

## **PREFACE**

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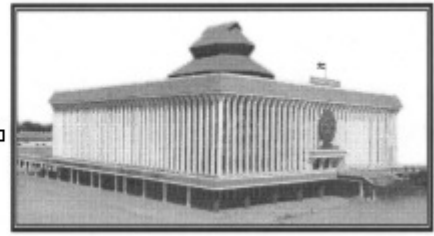
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# മാലിന്യ സംസ്കരണവും ഊർജ്ജാത്പാദനവും

ഇന്ദു ഐസക്

മലിന വസ്തുക്കളുടെ ആവിർഭാവം വളരെ കൂടിയ സംസ്ഥാനമാണ് കേരളം. ഏകദേശം 2.5 കിലോ മാലിന്യം പ്രതിദിനം വീടുകളിൽ ഉത്പാദിക്കുന്നതായാണ് കണക്ക്. പൊതു സ്ഥലത്തിന്റെ ലഭ്യതക്കുറവും ജനസാന്ദ്രതയും കണക്കിലെടുത്തുകൊണ്ട് സംസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ കാലാവസ്ഥയ്ക്കും പരിസ്ഥിതിയ്ക്കും ഇണങ്ങുന്ന തരത്തിലുള്ള മാലിന്യ സംസ്കരണം ഇനിയും ഉാകേയിരിക്കുന്നു.. അതോടൊപ്പം മാലിന്യ സംസ്കരണത്തിലൂടെ ഊർജ്ജം ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്ന പരിസ്ഥിതിക്ക് യോജിച്ച സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യകൾ നാം കൂടുതലായി പ്രാവർത്തികമാക്കേ താണ്.

## മാലിന്യ സംസ്കരണവും സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യകളും

മാലിന്യ സംസ്കരണ പ്രക്രിയയിലൂടെ വിദ്യുച്ഛക്തി, താപോർജ്ജം എന്നിവ ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യകൾ ഇന്ന് ലഭ്യമാണ്.



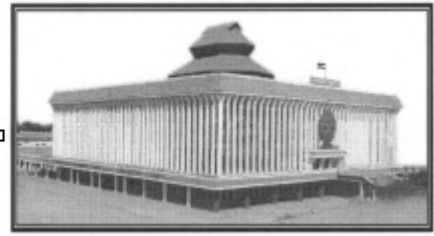
• **ബയോമീമനേഷൻ**

വായുവിന്റെ അഭാവത്തിൽ ജൈവ വസ്തുക്കൾ ജീർണ്ണിപ്പിക്കുന്ന രീതിയാണ് ബയോമീമനേഷൻ. ഇതു പ്രകാരം പ്രത്യേക താപനിലയിൽ മാലിന്യം സംസ്കരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ മീഥേനും കാർബണും അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. കേരളത്തിൽ ഉൽപാദിപ്പിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഗൃഹമാലിന്യങ്ങളിൽ ജൈവ പദാർത്ഥങ്ങളുടെയും ഈർപ്പത്തിന്റെയും അളവ് കൂടുതലായതിനാൽ ബയോമീമനേഷൻ വളരെ അനുയോജ്യമായ മാലിന്യസംസ്കരണ മാതൃകയാണ്. പാരിസ്ഥിതിക പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾ ഒഴിവാക്കാൻ ഈ സാങ്കേതികവിദ്യ അനുകരിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നതാണ്.

അസിഡിക് അല്ലാത്ത എല്ലാ ജൈവമാലിന്യങ്ങളും (മുൻസിപ്പൽ ഖരമാലിന്യം, സ്വീവേജ് മാലിന്യം) കൊള്ള ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ പ്രധാനമായും മീഥേനും കാർബൺഡൈ ഓക്സൈഡും അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. അനെയ്റോബിക് ഡയജസ്റ്റർ, വാതക സംഭരണി, ഇൻലറ്റ്, ഔട്ട്ലെറ്റ്, ഗ്യാസ് പൈപ്പ്, വാൽവ് എന്നിവയാണ് ഒരു ബയോഗ്യാസ് പ്ലാന്റിന്റെ മുഖ്യഘടകങ്ങൾ. ബയോഗ്യാസ് യൂണിറ്റുകൾ വിവിധ തരത്തിലും അളവിലും ലഭ്യമാണ്.

