

PREFACE

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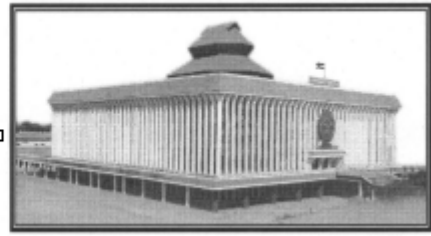
കൈത്തറി സംരക്ഷണത്തിലൂടെ പൈതൃക പരിപാലനം

മോനിക എസ് ഗാർഗ്

നവവധുവിന് സാരി എങ്ങനെയോ, അങ്ങനെയാണ് നമ്മുടെ സാംസ്കാരിക പൈതൃകവുമായി കൈത്തറിക്കുള്ള ബന്ധം. ഋഗ്വേദത്തിലും മഹാഭാരതത്തിലും രാമായണത്തിലുമെല്ലാം നെയ്ത്തുമായി ബന്ധപ്പെട്ട നിരവധി സന്ദർഭങ്ങളുടെ വിശദീകരണം കാണാം. ഹാരപ്പ, മോഹൻജദാരോ എന്നിവിടങ്ങളിൽ നിന്ന് നെയ്തെടുത്ത വസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ, സൂചികൾ, തക്കികൾ തുടങ്ങിയവ പൗരാണിക സംസ്കാരങ്ങളുടെ തെളിവുകളുമായി ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈജിപ്തിലെ പ്രസിദ്ധമായ പീരമിഡുകളിൽ നിന്ന് ചായപ്പണികളോടുകൂടിയ ഗുജറാത്ത് നിർമ്മിത വസ്ത്രശേഖരം ഗവേഷകർ കണ്ടെത്തുകയുണ്ടായി. പത്തൊമ്പതാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിനു മുമ്പും ഇന്ത്യൻ നിർമ്മിത പരുത്തി വസ്ത്രങ്ങൾക്ക് വിദേശ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന വിപണി മൂല്യത്തെയാണ് ഇത് ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കുന്നത്.

കൈത്തറിയിൽ സമർത്ഥരായ കലാകാരന്മാരാണ് ഈ ശ്രേഷ്ഠ പാരമ്പര്യം തലമുറകളായി കാത്തു പരിപാലിച്ചു പോരുന്നത്. ഇന്ന് കൈത്തറി മേഖലയിൽ ജോലി ചെയ്യുന്ന നാലു ദശലക്ഷത്തോളം തൊഴിലാളികളിൽ നല്ല ശതമാനം പട്ടികജാതി, പട്ടികവർഗ്ഗ പിന്നാക്ക വിഭാഗങ്ങളും സ്ത്രീകളുമാണ്. ഇന്ത്യയിൽ കൃഷി കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ രണ്ടാമത്തെ വലിയ തൊഴിൽ മേഖലയാണ് ഇത്. പരിസ്ഥിതി സൗഹൃദപരവും വികേന്ദ്രീകൃതവും ഗ്രാമാധിഷ്ഠിതവുമായ ഈ കുടിൽ വ്യവസായം നമ്മുടെ സമ്പദ്വ്യവസ്ഥയുടെ വളർച്ചയിൽ പ്രധാന സ്ഥാനം വഹിക്കുന്നു.

എന്നിരുന്നാലും 2010-ലെ കൈത്തറി സെൻസസ് വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നത് ഈ മേഖലയുടെ ശോഭനമല്ലാത്ത ഭാവിയാണ്. നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെ എണ്ണം പ്രതിവർഷം ഏകദേശം ഏഴു ശതമാനം എന്ന നിരക്കിൽ കുറഞ്ഞു വരുന്നു. തരികളുടെ



എണ്ണവും കുറയുകയാണ്. അടുത്ത തലമുറ ഇതിൽ സംശയാലുക്കളും താല്പര്യരഹിതരുമാണ്. കൈത്തറി വ്യവസായം അതിന്റെ അസ്തമയത്തോട് അടുക്കുന്നു എന്നതാണത്രേ ഇത് നൽകുന്ന സൂചന.

തളർച്ചയ്ക്കുള്ള കാരണങ്ങൾ പലതാണ്. സെൻസസിന്റെ കണ്ടെത്തൽ പ്രകാരം ഒരു നെയ്ത്തുകാരന്റെ പ്രതിമാസ വരുമാനം വെറും 3400 രൂപയാണ്. ഇന്ത്യയിൽ ഏത് തൊഴിലാളിയുടെയും ഏറ്റവും കുറഞ്ഞ ശരാശരി മാസ വരുമാനം 4500 രൂപയാണെന്ന് ഓർക്കണം. കലാകാരൻ സാമ്പത്തികമായി തളർന്നാൽ പിന്നെ കലയും അസ്തമിക്കും. നല്ല പെയ്ന്ററപ്പോലെ, ചിത്രകാരനെപ്പോലെ നെയ്ത്തുകാരും സമൂഹത്തിൽ ഉയർന്ന സ്ഥാനം അർഹിക്കുന്നു. കാരണം കൈത്തറി ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾ വളരെ സവിശേഷമാണ്. അവ നെയ്യപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന നൂലുകളിൽ നിറയെ ക്ഷമയുണ്ട്, താല്പര്യമുണ്ട്, സൗന്ദര്യമുണ്ട്, വൈദഗ്ദ്ധ്യമുണ്ട്. അതിനാൽ അവയ്ക്കാനുപാതികമായ പ്രതിഫലം ഈ മേഖലയിലെ തൊഴിലാളികൾ അർഹിക്കുന്നു. കൈത്തറി മേഖലയെ ശക്തിപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിലൂടെ മാത്രമേ ഇത് സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ.

ഇന്ത്യൻ നിർമ്മിത പരമ്പരാഗത കൈത്തറി ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾ വൈവിധ്യം കൊണ്ടും വ്യാപ്തി കൊണ്ടും ലോകവിപണിയിൽ അസൂയാർഹമായ സ്ഥാനമാണ് നേടിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. ആഗോളവിപണിയിലെ 85 ശതമാനം കൈത്തറി ഉത്പന്നങ്ങളും ഇന്ത്യൻ നിർമ്മിതമാണ്. ഇതര ഉത്പാദക രാജ്യങ്ങളായ ശ്രീലങ്ക, നേപ്പാൾ, ബംഗ്ലാദേശ്, കമ്പോഡിയ, ഇന്തോനേഷ്യ എന്നിവയുടെ സംഭാവന ഈ മേഖലയിൽ വളരെ കുറവാണ്. ഉള്ളവ തന്നെ ഗാർഹിക ഉപയോഗത്തിനുള്ള വിരലിലെണ്ണാവുന്ന ഉത്പന്നങ്ങളും. അതേസമയം, കൈത്തറി കയറ്റുമതിയിൽ കഴിഞ്ഞ നാലുവർഷം കൊണ്ട് 40 ശതമാനം വർധനയാണ് നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യം കൈവരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. അതായത് ഇന്ത്യയുടെ കൈത്തറി കയറ്റുമതി വരുമാനം 2010 ലെ 260 ദശലക്ഷം ഡോളറിൽ നിന്ന് 2014 ൽ 370 ദശലക്ഷം ഡോളറായി ഉയർന്നു. ഈ വളർച്ചാനിരക്ക് നൽകുന്ന സൂചന, കൈത്തറി മേഖലയ്ക്കുള്ള വൻ സാധ്യതയാണ്. സമ്പന്നമായ സാംസ്കാരിക പൈതൃകവും ജനസംഖ്യാപരമായ പ്രത്യേകതകളും അവകാശപ്പെടുന്ന ഇന്ത്യക്ക് ആഗോള വിപണിയിലേയ്ക്കു ആവശ്യമായ കൈത്തറി ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾ നിർമ്മിച്ചു നൽകാൻ സാധിക്കും. പക്ഷെ, പുതിയ കാലത്തിന്റെ ബഹുമുഖവും, വേഗത്തിൽ മാറിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതും, സങ്കീർണ്ണവുമായ ആവശ്യങ്ങളുമായി പൊരുത്തപ്പെടുന്ന തരത്തിലുള്ള സമീപനമാണ് ഇതിന് വേണ്ടത്. സമ്പന്നമായ പൈതൃകത്തെ പ്രതിഫലിപ്പിക്കുന്നതോടൊപ്പം നമ്മുടെ നെയ്ത്തു വ്യവസായം ആധുനികതയേയും ഉൾക്കൊള്ളണം.



ബനാറസിലെയും ചന്ദേരിയിലെയും നെയ്ത്തുകാർ സാരികളുടെ നിർമ്മാണ ശൈലി കുറേക്കൂടി നവീകരിച്ചാൽ അവർക്ക് കൂടുതൽ വരുമാനം നേടാനാകും. മാത്രവുമല്ല, സ്കാർഫ്, ടൈ, ബെൽറ്റ്, ബാഗ്, പൗച്ച്, വീടുകളിലേയ്ക്കാവശ്യമായ കൃഷ്യൻ കവറുകൾ, മേശവിരികൾ, ജാലക വിരികൾ തുടങ്ങിയവയുടെ നിർമ്മാണത്തിലേയ്ക്കു കടന്നുകൊണ്ട് ഈ മേഖലയിൽ കൂടുതൽ വൈവിധ്യവത്കരണം നടത്തിയാൽ വരുമാനം ഇരട്ടിയാക്കാനും അവർക്കു സാധിക്കും. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ഉത്പന്ന വികസനത്തിനും വൈവിധ്യവത്കരണത്തിനും നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെയും രൂപകല്പനാവിദഗ്ദ്ധരുടെയും ശക്തമായ സഹകരണം ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. നാഷണൽ ഇൻസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂട്ട് ഓഫ് ഫാഷൻ ടെക്നോളജി(എൻ.ഐ.എഫ്.ടി.) പാഠ്യപദ്ധതിയിൽ നെയ്ത്തു കൂട്ടായ്മകളെ കൂടി ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊണ്ട് ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ നല്ല തുടക്കം കുറിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു.

ഒരു വശത്ത്, ഏതെങ്കിലും കൈത്തറി, കരകൗശല കൂട്ടായ്മ സന്ദർശിക്കുമ്പോൾ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് നമ്മുടെ സമ്പന്നമായ പാരമ്പര്യത്തെ അടുത്ത് മനസിലാക്കാൻ സാധിക്കും. നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്കും കലാകാരന്മാർക്കുമൊക്കെ ഡിസൈനിലും രൂപകല്പനയിലും കൂടുതൽ പുതിയ ആശയങ്ങൾ യുവ തലമുറയുമായുള്ള ആശയവിനിമയത്തിലൂടെ ഗ്രഹിക്കാനും സാധിക്കും. ജാബുവ മുത്തുകൾ ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള വസ്തുക്കൾ ഒരു ക്ഷണം കൈത്തറി തുണികൂടി ചേർത്ത് വച്ച് മറ്റ് ഉത്പന്നങ്ങളിൽ ഉപയോഗിച്ചാൽ അതിന് പല മടങ്ങ് വില ലഭിക്കും. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ദീർഘകാലാടിസ്ഥാനത്തിലുള്ള പദ്ധതികളിലൂടെ മാത്രമേ കൈത്തറിയെ വ്യാപകമാക്കാൻ സാധിക്കൂ.

മൂല്യശൂംഖലയിലെ മറ്റൊരു നിർണ്ണായക തലം വിപണിയാണ്. വിപണിയിലെ വ്യത്യസ്ത താൽപര്യങ്ങൾ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നതിൽ ഇന്ന് കൈത്തറി മേഖല പരാജയപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. വിപണിയിലെ വിഭജിക്കപ്പെട്ട താൽപര്യങ്ങളെ നാം മനസിലാക്കണം; അംഗീകരിക്കണം; ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തണം. പത്താൻ, പഠോള, കണി, ബലു ചാരി, ജംദാനി തുടങ്ങിയ മേൽത്തരം ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾക്ക് പ്രത്യേക പദവി നൽകി സംരക്ഷിക്കണം. അവയെ ചുറ്റിപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള ഐതിഹ്യങ്ങളും വിശ്വാസങ്ങളും പ്രതീകങ്ങളും വഴി നെയ്ത്തുകാർ ഈ വിശേഷപ്പെട്ട വസ്ത്രങ്ങൾക്ക് ആകർഷകമായ മൂല്യമാണ് നൽകുന്നത്. നിർമ്മിതിയിലെ അനുപമമായ രൂപമാതൃകകളും വ്യത്യസ്തമായ നെയ്ത് ശൈലികളും കൊണ്ടു രൂപപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന അവ സാധാരണക്കാരെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചുള്ളതല്ല, മറിച്ച് സമൂഹത്തിലെ ഉന്നതരായ വ്യക്തികൾക്കു വേണ്ടിയുള്ളതാണ് എന്ന് വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നു. അനുയോജ്യവും മത്സരങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാത്തതുമായ വിപണിയാണ് അവയ്ക്കുള്ളത് എന്നതിനാൽ അർഹിക്കുന്ന വില അവയ്ക്കു ലഭിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.



അനുപമമായ രൂപമാതൃകകൾ; പകരം വയ്ക്കാനില്ലാത്ത ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾ

വിപണിയിൽ കൈത്തറി ഇന്നു നേരിടുന്ന ഏറ്റവും വലിയ ഭീഷണി യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ നിന്നുള്ള ഉത്പന്നങ്ങളും നിലവാരം കുറഞ്ഞ ഇറക്കുമതികളുമാണ്. യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ നിന്നുള്ള വസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ നിർമ്മിക്കാൻ അധ്വാനവും സമയവും കുറച്ചു മതി. വിലയും താരതമ്യേന കുറവാണ്. മാത്രവുമല്ല, യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ നിർമ്മിക്കുന്ന തുണികളും കൈത്തറിയിൽ നിർമ്മിക്കുന്ന തുണികളും തമ്മിൽ സാധാരണക്കാർക്ക് തിരിച്ചറിയാനും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടാണ്. തന്മൂലം കൈത്തറികൾ എന്ന വ്യാജേന യന്ത്രത്തറി ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾ വ്യാപകമായി വിൽക്കപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ട്. അതിനാൽ അടിയന്തിരമായി ബ്രാൻഡിങ് ഉണ്ടായേ തീരൂ. ഉപഭോക്താക്കളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം വസ്ത്രങ്ങളിലെ കൈത്തറി മുദ്ര വിശ്വാസ്യതയുടെ അടയാളവും മില്ലിലോ യന്ത്രത്തറിയിലോ നിർമ്മിതമല്ല എന്ന ഉറപ്പുമാണ് നൽകുന്നത്. ഉത്പന്നത്തിന്റെ ആധികാരികതയാണ് അത് സാക്ഷ്യപ്പെടുത്തുന്നത്. നിർഭാഗ്യവശാൽ സാധാരണക്കാരായ ആളുകൾക്ക് ഈ അടയാളം അത്ര പരിചിതമല്ല. അതിനാൽ കൈത്തറി അടയാളം തിരിച്ചറിയാൻ പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കിടയിൽ ബോധവൽക്കരണം നടത്തേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. കൈത്തറി മുദ്രയുള്ള ഉത്പന്നങ്ങൾ മാത്രമേ രാജ്യത്തിനകത്തും പുറത്തും ഗവൺമെന്റ് സഹകരണത്തോടെ നടത്തപ്പെടുന്ന മേളകളിൽ പ്രദർശിപ്പിക്കാൻ പാടുള്ളൂ എന്ന് നിബന്ധന വയ്ക്കണം. ബോധവൽക്കരണത്തിനൊപ്പം ഗവൺമെന്റ് പ്രഖ്യാപിക്കുന്ന വിവിധ ക്ഷേമപദ്ധതികളുടെ ആനുകൂല്യം യഥാർത്ഥ കൈത്തറി നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്ക് ലഭിക്കുന്നു എന്ന് ഉറപ്പും വരുത്തണം.

