



CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY
Social Change Through Public Policy

2014-15



Annual Report



Chairman's Note

The focus of Centre for Civil Society remains on creating a nation where Indians have freedom of choice in their personal, economic and political lives, and where every institution, both public and private, is accountable.

On the economic front we need institutions of livelihood freedom to help India become prosperous. Too many decades of economic control have kept us poor. At our flagship college program, Freedom Caravan, the questions we debated were "Who creates wealth?" and "Why is India Poor?" Students discussed the various reasons normally attributed for our poverty and we dissected each one of them before concluding that economic freedom leads to prosperity. Population, illiteracy, culture, democracy and colonialism are at best half-truths.

On the political front, we need clear, accountable and transparent systems. A new government at the centre this year, winning with a huge mandate, certainly has created a tremendous and renewed expectations for reforms. After the PM made a commitment that for every new law passed, his government would repeal 10 laws and that he would use his first 100 days in power to repeal 100 laws, CCS together with NIPFP and Vidhi Centre for Legal Policy presented the PMO and Law Commission a report on 100 Central government laws that are redundant or materially impede the lives of citizens, entrepreneurs and the government itself for wholesale repeal, 80 of which have been accepted in their interim report.

On the education front, we need systems where parents have freedom to choose the kind of education they want for their children. We intensified our efforts to support the Central and State governments in implementing efficient RTE rules, and raising our voice to protect budget private schools who face threat of closure under RTE despite providing quality education to the poor at affordable costs. We won a judgement from the Haryana High Court staying the sudden shutdown of more than 1300 private schools in that state. The court ruled that due process has to be followed before shutting down schools. We also created an RTE 2.0 blueprint that received endorsement of over 30 key stakeholders in the sector. The time to fix RTE is here and NOW!

2014-15 has been a good year for CCS. We look forward to strengthening our efforts this coming year to truly make India the land of the free and prosperous.

Luis Miranda
Chairman, Centre for Civil Society



President's Note

In the year that ended in March 2015, CCS made significant progress in advancing its mission, made possible by a talented, dynamic and committed team. We had five policy wins; convened eight state governments to work towards a liberal Bamboo Policy for tribals and bamboo entrepreneurs; received acceptance by the Law Commission of 80 laws out of 100 we suggested for wholesale repeal; trained 56 government officials in Bihar on the implementation of the Street Vendors Act; conducted two credit courses on law and public policy at National University of Juridical Sciences, Kolkata and we are now on the Education Taskforce for the Delhi Dialogue Commission working towards an ambitious School Education Transformation Plan for the nation's capital.

Both new governments in Delhi—the state and the Union—are committed to reforming the ease of doing business, the quality of public services including education, and overall transparency and accountability in governance. This environment provides us with an important opportunity to influence the next generation of reforms that we believe will set India on a new trajectory of sustained growth. The CCS team and the Board are fully determined to make the most of this golden opportunity and we solicit your support to promote choice and competition across private and public sectors.

The following pages detail our work during the year across our focus areas. More importantly, you will see the numbers that chart our growth. We hope you are as proud of our achievements as we are—they have been made possible only with your generous contribution.

As we review the past year, we are really excited to continue with our approach of short-term policy change and long-term mindset change. Our sincere gratitude and thanks for putting your confidence in CCS to advance social change through public policy.

In liberty

Parth J Shah

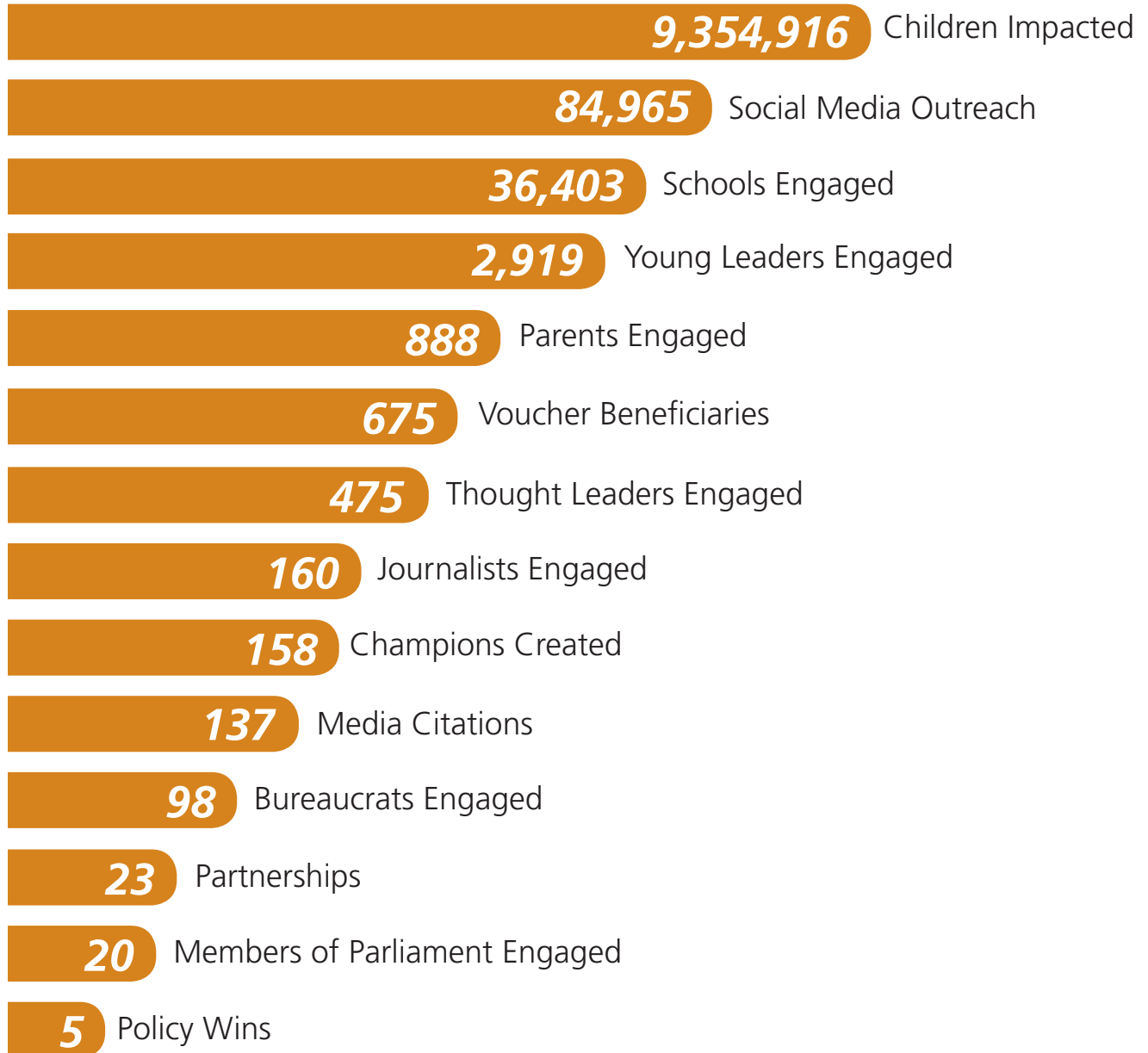
President, Centre for Civil Society

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2014-15: Numbers that Matter

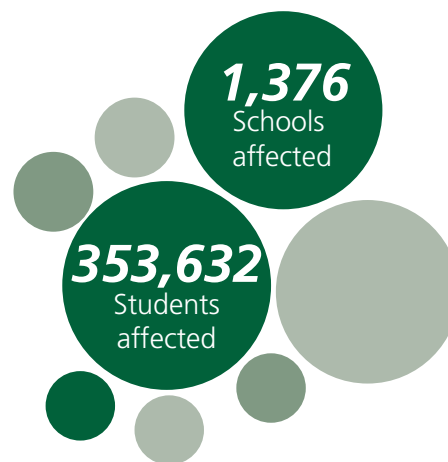


Policy Wins

Haryana Legislation Quashing School Closure Order

The Punjab and Haryana High court passed a [judgement on 15 January 2015](#), quashing the blanket school closure order issued by Haryana Authorities in 2013 against private schools that did not meet recognition norms, or had not applied for recognition under Sections 18 and 19 of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE).

The court's judgement is significant, especially in light of the facts that Pratham's Annual Status of Education Report 2014 throws up. In 2014, enrolment in private schools in Haryana increased from 51.4 to 54.2 percent in rural areas. Private schools also perform better, on average, than government schools in the State, with only 36.5 percent of children in Std III in government schools being able to read a Std I text, while the figure for private schools is 82.8 percent.



