill some of the domestic economic pledges he has made. In the decade from 2000 to 2010, India's gross domestic product grew at an annual rate of about nine per cent, and, despite rapid population growth,

per-capita income doubled. These were the years of the "miracle," when observers often twinned India with China. Since then, though, the rate of economic growth has fallen sharply, and inflation has risen. In the 2013-14 fiscal year, which ended in March, India's G.D.P. expanded by just about five per cent. During the election campaign, Modi promised to revive the growth rate by attracting foreign investment, reducing red tape, making hiring and firing easier, and improving the nation's infrastructure.

All of these things have the support of India's business community, which provided strong backing to Modi during the election. Investors like Modi, too. (The Indian stock market has risen sharply in anticipation of his victory, and it rose again on Friday.) During his long tenure in Gujarat, he courted foreign companies, oversaw G.D.P. growth that exceeded the national average, and helped start irrigation projects that have boosted agricultural yields. Capitalizing on this success, he organized a series of conferences for international investors that he called Vibrant Gujarat.

It will be fascinating to see if Modi can replicate his success in Gujarat on the national stage. Many, though not all, economists believe the Indian economy needs another wave of liberalization that builds upon the one that Singh introduced in the nineteen-nineties, when he was minister of finance. Those measures cut the budget deficit, stripped away some of the country's infamous licensing restrictions, and made it easier for foreigners to invest in Indian companies. Jagdish Bhagwati, the Columbia University economist who is one of Modi's most prominent supporters, has criticized Singh for not following up on these reforms during his time as Prime Minister.

It has been widely reported that Bhagwati and his Columbia colleague Arvind Panagariya, another supporter of free-market reforms, will play some role in the new Indian Government. Modi, however, also has his critics in the academy. Some studies suggest that Gujarat, despite enjoying stronger than average growth, has a questionable record relative to other Indian states in reducing poverty, improving child nutrition, and promoting education and social inclusion. Last year, Amartya Sen, perhaps India's most famous economist, came out strongly against Modi's candidacy, criticizing his failure to protect religious minorities, and saying, "His record in education and health care is pretty bad."

Indians and people the world over will be watching to see how far Modi goes in the direction of liberalization. Reforming India, which has many powerful states and innumerable vested interests, is much harder than reforming an individual state like Gujarat. And while Modi has obtained a historic mandate for his economic agenda—the B.J.P. will be the first party in thirty years to have an outright majority in Parliament—there are still widespread concerns that the fruits of economic progress are not being spread widely enough, concerns that more business-friendly reforms are unlikely to alleviate. "It felt like a vacuum period," Modi said on Friday, addressing his supporters in Ahmedabad. "Now we will fill that vacuum."

Courtesy: The New Yorker

# Chapter 15 NARENDRA MODI CLAIMS VICTORY AS INDIA'S NEXT PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi (CNN) -- Narendra Modi, the leader of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, claimed victory as India's next Prime Minister on Friday, bringing to power a man whose controversial past at one point led the United States to deny him a visa.



Official results show his party winning at least 275 of 543 parliamentary seats, bringing a clear majority, according to the India Election Commission.

It's the first time in three decades that India's 540 million voters delivered a resounding mandate to a single party to rule the world's second-most populous nation.

Fractured electoral verdicts leading to coalition Governments had been common in India since 1989.

Manmohan Singh, India's outgoing Prime Minister, called Modi to congratulate him on his "party's victory," said Singh's Twitter page.

Viewed as pro-business, Modi, 63, has pledged reforms to revive the nation's flagging economy.

But his past is not without controversy. Throughout his campaign, his relationship with the country's huge Muslim minority came under scrutiny.



Congress Party 'headed to defeat'

In 2002, Gujarat state was wracked with anti-Muslim violence, in which more than 1,000 people, mostly Muslims, were killed.

Modi, the state's chief minister, was criticized for not doing enough to halt the violence, but a Supreme Court-ordered investigation absolved him of blame last year.

Analysts predict his arrival in India's top office will bring a marked change in direction for the world's most populous democracy, a nation whose modern character has been defined by the defeated Indian National Congress Party, which has been dominant since the country's independence in 1947.

Modi's victory had long been anticipated, as polls indicated a slump in support for the ruling Congress Party, which has been dogged by high-profile corruption scandals amid stubborn inflation and a slowed economy.

Congress Party spokesman Randeep Surjewala told CNN, "We bow before the wishes of the people of India with all humility. We will continue to play the role assigned to us. We will try with greater vigor and determination to work with the large populace of this country."

# MODI'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD

The United States denied Modi a visa over the anti-Muslim violence in 2005, suggesting a strained relationship between the United States and India's next Prime Minister.

But President Barack Obama called Modi to congratulate him on winning the election and to invite him to Washington, according to the White House.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry also congratulated Modi, saying in a tweet that he looks forward to "growing shared prosperity." State Department officials told CNN that Modi will be given a visa to the United States once he takes office and forms a Government.

The tensions between Modi and the United States in the past could have an impact on relations during his term, said Arati Jerath, an analyst and journalist in India.

"There is a feeling that Narendra Modi will be much more pro-China than pro-U.S., and that could be rooted to the fact that he's had this tension with the United States over his visa, whereas the Chinese laid out the red carpet for him," Jerath said.

# MODI'S ASCENT TO THE NATIONAL STAGE

Celebrations broke out as updates from the five-week-long election were released throughout the day. Modi's supporters sang, danced, played music, threw flowers and even brought elephants into the mix as initial results indicated a huge lead for the BJP. Supporters celebrated outside the party's office and in the streets in Gujarat, where Modi has served as chief minister since 2001.

He tweeted: "Good days are here to come."

Courtesty: CNN

# Chapter 16 INDIA ELECTIONS : VARANASI WELCOMES NARENDRA MODI

India's Prime Minister-elect, Shri Narendra Modi, has been performing religious rituals in the Hindu holy city of Varanasi after his election landslide.

Shri Narendra Modi offered prayers on the banks of the river Ganges after being greeted by jubilant supporters.



Observers say the ceremony was rich in political symbolism, underlining Shri Narendra Modi's roots as a Hindu nationalist.

Shri Narendra Modi, 63, also promised to clean up the Ganges, considered a sacred river by Hindus. He was elected to parliament from Varanasi as well as from another seat in his home state of Gujarat.

### **ANALYSIS**

Shri Narendra Modi arrived to a hero's welcome in the Indian capital for the first time after leading his Party to a historic win. Supporters lined the streets, showering him with flowers en route to BJP headquarters.



In Varanasi, people gathered by the Ganges ahead of Narendra Modi's arrival

Security was very tight: police lined the route and armed special forces personnel were deployed.

At Party headquarters, the mood was festive. A brass band kept pace with a company of bagpipers and supporters danced and sang. It took a while for Shri Narendra Modi's cavalcade to make its way there and senior BJP politicians urged the crowd to stay calm.



Earlier Shri Narendra Modi was mobbed by supporters in Delhi

"He's coming, he'll be here very soon," one of them told exuberant supporters, while another begged people to get down from trees they had climbed to gain a vantage point.

As they spotted the cavalcade, Mr Modi's supporters at party HQ drove themselves into a frenzy, almost knocking down the security barricades in the process.

Earlier he held a victory procession in the capital, Delhi.

Shri Narendra Modi secured the most decisive election victory in India in three decades, campaigning on promises to revive the economy. He is expected to be sworn in next week.

Dr. Manmohan Singh, whose Congress Party was crushed in the poll, has tendered his resignation as Prime Minister.

Results show the BJP gained a majority in Parliament and will be able to govern without coalition partners.

'India has won'



After arriving in Delhi from his home State, Shri Narendra Modi was greeted by flag-waving supporters. He stepped out of his car, flashing a victory sign.

A brass band, drummers and bagpipers met him at the BJP headquarters, while bunting and balloons decorated the street.

A sense of "religious fervour" swept through crowds celebrating Shri Narendra Modi's victory.

The BJP has won 282 seats - more than the 272 seats needed for a Parliamentary majority.

Speaking at BJP headquarters, Shri Narendra Modi said: "I want to bow, I want to give my thanks... to the people of India."

He said Indian media had created "consciousness among voters" and a "great festival of Indian Democracy".

# Chapter 17 INDIA HAS WON, GOOD DAYS ARE ABOUT TO COME

On Friday, 16 May 2014, Shri Narendra Modi wrote in a widely-shared tweet: "India has won, good days are about to come."

He also told supporters he would rule for all Indians.

"The age of divisive politics has ended - from today onwards the politics of uniting people will begin."

# India general election results BJP and allies Congress Party and allies Other 2009 2014

Source: Press Information Bureau, India

World leaders, including US President Barack Obama and UK Prime Minister David Cameron, have congratulated Shri Narendra Modi on his victory.

India's new leader has received invitations to Washington and London. Previously, the US had denied him visas and the UK cut off all ties with him following the 2002 riots.

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif commended the BJP's "impressive victory" in the election.

Congress has been mired in serious corruption scandals and its leadership has been considered ineffective in recent years, analysts say.

Accepting defeat, Congress President Sonia Gandhi said: "We humbly respect the verdict of the people."

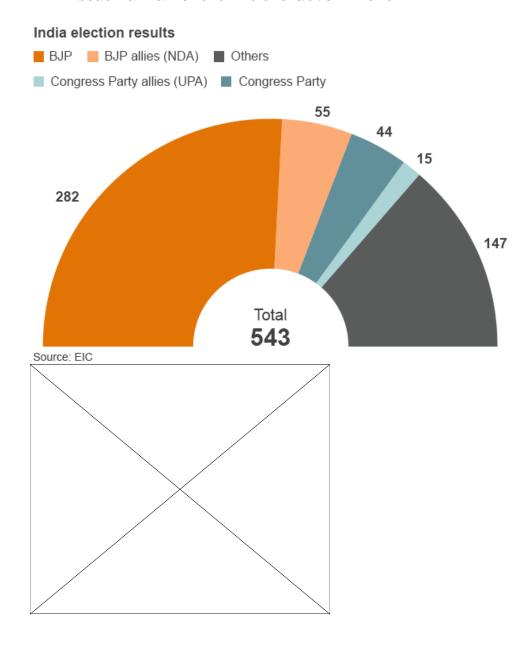
In a televised farewell address earlier on Saturday, Dr. Manmohan Singh said the Government had achieved a lot in the past 10 years. "I wish the incoming Government every success," he said.



# INDIA ELECTION

- World's biggest exercise in electoral democracy; 814 million eligible voters
- A total of 8,251 candidates stood for election

- It started five weeks ago and a total of 551 million votes were cast, with a record 66.38% turnout
- The Party or alliance that wins a majority in the 543seat Parliament forms the Government



# Chapter 18 NARENDRA MODI'S LANDSLIDE VICTORY SHATTERS CONGRESS'S GRIP ON INDIA

Historic election victory for Modi's Bharatiya Janata party transforms political landscape of world's largest democracy



Shri Narendra Modi with his 95-year-old mother after the vote. She put a red stripe of vermilion on his forehead as a blessing.

The controversial Hindu nationalist leader Narendra Modi has pledged to work for all 1.25bn of his fellow Indians in his first speech after winning a historic landslide victory to take power in the world's largest democracy.

"Brothers, sisters, you have faith in me and I have faith in you," Modi, 63, told an ecstatic crowd in the town of Vadodara, from where he stood for election in the five-week poll. "The people of this country have given their verdict. This verdict says we have to make the dreams of 1.25bn people come true. I must work hard."

With most of the 550m votes counted, Modi's Bharatiya Janata party (BJP) appeared to have far exceeded all predictions and, with existing allies, were set to win as many as 350 of the 543 elected seats of India's lower house.

Experts say the political landscape of India has been transformed. The vote is the most decisive mandate for any Indian leader since the 1984 assassination of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi propelled her son Rajiv to office.

World leaders rushed to telephone the new premier. Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister of neighbouring Pakistan, with which India has fought four wars, invited the new leader to visit.

The US president, Barack Obama, did likewise, even though Modi was barred from the country less than 10 years ago under a law preventing entry to foreigners who had committed "particularly severe violations of religious freedom", Associated Press reported.

Modi, who has been dogged by accusations of sectarian prejudice, appeared to make an effort to reassure those within India and beyond its borders who fear he will prove a divisive leader. "To run the country we need to take everyone with us, all together and I seek your blessings to succeed in this endeavour," he said.

The former tea seller who started his political career with a far right Hindu revivalist organisation promised "good times ahead". In a second speech hours later, Modi invoked Mahatma Gandhi and stressed that "the only solution to every problem is [economic] development – without which India's destiny will not change".

Though a BJP win was expected, few predicted such a crushing victory. For 25 years India has been governed by

coalitions, but the size of Modi's mandate means he will not have to work with allies and can set his own agenda. The party's regional strength is likely to be reinforced at local elections in coming months.



Narendra Modi prepares to speak to supporters after his victory in India's elections.

Such power held by such a polarising figure will prompt some concern internationally. Ravi Shankar Prasad, a senior leader of the BJP who has been tipped as a potential foreign minister, told the Guardian that India would be "power with dignity, with responsibility and of constitutional integrity."

Prasad said however that though the BJP "wishes well for Pakistan", the neighbouring state needed to understand that "terrorism promoted from its soil would not be tolerated".

Supporters, who thronged the BJP headquarters in Delhi on Friday to sing, explode firecrackers, bang drums and chant support for Modi said he would bring honest Government, efficient administration and much-needed economic reforms in the troubled nation. "I am elated. It's time for change," said Gautam Sood, 28, a student.



A member of an Indian band performs outside the BJP headquarters in Delhi. Photograph: Money Sharma/EPA

The elections saw around 100 million first-time voters cast a ballot. Support amongst the young appears to be one key reason for the BJPs success. Another is inroads made into rural areas and traditional "votebanks" of the Congress party, such as those at the bottom of the caste system, India's tenacious social hierarchy.

Modi's "Development For All" message appeared to have struck a chord with frustrated voters, particularly the young, across the nation. It also countered accusations of sectarian prejudice, allowing BJP campaigners to argue that they believed in genuine equality because the party wants no communities to receive special treatment.

At the Congress headquarters, only a mile from those of the BJP, there was a very different mood. "It is very disappointing for us all, but we accept the verdict of the people. Congress has bounced back before and we are

confident that we will bounce back again," said Rajeev Shukla, a former minister and senior party official.

The outgoing Government was hit by allegations of corruption, its failure to rein in runaway inflation and faltering growth. India needs to create 10m jobs each year for new jobseekers alone, an area where the Congress officials admit they had "difficulty". Others blamed the defeat on a failure to communicate the party's achievements in their 10 years in power.

Ravi Shankar Prasad, the BJP leader, said the elections had revealed a "tectonic shift. The politics of dynasty, entitlement and inheritance has been rejected in favour of the politics of initiative and accomplishment based on hard work," he said.

Since being named as his Party's candidate last September, Modi has flown more than 185,000 miles and addressed 457 rallies in a slick, presidential-style campaign that has broken the mould of Indian politics.

A huge social media effort has reached out to voters across the nation. Modi received more than seven times the media coverage of his chief rival, one study showed.

Modi has promised that a BJP Government would take decisive action to unblock stalled investments in power, road and rail projects to revive faltering growth. Indian stockmarkets soared early in the day as results began to be clear.

However, relations between India's 150 million Muslims and the Hindu majority, as much as development, was a key theme as candidates traded accusations of seeking to win votes through targeting particular communities or raising sectarian tensions.



BJP supporters wearing masks bearing the image of party leader Narendra Modi as they celebrate the election in Siliguri.

### PERSONA GRATA AGAIN

Narendra Modi's trajectory from a shunned regional politician accused of complicity in sectarian slaughter to a respected victor of the biggest-ever democratic vote has been followed in the UK, with David Cameron issuing an invitation to the new Indian prime minister-elect.

Britain froze links with Modi in 2002 following serious inter-community violence in Gujarat, the western Indian state where he was chief minister, in which more than 1,000 people died, many of them Muslims. Modi was accused of condoning the violence and even encouraging it allegations he has vehemently denied. The UK cut ties with his administration, and he was later denied a US visa. But on Friday a spokesman for Cameron said: "The prime Modi minister called Narendra this morning congratulate him on his victory in the Indian elections and the record turnout, making this the biggest democratic election in history.

"Mr Modi said he would be delighted to accept the prime minister's invitation to visit the UK. Both leaders agreed on the importance of the UK-India relationship and agreed to work together to strengthen it in the months ahead."

Cameron also tweeted his personal congratulations, adding a desire to "work together to get the most from UK-India relationship".

The situation is unlikely to change if Labour, the party in Government in 2002, re-takes office next year. Labour has previously expressed willingness to engage with the BJP leader. The Labour MP Barry Gardiner invited Modi to speak at the Commons last year – an offer the Indian politician declined.

US president Barack Obama told Modi by phone that he looked forward to working closely with him to "fulfill the extraordinary promise of the US-India strategic partnership," the White House said.

"The president invited Narendra Modi to visit Washington at a mutually agreeable time to further strengthen our bilateral relationship."

A US visit could come as soon as September, at the UN general assembly in New York.

Courtesty: The Guardian

# Chapter 19 INVITATION FROM WASHINGTON

The United States congratulated Shri Narendra Modi without hesitation. President Obama called Shri Narendra Modi on Friday, the White House said, and invited him to visit Washington at some point in the future.

"The President noted he looks forward to working closely with Shri Narendra Modi to fulfill the extraordinary promise of the U.S.-India strategic partnership, and they agreed to continue expanding and deepening the wideranging cooperation between our two democracies," a statement from the White House said.

The Obama administration is eager to get off on the right foot with Shri Narendra Modi and to put to rest a deep rift with the Singh Government. Although relations have been patched over in the past few months, the scars are still fresh from a diplomatic row over the December arrest of an Indian diplomat in New York.

"This is an important relationship," White House press secretary Jay Carney said. "A strong, bilateral partnership. And the president looks forward to building on the progress that we've made with Prime Minister Singh in our relationship."

The U.S. Ambassador to India met with Shri Narendra Modi in February after years in which the populist politician was largely shunned by Washington.

The meeting was a signal that the United States would work with Modi if he won.

### PRO-BUSINESS STANCE

News that the business-friendly Modi and his Party were headed for a rout sent the Sensex, the Indian stock market, soaring, and the rupee strengthened against the dollar.

India's business community hopes Modi will be able to fulfill his campaign promises to jump-start the economy, create jobs and revive stalled infrastructure projects, but he faces steep challenges. In recent years, job creation and the country's growth rate have dipped, inflation has skyrocketed, and investors stymied by the country's sluggish bureaucracy have either sat on their money or taken it elsewhere.

"He is coming in with fresh ideas," said Sidharth Birla, president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. "It will go a long way in removing the negative perception about India that had built up in the past few years."

Friday's vote count was the culmination of six weeks of voting in a country of 1.2 billion people, the world's largest democratic exercise. A record 66 percent of the country's 814 million voters went to the polls.

An early analysis of exit poll results this week by Milan Vaishnav of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington suggested that Modi's party had dominated not only the urban vote but also the balloting in rural areas, which had long been a bastion of the Congress party.

In addition, Modi won the hearts of younger voters, a huge factor in a country where two-thirds of the population is younger than 35.

# COURTING YOUNGER VOTERS

Shri Narendra Modi led one of the most ambitious, presidential-style election campaigns in Indian history, mobilizing an army of volunteers across India and running a 24-hour war room that helped him dominate social media and tailor his change message. He traveled thousands of miles in person and even appeared to voters at rallies as a hologram.

According to Twitter India, Shri Narendra Modi dominated 20 percent of all election-related chatter on Twitter, with 11.1 million mentions between January and May. In comparison, Gandhi was featured in only 2 percent of Twitter conversations about elections, or 1.3 million mentions for the same period.

Courtesty: The Guardian

# Chapter 20 NARENDRA MODI : INDIA'S MOST POWERFUL LEADER SINCE INDIRA GANDHI

Shri Narendra Modi will later be declared India's Prime Minister after his campaign secured its first single Party majority in 30 years.

Britain, the United States and European Union all shunned him for, at least, failing to stop the killing as the state's chief minister. He has since been cleared on any involvement by a Special Investigation Team, but his refusal to apologise for the loss of life perpetuates his notoriety.

The passion generated by the controversy, among both opponents and supporters, has distracted attention from the personal story of the man who will now lead the world's largest democracy.

So who is Shri Narendra Modi, and what made him the most single-minded politician since Mrs Gandhi?

He was born into a lower middle class family from a vegetable oil pressers' caste in Vadnagar, Gujarat, in 1950, the son of a railway tea stall owner and one of six children living in a three room brick and mud home without running water or electricity.

The event which changed his life and led him on his 56 year journey to power was his decision to join the local youth group of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, [RSS] the Hindu nationalist group which promotes personal discipline and the need to strengthen the national character.

The group, which resembles a paramilitary version of the Scouts – members, including the elderly, wear baggy khaki shorts, white rolled-sleeved shirts, Gandhi caps and wield bamboo truncheons – is the power behind the Bharatiya Janata Party.

The group preaches a nationalist philosophy of Hindutva which claims India's Hindu-dominated national identity was formed by centuries of Asian and European occupation and promotes pride in its ancient culture and achievements. It preaches Swadeshi, the Gandhian philosophy of self-reliance and the rejection of foreign-made goods.

The young Shri Narendra Modi became a balswayamsevak or cadet and the RSS his education. Between school and RSS meetings, he worked at his father's tea stall, serving chai to soldiers on their way back from fighting China in the 1962 war.

A cartoon book of his humble beginnings draws him as a clean-cut youth role model who braved a crocodile-infested lake to hoist a temple flag, identified bullies to his teacher at school and helped his mother in her ayurvedic medicine shop.

He had a "child marriage" at 17 in a ceremony arranged by his parents, but within three years he left his wife and set off to become a full-time pracharak or organiser for the RSS.

K.N Govindacharya, a leading RSS economist and adviser to the BJP's first Government, met the future Prime Minister in 1971 when he was 21 at a branch meeting in Ahmedabad, Gujarat.

"He was quiet, efficient, a young man of initiative. He was not very sociable and he required time to learn to interact with others. But he became a leader through sheer hard work and initiative which inspired the others," he said.

He stood out among the RSS's top 500 young organisers and moved swiftly up through its ranks – in 1986 he was deputed to work with the emerging BJP and two years later was made state organising secretary in charge of Gujarat. By 1996 he was the party's All-India National Secretary in charge of Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh in north India.

Mohan Guruswamy, a former BJP adviser and now an analyst for the Centre for Policy Alternatives, regularly lunched with Mr Modi when he was based in Delhi as a BJP official impatient for power.

He was solitary, had few friends, but was a keen observer who voiced frustration at the lack of urgency among older colleagues. "He was very interested in everything around him, but rigid in his thinking," he said.

Another colleague, who asked not to be named, said he was a "creature of the RSS" at that time and used to speak of the need for India to "give Pakistan a good thrashing."

In Government, after he became Chief Minister in Gujarat, he had a baptism of fire. Soon after taking power, and according to Muslim supporters before he had a grasp on the levers of Government, the deaths of 59 Hindu pilgrims on a train at Godra, apparently killed by a Muslim mob, plunged the State into violent riots in which more than a thousand, mainly Muslims were massacred.

His administration was defined by the violence and his reaction to it, but he soon recovered to establish a reputation for strong governance and business-friendly efficiency which encouraged many of India's business families to invest in the state. His popularity with the Ambanis, Ruias, and Adani families, and Ratan Tata, the UK's biggest employer, persuaded Britain to lift its boycott in 2012 and to make friends with him as someone who might just become prime minister in the next few years.

The question now is how will he govern the whole country.