• **ഹൈഡ്രോളിസിസ്**

ജൈവ അവശിഷ്ടങ്ങൾ ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ നിക്ഷേപിക്കുമ്പോൾ മാലിന്യവും ജലവും തുല്യ അളവിലായിരിക്കണം. മാലിന്യത്തിൽ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നതും ജലത്തിൽ ലയിക്കുന്നതുമായ വലിയ സെല്ലുലോസ്, ഹെമിസെല്ലുലോസ്, ലിഗ്നിൻ തുടങ്ങിയവ എൻസൈമുകളുടെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി വിഘടിച്ച് ചെറു മൂലകങ്ങൾ ആയി മാറുന്നതാണ്. ആദ്യഘട്ടം. തുടക്കത്തിൽ മാലിന്യങ്ങളിലുള്ള ബാക്ടീരിയകൾ ഓക്സിജൻ വലിച്ചടുത്ത ശേഷം കാർബൺഡൈഓക്സൈഡ്



ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്നു. ബാക്ടീരിയകളുടെ പ്രവർത്തനഫലമായി മാലിന്യത്തെ വെള്ളത്തിലേക്ക് ലയിപ്പിക്കുന്നു. അടുത്ത ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ബാക്ടീരിയകളുടെ പ്രവർത്തനഫലമായി വെള്ളത്തിൽ അലിയുന്നതരം അല്ല സാധാരണമുള്ള വസ്തുക്കളായി ഇവ മാറുന്നു. ഇങ്ങനെ ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ആസിഡുകളാണ് അസറ്റിക് ആസിഡ്, ബ്യൂട്ടറിക് ആസിഡ്, പ്രൊപ്പനോയിക് ആസിഡ് എന്നിവയും വാതകങ്ങളായ കാർബൺഡൈഓക്സൈഡും ഹൈഡ്രജനും.

• **മെത്തനോജനിസിസ്**

മീഥേൻ വാതക ഉത്പാദനമാണ് മെത്തനോജനിസിസ്. ബാക്ടീരിയയുടെ പ്രവർത്തനത്തിൽ മീഥേനും കാർബൺഡൈ ഓക്സൈഡ് വാതകവും ഉണ്ടാകുന്നു. ഈ പ്രവർത്തനത്തിലൂടെ താഴെ പറയുന്ന വസ്തുക്കൾ ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കപ്പെടുന്നു.

1. **ബയോഗ്യാസ്:** ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ മീഥേൻ (55-65%) കാർബൺഡൈ ഓക്സൈഡ് (35-45%) ചെറിയ അളവിൽ ഹൈഡ്രജൻ, ഹൈഡ്രജൻ സൾഫൈഡ്, അമോണിയ മുതലായ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു.
2. **സ്റ്ററി :** ഗ്യാസ് ഉത്പാദനത്തിന് ശേഷം പുറംതള്ളപ്പെടുന്ന പദാർത്ഥമാണ് സ്റ്ററി. നല്ല ഗുണമേന്മയുള്ള വളമായി ഉപയോഗിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.

**ബയോഗ്യാസിന്റെ പ്രവർത്തനത്തെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഘടകങ്ങൾ**

1. ബയോഗ്യാസ് ഡൈജസ്റ്ററിലെ ഊഷ്മാവ് ബാക്ടീരിയകളുടെ പ്രവർത്തനത്തെ ബാധിക്കും. 29°C മുതൽ 40°C വരെയുള്ള ഊഷ്മാവിൽ മാലിന്യങ്ങൾ വളരെ വേഗത്തിൽ അഴുകുകയും കൂടുതൽ വാതകം ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.