"[...]the petitioners themselves admitted that after the notices were issued some of them had given replies and some of them had not; some of them applied for recognition under the Act and some may not have. Whatever were the failings of the petitioners, there is a modicum of procedure that the State is bound to follow before the orders are passed directing closure of the schools. If only the State had undertaken any inspection and noticed on a case to case basis that norms had not been fulfilled or applications had not even been filed or replies had not been given, it would not be possible for the State to pass the order in the manner that it did. [...] An omnibus order that the replies submitted were not found in proper order only betrays a complete lack of application of mind. If the schools were required to be closed or recognition was required to be withdrawn, there bound to be for reasons laid down under the 2003 Rules or under the RTE Act. [...]"

K Kannan
Judge

Rajasthan Legislation on Implementation of State Street Vendors Act

Rajasthan High Court's Jaipur Bench passed a significant order on 12 February 2015 calling for prompt implementation of the Rajasthan Street Vendor's Act, 2012, with a stay on eviction of street vendors and confiscation of their property. Following the Pravasi Bhartiya Divas in Jaipur in 2012, where hundreds of street vendors were evicted and their property forcefully taken from them, CCS filed a writ petition before the Rajasthan High Court along with a street vendors organisation, Heritage City Thadi-Thhela Union and Centre for Policy Solutions. The Rajasthan Street Vendors Act was passed in 2012, and called for formation of town vending committees to register and allocate spaces to street vendors. However, despite this, no action was being taken in line with the law. The High Court Order called for implementation of the Act within a month of their verdict and stay on evictions and further harassment until the Act is implemented. This is a significant win for street vendors.

Create non-vending zones in city: HC

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Jaipur: The Rajasthan High Court on Thursday directed the government to constitute a town vending committee within six weeks and announce the non-vending zones in the city to free roadside vendors from harassment by police and the municipal officials.

A division bench of acting Chief Justice Sunil Ambwani and Justice Prakash Gupta gave the direction on a petition filed by Thadi and Thela Union and the Centre for Civil Society.

The petition said thousands of families eke out a living by selling food and other articles of daily use to the common people through roadside vending but they are subjected to harassment by the police and municipal officials as till now the municipal corporation has not constituted the vending committee to decide which are the areas the vendors be allowed to function.

The Union government has

The petition said thousands of families eke out a living by selling food and other articles to people through roadside vending but they are harassed by the police and municipal officials

made a policy for roadside vendors in 2004 and the Vendor Act has come into force in 2014 in the state. However, the municipal authorities have not yet acted as per the provisions of law leaving roadside vendors at the mercy of the police and civic officials.

The court asked the JMC to earmark the non-vending zones like in airport, high court, secretariat etc and constitute the vending committee in the JMC. The court also directed that the permanent structures constructed by the vendors may also be removed.

The Rajasthan High Court judgement covered in Times of India

10 Street Vendors
Lakh impacted

Neighbourhood Criteria for Nursery Admissions

A writ petition titled 'Forum for promotion of quality education for all v Lt. Gov. of Delhi and Ors.' Writ Petition no. 202 of 2014 (with WP 177/2014) was filed asking for removal of neighbourhood criteria for nursery admissions as set by the Lieutenant Governor of Delhi. iJustice filed an impleadment application in the matter as well and in November 2014, the Delhi High Court set aside the orders as being violative of the fundamental right of the school management to maximum autonomy in day-to-day administration including the right to admit students, as well as the fundamental right of children through their parents to choose a school.



Relief for Delhi schools, High Court allows them to set their own guidelines for nursery admissions

Meenakshi Upreti, CNN-IBN @mniive 181 34

New Delhi: In a huge relief for private schools in Delhi, the High Court has allowed them to set their own guidelines for nursery admissions quashing the guidelines of city government with respect to the general category seats.

The High Court has also ruled that power to decide the school of a child should lie with the parents and not with the government adding that "position on map cannot decide which school a child should go to."

The court added that administrative autonomy of private unaided schools cannot be restrained by way of office orders.

High Court judgement mentioned in IBN Live

Common Law Admission Test (CLAT) Deposit Fee

CLAT is common law admission test for admission to most national law universities (NLUs). For CLAT 2014, the registration fees for general candidates was INR 4,000 (up by 33 percent from 2013) and the pre-admission advance deposit for making oneself eligible for counseling if one has secured a top rank, post declaration of the CLAT results was INR 1 lakh (up by 100% from 2013) payable within one week of the declaration of results. The latter was especially problematic for students from economically weaker

sections of the society. iJustice filed the appeal in the Common Law Entrance Test (CLAT) matter before Competition Appellate Tribunal (COMPAT) against the pre-admission advance deposit of INR One Lakh charged by CLAT at the time of counseling. As a result of our appeal the advance deposit was reduced from INR One Lakh to INR 50,000. This is a big success, as this will considerably reduce the hardship faced by poor students.

Uttar Pradesh Reimbursements for 25 Percent Reservations

Following our Colloquium on Education: Philosophy, Policy and Practice, CCS was invited to co-host a roundtable on the implementation of the Right to Education Act in Uttar Pradesh. The roundtable, held in Lucknow, concluded with a compilation of recommendations for implementation of the Act in its true spirit, one of which included revising the amount of reimbursement to schools from the government

under Section 12 (1)(c) which reserves 25 percent, and creating a scientific formula for calculating the reimbursement amount. Currently the government has set the reimbursement amount at INR 450, but as a result of our recommendations report, this base amount has been supplemented with a provision for INR 400 for uniforms and a further INR 150 for textbooks. The Government Order in this regard is underway.

Idea
Wins

Policy Trainings

Our sustained advocacy for the rights of those who depend on bamboo for their livelihood, and for the rights of street entrepreneurs have had big wins in the past—bamboo was reclassified as a grass in 2012 and the National Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Vending) Act was passed in March 2014. This year we focused on enabling implementation of these laws so that their effects can reach those whom these policies intend to benefit.

Enabling Bamboo Policy: From Ideas to Action

We hosted a policy training for officials and key stakeholders in the bamboo sector, in partnership with the [Kerala State Bamboo Mission](#), the [South Asia Bamboo Federation](#) and the [Friedrich Naumann Foundation](#) in Kochi on 6 December 2014. The aim was to develop a concrete plan of action for implementation of bamboo policy in India that would improve quality of life for those whose livelihood is dependent on the cultivation and trade of bamboo. The workshop was a success, we worked to identify the roadblocks and challenges in the growth of the bamboo sector in India and developed recommendations on how to overcome these in order to help the sector achieve its potential. Delegates from Madhya Pradesh also expressed their keenness to work specifically on the state bamboo policy and create a draft Bamboo Policy Framework for addressing the identified bottlenecks to development on bamboo in the region.



Workshop on 'Enabling Bamboo Policy in India', in Kerala

Call for formation of Bamboo Board

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Enabling bamboo enterprises, bamboo for social sector, and livelihood development were some of the topics discussed during the workshop organised as part of the Kerala Bamboo Fest.

Experts attending a workshop here on evolving a bamboo policy for the country called for the formation of a Bamboo Board after other commodity boards to free bamboo from its current constraints and to realise its potential.

The workshop was organised as part of the ongoing Kerala Bamboo Fest 2014 and in collaboration with Kerala State Bamboo Mission, Centre for Civil Society and South Asian Bamboo Foundation with support from Friedrich Naumann Foundation, said a statement issued by Kerala State Bamboo Mission.

India has 20 per cent of the bamboo resources in the world and the Northeast is home to more than 50 per cent of these resources.

Member of Kerala State Planning Board and vice chairman of Kerala State Bamboo Mission C.P. John, who inaugurated the workshop, said India now needed a "strong legislative framework to facilitate the bamboo sector".

P.K. Mohanty, Additional Chief Secretary, Forests and Wildlife, addressed the workshop, which was attended by delegates from different parts of India as well as from Nepal and Afghanistan. Principal Chief Conservator of Forests B.S. Corrie delivered a special address at the workshop.

Enabling bamboo enterprises, bamboo for social sector and livelihood development were some of the areas that were discussed during the workshop attended both by policy makers and stakeholders.

Creation of a legislative framework, which would define bamboo and deal with harvesting regulations and transit permits, was also discussed during the workshop. Inclusion of bamboo in housing schemes, sanitation campaigns, community and livelihood enterprises as well as cluster development for bamboo were other issues highlighted during the workshop.

The Hindu covered our workshop on bamboo policy

A report of our workshop in Kerala can be accessed [here](#). More details on the workshop in Madhya Pradesh can be accessed [here](#).

Workshop on the National Street Vendors Act: From Ideas to Action

We partnered with the [National Association of Street Vendors of India](#), with support from Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) to organise a workshop for officials of Municipal Corporations in Patna on implementing the provisions of the National Street Vendors Act in its most appropriate manner and spirit. The [training program](#), held on 29 November 2014, aimed to facilitate a thorough understanding of the legislation and develop an execution plan for the officials respective cities.

Right to Education 2.0

We brought together some of India's eminent educationists and thought leaders to identify specific

amendments to the RTE Act, which would ensure quality education for all in India. Key concerns regarding the structure and impact of the RTE were discussed, and based on this, recommendations for amendments to the RTE Act 2009 have been drafted. [RTE 2.0: Building Consensus on Amendments](#) aimed at weeding out the pain areas in the existing scheme of things, finding out what works and what doesn't, and introducing actual amendments to the text of the Act.