According to Shri Narendra Govindacharaya, the central tenets of RSS ideology will be front of mind, but will not necessarily determine his decisions in Government. His outlook will be guided by its three pillars of Ram, the "civilisational identity of India", Rashtriya, the defence of India, and Bharat, "our own Indian world view, not the European view," he explained.

Some analysts believe his RSS teaching will shine through his foreign policy – he has pledged a "Hindutva" approach to the world – and that its philosophy of Swadeshi or selfreliance will encourage an insular and less liberal approach to foreign investors. He has a great faith in Indian industrialists like the Adanis.

With a clear BJP majority, won through his own presidential-style campaign, he will not be burdened by the need to indulge corrupt politicians or regional allies as his predecessor Dr. Manmohan Singh did to keep his coalition together.

But he could however be frustrated at the limitation of the powers an Indian prime minister has, according to Mohan Guruswamy. As Chief Minister of Gujarat, he has the power to grant land to business leaders, to give permission for investments. But as Prime Minister, he has the authority of his position to ask for things to be done, but not have the ground-level powers to actually implement them.

Courtesty: The Telegraph

### Chapter 21 LANDSLIDE WIN FOR INDIAN OPPOSITION PARTY

A look at the facts and figures around the Indian opposition's resounding election victory, which has fueled hopes of economic revival. Video provided by Reuters Newslook



India's opposition leader, Shri Narendra Modi, will become the next prime minister of the world's largest democracy, winning the most decisive election victory the country has seen in three decades and sweeping the long-dominant Congress party from power.

Shri Narendra Modi, a career politician whose campaign promised a revival of economic growth, will have a strong mandate to govern at a time of profound changes in Indian society. He also has said he wants to strengthen India's strategic partnership with the United States. But critics worry the ascendance of his Hindu nationalist party could worsen sectarian tensions with India's minority 138 million Muslims.

### INDIA: WHY THIS ELECTION MATTERS

The results were a crushing defeat for the Congress party, which is deeply entwined with the Nehru-Gandhi political dynasty that has been at the center of Indian politics for most of the country's post-independence history. The Party, led by outgoing Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, has been plagued by repeated corruption scandals and a poor economy.

As his overwhelming win became clear Friday, Modi appeared before a crowd of cheering supporters and tried to strike a conciliatory note.

"I have always said that to govern the nation it is our responsibility to take everyone with us," Modi said after a lengthy and punishing race. "I want your blessings so that we can run a Government that carries everyone with it."

Nevertheless, Shri Narendra Modi remains a divisive figure in the country of 1.2 billion people, in large part because he, as chief minister of Gujarat state, was in command in 2002 when communal rioting there killed more than 1,000 people — most of them Muslims.

Modi was accused of doing little to stop the rampage, though he denies any wrongdoing and has never been charged with a crime.

He was denied a U.S. visa in 2005 for alleged complicity in the riots, although as prime minister he would be virtually assured a visa. The question now is whether he can be a truly secular leader in a country with many faiths. The Congress party tried to highlight the 2002 riots during the campaign, but Modi's momentum — and laser focus on the ailing economy — carried him to victory.

By Friday evening, Modi's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party was winning in enough seats in the lower house of Parliament to exceed the 272-seat majority needed to create a Government without forming a coalition with smaller parties, the Election Commission said. Of the 357 seats declared the BJP had won 217 and was leading in another 65. Full results were expected Saturday, but Modi's win was all but assured.

There was a record turnout in the election, with 66.38 percent of India's 814 million eligible voters casting ballots during the six-week contest, which began April 7 and was held in stages across the country. Turnout in the 2009 general election was 58.13 percent.

The last time any single party won a majority in India was in 1984, when an emotional nation gave the Congress party a staggering victory of more than 400 seats following the assassination of then-Prime Minister India Gandhi.

But 30 years later, India is now in the throes of rapid urbanization and globalization just as the youth population is skyrocketing. Many new voters are far less deferential to traditional voting patterns focused on family lineage and caste. For the young Indian voters, the priorities are jobs and development, which Modi put at the forefront of his campaign.

Sreeram Chaulia, a political analyst and dean of the Jindal School of International Affairs, said the BJP's image as a purely capitalist, pro-business party resonated across India. That image contrasts with Congress, which is considered more of a welfare party, mixing capitalist reforms with handouts for the poor.

"A lot of ordinary people believed in (Modi's) message and wanted to give him the strong mandate he was seeking, to see if he could really change things in India," Chaulia said. "There has been growth in the middle class, so of course why have they punished the incumbents? Because they want more, obviously, something more than subsistence. They want upward mobility."

The BJP has promised to change tough labor laws that make foreign manufacturers reluctant to set up factories in India. Manufacturing makes up only 15 percent of India's economy, compared to 31 percent in China. Attracting manufacturing investment is key to creating jobs for the 13 million young Indians entering the workforce each year, and foreign investors have been pouring billions of dollars into Indian stocks and bonds in anticipation of a Modi victory. Although he focused strongly on the economy, Modi has given some hints of his foreign policy leanings, saying the BJP wants to build on the foundations laid by Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the last BJP prime minister. Vajpayee, who governed from 1998 to 2004, rode a bus across the border to Pakistan in what was seen as a bold step in trying to mend ties with India's longtime enemy.

Modi said during the campaign that India did not want a war with regional giant China but that his Government would be prepared to deal with what he called Beijing's possible expansionist designs.

The Obama administration has watched Modi's rise carefully, and in February, for the first time in Modi's decade-long tenure as the top official in Gujarat state, the U.S. ambassador met with him.

The election came at a low ebb for the Congress party, which has been in power for all but 10 years of the country's history since independence in 1947. Friday's partial results showed Congress winning only about 45

seats, its worst showing ever. The leader of the Congress campaign, 43-year-old Rahul Gandhi, failed to inspire public confidence. He was seen as ambivalent at best over winning a job held previously by his father, grandmother and great-grandfather.

"I wish the new Government all the best," Gandhi told reporters Friday afternoon, adding that he held himself responsible for the party's losses.

Immediately after his appearance, his mother, Sonia Gandhi, the president of the party, took the microphone and said she assumes responsibility. The two took no questions after their brief remarks, and Rahul trailed his mother off the stage.

Rahul Gandhi, who first won a seat in Parliament in 2004, has been viewed as prime-minister-in-waiting for his entire political career, though he never appeared comfortable in the role. When he finally gave the first television interview earlier this year, it made for dull, uninspiring viewing full of vague promises. In sharp contrast to the street parties outside the BJP office, a sober scene played out in front of the Congress headquarters, where few showed up despite barricades erected to protect supporters from passing road traffic.

Modi, 63, promised a fresh start in India on Friday, noting that he is the first Indian prime minister born after independence from Britain in 1947.

"I would like to reassure the nation that while we did not get to fight and die for independence, we have the honor of living for this nation," Modi said. "Now is not the time to die for the nation but to live for it."

Courtesy: USA Today

## Chapter 22 BOW MY HEAD OBEISANCE TO THIS HOLY LAND, SAYS MODI IN VARANASI

Shri Narendra Modi begins his thanks giving address in Varanasi. Soon after the Ganga Aarti concluded, PM designate Shri Narendra Modi began his address from the dais built on the banks of the river Ganga at the Dasaswamedh Ghat. "I was not given a chance to ask for votes from you in Varanasi. They had gagged me. Despite that gag order the people of Varanasi voted for me and made me the winner," Modi said amid loud cheers. "You have voted a man to power who could not even devote 60 minutes to you. Today I bow my head in obeisance to this holy land and to the people who live in this holy city for this kindness," he said. "On the day I filed my nomination from Varanasi I was not a mere candidate but became a son of the soil from Varanasi. Today I experienced even more warmth from you people," the PM designate said. "All those pictures and banners hanging on the windows and streets cannot make me your own. This was made possible by Ma Ganga. With the blessings of Ma Ganga, I hope to do my work well. Even Ma Ganga is calling one of its sons to relieve it of the dirt that has plagued the river," Modi said. "Today I am present among you people to to do something for you. I intend to put Varanasi on the global map as one of the world's top spiritual destinations," he said. Modi invokes the Mahatma to youch for cleanliness.

The PM designate has soon realised that unless he gets support from the residents of Varanasi, his mission to clean Ganga won't be a success. "Take a pledge that from today that you would keep the city of Kashi clean. We are all servants of Kashi. It is our responsibility to keep it clean," he said. Taunting the Congress, Modi said, "It is for the

first time that coalition may have to be formed to form an opposition, so hard was the slap by the people of the country."

7.05 pm: Sanskrit chants are there, so are the "Har har Modi" chants 7.00 pm: Modi starts Ganga Aarti at Dasaswamedh Ghat As soon as PM designate Narendra Modi accompanied by BJP chief Rajnath Singh and Amit Shah reached the Dasaswamedh Ghat to perform the Ganga Aarti, Sanskrit hymns took over making the atmosphere a very holy one. In between the chants and deafening sound of the conch shells blown with full lung power, an enthusiastic crowd of BJP supporters have filled the air with the "Har, har Modi" slogan as well. Despite the tight arrangements, the security personnel are having a tough time to control the over zealous BJP cadres who want to get as close as they to the country's next prime minister. The cheer and the chaos going on together right on the banks of the Ganga in Varanasi are unmissable. Ironically, before the polls a few days back Modi was denied permission by the Varanasi district administration to conduct the Ganga Aarti on security grounds. Hindu priests perform Aarti on the banks of the Ganges river in Varanasi on 11 May 2014. AFP Hindu priests perform Aarti on the banks of the Ganges river in Varanasi on 11 May 2014. AFP 6.30 pm: Modi on way to Dasaswamedh Ghat for Ganga Aarti After the conclusion of Rudra Abhishek puja at the Kashi Vishwanath Temple, PM designate Narendra Modi flanked by BJP chief Rajnath Singh and Amit Shah is now heading to the Dasaswamedh Ghat to perform the Ganga Aarti. This aarti was also performed by former prime minister Manmohan Singh few years back. Heavy security is in place on the banks of the Ganga as the Special Protection Group has taken over the security of the PM designate. National Security Guard commandos, personnel from the Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh Police along with personnel from the Border Security Force and Rapid Action Force are also entrusted with the security responsibility. In preparation for the Aarti, shops in the vicinity of the venue were asked to close down around 2 pm and apart from two boats the others were asked to move away. One of the boats is carrying security personnel and other video journalists from different media houses. Thousands of people along with local BJP cadres have thronged the venue making the atmosphere euphoric with everyone hoping that their new MP will change the face of Varanasi.

6.10 pm: Sushil Kumar Modi taunts Nitish again on Twitter "Nkumar has a history of resigning & again joining the same govt .After Gaisal rail accident in 1999 he resigned & again joined after sometim"—the former Bihar deputy chief minister tweeted.

5.55 pm: Modi, Rajnath, Amit Shah offer prayers at Kashi Vishwanath Temple PM designate Narendra Modi along with BJP president Rajnath Singh and Amit Shah are currently offering their prayers at the Kashi Vishwanath Temple in Varanasi. The Kashi Vishwanath Temple has one of the twelve Jyotirlingas and is considered to be the holiest of Shiva temples.

5.00 pm: Decision on BJP not strategic but ideological: Nitish Kumar Addressing the media after tendering his resignation to the governor, former Bihar chief minister Nitish Kumar said that the current mandate does not allow him to continue in office. "I was leading the poll process for my party in Bihar. Whatever results have come yesterday, I take full responsibility and I should also take it morally," Kumar told at a press conference in Patna. "This election was more about making personal comments and less about issues. I have never seen such a poll campaigning before. We went to the people talking about development issues.

But it is obvious that the people rejected us. In view of that I and my entire cabinet have tendered our resignation," the JDU leader said taking an indirect dig at PM-elect Narendra Modi. Continuing with his veiled attack on the PM-elect, he said, "We will go into details of our failure later. But our initial response is that no polls earlier saw this kind of communal divisiveness in the state. A communal trend was out in the open. Now we hope that all dreams shown to the youths will be fulfilled by the BJP. We hope that good days are here and good days will stay. The BJP has got its mandate and hope it will keep its promises." Clarifying that the no request for dissolution of the Assembly was given, the former chief minister said, "I have not recommended dissolution of the Assembly. The path is open for an alternative Government to take oath. Our MLAs will meet tomorrow at 4 pm and discuss future course of the action. I have taken my decision by consulting my party chief and senior leaders of my party. There is no problem of majority. This decision was taken at a personal and moral level." Not showing any repent for his decision to move away from the BJP, Kumar said, "The decision to snap ties with the BJP was not a strategic one but taken on the basis of the ideology. This was not for votes but taken on the basis of ideological difference. This decision has not affected the results of the polls. Even the nature of campaign made it clear that we took a right decision to separate from the BJP. But I have my best wishes for the new prime minister as he is going to take charge after getting the mandate of the people."

5.00 pm: This was an expected decision: KC Tyagi "This was an expected decision. We thought that we need to seek a new mandate from the people. This was decided just after the announcement of the results," Tyagi told CNN-IBN.

4.40 pm: Think Nitish took decision not under BJP pressure: RJD Talking to CNN-IBN RJD leader Ali Ashraf Fatmi said that Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar must have resigned taking moral responsibility of the debacle in the Lok Sabha polls and not bowing to any pressure from the BJP. "He has majority in the Bihar state Assembly. There is no reason for him otherwise to quit other than taken moral responsibility of the defeat," Fatmi said. Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar. Image courtesy PIB Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar. Image courtesy PIB

4.12 pm: Nitish Kumar quits as Bihar chief minister Following the electoral debacle, JDU leader and Bihar Kumar Chief Minister Nitish today tendered resignation to the state governor. As per CNN-IBN reports, Kumar has requested the governor to dissolve the state assembly as well. Rebel JDU MLA Gyanendra Singh told CNN-IBN that the decision to part with the BJP was taken at a very time by Kumar. "Had that decision been not taken then today JDU would have won 40 seats and Nitish Kumar himself would have become the most powerful chief minister. After the split we should have won 15-16 seats. But victory in two seats merely shocked us. All MLAs felt that Kumar took a wrong decision and the right time of the split was actually before the Assembly polls," Singh said from Patna. "Earlier Nitish Kumar was seen as a poster boy of development in Bihar. But after the snapping of ties changed everything," said senior journalist Paranjov Guha Thakurta. "This was a very poor performance by the JDU. But prior to that the state Government was already a minority one. In these circumstances, Nitish Kumar had taken the right decision. There was already a dissent going on within the party," former JDU leader Devesh Chandra Thakur told CNN-IBN. "The situation merits the decision he has taken. The dismal performance by the party in the Lok Sabha prompted that decision. Any intelligent and farsighted leader like Nitish Kumar would have taken the decision," Thakur said. BJP MP Kirti Azad welcomed the decision by the chief minister. "Bihar was in a sorry state and the chief minister had become dictatorial. Bihar needs a special package and the Modi Government at the Centre may help the state. Around 52 MLAs of the JDU are already in touch with the BJP for the last seven to eight months," Azad said. "Nitish Kumar is an honest man but he cannot be autocratic," he said.

3.45 pm: Planning Commission chairman Montek Singh Ahluwalia quits 3.10 pm: Ramvilas Paswan thanks Bihar and Narendra Modi Ramvilas Paswan's LJP, which won 6 seats in Bihar, profusely thanked the people of Bihar and then congratulated Narendra Modi on his win. The BJP did fabulously in Bihar, reducing the JD(U) to single digits in the state. Then, he took two not-so-subtle digs at Nitish Kumar and Lalu Prasad Yadav. "The people of Bihar has taught a great lesson to two people - one who wanted to become a PM, and one who wanted to make a PM," he said.

2.15 pm: BJP Parliamentary Board meeting ends After a remarkably short Parliamentary Board meeting, the BJP leaders turned up in full force to address the press conference "BJP hails people's verdict. The people of India have spoken and have spoken decisively. For the fisrt time in the history of India, a non Congress party has secured such an overwhelming majority. India needs a Government that can put the country back on the economic growth track and we will put in our best efforts to do that," Rajnath Singh announced. He added that Narendra Modi will be elected the Prime Minister designate of the party on 20 May. He also said that the date of oath-taking has not been decided. Narendra Modi, who had been relentlessly caustic about the mainstream media's loyalties during his campaigning, embarked on a complete u-turn since

yesterday. In his victory speech he had thanked the 'impartial media'. In today's meet he thanked the media for playing a significant role in increasing voter awareness. "I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the media for helping increase voter awareness. I know, I have not been able to talk to several of you personally. But you are one of my own, so we will keep meeting," he said in his short address. Rajnath Singh also added that Modi will take questions from the media after he has taken oath as the PM.

12.55 pm: RSS has no strings to pull in BJP's new Government? Amit Shah, during an interview to NDTV, commented that the Government intends constructively with the Opposition for the development of the country. On Arun Jaitley's defeat, he said, that the leader's role in the party's decision making will not diminish because of his loss. "Arun Jaitley is a very senior leader in BJP. A small defeat doesn't affect his position," Shah added. Finally, he decided to bat away the RSS question with gusto. Barkha Dutt pointed out that there have been reports of brisk meeting within the RSS after BJP's win and asked if the RSS will have any role to play in the Government, Modi said, "This is not the first time the NDA will run a Government. It has been in power in the past too. And like in the past, the BJP will take its own decisions." However, he refused to spell out that RSS will not be involved by naming the outfit in the interview.

12.49 pm: Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh reaches Rashtrapati Bhavan, submits resignation Meanwhile, Manmohan Singh, has reached the Rashtrapati Bhavan to meet President Pranab Mukherjee and submit his resignation. This is part of the procedures involved in the change of Government.

12.52 pm: Mayawati addresses press conference after drubbing in Lok Sabha polls Despite not winning a single

seat in the Lok Sabha elections, BSP chief Mayawati today said that she was pleased with the result because the party had received more votes than the last election. "Our Dalit voters have stuck with the BSP throughout. This is why the party finished second in 34 seats," she said. "I would like to heartily thank the Dalit voters who stopped the movement from sliding behind," she said. She said that the party was unable to win in this election because of a division in votes among the upper caste and the Muslim community. "We have received more votes this time than even in 2009," she said. The party did get a four percent vote share in this election but then there's nothing quite like having a seat in the Lok Sabha.

12.44 pm: BJP's Parliamentary Board meeting begins in Delhi After addressing workers and fans, BJP PM nominee Narendra Modi began a meeting with senior leaders. The Parliamentary Board meet sees participation from LK Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi, Sushma Swaraj etc. PMelect Narendra Modi (L) embraces BJP senior leader Lal Krishna Advani ahead of a meeting at party headquarters in New Delhi on 17 May 2014. AFP PM-elect Narendra Modi (L) embraces BJP senior leader Lal Krishna Advani ahead of a meeting at party headquarters in New Delhi on 17 May 2014. AFP Prior to the meeting, visuals showed Advani embracing Modi and handing him a bouquet of flowers. Signs of a new friendship? Or it is just Advani mending bridges to ascertain he has a role to play in the BJP in future. 2.18 pm: Modi channels Keiriwal in Delhi, in first post-victory speech in city Modi profusely thanked his supporters and voters in his speech, after he reached the BJP headquarters. "I am extremely grateful to you for your love and encouragement. This win is not Modi's win, this win is the victory of thousands of BJP workers," he said. Here, one can't help remember Arvind Kejriwal, who, during his oath-taking speech, said, "This victory is not Arvind Kejriwal's victory. It is the victory of the people." He then went on to thank the country, saying that this overwhelming victory was for all those who prayed for the well-being of the nation since 1952. "The millions of Indians who voted for BJP, has the first right to this victory," he said. He then added that the win is also a tribute to a several BJP workers who had died in clashes, died fighting for the party in the past. 12.15 pm: Early Diwali for Delhi as Modi reaches BJP headquarters The BJP's headquarters on 11 Ashoka Road, TV visuals show, wears a jubilant, festive look. Orange and green balloons adorn walls and ceilings, hundreds of people have managed to squeeze into the premises. Modi enters the building, unfazed by the swelling crowds, by the hundreds of supporters trying to click pictures of him, shake hands with him and get a close glimpse of their leader. Looking alternatively sombre and happy, Modi negotiate the crowd with a little help from his security personnel, Rajnath Singh and Nitin Gadkari. A shower of rose petals greet him as he crosses the gates of the party office as flash bulbs, phone cameras and an odd iPad goes crazy trying to snap him. 11.36 am: Sonia, Rahul to offer to resign on Monday, say reports Fresh reports coming in say that Congress president Sonia Gandhi and vice president Rahul Gandhi may offer to resign from the party, as part of a move to take responsibility for the pathetic performance of the party in the Lok Sabha elections, where they got only 44 seats. NDTV quoted Congress party sources as saying that the two were likely to make the offer at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee on Monday. However the channel added that the move was likely to be "largely symbolic as party leaders are unlikely to accept it". "Sources say emotional speeches will set the tone for deep introspection on the Congress' spectacular rout. India's oldest party was reduced to double digits in Parliament and failed to win a single seat in 10 states, as a long and grueling campaign by Rahul Gandhi failed to stop the tide of public anger", the NDTV website added. Meanwhile Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's last cabinet meeting has just got underway. He is expected to offer his resignation to the President shortly. 11.25 am: Modi's route to BJP HQ thronged with cheering supporters The next Prime Minister of the country is being cheered ever inch of the 14 kilometres between the Indira Gandhi International airport and the BJP headquarters at Ashoka Road, New Delhi. He is constantly engaging with the crowds, flashing victory signs and waving. And they are simply loving it. 11.00 am: Modi lands in Delhi, flashes Victory sign to crowds And we have our first glimpse of the BJP Prime Ministerial candidate Narendra Modi in the national capital. Hanging out of his car and surrounded by black cat commandos, Modi leant out of his car and flashed a victory sign to the cheering crowds. His convoy is now proceeding at snails pace as Modi waves to the crowd, which at this point can only be described as massive. "Today is a day of celebration. Narendra Modi ji will be coming and we are all happy", said BJP spokesman Ravi Shankar Prasad. "After three- four months to a year of hard work we are happy, but we have a sombre realisation of the expectations of the people of India on us", he said. 10.49 am: Modi lands in Delhi, set for huge road show The crowds Delhi's Indira are thronging to Gandhi International airport to receive Narendra Modi who has landed in the national capital. He will be received by BJP President Rajnath Singh and other senior BJP leaders. He will be driven to the BJP headquarters amid the beating of drums, cheering of crowds and a calvacade of buses and tempos. Reporters in the national capital say that the Delhi police are quite stretched at the moment. Modi's security has been stepped up considerably and he is being provided SPG cover, which is an upgrade from the Z plus security cover was entitled to before. 10.03 am: Serving this nation has been my greatest privilege, says emotional PM In his final address to the nation, a tired looking Manmohan Singh said he respected the decision of the people, who returned a stunning mandate in favour of the Modi-led BJP. "my dear countrymen, we accept your verdict with humility", he said. Speaking off a teleprompter, the Prime Minister made an emotional speech, saying that serving this nation had been his greatest privilege. "I owe this nation everything. For an underprivileged child of partion, I owe it to this country that I reached the highest office. It is a debt I will never be able to repay", he said. "Your love for me will stay with me even after I am no longer Prime Minister". Speaking about his tenure, the PM said that the last ten years had seen many successes and achivements that India needed to be proud of. "Today India is a far stronger country in every respect than it was ten years to go. India has vast latent development potential and we must collectively work hard to realise it" He added that he was also confident about the future of India. "India as an emerging global powerhouse is an idea whose time has come", he said, adding that he wished the incoming Government well and would pray for India's continued success. 9.53 am: PM to make final speech as Modi heads to Delhi Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is about to make his final speech as the leader of the nation. He is the second Prime Minister after Jawaharlal Nehru to serve two full consecutive terms. A few days ago, a profile on the Prime Minister said that he was also sorting through the hundreds of books that were gifted to him - deciding on the ones he wants to keep and take with him to his sprawling 2.5-acre retirement home - 3, Moti Lal Nehru Marg. A PMO official told IANS that there is a pile of files waiting at his table every morning at his official 7, Race Course Road residence. "He is still clearing about 30-35 files every day. At least 10 to 12 people call on him daily," the official said. "He is pretty relaxed these days," the official added. The prime minister has never gone on a holiday. Even on foreign tours, he has never stayed on for an extra day beyond his diplomatic call. After retirement would he be going on a long-deserved holiday? "He has no holiday plans. He has indicated he needs time for himself," an aide told IANS. 9.00 am: Triumphant Modi leaves for Delhi Prime Minister designate Narendra Modi has left Gandhinagar for Delhi, where he will participate in a massive road show. Huge crowds are expected to turn out to cheer for their hero, who led the BJP to an emphatic triumph over the Congress, reducing the party to a mere 44 seats in Parliament. The latest numbers showed the BJP had won 282 seats on its own, with the NDA at 333 seats. The UPA as a whole has only 66 seats. Once he reaches The BJP HQ, Modi will participate in a Parliamentary board committee meeting where he is expected to be declared the leader of the party. This will then pave the way for him to be named Prime Minister of India. 7:30 am: Modi to head to Delhi today The new Prime Minister is heading to Delhi today and you can expect a sea of colour to greet him when he arrives from Gujarat. The party will also possibly be sitting down today to decide Modi's successor in the state of Gujarat, with speculation that it would be Anandiben. CNN-IBN said the Congress party seems to have taken the day off and the party headquarters wears an empty look after the worst decimation in its political history. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh will also be tendering his resignation to the president today. 7:00 pm: Here's the final tally as it stands The Election Commission hasn't called 22 seats in Andhra Pradesh just yet and has some other seats also that are still to be declared. The Telugu Desam Party is leading 11 seats, Telangana Rashtra Samiti is leading in 5 seats, YSR Congress is leading in six seats. The BJP is leading in four of these seats and the Congress in one This is what the final tally looks like presently: BJP - 282 (NDA - 333) Congress - 44 (UPA- 60) AIADMK - 37 TMC - 34 BJD - 20 1:00 am: Modi gets an invite to the US He may not have applied for a visa to go to the US just yet but has already got an invite from the US President who has asked drop in. President Barack Obama tonight congratulated Narendra Modi for his electoral victory during a telephone call and invited him to visit the US at a mutually agreeable time to further strengthen the bilateral ties. "The President invited Narendra Modi to visit Washington at a mutually agreeable time to further strengthen our bilateral relationship," the White House said following the maiden telephonic conversation between the two leaders. The phone call was stated to be brief. Modi, during his US visit would be eligible for an A-1 visa, State Department Spokesperson Jen Psaki said. "The Prime Minister of India will be welcomed to the United States. As Head of Government, Modi would be eligible for an A-1 visa," she said. In 2005, the US State Department had revoked a visa that Modi had for travelling to the US on the ground of alleged human rights violations after the 2002 Gujarat riots. End of updates for 16 May 9.28 pm: Modi live again! Lots of rallies before winning and lots of rallies after winning. That seems to be the mantra. Earlier in the day, it was Vadodara, this time in Ahmedabad. Modi chants renting the air. "From the time, I have been in politics, your love has kept me going. All Gujratis have all right on me, but you have now shared that right with the people of India." "It's the first poll in my political life when I didn't have political sabha in Ahmedabad." "I will never let down the faith you have shown in the BJP, the words of our workers and me. The rivals were busy mudslinging but the people of India have said that the answer to their problems is 'vaikaas'." "Todne ki rajneeti ka yug samapt ho chuka hai, aaj se jodne ki rajneeti ka yug shuru. (The era of divisive politics is over, it is all about getting people together now.)" "Those who criticised me didn't know Modi is such a magician who also made them speak on important agendas. But all these discussions also told the country