പൊതുജന സ്വാധീനം, പൈതൃകം, കരകൗശല വസ്തുക്കളോടുള്ള താല്പര്യം തുടങ്ങിയ നിർണ്ണായക ഘടകങ്ങളിലൂടെയാണ് കൈത്തറി മേഖലയെ സുസ്ഥിരപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടത്. എന്നാൽ ഈ തന്ത്രം, ഉത്പന്നാധിഷ്ഠിത വൈവിധ്യവൽക്കരണത്തിൽ ഡിസൈനർമാരുടെ സഹകരണം ലഭിക്കുന്ന അതിസമർത്ഥരായ നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്കും ഉന്നതരായ ഉപഭോക്താക്കൾക്കും മാത്രമേ ബാധകമാകുന്നുള്ളൂ. ഇവ രാകട്ടെ 20 ശതമാനം മാത്രമാണ്, എന്നാൽ ഏറ്റവും മുന്തിയ ഉത്പന്നങ്ങളുടെ 80 ശതമാനം നിർമ്മിക്കുന്നതും ഇവർ തന്നെ. അതിനാൽ ഈ സമീപനം വളരെ പരിമിതമായ ഒരു വിഭാഗത്തിനു മാത്രമേ ഗുണം ചെയ്യുന്നുള്ളുവെങ്കിലും ഈ മേഖലയുടെ സുസ്ഥിരമായ നവീകരണം ഇതുവഴി സാധിക്കുമെന്ന് പ്രതീക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. കൈത്തറിയെ മാത്രം ആശ്രയിക്കുന്ന ബാക്കി 80 ശതമാനം നെയ്ത്തുകാരെയും വ്യത്യസ്തമായ രീതിയിൽ കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു.



തൊഴിൽപരമായ ഭീഷണിയും അതു നേരിടാനുള്ള നടപടികളും

പ്രത്യക്ഷമായും പരോക്ഷമായും 43 ലക്ഷം ആളുകൾ പണിയെടുക്കുന്ന മേഖലയാണ് കൈത്തറി എന്ന വസ്തുത നാം കാണാതെ പോകരുത്. ഇവരെയെല്ലാം ഒരു സുപ്രഭാതത്തിൽ വിപണിയിൽ വൻ ഡിമാന്റുള്ള മേൽത്തരം ഉത്പ്പന്നങ്ങൾ നിർമ്മിക്കാൻ പരിശീലിപ്പിക്കുക സാധ്യവുമല്ല. എന്നിരുന്നാലും നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിലും വിദൂര ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിലും കൈത്തറി ഇപ്പോഴും ഉപജീവനത്തിനുള്ള പ്രധാന സ്രോതസ്സാണ്. മുഖ്യ ഭീഷണി യന്ത്രത്തറികളും തുണിമില്ലുകളും തന്നെ. കാരണം മിക്ക കൈത്തറി ഉത്പന്നങ്ങളുടെയും, പകർപ്പ് യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ നിർമ്മിക്കാനാവും. ചില നെയ്ത്തുകാർ യന്ത്രത്തറികളിലേയ്ക്ക് മാറിക്കഴിഞ്ഞു. യന്ത്രത്തറികൾ തീർച്ചയായും നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെ ജീവിതം കൂടുതൽ ആയാസരഹിതമാക്കുന്നു, നല്ല വേതനം ലഭ്യമാക്കുന്നു, ജോലിക്ക് കൂടുതൽ കൃത്യതയും മികവും വേഗതയും നൽകുന്നു. അതേ സമയം അത് മറ്റ് അനേകരുടെ ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗം ഇല്ലാതാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഇങ്ങനെ വരുമ്പോൾ യന്ത്രത്തറികളിലേയ്ക്ക് മാറുന്നതിനോ, മറ്റ് ഏതെങ്കിലും തൊഴിൽ തേടുന്നതിനോ മാർഗ്ഗമില്ലാത്തവരാണ് ഏറ്റവും കൂടുതൽ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ട് അനുഭവിക്കുന്നത്.

ഈ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽ ലക്ഷക്കണക്കിനു വരുന്ന കൈത്തറി നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെ ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗം സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനും ഈ മേഖലയെ സഹായിക്കുന്നതിനും മാത്രമായി ക്ഷേമപദ്ധതികൾ ആസൂത്രണം ചെയ്യേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. മില്ലുകളുടെ സഹായത്തോടെ വസ്ത്രനിർമ്മാണത്തിൽ വൻ തോതിലുള്ള ഉത്പാദനത്തിനും ഒപ്പം നാടിന്റെ വികസനത്തിനുമുള്ള ഒരു മറുമറുന്നാണ് കൈത്തറി. കൈത്തറിയും യന്ത്രത്തറിയും തുല്യ പ്രാധാന്യമുള്ളവ തന്നെ. പക്ഷെ വളരെ വിഭിന്നവും വ്യത്യസ്ത നയങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യമുള്ളവയുമാണ്. ഇവ പരസ്പരം മത്സരിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ അവ പരസ്പര പൂരകങ്ങളും ഒന്ന് ലോകത്തെ അണിയിച്ച് ഒരുക്കുമ്പോൾ അടുത്തത്, ലക്ഷങ്ങൾക്ക് തൊഴിൽ നൽകുന്നു. അതിനാൽ രണ്ടു മേഖലകളെയും സഹായിക്കുകയും പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന നയമാണ് നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെന്റ് സ്വീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. പക്ഷെ ഈ ലേഖനത്തിൽ ചർച്ചാവിഷയമാകുന്നത് കൈത്തറി മേഖലയും അതിന്റെ സംരക്ഷണവും മാത്രമാണ്.

കൈത്തറികളെ യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ നിന്നും മില്ലുകളിൽ നിന്നും സംരക്ഷിക്കുക എന്ന ലക്ഷ്യത്തോടെയാണ് 1985 ൽ റിസർവേഷൻ ഓഫ് ആർട്ടിക്സിൾസ് ഫോർ പ്രൊഡക്ഷൻ നിയമം നടപ്പിലാക്കിയത്. ഈ നിയമ പ്രകാരം നിലവിൽ 11 തുണി



ത്തരങ്ങളുടെ ഉത്പാദനം ചില സാങ്കേതിക നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങളോടെ കൈത്തറിക്ക് മാത്രമായി സംവരണം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇവ മില്ലുകളിലോ യന്ത്രത്തറികളിലോ ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തതാകുന്നു.

ദേശീയ കൈത്തറി വികസന കോർപ്പറേഷൻ വഴി കൈത്തറി നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്ക് സൗജന്യ നിരക്കിൽ നൂലും നൽകിവരുന്നു. അവശ്യവസ്തു നിയമ(1955) പ്രകാരം കൈത്തറി നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്ക് ആവശ്യത്തിനുള്ള നൂലിന്റെ ലഭ്യത ന്യായവിലയ്ക്ക് ഉറപ്പാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. കൈത്തറി നൂൽ ഉടമ്പടി എന്നതാണ് ഇതിനു പേര്. നിശ്ചിത ശതമാനം നൂലുകൾ ഈ ആവശ്യത്തിനായി നിർമ്മിച്ച് നൽകാൻ മില്ലുകളെയും ബാധ്യതപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്.

പക്ഷേ മേൽപ്പറഞ്ഞ രണ്ടു നടപടികളെയും മൂല്യ ശ്രേണിയിലുടനീളം തുണി മില്ലുകൾ ശക്തമായി എതിർക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ പരാധീനത നേരിടുന്ന കൈത്തറി മേഖലയ്ക്ക് അല്പമെങ്കിലും സംരക്ഷണം നൽകുന്നതിന് ഈ സംവിധാനം തുടരേണ്ടത് കാലഘട്ടത്തിന്റെ ആവശ്യമാണ്. മാത്രവുമല്ല, ഇത് ശക്തമായി നടപ്പാക്കുകയും അത് ഫലപ്രദമാണെന്ന് ഉറപ്പാക്കുകയും വേണം.

പക്ഷേ മേൽപ്പറഞ്ഞ രണ്ടു നടപടികളെയും മൂല്യ ശ്രേണിയിലുടനീളം തുണി മില്ലുകൾ ശക്തമായി എതിർക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ പരാധീനത നേരിടുന്ന കൈത്തറി മേഖലയ്ക്ക് അല്പമെങ്കിലും സംരക്ഷണം നൽകുന്നതിന് ഈ സംവിധാനം തുടരേണ്ടത് കാലഘട്ടത്തിന്റെ ആവശ്യമാണ്. മാത്രവുമല്ല, ഇത് ശക്തമായി നടപ്പാക്കുകയും അത് ഫലപ്രദമാണെന്ന് ഉറപ്പാക്കുകയും വേണം.

പരിഗണിക്കപ്പെടേണ്ട മറ്റൊരു കാര്യം ഈ മേഖലയ്ക്കുള്ള വായ്പകളുടെ ലഭ്യതയാണ്. സെൻസസ് കണക്കുകൾ പ്രകാരം 61 ശതമാനം നെയ്ത്തുകാരും സ്വതന്ത്രമായി ജോലി നോക്കുന്നവരാണ്. ബാക്കിയുള്ളതിന്റെ 34 ശതമാനം സ്വകാര്യ ഉടമകളുടെയോ വലിയ നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെയോ കീഴിൽ തൊഴിലാളികളാണ്. അഞ്ചു ശതമാനം മാത്രമാണ് സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളിൽ ജോലി ചെയ്യുന്നത്. പൊതുവേ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കുറഞ്ഞവരും സാമ്പത്തികമായി പിന്നാക്കം നിൽക്കുന്നവരുമാണ് നെയ്ത്തു തൊഴിലാളികൾ. തൊഴിലിനുള്ള കൂലി വാസ്തവത്തിൽ അവർക്ക് ലഭിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഇടനിലക്കാരുടെ ചൂഷണം ഈ മേഖലയിൽ ഉണ്ട്. ധനകാര്യ സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളുമായി അവർക്ക് ബന്ധപ്പെടാനാകുന്നില്ല എന്നതാണ് മറ്റൊരു പ്രശ്നം.

ഈ സാമ്പത്തിക പ്രതിസന്ധി മനസിലാക്കിയാണ് 2011 ൽ ഗവൺമെന്റ് നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്കും അവരുടെ സഹകരണ സംഘങ്ങൾക്കുമായി 3000 കോടി രൂപ

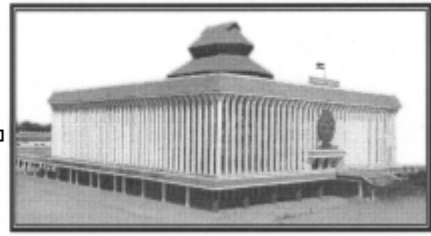


യുടെ സാമ്പത്തിക സഹായം പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചത്. നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്ക് വായ്പ ലഭ്യമാക്കുക എന്നതായിരുന്നു ലക്ഷ്യം. വളരെ ലളിതമായ നിബന്ധനകൾ മാത്രമേ ഇതിന് ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുള്ളൂ. എന്നിട്ടും 1000 കോടി മാത്രമേ ഈ ഇനത്തിൽ വിതരണം ചെയ്യപ്പെടുന്നുള്ളൂ. കൈത്തറി സംഘങ്ങളെ ഒഴിവാക്കിയാൽ 50000 പേർ വ്യക്തിഗത വായ്പകൾ എടുത്തു. അത്രമാത്രം. പക്ഷെ അത് ധാരാളം പേരുടെ കണ്ണുതുറപ്പിച്ചു. കഴിഞ്ഞ കുറെ പതിറ്റാണ്ടുകളായി ഈ മേഖലയിൽ വായ്പ ലഭ്യമാക്കുന്നില്ലായിരുന്നു എന്ന സത്യം എല്ലാവരും ഗ്രഹിച്ചു. അതോടെ ഗവൺമെന്റ് നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്കുള്ള വായ്പയുടെ പലിശ 6 ശതമാനമാക്കി ചുരുക്കി. സൗജന്യ നിരക്കിലുള്ള ഈ വായ്പ അവർക്ക് മൂലധന ആസ്തിയായും പ്രവർത്തന മൂലധനമായും ഉപയോഗിക്കാം. ഫലപ്രദമായി വിനിയോഗിച്ചാൽ ഇത് കൈത്തറി മേഖലയുടെ ശിരോലിഖിതം മാറ്റി എഴുതും. കൈത്തറി തുണികൾക്ക് നിറം നൽകുന്നതിനും മറ്റുമുള്ള യൂണിറ്റുകൾക്കുള്ള സഹായത്തിനുപരി നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്ക് അതിലും അത്യാവശ്യമുള്ള പ്രവർത്തന മൂലധനമായി ഈ തുക ഉപയോഗിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.