The RTE 2.0 report has received 36 endorsements from leading individuals and organisations including Teach For India, NUEPA, Vidhi Centre for Legal Policy, Pratham, central Square Foundation, The World Bank, Bharti Foundation, IPE Global and J-PAL South Asia, as well as 16 NISA members. Our hope is that this report can serve as a blueprint for amendment of the Act as it stands, in order to increase choice and accountability in education.



Stakeholders discussed potential amendments to the RTE Act

Research

RTE: Another License Raj

This paper argues that the current wording and enforcement of Sections 18 and 19 of the Right to Education Act goes against the spirit and objective of the constitutional right to education and the RTE Act itself. Being selective and discriminatory, the enforcement targets private schools only and penalises them for inadequate compliance with necessary-but-not-sufficient norms. Further, it argues that Sections 18, 19 and the Schedule of RTE Act must be amended to become output-focused, applicable and enforceable to both private as well as government schools and certification-based rather than licensure-based. Although the HRD Minister in 2009 gave assurances while implementing the RTE that no schools will be shut down, thousands of budget private schools have been shut down. It can be concluded that the license-based recognition norms are against the spirit and the objective of both the RTE and the Constitutional right to education. The paper provides a draft amendment to achieve the said objectives.

The paper received the award for best paper in Professional Category at National Law Conference held at Auro University in Surat.

Regulatory Structure of Higher Education in India

This report analyses the current regulatory framework of higher education in India and highlights areas that require important policy reforms in order to encourage greater private participation. This participation would

eventually lead to a more competitive environment in the higher education sector and foster growth, which is needed to achieve the target of 10 percent increase in Gross Enrolment Ratio set by the 12th Five Year Plan.

In addition to some new insights, this report validates the oft-repeated complaints against regulations that govern higher education research in India—that it is opaque, mired in complexity and tough to navigate.

Punjab School Closures Study

This is an in-depth research conducted in two districts of Punjab—Barnala and Mansa—to understand the impact of school closures on various stakeholders namely students, parents, school owners and teachers. The purpose of conducting this study has been two fold—to understand any monetary and non-monetary implications of school closure on the various stakeholders, and to explore any irregularities involved in the procedural mechanism for shutting down a school.

	Barnala District	Mansa District
Number of Schools effected*	72	42
Number of students effected**	5904 (72*82)	7602 (42*181)
Number of Teachers effected**	360 (72*5)	252 (42*6)

According to the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan website, 72 and 42 schools were closed down in Barnala and Mansa district respectively.

- From our sample study, the average number of students studying in a BPS in Barnala and Mansa district were 82 and 181 respectively.
- On an average, the number of teachers hired by a BPS in Barnala and Mansa district were 5 and 6 respectively.
- Average fee charged by the BPS across both districts was INR 148.

The above table shows the number of students and teachers that might have been affected by the closure of the schools.

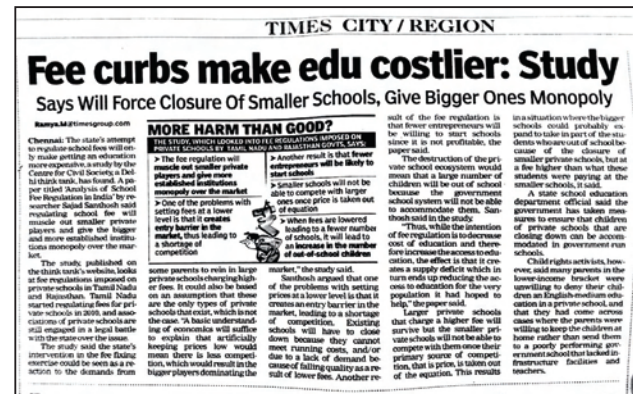
Challenges to School Edupreneurs in the Existing Policy Environment

The Indian education ecosystem today consists of the government, private sector, and NGOs that have helped provide education to millions of children. The enactment of the RTE in 2009 should have enhanced private sector participation manifold. However, given the current legal framework, the environment is not conducive for the entry and sustenance of private players. Given this context, [this paper](#) examines the current legislative framework in Delhi and Gujarat, which is acting as a bottleneck for edupreneurs to enter the education sector.

- For Delhi: **67 documents need to be furnished/submitted across 8 government departments.**
- For Gujarat: **33 documents need to be furnished/submitted across 6 government departments.**

Analysis of School Fee Regulation in India

[The paper](#) explains the legal aspects of the regulation of school fees in India, focusing on Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan. It examines, with the help of secondary data, what the current situations in these states are, post-implementation of the Regulation of Collection of Fee Acts. The paper uses existing literature on price controls to examine the economic impact of price control and further tries to understand how private schools in the two states are coping with the problems that these Acts have brought upon them.



Times of India cites our research on Fee Regulation in India

Trends in India's Education Budgeting

The Union education budget has seen an increase in monetary allocation every year and the enrolment rate across the country has also been largely moving upwards. It becomes important to scrutinise the education budget for 2014-15 to understand how the new government has approached the education sector, especially elementary and secondary education. [This paper](#) looks at four major schemes undertaken by

the Government of India in the education sector, and identifies trends in state education budgets by analysing data for three sample states—Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan.

Gujarat's capital expenditure on education and its subsequent effects on the education indicators give us an idea of how most of the expenditure from states is on the revenue account, i.e. recurring costs, while only a comparatively small percent of the spending is in the creation of capital for education. The share of the capital expenditure to the total spending in

Gujarat has risen from 7.4 percent in 2011-12 to 8.7 percent in 2013-14 while for Maharashtra and Rajasthan it has remained less than 1 percent over the last three years. The bulk of the expenditure on education is therefore being spent on maintaining capital than producing capital.

Teacher Incentives – Evidence from Schools in Delhi

The paper reports on existing incentive structures in a sample of government and private schools in Delhi and elicits teachers' perspectives on factors which motivate them. It is found that performance-related pay and promotions are important monetary incentives for teachers. Recognition, regular evaluation and monitoring and contractual based employment are found to be important non-monetary incentives. Having a large class size, having to teach subjects outside of a teacher's expertise and performing clerical duties are found to be some significant disincentives for teachers.



HOME FE COLUMNIST

Motivating Teachers

Budget private schools seem to have adopted some very innovative practices

By: The Financial Express | February 16, 2015 12:39 am

Other Articles
Editorial: A goal against FIFA graft
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Snapdeal.com: Not 2B But 2C

A study by researchers at the Centre for Civil Society finds that budget private schools have some of the best ideas as far as incentivising teachers' performance is concerned. Researchers Mansi Kabra and Ronak Jain interviewed 55 teachers and seven school-heads from four elite private schools, three budget private ones, three government ones and one government-aided school in Delhi.

The study found that though the differences in pay were wide—the threshold was high for government school teachers (₹27,000 a month in primary schools) while budget private schools paid as low as ₹2,000 a month to beginners—salary didn't affect teachers' performance significantly. This seems to bear out the Aser findings as well, given despite the high teachers' salaries, government schools have thrown almost consistently poor learning standards while the low salaries in budget private schools don't seem to have stopped their teachers from contributing to improving learning standards in private schools. Budget private schools have also experimented with various forms of performance-linked pay, which is absent in government and elite private schools, and have found these to have motivated their teaching staff.

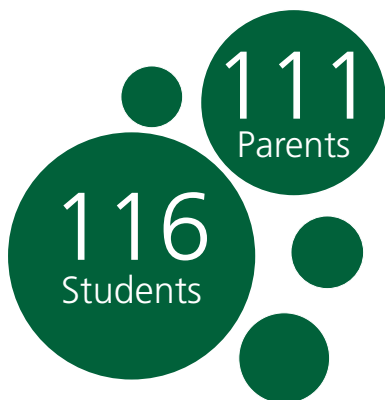
Financial Express reports our research on Teacher Incentives

Effectiveness of School Input Norms under the Right to Education Act, 2009

The RTE ratified education as a fundamental right and seeks to promote equitable access to education for all children up to the age of 14 years. However, the Act focuses almost entirely on school inputs and not on learning outcomes. The lack of a focus on output has been accompanied by poor learning outcomes, increased pressure on government capacity and the implementation of policies that may not necessarily give the returns in terms of improving outcomes. [In this paper](#), we argue for a case to shift the focus of education investment from inputs to outcomes, outlining the recognition norms defined under the RTE.

Patang

Our *Patang* pilot, which is being run in partnership with Tech Mahindra Foundation, aims to implement a holistic inclusion program (academic and social) in three private schools in Delhi, which can be replicated in the other schools across Delhi and the rest of India. Our approach involves development of a bridge curriculum, bringing on specialised staff, implementing activity-based learning in our *Patang* centres, working with



Students perform at the launch of the Patang Centre in Delhi Public School, Vasant Kunj

parents to build awareness about 25 percent and empowering them through skill-building workshops and empowering students to tackle social issues in their communities.