that only development can save the country. Even if they spoke about Gujarat negatively, they still spoke about development. There is only one medicine to all problems -development." "Anti-establishment is possible when there is an establishment. But in the last five years did you feel there was an establishment. There was just a vacuum. This was the election of hope. This election with strengthen India's democracy. Gujarat taught me to walk in politics, you have seen me grow. You have sent me to the Centre and if something goes wrong, think it is I who didn't learn well." 8.24 pm: Rahul Gandhi has won in Amethi Maybe this is why Rahul Gandhi was smiling. He has managed to hold on to Amethi by a margin of 1.07 lakh votes. Meanwhile, in Gandhinagar, L.K.ADVANI of BJP wins by a margin of 483121 votes 8.11 pm: Victory for the people of Odisha: Naveen Patnaik Naveen Patnaik: This is a victory for the people of Odisha. Our policy has been one of being equi-distant but we will also try and work closely with the Centre. I hope the Centre Government responds positively to the needs of the nation. We can certainly co-operate as far as the state's demands are concerned. There has been no discussion on a federal front yet. 8.06 pm: There is not reason for Rahul, Sonia to resign: Scindia Jyotiraditya Scindia told CNN-IBN: There is no reason for Rahul, Sonia to resign. We will have to look at where we went wrong. 7.26 pm: BJP win makes up for my defeat: Jaitley Local issues went against us. Too early for me to comment. But BJP win makes up for my defeat. I have been so involved in national campaign that every inch of this victory is delightful to me," Arun Jaitley told NDTV. He lost to Cong's Amarinder Singh from Amrtisar. "We have moved beyond our strong states. There was hope in Modi-led BJP. It was the hope that made this wave stronger." "In a country as diverse as India you have to take everyone along. Since we have an absolute majority, providing stable Government is possible." 6.41 pm: "I told myself that if I

speak it will only be at Vadodara" Narendra Modi is addressing the crowd in Vadodara after BJP's landslide victory. "Everyone wanted me to speak since morning but i told myself that if I speak it will only be at Vadodara. Vadodara has the first right. You tell me... how are you feeling? "Acche dinn," says Modi... Crowd responds... "Aayenge." This is like a concert. The crowd is going wild. "I am here today to greet and thank you. At a personal level, as a candidate, two important things happened... I could give Vadodara only 50 minutes after announcing my candidature. And you gave me 5 lakh 17 thousand votes." Chants of Modi break out. "I bow my head to the love shown by the public in Vadodara. Each voter became Narendra Modi. You completed a very big responsibility." "I didn't get to speak in Varanasi but their stamp of approval was the other big thing. My brothers and sisters in Vadodara, do you know you have established a new record for the first time in 60 years. I haven't told anyone in the media either. My margin of victory in Vadodara is the most ever in a General Elections. I thank the EC, the people, the 'impartial' NGOs and the 'impartial' media." Chants of "Democracy, voters, voting break out again. responsibility... everyone in Vadodara... the awakening of the voters was very important and I thank and congratulate them." There were some people in the crowd who were unable to hear Modi properly. Modi pauses, asks them to move a little closer: "No matter where Modi is, he knows about your problems," says Modi. Crowd cheers again. "When they would speak earlier, they would make fun of me. But if we had got 25 out of 26 also, I would have got a beating. But I thank Guiarat for the clean sweep. I was told, in Gujarat, almost 60 % people voted for BJP, That is a new 'misaal' in India." "After independence most Governments were formed by Cong. And the few times BJP came to power, it was a coalition. But this is the first time that we have won purely on our own -- with a national

agenda based on governance. After this election, most of the PM's were people who weren't born in independent India but this is the first election in which the leadership of the parties (Congress and BJP) was in the hands of people born in independent India." "We did not get the opportunity to die, go to jail, or fight for the country's independence. But I am fortunate of have gotten the opportunity to live for good governance in independent India. I trust people of India, they trust me. It is the power of trust that will work for this country," says Modi. "India's verdict says that they want the country to move forward. The NDA has hit a triple century but the Government doesn't belong to a party, but the people of the country." "In the future, India won't get a worker like me. Every part of my body, every second of my time is dedicated to the people of the country. Sabka saath, sabka vikaas, yehi humara mantra hai. No apna, no paraya for me." "There is no enmity in democracy but there is competition and that is the beauty of democracy. We will take our opponents along with us." Modi ends his speech with his signature 'vande mataram.' Then some Marathi, followed by Gujarati. Finally, he bids goodbye. Now, onto to Delhi. 5.45 pm: Vadodara in party mode, drunk on Modi triumph Vadodara is in party mode. People are practically hanging off balconies and crowding the streets in anticipation of their hero speaking. Modi arrived in the city a short while ago and is expected to the throngs soon. Yashpal Taparia/Vadodara Taparia/Vadodara Yashpal Taparia/Vadodara Yashpal Yashpal Taparia/Vadodara 5.04 pm: World leaders rush to congratulate Modi Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif has congratulated Modi.He was among a bevy of world leaders who rushed to congratulate the BJP Prime Ministerial candidate. He had called him personally and invited him to visit Pakistan. Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa also called the BJP Prime Ministerial candidate and told him to visit the country soon. British Prime Minister David

Cameron and Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot have congratulated Narendra Modi on his party's victory in the Lok Sabha polls and said he is keen to work together. "Congratulations @narendramodi on victory in India's elections. Keen to work together to get the most from UK-India relationship," tweeted Cameron, who was among the first world leaders to greet Modi. Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot also said he looked forward to strengthening ties between India and Australia. Obama has not yet congratulated Modi but earlier he said, "We look forward to the formation of a new Government once election results are announced and to working closely with India's next administration to make the coming years equally transformative".

In 7 states, Congress did not win even 1 seat, says Amit Shah BJP general secretary Amit Shah spoke to the media after the win: "The Modi wave has become a tsunami. In 7 states, Congress did not win even 1 seat. The only two seats Cong won was for the family, same goes for SP." "This is a victory for the country and its people. The people moved towards BJP since Modi was announced PM candidate." 4.30 pm: I hold myself responsible, says Rahul after loss A short statement from a smiling Rahul Gandhi, who said that the party expected to do better, and added that he took the blame for the Congress party's defeat. "I would like to congratulate the new Government. They have clearly been given a mandate and I wish them all the best". And Twitter wonders. Why was he smiling? Sonia Gandhi on the other hand, made a slightly longer statement, saying that they accepted the mandate of the people, adding that "in these elections the Congress candidates did the best against the opposition but the people have not given us the mandate. We accept that. This is a democracy. She also accepted responsibility for the defeat, and added, "We hope that the new Government will not compromise on the country's unity". "We will stand by the morals and principles of our party and will never forget these." 4.18 pm: Kejriwal disappointed with Delhi, happy with Punjab AAP leader Arvind Kejriwal who lost to Narendra Modi in Varanasi, has said that he was disappointed with the party's performance in New Delhi but was happy with the result in Punjab. "We are disappointed with the results in Delhi, could have done better. This battle was never ours, it was of the common man. People never expected that we would do well in Punjab, but we did. There is much churning in this country, the battle is still on, will continue for a long time", he said. Meanwhile in West Bengal, the TMC has won 11 of the 14 Lok Sabha seats declared in the state so far. The Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPi-M), the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Congress shared the remaining three seats. Among the Trinamool's winning candidates is former railway minister Dinesh Trivedi, who retained his Barrackpore seat, defeating his nearest rival Subhasini Ali of the CPI-M by a margin of 213,785 votes. Harvard professor and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's grandnephew Sugata Bose was elected from Jadavpur, defeating CPI-M's Sujan Chakraborty by a margin of 125,440 votes. Other Trinamool winners include film actors Satabdi Roy (Birbhum) and Tapas Pal (Krishnanagar). Both of them were sitting MPs. 4.05 pm: Sonia Gandhi to address media shortly Congress President Sonia Gandhi who oversaw the party's great comeback in 2004, is now faced with the ignominy of presiding over its worst ever defeat. She will address the media in a short while. Will Rahul take responsibility? Are we set for new changes in the party? And most importantly, what next for Congress? 3.27 pm: Results show that BJP is now a party for everyone, says Rajnath In a significant message, BJP President Rajnath Singh said that the overwhelming mandate received by the BJP showed that the party was now a party for everyone. "BJP is now party of slum-

dwellers, adivasis, dalits, poor. We got support from evervone. Let us maintain dignity, calm during celebrations. Don't say anything against any community", he added. So the first move of the party president is to try and distance itself from the image of a hardline Hindutva party. This is an interesting and significant step. 3.22 pm: This is a mandate for Modi, says Rajnath Singh BJP President Rajnath Singh, Venkaiah Naidu and Amit Shah, trusted Modi aide and the architect of the BJP's stupendous performance in Uttar Pradesh swathed in saffron shawls have fed each other lots of ladoos and have hailed the victory, noting that after 1984, this is the first time that any political party has won clear majority in India. "This is a people's mandate for a change. I believe that this mandate is also for Modi", said Rajnath Singh. "No other leader has attended so many rallies as Modi did during these elections. Our agenda this election was development, good governance. We got this spectacular victory on the basis of Narendra Modi's dynamic leadership. The time has come to rewrite the India success story", he added. The BJP President also took the time to thank his party workers for the massive win. The latest leads show that the BJP is leading in 283 seats, while Congress is leading in just 46. 2.58 pm: Modi tweets out selfie with his mother That Modi has wholeheartedly got on to the 'selfie' bandwagon is evident. He took one with Chetan Bhagat which he retweeted on the author's birthday, and then took another after voting in Vadodara. Now he has taken one with his mother, shortly after calling on her to receive her blessings. Heeraben seems to be a selfie natural. Just look at the glee on her face. Considering that her son has just won Vadodara with the largest margin in the history of independent India, who can blame her? Interestingly, the Gujarat BJP had expected the PM candidate to record a bigger victory margin than that set by the CPM's Anil Basu who stood from the Arambagh constituency in 2004 -- 5,92,502 votes more than his closest rival. Former Modi acolyte and now NDA partner Ram Vilas Paswan also hit the 5,00,000 vote margin once, in 1989 on a Janata Dal ticket. 2.54 pm: Superstar Rajinikanth calls election for Modi Rajinikanth has congratulated Narendra Modi. So now there's no going back. 2.44 pm: No provocative slogans, says Rajnath Singh BJP President Rajnath Singh made a short victory address to BJP workers madly chanting "Modi! Modi!" "Never before in history has the Congress been defeated by such a margin", he said to wild cheers. However he then warned against provocation. "Don't use any provocative slogans, let celebrations be peaceful". 2.43 pm: Jairam Ramesh finally admits that there was a 'Modi effect' "This is worse than we expected. We need to take a look case by case. Clearly there was a Modi effect no doubt about it", he said. So the Congress has finally admitted that there was a Modi wave. However Ramesh refused to be entirely doom and gloom. "The Congress has faced difficult times in the past. It has a vast reservoir of strength. It has workers in every village and every town", he said. Meanwhile.

Courtesy: Ayeshea Perera

## Chapter 23 WHAT YOUNGSTERS FROM SAARC NATIONS SAY ABOUT SHRI NARENDRA MODI

On the President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai being invited:

The invitation means a lot for us. India is one the strategic partners of Afghanistan and can play a huge role towards rehabilitation, peace and stability in Afghanistan. The invitation means the friendship of India even after the change of Government continues with our country.

How will it develop India-Afghanistan ties ?:

I think Narendra Modi's invitation itself indicates they want to continue and strengthen the current fellowship even more. Narendra Modi seems a better leader and more serious towards building strong relations with Afghanistan. Even both the candidates of the Presidential race in Afghanistan want strong relations with India. Being a strong economy in the region, increasing the trade and even military contracts will be beneficial for everyone, the both countries and the region as well.

How will Afghanistan support this alliance?

The political atmosphere is under clouds in Afghanistan. The new President and the Government is yet to be elected (elections to be held on 15<sup>th</sup> June) and the nation is in confusion. But one thing is quiet clear whoever becomes the head of new Government will continue the current friendship with India and will work to build it stronger.

What is your opinion of India-Afghanistan relationship, and how can both countries work together?

Both countries can work together for peace and stability within their territories. This goes for all the other nations as well. For example, the Tamil Nadu movement is over, so India and Sri Lanka should forget the arguments and doubts of the recent past and build a new era.

What do you think about a Narendra Modi-led Government and its impact on Afghanistan?

Being a strong competitor with Pakistan India has always.

Being a strong competitor with Pakistan, India has always had an impact on Afghanistan. Narendra Modi, being more serious in this regard, will have to pay more attention to Afghan-India relations.

Abdul Hadi Dareez from Afghanistan

On Bangaldesh PM Sheikh Hasina being invited:

It doesn't mean anything special for Bangladesh. Being a neighbour of India, I would be shocked if Bangladesh wasn't invited. For India, it's a gesture of goodwill inviting everyone. At the same time, I think this might just be a Narendra Modi show that he wants everyone to watch so no one underestimates his authority.

How will it develop India-Bangladesh ties?

To be brutally honest, India has very little care about the well being of Bangladesh. Yes, the relationship is at its warmest point but let's be honest, Bangladesh cannot afford to strain ties with anyone. Whether Modi or Gandhi, whoever comes to power, they would look after India's benefits. So it doesn't really matter who's in power in Delhi, it's all the same for Bangladesh.

How will Bangladesh support this alliance?

Bangladesh is at a point where you as a citizen have no real power. The Hasina Government has created a situation where people are truly scared of speaking their mind, fearing kidnaps and murders and what not. Had there been a fair election last January, Awami league would have seen a much worse loss than Congress.

What is your opinion about India-Bangladesh relationship and how can both the countries work together?

I think India needs to give Bangladesh the same respect they give to Pakistan or China. We are not a doormat. Yes, we are tiny and poor and we need to depend on you for many things. But because Bangladesh depends on India, India should do the right things when it comes to politics or resources that would benefit Bangladesh and not serve the purposes of India.

What do you think about a Narendra Modi-led Government and its impact on Bangladesh?

Narendra Modi Government worries me. It's not because I think he's less capable, but the simple notion of non-secular politics in 2014 worries the heck out of me. Especially in a country with the second largest Muslim population, Narendra Modi needs to be a lot more flexible and, dare I say, secular. No one wants to see 2002 repeating itself.

Tanvir Zaman from Bangaldesh

On Bhutan Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay being invited:

Inviting Bhutanese delegation would mean the friendly relationship between the two countries would continue and remain unchanged.

It is a great honour for Bhutanese representative to congratulate the new Prime Minister of India and also an opportunity to further strengthen our long-term friendly ties. How will it develop India-Bhutan ties?

The relationship between India and Bhutan would remain unchanged despite the change of political leaders in both the countries.

How will Bhutan support this alliance? Currently the political situation in Bhutan is stable and very promising.

What is your opinion about India-Bhutan relationship, and how can both the countries work together? India and Bhutan's friendship is strong, but India should let Bhutan prosper and help it take its own step in developing friendly ties with other countries.

What do you think about a Narendra Modi-led Government and its impact on Bhutan? Narendra Modi, being a business oriented guy, would help support Bhutan in terms of business and economic development.

Gyelmo Dawa, Journalist from Bhutan

On Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa being invited?

Narendra Modi's invitation to SAARC leaders has little to do with SAARC. Narendra Modi is using this opportunity, knowing that the world will be watching should Pakistan refuse to attend. Sri Lanka will attend in good spirits as New Delhi's politics are dealt with differently to Tamil Nadu's politics.

How will it develop India-Sri Lankan ties?

The relationship between India and Sri Lanka will be determined by China's interest in the string of pearls. The Sri Lanka-India friendship will have little effect on neighbouring nations. Only a friendship between India and Pakistan can do that.

What is your opinion about the India-Sri Lanka relationship and how can both the countries work together?

The positions of power at every level have been secured by the ruling Party. Our opposition has no real power to challenge the President. The Sinhalese people have accepted Mahinda Rajapakse as their king. By swaying the Sinhalese-Buddhist sentiment, the Government has given opportunity to hate-mongering groups such as the Bodu Bala Sena to come to the fore and harass minorities. Ethnic politics played by minority parties in the past have come full circle to make this worse. We are in a nepotist dynasty. The key issues that need to be worked on urgently are to do with Indian and Sri Lankan fisherman. Talks need to lead to firm actions in good spirits. The Centre should not let regional politics, i.e. Tamil Nadu, interfere with its foreign policy.

What do you think about a Narendra Modi-led Government and its impact on Sri Lanka?

Narendra Modi's impact on Sri Lanka will be determined by his interactions with China. Sri Lanka has already chosen its ally, knowing fully well that neither country will come to its aid, but wilfully accepting indebting loans from China.

Imaad Majeed from Sri Lanka

Do you think the Pakistan-India relationship will usher in a new era with leaders trying to bridge the gap and forging a mutually beneficial relationship?

I'm not very hopeful, though Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is a keen politician and appears to see the benefits to Pakistan in trying to normalise the relationship with India. That seems to be true for Narendra Modi as well. However, national interest can sometimes be subservient to politicians' own interests, as has been the case in both Pakistan and India about our mutual relationship. For example, if their threats are anything to go by, Indian Jihadis will become active now that Narendra Modi has been elected so spectacularly, and Pakistani hawks will feel compelled to support them. So, the road appears to me to be rocky. I hope sanity prevails among both Governments.

What is the political atmosphere in Pakistan according to you?

Contrary to what many in India think and what many polls seem to suggest, most Pakistanis are now not as bothered about Pakistan's relationship with India as they are with the country's internal problems. We have our hands full with our low-performing but high-potential economy, the energy crisis, the human rights violations particularly against minorities, alarming levels of violence in Karachi, the Taliban menace, and the Balochistan insurgency. Those issues impact our lives a lot more, and on a daily basis, and though we are divided in opinion about them, we think more about them than about relations with India. So I think, if given the choice, most Pakistanis would just want to normalise ties with India, and move past it. After all, it's telling that those who have historically tried to whip up anti-India sentiments in Pakistan are now trying to stay relevant through the Pakistani media war.

What is your opinion about India-Pakistan relationship and how can both the countries work together?

It is too dysfunctional to be defined as a relationship! One moment, it seems as if both countries have matured about their mutual interests and then the other they are leveling accusations at each other. In my opinion, we need to do away with huge, photo-op type policy interventions, like people-to-people contact, and get serious about our relationship. We know that it is not the people who want to fight. The fissures are about political and economic control of the region, and that's what peace overtures should be focused on, things like trade, relaxed visa policies (as initiated by the previous Governments), collaborative production, etc.

What do you think about a Narendra Modi-led Government and its impact on Pakistan?

It's too early to say and I think that leaders' views on critical issues tend to change after they make the transition from campaigning to governing. As a Pakistani though, I am more interested in how my Government should respond to the political change in India. I think our Government should focus on sending across a clear message that we hope that this election heralds a new phase in India-Pakistan ties.

Zainab Anam from Pakistan

Courtesy: dnaindia.com

## Chapter 24 NARENDRA MODI BRINGS A8N END TO COALITION ERA: CHALLENGES AHEAD

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It would not be out of place to recall the social and political similarities of Modi's India in 2014 and Ronald Reagan's U.S. A. in 1981. History shows that when America suffered the worst ever threat of being challenged as a superpower since Iranians made several hostages in American Embassy in Tehran and in spite of high level drama of diplomacy they struggled for months for being released.

Entire America was demoralized and there appeared a not very successful Hollywood Cine Star Ronald Reagan who charged "THE CROWD" with hope and national pride,

The frenzy and craze that was witnessed in the meetings, Narendrabhai's rallies became a bigger frenzy—in fact the whole nation got fully crazy.

MODI MODI echoed the nooks and corners of India. He filled a demoralized nation with new energy and new dream.