സ്ഥിതിവിവരക്കണക്കുകൾ നൽകുന്ന വിവരമനുസരിച്ച് 83 ശതമാനം നെയ്ത്തുകാരും ഹൈസ്കൂൾ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം പൂർത്തിയാക്കാത്തവരാണ്. അതായത് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കുറഞ്ഞവർക്കുള്ള തൊഴിലാണ് കൈത്തറി ജോലി എന്ന തെറ്റായ ധാരണയ്ക്ക് ഇതു കാരണമുണ്ടാകുന്നു. ഈ തൊഴിലിന്റെ എല്ലാ മാന്യതയും തകർക്കുന്ന ഒരു ധാരണയാണിത്. അതിനാൽ അടുത്ത തലമുറയെ ഈ മേഖലയിൽ പിടിച്ചു നിർത്തണമെങ്കിൽ ഫൈൻ ആർട്സ് പോലെ, ഫോട്ടോഗ്രാഫി പോലെ, സംഗീതം പോലെ ഒരു കലാപരമായ വൈദഗ്ദ്ധ്യം വേണ്ട ആധുനിക തൊഴിൽ മേഖലയായി കൈത്തറിയെ കണക്കാക്കണം. ഇതിന് എൻഐഎഫ്ടി പോലുള്ള സ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾ കൈത്തറി കൂട്ടായ്മകളുമായി അവരുടെ പരിശീലന പരിപാടി സംയോജിപ്പിക്കണം. തുടർ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ പരിപാടി പോലുള്ള അവരുടെ ചില പ്രധാന പരിശീലന സംരംഭങ്ങൾ പൂർണ്ണമായും കൈത്തറി നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ നടപ്പാക്കണം. എൻഐഎഫ്ടി പോലുള്ള ഒരു സ്ഥാപനത്തിൽ നിന്നുള്ള സർട്ടിഫിക്കറ്റ് പുതിയ തലമുറയ്ക്ക് വലിയ അഭിമാനമാകും. തൊഴിലിന്റെ പരമ്പരാഗതമായ വൈദഗ്ദ്ധ്യം ഒരു തലമുറ അടുത്ത തലമുറയിലേയ്ക്ക് കൈമാറിയാണ് ഈ മേഖല ഇത്രകാലം നിലനിന്നു പോന്നത് എന്ന കാര്യം വിസ്മരിക്കരുത്. ഇങ്ങനെ മാത്രമേ അടുത്ത തലമുറയെയും ഈ തൊഴിലിൽ പിടിച്ചു നിർത്താൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ.

കൈത്തറികളുടെ സാങ്കേതിക നവീകരണം

1985 ലെ കൈത്തറി റിസർവേഷൻ ആൻഡ് പ്രൊട്ടക്ഷൻ നിയമത്തിലെ വകുപ്പ്



2(ബി) പ്രകാരം യന്ത്രത്തറി അല്ലാത്ത ഏതു തറിയും കൈത്തറി ആകുന്നു. ഇന്ത്യൻ ബ്യൂറോ ഓഫ് സ്റ്റാൻഡേർഡ് പ്രകാരം കൈത്തറി എന്നാൽ വസ്ത്രം നെയ്യുന്നതിനായി കൈകൊണ്ടു പ്രവർത്തിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സംവിധാനമാകുന്നു. ചിലപ്പോൾ ഇത് കാലുകൊണ്ടും പ്രവർത്തിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

കൈത്തറിയുടെ സാങ്കേതികമായ പ്രവർത്തനം നൂൽ വിതറുക, എടുക്കുക, അടിക്കുക എന്നീ മൂന്നു പ്രക്രിയകളിലൂടെയാണ്. ഇതു മൂന്നും വൈദ്യുതിയുടെ സഹായമില്ലാതെ നെയ്ത്തുകാരൻ സ്വയം ചെയ്യുന്നതാണ്. വൈദ്യുതി ഉപയോഗിക്കാതെ ഈ പ്രക്രിയകൾ യന്ത്രവത്കരിച്ചാൽ ഈ ജോലി വളരെ ലഘുവാക്കി മാറ്റാം. നെയ്ത്തിനു മുമ്പുള്ള ജോലികളും യന്ത്രവത്കരിക്കാം. സാധ്യതയെക്കുറിച്ച് ആരും ഇതുവരെ ചിന്തിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഈ മേഖലയിലുള്ള ഗവേഷണം നെയത്തുകാരുടെ അധ്വാനഭാരം ലഘൂകരിക്കും, കൈത്തറിയുടെ സത്ത നഷ്ടപ്പെടുകയുമില്ല.

എന്നാൽ ഇതു സംബന്ധിച്ച് രാജ്യത്ത് വൻ തർക്കം നടക്കുകയാണ്. മനുഷ്യ പ്രയത്നം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നതിന് കൈത്തറികളെ നവീകരിക്കണം എന്ന് 2013 ൽ ആസൂത്രണ കമ്മീഷൻ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചതാണ്. ഇതിനായി ഗവൺമെന്റും ചില നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ മുന്നോട്ടു വച്ചിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ നെയ്ത്തുകാർ തന്നെയാണ് ഈ നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ തള്ളിയത്. ഇതിനെച്ചൊല്ലി വ്യാപകമായ പ്രതിഷേധങ്ങളും അരങ്ങേറി. കാരണം ഗവൺമെന്റിന്റെ ഈ നീക്കം വരും കാലങ്ങളിൽ നെയ്ത്ത് എന്ന കലയെ തന്നെ ഇല്ലായ്മ ചെയ്തേക്കാം എന്ന തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ ഭയമായിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ തന്നെ യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ നിന്നുള്ള തുണിത്തരങ്ങൾ കൈത്തറി എന്ന പേരിലാണ് വിറ്റഴിക്കുന്നത്. പുതിയ നിർദ്ദേശം പ്രാവർത്തികമായാൽ യന്ത്രത്തറികൾക്ക് നിയമപരമായിത്തന്നെ രംഗത്തിറങ്ങാം. മാത്രവുമല്ല, യന്ത്രത്തറികളിൽ ജോലി ചെയ്യുന്നവർ ഗവൺമെന്റിൽ നിന്നു കൈത്തറി മേഖലയ്ക്കുള്ള ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങൾ എങ്ങനെ കൈവശപ്പെടുത്താം എന്നു തക്കം പാർത്തിരിക്കുകയാണ്. പുതിയ നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ കൂടി നടപ്പിലാക്കുന്നത് കൈത്തറി മേഖലയുടെ അന്ത്യം കുറിക്കുമെന്ന് തൊഴിലാളികൾ ഭയപ്പെട്ടു. എന്തായാലും ടെക്സ്റ്റൈൽസ് മന്ത്രാലയം കൈത്തറിയുടെ നിലവിലുള്ള നിർവചനം അതേപടി നിലനിർത്താനാണ് തീരുമാനിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. അതേ സമയം ഈ മേഖലയിലെ കായികാധ്വാനം കുറച്ചുകൊണ്ട് എങ്ങനെ ഉത്പാദകക്ഷമത വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കാം എന്നും അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

കൈത്തറിയുടെ നെയ്ത്തിലെ ആദ്യ രണ്ടു പ്രക്രിയകളിൽ യന്ത്രവത്കരണം നടപ്പാക്കിയാൽ മാത്രം മേൽപ്പറഞ്ഞ ലക്ഷ്യം സാധിക്കും. യന്ത്രവത്കരണം എന്നാൽ വൈദ്യുതിയുടെ ഉപഭോഗമല്ല. ആധുനിക ഉപകരണങ്ങളുടെയും സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യയുടെയും ഉപയോഗമാണ്. അതുവഴി കാര്യക്ഷമത വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കാം,



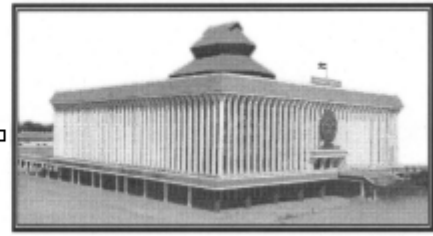
വിരസത അകറ്റാം. യന്ത്രങ്ങളുടെ ഉപയോഗം ഫലപ്രദമായി വിനിയോഗിക്കുകയാണ് ഇതുവഴി ലക്ഷ്യമിടുന്നത്.

കൈത്തറി തന്നെ ഒരു യന്ത്രമാണ്. പക്ഷെ പരമ്പരാഗതമായ കൈത്തറിയുടെ ഘടന ശാസ്ത്രീയമല്ല. മാത്രവുമല്ല, പരമ്പരാഗത നെയ്ത്തു രീതികൾ വളരെ കഠിനവുമാണ്. ശാരീരികമായി വളരെ അധ്വാനഭാരമുള്ള ജോലിയാണ് അത്. വരുമാനമാകട്ടെ തുച്ഛവും. തുടർച്ചയായ നെയ്ത്തു ജോലി തൊഴിലാളികൾക്ക് പല തരത്തിലുള്ള ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൾക്ക് കാരണമാകുന്നു. പ്രത്യേകിച്ച് ഈ ജോലി കൈകാലുകളുടെ പേശികൾക്ക് കഠിനമായ വേദന ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നു. കൈത്തറി മേഖലയിൽ ഇതുവരെ ഒരു സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യയും നടപ്പാക്കിയിട്ടില്ല. അതിനു പ്രസക്തിയില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ ഇതു സംബന്ധിച്ച ഗവേഷണങ്ങളും നടന്നിട്ടില്ല. നിലവിലുള്ള പരമ്പരാഗത സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യതന്നെയാണ് ഇപ്പോഴും ജനകീയം. ഫലമോ കൈത്തറിയിൽ എന്നും കൂടുതൽ അധ്വാനവും കുറച്ച് ഉത്പാദനവുമാണ് നടക്കുന്നത്.

അതിനാൽ ഉത്പാദനം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിന് നവീകരണം അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണ്. യന്ത്രവത്കരണം നെയ്ത്തുകാരന്റെ കാര്യശേഷി മാത്രമല്ല, തുണിയുടെ ഗുണനിലവാരവും വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കും. ആദ്യഘട്ട സാങ്കേതിക നവീകരണം 1773 ൽ നടത്തുകയുണ്ടായി. അടുത്തത് തുണികളുടെ അരികുകളിലേക്കും മറ്റുമുള്ള ഡിസൈൻ മനോഹരമായി നെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള നീക്കമായിരുന്നു. ഇവ നെയ്ത്തുകാരന്റെ കാര്യക്ഷമത പതിമടങ്ങ് വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചു.

വ്യാവസായിക അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിലുള്ള ഉത്പാദനത്തിന് ചെറിയ തരികൾ ഉപയോഗിച്ചാൽ കൂടുതൽ മണിക്കൂറുകൾ ജോലി ചെയ്യേണ്ടി വരും. കൂടിൽ വ്യവസായ തലത്തിൽ വീടുകൾ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ച് നടത്തുന്ന നെയ്ത്തും വ്യാവസായിക അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിലുള്ള ഉത്പാദനവും തമ്മിൽ അന്തരമുണ്ട്. അതിനാൽ വ്യാവസായിക ഉത്പാദനത്തിന് നെയ്ത്തു കേന്ദ്രങ്ങളുടെ നവീകരണം അനിവാര്യമാണ്. സെമി ഓട്ടോമാറ്റിക് കൈത്തറികൾ ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ സാധാരണ നെയ്ത്തുകാർക്ക് വളരെ ഉപകാരപ്രദമാണ്. തടി, മുള തുടങ്ങിയവയാൽ നിർമ്മിതമായ യന്ത്രഭാഗങ്ങൾക്കു പകരം നിലവാരമുള്ള റോളുകളും മറ്റും ഉപയോഗിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.

കൈത്തറി മേഖല നവീകരിക്കുന്നതിന് നടത്തുന്ന ഗവേഷണങ്ങൾക്ക് ഗവൺമെന്റ് പ്രോത്സാഹനം നൽകണം. സാങ്കേതിക നവീകരണത്തിലൂടെ മാത്രമേ വികസനം സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. മനുഷ്യ പ്രയത്നം, സമയം, ഊർജ്ജം എന്നിവ ലഘൂകരിക്കാനുള്ള നവീകരണങ്ങളാണ് ഇപ്പോൾ വേണ്ടത്. തരിയുടെ പ്രവർത്തനത്തിലെ ഒന്നും രണ്ടും ഘട്ടങ്ങളെല്ലാം യന്ത്രവത്കരിക്കണം. അതിന്



വേണമെങ്കിൽ മോട്ടോർ ഉപയോഗിക്കാം. കാരണം അത് നെയ്ത്തിന്റെ ഭാഗമേയല്ല.

നിലവിൽ വികസിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പുതിയ സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യ ഉപയോഗിക്കുക എന്നതാണ് ഏറ്റവും വലിയ വെല്ലുവിളി. ഇതിനു പ്രധാന പ്രതിബന്ധം നെയ്ത്തുകാരുടെ വൈമുഖ്യം തന്നെ. കാലാകാലങ്ങളായി തുടരുന്ന ശൈലിയിൽ നിന്നു മാറാനുള്ള താൽപര്യകുറവാണ് ഇത്. അതിനാൽ അവരെ പദ്ധതികളുടെ നിർണ്ണായക ഭാഗമാക്കി നവീന രീതികൾ ക്രമേണ ശീലിപ്പിച്ചെടുക്കാനാണ് ഗവൺമെന്റ് ശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടത്.

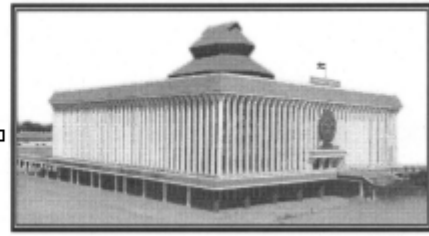
വ്യാവസായികാടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ കൈത്തറി ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ വിലപന വലിയ പ്രശ്നം തന്നെയാണ്. ഇവിടെയാണ് ഗവൺമെന്റ് ഇടപെടേണ്ടത്. ഈ മേഖലയിലെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളെ മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധി ദേശീയ ഗ്രാമീണ തൊഴിലുറപ്പ് പദ്ധതിയുമായി ബന്ധിപ്പിക്കണം. ഇപ്പോൾ സ്കൂൾ കുട്ടികൾക്കും അംഗൻവാടി ജീവനക്കാർക്കും സംസ്ഥാന ഗവൺമെന്റ് സൗജന്യ യൂണിഫോം വിതരണം ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇതിന് കൈത്തറി തുണികൾ ഉപയോഗിച്ചാൽ മതി എന്ന് തീരുമാനിക്കണം. കൈത്തറി തൊഴിലാളികളെയും തൊഴിലുറപ്പ് പദ്ധതിയിൽ അംഗങ്ങളാക്കണം. സ്കൂളുകളിലേയ്ക്കും അംഗൻവാടികളിലേയ്ക്കും ആവശ്യമായ തുണികൾ അവർ ഉത്പാദിപ്പിച്ച് വിതരണം ചെയ്യണം.