As a result of our interventions, data from our baseline and endline reports demonstrates success of the pilot in creating a strong model for inclusive education.

During the baseline survey, 27 out of 95 students (28.42 percent) reported, to have faced discrimination in the form of derogatory language or inappropriate behaviour. However, in our endline survey only 13 out of 92 students (14.13 percent) reported to having faced discrimination.

In terms of developing life skills such as hygiene, we found that In the endline survey, 100 percent of the *Patang* parents did not receive any formal complaints as compared to 98 percent of the *Patang* parents in the baseline survey.

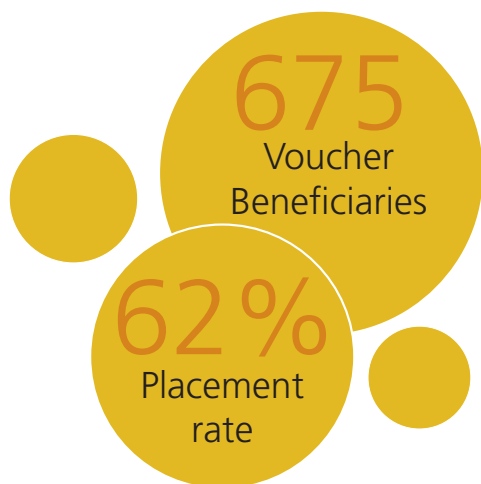
Studying at the centre has helped a lot in the behaviour of the *Patang* students and has given them more confidence. The students have become more socially active and are not shy.

Teacher, Heritage School

Vikalp

Our *Vikalp* pilot is aimed at gathering evidence to make a case for the introduction of skill vouchers to the skill-training space. Our third-party evaluation of the project by India Development Foundation provided the first statistical evidence of success through the following key findings:

- Odds of a person to be found working are 1.63 times higher for the *Vikalp* students as compared to the Non-*Vikalp* category
- The career melas mostly result in rational skill choice and course preference matches
- No observable difference in salaries received by the *Vikalp* participants, when compared with the non-*Vikalp* group



Regulatory Barriers to Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

Against the post-New Industrial Policy (1991) growth witnessed in large-scale industries, a corresponding boom in the small and mid-sized domestic industry has been conspicuously absent. [The paper](#) seeks to document the causes for the same. Further, a comparative evaluation of Indian MSMEs with those operating in other BRICS nations has been conducted, in an attempt to understand the overall effect of the business, policy and legal/regulatory environment on the growth of MSMEs.

MSME segment registers 6 percent of the GDP, 45 percent of the manufacturing output, 40 percent of the total exports from India and is the second largest employer. Currently, 450 MSMEs in operation.

IndianLiberals.in

[IndianLiberals.in](#) is an online library of all Indian liberal writings, lectures and other materials in English and other Indian regional languages. The portal was formally launched on 17 January 2015 after two years of intensive work researching and archiving materials dating back to the 19th Century, at the [1st Annual South Asia Students for Liberty Conference](#) by Arun Shourie, prominent journalist, author and politician.

Indian Liberals stood for the liberty of thought and action and against central planning. In current scenario, such liberties are in constant threat, which is not any different to the hubristic actions of the central planners during the socialistic pattern of society adopted by



Arun Shourie launches IndianLiberals.in

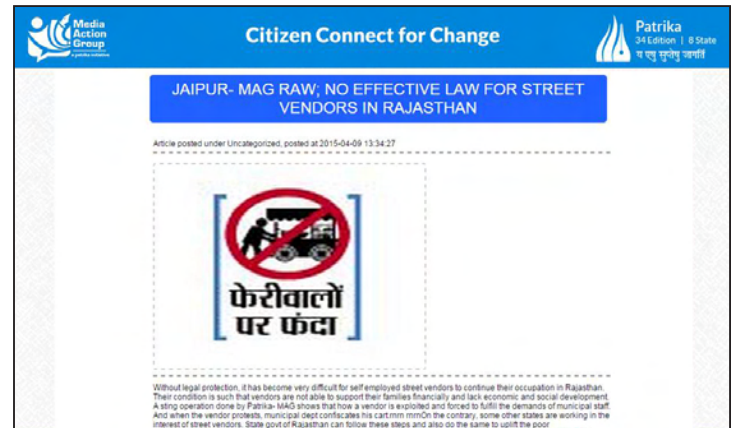
the Nehru government. It is of utmost importance to go back to these heroes of freedom and acquire their wisdom through their powerful writings.

The portal reminds us that there has been a tradition in India for a liberal polity. It is almost a civilisational principle and it is facilitated by the fact that we are such a rich and diverse country. It is also important that we start using alternate media for getting our message out and the idea of documenting this tradition is an excellent beginning.

Arun Shourie
Indian Journalist, Author and Politician

Rajasthan Patrika: Media Campaign for Rights of Street Vendors

Rajasthan Patrika launched a media campaign to advocate for the rights of street vendors in the state. The team of reporters connected with stakeholders through CCS to gain a better understanding of the issue. In the month of January, they published close to a story a day to highlight the key issues faced by these street entrepreneurs. The media campaign was a major catalyst for the passing of the Jaipur High Court judgement calling for immediate implementation of the Act and putting a stay on evictions and harassment.



Clip from Patrika Media Action Group's campaign for rights of street vendors

People
Wins

Researching Reality Internship

Over six weeks in the summer, 25 of the brightest students from among 339 applications worked with us on policy issues in the education and livelihood space producing high quality papers making recommendations for improved governance. We published 27 papers which can be accessed [here](#).

The internship introduced me to the field of policy research and the structure of the program where every intern is assigned a guide was wonderful. The entire CCS team, co-interns and others provided a lively respectful and friendly environment to work in and was a great learning experience. Thank you for this wonderful opportunity.

Vrinda Aggarwal

Researching Reality Intern, 2014



Researching Reality Interns 2014



Tom Palmer discusses Liberalism's Triumphs and Challenges with young leaders at ipolicy

ipolicy: Certificate Course in Public Policy

Our efforts to make ipolicy a self-sustaining model have been successful, with eight of 11 programs being conducted in partnership with educational institutions including St Xavier's College in Mumbai, and leading law schools such as Gujarat National Law University and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Petroleum University in Gujarat. Through these programs, we reached out to 294 young leaders, development leaders, young professionals and journalists.

It was a really enriching experience. I am sad that it ended so early. We had a lot of fun and in this we learnt a lot. Misconceptions were cleared and some questions were answered. Some other questions were created which will actually promote all of us to move forward in this direction [of liberty]. I got a clearer picture about different systems, problems and how other countries have actually got rid of those problems. It was really a good experience.

Ravi Gupta

Graduate, ipolicy for Business Professionals, 2014

ipolicy helped me deliberate upon and comprehend the basic infrastructure mechanism of society, state, nation, ideas and values. It instilled in me a critical approach for judging ideas and helped me question the very basic concepts of policies—whether economics, political and social. In all, it was very informative and helped me expand my horizon, especially so by explaining the impacts, affects and advantages of liberal policies.

Bhanu Bajpai

Graduate, ipolicy for Young Leaders at GNLU, 2014

I was lucky to be part of this program. The course covered root causes of social problems and a study of public policy. As a journalist, I found that the course provided me a new perspective with which to view and analyse events and trends. Participants got an enhanced understanding of public policy and I think it has sparked their curiosity. My biggest learning was how to look at public policies with a focus on the difference between intentions and results. It is often ignored that social policies have a direct role in causing conflict and a number of development problems and this course successfully highlighted how social problems are the result of current policies.