2. PH ന്റെ അളവ് 6.0 മുതൽ 8.5 വരെ അനുയോജ്യമാണ്..
3. മാലിന്യത്തിലെ ഇൗർപ്പത്തിന്റെ അളവ് 15% കുറയാൻ പാടില്ല.
4. കീടനാശിനികൾ, വിഷവസ്തുക്കൾ, സോപ്പ്, ഫിനോയിൽ എന്നിവ ബാക്ടീരിയയെ നശിപ്പിക്കും.
5. C/N അനുപാതം (Carbon to Nitrogen ratio) 20 നും 30 നും ഇടയിലായിരിക്കണം. അനുതാപം കൂടുന്നത് നൈട്രജന്റെ ഉത്പാദനം കൂട്ടുകയും അനുപാതം കുറയുന്നത് അമോണിയ ഉത്പാദനം കൂട്ടുകയും ചെയ്യും. ഇതും രണ്ടും പ്രവർത്തനത്തെ ബാധിക്കും.
6. മാലിന്യങ്ങളുടെ വലിപ്പം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നതും അരച്ചതുമായ കഷണങ്ങൾ അഴുകലിന്റെ വേഗത കൂട്ടും.
7. മാലിന്യങ്ങൾ ഡൈജസ്റ്ററിൽ നിക്ഷേപിക്കുമ്പോൾ കലക്കി നിക്ഷേപിക്കുന്നത് അഴുകൽ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കുകയും മാലിന്യങ്ങൾ കട്ടകെട്ടുന്നത് തടയുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.

**ഗുണഫലങ്ങൾ**

1. ഊർജ്ജം (ഗ്യാസ്/വൈദ്യുതി) ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കപ്പെടുന്നു.
2. മാലിന്യ നിർമ്മാർജ്ജനത്തിന് വേണ്ട പൊതു സ്ഥലത്തിന്റെ ആവശ്യം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നു.
3. പരിസ്ഥിതിയ്ക്ക് ദോഷം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നു. കുടിവെള്ള സ്രോതസ്സുകളിലേയും മണ്ണിലേയും മലിനീകരണം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നു.
4. ബയോമീഥനേഷൻ പ്രവർത്തനത്തിലൂടെ ലഭിക്കുന്ന സ്റ്ററി ഒരു ജൈവ വസ്തുവും, മണ്ണിനെ പരിപോഷിപ്പിക്കുന്നതുമാണ്.



5. ബയോഗ്യാസ് സി.എൻ.ജി. ഗ്യാസിന് പകരമായി ബോട്ടിലുകളിൽ (കുറ്റികളിൽ) നിറച്ച് ഉപയോഗിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കും. കാർബൺഡൈ ഓക്സൈഡ്, ഹൈഡ്രജൻസൾഫൈഡ്, ഈർപ്പം മുതലായവ ഒഴിവാക്കി ബയോഗ്യാസ് കമ്പ്രസ്സ് ചെയ്ത് ബോട്ടിലിൽ നിറച്ചാൽ അപകടം കുറഞ്ഞ ഗ്യാസായി ഉപയോഗിക്കാവുന്നതും പരിസ്ഥിതിയ്ക്ക് അനുയോജ്യവുമാണ്.

**ദോഷവശങ്ങൾ**

1. കമ്പോസ്റ്റിംഗ് രീതിയെക്കാൾ ചിലവ് കൂടിയത്
2. ജീർണ്ണത കുറവുള്ള വസ്തുക്കൾ, നാരങ്ങ, മുട്ടയുടെ തോട്, തോടുകൾ എന്നിവ ഉയർന്ന അളവിൽ ഉപയോഗിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കില്ല.
3. ശരിയായ മേൽനോട്ടം ആവശ്യമാണ്. ഡൈജസ്റ്ററിന്റെ പ്രവർത്തനത്തിന് ആവശ്യമായ ഊഷ്മാവ് നിലനിർത്തണം.

**ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ നിന്ന് വൈദ്യുതി**

ആഗോള തലത്തിൽ തന്നെ ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ നിന്ന് വൈദ്യുതി ഉത്പാദിപ്പിച്ചുവരുന്നു. ഇതിനു വേ ജനറേറ്ററുകൾ ഇന്ന് ലഭ്യമാണ്. ഏകദേശം 1.5 കിലോ വാട്ട് വൈദ്യുതി ഒരു എം ക്യൂബ് ബയോഗ്യാസിൽ നിന്ന് ലഭിക്കും.

1. പരിസ്ഥിതിയ്ക്ക് അനുയോജ്യമായ വൈദ്യുതി ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.
2. നടത്തിപ്പിന് ചിലവ് കുറവാണ്.
3. ഭൂമിക്കടിയിൽ നിർമ്മിക്കുന്നത് കാരണം ഉപരിതല സ്ഥലം ഉപയോഗം കുറവാണ്.
4. ദീർഘകാല ക്ഷമത
5. ഹരിത ഗൃഹവാതക പ്രഭാവം കുറയ്ക്കും
6. ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലത്ത് തന്നെ ഊർജ്ജം ഉപയോഗിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നു.



**പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾ**

1. വിദഗ്ദ്ധമായ ഡിസൈൻ, പരിചയസമ്പന്നരുടെ ലഭ്യത, ശരിയായ നടത്തിപ്പ്, വിദഗ്ദ്ധ പരിപാലനം എന്നിവ ആവശ്യമാണ്.
2. 15°Cയിൽ കുറഞ്ഞ ബയോഗ്യാസ് ഉത്പാദനം സാമ്പത്തികമായി ലാഭകരമല്ല.

**ആർ.ഡി.എഫ്.(Refuse- Derived Fuel)**

പാഴ് വസ്തുക്കളായ കടലാസ്, തുണി, ചാക്ക്, റബ്ബർ, പുനരുപയോഗിക്കാൻ പറ്റാത്ത പ്ലാസ്റ്റിക്, ചിരട്ട, മരം മുതലായവ പൊടിച്ച് ഈർപ്പം കളഞ്ഞ് ഇന്ധനമായി ഉപയോഗിക്കാവുന്ന തരത്തിൽ ഖരവസ്തുക്കളായി മാറ്റുന്ന രീതിയാണ് ആർ.ഡി.എഫ്. ഈ രീതിയിൽ പെല്ലറ്റുകളായി ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്നവ വിപണനത്തിന് അയയ്ക്കുന്നതിനും കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനും എളുപ്പമാണ്.

**ഗുണങ്ങൾ**

1. ലാന്റ് ഫില്ലിൽ കൂടി ഉത്പാദിപ്പിക്കുന്ന മിഥേൻ വാതകം ഒഴിവാക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നു.
2. ഈ സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യമൂലം പൊതുവായി പാഴ്വസ്തുക്കൾ കത്തിക്കുന്നത് ഒഴിവാക്കി അവ ഊർജ്ജമായി ഉപയോഗിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.
3. ഫോസിൽ ഇന്ധനത്തിന്റെ അമിതോപയോഗം കുറയ്ക്കുന്നു.

**ദോഷങ്ങൾ**

1. ആർ.ഡി.എഫ്.ലൂള്ള പി.വി.സി. കത്തുന്നതുമൂലം അപകടകരമായ വാതകങ്ങൾ ഉറുകാം.
2. ആർ.ഡി.എഫ് കത്തുന്നത് മൂലം ചാരവും ദ്രവരൂപമായ പദാർത്ഥങ്ങളും ഉൽപാദിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.





3. ആർ.ഡി.എഫ് വഴി ലഭിക്കുന്ന ഊർജ്ജത്തിന്റെ അളവ് പുനർ ചക്രത്തിൽകൂടി ലഭിക്കുന്ന ഊർജ്ജത്തേക്കാളും കുറവാണ്.

**ഗാസിഫിക്കേഷനും പൈറോളിസിസും**

ഉയർന്ന ഊഷ്മാവിൽ (500 - 1000) ഖരമാലിന്യങ്ങൾ പ്രവർത്തിപ്പിച്ച് ഊർജ്ജം ഉൽപാദിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യകളാണ് ഇവ.മാലിന്യ സംസ്കരണത്തിനായി അടിയന്തര മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ കൂടുതൽ പരിഗണന നൽകേ ത് അവ ഉപയോഗിച്ചുള്ള ഊർജ്ജ ഉൽപാദനത്തിനാവണം. പാഴ്വസ്തുക്കൾ വെറുതേ കത്തിച്ചു കളയുന്നതിനും ഊർജ്ജദായക ഉപാധികളായി അവയെ മാറ്റണം. ഊർജ്ജ സുരക്ഷ മുന്നിൽകാവണം നമ്മുടെ മാലിന്യനിർമ്മാർജ്ജന പദ്ധതികൾ.