നമ്മുടെ പൈതൃകം വിളിച്ചോതുന്ന കൈത്തറി മേഖലയെ പ്രതിസന്ധി ഘട്ടത്തിൽ നിന്ന് മോചിപ്പിക്കുകയും നവീകരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യേണ്ട സമയം അതിക്രമിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിനു വേണ്ട നടപടികൾ ഗവൺമെന്റ് വൈകാതെ കൈക്കൊള്ളുമെന്ന് നമുക്ക് പ്രത്യാശിക്കാം.

യോജന,

ഒക്ടോബർ 2015.





TOWARDS ABOLITION

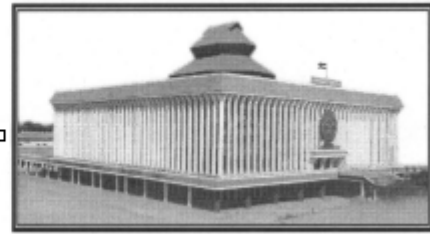
V. Venkatesan

The death penalty is an issue that cannot be decided on the basis of public opinion. If public opinion favours retention of the death penalty, there may still be a case for its abolition on the basis of empirical data on deterrence, decline in crime rates, non-fulfillment of penological purposes, arbitrary award of death sentences by the judiciary and erratic exercise of clemency powers by the executive.

The Law Commission, which decided to examine the issue of the death penalty, appears to have taken a conscious decision not to be influenced by public opinion, which was the unstated basis of its 35th report tabled in 1967, favouring its retention.

Its 262nd report states that public opinion in France supported the death penalty for several years after it was abolished in 1981. It was about two decades after the abolition of the law that opinion in France began to change in its favour. The report released on August 31, the last day of Justice A.P. Shah's tenure as Chairman of the Law Commission, recommended immediate abolition of the death penalty for offences other than terrorism and the waging of war, taking legal observers by surprise. The Commission felt that although there was no valid penological justification for treating terrorism differently from other crimes, concerns were often raised that abolition of the death penalty for terrorism-related offences and the waging of war would affect national security. It added: "However, given the concerns raised by the lawmakers, the Commission does not see any reason to wait any longer to take the first step towards abolition of the death penalty for all offences other than terrorism-related offences."

This gave rise to misgivings: did the Commission make a clear distinction between terrorism and non-terrorism cases while recommending the abolition of the death penalty for non-terrorism cases? A close reading of the report suggests that it did not. Those who were involved in the preparation of the report told Frontline that the Commission could not have distinguished terrorism and non-terrorism cases for the purpose of abolition after devoting a whole section to arguing



how the penological justification of deterrence was not valid in the case of terrorism- related offences.

The report refers to the stand taken by several people that the death penalty is unlikely to deter terrorists since most of them are on suicide missions and that there are other reasons why the death penalty might increase terrorist attacks. “The death penalty is often solicited by terrorists, since upon execution, their political aims immediately stand vindicated by the theatrics associated with an execution. They not only get public attention, but often even gain the support of organisations and nations which oppose the death penalty,” the report says. It also highlights the news report on the Bali bomber who beamed and gave a “thumbs up” to the news of his conviction and imminent execution.

The report quotes Jessica Stern, a pre-eminent expert on the issue of terrorism, as saying: “The execution of terrorists, especially minor operatives, has effects that go beyond retribution or justice. The executions play right into the hands of our adversaries. We turn criminals into martyrs, invite retaliatory strikes and enhance the public relations and fund-raising strategies of our enemies.” It also refers to Jeremy Bentham, the pioneer of the deterrence theory, as having said that executing “rebels” (who can be equated with today’s terrorists) would not deter potential rebels but only make the executed person a martyr and inspire potential followers.

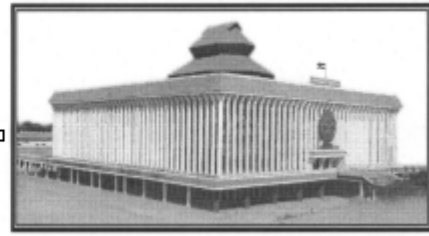
BALANCING EXERCISE

Therefore, the apparent (but not real) distinction made by the Commission between terrorism and non-terrorism cases must be understood as a balancing exercise of appeasing those who believe that abolition of the death penalty for terrorists is not advisable at this juncture and of making the first move towards the goal of absolute abolition.

It is clear from the report’s conclusion that it is necessary to debate the need for abolition of the death penalty in all respects in the very near future. The report reiterates this view by recommending that the method for abolition should be compatible with the fundamental goal of achieving “swift and irreversible, absolute abolition”. It implies that the abolition of the death penalty should, in a phased manner, apply to terrorism cases as well once the Commission is successful in persuading those who now remain unconvinced about the logic of absolute abolition.

The Commission thinks that there is a sharp division among lawmakers on this issue. This division appears to have convinced it that the time is not yet ripe for abolition of the death penalty for all offences. Releasing the report at a press conference in New Delhi, Justice Shah said several countries, including Britain, abolished the death penalty in phases in order to prepare public opinion in favour of the change, and that this made practical sense.

The Commission probably believes that India should move from the era of reform of the death penalty to the era of abolition. As a corollary, it believes that if we are stuck between those



who want to abolish the death penalty for terrorists and those who do not, then we are unlikely to make the next move to enter the abolitionist era.

It is also clear that the Commission opted for the balancing exercise in order to muster a majority within it in favour of abolition. R. Venkatramani, part-time member of the Commission and a senior advocate, favours abolition of the death penalty but feels that the death penalty for terrorism may be justified as a moral principle, if not by public opinion. In a letter addressed to Justice Shah on August 18, he claimed that he spent many anxious moments on this issue only to assure himself that we could not close our minds to extreme human conduct that is beyond penology or blind to sanity.

Despite his reservations, Venkatramani went along with the majority, which recommended swift, irreversible and absolute abolition because the Commission accepted the subtle distinction between terrorism and non-terrorism offences for the time being. Three of the 10 members dissented from the views expressed in the report. They are Justice (ret'd) Usha Mehra and two ex-officio members, P.K. Malhotra, Law Secretary, and Dr Sanjay Singh, Secretary, Legislative Department. The Commission consisted of the Chairman, three full-time members, two ex-officio members, three part-time members, and one member-secretary.

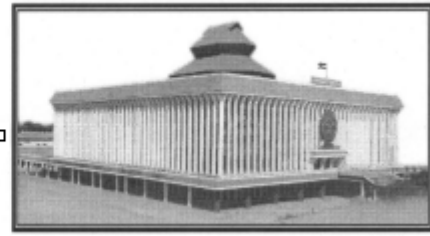
GOADED BY THE COURT

The report also kept open the option of absolute abolition of the death penalty. As the Commission did not wish to commit itself to a particular approach to abolition-moratorium or a full-fledged abolition Bill-it did not see any merit in going into the details of such an approach.

Unlike its previous report on the death penalty, which was prepared on a request from the government, this time it was the Supreme Court that goaded the Commission to undertake the exercise. The Commission received a reference from the court in two cases-*Santosh Kumar Satishbhushan Bariyar vs State of Maharashtra (2009)* and *Shankar Kisanrao Khade vs State of Maharashtra (2011)*.

In the Khade case, the court had expressed its concern over the lack of a coherent and consistent purpose and basis for awarding the death penalty and granting clemency. The court wanted to lay down a jurisprudential basis for awarding the death penalty. It said that the death penalty and its execution should not become a matter of uncertainty nor should converting a death sentence into imprisonment for life become a matter of chance. The court wanted the Commission to examine whether the death penalty was a deterrent punishment or was retributive justice or served as an incapacitative goal.

It also wanted the Commission to consider how the executive took a diametrically opposite opinion in most cases and commuted the death penalty.



In the Bariyar case, the court referred to the 2007 United Nations General Assembly resolution calling upon retentionist countries to establish a worldwide moratorium on executions with a view to abolishing the death penalty. India is one of the 59 nations that retain the death penalty. The court wanted credible research to be done in order to facilitate an up-to-date and informed discussion and debate on the subject. There is no doubt that given the volume of information the report carries, it will achieve this purpose.

However, on other aspects of reference, the report's silence may be intriguing. It is because the report has concluded that exceptionalism in the award of the death penalty has lost its relevance. The court's creation of the rarest of rare doctrine in the Bachan Singh case in 1980 was the high point of this exceptionalism. However, the history of the application of this doctrine has never been satisfactory even to the apex court as it has resulted in greater arbitrariness in the award of the death penalty. Had the Commission tried to answer the court's reference by suggesting more and better safeguards in order to clear the uncertainty and confusion, it would have further narrowed the exceptional category under which the death penalty might be justified, but as a result, the scope for arbitrariness in its award would have increased. To put an end to this vicious cycle of greater exceptionalism leading to greater arbitrariness, the Commission decided to recommend swift, irreversible and absolute abolition of the death penalty.

It concluded that there was no principled method to remove such arbitrariness from capital sentencing. One could not treat different cases on the same footing; therefore, standardisation and categorisation of offences would not help, it observed, while blaming the vagaries of the system that operate disproportionately against the socially and economically marginalised.

The report rightly states that a great deal has changed in India, and indeed around the world, since December 1967 when the Commission recommended retention of the death penalty. The incidence of murder has been in continuous and uninterrupted decline since 1992, when it was 4.6 per lakh of population. From 2.8 in 2012, it declined to 2.7 in 2013. The decline has coincided with a corresponding decrease in the rate of executions, raising the question whether the death penalty has a greater deterrent effect than life imprisonment.

The National Crime Records Bureau records that on an average 129 persons are sentenced to death every year, roughly one person every third day. In the Khade case, the court acknowledged that the death penalty was being applied much more widely than was envisaged in the Bachan Singh case.

In August 2015, the Tripura Assembly voted in favour of a resolution seeking abolition of the death penalty. On July 31, D. Raja of the Communist Party of India introduced a Private Member's Bill asking the government to declare a moratorium on death sentences pending abolition of the death penalty. In August 2015, Kanimozhi, Member of Parliament belonging to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, introduced a Private Member's Bill in the Rajya Sabha seeking abolition of capital punishment.



In 1967, only 12 countries had abolished capital punishment for all crimes in all circumstances. Today, 140 countries have abolished the death penalty in law or in practice.

Former President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam had sent a response to the Commission's consultation paper highlighting the discriminatory impact of the death penalty. These are indeed positive signs in favour of abolition of the death penalty in India. However, until the government is ready to bring about abolition through the legislative route, the judiciary is the only hope for death-row prisoners.

One area of reform that the report hints at is the redress of the lack of access to quality legal representation, particularly at the trial stage, which results in ill-trained lawyers having to argue before inadequately guided judges on an incoherent area of law.

The other proposals are the establishment of an effective victim compensation scheme, a witness protection scheme and police reforms so that the death penalty is not seen as the ultimate measure of justice to victims.

**FRONTLINE,
OCTOBER 16, 2015.**





Balancing Affordability and Availability in a Drug Patent Regime

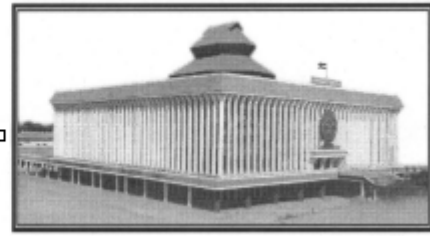
Viswanath Pingali, Chirantan Chatterjee

A recent empirical study indicates that between 2000 and 2009, out of 184 new drugs approved by the United States Food and Drug Administration (US FDA), only about 90 have been marketed in India.” The study further argues that one of the factors for lower availability is weaker patents.

At the same time, another study has claimed that India follows a “Patent Law 2.0” – an intellectual property (IP) regime that is more aligned towards improving access. In the pharmaceutical markets of developing economies, the trade-off between the twin concerns of affordability and availability have been dominating the discussion on how pharmaceutical patent policy needs to evolve. In this article, we argue that perhaps a new status quo in patent laws is emerging in India that seems to balance these twin concerns-we call it Patent Law 1.5. This law in our mind is not as weak as Patent Law 2.0 mentioned above; at the same time it will maintain affordability from the perspective of a social planner. This is one step forward from the erstwhile regime in India, which only protected process patents in the country from the 1970s till 2005. But while doing that, Patent Law 1.5 will also provide innovators protection for their innovations.

One likely evidence of Patent Law 1.5 emerged with a Supreme Court of India’s interim ruling in May 2015, refusing permission to an Indian pharmaceutical manufacturer (Glenmark) to copy Merck, Sharp and Dohme’s (MSD) molecule, sitagliptin phosphate (marketed under the brand name Januvia, which belongs to the class of DPP-4 inhibitors within the oral antidiabetic drugs). This seems to suggest that patents would be respected in India in future, a rare situation that has not been witnessed too frequently in the past.

This ruling follows past decisions, where, in contrast, the Supreme Court had allowed an Indian pharmaceutical company (Natco Pharma) to sell generic versions of Bayer’s anti-renal



cancer drug sorafenib (brand name Nexavar) via compulsory licensing. The key difference between these past and recent cases is that while Nexavar was being sold at the prices prevailing in the developed countries Januvia is being sold in India at 40% of the prices prevailing in the United Kingdom (UK) and 15% of the prices in the United States (us). Further, MSD also voluntarily licensed the sale of sitagliptin to a local Indian pharmaceutical company (Sun Pharmaceuticals).

These two cases provide us with a rough contour of the evolving position on the potential new patent regime (Patent Law 1.5) and its functioning in India: while patents and other IP are potentially going to be respected, accessibility and affordability through “reasonable pricing” might also be the key. We first discuss the traditional arguments on the role of stronger patent laws in incentivising innovation. We then discuss the key ideas behind differential pricing and voluntary licensing, which might be the way ahead.”

Pros and Cons of Patents

The economic arguments for the weakening of Patent Law are rather straightforward. Given that prices of life saving drugs could be substantially higher than the marginal cost of production, it could lead to substantial deadweight loss because of limited reach, especially in developing economies where a majority of the population is uninsured.

Pro-patent arguments tend to posit that research and development is a costly and risky exercise, while mimicking the drugs is not. Since the market can get competitive very fast without patents, innovating firms are given temporary monopoly power in order to recover their sunk expenditure. Therefore, while static consumer welfare is lower in the initial periods when the patent is in force, it improves significantly once the patent expires. If, on the other hand, the patent regime is weakened, high levels of consumer welfare are realised from the beginning; however, future consumer welfare associated with future innovations would reduce significantly, thereby harming aggregate consumer welfare in the long run.