Riyaz Hashmi

Graduate, ipolicy for Journalists, 2014



Freedom Caravan at Carmel College, Goa

Freedom Caravan

The 2014 edition of [Freedom Caravan](#) travelled to 17 colleges, stationed in 10 cities spread across 6 states over a period of 25 days. Organised by the Centre for Civil Society, in partnership with Atlas Network and the

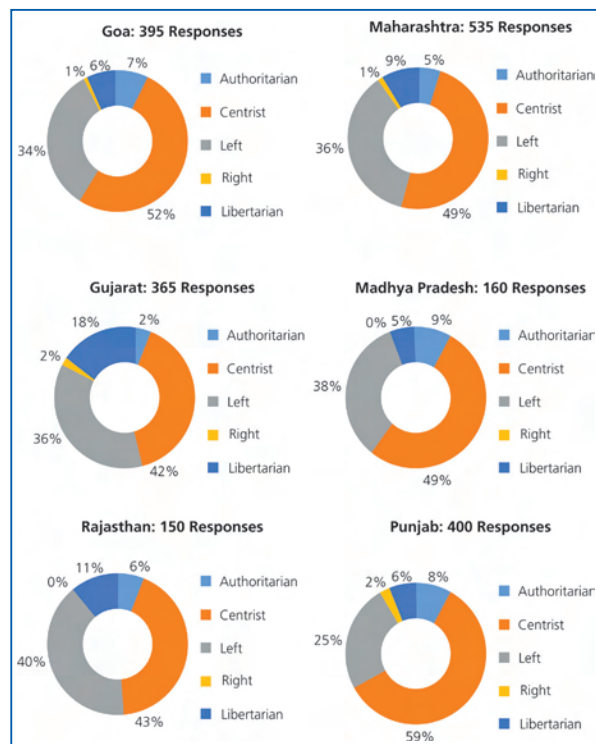
Thank you for coming to RGNUL and allowing us to be a part of the really inspiring and enriching seminar. Our discussion on the issue of poverty in India was, quite frankly, an eye-opener. You really did inspire us to dig deeper into the discourse surrounding this widely-discussed issue and look beyond what is too obvious. The fervent exchange of ideas that took place during the seminar also helped us widen our horizons and be critical of the information that we generally take for granted. I am quite sure that this seminar stirred all of our conscience at least a little bit and aroused a renewed zeal in us to get up and get doing something more for ourselves and our countrymen. A big thank you, again, for letting us on board this Caravan and giving us the opportunity to gain so much from it.

Komal Parekh

*Participant, Freedom Caravan 2014
Rajiv Gandhi National University of Law, Punjab*

Friedrich-Naumann-Foundation, the caravan reached out to over 2,000 students, faculty members and principals across institutes. The fundamental questions we asked everywhere we went—Who Creates Wealth? Why is India Poor? Is Trade made up of win?

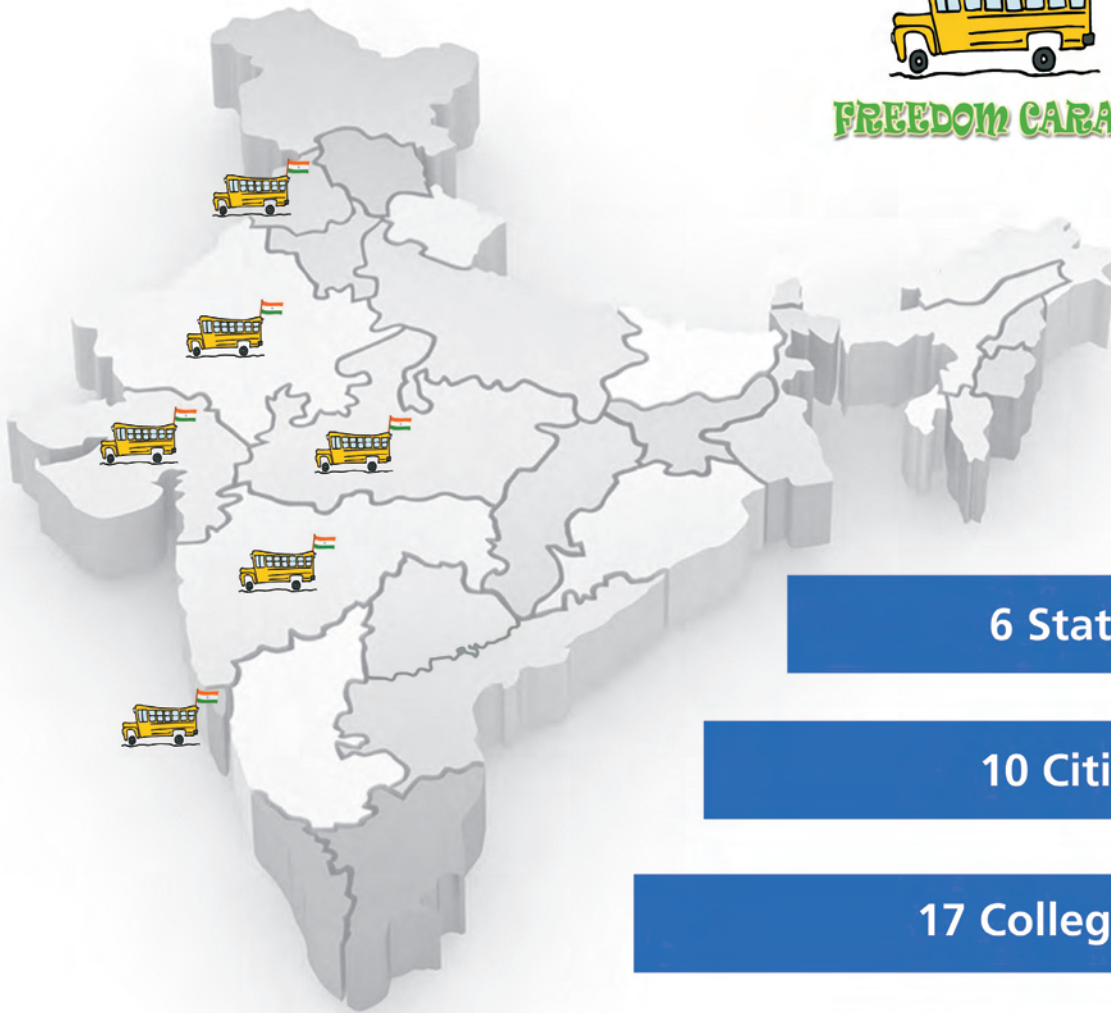
The Caravan roused questions in the minds of students, setting the foundation for future engagement with them on ideas of free societies. Interesting statistics from Freedom Caravan indicated that in India, the ideological framework continues to be largely socialist and centrist, highlighting the need for our outreach programs and policy trainings to target these future leaders and offering them alternative ways of looking at everyday social issues.



**State-wise results of
World's Smallest Political Quiz**



FREEDOM CARAVAN





**Participants at the Colloquium on Education:
Philosophy, Policy and Practice**

Colloquium

Education: Philosophy, Policy and Practice

It is rarely questioned whether education is a legitimate role of the state. Yet there are good reasons to be critical of government involvement in education—especially as it becomes more and more evident that state central planning lacks the knowledge and flexibility required to achieve its objectives. We hosted a [colloquium](#) with 18 leading academics and researchers in education to discuss whether the all-important freedom of conscience can be reconciled with the idea of a compulsory, standardised, and state-controlled system of education, and whether a free society can sustain when those in control can decide what children will be taught to think. Sectors represented included corporates, media, NGOs, researchers and students.

It was enriching to discuss issues at core and policy level with such varied people with rich backgrounds in education. We are a funding organisation. I am actually now going to engage with EdleGive grantees on some aspects that colloquium has brought to light for me. This awareness will definitely be used while understanding the programs being executed by various NGOs in the field.

Naghma Mulla

*COO, EdelGive Foundation
Participant, Colloquium on Education: Philosophy,
Policy and Practice, 2014*

B R Shenoy: India's experience with Central Planning

In partnership with [Liberty Fund Inc.](#), we looked at the history of India's experience with central planning through the eyes of one of its chief critics: B R Shenoy. Though many have criticised India's economic policy since the success of the 1991 reforms, Shenoy holds claim to being one of the very few who saw the folly of central economic planning at the time. 16 participants from diverse backgrounds discussed possible reasons why Shenoy was ignored, and key learnings that emerge from his life and writings. Was Shenoy conveying his ideas in such a way that Nehru and the others could not understand at the time? Who are the Shenoy's of today, and who are we ignoring? [The Colloquium](#) was an important step in highlighting the liberalism present in India that has often been ignored.

It was a great learning opportunity for me and I must admit I learned more about Indian political—economic history in those two days during the colloquium than I had throughout the rest of my life. The colloquium turned out to be very enlightening not just on the life and work of Prof. Shenoy but so many other contemporary political issues as well.

Akash Shrestha

*Samridhi Foundation, Nepal
Participant, Colloquium on B R Shenoy, 2014*



Johan Norberg at the UChicago Center in Delhi

Talk by Johan Norberg: Globalisation—Why it's an opportunity for developing countries

Johan Norberg, acclaimed author of the book *In Defense of Global Capitalism*, gave a talk on “Globalisation: Why it's an opportunity for developing countries”. Norberg is one of the most eloquent advocates for the liberty movement and spoke to an audience of 60 at a discussion chaired by Gurcharan Das. The podcast of the talk can be accessed [here](#).

Globalisation makes it possible also for people to be free—to not have their fate, their opportunities and their ideas decided by where they were born. It is one of the most liberating things to happen to mankind

Johan Norberg

TweetChats

Our consistent online engagement has resulted in a building of our brand value on social media. We have found that TweetChats are a good way to engage people in dialogue on issues of current relevance and introduce a liberal perspective on the issue. We hosted 25 TweetChats this year, and some of our most successful discussions have been on the possibility of privatising the Indian Railways and on rule of law versus rule of mob, which together saw the attendance of 58 people. Overall, we've reached out to 165 people through [these discussions](#).