## NEAR IMPOSSIBLE AGENDA AND DECISION WITHIN A FORTNIGHT

#### **DECISIONS AT A GLANCE**

1. An unprecedented Oath ceremony of any head of State so far. A landmark gathering of 4000 people from all

walks of life and heads of State of SAARC countries and dignitaries present was a scene in History.

- 2. Announcement of SIT for tracking Black Money stashed abroad.
- 3. Curbing appointments of relatives and friends as personal staff to Ministers is a very thoughtful move.
- 4. Appointing a wise National Security Advisor shows his Government's respect for wisdom and courage.
- 5. Ten point programme for Ministers.
- 6. Desire to strengthen bond between State and Centre by opting to run NDA though BJP in absolute majority.

One cannot disagree with Gurucharan Das who observed, "The typical voter who elected Modi was not a Hindu nationalist. He was a young middle-of—the road person who had recently migrated from a village to a small town. He had got his first job and his first cellphone and he aspired to a life better than his father's.

The stocky son of a self-made son of a Station Chai-Wala inspired him with his message of development and governance, making him forget his caste, religion and village. The young man became convinced that his battle was not against other Indians but against a State that wouldn't give him a birth certificate without paying a bribe."

No political leader ever recognized the importance of the soaring aspirations of underprivileged section of society specially the first time voters. Slogan of good governance and development convinced the youth and they saw in Narendra Modi a strong Leader.

Befitting words of Sudheendra Kulkarni sums up "Dear Narendrabhai, the people of India have placed on your shoulders a heavy burden of responsibility. If you discharge it with wisdom, the hindsight and foresight, history will remember you as a leader who did a lot of good to INDIA."

It will not be out of place to mention and reproduce the interview of His Holiness Sri Sri Ravishankar with The Times of India regarding the victory of Shri Narendra Modi. Here are the glimpses of the interview:



The Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi felicitating His Holiness Sri Sri Ravishankar

How did being at the swearing-in of the new PM and his cabinet at Rashtrapati Bhavan feel?

In ancient days, the Gurus used to do the Rajyabhishek to the Raja, administering the oath. Today, it is the President. Still, in many countries, it is the Bishop or Cardinal who places the Crown on the Head of the King or Queen. That is because wisdom is given first place. The wise have no personal agenda; they work for the welfare of humanity and so, they occupy first position. They practise what they preach.

But today, we're a secular democracy with multiple faiths, cultures and beliefs — wouldn't a Guru administering the oath smack of Hindu nationalism? I only told you what it used to be. Today, you saw leaders of different SAARC countries as invitees. So many religious leaders too were present. So, there's no question of any one religion dominating others.

We spiritual leaders are not there to give Narendra Modi any advice but to give moral and ethical support and ask him to be accountable for moral and ethical wrongs. Black money and corruption were our main concerns — and on the very first day of office, he addressed those issues. We've talked about promoting good governance.

How can the new Government ensure good governance? See, Arvind Kejriwal too had the same intention but his methods have not paid off. How does a leader take everybody along, without causing disturbance? That's the question. Conflict is unavoidable — that Modi invited all SAARC Heads was a very wise thing to do. It got us international mileage and boosted good neighbourly relations.

But there are protests against Sri Lanka's Mahinda Rajapaksa and Pakistan's Nawaz Sharif being invited. Sometimes, we have to overlook these. We have to progress to step two.

But can we ignore firing at the border while Sharif was here and human rights violations against Tamils in Sri Lanka? The situation is complex. Modi has inherited huge baggage, so we need patience and perseverance — overnight, no one can expect that everything will turn rosy. We have to deal with the thorns.

We definitely need a stable Government with a majority mandate — no more khichdi Government. Secondly, we need a person of good experience and with no selfish motives to lead the country.

We need to also promote soft diplomacy — encourage people-to-people contact rather than expect Governments to step in every time. We need to have a vision of a global family beyond borders. The Art of Living has conducted courses in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. We have two orphanages in Sri Lanka and work there in many villages, camps, etc. — we have good relations with Sri Lankans.

Modi did the right thing by inviting Rajapaksa. At the same time, you cannot blame Jayalalithaa and others for protesting as they have to respect sentiments of their people.

Nations are very complex entities — good leaders have to navigate these complexities with dexterity.

But there's the shadow of Godhra?

These accusations are all made up. Read Madhu Kishwar's writing on this. She has done good research. It calls the bluff of all Modi-bashers — he has been bashed unjustly for years and years.

He withstood all that and has come out with flying colours.

#### Chapter 25

# SUGGESTIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA SHRI NARENDRA MODI FOR MODIFYING THE DEVELOPMENTAL POLICIES

Dr. P R Trivedi after analysing the weaknesses in the present developmental policies of the Government of India has great pleasure in suggesting the following changes and modifications to Hon'ble Shri Narendra Modi, the new Prime Minister of India:

## FOR OVERALL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE

#### 1.1 Principles

Dr. P R Trivedi wants the BJP Government to believe that the key issues for India's young people are:

- a) access to secure, affordable and appropriate long term housing;
- b) meaningful work and a competency based wage system;
- c) access to education and training;
- d) a clean and healthy environment;
- e) access to diverse cultural and recreational facilities;
- f) access to reliable and affordable transport;
- g) access to a living environment which is free from the threat of physical or emotional abuse or discrimination of any kind; and
- h) access to health services which focus on the social, economic and environmental factors that impact on the lives of young people.

Information about services available to young people must be accessible and comprehensible. We oppose all forms of ageism, and support initiatives to counter this, including public education and affirmative action.

Youth interests must be included in public policy decisionmaking, and this requires greater input from young people themselves.

Recognising that young people have a positive contribution to make to society, we support representation from young people at all levels of Government. Young people must not only play a central role in formulating those policies which affect them, but they should be included more widely in general policy formulation.

#### 1.2 Goals

Dr. P R Trivedi wants the BJP Government to believe that we will:

- a) facilitate processes which allow young people to express their needs and aspirations at all levels of Government, as well as in their own communities;
- b) listen to young people through regionally based Youth Advisory Committees comprising representative groups of young people with a range of interests and skills, who will meet to discuss ideas, initiatives and solutions to problems, as well as provide feedback and advice on Government programmes. These Advisory Committees will have input at both state and national levels, to assist with greater coordination of national, state and local initiatives;
- c) support the right of people from the age of 16 years to vote and to hold public office, in recognition of the increasing awareness of and responsibility towards current issues of young people.

#### 1.3 Short Term Targets

#### 1.3.1 Unemployment

We will work towards the implementation of a national employment strategy for young people, to be administered at a local level with a focus on facilitating community development.

Local Employment Committees will be established. They will provide vocational training, financial support and the development of job opportunities which address needs within local communities and promote green jobs.

We also support greater representation of young people on regional economic organisations and greater recognition of community-based organisations which will finally generate environment friendly and sustainable as well as socially useful employment opportunities.

All labour market and training programmes must be developed in consultation with young people and should not be discriminatory on any grounds, including age.

#### 1.3.2 Education

Our education system must be able to provide the intellectual and social skills necessary for confronting the social and environmental problems now facing India. The skills and knowledge of indigenous as well as non-indigenous ancestry and culture must be shared with our young people to give them an understanding of the basic solutions to our cultural crisis.

We are committed to:

- a) diverse and inclusive curricula at the school level;
- b) supportive school environments that cater for social and academic development and raise self-esteem;

- c) support for early intervention programme;
- d) more flexible pathways to employment and training;
- e) increased emphasis on training in life skills;
- f) ensuring that training programmes are relevant and accessible, and that they are directly connected to ongoing employment opportunities; and
- g) civic education to enable greater understanding of and participation in all spheres of Government.

#### 1.3.3 Youth Justice

The recognition of young people's issues and needs is inadequate in India's legal system. Young people often feel regulated by the law but without adequate access to and support from the legal system or their legal rights. Young people should be protected from violence, discrimination and exploitation.

#### We support:

- a) immediately establishing a Children's Bureau including a Commission for Children as well as a Children's Ombudsperson; and
- b) the development of a Children and Youth Justice Strategy which would include community legal education and an advocacy programme for young people.

#### 1.3.4 Health

There are many serious health issues facing young people in India. Good health is closely connected to lifestyle. While young people should be encouraged to take responsibility for their own health, we recognise that physical and emotional wellbeing is often compromised by inadequate access to appropriate housing, income support, meaningful work, creative or recreational opportunities as well as by degradation of the environment.

An integrated and holistic approach to health policy is necessary.

Recognising the urgency of the problem, we support the development of strategies to deal with youth suicide and mental health problems among young people.

We also support increased HIV/AIDS education and more preventive programme targeted to young people with eating disorders.

#### 1.3.5 Housing

The number of homeless youth in India is increasing and projections suggest this situation will worsen in the future. Adequate housing and especially secure long term housing are fundamental to young people working towards their chosen lifestyle.

We support facilitation of community housing and housing cooperatives in urban areas as a means to servicing the young homeless.

We support co-housing and all other forms of multiple occupancy.

Young people should be involved in the planning and development of housing appropriate to their needs.

#### 1.3.6 The Environment

Young people have a clear interest and concern in the wellbeing of the planet. Respect for the environment is essential to the security and wellbeing of future generations.

We support community-based employment, housing and cultural activities which increase the quality of life and empower young people without consuming vast amounts of resources and generating excessive waste.

We encourage Hovernment support and facilitation of innovative environmental projects including urbanised community farms as well as gardens, alternative housing construction, design, energy conservation and alternative energy generation, recycling and secondary resource management.

#### POLICIES FOR OLDER PEOPLE

#### 2.1 Principles

In recent years, political parties have been primarily concerned with economic indicators of value. They have devoted scant interest to quality of life issues. When the value of people is measured by their productive capacity inside the market place, older people tend to be disregarded, considered only when their votes are needed at election time.

We consider it fundamental that older people be accorded the same consideration and respect as everyone else. The experiences, skills, wisdom and memories of older people are assets for the whole community. We oppose all forms of ageism, and support initiatives to counter this, including public education and affirmative action.

#### 2.2 Goals

We aim to give older people control over their own social situation, enabling them to realise their potential as fully participating members of society.

This means that they should have the power to take part in designing the institutions that will affect their well-being.

The exercise of choice to determine how to live, and what kind of care is needed, is as important for older people as for everyone else.

#### 2.3 Short Term Targets

We are working towards:

- a) promoting a supportive environment for older people;
- b) giving everybody the right of early retirement;
- c) ensuring that the right to work is not governed by age;
- d) adequate health services;
- e) ensuring that older people have access to a range of suitable accommodation including quality public sector housing;
- f) personal care for all older people;
- g) providing sufficient home and institutional care so that older people who need assistance can be assured of living out their lives in comfortable and dignified surroundings that are appropriate to their individual conditions and capacities;
- h) easing the problems of transport for older people;

#### POLICIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN

#### 3.1 Principles

We are committed to the following:

- a) the protection of women's rights to equal respect, opportunity and responsibility in society;
- b) basing policies on ensuring equal access by women to all areas of political, social, intellectual and economic endeavour;

- c) increased and equitable participation by women in all decision-making processes;
- d) infrastructure changes to protect women from inequality, exploitation, poverty and violence; and to enable them to reach their full potential;
- e) the right of women to make informed choices about their lives lifestyle, sexual identity, health, whether to bear children, their reproductive process, etc. Discriminatory laws against women must be repealed. Women and men should be able to choose whether they participate in the areas of paid work and/or domestic responsibility.
- f) women having equal access to all forms of education and training.

#### 3.1.1 Women and Violence

All women have a right to safety at home, on the street and in the workplace, but violence against women is not only a women's problem. Breaking the cycle of domestic violence in particular is a societal problem and the provision of shelter and refuge should be considered only a short-term solution. Any act of violence should be condemned publicly and privately as unacceptable. Our long-term objective is to create an environment of nonviolence, and to provide care and protection for victims in the interim.

#### 3.1.2 Women and Pornography

We oppose the production, performance, display and distribution of pornographic material which depicts women and children as suitable objects for violence and sexual exploitation.

#### 3.1.3 Women and Education

We seek to ensure educational experience and outcomes for girls and women that enable full and equal participation in all aspects of economic and social life.

#### 3.1.4 Women and the Environment

The environmental decision-making process has, to date, largely excluded women.

Some environmental planning and decision-making needs to be decentralised and devolved to local communities in such a way that the concerns of all people are heard.

The domestic sector and those industries where women predominate should have equal representation in environmental planning and decision-making.

#### 3.1.5 Women and the Arts

We support greater recognition of women's contribution to arts and acknowledge the role of women in shaping and representing cultural norms.

We will work towards ensuring that the views of women are represented, for example, through such avenues as representation of women on Arts Advisory Boards.

#### 3.1.6 Women and Sport

We support equal access for women and men to recreation facilities, coaching, sports education, competition, media coverage and funding. The need for programme which encourage girls to continue sporting and recreational pursuits beyond early secondary schooling is a priority.

#### 3.2 Goals

#### 3.2.1 Political and Public Participation

We will work towards:

a) ensuring that any reform is consistent with India's commitment to the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN-CEDAW);

- b) ensuring equal representation of women in decisionmaking processes in the organisations of at all levels, local, state and national; and
- c) ensuring that all public boards and committees will have a statutory requirement for equal representation of women and men.

#### 3.2.2 Women and Violence

We will work towards:

- a) a review of all relevant laws which have bearing on violence against women, treatment of victims and perpetrators; and
- b) ensuring women's access to safe and secure accommodation through a comprehensive housing policy and the provision of adequate emergency housing.

#### 3.2.3 Women and Pornography

We will work towards promoting the use of legal complaints procedures and processes.

#### 3.2.4 Women and Health

- a) ensuring research and development funds are allocated both to women researchers and into women's health problems;
- b) ensuring changes to the education of health providers with regard to women's health issues;
- c) improving women's access to information regarding their health in order that appropriate personal decisions can be made;
- d) preventive health strategies targeting women and girls, including those which reduce the incidence of smoking amongst females;

e) providing strategies for more women medical practitioners to enter those specialisations where women are currently under-represented.

#### 3.2.5 Women and the Workforce

- a) ensuring equal opportunities for people employed in the paid work force with family responsibilities;
- b) ensuring the provision of adequate child care facilities in the workplace;
- c) encouraging flexible working conditions to enable workers with family responsibilities (eg. parents minding young children, and adult children minding ageing parents) to fully participate in the workforce, and avail themselves of opportunities equally with those who do not have those responsibilities;
- d) providing centres for continuing education and training for workers, including training and promotion opportunities for part-time and temporary workers;
- e) taking steps to facilitate re-entry, without loss of occupational status, of people who leave the workforce for parental leave or family responsibilities leave;
- f) ensuring changes brought about by strategies relating to the elimination of sexual discrimination will not place undue and unequal responsibility upon women and add to women's workload;
- g) ensuring that award restructuring includes the specific aim of upgrading and broadening the low-paid, low-status positions that have traditionally been work for a majority of women, particularly migrant women; and
- h) ensuring that women enjoy the full benefits of enterprise bargaining arrangements, particularly in the traditional work areas such as the service industry, where there is low union representation.

#### 3.2.6 Women and Education

We will work towards:

- a) ensuring that a National Policy for the Education of Girls in Indian Schools is implemented at all levels, until national indicators on education outcomes are relatively equal for women and men;
- b) the elimination of gender-based harassment in school and educational institutions and the establishment of Equal Opportunity offices to assess and consult about the effectiveness of programme and policies to achieve this;
- c) ensuring that teacher training for new and continuing teachers critically examines the patterns of sex role stereotyping that occur in our society;
- d) continuing Territory / State / Central programme to promote girls' and women's greater participation in access to school, and university education, especially in science and technology disciplines;
- e) promoting policies to achieve a higher retention rate of women at higher degree level in universities; and
- f) promoting policies to encourage a higher representation of women academics in all faculties of universities, and a higher proportion of women in senior academic positions.

#### 3.2.7 Women and the Law

- a) remedying existing discrimination by ensuring a higher representation of women on legislative and judicial bodies;
- b) examining ways women could be encouraged to enter private practice and the bar;
- c) encouraging women to enter all areas of the legal profession,
- d) reviewing all laws which have a bearing on violence against women;
- e) developing further options for the protection of victims, and for the naming of perpetrators;

- f) addressing the myth of 'victim-blaming' by promoting change in societal attitudes to violence;
- g) removing sexist language from existing laws, and ensure future legislation is non-sexist and does not assume assignment of roles according to sex;
- h) repealing laws relating to sex work.

#### 3.2.8 Women and the Environment

We will work towards:

- a) implementing strategies and programmes to ensure that all environmental assessments include consideration of impact on health, community and women; and
- b) implementing strategies to ensure that women's needs and advice are considered in the area of urban planning.

#### 3.2.9 Women and Sport

We will work towards:

- a) developing monitoring strategies for equal opportunity and anti-discrimination principles to be applied to the administration of all sporting organisations; and
- b) ensuring allocation of funding and awards will not be discriminatory and will allow equal opportunity for women.

#### 3.3 Short Term Targets

#### 3.3.1 Political and Public Participation

We will work towards developing programmes and strategies to provide women with the skills to be effective candidates and members of parliament and to actively promote women to stand as candidates for election.

#### 3.3.2 Women and Violence

We will work towards:

a) establishing a national enquiry into sexual assault and uniform sexual assault laws. Specifically, the Party want recognition of sexual assault within marriage and relationships;

- b) providing education from early primary school level on non-violent conflict resolution;
- c) addressing the health effects, both physical and emotional, of violence against women, through adequately funded, appropriate health and education programme;
- d) using publicity and educational campaigns to bring about a change in the way violence is viewed in our society, which includes a strategy to educate men that violence against women is a crime;
- e) expanding crisis services for women, with and without children. These include refuges, and services in areas such as rape crisis, abortion counselling, incest and domestic violence. Special provision needs to be made for geographically remote locations.

#### 3.3.3 Women and Pornography

We will work towards:

- a) extending classification systems to include video games, live performances and other leisure technologies;
- b) strengthening regulation on the display of advertising of material which includes violence against and sexual exploitation of women and children;
- c) instituting an education programme to encourage critical examination of the role that the entertainment industry and the media play in the portrayal of women and children as victims of violent and sexual exploitation;

#### 3.3.4 Women and Health

- a) ensuring access to safe contraception on demand for all women, and information on options available;
- b) ensuring that women have a choice of where and how to give birth and information on available options;

- c) repealing all laws which restrict the right of women to choose abortion and which restrict access to services; and
- d) ensuring access to legal, affordable, humane and safe abortion for all women, and provision of counselling pre and post-termination.

#### 3.3.5 Women and the Workforce

We will work towards:

- a) ensuring that apprenticeships and training programmes have positive discrimination towards women to ensure that opportunities are not denied to women because of inaccurate evaluation of women's ability;
- b) giving the provision of maternity and paternity leave equal status in order to encourage the sharing of the parenting roles and equality of gender in the workplace;
- c) undertaking programmes to raise awareness on issues of gender equity in the workplace and in education;
- d) ensuring that women have access to adequate retirement income, including superannuation; and
- e) ensuring continuation of superannuation during parental leave.

#### 3.3.6 Women and Education

- a) providing adequate funding for the support structures and the support personnel necessary to implement national policy;
- b) ensuring that affirmative action is practised in schools to overcome the attitudes inherent in our society that result in different expectations for girls and boys. Such action would include changing school curricula and increasing girls' participation in areas of maths, science, technology and trades;

- c) the application of affirmative action to increase the number of women in senior, policy and decision-making positions in educational systems;
- d) providing bridging courses for women to facilitate their entry into the formal education arena;
- e) expanding women's participation in science and technology to ensure that the introduction of new technology does not further the advantage of men; and
- f) increasing women's access to training and education in the use and understanding of computers and computer technology.

#### 3.3.7 Women and the Law

We will work towards:

- a) applying affirmative action to ensure that more women hold senior level positions within the Public Service departments responsible for policy, administration and enforcement of the law;
- b) applying affirmative action to ensure that more women hold senior faculty positions within Schools of Law;
- c) strengthening laws which prohibit portrayal of women or children as objects of violence or sexual exploitation; and

#### 3.3.8 Women and the Environment

We will work towards:

- a) ensuring equal and proportionate representation of women on environmental decision-making bodies; and
- b) applying affirmative action principles to ensure women are able to participate at all levels of planning, implementation and assessment of environmental policy.

#### 3.3.9 Women and Sport

We will work towards:

a) providing public education to raise awareness of women's rights to equal recreation and the importance of this; and

b) providing public education to change attitudes towards women in sport.

#### POLICIES FOR HEALTH

#### 1.1 Principles

We believe that good health is dependent upon:

- a) the environmental, social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual context of life;
- b) protection of the biosphere and Earth's ecosystem, and ecological sustainability;
- c) peace and nuclear disarmament, freedom from war, freedom from violence in the community and in the home;
- d) social justice and community participation in decisionmaking;
- e) the provision of equal access to affordable, appropriate health services, which emphasise care as well as cure;
- f) an emphasis on community-based and community-controlled primary health care, available from a comprehensive range of service providers;
- g) the placement of greater emphasis on health promotion, disease prevention and education for optimum health;
- h) research which encompasses traditional and alternative/complementary treatment modalities;
- i) an intersectoral approach to policy-making with healthoutcomes criteria affecting decisions made across a range of portfolios, such as transport, housing, environmental protection, employment, local community services and education;
- j) the availability of a universal health fund covering not only medical and hospital, but including the full range of appropriate health services and also including dental and nursing services; and
- k) forms of treatment which have been developed in an ethical framework which acknowledges true environmental and social cost/benefits.

#### 1.2 Goals

Our aim to:

- a) develop and implement a national environmental health strategy which supports a public health approach to health enhancement, and identifies clear national health priorities;
- b) reduce high hospital admission rates by re-orienting health service provisions to a public health focus which is preventive, and to a primary care approach concerned with maintenance of optimum health status;
- c) phase out the use of animals for medical research;
- d) instigate a parliamentary inquiry into iatrogenic deaths in hospital;
- e) develop, with widespread community consultation, a Health Bill of Rights and Responsibilities;
- f) ensure that India fulfils international obligations to address environmental issues which impact on health;
- g) ban the use of hormones and drugs on farm animals, other than those medications which are therapeutic and individually prescribed by veterinarians;
- h) restrict the use of chemical food additives and the practice of irradiating food;
- i) consider the effects of fluoridation of drinking water;
- j) expand the network of multi-disciplinary community health centres which will provide a range of treatment options, with community-based control of resource allocation;
- k) expand the availability of birthing centres, where midwives provide primary management;
- l) expand the availability of mobile women's health centres in remote and rural areas;
- m) initiate programme aimed at reducing suicide rates, particularly among young people and people in rural areas;

n) reintroduce dental care as a service claimable under Medicare.

#### 1.3 Short Term Targets

We support:

- a) the maintaining of Medicare;
- b) an increase in the Medicare levy on the basis that such funds (i.e. those derived from the increase ) be directed specifically to primary and public health care (i.e. to maintenance of optimum health) rather than to reactive disease management interventions;
- c) the proposal that all pharmaceutical drugs be sold under their generic name as well as under their commercial one and that the generic name appear in all advertising for a particular drug;
- d) the implementation of legislation whereby Medicare rebates are available across a wider range of therapeutic interventions;
- e) the development and implementation of social policies to address the widespread over-use of medications.