A question that is more important in the Indian context is whether or not access to novel medicines is reduced in markets (especially the developing countries) where patent protection is weaker. Recent empirical literature points out that patents and associated policy choices that enhance IP play a significant role in the diffusion of new drugs. Further, countries with stringent price regulations are less attractive to innovators; they tend to delay the launch (or do not launch) in such markets. “Studies have also shown that the probability of a new drug being launched is lower in countries like India, China and Brazil, where patent protection is relatively weaker.” Some industry players have also echoed this sentiment that “not respecting the IP norms” has led to a loss of significant investments in the country. Further, Healthcare Global Enterprises (HCG), India’s largest chain of cancer hospitals has claimed that access to advanced cancer drugs is becoming difficult in India, thereby suggesting that lack of access can affect both acute and chronic diseases.”



Such delay/denial of launch can hurt consumer welfare. In one of our earlier studies, we have shown that if sitagliptin were to come under the ambit of compulsory licensing, and in response, the other two DPP-4 molecules (vildagliptin and saxagliptin) are not launched in India, then the welfare of diabetes population in India could be hurt significantly by more than Rs 14 crore.» Moreover, such losses can be more if the recommendations of the Roy Chaudhury Committee Report (2013)-mandating localised clinical trials before launching a drug-are implemented.

In sum, while the anti-patent group argues that the patents deny accessibility of drugs to several people, especially in the developing world, the pro-patent group argues that the patents are essential for innovation, which, in turn, leads to better accessibility in the long run. Since the empirical evidence seems to suggest that the launch of new drugs might be delayed in case of weak patent laws, the relevant question in this context is: How can the developing economies balance the need for new and innovative drugs while making sure that the affordability is not compromised?

Patent Law 1.5

Differential pricing, where the innovators charge lower prices in developing countries vis-a-vis the developed world, is one solution to this problem. In other words, innovators could set prices that are country specific. Academic research has also advocated differential pricing as a means to improve access in the developing countries. As pointed out earlier, such a practice is already prevalent in India, where some innovators charge lower price for their products when compared to the developed countries.

For example, as Figure 1 (p 22) points out, oral anti-diabetics belonging to the class of DPP-4 inhibitors are priced substantially lower in India when compared to Japan, the UK and the US.⁸ We estimate that if the prices of sitagliptin, saxagliptin and vildagliptin (the three DPP-4 molecules currently available in India) are priced at the prices prevailing in the UK, consumer welfare reduces substantially. Even if the innovators charge local profit-maximising price in a developing country, prices tend to be lower than the ones prevailing in the developed countries. This is because the demand in developing countries tends to be more elastic mainly due to affordability reasons, primarily because of lack of health/prescription insurance.

The main problem with the implementation of differential pricing is the issue of parallel pricing, or spillover effects that exist due to the presence of arbitrage opportunities. If cross-border trade is not properly regulated, the arbitrage opportunities that exist due to the price difference can lead to a loss in more lucrative markets. Signboards indicating the sale of anti-cancer medicines in Chinese, Arabic and Korean are ubiquitous at major international airports in India, suggesting parallel trade.



Improved accessibility of medicine could also be achieved through voluntary (instead of compulsory) licensing of marketing of the drug to Indian pharmaceutical companies. Presumably, Indian companies are more established in terms of market reach vis-a-vis the innovator. Therefore, voluntary licensing improves accessibility without the innovator having to incur setup costs. Again, this practice is prevalent in India. Two of the three DPP-4 inhibitors (sitagliptin and vildagliptin) are licensed by their innovators (MSD and Novartis, respectively) to Indian pharmaceutical companies. For instance, MSD'S version of sitagliptin is sold under the brand name of Januvia, whereas that of Sun Pharmaceuticals is sold under the name of Istavel. Chatterjee, Kubo and Pingali (2013) point out that withdrawal of a voluntary licence could hurt consumer surplus significantly.

Another option in the price and accessibility debate is the direct local manufacturing of pharmaceuticals by the innovators themselves. Lower cost of manufacturing allows the innovators to keep the operating expenses reasonably low; this might enable them to further potentially subsidise the drugs within India. Local manufacturing could also get support from the current government through its "Make in India" initiative. Without necessarily coercing innovators to manufacture, appropriate incentives, which encourage innovators to produce locally, can be thought of. For example, appropriate tax breaks for manufacturing and selling their products cheaper in India could be considered.

In sum, there needs to be an open discussion between the innovators and the policy makers with regard to pricing practices, wherein public interest is served without hurting innovators' interests. Negotiated price within the country, with restrictions on exports that discourage parallel trade seems to be a solution that the Patent Law 1.5 regime needs to move towards.

Conclusions

To summarise, research so far seems to suggest that availability of novel medicine and affordability of the same move in opposite direction. A policy intervention herein needs to achieve a fine balance where neither of the objectives is unduly compromised. In this, the innovator pharmaceutical industry has shown the way through differential pricing and voluntary licensing. Moreover, the Supreme Court ruling regarding sitagliptin suggests that from a social planner's lens, respecting the innovator's patents might be the appropriate quid pro quo in return going forward.

Patent Law 1.5, a middle ground, might also help in ushering inward foreign direct investment in the pharmaceutical sector. A major concern expressed by some innovator companies has been a lack of clear understanding of tax laws and patent protection. Therefore, these are the two major areas that the Government of India's "*Make in India*" and "*Atal*

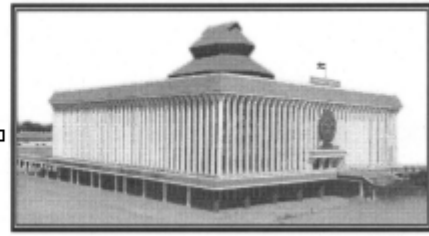


Innovation Mission” initiatives need to focus on while re-engineering Indian patent laws in future.

Interestingly, the problem of finding an optimal patenting regime is not just restricted to India alone. Any developing country that is balancing availability with affordability needs to contemplate on this issue. In that context, the policy that India adopts will be observed keenly in the international arena, and India can provide thought leadership on obtaining such an optimality in affordability and availability of medicines to other countries like South Africa, China, Brazil and Argentina.

**ECONOMIC & POLITICAL WEEKLY,
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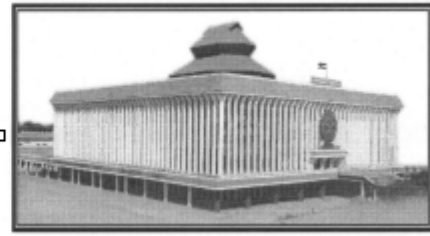


Lessons unlearnt

The World Health Organization has listed dengue as one of the 17 most neglected tropical diseases. And not without reason. Consider this. Between 50 million and 100 million dengue cases are reported annually from more than 100 endemic countries every year; almost half of the world's population is vulnerable to dengue, but still drugs to treat the disease or vaccines to prevent it have not been developed. Researchers and policymakers say that the disease never received adequate attention because it mostly affected the poorest sections of society.

But climate change has changed all that. It has helped the disease spread-the incidence of dengue has risen 30-fold in the past 50 years-and made large parts of the population susceptible. Dengue can no longer be ignored. For instance, during the 2014 Football World Cup, Brazil used a forecasting method to determine the risk of the disease during the event because more than three million Brazilian and international spectators were expected to be in the country. The government used a prediction model developed by the University of Exeter and the Brazilian Centre for Weather Forecast and Climate Studies to predict the probability of the disease for the 553 regions of Brazil. The model suggested that there was a probability of outbreaks in the north-eastern cities of Natal, Fortaleza and Recife. The Ministry of Health and local authorities took city-specific mitigation and control actions up to three months ahead of the World Cup. As a result, the overall reported dengue cases for 2014 were lower than the previous year's. Such forecasts can help prepare before dengue season each year.

Apart from preemptive measures, countries have also used bioenvironmental strategies to check the spread of the disease. Vietnam, for instance, used a small crustacean, called *Mesocyclops aspericornis*, to control dengue. This organism has a capacity to kill 30-40 larvae per day. The first demonstration of the efficacy of *Mesocyclops* began in 1993, when scientists at Vietnam's National Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology introduced local species of *Mesocyclops* into all of the water storage containers in Phanboi, a village in northern Vietnam. As a result the *Aedes aegypti* population in the village declined by about 95 per cent. The disappearance of the vector was significant because it was the first time in more than 20 years that even a local eradication of any kind of mosquito had been documented anywhere in the world. And it was accomplished without pesticides.



Similar bioenvironmental strategies are being employed around the world now. Infecting the dengue mosquito with *Wolbachia* bacterium is one such method. Research has shown that mosquitoes infected with the bacteria become sterile. The bacteria are present in nearly 60 per cent of insects species in the world, but not in *Aedes aegypti*. When male mosquitoes with *Wolbachia* mate with female mosquitoes without the bacterium, the eggs the females lay do not hatch. When male mosquitoes with *Wolbachia* mate with females that are already carrying *Wolbachia*, the offspring will have *Wolbachia*, and be sterile. When female mosquitoes with *Wolbachia* mate with males without *Wolbachia*, all the offspring will have *Wolbachia*. China released half-a-million *Wolbachia*-infected mosquitoes in the province of Guangdong in May this year. Brazil, too, released 10,000 mosquitoes with *Wolbachia* in Rio de Janeiro in 2014. The results of both the initiatives are awaited.

Disease burden of dengue

A study published in the *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* in 2014 estimated the total annual medical cost for India due to dengue was US \$548 million. Eighty per cent of the expenditure went to private facilities. Including non-medical and indirect costs based on other dengue-endemic countries raises the economic cost to \$ 1.11 billion.

The actual economic and disease burden of dengue in India is substantially more than what is captured by officially reported cases. However, India's response to dengue is rarely preemptive or long-term. It is one of the countries that are annually hit by dengue. It has a dengue control programme. But still its response is limited to fire-fighting measures.

A study conducted by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) in Delhi showed that intervention in non-breeding (December to May) period can reduce dengue transmission. ICMR also sent a letter to the health department on May 19, 2014, suggesting that the government should take necessary steps during this period to avoid the spread of dengue. Still there were large number of dengue cases last year. Similar was the case this year. According to Brinda Karat, member Polit Bureau, Communist Party of India (Marxist), officials of the National Vector Borne Disease Control Programme had alerted the newly-elected Delhi Government of the possibilities of a dengue outbreak (based on their readings of meteorological department's weather forecasts) in March. Yet steps were not taken to check the outbreak.

B. N. Nagpal, scientist at the National Institute of Malaria Research (NIMR), who conducted the study, says, "The government becomes active only when dengue spreads. It will be better to identify containers with dengue larvae beforehand."

Short-term measures, such as fogging and door-to-door surveys, that the government is currently undertaking are necessary to deal with a crisis, but they cannot be a long-term solution.

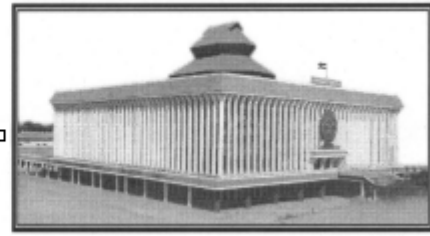


NIMR has been conducting *Aedes* breeding survey in Delhi for the past eight years and says that the mosquito breeds round the year. It conducted a study in 20 high breeding areas in West Delhi last year and concluded that controlling the breeding of *Aedes aegypti* in key habitats during non-transmission season would arrest the breeding in secondary habitats like coolers and solid waste. It would also reduce dengue transmission.

Such interventions are important, especially because preventive or curative medicines to treat dengue are not available. What we need are strategies that provide long-term protection, are cost effective and safe for people and the environment.

**DOWN TO EARTH,
OCTOBER 1-15, 2015.**





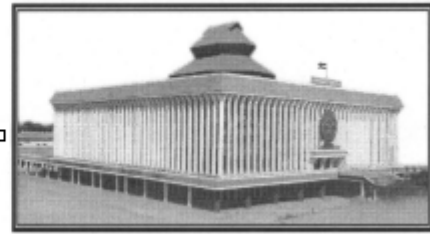
India's Democracy: Illusion of Inclusion

Alpa Shah, Jens Lerche

On a trip to Delhi, Christine Lagarde, the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Managing Director, told college students, "In this cloudy global horizon, India is a bright spot." Marking a stark contrast to a European climate of sluggish growth and economies falling into recession, the story of Indian growth has been lauded since the 1990s. Earlier this year, India's output growth accelerated to 7.5%, sweeping past China as the world's fastest growing large economy. India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, riding the wave of the GDP figures, marked his first anniversary in power with further promises of dazzling economic growth, strengthening his central policies to attract foreign investment and ensure ease of doing and expanding business in the country. Following the direction for privatisation and liberalisation laid out by Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya's (2013) *Why Growth Matters*, of dismantling India's labyrinthine labour laws, Modi has proposed labour reforms to aid business interests in hiring and firing labour and make it tougher for workers to form unions. He continues a paradigm of "inclusive growth" applauded by the World Bank and its associates that puts economic growth and strong, deregulated markets at the centre of poverty reduction; it will lead to a trickle down effect that will reach the poor.

Despite their international backing, such neo-liberal reforms have met fierce opposition from scholars and activists. Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze's (2013) *An Uncertain Glory* argued that growth, though important, was not enough to improve the living conditions of the poor, let alone undermine caste and gender hierarchies or create employment. Just as Sen and Dreze challenged Bhagwati and Panagariya in writing, Modi's proposed labour reforms have been attacked on the ground. Eleven trade unions-the biggest of which is linked to Modi's ruling party-conducted a nationwide strike against them on 2 September.

The publication of K P Karman's *Interrogating Inclusive Growth: Poverty and Inequality in India* and Nandini Gooptu and Jonathan Parry's edited collection *Persistence of Poverty in India* enter this highly charged terrain to dispel the mantra that economic growth by itself will reduce inequality and eliminate poverty. They do so in complementary ways; while Kannan provides us with powerful macro statistics to show the impact of neo-liberal policies on the widening gap



between the classes higher up and those below, the in-depth case studies in Gooptu and Parry's book give a rich understanding of the processes that lead to the persistent poverty of some groups over others.

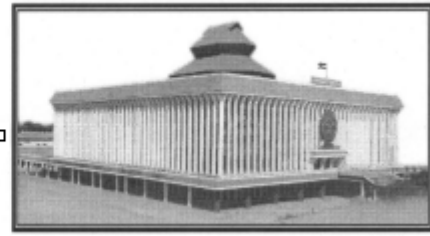
Kannan's book continues the work he carried out as one of three full-time members of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) between 2005 and 2009. The commission published a series of important and controversial reports that challenged India's "inclusive growth" policies. The reports were unsurprisingly not appreciated by the government of the time, the NCEUS's work was cold-shouldered and its website was closed down as soon as it had finished its work in 2009, making their reports harder to obtain. In a climate where the government championed data on declining poverty in India, the publication of Kannan's book which includes articles related to his NCEUS work, co-authored with Sengupta of the NCEUS and the statistician G. Raveendran, is important for the conclusions it draws about neo-liberal policies of growth and the evidence it provides with macroeconomic data.