Chintans

CCS Chintans are aimed at building the capacity of the team and their understanding of the ideas we work with, as well as creating opportunities for informal, intimate engagement with thought leaders in the liberty and policy space. This year, we hosted Tom G Palmer, Christopher Lingle, Prof Shreekant Gupta, Sanjeev Sabhlok and Mrinalini Sapra.



Chintan with Varsha Joshi at the CCS office, in July 2014



Stakeholders in education examine challenges and opportunities for BPS at the NISA Summit

National Independent Schools Alliance School Leaders Summit

Our annual [NISA School Leaders Summit](#) this year focused on 'Budget Private Schools: Challenges and Opportunities'. 150 budget private school leaders, service providers, policy makers and academicians were in attendance to examine challenges faced by the BPS sector and ideate on ways to strengthen education of choice for all. The keynote was delivered by Member of Parliament Vijay Goel, who stated unequivocally that he would take up the case for budget private schools in parliament.

Under Modi's government we will never allow private schools to shut down

Shri Vijay Goel
Member of Parliament



**Barun Mitra, Amit Chandra and Amir Ullah Khan
on the panel at the Jeevika: Asia Livelihood
Documentary Festival**

Jeevika: Asia Livelihood Documentary Festival

We hosted the 11th edition of the annual [Jeevika: Asia Livelihood Documentary Festival](#) on 13 and 14 December—in an effort to advocate the need for livelihood freedom for the rural and urban poor who are currently restrained by regulatory barriers while trying to earn an honest living. The festival, held at the University of Chicago Center in Delhi, in partnership with Education World, The Statesman, DelhiEvents.com and the UChicago Center, saw attendance of close to 150 people. We screened 16 movies—the top entries selected from a pool of 80, that represented



**CHAR: The No-Man's Land
by Sourav Sarangi**



**Padmini My Love by Munmun
Dhalaria, Ruchi Sawardekar,
Sriram Mohan & Silja Wurgler**

Special Mention

*Tichi Goshta (Her Stories) by Farred Muhammed,
Milanath Gautham, Ridhima Sharma, Shiva Thorat & Silja Wurgler*
Silver Gandhi by Rohit Pawar

Stress on livelihood freedom at documentary fest

statesman news service

NEW DELHI, 13 DEC. The 11th edition of the two-day Jeevika Livelihood Documentary Festival organised by Centre for Civil Society used films to highlight much-needed reform in the livelihood policy space. It was an effort to advocate the need for livelihood freedom of rural and urban individuals, who are currently restrained by a number of regulatory barriers while trying to earn their living.

Apart from screening of documentary films, the first day of the festival included a panel discussion on '23 Years of Indian Economic Reforms'. Amir Ullah Khan, Director Research, Aequitas and Advisor to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, stressing on the concept of reform said, "I believe the economic reform in India started way back in 1984 and not 1991 and it was then the government decided to allow private players to enter the market. It was in all good sense."

He added, "Since then India's economic growth has been spectacular and per capita income has grown tremendously, but it has led to huge amounts of inequalities. We have solved a lot of problems in manufacturing industry but lots more need to be done in field of health and education." He reflected on the fact that 55% of India is malnourished and perhaps it is time we start reforming these areas to a second generation of reforms.

Barun Mitra, director of Liberty Institute, said, "If we believe that markets, reforms and liberalisation would perform and should perform, we need to trust that each stakeholder/individual has a rational choice. For a civilized society, we must recognise and respect the other person as much as we want ourselves. That is the beauty of markets and freedom — that the most diverse choices can be catered to."

There is a serious need to concentrate on the issue of livelihood freedom for the poorer sections of society in the country, Khan said. Quality of life is directly related to the pursuit of livelihood and the pursuit of livelihood of choice is most valuable for those at the bottom rung of the economic ladder, he added.

The documentary session of the festival included screening of films based on livelihood issues in various strata of society. Bread, Butter and Garbage by Jyoti Garhwal explored the grinding work and functioning of door-to-door garbage collection in Hyderabad. The film talked about the groups of garbage-pickers who had started with their own enterprise of waste management and were completely dependent on it for their survival. But ironically, as they were just about to reap the fruits of their endurance, a private group was all set to take over their business with the support of the State.

Coverage of the Jeevika: Asia Livelihood Documentary Festival in The Statesman

a fair blend of the interactive, observational and the expository genres of non-fiction film making. Against the backdrop of the festival, CCS also hosted a panel discussion on '23 Years of Indian Economic Reforms' with Amir Ullah Khan, Director Research, Aequitas and Advisor to Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Barun Mitra, Director of Liberty Institute.



Rohan Joshi, Parthasarathy Sen Sharma, Parth J Shah and Swaminathan Aiyar on the opening panel at SCNC 2014

School Choice National Conference

This year's **SCNC** explored freedom in terms of more autonomy to the schooling community and choice to students and parents. Speakers included Secretary to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Parthasarathy Sen Sharma who gave the keynote, President of the Lok Satta Party, J P Narayan and leading scholar and economist Swaminathan Aiyar.

मातृभाषा में स्कूली शिक्षा प्रभावी : स्वामी

नईदुनिया ब्यूरो, नई दिल्ली

जाने-माने पत्रकार व प्रतिभकार स्वामीनाथन अंकलेसरिया अयर ने कहा है कि स्कूलों में यदि मातृभाषा में शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती है, तो नीतिहालों की ग्राह्य क्षमता अन्य भाषा में दी गई शिक्षा के मुकामबले कई गुना ज्यादा होती है।

सेंटर फॉर सिविल सोसायटी द्वारा राजधानी में शुक्रवार को आयोजित शिक्षाविदों, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं, अध्यापकों व स्कूल संचालकों के राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन 'स्कूल च्वाइस नेशनल कॉन्फ्रेंस

2014' को संबोधित करते हुए अंकलेसरिया ने उक्त बातें कही। उन्होंने विभिन्न देशों में हुए अध्ययनों का हवाला देते हुए कहा कि तकनीकी तौर पर किताब पढ़ते समय पहली व दूसरी कक्षा के बच्चों की ग्राह्य क्षमता प्रति शब्द 12 सेकंड से कम होती है। यदि दूसरी भाषा में शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती है तो बच्चों को उक्त भाषा के शब्दों को पहले अपनी मातृभाषा में परिचित करना पड़ता है और फिर समझना पड़ता है। इस क्रम में उन्हें 12 सेकंड से ज्यादा का समय लगता है। इस प्रकार किसी

शब्द को समझने में 12 सेकंड से जितना अधिक समय लगता है बच्चों को उक्त शब्द को याद रखने में उतनी ही अधिक परेशानी होती है।

इस मौके पर सेंटर फॉर सिविल सोसायटी के अध्यक्ष पार्थ जे. शाह ने कहा कि प्रत्येक बच्चे की प्रकृति व उसकी ग्राह्य क्षमता दूसरे से अलग होती है, लेकिन हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था सबके साथ समान तरीके से ही व्यवहार करती है। सम्मेलन के दौरान शिक्षा में चयन, आजादी और तकनीक के प्रयोग आदि विषयों पर भी चर्चा की गई।

Students for Liberty Conference

Our CCS Grads are part of the global liberty movement— eight of them are members of the charter team of Students for Liberty (SFL) in India, and two of them are now working with SFL full-time. This year, CCS partnered with SFL South Asia to host the inaugural Students For Liberty South Asia Conference that brought together over 200 delegates from across South Asia. Speakers at the event included acclaimed author and Bastiat Prize winner Amit Varma, Executive Vice President of International Programs at the Atlas Network Tom G Palmer, Visiting Professor of Economics at Universidad Francisco Marroquín in Guatemala Christopher Lingle and Associate Professor of Economics at Hawai'i Pacific University in Honolulu, Ken Schoolland.

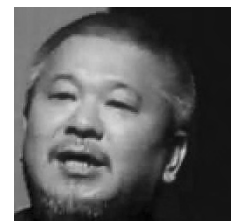


Over 200 delegates at the SFL South Asia Conference in January

Champions

The biggest win for a think tank advocating for liberty and freer societies is to see those who interact with us turn into multipliers of our ideas. This year, we focused our attention on tracking those who graduated from our various training programs or interacted with us at various forums and platforms, in order to gauge the impact our work has had on their thinking and perspective. We were able to create 158 champions in 2014-15. Especially deserving of mention are:

Kamesh Salam, Founder and Executive Director of the South Asia Bamboo Foundation who supported our policy workshop on bamboo and helped bring the Kerala State Bamboo Mission on board, as well as offered his support for advocacy in the sector going forward.

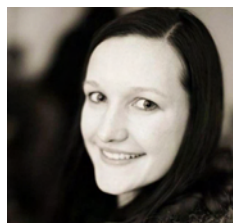


Basanta Adhikari of Nepal participated in our Think Tank Start Up Training and went on to create a monograph on 'Why is Nepal Poor?' modeled after our publication, 'Why is India Poor?' which tackles the myths about causes of poverty and helps understand the root cause of the problem through critical analysis.