## POLICIES FOR IMPROVING THE STATE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

#### 2.1 Principles

We support :

a) a vision of education as a life-long process of intellectual, physical, emotional, ethical and cultural development, taking place in a variety of formal and informal settings, and aimed at empowering people to live purposeful, satisfying lives, to help develop communities that are peaceful, just and ecologically sustainable, and to extend that ethical commitment to the other peoples of the world. Lifelong education can enable all citizens to make a lifelong constructive and creative social contribution:

- b) a vision of lifelong education, within which each person may be called on to become a teacher sharing skills, knowledge and insights with others;
- c) the right of all people to have access to educational experiences appropriate to their needs, abilities and aspirations, and to adequate financial support while undertaking formal educational programme;
- d) the right of all children to an education;
- e) the right of all people who are committed to homeschooling to choose to educate their children at home;
- f) major programme to create jobs, and the development of a rational approach to workforce planning at the national level, so that all people may participate in socially useful and satisfying forms of work;
- g) the maintenance and strengthening of a quality public schooling sector;
- h) the right of parents and citizens organisations, community groups and academic and student unions to play a significant role in setting directions, priorities, curricula and the running of the public education system. This will assist the development of an education system appropriate to a multicultural India, which places more value on a sense of community and enriching personal relationships than on motives of competition and profit which presently permeate our society; and
- i) the important roles played by professional associations, private providers, community groups and business in providing educational opportunities.

Recognising that in a technological society, empowerment of the individual relies on his/her ability to effectively use communication technology and information systems, we will support education policies to enhance the opportunity for all Indians to become scientifically and technologically literate.

#### 2.2 Goals

#### 2.2.1 General

- a) provide a quality public education system with guaranteed access for all;
- b) develop a national work-force planning capacity based on sound research, and reflecting national industry and employment objectives which are built on the fundamental principles of social justice, sustainability and increasing national self-reliance;
- c) develop lifelong education and training options which enable people to change occupations as they mature and grow older;
- d) provide additional incentives and provision for a continuous cycle of in-service training for teachers at all levels of education, including tertiary teaching;
- e) develop the associationist principle, leading over time to a diminution in the role, authority and scale of centralised educational bureaucracies, and an increased level of democratic and responsible community involvement and authority in setting the educational objectives and curriculum content of our schools; and
- f) increase emphasis in education on such aspects as: lunderstanding human relationships and psychological processes,
- physical and emotional health and well-being, dignity and self esteem,
- the development of an ethical commitment and of caring attitudes to other people and to the planet,
- the importance of cooperation and social benefit rather than competition and profits as social goals,
- a sense of responsibility for the well-being of future generations, and
- adaptability and flexibility.

#### 2.2.2 Tertiary Schooling

We will work to:

- a) implement a policy of free tertiary education;
- b) extend access to tertiary education through development of more decentralised campuses, through the use of distance delivery modes and through open access programmes;
- c) conduct environmental audits and environmental development plans in all tertiary institutions; and
- d) encourage all tertiary institutions to include environmental programmes among their courses.

#### 2.2.3 Primary and Secondary Schooling

- a) review the current National Statements in the key learning areas to ensure that:
- there is a balanced concern in school curricula for all dimensions of human development intellectual, physical, emotional, ethical and cultural;
- there is a balance between such emphases as personal development, intellectual understanding, technical and technological competence, vocational skills and learning for democratic citizenship;
- critical perspectives and processes are integral to all areas of the curriculum in schools;
- there is emphasis on global interdependence;
- all curriculum areas reflect a commitment to the development of a more peaceful, just, democratic and ecologically sustainable world for all people; and
- b) increase democratic participation in the decision-making processes within schools and within home-based and community-based educational settings;
- c) guarantee the right of all children to education which promotes freedom of thought;

- d) guarantee the right of parents to choose to educate their children at home or in other settings without being bound by compulsory registration, provided they can demonstrate a commitment to ensuring a balanced education for their children; and
- e) encourage the development of local, community-based and democratically controlled public schools, through provision of capital and recurrent funding to such schools on a demonstrated needs basis, provided those schools reflect the principles of the national education policy.

## 2.2.4 Ethical Commitment to other Peoples of the World

We will work to:

- a) extend the funding available through international organisation for educational projects aimed at enhancing international cooperation and understanding, and at promoting social justice and sustainability within communities and countries overseas through the unconditional funding of projects devised by and for the people of those communities and countries;
- b) ensure that educational links with other societies, through such appropriate development means as training schemes, exchanges, admission of overseas students, development projects and consultancies, are characterised by justice, equity and cultural sensitivity;
- c) develop educational material and methods for futurevision building; and
- d) provide increased financial support for the activities of Development Education Centres.

#### 2.3 Short Term Targets

#### 2.3.1 General

- a) allocate increased resources to all levels of formal education, but with particular attention to supporting the renovation of the primary sector;
- b) extend Open Learning opportunities so that people of various ages in all locations may have access to quality educational programmes of formal and informal study;
- c) retain appropriate centralised conditions of employment for teachers, including the principle of tenure;
- d) extend funding and other support to community groups, non-government organisations, business, private providers and others offering appropriate community education programmes and facilities, including those catering for interest areas and segments of the population not catered for by conventional and formal educational provision;
- e) provide additional funding for students who are physically and/or intellectually disabled, or who are disadvantaged by location and/or distance.

#### 2.3.2 Tertiary Schooling

We will:

- a) work to increase democratic participation in the decisionmaking processes within tertiary institutions;
- b) allow the collection of fees from students for amenities and services, provided any fees collected are under the democratic control of the student body.

#### 2.3.3 Primary and Secondary Schooling

We will support a review of the Profiles developed in each area of the National Curriculum to ensure that they reflect the intentions of the National Statements, are supportive of sound educational principles, and are not used to promote an unwarranted technical, vocationally-driven notion of educational attainment.

#### 2.3.4 People Requiring Special Consideration

We consider that the following groups of people should receive special consideration:

- people in remote areas; and
- people from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

#### We will work to:

- a) raise awareness within the community of the educational needs of these special groups;
- b) guarantee equity of access as well as participation in appropriate curricula;
- c) establish and maintain conducive as well as educational environments;
- d) guarantee equitable resource allocation;
- e) provide specialist support services; and
- f) actively encourage such specialists to take up teaching and other positions within educational institutions.

#### 2.3.5 Education for Sustainability

We will work to:

- a) develop a national strategy for environmental education which addresses the complete range of environmental education in the formal and informal education sectors, with some emphasis on locally based action;
- b) encourage Indian industry to ensure that its vocational practices are environmentally sound, and that vocational training (and other education) are to world best practice standards and to the best available environmental standards (which may be in advance of existing world best practice); and
- c) provide support for schools which develop organisational practices to minimise their environmental impacts (for example, energy use), and ensure that maintenance and refurbishment of infrastructure is environmentally sound.

#### HOUSING POLICY FOR ONE AND ALL

#### 3.1 Principles

We will support initiatives which ensure that:

- a) new urban developments are environmentally sound, respect human scale and facilitate community interaction; and
- b) the community is able to participate fully in urban planning and in the assessment of development proposals.

#### 3.2 Goals

We will work to:

- a) ensure that people unable to provide for their own housing are given assistance to do so by the Government;
- b) eliminate housing-related poverty by increased provision of public housing;
- c) increase tenant participation in decisions about services to be provided;
- d) review building codes so that houses are constructed in accordance with energy efficient design criteria and so that building materials are selected for their low environmental impact;
- e) regulate the materials used by the building industry so that the environment is protected from both overexploitation and toxic processes;
- f) encourage the development of urban villages in consultation with local communities to allow people to live in ecologically and socially satisfying ways within cities; and
- h) ensure that the facilities that promote healthy communities (recreational, cultural and social amenities) receive priority in town planning.

#### 3.3 Short Term Targets

#### 3.3.1 General Planning

We propose that:

a) any future urban development be based on environmental and social planning principles by

- ensuring that house blocks are correctly aligned for maximum solar access;
- landscaping for rainwater trapping and waste water recycling;
- maintenance of privacy and noise controls;
- provision of adequate public open space;
- designing integrated cycleway networks across urban areas; and
- lowering residential speed limits.
- b) town centres be planned to contain a greater mix of commercial activities with
- introduction of more residential activity; and
- re-humanising of the centres through more public open space and attractive urban design;
- c) different types of housing be available to cater for diverse social needs, including
- youth;
- non-family groups;
- the disabled; and
- older people;
- d) the community's reliance on private motor vehicles be reduced through
- improvements in public transport;
- concentration of residential, educational and small-scale commercial development around neighbourhood shopping centres;
- the introduction and expansion of commuter cycling systems; and
- strategic location of carparking spaces.

#### 3.3.2 Urban Development

The public transport system must be energy-efficient, economic and convenient, e.g. light rail integrated with

other express and normal bus services to other parts of the cities.

#### We propose:

- a) that planning of urban developments focus on the concept of urban villages based on environmental and social principles;
- b) that public housing be well integrated with other types of housing;
- c) that continued funding of community housing programmes be supported; and
- d) that certificates with gradings be issued to owner-builders in remote areas so people can live in "unfinished" houses if they choose to do so.

#### 3.3.3 Building Design

#### We propose:

- a) mandatory provisions requiring new buildings to meet minimum standards of energy-efficiency, noise insulation and water conservation;
- b) encouragement of local wastewater recycling, composting toilets and rainwater collection systems;
- c) adequate car parking requirements for buildings; and
- d) a system of solar access rights to facilitate the passive solar design of new residences.

#### EFFICIENT TRANSPORT POLICY

#### 4.1 Principles

Our transport policy is based on:

- a) enabling people to obtain access to a wide range of destinations, goods and services in a safe, timely and energy-efficient manner which has low environmental impact;
- b) the recognition that urban form and design are crucial aspects of transforming transport policy;

- c) using integrated transport and urban planning, and incorporating environmental and social costs, so that energy-efficient modes of transport (walking, cycling, public transport, rail, coastal shipping) and non-transport solutions are able to compete for funding with the provision of facilities for cars and trucks;
- d) empowering local communities so that they can make informed choices;
- e) getting the most out of existing facilities by managing demand, rather than continually building facilities to meet projected demands; and
- f) favouring walking, cycling and public transport as the preferred modes of "passenger" transport.

#### 4.2 Goals

Our aim to:

- a) dramatically reduce per capita and overall use of fossil fuels for transport, making the system sustainable into the future;
- b) reduce car ownership and use for urban commuting while improving the quality of service provided by public transport, especially in relation to frequency, speed and convenience;
- c) increase recognition that access to an adequate level of public transport services is a community right and that these services should remain under public control and not be subjected to full cost recovery;
- d) make users of private transport aware of, and ultimately pay for, the full costs of their transport choices;
- e) increase opportunities for the community to participate in integrated transport and urban planning;
- f) shift urban form towards the development of urban villages, to bring people and jobs together in areas wellserviced by public transport;
- g) reduce the direct impacts of transport infrastructure (e.g. noise, air pollution) on urban neighbourhoods and provide

fair compensation for those affected by new transport infrastructure;

- h) improve the safety of roads, especially for pedestrians and cyclists, and of airways and sea-lanes;
- i) provide improved access to transport services for residents of rural India;
- j) improve services for those with special needs, including people with disabilities, youth and older people; and
- k) encourage the cycling and walking amenity of the streets by supporting, for example, lower urban speed limits on residential roads.

#### 4.3 Short Term Targets

#### **4.3.1 Overall**

We will work to:

- a) ensure the adoption of national standards for ambient air quality equal to or better than world best practice;
- b) ensure the adoption of national noise and emissions standards for petrol and diesel vehicles equal to or better than world best practice; these standards will include requirements for testing; and
- c) develop targets for self-containment levels in urban planning; that is, measures of the degree to which jobs, retailing and local services are located with residential developments.

#### 4.3.2 Land Transport

- a) in each major city, double the market share (in passenger kilometres) held by public transport compared with private cars by 2010;
- c) ensure the adoption of targets for the average fuel efficiency of new additions to the national car fleet of 5.0 litres per 100 km by 2005, reducing to 4.0 litres per 100 km by 2010;

- d) ensure the adoption of mandatory fuel-efficiency labelling of new cars;
- e) make all central funding or approvals for transport projects contingent on the achievement of specified environmental and social criteria; these criteria will include air quality standards (including greenhouse emissions), environmental protection benchmarks and public participation;
- f) ensure that in planning any new road construction, thorough consideration is given to the need for the road, viable public transport alternatives, destructive impact on local communities as well as the external costs to the environment.

#### 4.3.3 Ports and Shipping

We will work to:

- a) cap the number of port sites at the present number;
- b) amend rules to expose oil tankers to strict and unlimited liability when travelling within Indian waters, bringing India into line with the world best practice embodied in the United States Oil Pollution Act 1990; and
- c) institute strict and mandatory controls on ballast water discharges and on other practices that put the Indian marine environment at risk.

#### 4.3.4 Air Transport

Recognising that air transport causes considerable environmental damage and is also less fuel efficient by a large factor than ground transport, particularly in comparison to transport by rail or by sea, we consider it important that the environmental costs of air transport are taken into account openly and incorporated into the cost of air travel.

We believe there are many unexplored possibilities for decreasing the dependence on air travel. One of these is the expansion of teleconferencing. In general, we will support measures such as tax incentives which will encourage people to fly less.

We recognise that bad planning in a number of cases has caused housing areas near airports to have an unacceptable noise level and support moves to remedy such mistakes, for example through modifying flying patterns and airport operations and compensating residents in the most affected areas.

# INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY POLICY TO BE USER FRIENDLY

## 5.1 Principles

Our Information Technology (IT) policy flows from the basis that we must adopt lifestyles and development paths that respect and work within the ecological limits. Developments in IT need to be subject to community scrutiny and the benefits of IT need to be shared amongst all members of the community and not be used to increase power and privilege for a few.

We want the debate about technological choice brought out of the back-rooms of Government and industry and into the public arena. There must be appropriate public IT planning to ensure integration of IT into the broader social and economic objectives and to avoid the adoption of IT products becoming supplier-driven and piecemeal.

Full implementation of on-line services envisaged in some "Information Superhighway" proposals will be very expensive and the extent to which Government should fund

such proposals requires further analysis. We will support sufficient Government funding to enable no- or low-cost access to e-mail, the Internet and other electronic information resources for schools, libraries and public sector organisations, in a context where the provision of such services is important to full participation in society.

We support direct measures, rather than tax incentives, which tend to be less equitable, to help organisations convert their systems to avoid the millennium bug.

#### 5.2 Goals

Real opportunities exist for India, with a relatively educated and skilled population, to make a large contribution to developments in software, multimedia and intellectual property.

We support universal access to the fullest range of information and communication services.

# **5.3 Short Term Targets**

We propose:

- a) the establishment of an independent Information Technology Assessment Board (ITAB), to continually assess both new and existing information technologies and to recommend Governmental action. Economic assessment would run alongside checks on health, safety, environmental and cultural impact, risks, and job satisfaction. The ITAB would have a statutory obligation to keep the public informed of its work in a clear and accessible way;
- b) the encouragement of significant value-added operations in IT, such as Research and Development (R&D).
- c) in the practices of Government Departments and in private business, the enforcement of the principles of:

- privacy maintaining the confidentiality of personal information; and
- freedom of information enabling public access to statistics and decision-making processes;
- d) the encouragement of the adoption of codes of ethics or practice for which members of practising professional bodies can be suspended or "struck off" if the code is contravened? preventing or restricting their ability to practise;
- e) to make Government set an example of open and responsible use of IT in its own systems;
- f) the promotion of the development of networking standards for global operation in order to boost international communication, understanding and trade;
- g) support for a democratic, egalitarian operation of the Internet with appropriate regulation based on wide public discussion;
- h) support for the growth in "telecommuting" whereby office staff can work from home, reducing the demand for physical commuting, whilst ensuring protection for employees' conditions;
- i) support the growth of teleconferencing in order to decrease the dependence on air travel
- j) support for the growth of remote "work centres" or "televillages" in order to reduce depopulation and increase employment opportunities in rural areas;
- k) support for the growth of "tele-conferencing" in order to decrease the need for travelling;
- l) to prevent the emergence of monopoly in telecommunications, computing or IT;
- m) to identify and list sensitive applications/systems (i.e. with safety or security implications) and restrict their design to qualified professionals holding a valid licence to practise;

- n) to achieve greater public review of the development of Government computer systems, requiring proposals for new or amended Government systems to be widely published with adequate if reasonable objections are recorded;
- o) to support universities as well as other research establishments in research free of external direction by industry or Government;
- p) to support the full and frequent flow of information from researchers to the professions and the media regarding research progress and its implications;
- q) support for an industry free to develop hardware, software and services commensurate with ethical business practices;
- r) the encouragement of flexible approaches in industrial relations responses to changes in organisations, working conditions, job definitions and skill boundaries - all affected by IT;
- s) the imposition of a rating and censorship system (similar to film) for computer games and related leisure services;
- t) the improvement of women's access to training and education in the use and understanding of computers and IT;
- u) to ensure that the education system promotes children's access to, and ability to use, information and technology;
- v) facilitating access to Internet and e-mail services for rural residents by providing local call cost access through a Government-managed and/or funded rural internet provider service.
- w) enabling the trained IT professionals to get neological training in the field of enrepreneurship for establishing more and more training centres all over the country with a view to having a competent cadre of young men and women having expert knowledge in the field of different aspects and facets of information technology for managing the third millennium.

# POLICIES RELATED TO WORK INCLUDING EMPLOYMENT

## 1.1 Principles

We distinguish between work, defined as any purposeful activity, and employment, defined as paid work. We support the principle of full employment, meaning the availability of safe, socially useful, environmentally benign, adequately paid work for all those who wish to engage in it. This may be full or part time.

We define unemployment as the lack of availability of paid work for anyone who wishes to engage in it.

We do not support the perception in society that unemployed people cannot make a useful contribution to society. We reject any inference of 'inadequacy' in those who choose not to seek employment but contribute to society through other productive, economic and/or socially useful activities.

We are committed to redressing discrimination and inequality across the spectrum of work. We also believe that economic growth is an inadequate solution to the unemployment problem at a time when market economics and mass-consumerism have already placed the environment and people under heavy pressure.

The trend to globalisation and the view of economic rationalist theory that international competitiveness should be the priority consideration in economic policy clearly both need review. Constraints on globalisation are necessary for important environmental, social and economic reasons. Protecting employment in domestic

industries is one of those important social reasons, and such protection may also have environmental benefits from reduced transport of goods. While protection can have an overall economic cost, this cost is of secondary importance to the social and environmental benefits, and is therefore a cost that is warranted for the social good.

We realise that the logical consequence of the present conditions is that less formal work is needed and more free time becomes available for everyone's chosen pursuits. We will work towards shorter standard working hours and a reversal of current trends towards increased unpaid work.

A radically new perspective needs to be taken. The green vision is one where work, leisure and income are all shared equitably. In a green society, everybody is the master of her/his own time. People must have time for leisure as well as for shouldering the responsibility of the family, society and the environment. People must also have time to keep better informed and to participate in politics.

#### 1.2 Goals

We propose an employment, labour market and income policy that will recognise and reward all peoples' occupations appropriately, with a commitment to a proper safety net for all.

We aim to redress discrimination and inequality in employment and to promote equitable participation by all Indians regardless of gender, age or ethnicity.

We will work towards creating a society in which:

- a) the goal is full employment as defined above;
- b) the norm is shorter hours in paid work than at present;

- c) people enjoy self-esteem, security and material comfort whether or not they have paid jobs;
- d) it is recognised that all people have the potential to contribute to the enhancement of the community, whether or not they are in paid employment;
- e) educational, recreational and creative opportunities and resources are provided for all people, regardless of age and regardless of whether or not they are in paid employment; and
- f) actions which are positive for the society and the environment are valued whether they are paid for in the formal economy or carried out in the informal sector.

## 1.3 Short Term Targets

There is plenty of socially and environmentally sustainable work which needs to be done and imaginative forms of job creation and sharing will need positive intervention by Government.

There are also many areas of manufacturing and services which could be encouraged whilst taking careful account of the need for such activities to be environmentally positive or at least benign.

# We propose:

- a) the creation of a system in which all citizens have the right to a Guaranteed Adequate Income.
- b) a society where paid work is distributed more equitably than it is at the present time;
- c) greater equity in job sharing because of the shortage of full-time jobs for all and the need for more leisure time and less stress;
- d) greater equity in job sharing between people from different regions, with different gender and of different ethnic origin;

- e) the creation of ecologically sustainable industries;
- f) legislation preventing discrimination against people who are not in formal employment;
- g) public discussion on the meaning of work, facilitated by the Government;
- h) the promotion of an anti-materialist culture to reduce needless consumption, whilst enabling people to fulfil their real economic and social needs.

# SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP INCLUDING SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT

# 2.1 Principles

## 2.1.1 Inequities addressed

We propose a system in which the Central Government will assist the States, and where necessary mount its own programme, to address the uneven provision of basic services in India. The unevenness of delivery of services is exemplified by the disastrous state of housing, health and education that exists in many rural areas.

#### 2.1.2 Work to be Redefined

We call for a redefinition of the concepts of work and unemployment.

#### **2.2.** Goals

#### 2.2.1 Affirmative Action

We recognise a continuing need to focus on disadvantaged groups in the Indian community.

Affirmative action policies need to ensure that the opportunities and rewards for women are equal to those for men.

# 2.2.2 Strengthening Communities

While a world view is necessary if we are to both care for the planet and redress world-wide injustices and inequities, the fate of the world rests significantly on the actions of communities - both in their ability to generate local initiatives and in their combined ability to promote change at national and international levels. We aim to strengthen local democratic processes, encourage regional sustainable development initiatives and planning, and enhance management capabilities within local communities.

## 2.3 Short Term Targets

## 2.3.1 Income Security

We propose that the social security system be reformed. It should be simplified and made more uniform by:

- a) aligning all payments for adults and independent young people associated with unemployment, study, disability, special benefit and age pensions;
- b) aligning all youth payments and increasing these over time to reflect real living costs;
- c) amalgamating the various child support and family allowance payments, and increasing these in line with the cost of caring for children;
- d) linking all income and other support levels to changes in the cost of living, so that they are automatically adjusted for inflation.

# 2.3.2 Targeting Inequities

We propose that disadvantaged individuals and communities will be the focus of specific public housing, health, education and public transport programme.

# 2.3.3 Community Development

We propose that:

a) financial assistance be provided to local interest groups to assist them to participate in local and regional planning and sustainable development initiatives;

- b) funds be made available from the Central Government for the coordination, preparation and implementation of ecologically sustainable strategic plans by state Governments and regional organisations;
- c) funds be made available for the planning and initiation of ecologically sustainable industries at local and regional level; and
- d) funds be provided for a Rural Community Initiatives Programme to be instituted to assist in the strengthening of rural communities, including improving opportunities for employment, cultural and youth activities.

# INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS POLICIES FOR PRODUCTIVITY

## 3.1 Principles

The starting point for us in industrial relations, as in all policy areas, is ethics. The workplace should provide the opportunity for workers to be empowered and to engage in safe, socially useful and productive work. Criteria such as profitability and efficiency are important in structuring a workplace, but they are secondary.

The central issue in industrial relations is to maintain the arbitration system as the protector of the public interest.

## We support:

- a) the provision of pathways for all employees to have work which is safe, satisfying and socially useful;
- b) opportunities for workers to receive education and training appropriate for the achievement of these goals;
- c) equal opportunities and fair and equitable treatment across the workforce for all employees;
- d) effective consultation between Governments, employers and unions on all aspects of industrial legislation;

- e) processes of conciliation and arbitration as the proper bases for a fair and effective industrial relations system;
- f) the rights of unions and unionists to take industrial action to protect and promote their legitimate industrial interests without legal impediment;
- g) the establishment of a Charter of Workers' Rights in special legislation;
- h) the right of all workers to be involved in participatory planning; and
- i) a wider role for the Indian Industrial Relations Commission (IIRC) a body to be established as an arbiter in industrial disputes to consider social and environmental implications regarding a dispute. Appropriate representatives of relevant groups should be given standing to appear in the Commission to present their views regarding such implications.