The messages are remarkably clear. A little more than three-quarters of the Indian people were poor and vulnerable in 2004-05 and a little more than two-thirds in 2009-10, according to the criteria used by the NCEUS and Kannan. Some advances have been made in reduction of absolute levels of poverty but as is shown by the detailed case studies in the Gooptu and Parry book by Surinder Jodhka in Haryana and by Stephan Lindberg and his colleagues in Tamil Nadu although people were on the whole slightly better off, they were no more equal than before. Kannan shows that growth has not been pro-poor: the fall in poverty is much less than the growth of the economy and wealth and income inequality are increasing. Moreover, between 2004-05 and 2011-12 there has been practically no growth in employment between 2004-05 and 2009-10 and this is nowhere more the case than in the manufacturing sector. Although real wages of unskilled labourers have increased, the product wage—that is wage as a share of value created by labour—has declined.

The most significant divide in India is not between agriculture and industry, rural and urban, but between informalised and formal work. Informalised work comprises all work in the informal sector but also half of the work in the formal sector as even in this sector only 49% of workers have some protection and are less vulnerable. All the rest of the working populations—92%—have almost no security of employment or welfare benefits. They are trapped with low wages or vulnerable self-employment and miserable work conditions. They are what Kannan and his collaborators call, "the Common People."

The Big Divider

Most significantly, the biggest divide in poverty is not based on region or gender but on caste and religion; everywhere across the country the Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Muslims are worse off than all other groups. If we take the Adivasi and Dalit case, Kannan and his colleagues have shown that the rate of poverty decline (using the "poor and

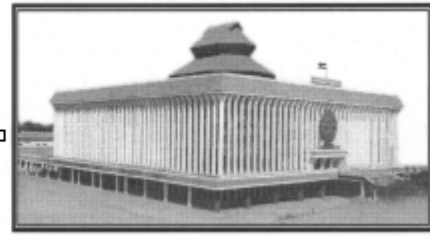


vulnerable” category) for them between 1999 and 2009 was only a little over half the rate experienced for all other communities. Moreover, while incidence of poverty varies across different regions, they have shown that Dalits and Adivasis are universally worse off almost everywhere. Fifteen of India’s 21 states have 85% or more of their Adivasi and Dalits living in poverty but everywhere at least two-thirds of the Adivasi and Dalit population are poor. Being born Adivasi or Dalit appears to determine poverty more than where one lives or comes from. Indian growth has resulted in greater relative economic and social deprivation for its SCs, STs and Muslim minorities. Given that Adivasis and Dalits account for at least one in 25 people in the world, we can argue that their conditions of exploitation, poverty and vulnerability mark not simply the Common People of India, but are exemplary of the Common People of the World.

This is an important, shocking, but perhaps unsurprising revelation. The fundamental inequality embedded in India’s caste system made Dalits and Adivasis the concern of policies of affirmative action since the colonial period that were then reinforced in a constitutional commitment for their protection. Moreover, economic growth and liberalisation were supposed to get rid of caste. Others have previously argued that caste is deeply implicated in the contours of poverty and especially effects the position of Adivasis and Dalits. What Kannan and his colleagues have provided in *Interrogating Inclusive Growth* is compelling nationwide evidence that the stigmas of “untouchability,” “backwardness” and “savagery” have not been destroyed in modern India.

The Common People

The question of course is why the STs and SCs and Muslim minorities remain at the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy. The macroeconomic data on the social characteristics of the poor in India, such as that presented by Kannan, are important to show their predicament. But to understand how and why their situation persists, economic data needs to be complemented by the lived reality of the poor, a more grass-roots approach of an understanding of the processes of inequality and how they are experienced. This is exactly what the essays in Gooptu and Parry provide. Parry’s introduction to the volume argues that the situation of the Common People must be understood in terms of the wider system of class and power relations in which they are embedded. Those who have stressed that poverty should be studied “relationally” (Mosse 2010; Harriss 2007) are correct; it is a relationship between categories of actors unequally endowed with power, “an effect of direct assertion of power,” and that this power is not only of “the direct assertion of will” but also of the ability to acknowledge poverty and define what it is, and to create the ideological conditions under which it persists and goes effectively unchallenged (Parry 2014: 3). Inequality causes poverty and ensures its persistence (Parry 2014: 7). Barbara Harriss-White’s essay (based on a paper first published in the pages of the EPW) puts this in a political economy context as it shows the ways in which capitalist growth creates and perpetuates poverty by depriving labour of the means of production, encouraging self-exploitative petty production, creating increasingly casualised and poorly remunerated wage work, underemployment and commodifying the commons.

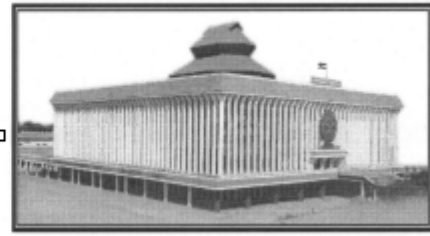


Perhaps the two most compelling cases that illustrate Parry's general point are the chapters by David Picherit and Julia Eckert. Picherit follows bonded Madiga (Dalit) migrant labour from a village in Telangana to construction sites and stone quarries in Hyderabad and elsewhere. What emerges is that the entire ability of the Madigas to reproduce themselves is controlled by the dominant caste of the Reddys who once relied on control of land to maintain their position but now rely on government patronage and urban business. It is impossible for the Madigas to break out of the hold that the Reddys have over them. The Reddys control everything-not only their access to the jobs in the construction sector as manual labour outside the village, but also subsistence loans back in the village, employment in their fields, and even access to government welfare schemes meant for the Madigas. Eckert focuses on the urban poor in Mumbai and the ways in which anti-terrorism laws and other "preventive" measures are used by the police against the poor and their local leaders. This serves to oppress any potential collective social struggles and benefits local political big men and brokers on whom the poor depend for protection.

What Is To Be Done?

What is to be done? Kannan argues that what little gains have been made in absolute poverty reduction are the result of public intervention, a point highlighted by Himanshu and Kunal Sen's chapter in Gooptu and Parry's book. Kannan thus stresses that one cannot rely on the market for addressing poverty and that redistribution has to play a paramount role in the Indian economy. India, though, he argues, has taken "the long road to social security" with defeats in redistributive policies proposed, watering down of policies accepted and severe delays in implementation. Nevertheless he argues for the need to create a "social floor" to the poor-as a defining characteristic of the welfare state in the modern world-that incorporates a minimum of basic social security such as food entitlements, education, health, shelter and provision for sickness, old age and accidents/death. Some of the essays in Gooptu and Parry's book appear broadly supportive of the principles of such measures. Penny Vera-Sanso calls for attention in particular to the elderly poor whose economic contribution to poor households is crucial but unnoticed and whose vulnerability is likely to increase with India's "demographic transition."

Most of the essays in Gooptu and Parry's book are, however, less sanguine than Kannan in the possibilities offered by social welfare measures. Welfare measures are commonly controlled by the patronage of locally powerful elite only serving to reinforce established structures of hierarchy, as reported not only by Picherit's essay but also Arild Ruud's case of National Rural Employment Guarantee Act uptake in a West Bengal village controlled by Communist Party of India (CPI-Marxist) activists. Indeed the uptake of social welfare measures is dependent on many local factors. Peggy Froerer, for example, challenging the assumption that education has an inverse relationship with poverty demonstrates how some Adivasi groups in Chhattisgarh do not support education beyond Class 5 because of the absence of worthwhile employment options and the lack of social and economic capital required to access such employment. What is the point of getting educated if there are no returns?

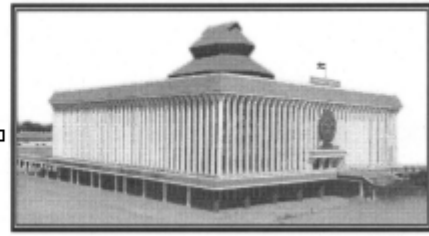


An even more radical critique of social welfare measures emerges from Dipankar Gupta who argues that the debates on how to measure poverty in India in order to target the poor for services are misplaced, for these services are universally disastrously bad. His arguments are complemented by the late Jos Mooij who introduces a welfare regime approach to argue that there are three trends within the Indian “welfare” context: a collective rights-based trend, an individualising marketisation trend and related to that, a state policy targeting approach. She shows the ways in which marketisation has removed those who can afford to leave from the state sector, encouraging the market-based provision of basic welfare such as education. Mooij’s arguments are reflected in Dwaipayan Bhattacharyya’s essay which argues that under neo-liberalism, the “accumulatory power” of large-scale capital is bound to limit any substantive attempts to ensure welfare rights of the poor and marginal. Instead the main objective of such welfare and poverty policies is to include as many as possible into the market economy. Mooij argues that the overall effect is that the state has become for and of the poor. It is poor provision for the poor. What India ought to focus on, Gupta therefore argues, is high-quality services for everyone and he says the country can now afford these. Parry, in his introduction, suggests that this is utopian. Why, he asks, would the elite of India want to foot the bill for its poor or rub shoulders with Dalits and Adivasis in state schools and hospitals?

No Structural Change

Parry’s own conclusions are bleak. The obstacles to reducing poverty are as much a matter of politics as want of resources, he argues. The poor may continue to use the weapons of the weak they have at their disposal, including taunting and shaming the local elites, as Indrajit Roy shows in a village in Bihar. But that does not lead to significant social change, Parry argues. What are the realistic prospects for significant redistribution under existing political conditions, he asks? The expectation across the board whether Sen and Dreze or Bhagwati and Panagariya, whether Kannan or Gupta, is that Indian democracy can deliver; it can destabilise power and create the conditions of a more just and more equal society. Parry, however, argues that democracy may be as big a part of the problem as it is of the solution. Inequality is a value; there are not only deeply entrenched interests at stake but also ideological convictions about natural hierarchies.

The Indian middle classes are, in large part, indifferent to the overwhelming majority of the population: the poor. Though some have spearheaded “progressive social policies” (the right to food, work and education), these are more likely to result in poverty management than in social alliances creating structural change. As Gooptu shows in her chapter, historically the middle class and the elite have, on the one hand, included the poor as a political resource in the nationalist struggle and in India’s electoral democracy, but at the same time, on the other hand, they needed to exclude the poor because they were dirty, dangerous and disruptive. Thus, new intensities of the democratisation of democracy have at the same time led to the perceived threat from the lower orders and to new forms of exclusion.

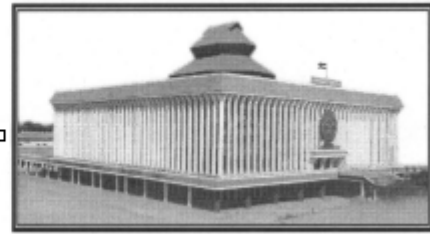


Chillingly, Indian democracy has given the poor the illusion of inclusion when in fact what is being pursued is policies that are detrimental to their interests. It may well be that whatever progress that has been achieved for the poor in India is due to pro-poor public policies. However, these policies, the resources for them and the quality of services would have to be multiplied many times over to enable the poor to simply “stand still” and not continue to become relatively worse off and be left with second-rate services. Whether such public policies can counter the soaring inequalities is, of course, another matter. It is not clear how or from where strong welfare coalitions would emerge to implement such major changes, in spite of “citizenship” based arguments to the contrary by, among others, Rina Agarwala (2013).

Parry, quoting Gooptu’s chapter, sums it up powerfully, “democracy has thus become ‘the new opiate of the masses’ which numbs the poor to their poverty” (p 22). Though Parry himself does not cry it out, one conclusion we must consider is that, the only viable alternatives to so-called inclusive growth in India have to come from the Common People through mass movements generated outside of the official structures of power.

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BUSINESS OF LEGISLATIVE BODIES

LOKSABHA

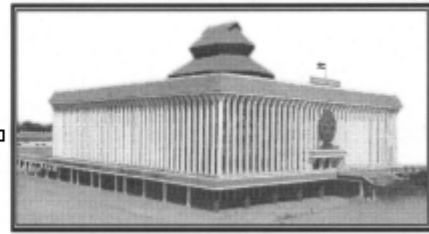
RESUME OF WORK TRANSACTED FROM 21ST JULY, 2015 TO 13TH AUGUST, 2015

The Fifth Session of the Sixteenth Lok Sabha (Monsoon Session) commenced on 21 July and concluded on 13 August 2015. During the Session, in all, the House had 17 sittings spread over 47 hours and 27 minutes and transacted substantial business.

On the opening day, the Hon'ble Speaker Smt. Sumitra Mahajan informed the House that she had received a letter from Shri Srihari Kadiyam, an elected member from Warangal Parliamentary Constituency of Telangana, resigning from the membership of the Lok Sabha and that his resignation had been accepted. Subsequently, the Hon'ble Speaker made references to the passing away of Shri Dileep Singh Bhuria, a sitting member, and Sarvashri Ismail Hussain, Denzil B. Atkinson, Sheshrao Deshmukh, Rana Vir Singh, Manoranjan Bhakta, Shashi Prakash, Chand Ram, Rajkeshar Singh, Pratapsinh Shankar Rao Mohite Patil, S.M. Bhattam, Moreshwar Save, Namdeo Harbaji Diwathe and Smt. Sheila Kaul, all former members. The members then stood in silence for a short while as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed and the House was adjourned for the day.

On 22 July, as soon as the House met for the Question Hour, members belonging to the Indian National Congress came to the well of the House demanding the resignation of a Union Minister for facilitating travel arrangement to an accused in the Indian Premier League (IPL) controversy. The members of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) also raised the demand for a separate High Court for Telangana. Due to interruptions, the House was first adjourned at 11.09 hrs. to 12.00 hrs. When the House re-assembled at 12.00 hrs, some members displayed flags and placards; later, the Hon'ble Speaker made the following observation:

“... Maintaining of discipline and decorum in the House is of utmost importance for maintaining the credibility and dignity of the Parliament. We have well settled norms of standards to be observed by members, which have been provided for in our Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business. These are also invariably brought to the notice of all the Hon'ble members often through



paras in Bulletin Part-II. To name a few, Rule 349 provides the norms of etiquette and standards of rules to be observed by the members in the House. Rule 351, the mode of addressing House; Rule 352 provides rules to be observed by members while speaking in the House. Further, as per Rule 350, only the member called by Speaker is entitled to speak while Rule 361 lays down procedure when Speaker rises. I have been drawing the attention of the members to these provisions from time to time. I am, however, pained that none of the norms of etiquette and standards are being observed by the members; in fact, these are being blatantly flouted. I have always provided adequate opportunity to all sections of the House to raise matters of topical interest, provided the members give proper notice and seek to raise these matters within the parameters of the rules and accepted norms of behaviour. I would also like to emphatically stress here that in the event of disorderly conduct, I would be constrained to initiate appropriate disciplinary action against the erring members. I hope that all the members would adhere to the set norms of etiquette, standards of behaviour with regard to discipline and decorum in the House.