Jayant Rajpurohit, an ipolicy graduate raised funds for CCS through the Airtel Delhi Half Marathon. He also ran in the marathon on the day!



Rachel Connor of Australia, Tarmizi Anuwar of Malaysia and Venkatesh Geriti of India, graduates of the Students For Liberty-Asia Centre for Enterprise training hosted in January 2014. Rachel helped start SFL Cambodia, and Tarmizi has helped the setting up of SFL Malaysia—strengthening the liberty movement in this part of the world. Venkatesh participated in summer programs in US liberal think tank and founded India's Future Foundation to promote liberal values in Hyderabad.



Institutional Wins

National Independent Schools Alliance

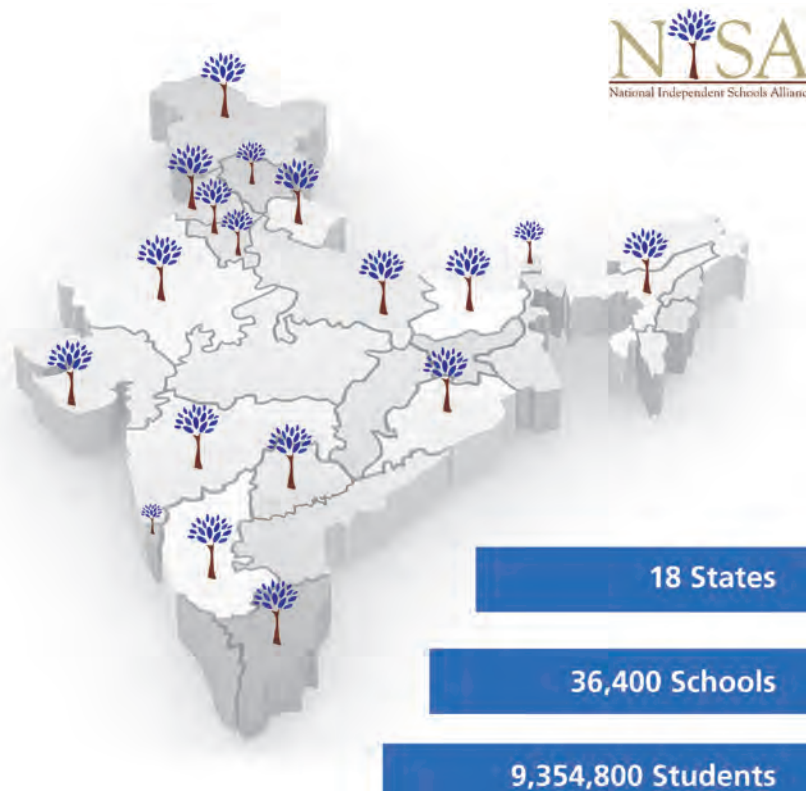
Quality Coalition

NISA has a two-fold objective—to help unite the voice of budget private schools that are struggling to remain open in the face of stringent RTE norms, and to improve the quality of education being imparted at these schools in order to strengthen their case. This year marked the beginning of our National Independent Schools Alliance Quality Coalition. We have brought on board four corporate partners, including [India School Leadership Institute](#), [STIR Education](#), [Zaya Learning](#),

[Pratham Infotech](#), [Sportathon](#) and [Indian School Finance Company](#).

Pakistan Chapter

A big win for NISA this year was the beginning of our Pakistan chapter, formally launched in October 2014. This chapter has been launched in partnership with School Assessment for School Improvement and Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi to help the burgeoning budget private schools in Pakistan as well as to share best practices in the advocacy and quality improvement for these schools. We look forward to fruitful collaborations going forward.





Over 250 delegates at the 3rd Asia Liberty Forum

Asia Centre for Enterprise

Asia Liberty Forum

After two successful years of organising [the forum](#) in India, this year we partnered with [Samridhi](#), [The Prosperity Foundation](#), to lay the tradition of providing local partners the opportunity to bring to their country, our global community of freedom champions, mentors, scholars, change agents, and future leaders, for a public celebration of our ideas, our heroes and our successes in Asia.

Organised with generous support from [Atlas Network](#), Centre for Civil Society, Friedrich Naumann Foundation South Asia, [The Heritage Foundation](#), [Acton Institute](#), Peter Goettler, Bridgett Wagner, Rainer Heufers and many local Nepali organisations, over three days, over 250 delegates from 30 countries exchanged ideas on more than 20 topics ranging from practical tools for successful think tanks to inspirational explorations of the ideas of liberty.

Think Tank Start Up Training

The [Think Tank Start Up Training](#) is an opportunity for intellectual entrepreneurs to come to a common platform and learn skills and share best practices that would be useful for them in setting up and running successful institutions promoting ideas of liberty and free markets. Hosted in Nepal for the first time this year, TTSUT in January 2015 saw participation from 22 individuals representing 11 countries. These young leaders spent four days exploring how to strengthen the core purpose and identity of their organisation or project and develop their strategic thinking skills, examining existing think-tank models from around the world, and formulating clear ideas of what they wanted to achieve through their organisation or project.



Participants from 11 countries at the Think Tank Start Up Training

iJustice

Freedom of Speech

Under the ambit of our Freedom of Speech Campaign, we took up two issues this year—challenging guidelines to regulate advertisements on public service vehicles and challenging the ban on pornography.

[In the first case](#), iJustice filed an impleadment application, challenging the guidelines regulating advertisements on public service vehicles. The challenge was based on the grounds that the guidelines impose pre-censorship and blanket prohibition on all kinds of speech and that they are arbitrary. In November 2014 the court issued notice to the State Transport Department to withdraw the guidelines.

Our second case was an impleadment application filed for the writ petition challenging Sections of the Information Technology Act 2000, praying for directions passed to the Respondents to formulate a separate law, national policy and a draft action plan on the issue of pornography and to treat watching and sharing of porn videos as a non-bailable and non-cognizable offence. Our application contended that there are already provisions under the Information Technology Act 2000, and other laws, like the Indian Penal Code, Indecent Representation of Women's Act, etc. that adequately create and define offences in relation to the sale and distribution of pornographic material; and that porn films, in so far as they depict sexual acts enacted between consenting adults for commercial value, do not amount to exploitation; and that deciding upon what constitutes an offence and the severity of

it, is solely a legislative function. A major win on this account was the judgement by the Supreme Court in March 2015 striking down Section 66A of the IT Act as unconstitutional.

Timely Justice

iJustice facilitated a Roundtable to discuss the issue of Timely Justice. Participants proposed solutions to the issue of backlog and delay in the legal system. Most solutions pertained to addressing accountability deficit in the legal system. The groups was of the view that among the above mentioned solutions, 'Right to Timely Justice Bill' had the best rhetoric potential. It can help to mobilise masses. Possibly, a number of other minor reforms can also be put in the same bill. The event was attended by 10 stakeholders including lawyers, NGO representatives and law students. Mohit Satyanand (Advisor, iJustice) moderated the meeting.

Public Policy Course piloted at NUJS

We piloted our first Public Policy Credit Course at the National University of Juridical Sciences in Kolkata this February. With an emphasis on first principles, this course aimed at encouraging critical thinking on social, economic, and political issues and what makes a free and just society. The module focused on principles, theory, and tools of law, economics and public policy, supplemented by case studies to contextualise students' learning. We received positive feedback from students who attended the course. Learning from this pilot will also help us structure our formal Public Policy Credit Modules which we are looking to launch this year.

Organisational Wins

Media Citations

We received 137 media citations this year, in leading local, national and international dailies with readership of approximately 190 million. Our 100 Laws Project received a great deal of media attention in India and abroad, with coverage in The Guardian, The Washington Post, Business Standard, India Today and LiveMint, among others. Our research papers were also cited in leading dailies such as the Times of India, ensuring greater outreach of evidence that can set the foundation for demand for policy reform.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Gary Azavedo

MARGAO: "There are a lot of government schools that do not follow the norms prescribed under the Right To Education (RTE) Act, yet these restrictions are imposed since its agenda is to prevent private schools from functioning and eventually kill them," said Rohan Joshi, associate director of the national independent schools' association (NISA).

Speaking to TOI, Joshi, who is visiting the state upon an invitation by the all-Goa government recognized unaided schools association (AGGRUSA), emphasized that the RTE Act posed a challenge due to the excessive restrictions imposed upon private schools with an excessive focus on the inputs on education rather than the outputs of learning.

"The RTE Act is creating more hassles. There are a lot of norms on infrastructure like compound walls and playgrounds of specific sizes rather than the quality of education. If we increase the fees being charged by 400% then RTE norms will be fulfilled but education will become unaffordable. This in turn out to be counter-productive as students will then be refused access to such schools. There is very little focus on the quality of education. The government school students do pathetically and the teachers are the main culprits. But, in these private unaided schools, there is more control exerted by the school owner on the teachers," he stated.