#### 3.2 Goals

We aim to:

- a) maintain the system of industrial awards;
- b) extend the system of equal opportunity throughout the workforce;
- c) develop flexible and democratic workplace patterns and structures;
- d) support the highest standards of workplace health and safety.

# 3.3 Short Term Targets

We will work to:

- a) repeal the provisions against legitimate union activity such as boycotts and pickets in the Trade Practices Act and other pieces of Central legislation, and protect unions and workers against common law actions;
- b) provide accredited and transferable training and skill development for employees in a national framework;

- c) support a national system of industrial relations and facilitate the provision of more flexible working arrangements/hours where these are not at the expense of work satisfaction, workers' income or family life;
- d) extend union participation in the Central industrial relations system regardless of the nature of the employment of their members, such as casual or part-time employees;
- e) facilitate the continued effective and democratic functioning of unions;
- f) encourage employee owned or managed businesses, or businesses with significant employee ownership or control;
- g) establish processes which ensure the participation of women in enterprise or collective bargaining and other industrial negotiations;
- h) support legislation that ensures that employers recognise and negotiate with the relevant unions;
- i) support only those enterprise agreements that do not undermine the system of awards and award conditions, and support enterprise agreements that involve employers and unions;
- j) ensure resources are provided to organisations of the unemployed to give them an effective voice in society.

# STRENGTHENING RURAL COMMUNITIES TRHOUGH RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

# 4.1 Principles

# 4.1.1 Rebuilding Rural Communities

While a world view is necessary if we are to both care for the planet and redress world-wide injustices and inequities, the fate of the world rests significantly on the actions of communities - both in their ability to generate local initiatives and in their combined ability to promote change at national and international levels. Our policies therefore strengthen local democratic processes, encourage regional sustainable development initiatives and planning, and enhance management as well as administrative capabilities within local communities.

Our policy for strengthening rural communities is based on the recognition that the situation in rural communities, whereby occupational choices are limited, family members often have to leave the district to obtain work, services have been cut back and where cultural and social opportunities are restricted, is one which needs major Government attention and implementation of positive community and regional development initiatives in order to be redressed.

We recognise that Indian rural communities have, in recent time, been subject to Government policies which have adversely affected the viability of community life, the quality of life in rural communities as well as adversely affecting producers' access to markets within India. We are wary of making an economy less diverse and more vulnerable through encouraging it to specialise in those industries in which it has competitive export advantage while abandoning those industries that cannot compete against foreign imports.

An efficient and sustainable agricultural sector is critical to the viability of local and regional economies and is a vital component of the revitalisation of rural India. Our policies for strengthening rural communities and for Agriculture recognise the central role of community and ecologically sustainable agricultural production to regional and national economies.

We also recognise that in a technological society, empowerment of the individual may rely on his/her ability to effectively use communication technology and information systems.

We will support education policies to enhance the opportunity for all Indians to reach their full potential in science and technology literacy.

## 4.1.2 Physical Environment

Agricultural practices are presently operating beyond the ecological capacity of most areas devoted to farming, which in turn impacts on rural communities. Processes that threaten biodiversity, the long-term viability of agriculture and in which inappropriate land management practices are currently implicated include:

- ongoing legal and illegal clearing of native vegetation;
- changed and/or insufficient flow regimes in rivers and streams;
- salination;
- soil erosion and degradation;
- chemical contamination of habitat and food sources;
- water pollution;
- irrigation; and
- intensive inappropriate or cruel animal production practices.

The ecological and economic cost of land degradation will increase unless major steps are taken to counter degradation processes. Farm financial pressure is a contributing factor to land degradation. The servicing of loans often requires farmers to extract the maximum amount of income from their land. Financial pressures are exaggerated by unsympathetic banks, fluctuating commodity prices and unreliable climatic conditions. The cost of land degradation in India is now measured in crores of rupees per year, resulting also in significant impacts on rural communities.

Our policies for water are based on adopting a total catchment approach to the management of water, recognising that the restructuring of the water supply in India by introduction of free market competition is likely to be accompanied by a severe loss of social and environmental accountability and responsibility; and, equitable allocation of water amongst all users.

#### 4.2 Goals

#### 4.2.1 Provision of Services to Rural Communities

We aim to:

- a) provide a level of services comparable, where feasible, with metropolitan services, for example, in health, education, community care, communications (including both post offices and information technology services), sports facilities and cultural activities;
- b) provide programmes to ensure residents achieve a comparable quality of life and access to services;
- c) provide programmes to enable rural residents to appreciate culture and knowledge; and
- d) facilitation of public transport and communications (including postal services) and provide improved access to transport services to residents of rural India.

# 4.2.2 Community Participation in Government

The following goals are set by us:

- a) in the long term, wherever possible, decision-making should be determined by bioregional considerations and patterns of social interaction;
- b) community services and local environment policy should be provided at the closest possible level to the consumers of the services; and
- c) there should be a move towards regional planning and organisation, foreshadowing the eventual emergence of a more decentralised system of Government.

#### 4.2.3 Environment

We aim to:

- a) hold the amount of water captured for human use from surface aquatic systems and provide environmental flows to all river systems and their dependent ecosystems;
- b) limit the amount of water drawn from groundwater systems to rates not greater than they are replenished; and
- c) maintain public ownership and control over all major water supply, distribution, drainage and disposal systems.

## 4.3 Short Term Targets

# 4.3.1 Provision of Services to Rural Communities

We will:

- a) work to provide a quality public education system with guaranteed access for all, including rural residents;
- b) provide additional funding for students who are physically and/or intellectually disabled, or who are disadvantaged by location and/or distance;
- c) initiate programmes aimed at reducing suicide rates, particularly among young people and people in rural areas; and

# 4.3.2 Support for Young People in Rural Communities

We support:

- a) increased employment and education opportunities, for disadvantaged young people, including for those in rural or remote areas; and
- b) greater representation of young people on regional economic organisations and greater recognition of community-based grassroot organisations which generate environment friendly and sustainable as well as socially useful employment opportunities.

## 4.3.3 Community Participation in Government

We propose that

- a) funds be made available from the Central Government for the coordination, preparation and implementation of ecologically/environmentally sustainable strategic plans by local Governments and regional organisations; and
- b) financial assistance be provided to local interest groups to assist them to participate in local and regional planning and sustainable development initiatives.

#### **4.3.4** Trade

We will also support a review of agriculture subsidies in terms of their adverse social and environmental impacts.

#### 4.3.5 Environment

We will work to:

- a) implement, as a matter of urgency, national legislation to control the clearing of native vegetation, with complementary provisions at State and/or local level;
- b) integrate commercial wood production into diversified agricultural enterprises, as well as providing marketing mechanisms to facilitate this;
- c) support the development of alternative fibre industries where they are more ecologically sustainable;
- d) provide funds for the planning and initiation of ecologically sustainable industries at local and regional level;
- e) propose changes in the taxation structure for chemical fertilisers and pesticides with the aim of supporting a change to ecologically sustainable farming methods. Levies on these products will be redistributed to the farming community through education, information and other

appropriate programmes on integrated and non-chemical pest management and sustainable farming practices.

- f) maintain or restore the natural diversity and productivity of soil in agricultural and pastoral areas .
- g) provide information and low-interest loan incentive programme to assist rural residents to:
- choose renewable energy systems for domestic and farm power supplies; and
- adopt water conservation practices for domestic and farm use.

# DRUGS POLICY AND DRUG DE-ADDICTION POLICY

## 5.1 Principles

In a democratic society in which diversity is accepted, each person has the opportunity to achieve personal fulfilment. It is understood that the means and aims of fulfillment may vary between people at different stages of their lives, and may, for some people at particular times, involve the use of drugs.

Classification and regulation of drugs should be based upon known health effects with community education programme to make factual information freely available.

Regulation should aim to maximise individual health and social safety and well-being.

Programmes operating among users of addictive drugs should focus upon harm minimisation and increasing their life options.

#### 5.2 Goals

We will work towards:

- a) more appropriate classifications for drugs based upon their effects upon health;
- b) wide availability of relevant information about drugs;
- c) decriminalisation of drugs;
- d) making the connections between addictive drug use and wider issues such as suicide, unemployment, homelessness, lack of hope for the future; working towards solving these problems; removing the focus on excessive drug use which is a symptom rather than a cause; and
- e) widely available community-based counselling and support services for drug-users without condemnation, including adequate follow-up.

## 5.3 Short term targets

## 5.3.1 Illegal drugs

We believe that softer, less addictive drugs should be more freely available as research shows that such availability mitigates against the use of hard drugs.

## 5.3.2 Regulated drugs

We will work to immediately set in process the following:

- a) independent research into the effects and addictive properties of drugs commonly prescribed by doctors for a wide variety of causes from hyperactiveness in children to stress and depression in adults, with a view to greater restriction and regulation of those;
- b) mandatory labelling and verbal advice by doctors as to the effects and potential for addiction of prescribed drugs; and
- c) continued independent research into food additives to ascertain their health effects, both short and long term, and ensuring the publicising of results.

# 5.3.3 Freely available drugs

We will work to immediately set in process the following:

- a) taking all possible steps to reduce the image tobacco and alcohol have, especially for young people; this will include banning advertising of tobacco and alcohol products and restricting opportunities for sponsorship;
- b) ensuring that smoking does not endanger the health of others;
- c) disallowing the use of drunkenness as an excuse to avoid retribution in crimes of violence and negligence;
- d) restriction of sale of alcohol to people under the age of 18.

## 5.3.4 Treatment of people with drug addictions

We will work to immediately set in process the following:

- a) freely available treatment programme with adequate follow-up;
- b) treatment programme and facilities which sensitively cater for individuals within different groups, women and men, including older people, parents of children and the young.
- c) involving NGOs to locate drug addicts and bring attitudinal and behavioural change among them with a view to advising them to stop taking drugs.
- d) bringing such drug addicts to the main stream by providing them suitable training for making them social activists in the areas of social justice and empowerment.
- d) organising deaddiction camps by inviting medical experts belonging to modern medicine as well as alternative, complementary and energetic medicinal areas.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION POLICIES

# 1.1 Principles

We recognise that the Earth's life support systems are fundamental to maximising human welfare.

In pursuit of our goals, the we will ensure equity and social justice, and that those sectors of the community least able to bear the cost of redressing environmental degradation will not be disadvantaged.

In formulating an Environment Policy, we are striving for ecological sustainability through:

- a) the protection of biological diversity and the maintenance of ecological integrity;
- b) the use of material resources in accordance with the Earth's capacity to supply them and to assimilate wastes arising from their use; and
- c) equity within and between generations.

Where there are threats of serious or irreversible environmental damage, decisions should err on the side of caution, with the burden of proof resting with technological and industrial developers to demonstrate that the planned projects are ecologically sustainable.

To become ecologically sustainable, our society must change over time from one which recognises no physical or ecological limits, to one which lives within the capacity of the Earth to support it and allows for the Earth to sustain the diversity of living things. This means that ingenuity must be used to do more with less, the trend to more efficient use of physical resources and energy must be accelerated, and the limits within which society and the economy function must be explicitly recognised. To enable targets to be set and progress to be measured, these limits must be defined as early as possible. We set the following goals and limits as essential for the achievement of ecological sustainability in our country.

#### 1.2 Goals

We aim to:

a) achieve an ecologically sustainable society, both in India and globally, which lives within the capacity of the Earth to supply renewable resources and to assimilate wastes;

- b) ensure that human activities maintain the biological diversity of all named organisms at the level of subspecies and of all other organisms, through the adequate protection of the ecological communities of which they are part;
- c) hold the amount of water captured for human use from surface aquatic systems and provide environmental flows to all river systems and their dependent ecosystems;
- d) limit the amount of water drawn from groundwater systems to rates not greater than they are replenished;
- e) reduce emissions of Carbon Dioxide as well as other greenhouse gases;
- f) eliminate human-induced release of ozone-depleting substances in the upper atmosphere;
- g) reduce the total quantity of solid, liquid and gaseous wastes (including those from non-point sources) annually disposed into the environment;
- h) maintain or restore the natural diversity and productivity of soil in agricultural and pastoral areas;
- i) reduce the total amount of land occupied by human infrastructure (transport, buildings, roads) and agriculture (grazing, cropping);
- j) facilitate closer liaison among rural, urban, tribal and indigenous peoples in India, such that all might benefit from indigenous knowledge of our land in order to further its management in ways which are sustainable;
- k) provide for increased participation by local communities in planning and implementing strategies to protect the environment;
- l) increase environmental awareness leading to a desire by all Indians to protect the environment; and
- m) apply the principle of intergenerational equity in all environmental programmes.

# 1.3 Short Term Targets

# 1.3.1 Biological Diversity

We will work to:

- a) ensure funding and enforcement of habitat recovery plans for endangered species;
- b) implement, as a matter of urgency, national legislation to control the clearing of native vegetation, with complementary provisions at state and/or local level; and
- c) establish a comprehensive and viable system of terrestrial and marine protected areas managed primarily to protect biodiversity; the system will include all remaining areas of high wilderness value, and will also protect wild and scenic rivers which remain in essentially pristine condition;
- d) prohibit automatic mining rights and mining exploration on agricultural land.

#### 1.3.2 Forests and Wood Production

We will work to:

- a) end logging of old growth and other high conservation value native forests immediately, and over time complete the phase-out of most logging from native forests, including regrowth forests;
- b) adopt a Wood Products Industry Plan that will accelerate the transition from native forests to plantations by encouraging the fullest possible domestic processing of wood from plantations, and increased recycling. As a complement to the plan, we will provide a package of retraining and other assistance for workers facing displacement from the native forest-based industry;
- c) integrate commercial wood production into diversified agricultural enterprises, as well as providing marketing mechanisms to facilitate this; and
- d) support the development of alternative fibre industries where they are more ecologically sustainable.

# 1.3.3 Mining and Mineral Exploration

We will work:

- a) to prohibit mineral exploration and mining as well as extraction of petroleum and gas in nature conservation reserves, including national parks, wilderness areas and other areas of outstanding nature conservation value;
- b) to ban all new sand-mining operations in the coastal zone.

# 1.3.4 Marine Environments and Fishing

We will:

- a) work to establish a comprehensive system of marine reserves in Indian waters; and
- b) for existing fisheries, work to immediately prohibit an increase in level of harvest, and determine as a matter of urgency the requirements for ecological sustainability and regulate the catch accordingly, with a substantial safety margin to ensure sustainability

## 1.3.5 Climate Change and Ozone Depletion

We will work to:

- a) reduce emissions of Carbon Dioxide as well as other greenhouse gases and to have clear national, regional and local energy policies adopted to enable this target to be reached:
- b) support an international protocol that makes these greenhouse gas emission targets binding for all industrialised countries; and
- c) phase out production of carbon tetrachloride, methyl chloroform, CFCs and halons immediately, and HCFCs and methyl bromide by 2005.

# 1.3.6 Machinery of Government

We will work to:

a) legislate to establish a Commission with independent funding to examine and report on the environmental performance of public authorities;

- b) strengthen the Environment Protection Act 1986.
- c) ensure the development of publicly accessible, well resourced, compatible, coordinated networks of data monitoring and data-based legislated State of Environment reporting at local Government, state/territory or regional, and national levels;
- d) ensure the Government maintains and exercises those constitutional powers which are applicable to the environment, with State environmental policy to be supervised and subject to a minimum set of stringent national standards.

#### COASTAL ZONE MANAGEMENT POLICIES

## 2.1 Principles

Our policies for the management of our coasts are based on the following general principles which underpin ecologically sustainable development:

- a) the protection of biological diversity and the maintenance of ecological integrity;
- b) the use of material resources in accordance with the Earth's capacity to supply them and to assimilate wastes arising from their use;
- c) equity within and between generations; and
- d) public participation and involvement.

#### 2.2 Goals

We aim to:

- a) increase ecological, economic and social awareness of the importance of coastal and inland waters and of human impacts on them;
- b) protect coastal ecosystems;
- c) allow the replenishing of stocks of depleted aquatic and coastal life;

- d) reduce the harvest of all coastal resources to well within an ecologically sustainable limit;
- e) protect fish breeding areas;
- f) reduce marine and other aquatic pollution, including from diffuse urban and agricultural sources;
- g) increase the involvement of local communities in the management of coastal, onshore and aquatic resources;
- h) ensure an integrated approach to management;
- i) improve local, national and global coordination of coastal management policies;
- j) locate activities that are not coast-dependent away from the coastal zone; and
- k) develop long-term strategies to contain urban and tourism development.

## 2.3 Short Term Targets

We will work to:

- a) establish a comprehensive national system of marine reserves in Indian waters by the year 2005;
- b) for existing fisheries, immediately prohibit an increase in level of harvest, and determine as a matter of urgency the requirements for ecological sustainability and regulate the catch accordingly, with a substantial safety margin to ensure sustainability;
- c) work with the States and Union Territories and/or directly with local Governments to complete an environmental audit of the coastal zone by 2020 and an action plan by 2022;
- e) implement a national legislative / planning regime to control land use and development in the coastal zone, including a moratorium on new subdivisions until completion of the coastal action plan;
- f) ban all new sandmining operations in the coastal zone and inland rivers.

# WATER MANAGEMENT POLICIES

## 3.1 Principles

Our policies for water are based on:

- a) adopting a total catchment approach to the management of water;
- b) preserving biodiversity and ecological integrity;
- c) recognising that the restructuring of the water supply in India by introduction of free market competition is likely to be accompanied by a severe loss of social and environmental accountability and responsibility; and
- d) equitable allocation of water amongst all users.

#### 3.2 Goals

We aim to:

- a) decrease per capita consumption of fresh water by increasing efficiency of water use, and expanding opportunities for re-use;
- b) stop the discharge of sewage into aquatic systems;
- c) maximise the capacity to reuse sewage treatment byproducts by reducing pollution at source, minimising waste, and phasing out the discharge of toxic chemicals to sewerage systems;
- d) hold the amount of water captured for human use from surface aquatic systems and provide environmental flows to all river systems and their dependent ecosystems;
- e) draw water from groundwater systems at rates not greater than they are replenished;
- f) ensure equitable access to adequate supplies of clean water for human consumption;
- g) apply the principles of least-cost planning to the provision of water, drainage and sewerage services;
- h) reduce erosion, sedimentation and pollution of watercourses, wetlands and estuaries, by protecting and

restoring native riparian vegetation and improving catchment management;

- i) maintain public ownership and control over all major water supply, distribution, drainage and disposal systems;
- j) maintain and where possible increase the area of water supply catchments that are free of logging, agriculture and other land uses which degrade water quality
- k) provide for full public participation in decisions about water, drainage and sewerage; and
- l) provide information and low -interest loan incentive programme to assist rural residents to adopt water conservation practices for domestic and farm use.

## 3.3 Short Term Targets

We will work to:

- a) establish a major new national programme to restore environmental flows to all river systems and improve water quality and implement the programme through national agreements between Central / State and / or local Governments;
- b) use all available powers to maintain major water supply, distribution, drainage and disposal systems in public ownership;
- c) cancel all plans to build large-scale new dams; and
- d) ensure that drinking water supplies meet or exceed WHO (World Health Organisation) standards, and that their quality is publicly reported regularly.

#### **ENERGY MANAGEMENT POLICIES**

# 4.1 Principles

Our energy related policy is based on these premises:

a) the price of energy should fairly incorporate the full social, health and environmental costs of production and use:

- b) there is a finite limit to non-renewable resources available for energy production;
- c) the most commonly used methods of energy production have serious, deleterious effects upon the planet, most notably air pollution and contribution to greenhouse gases;
- d) energy problems will not be solved by additional conventional power generation capacity;
- e) transition to ecologically sustainable energy systems will be achieved through long term planning, research and development, demand management, increased energy efficiency and conservation, and greater reliance on renewable sources of energy;
- f) given the environmental impact of large scale dams for hydro-electric schemes, and the high costs and risks to the environment and human health associated with nuclear energy, we do not consider that these systems form a viable long-term basis for putting the energy sector on an ecologically sustainable footing; and
- g) achieving sustainability in the use and production of energy will have ramifications for every sector of the economy.

#### 4.2 Goals

We aim to:

- a) take a lead role internationally in promoting policies to reduce the impact of climate change due to the enhanced green house effect:
- b) assist other countries to develop and meet greenhouse gas emission targets through technology transfer and other forms of assistance;
- c) apply integrated resource planning principles to the provision of all non-transport energy services. This is a systematic way of providing energy services to society at least cost;

- d) provide for participation by local communities in planning and implementing strategies to provide energy services sustainably;
- e) exercise restraint in use of non-renewable fossil fuel reserves in order to leave adequate supplies for future generations;
- f) reduce dependence on fossil fuels by
- supporting the phase-out of coal and oil-fired power stations and the development of renewable alternatives;
- decreasing reliance on private motor transport; and
- increasing energy efficiency;
- g) address regional equity impacts of making the transition to ecologically sustainable forms of energy production and use, through long term planning and specific development programme for affected regions. Some regions which are currently heavily dependent on the extraction of fossil fuel and the development and maintenance of power generation facilities which use fossil fuel will suffer employment loss in the transition;
- h) establish strong national regulation over energy production, distribution and supply to ensure that integrated resource planning is implemented, to control economic, social and environmental impacts in the public interest and to ensure full community consultation;
- i) provide incentives to encourage consumers to promote alternative energy technologies;
- j) introduce a comprehensive carbon levy; revenue from this levy is to be used to fund public transport as well as the development of alternative energy techniques such as solar thermal power, photo-voltaics and wind power; there will also be compensation for any regressive impact of this levy on low income earners.

# 4.3 Short Term Targets

We will work to:

a) introduce a carbon levy;

- b) use all available mechanisms to optimise electricity generation, distribution and supply infrastructure;
- c) introduce tight enforceable regulation of the electricity supply industry to protect the public interest and the environment;
- d) reduce emissions of Carbon Dioxide and other greenhouse gases and adopt clear national, regional and local energy policies to enable this target to be reached;
- e) support an international protocol that makes these targets binding for all industrialised countries;
- f) introduce national legislation to give effect to climate change controls;
- g) establish a Sustainable Energy Authority to coordinate and oversee programme for research, development and adoption of energy efficiency and renewable energy in India;
- h) adopt mandatory energy labelling, and mandatory minimum energy performance standards for all commercial and domestic appliances, equipment and buildings;
- i) oppose any new coal-fired power stations and large-scale hydro-electric dams;
- j) provide information and low-interest loan programmes to encourage rural residents to choose renewable energy systems for domestic and farm power supplies;

#### WASTE MINIMIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

# 5.1 Principles

Waste management is a growing issue. The accumulation of rubbish presents aesthetic, social and environmental problems and is representative of inefficient resource use. Recycling technology, and profit from the resale of recycled materials, are improving and this is to be encouraged. More important, however, is the encouragement of avoiding waste as well as reducing and reusing at both the manufacturing and consumer levels. A comprehensive waste reduction strategy should be developed addressing each stage of the production and consumption cycle.

When it comes to implementing the strategy Governments have largely relied on voluntary measures, which have proved insufficient, particularly as far as the industrial sector is concerned. We are proposing legal measures as well as economic incentives to encourage waste minimisation.