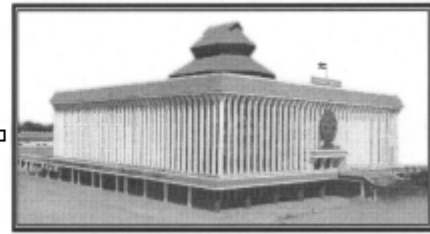
I request all the members who are displaying placards and other exhibits to immediately refrain from doing so.”

The House was adjourned again upto 14.00 hrs. and later for the day. Some members continued to raise the issue intermittently on several days.

On 27 July, the Hon’ble Speaker named a member, Shri Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury, for disregarding the authority of the Chair in abuse of the rules of the House by wilfully obstructing the business. Thereafter, Shri Arjun Ram Meghwal moved a motion for suspension of Shri Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury from the service of the House for the remainder of the Session. After submissions made by some members, the Hon’ble Speaker observed that Shri Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury shall withdraw from the House for the day. The motion was, thereafter, withdrawn by leave of the House.

On 30 July, the Hon’ble Speaker convened a meeting of the Leaders of Parties to end the deadlock; however, the stalemate persisted.

On 3 August 2015, the Hon’ble Speaker named twenty-five members, namely Sarvashri B.N. Chandrappa, Santokh Singh Chaudhary, A.H. Khan Choudhury, R. Dhruvanarayana, Ninong Ering, Gaurav Gogoi, Gutha Sukhender Reddy, Deepender Singh Hooda, Kodikunnil Suresh, S.P. Muddahanumegowda, Abhijit Mukherjee, Mullapally Ramachandran, B.V. Nayak, Vincent H. Pala, M.K. Raghavan, C.L. Ruala, Tamradhwaj Sahu, Rajeev Shankarrao Satav, Ravneet Singh, D.K. Suresh, K.C. Venugopal, Km. Sushmita Dev, Smt. Ranjeet Ranjan, Dr. K.H. Muniyappa, and Dr. Thokchom Meinya and they stood automatically suspended from the service of the House for five consecutive sittings, i.e. 3,4,5,6 and 7 August 2015 under Rule 374 A of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha.



On 6 August, the Minister of External Affairs, Smt. Sushma Swaraj, made a Statement regarding her alleged role on the issue of request made to the British Government for issuing travel document to a former IPL Chief.

On 12 August 2015, Shri Mallikarjun Kharge moved an 'Adjournment Motion' regarding action taken by the Government on the reported involvement of a Union Minister in assisting a fugitive and the stand taken by the Government in this regard. Twenty-one members participated in the discussion that lasted over 04 hours and 47 minutes. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu, replied to the debate. Thereafter, the motion was put to vote and negatived.

Another issue, which agitated the members, was the terrorist attacks in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. On 27 July, five members made submission regarding the terrorist attack in Gurdaspur, Punjab. Six more members associated themselves with the submission. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu, responded to the submission. On 31 July, the Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Rajnath Singh, made a statement on the terrorist attack and informed the House that the Government is firmly committed to root out terrorism. He assured the House that the Government will do everything possible to prevent cross-border terrorism aimed against India. Later, two members, Shri Mallikarjun Kharge and Prof. Saugata Roy, made submission regarding the Statement made by the Home Minister on the terrorist attack. The Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Rajiv Pratap Rudy, responded to the submission. On 6 August, the Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Rajnath Singh, made a Statement on the terrorist attack in Udampur in Jammu and Kashmir. The Minister condemned the attack and, on the behalf of the House, offered condolences to the families of the martyred Border Security Force personnel and sympathized with those injured in the act of violence.

The situation arising due to the alleged failure to establish a separate High Court in Telangana was another issue, which was raised in the House on several days. On 4 August, two members made submission on this issue to which the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu responded. On 5 August, the Minister of Law and Justice, Shri D.V. Sadananda Gowda made a Statement regarding setting up of High Courts under the provisions of the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2014. Later, Shri A.P. Jithender Reddy and Smt. Kavitha Kalvakuntla made a submission on the situation arising due to the alleged failure to establish a separate High Court in Telangana. The Minister of Law and Justice, Shri D.V. Sadananda Gowda, and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu, responded to the issue.

Apart from the above, several other submissions were made by members regarding: (i) the need to extend special category status to the successor State of Andhra Pradesh; (ii) the problems being faced by Tamil Nadu fishermen; (iii) the protest by members of Youth Congress in front of the official residence of the Speaker; (iv) the police atrocities in Bihar; (v) the parameters for development in Naxal-affected areas in the country; and (vi) the need to allocate more funds for MPLAD Scheme.



The House debated on two matters of urgent public importance under Rule 193. On 13 May 2015, Dr. Ramesh Pokhriyal 'Nishank' had raised a discussion on "Sustainable Development Goals" during the Fourth Session. The matter was further discussed on 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12 August 2015 and remained part discussed. On 11 August 2015, Shri Arjun Ram Meghwal raised another discussion under Rule 193 on the matters arising out of the Indian Premier League (IPL) controversy and other related issues. The discussion remained inconclusive.

During the Session, a matter of urgent public importance was raised by way of 'Calling Attention'. On 3 August, Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa called the attention of the Minister of Agriculture, Shri Radha Mohan Singh, to the situation arising out of the drought and flood condition in Karnataka resulting in suicide by farmers. The Minister of Agriculture made a statement in regard thereto and also replied to the clarifications sought by the member.

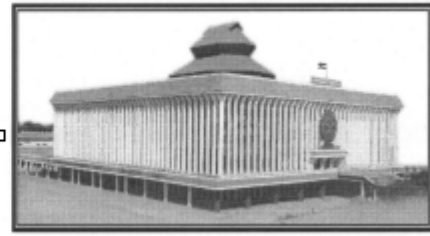
As many as 46 Statements were made by the Ministers on various important subjects under Rule 372. Some of these include: (i) Minister of State (Independent Charge) of the Ministry of Textiles, Shri Santosh Kumar Gangwar, regarding declaration of 7th August as the National Handloom Day; and (ii) Minister of Railways, Shri Suresh Prabhu, regarding derailment of Kamayani Express and Janta Express between Khirkiya and Bhirangi Stations of West Central Railway.

During the Session, out of the 360 Starred Questions that were listed, 35 Questions were orally answered; written replies to the remaining Starred Questions, along with those of 4,140 Unstarred Questions, were laid on the Table of the House.

Pursuant to the decision arrived at the Leaders' Meeting held on 20 July 2015, the number of matters to be allowed to be raised under Rule 377 was increased from 20 to 30 per day with effect from 27 July 2015 so as to enable more members to raise issues related to their constituencies in the House. Consequently, the members made use of this provision to raise as many as 195 matters, mostly pertaining to their constituencies. Besides, 253 matters of urgent public importance were raised by the members after the Question Hour and after completion of formal business of the House.

As regards Financial Business, the Demands for Excess Grants in respect of the Budget (Railways) for the year 2012-2013 were presented by the Minister of Railways, Shri Suresh Prabhu, on 27 July 2015. These Demands were discussed and voted in full on 4 August 2015 and the relevant Appropriation Bill was passed by the House the same day.

The Supplementary Demands for Grants (General) for the year 2015-2016 was presented by the Minister of Finance, Shri Arun Jaitley, on 31 July. They were discussed and voted in full on 5 August 2015 and the relevant Appropriation Bill was passed by the House.



Coming to Legislative Business, ten Government Bills were introduced and six Bills were passed during the Session. Some of the Bills passed during the Session include:

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Bill, 2015 sought to widen the scope of offences of atrocities against members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, provide for the establishment of Exclusive Special Courts for one or more districts for trial of offences under the Act and to insert a new Chapter IV A in the Act providing for the rights of victims and witnesses.

The Delhi High Court (Amendment) Bill, 2015, as passed by Rajya Sabha, sought to increase pecuniary jurisdiction of ordinary original civil jurisdiction of the civil suits of the High Court of Delhi from the existing Rs. 20 lakh to Rs. 2 crore by amending the Delhi High Court Act, 1966 and the Punjab Courts Act, 1918, as in force in the National Capital Territory of Delhi.

The Negotiable Instruments (Amendment) Bill, 2015 sought to amend the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, inter-alia, to provide that an offence of dishonour of cheque shall be tried only by a Court within whose local jurisdiction a cheque delivered for collection through an account, the branch of the bank where the payee or holder in due course as the case may be, maintains the account is situated. In case the cheque is presented for payment by the payee or holder in due course, otherwise through an account, the court within whose local jurisdiction the branch of the drawer bank where the drawer maintains the account shall try the case.

As far as Private Members' Business is concerned, forty-five Private Members' Bills were introduced in the House during the Session. The Compulsory Voting Bill, 2014, moved by Shri Janardan Singh 'Sigriwal' on 13 March 2015 and discussed on 24 April and 8 May 2015 during the previous Session, was further discussed on 7 August 2015; the discussion on the Bill remained inconclusive.

As regards Private Members' Resolutions, a Resolution urging the Government to take immediate steps for rehabilitation and welfare of displaced persons from Kashmir living in pitiable condition in various parts of the country, moved by Shri Nishikant Dubey, on 20 March 2015 during the Budget Session, was further discussed on 31 July 2015 and remained part-discussed.

During the Session, 46 Reports of Departmentally-related Standing Committees (DRSCs) - 11 original and 35 Action Taken Reports - were presented in the House.

As you are aware, the Committee on Ethics has been in existence as an *ad hoc* Committee of the House since 16 May 2000. During the 16th Lok Sabha, it was again constituted as an *ad hoc* Committee on 15 September 2014. The Committee, in its First Report presented on 18 December 2014, recommended for incorporation a Chapter regarding 'Committee on Ethics' in the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. Such recommendation had been



made by the Committee earlier also during the 14th and 15th Lok Sabha. However, the same could not be taken up by the Rules Committee for further necessary action.

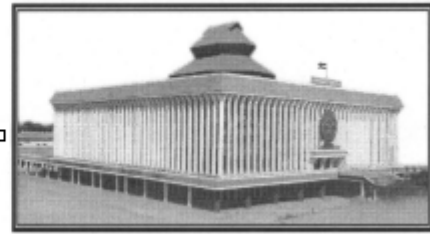
Pursuant to the First Report of the Ethics Committee, the Rules Committee of the House took up for examination the recommendation of the Committee on Ethics. The Second Report of the Rules Committee of the House about the “Incorporation in the *Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha* of the rules regarding constitution of a Committee on Ethics, its functions and procedure to be followed by the Committee and procedure for making ethics complaints”, was laid on the Table of the House on 5 August 2015. Accordingly, the new Rules 233A and 233B under new Chapter XXA and new Rules 316A, 316B, 316C, 316D, 316E and 316F under the heading ‘Committee on Ethics’ have been inserted in the *Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha*. As a result, the Committee on Ethics in Lok Sabha has been made a Standing Committee w.e.f 12 August 2015.

During the Session, Prof. Richard Hay and Shri George Baker, who were nominated to the Lok Sabha by the Hon’ble President of India under article 331 of the Constitution, took oath/made affirmation, and signed the Roll of Members on 5 August and 10 August 2015, respectively.

On 28 July, the Hon’ble Speaker made a reference to the passing away of the former President of India, Bharat Ratna Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam. Thereafter, the members stood in silence for a short while and the House was adjourned for the day as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed. On 30 July, the House was again adjourned for the day when the funeral of Dr. Kalam took place at Rameswaram.

Apart from the obituary references made on the opening day, the Hon’ble Speaker made references on the passing away of Sarvashri Sriballav Panigrahi, R.S. Gavai, Bijoy Handique, Baleshwar Ram and Jagannath Singh, all former Members of Parliament.

During the Session, references were made in the House on: (i) loss of lives of 15 passengers and injuries to 31 others due to fall of an electric wire on a bus in Tonk district, Rajasthan; (ii) loss of lives of 12 persons and injuries to 22 others due to fall of a bus in a deep gorge in Almora district, Uttarakhand; (iii) loss of lives of 32 persons and injuries to several others in a landslide due to incessant rainfall in Darjeeling; (iv) reported death of 70 persons and injuries to many with several missing in the floods in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and other parts of the country causing large scale destruction, devastation of property, crops and cattle; (v) loss of lives of 29 persons and injuries to several others in a stampede during ‘Godavari Pushkaram’ festival in Rajahmundry, Andhra Pradesh; (vi) loss of lives of over 440 persons due to capsizing of a ship on Yangtze River in China; (vii) loss of lives of 20 Army personnel and injuries to 11 others in a terrorist attack on an Army convoy in Chandel district, Manipur; (viii) terrorist attack on the Parliament building of Afghanistan on 22 June 2015 which was foiled by the Afghan National



Security Forces personnel; (ix) terrorist attacks on 26 June 2015 in Lyon, France, causing death of one person in an explosion in a chemical factory; in Kuwait, in a mosque resulting in loss of innocent lives and injury to many worshippers, including Indian nationals; and in Tunisia causing death of 39 innocent persons and injuries to 36 others of different nationalities; (x) death of 07 persons, including Superintendent of Police and 03 Home Guard Officials, and injuries to 17 others in a terrorist attack on a police station and a bus in Dinanagar, Gurdaspur district, Punjab; and (xi) reported death of 75 persons and displacement of over 10 lakh persons due to incessant rains and cyclone Komen resulting in landslides and floods in eastern parts of the country particularly, West Bengal, Manipur and Odisha.

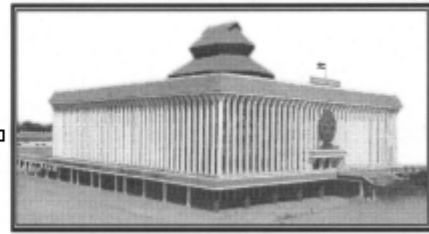
On 10 August 2015, the Hon'ble Speaker made a reference to the reported death of 11 persons and injuries to several in a stampede at a temple in Deoghar, Jharkhand. On the same day, Sarvashri Jai Prakash Narayan Yadav and Nishikant Dubey made submission on the same issue to which three other members associated themselves. The Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Rajnath Singh, responded to the submission.