BloombergView

INDIA

India's Most Laughable Laws

By Dhilip Nayar

As part of his campaign to revive India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has vowed to clear away some of the cobwebs choking the country's legal and business sectors. In August the government moved to repeal 30 obsolete laws or amendments to laws, and appointed a committee to identify others worthy of the ax.

According to reports earlier this week, the government has now picked out 267 such measures, most of which are ludicrously outdated. One says that property in a certain part of Kolkatta, one of India's largest cities, can only be sold to the British East India Company. Another bans flying kites or balloons without police permission, because these constitute aircraft according to a 1934 law.

Such colonial-era rules may make for good comedy. But, of course, most of them are never enforced. The real problem involves a raft of laws that lend themselves to exploitation, impeding business and government efficiency even today.

कानूनों की समीक्षा हो

खर्ब जे साह, अउरअ, सेंटर फॉर रिफॉर्म लेसवर्टी

वर्ष 2006 से प्रतिवर्ष तैयार की जा रही ये रिपोर्ट किसी देश में बिजनेस माहौल का आकलन करती है। चूंकि यह रिपोर्ट विश्व बैंक बनाता है इसलिए इसकी स्थिकतायता भी काफी ज्यादा है। दुनिया के सभी निवेशक इस रिपोर्ट को देखते और इससे अपनी निवेश संबंधी राय बनाते हैं। साथ ही अन्य प्रकार की रिपोर्टों जैसे आर्थिक आजादी सूचकांक, प्रगति राहत सूचकांक, मानव विकास सूचकांक में भी इसका कुछ न कुछ असर दिखता है। चूंकि इस रिपोर्ट में जो आंकड़े होते हैं वो परस्परानु के आधार पर होते हैं इसलिए इनकी वैधता पर कुछ विवाद हो सकता है पर कुल मिलाकर यह रिपोर्ट किसी देश में क्याय सहायित्व माहौल का मूल्यांकन ठीक करती आ रही है। रिपोर्ट में कई मापदंड

हैं जिनके ऊपर किसी देश के सरकार माहौल को परखा जाता है। भारत ने जिन दो पैमानों पर सबसे खाब पदर्शन किया है वो हैं अनुबंध का क्रियाव्यवण और पब्लिक निगमों परमत का नियमन। इन दो पैमानों पर भारत का स्थान 189 देशों में क्रमशः 186 तथा 184 हैं। अर्थात दुनिया में सामान्य समझे जाते। अनुबंध क्रियाव्यवण में अमरफतता के दो उदाहरण तो बहुत ही यथिन हैं हैं। 2 जी स्पेक्ट्रम और कोल खदान के खार्बसेंसो का आवंटन निरस्त होना। इसी तरह में कुछ अन्य पैमानों पर भी भारत काफी पीछे है। बिजनेस चालू करने की सरलता में भारत का स्थान 158वें है। कर चुकाने के पैमाने पर 156वें है।

प्रश्न यह भी उठता है कि पाकिस्तान, नेपाल और श्रीलंका जैसे देश भी इस सूचकांक पर भारत में आगे कैसे हैं? इसका बखूब कारण यह हो सकता है कि कई बड़े बिस्नेस और लोकतांत्रिक सरकार लोगों पर नजर रखते, कानून बनाने और उसका जमान कराने के प्रति ज्यादा सचेत होती हैं बजाय उन सरकारों के जहां विस्थाता नहीं है, लोकतंत्र नहीं है। सरकार में अधिकांश के घाले सरकारी माहौल में अपने आप हो दिवाइयं जाता है, यद्यपि यह सरकार का इरादा नहीं होता। अर्थव्यवस्था की सरकारों को इस बात की सुध लेने की फुरसत ही नहीं होती कि कौन क्या कर रहा है। नतीजतन लोगों को, कर्षणियों को ज्यादा आजादी मिल जाती है।

THE FINANCIAL EXPRESS

The unheeded lesson from BR Shenoy

Sumit Resume Now

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In the aftermath of finance minister Arun Jaitley's maiden Budget, our policymakers would do well to read and reflect upon the writings and policy recommendations of BR Shenoy (1905-1978). Most readers of this newspaper—or other papers, for that matter—are not likely to have heard of his name. Indeed, the same would apply to economics students and even to many economists in India.

To elucidate his contributions, and extract what lesson can be drawn for the Indian economy at present, a biographical sketch would be helpful. To begin with, like other great Indians of his generation, he took part in the freedom struggle and was jailed for a while in Nagpur. He stood first in his Masters in economics at Banaras Hindu University in 1929, a landmark year being the onset of the Great Depression. Shenoy then went straight to the London School of Economics and studied there under Friedrich Hayek, the renowned Austrian economist.

मानवाधिकार के पक्ष में

प्रकाश नरंग, ज्यूलिन, सुप्रीम कोर्ट

मानवाधिकारों के समर्थन में सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने यह बहुत ही लैंग्विजक निर्णय दिया है। 107 पृष्ठों में दिए गए इस निर्णय में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने कहा है कि आर्टीकल 14 के धारा 6(6) अस्तिर्धानिक है। न्यायालय ने कहा कि इस धारा में ऐसे सदस्यों या अभिव्यक्ति को आपराधिक बताया गया है जिनका कोई दायरा ही निश्चित नहीं किया जा सकता है। जिनको केहें सोमा ही नहीं है। किसी को नाराज करने वाले सदस्य, जिनका अभिमान करना या अनुचितता पैदा करना आदि ऐसे सदस्यों को इस धारा में आपराधिक और दंडनीय बताया गया है। यह पाबंदियां तो भारत का 19लकन है। भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में अनु. 19 के अर्ध 2 में जिन आठ मामलों जैसे मानवादि, अस्तित्वात, नैतिकता या अश्लीलता, दश देह, अपमानना, शांति भंग को रखांकित किया गया है, जिनके आधार पर राज्य अभिव्यक्ति के अधिकार पर प्रतिबंध के लिए कानून बना सकता है, धारा 66 (ए) में उद्धार पर विषय इनमें से किसी के अंतर्गत नहीं आते हैं। जबकि

राजनीतिक साहस नहीं रहा सरकार में

आलोचकों को जल्दी उठाने की अपेक्षा नहीं की। आलोचकों को काटने में 30 हजार कोटि के अर्धकालिक नए से राजनीतिक सुधार के निर्माण पर ही सरकार का ध्यान था।

राजनीतिक साहस नहीं रहा सरकार में। आलोचकों को जल्दी उठाने की अपेक्षा नहीं की। आलोचकों को काटने में 30 हजार कोटि के अर्धकालिक नए से राजनीतिक सुधार के निर्माण पर ही सरकार का ध्यान था।

मानवाधिकार के पक्ष में

प्रकाश नरंग, ज्यूलिन, सुप्रीम कोर्ट

मानवाधिकारों के समर्थन में सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने यह बहुत ही लैंग्विजक निर्णय दिया है। 107 पृष्ठों में दिए गए इस निर्णय में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने कहा है कि आर्टीकल 14 के धारा 6(6) अस्तिर्धानिक है। न्यायालय ने कहा कि इस धारा में ऐसे सदस्यों या अभिव्यक्ति को आपराधिक बताया गया है जिनका कोई दायरा ही निश्चित नहीं किया जा सकता है। जिनको केहें सोमा ही नहीं है। किसी को नाराज करने वाले सदस्य, जिनका अभिमान करना या अनुचितता पैदा करना आदि ऐसे सदस्यों को इस धारा में आपराधिक और दंडनीय बताया गया है। यह पाबंदियां तो भारत का 19लकन है। भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में अनु. 19 के अर्ध 2 में जिन आठ मामलों जैसे मानवादि, अस्तित्वात, नैतिकता या अश्लीलता, दश देह, अपमानना, शांति भंग को रखांकित किया गया है, जिनके आधार पर राज्य अभिव्यक्ति के अधिकार पर प्रतिबंध के लिए कानून बना सकता है, धारा 66 (ए) में उद्धार पर विषय इनमें से किसी के अंतर्गत नहीं आते हैं। जबकि

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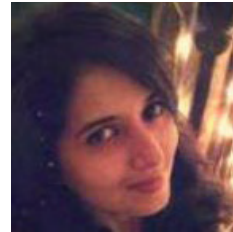
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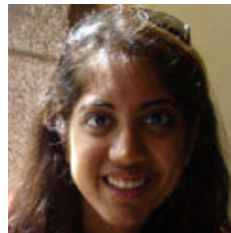
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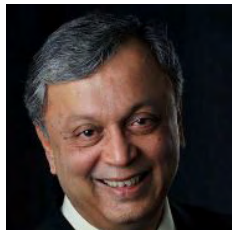


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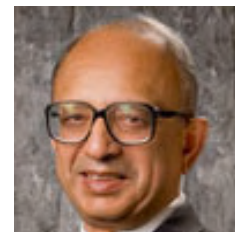
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