#### 5.2 Goals

The disadvantages of landfill disposal of waste are obvious to most people. The loss of various resources is accompanied by water pollution, odour and vermin. We support measures that will reverse such a procedure. We want to be part of building a society where:

- a) individuals are aware of the importance of reusing whatever can be reused and refusing whatever will eventually go to landfills when another choice is available;
- b) manufacturers move towards a whole life cycle approach to resource management and ultimately toward closed loop production systems;
- c) in the short term, levies are imposed on non-recyclable containers and other plastic and metal items, with a view to the long-term phase-out of these items;
- d) material that can be recycled is collected and then actually used in the production of new goods; and
- e) departments, offices and private citizens are given financial incentives to use recycled material and disincentives against their use are examined.

# **5.3 Short Term Targets**

# 5.3.1 Non-Recyclables

We will support the phasing out of non-recyclable plastics through various means, including the imposition of levies on their use.

# **5.3.2 Encouraging Reuse Of Containers**

We will:

- a) propose container deposit legislation to encourage the reuse of glass containers; and
- b) propose a levy on disposable plastic carry bags in shops; this is to be paid by the customer, as a means of discouraging wasteful plastic packaging as well as for encouraging recycling of old bags.

## 5.3.3 Increasing Recycling

We will:

- a) ensure the Government gives preference in purchasing contracts to recycled products or products that can be reused (for example, recycled paper and the re-filling of computer printing cartridges). The preferred purchasing will be extended to low energy rated products such as equipment that has energy saving features;
- b) propose mandatory recycling of waste paper from Government departments and other big paper users;
- c) investigate what happens to material collected as recyclables to ensure they are in fact being recycled;
- d) propose special facilities for the collection of heavy metals contained in fluorescent tubes and non-rechargeable batteries;
- e) implement a levy for non-rechargeable batteries to make rechargeable batteries more cost competitive; and
- f) propose the establishment of tyre recycling facilities.

# 5.3.4 Composting

We will:

- a) encourage home composting;
- b) support local Government provision of composting bins both for collection and for on-site usage; and
- c) examine mechanisms for removing disincentives.

# 5.3.5 Disposal of Harmful Substances

We will

- a) support measures to collect, and whenever possible recycle, material for which dumping can be harmful to fauna or flora;
- b) work to establish a National Waste and Pollution Inventory and legislation requiring companies to report any roxic substances released into air, soil or water, with details about when, where and how emitted. The data base should be accessible to the public; and
- c) require industry to work towards elimination of toxic waste.

# AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND QUALITY CONTROL

## **6.1 Principles**

Our policy for land management and agriculture is based on:

- a) recognising the need for flexibility and diversity in agriculture for environmental and economic reasons;
- b) recognising the central role of ecologically sustainable agricultural production to regional economies and the nation;
- c) preventing significant or lasting negative impacts on soil and water quality and biodiversity;
- d) recognising India's national and international moral responsibilities as a food producer;
- e) supporting trading patterns and local controls which enable environmental and food quality standards to be maintained and improved; and
- f) concern for the welfare of animals used in agriculture.

## 6.2 Goals

We aim to:

- a) build on participatory processes which improve land and water catchment management;
- b) ensure that economic viability does not force exploitation of labour;
- c) ensure that agriculture takes full account of the need for water management as an input to farming and as a resource vital to others;
- d) encourage forms of primary production and rural landuse that conserve soil and water, maintain biodiversity, and use minimal amounts of non-renewable energy, agrochemicals and water;
- e) encourage the development of value-adding and quality agricultural products;
- f) encourage agricultural systems, enterprises and processes which are resilient and diverse;
- g) introduce policies to reverse land degradation (erosion, salinity, acidification, nutrient loss, soil structural decline, loss of native vegetation) and ensure that land management practices are compatible with programmes to restore degraded ecosystems and habitat;
- h) reduce the dependence of agriculture on chemicals, and provide accurate information about them to farmers and consumers;
- i) ensure that the use of genetic engineering is strictly controlled, particularly the transfer of genetic material between species, with the onus of proof on the proponent;
- j) require food that has been produced as a result of genetical engineering to be labelled accordingly;
- k) improve the welfare of animals used in agriculture;
- l) ensure that responsibility for sustainable land management is shared by businesses which process and sell produce, or supply inputs, and by consumers, as well as by landholders and all levels of Government;

- m) encourage systems which maintain socially and economically diverse and vibrant rural communities;
- n) encourage the revitalisation of rural companies and ensure adequate services for physical and social needs;
- o) provide for participation in planning and implementing strategies for ecologically sustainable agricultural production;
- p) facilitate dialogue between conventional and modern farmers to assist the exchange of land management skills;
- q) move towards regional levels of planning and organisation for the management of natural resources;

## **6.3 Short Term Targets**

We are working to establish a clear regulatory environment for agricultural businesses, through national legislation, complemented by state and/or local provisions. Areas to be regulated include:

- clearing, management and restoration of native vegetation;
- importation, propagation and movement of exotic plants and animals; and
- mandatory notification, assessment and monitoring of all genetic engineering proposals, including environmental impact assessment.

#### We will work to:

- a) introduce enforceable national standards for the licensing and use of agricultural chemicals. Such standards shall be compatible with or better than the most rigorous standards for specific chemicals with related use-paths elsewhere in the world;
- b) ensure the adoption of national, legally enforceable codes of practice to ensure that animals used in agriculture have the ability to satisfy their natural physical and behavioural needs;

- c) target direct funding and other forms of economic assistance to enhance achievement of ecologically sustainable land management;
- d) propose changes in the taxation structure for chemical fertilisers and pesticides with the aim of supporting a change to ecologically sustainable farming methods. Levies on these products will be redistributed to the farming community through education, information and other appropriate programmes on integrated and non-chemical pest management and sustainable farming practices;
- e) systematically and regularly review the efficacy of existing agricultural assistance as well as rural land management programme;
- f) significantly enhance funding for research and programme which provide control of environmental weeds and environmentally sound and humane methods for control of feral animals:
- g) monitor land degradation and biodiversity on rural private land at a national level;
- h) initiate a comprehensive, uniform national mapping of land systems and biota, and their condition, as a base for preparing regional plans for sustainable land management;
- i) ensure comprehensive review and restructuring of the arid lands pastoral industry;
- j) propose research, promotion and training in farm practices including effective forms of biological pest control that reduce the use and impact of chemicals;
- k) immediately transfer responsibility for land protection to the Environment portfolio; and
- l) implement an action plan for the retirement and/or conservation covenanting of land deemed ecologically unsuited to continuing agricultural use, or of significant ecological value.

# INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

# 7.1 Principles

We hold that:

- a) India must find creative solutions to the urgent global problem of developing products and processes to meet an increasing population's material needs while protecting the natural environment on which all economic activity and social well-being ultimately depends;
- b) Governments should provide a clear national regulatory framework for environmental protection, and adjust economic incentives accordingly, to encourage industry to commit to major, long-term ecologically sustainable projects;
- c) strong regulation can assist business to become more competitive;
- d) Governments should play an active role both in mediating negative social and economic effects which may result from a shift to ecologically sustainable industries and in developing new opportunities;
- e) clean production technology which seeks to minimise potential problems at their source is preferable to costly and often ineffective clean-ups;
- f) industry has a crucial role in advancing sustainable development through the adoption of appropriate technology and practices;
- g) industry can become more efficient and competitive by adopting Green objectives to reduce raw material consumption and reduce pollution;
- h) investment in education and training at all levels and maintenance of the nation's research facilities at world best standards will provide the human and intellectual capital required to compete in high-skilled, high value-added and innovative green industries; and

i) decisions relating to the impact of industrial activities on the environment are complex and must be supported by accurate, detailed and timely data.

#### 7.2 Goals

We aim to:

- a) phase out tax breaks, subsidies and other Government policies that encourage resource waste, pollution and environmental degradation;
- b) offer positive incentives like tax deductions, rebates and enhanced depreciation allowances to businesses investing in technology or capital expenditure which reduces resource use, waste and pollution;
- c) phase in price adjustments for energy, water and landfill that equitably incorporate the social, health and environmental costs of production and use;
- d) promote environmental auditing procedures and best practice management to utilities, Government enterprises and private sector businesses;
- e) encourage unions to pursue environmental improvement plans in the context of enterprise bargaining to enable all employees to participate in and benefit from workplace environmental performance;
- f) press manufacturers to move towards a whole life cycle approach to resource management and ultimately toward closed loop production systems;
- g) encourage industry to take maximum responsibility for the reduction, sale or recovery of by-products so that external waste treatment becomes the instrument of last resort;
- h) incorporate the polluter-pays principle into national legislation;
- i) assist consumers to make environmentally conscious evaluations of goods and services by providing accessible, practical, comparative information, including whole of life

- cycle assessments, and by further strengthening the National Eco-labelling Scheme to define green products;
- j) institute preferential purchasing by Governments for so defined "green" products;
- k) give top priority to research that facilitates the achievement of Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD), with particular emphasis on energy saving technologies and renewable energy sources;
- l) fund research into the linkages between threats to biodiversity and ecological integrity and particular industries or industrial processes;
- m) implement a national approach to environmental monitoring and reporting;
- n) phase out the exportation of toxic and putrescible waste to landfill; and
- o) encourage environmental performance reporting in accounting information and company annual reports. Guidelines need to be established for environmental data labelling on goods and services, including such information as depletion of resources, emissions and waste. All spheres of Government should make mandatory the inclusion of environment performance and environment data labelling in tenders from the private as well as public sector.

# 7.3 Short Term Targets

We will work to:

- a) establish a National Ecologically Sustainable Industry Assistance Programme with funding derived from directed superannuation investment and national industry partnership funding;
- b) announce a Sustainable Industries Plan, setting out directions, targets, benchmarks, time frames and funding;
- c) establish uniform national environmental regulatory standards for air and water quality, including waterways;

- d) establish uniform national legislation to ensure clarity and enforcement of environmental protection legislation;
- e) implement national strategies for the treatment of hazardous and intractable wastes, with appropriate funding;
- f) establish a National Waste and Pollution Inventory and legislation requiring companies to report any toxic substances released into air, soil or water, with details about when, where and how emitted. The Inventory will include transfer data (i.e. statutory authority emissions such as sewage, waste, etc.). The data base will be accessible to the public;

#### POPULATION EDUCATION AND STABILIZATION

# 8.1 Principles

Neither the planet, nor any country, can sustain continued human population growth. Four Earths would be required for all human inhabitants to live if population grows as the present rate. However, the relationship between people and environments is a complex one, not reducible simply to carrying capacity, but mediated by economic, social, political, cultural and technological considerations. The Indian Government should consult with the widest possible range of interest groups to arrive at a population policy which respects human rights.

The basis for India's population policy, both domestic and global, must be ecological sustainability, intergenerational equity and social justice. A precautionary approach is required in order to take into account the consequences of human impact on the environment.

In order to achieve a sustainable population, action must be taken on consumption levels and technology use as well as population size. We must generate less waste and implement technologies, such as those based on renewable energy, which are more environmentally benign.

The consumption patterns are contributing to global as well as to local environmental problems and we have a responsibility to current and future generations to ensure that we do not knowingly degrade their world. As Indians we also have a responsibility towards non-human species, many of which have already become extinct or endangered. Government policies and taxation systems are tools which can be used to change consumption patterns over the medium to long term, and to protect and manage ecosystems vulnerable to human activity.

India must contribute towards achieving a globally sustainable population and solving the macro aspects of demographic transition of civilisational regions as part of international responsibility. We should set an example by:

- a) managing our own population growth in accordance with more equitable consumption patterns in relation to the international context; and
- b) redirecting the bulk of aid towards eradicating poverty and towards those programmes which empower women.

In attaining a sustainable population India must shift its involvement in a competitive world economy to a more cooperative, regional, self-sufficient economy based on equality and human rights.

## 8.2 Goals

An Indian population policy should consider the distribution of human settlements rather than just concentrate upon population size at the national level. The continuing de-settlement of rural areas must be considered in the light of ecological and social sustainability and efforts must be set in place to reverse it in those areas where settlement is ecologically benign. The ecological and social viability of area expected to experience great growth

needs to be safeguarded, and appropriate planning processes set in place. Human settlements should be designed and built to minimise environmental and maximise social well-being. Investing in the social well-being of the entire population should be the main aim of Government, so that there are publicly provided services of the highest possible standard. These services should include education, infrastructure, health, employment and income support.

## 8.3 Short Term Targets

We will work towards:

- a) ensuring that Indian family planning programme, deliver services in the context of reproductive health programme which increase the power of girls and women to determine their own reproductive lives, and increase the understanding of men of their reproductive responsibilities
- b) envisaging a marketing approach to family planning policies.
- c) evolving a new communication strategy for family planning and population control for reaching the diverse committees in different States and Union Territories of India.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

# 1.1 Principles

We believe that:

- a) Parliament is the central authority of representative and responsible Government;
- b) each person should have one vote, that all votes should be of equal value, and that proportional representation best reflects the wishes of the electorate in the composition of Parliament and State Assemblies;

- c) each citizen has both the right and the responsibility to participate in the processes of Government;
- d) India's constitution and democratic structures should help to build an ecologically sustainable and socially just society, with a global consciousness and a long term perspective;
- e) India's constitution should express our aspirations as a community and define our rights and responsibilities as individuals and as members of the community, as well as establish the powers and duties of Government; and
- f) India's constitution and public institutions need some changed, which should be brought about through an ongoing participatory process.

#### 1.2 Goals

We propose that the following areas be enshrined in the constitution more clearly:

- a) Civil and Political Issues
- life, liberty and security;
- legal recognition and equality;
- voting and standing for election;
- privacy;
- police custody;
- that relating to an alleged offender;
- standard of criminal procedure;
- that relating to the victim;
- property;
- procedural fairness;
- that particular to a child;
- freedom
- of religion;
- of thought, conscience and belief;
- of speech and other expression;
- of association;
- to peaceful assembly;
- of movement and residence;

development.

- from discrimination;
- from slavery; and
- from torture, experimentation and treatment;
- b) Economic and Social Issues
- education;
- adequate standard of living; work;
- legal assistance;
- freedom of family structure; and
- adequate child care.
- c) Community and Cultural Issues
- living in a safe society;
- collective and individual development;
- culture;
- environmental protection and conservation; and
- ecologically sustainable

#### 1.3 Short Term Goals

We will:

- a) propose the development of an international Framework Convention on Sustainable Development which is made more precise by the addition of protocols, for example dealing with environmental health and environmental due process;
- b) oppose attempts to undermine the domestic implementation of India's international obligations arising from the ratification of treaties, whilst working towards a process for domestic ratification of international treaties;
- c) support the right of people from the age of 16 years to vote and to hold public office, in recognition of the increasing awareness of and responsibility towards current issues of young people;
- d) introduce rules such that people who are found to have acted in a corrupt way be barred from ever holding public office again and as well, that they forfeit any

superannuation payments they may have made while holding that office and that they lose the right to any termination payments for which they would otherwise have been eligible; and

e) work for appropriate and adequate consultation to better gauge opinions on issues of concern.

#### LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

# 2.1 Principles

We believe that fundamental changes to the structure of Government are vital if we are to achieve true democracy in this country. If Government is to be of, for and by the people, it must start at the local level and it is at this level that the power must remain.

Whatever the final shape of the reorganisation of the Indian system of Government, we support the preservation of a system of local Government which reflects the desire for local community identity and self-determination. We believe that power should reside in the most localised sphere of Government that is able to deal with the issue.

#### 2.2 Goals

While we support local autonomy, we also acknowledge that giving unbridled power to local councils could lead to further problems, especially irreversible environmental ones.

## We propose:

a) a Code of Ethics and a Bill of Rights and Responsibilities based on green principles to ensure that, among other things, local activities are socially advantageous and environmentally benign;

- b) a review of local Government electoral processes, with a view to recommending proportional representation;
- c) a review of the revenue base of local Government; and
- d) better coordination with other levels of Government to avoid duplication and unnecessary waste of resources.

## 2.3 Short Term Targets

In recognising that local Government must play an expanded and more autonomous role while maintaining its accountability if we are to achieve a truly democratic system of Government in India, we propose:

- a) financial support for those elected to local Government, in recognition of the part they must play in decision-making;
- b) increased involvement of local Government at other levels of Government:
- c) that State of the Environment reporting include criteria for measuring the environmental impact of developments;
- d) that those people who are found to have acted in a corrupt way be barred from ever holding public office again and as well, that they forfeit any superannuation payments they may have made while holding that office and that they lose the right to any termination payments for which they would otherwise have been eligible;
- e) that local councils require all new buildings, subdivisions and developments to conform to Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD) principles;
- f) a regular flow of information to the community via community radio, newsletters and noticeboards to give equal voice to a range of ideas and to encourage community participation in local Government;
- g) that all spheres of Government take immediate steps to familiarise all citizens with their rights and with all aspects of the present electoral system; and

h) that there be appropriate and adequate consultation to better gauge opinions on issues of concern.

#### COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

# 3.1 Principles

We are working according to these principles:

- a) the legitimacy of community participation in the making of law and policy should be established as an underpinning principle of all actions of Governments;
- b) all individuals and community groups should be given the opportunity to participate in decisions which affect them;
- c) the contribution of diverse groups provides a valuable addition to available information;
- d) the needs of future generations should be recognised in contemporary decision-making;
- e) decisions should be made at the most appropriate level; in some cases this will include groupings not currently given decision-making status, such as the neighbourhood;
- f) policies, strategies and frameworks should be developed which enable civic infrastructure to facilitate community participation in the business of Government;
- g) every effort should be made to give marginalised groups opportunities to be effectively involved in decision-making. This will entail longer timelines and the introduction and strengthening of community development practices. Outreach beyond written submissions and public forum techniques will be required;
- h) involvement in community consultations should be recognised as work. Support should be provided to community organisations to participate in consultative processes;

- i) community participation in decision-making should be an ongoing process, rather than a one-off event which leaves communities out of reviews and changes to policies;
- j) the ability of community groups and individuals to gain access to information which will empower them to participate effectively is crucial to meaningful participation; and
- k) Governments, of all spheres, should produce and follow guidelines to ensure that the community representatives whom they consult on a day to day basis reflect accurately the views of their constituencies.

#### 3.2 Goals

The following goals are set by us:

- a) In the long term, wherever possible, decision-making should be based on bio-regional considerations and patterns of social interaction;
- b) because of the importance of everybody taking part in political life, the we will work for the principle that leave without pay is automatically granted for anybody standing in an election for public office;
- c) community services and local environmental policy should be provided by the closest possible sphere to the consumers of the services;
- d) the central Government's domestic role should be to ensure equitable distribution of resources and information, to coordinate services which cut across state boundaries and to ensure that principles of ecological and social sustainability are followed by local Governments; and
- e) less formal organisations at the level of neighbourhoods country towns, particular interests and issues, etc, should have access to all spheres of Government through formal and informal consultative and review procedures.

# 3.3 Short Term Targets

We set the following targets:

- a) the move towards a new form of Government should be based on wide information-sharing and consultation with all constituencies of India's population;
- b) processes of policy review and decision-making by Government and its institutions should be made more open and accessible to the public;
- c) Freedom of Information legislation should be widened to make relevant information more accessible and to reduce the cost of attaining information by community groups;
- d) those public servants and journalists, etc, who publicise sensitive information of benefit to the community should be encouraged rather than disadvantaged for efforts to inform the public of actions which are not in the community interest;
- e) democratically constituted groups which work on behalf of the wider community, or identified constituencies within it, should be adequately resourced to enable them to fulfill their functions;
- f) consultative periods should be well advertised and of sufficient length to enable all those interested to participate;
- g) relevant documents should be available in places accessible to all members of the public; shopfronts should be set up for this purpose;
- h) public meetings should be held at varying times in appropriate places to enable attendance by all affected. In many cases it will be important to provide childcare and transport, as well as access for the disabled for maximum involvement of all constituencies; in some cases, it will be preferable to talk to people in their homes or habitual meeting places rather than to set up a meeting and expect them to attend;

- i) information should be presented clearly, graphically and free of jargon;
- j) the development of a free-access citizen information and governance participation facility on the Internet should be promoted;
- k) existing community networks should be identified and strengthened through community development.

#### ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDING

# 1.1 Principles

We are committed to four pillars of Green Economics:

## 1.1.1 Ecological Integrity

We affirm the inherent worth and interconnectedness of all living things. Biodiversity is an essential component of human welfare, yielding both utilitarian and existence values. The intrinsic value of biodiversity, in its own right, is also emphasised by us.

Society needs to uncouple the traditional relationship between economic growth and increased resource use, so that irreparable damage to nature is avoided and the depletion of the natural resource base is slowed. The impact of economic activity must be kept within environmental limits, particularly the capacity of ecosystems to process wastes.

Integration of economic, social and environmental imperatives must replace the narrow pursuit of economic growth as currently defined. Many environmental problems are global in scale, therefore the maintenance of ecological integrity requires the adoption of a global perspective.

## **1.1.2 Equity**

Social responsibility implies that people should contribute in proportion to their ability and resources, and that the community should ensure that no-one is forced to go without the necessities of life. The phasing out of unsustainable activities should not further deprive people who do not have sufficient means to live. These responsibilities apply at the individual, local, national and international levels.

In ensuring equity within the current generation, we must treat future generations equitably. This implies solidarity with deprived groups in our country as well as with disadvantaged countries and nations elsewhere. It also implies solidarity with future generations. Each generation should receive an endowment of social and environmental assets that allows for human needs to be met and development options to be pursued. Because the negative consequences of human activity on the ability of future generations to meet their needs are not fully understood, the precautionary principle should become an important decision-making tool.

# 1.1.3 Empowerment and Choice

Social, political and economic institutions must allow individuals and communities to determine their own priorities, while ensuring that we have the ability - as a wider community - to meet our national and international obligations.

We also recognise that the market does not provide sufficient tools for informed rational choice which would maintain a long term perspective and lead to equitable outcomes.

# 1.1.4 Caring and Cooperation

The fulfillment of human potential and the enrichment of lives are best achieved by people living and working together, and guided by common goals. These goals should respect and enhance the integrity and diversity of human and ecological communities and recognise their global linkages.

Economic activity involves the cooperation of many different individuals and groups in the production, distribution and consumption of a wide range of goods and services. The focus of activity should be on cooperation and opportunities for mutual benefits, rather than on competition and control that typically benefit powerful minorities. Cooperative principles should also apply to the protection and management of the global commons and resources.

# 1.1.5 Provision of Services by the Public Sector

We believe that a strong public sector is a prerequisite for a healthy civil society and that some services, because of the community service obligations required of them and the essential nature of the services, should be undertaken by public sector agencies. Ownership by the Government does not preclude some such agencies being run on a corporatised basis, but does mean that fulfilling of community service obligations may mean that their profits would not be as great as they would be without such obligations. This reduced revenue is accepted as a necessary cost in a civil and equitable society. These community service obligations may include providing services at reduced rates to the disadvantaged in society, for example, the aged or sick, and providing services to rural and remote communities.

Such services, which are often natural monopolies because of the efficiency of having a single or well coordinated distribution system, include, but are not necessarily limited to, water supplies and distribution, electricity services, employment services, social and cultural services, phone and postal services, education, health, judiciary, town environmental management, policing custodial services, the radio and television services, public transport and interstate rail services, national parks, and defence. Of course public services should continue to provide and to extend its services to the public and to the Government executive, with increased public involvement in Government decision making and provision of services as an important mechanism for ensuring the appropriateness and effectiveness of Government policies and action.

### 1.2 Goals

We aim to:

- (a) keep natural monopolies and other essential public services under public ownership and re-establish such ownership as necessary;
- (b) ensure the level of services in rural and remote communities is, as far as practicable, comparable with those provided in metropolitan areas and such as to ensure the vitality and strengthening of rural communities and the quality of life in those communities.