During the Session, the Hon'ble Speaker also made references: (i) on naming the icy mountainous region discovered on Pluto as 'Norgay Montes' in honour of the legendary mountaineer Tenzing Norgay Sherpa who was one of the first two climbers to scale Mount Everest along with Sir Edmund Hillary on 29 May 1953; (ii) on the 70th Anniversary of the dropping of atom bombs on the Japanese Cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and (iii) on the 73rd Anniversary of the 'Quit India' Movement launched on 9 August 1942 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

On 22 July, the Hon'ble Speaker, on behalf of the House, congratulated: (i) Sania Mirza on becoming the first women tennis player from India for winning the Wimbledon Women's Doubles title on 11 July 2015; (ii) Leander Paes for winning the Wimbledon Mixed Doubles title and Sumit Nagpal for winning the Wimbledon Junior Doubles title on 12 July 2015; and (iii) Shubham Jaglan for winning the Junior World Golf Championship at San Diego, United States, on 17 July 2015.

Further, on 4 August, the Hon'ble Speaker felicitated the Indian contingent for winning 173 medals, including 47 Gold, 54 Silver and 72 Bronze medals, in the Special Olympic World Summer Games 2015 held at Los Angeles from 26 July to 2 August 2015.

On the initiative of the Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, a group of experts under the Speaker's Research Initiative' (SRI) has been created for advising and assisting the members of Parliament on diverse aspects of various topical subjects. The SRI would have three facets, viz. (a) expert-led presentation of factual details on specific issues as may be requested by the Hon'ble Members; (b) Speaker's Internship Programme; and (c) Speaker's Fellowship Programme. The first Workshop of SRI on 'Sustainable Development Goals' (SDGs) was held on 23 July 2015. The



Workshop was inaugurated by the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi. Appreciating the initiative taken by the Hon'ble Speaker, the Hon'ble Prime Minister said that the people have a lot of expectations from MPs and therefore MPs need to work towards fulfilling those expectations. Speaking on the occasion, the Hon'ble Speaker hoped that SRI would prove to be a two-way interactive process wherein the members will give their feedback as well as valuable suggestions so that the purpose of the initiative can be effectively met. Two more Workshops on 'Good and Services Tax (GST)' and on 'Globalization and Unorganised Sector in India' were organised by SRI on 4 August and 10 August 2015, respectively.

A Parliamentary Delegation from Bhutan led by His Excellency, Mr. Jigme Jangpo, Hon'ble Speaker of the National Assembly, and His Excellency, Dr. Sonam Kinga, Hon'ble Chairperson of the National Council of Bhutan, graced the Special Box of the Lok Sabha on 10 August 2015. Welcoming the distinguished guests, the Hon'ble Speaker extended the greetings of the House to the Parliament, the Government and the people of Bhutan and wished them a pleasant and fruitful stay in India.

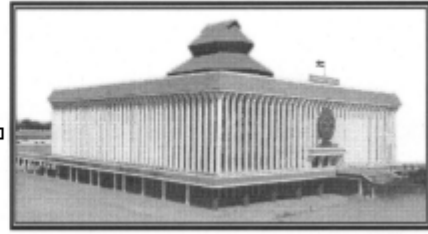
As in the past, functions were held under the auspices of the Indian Parliamentary Group (IPG) to mark the birth anniversaries of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee (6 July), Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak (27 July), Shri Rajiv Gandhi (20 August) and Dadabhai Naoroji (4 September) in the Central Hall of Parliament House where the portraits of these illustrious leaders are put up. Besides, floral tribute functions on the birth anniversaries of the former deceased Speakers of Lok Sabha, Dr. G. S. Dhillon (6 August) and Sardar Hukum Singh (30 August) were held in the Central Hall of Parliament House. Presiding Officers, Union Ministers, Members of Parliament and other dignitaries paid floral tributes on these occasions.

During the period, the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training (BPST) conducted a number of courses/programmes. The Bureau organised a Demo on Constituency Management System, which was attended by 35 members of Parliament. A Familiarization Programme on Parliamentary Practices and Procedures for Media Persons accredited to the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha and Sikkim Legislative Assembly was organised which was attended by 48 participants.

Four Appreciation Courses in Parliamentary Practices, Processes and Procedures were conducted for Probationers of All India/Central Services and for middle and senior level officers of the Government of India.

In all, 9 study visits were organised for 143 international participants; besides, 33 study visits for the benefit of students/officials of different schools, colleges, institutions were organised which were attended by 2,095 participants.

The Bureau organised five Training Courses for: (i) Officers of Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and State Legislature Secretariats working in Committees; (ii) Officers/ Assistants of Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and State Legislature Secretariats dealing with the Questions and Legislative and



Budgetary Process; (iii) Reporters working in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and State Legislature Secretariats; (iv) Officials of Parliament Security Service; and (v) Officers and staff of Lok Sabha Secretariat on Income Tax.

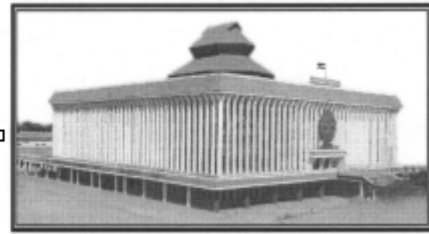
Apart from these, Professional Development Programmes for/by Officers of the Lok Sabha Secretariat were organised from time to time. Four Officers of Lok Sabha Secretariat attended the Hindi Conference and Workshops.

During the Monsoon Session, about 34 hours 04 minutes of the House were lost due to disruptions followed by forced adjournments. However, the time lost was compensated to the extent of 05 hours and 27 minutes by the House sitting late. On the concluding day of the Session, the Hon'ble Speaker, sharing her concern with the members, inter alia observed:

“... Hon. Members, during the current Lok Sabha, I am proud to say that we have set a benchmark of high standards and the productivity ratio was well over 100 per cent. We had shown this achievement during the last Session. But in the current Session, however, I am pained to say that we lost more than 34 hours due to interruptions although we also sat late to transact business. I am confident that in the coming Sessions we will continue to work better and more.”

The Lok Sabha was adjourned *sine die* on 13 August after playing of the National Song. The Hon'ble President of India prorogued the House on 11 September 2015.





Tripura Legislative Assembly

RESUME OF WORK TRANSACTED FROM 7TH AUGUST, 2015 TO 11TH AUGUST, 2015

The 8th Session of the 11th Tripura Legislative Assembly which commenced on and from 7th August, 2015 to 11th August, 2015 and thereafter the House was adjourned *sine die* on 11th August, 2015.

His Excellency the Hon'ble Governor of Tripura prorogued the Session of the Assembly on 16th September, 2015. The House held for 3 (three) sittings and transacted for 11 hours 5 minutes.

OBITUARY REFERENCES

On 7th August, 2015, the Hon'ble Speaker made References to the passing away of Dr. A.P.J Abdul Kalam, Hon'ble Former President of India, G. Karthikeyan, Hon'ble Speaker of Kerala Legislative Assembly and Sumanta Das former Hon'ble Member of Tripura Legislative Assembly. The House paid tribute to the memory of those distinguished persons and stood in silence for two minutes as a mark of respect to the departed souls.

LAYING OF PAPERS ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE

During the Session period, i.e. on 7.8.2015, 10.8.2015 & 11.8.2015 the following Rules, Reports and Notifications etc. were laid on the Table of the House by the Ministers-in-Charge of the concerned Departments, namely:-

- i. "The 4th Annual Report of the Tripura Small Industries Corporation Limited for the year 2011-2012".
- ii. "The 28th & 29th Annual Report and Accounts of the Tripura Rehabilitation Plantation Corporation Limited for the year 2010-2011".



- iii. “The Separate Audit Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India on Accounts of Tripura Road Transport Corporation for the year ended 31st March, 2010”.
- iv. “The Annual Report of the Tripura Information Commission for the year 2012-2013”.

LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

During the Session, only 2 (two) Bills, as stated below, were introduced, considered and passed by the House, namely:-

- i. “The Institute of Chartered Financial Analysts of India University Tripura (2nd Amendment) Bill, 2015 (The Tripura Bill No.6 of 2015)”.
- ii. “The Maharaja Bir Bikram University Bill, 2015 (The Tripura Bill No.1 of 2015)”.

QUESTIONS

Notices of Questions 425 Nos. of Starred, 287 Nos. of Un-starred and 3 Nos. of Short Notices respectively had been received. Out of these, 191 Nos. & 268 Nos. Notices were admitted as Starred, Un-starred questions and 1 No. Short Notice respectively. However, 68 Nos. Starred, 163 Nos. Unstarred questions and 1 No. Short Notice were enlisted during the Session in the list of question for answering in the House by the Ministers concerned of which only 21 (twenty one) Starred Questions & 1 (one) No. Short Notice respectively were answered orally on the floor of the House. Written replies to the remaining Starred and Un-starred questions were laid on the table of the House by the concerned Ministers.

REFERENCE PERIOD

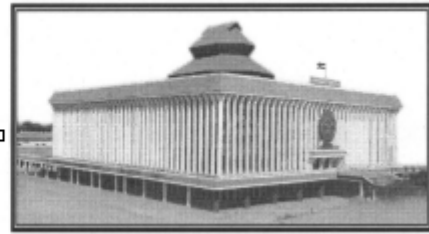
6 (Six) Notices on matters of Urgent Public Importance had been received. All the 6(six) Notices were admitted and enlisted in the list of Business. The Ministers concerned made statements in the House on all of them or laid Written Statements on the Table of the House on those matters.

CALLING ATTENTION

6 (Six) Notices on matters of Urgent Public Importance had been received. All the 6(six) Notices were admitted and enlisted in the list of Business. All the 6(six) Notices were admitted and enlisted in the list of Business. The Ministers concerned made statements in the House on all of them or laid Written Statements on the Table of the House on those matters.

COMMITTEE REPORT

During the Session, apart from 1 (one) Report of the Business Advisory Committee, 1 (one) Report of the Select Committee were presented to the House.



LAYING OF PETITIONS

On 10th August, 2015, the undersigned laid on the Table of the House 1 (one) Petition which was countersigned by Shri Lalit Mohan Tripura, MLA relating to prayer for extension of electricity line to 4(four) localities comprising 253 (two hundred fifty three) Tribal family members under Dhalajhari A. D.C Village, Gandachara, Dhalai District. The Hon'ble Speaker referred the Petitions to the Committee on Petitions of the Tripura Legislative Assembly for examination and Report to the House.

SHORT DURATION

During the Session 1 (one) Notice for raising discussion on Short Duration on matter of Urgent Public Importance had been received from the Hon'ble Member. The Notice was admitted and discussed in the House. The Hon'ble Minister of the concerned Department replied to the debate in the matter at the end of the discussion.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS

During the Session, on 7th August, 2015 (Friday), 1 (one) day was allotted for taking up Private Members' Resolutions. Altogether 3(three) Resolutions were admitted and discussed. But 2 (two) Resolutions were adopted by the House unanimously, namely: -

- i. "Tripura Legislative Assembly requests the Govt. of India to make necessary amendment to the Section 302 of Indian Penal Code prescribing punishment of life sentence till death in jail in place of Death Sentence.
- ii. "Tripura Legislative Assembly requests the Hon'ble Minister, Rural Development Department i.e. Rural Development Ministry, Govt. of India to take immediate steps for release of the sanctioned funds of MGNREGA earmarked for Tripura regularly and also to simplify the procedure in respect of system of payment of wages to the workers so that they can receive the wages immediately after doing the work".

VALEDICTORY SPEECH

On 11th August, 2015 at the conclusion of the Business of the Session, the Hon'ble Speaker made a valedictory Speech before adjourning the House sine-die. In his speech, he expressed his gratitude to the Members of both the Treasury and the Opposition Benches for their co-operation in conducting the Business of the House smoothly. He also thanked all concerned including Officers and Staff of the Assembly Secretariat, Officers of different Departments, Police personnel, News agencies & Electronic media, Doordarshan and AIR etc. for their co-operation during the Session.



THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES IN SESSION DURING THE MONTH OF OCTOBER 2015

Sl. No.	Name of Assembly/Council	Duration
1.	Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly	03.10.2015 - 10.10.2015
2.	Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council	03.10.2015 - 10.10.2015
2.	Mizoram Legislative Assembly	06.10.2015 - 21.10.2015



Site Address of Legislative Bodies in India

Sl.No	Name of Assembly/Council	Site Address
1.	Loksabha	loksabha.nic.in
2.	Rajyasabha	rajyasabha.nic.in
3.	Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council	aplegislature.org
4.	Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly	aplegislature.org
5.	Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly	arunachalassembly.gov.in
6.	Assam Legislative Assembly	assamassembly.nic.in
7.	Bihar Legislative Assembly	vidhansabha.bih.nic.in
8.	Bihar Legislative Council	biharvidhanparishad.gov.in
9.	Chhattisgarh Legislative Assembly	cgvidhansabha.gov.in
10.	Delhi Legislative Assembly	delhiassembly.nic.in
11.	Goa Legislative Assembly	goavidhansabha.gov.in
12.	Gujarat Legislative Assembly	gujaratassembly.gov.in
13.	Haryana Legislative Assembly	haryanaassembly.gov.in
14.	Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly	hpvidhansabha.nic.in
15.	Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly	jklegislativeassembly.nic.in
16.	Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council	jklegislativecouncil.nic.in
17.	Jharkhand Legislative Assembly	jharkhandvidhansabha.nic.in
18.	Karnataka Legislative Assembly	kar.nic.in/kla/assembly
19.	Karnataka Legislative Council	kar.nic.in/kla/council/council



20.	Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly	mpvidhansabha.nic.in
21.	Maharashtra Legislative Assembly	mls.org.in/Assembly
22.	Maharashtra Legislative Council	mls.org.in/Council
23.	Manipur Legislative Assembly	manipurassembly.nic.in/
24.	Meghalaya Legislative Assembly	megassembly.gov.in/
25.	Mizoram Legislative Assembly	mizoramassembly.in
26.	Nagaland Legislative Assembly	http://nagaland.nic.in
27.	Odisha Legislative Assembly	odishaassembly.nic.in
28.	Puducherry Legislative Assembly	www.py.gov.in
29.	Punjab Legislative Assembly	punjabassembly.nic.in
30.	Rajasthan Legislative Assembly	rajassembly.nic.in/
31.	Sikkim Legislative Assembly	sikkimasembly.org
32.	Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly	assembly.in.gov.in
33.	Tripura Legislative Assembly	tripuraassembly.nic.in/
34.	Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly	uplegassembly.nic.in
35.	Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council	upvidhanparishad.nic.in
36.	Uttarakhand Legislative Assembly	ukvidhansabha.uk.gov.in
37.	West Bengal Legislative Assembly	wbassembly.gov.in/
38.	Telangana Legislative Assembly	telanganalegislature.org.in