At a national level we should be working towards a sustainable society in which quality of life is considered to be of the utmost importance. To this end, policy priorities are:

- a) better distribution of work and income;
- b) a more equitable taxation system; and
- c) an improved social safety net.

An imperative is the adoption of a set of policy guidelines for the costing of environmental impacts and for the movement of the economy towards the sustainable use of India's renewable resources.

We support continued public ownership and control of public sector enterprises especially services such as power, water and telecommunications.

At the same time, we emphasise the importance of an international approach to addressing social and environmental problems. Global cooperation must be directed at:

- implementing the principle of intergenerational equity in considering social and environmental conditions;
- bringing an end to the profligate use and pollution of the unpriced global commons (atmosphere and oceans), and scarce resources; and
- addressing the problems of poverty and imbalance in resources.

At the same time, however, it is recognised that national sovereignty is important in enabling effective global cooperation.

# 1.3 Short Term Targets

We are committed to the following:

- a) the abandonment of economic growth (as conventionally measured), as the principal index of welfare, in favour of alternative indices, to be developed and integrated at national, state and regional level, and that regularly show:
- changes in the quality of life of the population;
- changes in the distribution of income and wealth; and
- changes in inventories and flows of environmental resources.

- b) the adoption of taxation policy as a principal tool for achieving sustainable economic development.
- c) focusing on taxing natural resources (ecological taxes) as a necessary departure from the emphasis on the taxing of incomes and labour. These policies include:
- the internalisation of the massive external costs associated with India's industrial economy; and
- the need for a fair distribution of national income and wealth.
- d) the targeting of spending policies to:
- meet the basic needs of all Indians;
- provide incentives for the substitution of renewables for non-renewable resources;
- support the restructuring of industry; and
- e) that trade, and trade agreements, entered into by India, are subject to the priorities of human welfare and ecological sustainability.

#### TAX REFORMS

# 2.1 Principles

Our taxation policies constitute an integral part of economic policies. We call for the Indian Government to focus on particular principles to guide taxation policies:

- a) the need for a fair distribution of national income and wealth;
- b) the fact that environmental resources are community resources;
- c) the adoption of incentives for sustainable use and penalties for unsustainable use of natural resources;
- d) adequate provision of resources for public services;
- e) the support of full employment,
- f) the double benefit of reducing taxes on labour and increasing taxes on resource use and pollution; and
- g) the discouragement of speculation.

#### 2.2 Goals

We aim to use taxation as an efficient tool for achieving objectives relating to social equity and environment. This can be carried out either by using tax revenue to finance beneficial reforms or by applying taxation as a steering instrument in itself.

It should be a responsibility of the Government to educate the community about the social benefits of the taxation system and the citizens' responsibility to contribute through the taxation system.

#### 2.2.1 Taxation as a Revenue Instrument

We reject the regressive fiscal policies of the old parties. We see fiscal policy playing a vital role in reconstructing the Indian economy on a socially and environmentally sustainable basis. It is important that the revenue share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is raised.

Our fiscal policy aims to raise a sufficient revenue base to:

- a) create a sustainable economy with appropriate levels of development in environmentally sound industries;
- b) create sustainable communities based on principles of social justice, and ensure equal access to community services such as schools, adequate health care, safe streets and reliable public transport;
- c) provide a strong financial basis for effective management of public sector expenditure and debt;
- d) provide revenue for a budget that can sustain healthy programme for third world aid and for nature conservation; and
- e) provide a platform for ethical capital investment in community amenities and infrastructure.

# 2.2.2 Taxation as a Steering Instrument

A Green economy implies that taxation be used as a steering instrument in the following ways:

- a) ecological taxation for the protection of nature so that our generation can leave a healthy ecological system to future generations. The tax system should encourage environmentally positive behaviour and penalise environmentally destructive behaviour. It should provide incentives for sustainable use of natural resources;
- b) progressive taxation as part of a policy for national equity;
- c) the burden of taxation should be levied on the consumption of scarce material resources and financial speculation rather than on labour;
- d) tax should provide a mechanism to limit foreign debt and foreign speculation; and
- e) tax should encourage domestic savings, employment and productive investments.

# 2.3 Short Term Targets

We will support tax increases sufficient to support a strong budget with environmental and social goals.

#### 2.3.1 Personal Income Tax

Marginal tax rates for individual income earners need to be made more progressive. At present, the tax payers on low to middle incomes pay more tax in proportion to their income then people on high incomes having a fairly better knowledge and planning skills for tax savings. This is not favourable for the majority of Indians.

We recognise that the taxpayers have not been generally responsible for the avoidance of tax which has led to the erosion of India's revenue base.

We also believe that the number of tax payers can increase exponentially if proper education regarding paying income tax is provided to all persons having some earning. This includes individuals, business organisations incorporating proprietary, partnership, cooperative, private as well as public limited companies. There should be simple procedures for paying income tax so that anybody can put the right amount of tax in the Government's bank accounts for developmental work. People have a fear that if they pay income tax even at the standard slab fixed by the Government, they will be harassed by the tax authorities and that they will have to pay more taxes in the long run.

# 2.3.2 Indirect Taxation Reform

We propose a reform to improve the existing sales tax system so as to:

- a) incourage more efficient resource use eg. by the reuse of material and equipment;
- b) increase the efficiency and transparency with an emphasis on taxes with an ecological component; and
- c) make taxation more progressive through higher rates for luxury items;

## 2.3.2 Eco-taxes

We regard ecological tax reform as the key element of a tax reform package.

Eco-taxes seek to incorporate the costs of resource use and disposal into prices to encourage efficient resource use and to reduce pollution.

We support the introduction of eco-taxes, although we acknowledge the fact that environmental values cannot be reduced rupees and paise alone.

Eco-taxes aim to address:

- 1. the problem of many resources being consumed at an alarming rate; and
- 2. the problem of increasing pollution, causing deterioration of air, water and soil.

We believe that the application of appropriate tax rates and tax mix will encourage intergenerational equity.

We will work to develop a package of levies to provide incentives and penalties for individuals and industry, to encourage the adoption of waste minimising technologies and the production of recycled and recyclable goods. These include:

- a) resource levies to be applied to primary commodities including minerals, coal and timber. Those levies should be calculated on volume of resource extracted rather than on profits sometimes generated;
- b) levies on the extraction of forest and water resources to reflect their critical environmental values as well as other, including intrinsic, values;
- c) pollution levies on the emission of poisonous substances such as sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides and heavy metals into the environment;

#### We will also

- a) offer tax incentives for the transition to non-polluting processes and technologies;
- b) eliminate subsidies and tax exemptions for ecologically damaging activities such as resource consumption and pollution; and
- c) ensure that ecotax revenues are used to offset taxes on labour in order to maximise the double dividend obtainable from ecological tax reform and encourage employment and productive investment.

## 2.3.3 Transport

We will:

- a) work towards a change of the current indirect tax system for cars and trucks to favour more energy-efficient vehicles;
- b) propose changes to the system of fringe benefits taxation so that driving of employer provided vehicles is appropriately and equitably taxed;
- c) propose a shift of charges for motor vehicle registration and compulsory third party insurance to a fuel tax, so that car owners only pay in relation to the amount of travelling they do, with compensation to be assessed on the basis of income and place of residence; and
- d) maintain excise on fuels but substantially reduce the rebates to the mining and forestry industries.

## **2.3.4 Energy**

We will propose changes in the taxation structure in the energy sector to support the aims described in the Energy policy framework.

- (a) improve and expand public transport;
- (b) develop alternative energy techniques such as solar thermal power, photovoltaics and wind power;
- (c) reduce taxes, such as payroll tax; on employment;
- (d) compensate low income earners for the regressive impact of the levy.

# 2.3.5 Agriculture

We will propose changes in the taxation structure for chemical fertilisers and pesticides with the aim of supporting a change to ecologically sustainable farming methods.

# 2.3.6 Urban Planning

The growth of our cities is often haphazard, with negative consequences for people and for the environment. We will support:

- a) tax incentives for environmentally-sound residential developments; and
- b) removal of hidden and explicit incentives for urban sprawl.

### FINANCE, DEBT MANAGEMENT AND INFLATION

# 3.1 Principles

A deregulated financial system is incompatible with social and environmental sustainability. In order to address social and environmental needs, the Indian Government must interact with the international financial system on its own terms. This will require:

- a) national economic sovereignty (ie democratic control of the economy, not market control;
- b) domestic funding of Government deficits;
- c) an effective system of foreign exchange management;
- d) reduction in foreign ownership and debt; and
- e) movement towards a sustainable financial system which enables the real economy to be maintained decade after decade at its full employment potential without recurring inflation and over-indebtedness.

#### 3.2 Goals

The objectives of the policy include:

- a) reduction of foreign ownership of Indian enterprise;
- b) more equitable employment and income distribution;
- c) control of interest rates and debt;
- d) low inflation;
- e) full employment underpinned by a Guaranteed Adequate Income;
- f) well funded public infrastructure;
- g) appropriate economic monitoring, measurement, and accounting practices;
- h) reduction of private and public sector debt.

## 3.3 Short Term Targets

- a) detailed monitoring and regulation of foreign capital;
- b) investment of foreign capital in import replacement industries and enterprises consistent with national environmental and social priorities; and
- c) strict monitoring of export and import prices to reduce transfer pricing by multinationals.

We will support the establishment and use of community controlled investment facilities which direct investments to eliminate reliance on foreign borrowings by both the public and private sectors. Investments in ethical enterprises which emphasise both social and environmental sustainability will be encouraged. We will explore a range of opportunities to assist these measures and support:

- a) campaigns encouraging citizens and organisations to place their savings in ethical investment organisations;
- b) the right of credit cooperatives to invest in productive enterprises;

#### 3.3.4 Inflation

We will support disaggregating the causes of inflation so that distinctions can be made between cost increases which are socially and environmentally beneficial, such as including the real costs of natural resources like water, and those which are not.

#### GLOBAL TRADING AND INVESTMENT RELATIONS

# 4.1 Principles

# 4.1.1 Objectives

We support a policy of managed international trade and foreign investment based on the general recognition that nation states have a right and a duty to ensure that their consumption and production, including both imports and exports, is sustainable.

These principles, which are fundamentally different to the those of the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), require that international trade and foreign investment support the following objectives:

- a) protecting local employment and labour conditions;
- b) reducing economic and political vulnerability;
- c) endouraging diversification of industry;
- d) permitting the development of local technologies; and
- e) protecting the environment.

#### 4.1.2 Benefits of Trade

We recognise that foreign trade and investment are beneficial in terms of:

- a) transferring skills and technology not normally available in an economy;
- b) allowing the importation of strategic goods and services;
- c) encouraging innovation and the adoption of new practices and higher standards;
- d) encouraging efficiency through the adoption of 'international best practice' and the importation of technology which makes the local production of new goods and services possible; and
- e) giving developing countries in particular, fair opportunity to trade with developed countries.

#### 4.1.3 Problems with Trade

We, however, are wary of the possible negative influences of poorly regulated foreign trade and investment such as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) which may include:

- a) loss of national economic sovereignty, particularly with regard to employment, taxation, inflation, tariff and wages policy;
- b) a reluctance by nations to take unilateral environmental initiatives for fear that they might unduly erode a nation's economic competitiveness;
- c) making an economy less diverse and more vulnerable through encouraging it to specialise in those industries in which it has competitive export advantage while abandoning those industries that cannot compete against foreign imports;
- d) erosion of local culture in the face of imports that have a strong cultural element such as films, electronic media, music and food;
- e) forcing countries to adopt environmentally unsustainable or socially unjust practices which damage the global commons in order to be able to earn foreign exchange;
- f) forcing many countries, including India, into everincreasing foreign debt leading to spiralling overseas interest payments;
- g) inducing a global increase in transport use which is both inefficient and destructive to the environment;
- h) allowing transnational corporations to increasingly dominate global trade and investment which in many cases is anti-competitive; and
- i) leaving many developing countries at the mercy of IMF and World Bank required restructuring, often resulting in social polarisation.

We support international trading systems and associated institutions in which nation states work to maximise global equity and ecological sustainability. We also encourage exchange which will enhance the development of economies and societies that are ecologically sustainable, diverse, self-reliant, and therefore less vulnerable to external political and economic pressure.

#### 4.2 Goals

We recognise that trade and investment issues must often be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Given the diversity of social and environmental costs and benefits that can apply to each trade and investment issue, and recognising the risks and benefits of foreign trade and investment, we will pursue policies to achieve the following goals:

- a) to limit trade in goods and services that are produced by methods that are environmentally unsustainable or socially unjust;
- b) to promote trade associations and participate in international trading systems in order to enhance the achievement of this goal;
- c) to increase India's self-reliance by limiting net foreign debt and current account deficits; and
- d) to promote the regulation of transnational corporations. The achievement of these goals will be facilitated not only through international trade policy but also by supporting the following short term targets.

## 4.3 Short Term Targets

#### 4.3.1 International Context

International trade and investment can be positive in terms of countries benefiting from the initiatives and lower production costs of other countries and generally promoting greater global cooperation, but they can be negative in terms of fostering economic vulnerability and consuming a large amount of global transport and communications energy. Countries like India should never be isolationist in their global trade and investment policies and should always be prepared to negotiate at international forums. But countries like ours should not negotiate from a position of weakness; they should not be so dependent on the global economy that they will take whatever terms are offered. Instead they should negotiate from a position of strength where, if needs be, they can be economically self-reliant.

We believe that international trade and investment should always be transparent and fully accountable and should not be controlled by trading blocks.

We also believe that international trade and investment should generally be carried on within a global environmental imperative to make the consumption of resources sustainable. Trade liberalisation should never be allowed at the expense of the environment.

#### 4.3.2 Fair Trade and Reform of the WTO

We support reform of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the International Labour Organisation to ensure:

- a) full recognition of the overriding necessity of environmental and social agreements;
- b) the modification of multilateral trading agreements to allow nation states to impose internationally acceptable environmental and social practices;
- c) the promotion of moves at the WTO and other relevant organisations which increase the food security of poorer countries and help them stabilise and improve prices for their commodities;
- d) the support of poor countries for growing their own food as a priority over growing tobacco and other products for export to industrial countries;
- e) trade agreements on Intellectual Property Rights that support the right of developing countries to acquire the technology they need at a cost they can afford and receive fair remuneration for the genetic resources found in their territory or developed or conserved by their people;
- f) a revision of WTO processes and procedures to ensure transparency and include participation by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) as well as other representatives of civil society;

- g) the encouragement of the use of counter-trade in the form of swap arrangements between two or more countries that do not have sufficient foreign exchange to pay for imports; and
- h) the development of preferential trading status based on principles of ecological sustainability and social justice and aid.

We will also support:

- a) a comprehensive ban on the movement of hazardous waste (including nuclear waste) and hazardous waste recyclables;
- b) the development and transfer of technologies needed to achieve this; and
- c) a review of agriculture subsidies in developed countries, in terms of their adverse social and environmental impacts on other developed and also developing nations.

# 4.3.3 Transnational Corporations

Transnational corporations now control about two-thirds of all international trade and most international investment and with the introduction of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment their power domination would further increase. They have become a powerful force in the world economy, and often play one country off against another to secure maximum financial advantage.

#### We will:

- a) promote the regulation of transnational corporations in terms of environmental impact and sustainability, social impact, labour relations and democratic participation;
- b) promote the import of only those goods from developing countries that satisfy basic criteria of decent wages, working conditions, sufficient food supply and environmental sustainability in the country of origin;

- c) support the prohibition of the import of goods that are produced through the exploitation of children and;
- d) investigate means through which both the Government and the United Nations can improve the business practice of transnational corporations including regulation through anti-monopoly legislation in India;

#### 4.3.4 National Context

We believe that the current *liassez-faire* attitude to international currency transactions needs to be reformed and that the Government has a role in limiting national foreign debt for having a better image of India. Researches should be conducted with the help of universities as well as institutions of national importance for having a national policy of development without taking international loan with a view to reducing the foreign debt. We will institute an inquiry into the means available to achieve a regulated limitation of the national foreign debt which may include the following:

- a) tighter control by the Government of India, including the establishment of an independent regulatory authority that would scrutinize all foreign investments with a clear mind for assessing such investments and their different types of consequences;
- b) the introduction of import taxes and customs duties; and
- c) work to be done at the international level to achieve reform of the financial system;

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS AND DUTIES EDUCATION**

# 1.1 Principles

We believe that it is essential to:

a) ensure that basic human rights are respected in all countries;

- b) avoid compromising on human rights for economic or political expediency;
- c) recognise democratic institutions as a fundamental human right; and
- d) work towards the sovereignty and self-determination of entities with historical, cultural and ecological identity.

#### 1.2 Goals

We will pursue policies that:

- a) restrict cooperation with governing regimes that violate human rights;
- b) actively engage with other countries to promote human rights;
- c) bring diplomatic and commercial pressures on regimes that violate human rights, to ensure that they respect the basic rights of their citizens;
- d) keep the interests of disempowered communities foremost in all dealings with countries in which human rights violations occur;
- e) support the end of colonialism and press for resolution of colonial conflicts through the UN framework;
- f) develop a more distinctive and effective role for the International Court of Justice in the field of human rights; and
- g) support, through the UN framework, democratic and economic reforms in countries coming out of totalitarian control.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

# 2.1 Principles

We support the conservation of the Earth's environment and its biodiversity, both as a value in itself and as essential for human survival and happiness.

## 2.2 Goals

We will:

- a) support international and national moves to halt deforestation in India as well as the rest of the world and help reforestation; this involves both cessation of unsustainable logging and more efficient use of land for human activities by encouraging the reduced consumption of meat and dairy products, especially in the richer countries;
- b) support international moves to limit land degradation;
- c) support international conventions to stop over-fishing in the oceans;
- d) support international moves to reduce pollution of the seas and the atmosphere;
- e) support moves to end trade in hazardous waste;
- f) support moves to end exploitation of and trade in endangered species;
- g) support the transfer of environmentally sustainable technologies to developing countries; and
- h) promote the establishment of an Environmental Council at the UN with similar decision-making powers to the Security Council, but dealing instead with environmental issues of global significance.

# 2.3 Short Term Targets

We will support:

- a) urgent measures to stop the exploitation of rainforests, which has resulted in both the loss of a rich biosystem and the displacement and possible extinction of the native peoples of the forests;
- c) efforts to end the dumping of nuclear waste in the oceans;
- d) effective measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and use of ozone-depleting substances;

e) legislation to require Indian companies, Government agencies and business enterprises, operating overseas to observe social and environmental standards no less stringent than those required in India.

#### INTERNATIONAL DEBT CRISIS

# 3.1 Principles

We recognise that repayments of past loans have so outstripped new loans that the net transfer of money is from the developing world to the developed.

#### 3.2 Goals

We will intensively lobby to:

- a) cancel all debts of developing countries;
- b) achieve radical reform of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund or establish a new international lending institution that would take over the responsibilities of these institutions, to be governed by a board with gender balance as well as equal representation from both developing country debtors and western lenders; and
- c) encourage developing countries to pursue strategies of economic development which are highly self-reliant and which prioritise the production of goods and services from local sources.

#### PEACE AND SECURITY

# 4.1 Principles

We are committed to:

a) developing fair and just international relations with other countries, peoples and regions;

- b) building positive peace into our international security relations;
- c) resolving conflict rather than merely deterring war through the maintenance of traditional military structures;
- d) ensuring the greatest possible transparency in India's foreign and security relations, domestically as well as internationally;
- e) working with individuals and organisations which openly and democratically work for such an objective at a local, regional, national and international level;
- f) working towards a policy framework of sustainable international relations, strongly supported by nonviolent strategies of international cooperation, conflict prevention, international mediation and conflict resolution, and which recognise the local, national and international dimensions of conflict in our region;
- g) capability for the foreseeable future, subject to eventual regional-wide demilitarisation;
- h) reforming the Indian Defence Forces to ensure that they are trained and equipped for more sustainable national and international security roles aimed at ensuring peace; and
- i) invisaging an ecologically sustainable post nuclear "New Intenational Political Order" on the matrix of Civilisational Homes (like EU) superceding the present nation state arrangement.

# 4.2.1 Working towards Regional and Global Demilitarisation.

We will:

- a) participate in global regime initiatives to monitor and reduce the manufacture and export of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons technologies;
- b) support a global nuclear weapons Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), with particular reference to nuclear weapons testing in the Asia-Pacific region;

- c) support global nuclear non-proliferation, and comprehensive measures to dismantle all nuclear weapons and their target systems, through convening a UN-sponsored International Peace Conference on general nuclear disarmament;
- d) support a global ban on the militarisation of space.

# 4.2.2 Combating the International Arms Trade and Provision of Military Assistance.

We will support policies to:

- a) ensure that India will not produce weaponry or components for export;
- b) compile a register of all dual-use (civilian-military) technology which may be exported from India, and restrict the trade with reference to a broad range of security considerations (such as the human rights record of our trading partners);
- c) encourage other states to phase out external military aid in the Asia-Pacific region;
- d) end arms trade fairs in India and coordinate with neighbouring states on similar measures; and
- e) establish a realistic, comprehensive register of the arms trade in the Asia-Pacific region, and work to develop alternative regional and UN-sponsored disarmament initiatives with a capacity for binding verification.

# 4.2.3 Regional Confidence-building and Peacebuilding

We will support policies that:

- a) develop regional security relations which build peace and confidence, and work towards resolving conflicts before they evolve into violent international disputes; and
- b) recognise that the basis of regional peace and security is a sustainable framework of human rights protection and promotion, just and equitable regional trade arrangements,

generous and appropriate overseas aid programme and strong multinational environmental safeguards; and

c) ensure that the Asia-Pacific states, and their constituent peoples, have open access to dependable international legal dispute mechanisms.

# 4.2.4 Regional Conflict-Prevention

We will encourage:

- a) the development of an inter-related set of global security campaigns through the Ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Education;
- b) effective diplomatic intervention in potential conflict situations, through India's network of regional diplomatic ties, and through regional institutions and the UN where appropriate; and
- c) conflict-preventive peacekeeping deployments for interceding in potential conflict situations, wherever appropriate, in the form of monitors, police, aid and assistance personnel or peacekeeping forces, with all-party support managed through relevant regional organisations or the UN.

# 4.2.5 Linking Peacebuilding with Peacekeeping and Peacemaking

We will support policies which:

- a) manage India's foreign and security relations in ways which recognise that peacebuilding and peacemaking are crucial elements of any regional conflict management framework, and that peacekeeping has the potential to operate at an interface between the two;
- b) develop an integrated strategy linking peacebuilding, peacekeeping and peacemaking approaches to conflict management;
- c) establish an appropriate peacekeeping strategy to be developed both nationally and through the UN; and

d) respond to the urgent need to comprehensively develop international peacemaking capabilities, both in new regional institutions and through a reformed UN.

### 4.2.6 Sanctions Enforcement Action

We will work to ensure that trade embargoes:

- a) are only conducted within a UN mandate;
- b) are closely associated with an appropriate strategy of conflict resolution; and
- c) are rigorously enforced in order to achieve their goals as rapidly as possible.

## 4.2.7 Military Enforcement Action

We support a comprehensive strategy of nonviolent conflict management as the most effective means of promoting peace and security in the international arena; in which military enforcement action is only seen as appropriate in securing effective UN sanctions against states which seriously violate international peace.

# 4.2.8 Establishing an Agency for Monitoring Demilitarisation

We will support policies to:

- a) establish an Agency for Monitoring Demilitarisation.
- monitoring and/or coordinating regional arms control and disarmament measures;
- monitoring and combating the arms trade;
- monitoring weapons testing and military exercises;
- coordinating regional arms conversion strategies;
   and
- b) develop a culture of nonviolent conflict management and peace education throughout the world.