യോജന,  
ആഗസ്റ്റ് 2016





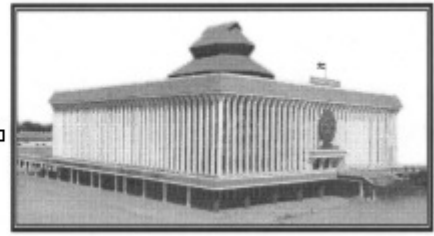
## വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ രംഗം പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾ, പ്രത്യാശകൾ

റഷീദ് കണിച്ചേരി

മനുഷ്യനെ മനുഷ്യനാക്കി മാറ്റുന്ന സാമൂഹ്യപ്രക്രിയയാണ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം. കൂട്ടായ പരിശ്രമത്തിലൂടെയേ ആ ലക്ഷ്യം കൈവരിക്കാനാകൂ. പുതിയ അദ്ധ്യയനവർഷത്തിലെ ആദ്യ മാസങ്ങളിൽതന്നെ പി.ടി.എ. യോഗങ്ങൾ വിളിച്ച് ചേർത്ത് കുട്ടികളെ എങ്ങനെ പഠിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നതിനെക്കുറിച്ച് എല്ലാ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിലും ക്ലാസ് നൽകും. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ കച്ചവടമാക്കി കാണില്ല. പുതിയ അദ്ധ്യയനവർഷാരംഭത്തിൽ തിരുവനന്തപുരം പട്ടം ഗവ. ഗേൾസ് ഹൈസ്കൂളിൽ നടന്ന പ്രവേശനോൽവത്തിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമന്ത്രി പ്രൊഫ. സി. രവീന്ദ്രനാഥിന്റെ വാക്കുകളാണ് മുകളിൽ ഉദ്ധരിച്ചത്. പുതിയ കേരള സർക്കാരിന്റെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസനയം ഇതിൽ അടങ്ങിയിട്ടു്.

ഐക്യകേരള പിറവിക്കുശേഷം രൂപമെടുത്ത ആദ്യത്തെ ഇ.എം.എസ്. മന്ത്രിസഭയിലെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമന്ത്രി, തൃശ്ശൂർ സെന്റ് തോമസ് കോളേജിലെ പ്രൊഫ. ജോസഫ് മുശ്ശേരി ആയിരുന്നു. മലയാളവിമർശന സാഹിത്യത്തിലെ രാജശി ല്പിയായിരുന്നു അദ്ദേഹം. പിണറായി വിജൻ മന്ത്രിസഭയിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമന്ത്രിയായ അതേ കോളേജിൽനിന്നുള്ള പ്രൊഫ. സി. രവീന്ദ്രനാഥാണ് ആ പദവിലെത്തുന്ന കേരളത്തിലെ രാമത്തെ അദ്ധ്യാപകൻ.

പ്രൊഫ. ജോസഫ് മുശ്ശേരി കൊാവന്നു നടപ്പിലാക്കിയ കേരള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ നിയമം അന്നത്തെ സർക്കാരിന്റെ നയമായിരുന്നു. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമേഖ



ലയുടെ വളർച്ചയ്ക്കും, വ്യാപനത്തിനും അടിസ്ഥാനമായ ഭരണകൂട ഇടപെടലായിരുന്നു ആ നിയമം. മറ്റൊരർത്ഥത്തിൽ പൊതുവിദ്യാഭ്യാസമേഖലയിൽ ജനാധിപത്യവൽക്കരണത്തിന് തുടക്കമിട്ടത് കേരള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസനിയമത്തിലൂടെയാണ്. അസമമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ അവസ്ഥ നിലനിൽക്കുന്ന ഇന്ത്യയിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപുരോഗതിയുടെ മഹാമേരുവായി കേരളം മാറിയത് സമഗ്രമായ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസനിയമം നടപ്പിലാക്കിയതുകൊണ്ടായിരുന്നു അതാണ് പിന്നീട് കേരളതനിമകൾക്ക് അടിസ്ഥാനമായി മാറിയത്.

12615 വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ ഇന്ന് സംസ്ഥാനത്തു്. (7145 സ്വകാര്യ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ, 4619 സർക്കാർ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ) 851 അൺഎയിഡഡ് സ്കൂളുകളും ഉ്. ഇതിനും പുറമെ, സംസ്ഥാന പാഠ്യപദ്ധതിയ്ക്ക് പുറത്തുള്ള 1178 സി.ബി.എസ്.ഇ., 148 ഐ.സി.എസ്.ഇ., 33 കേന്ദ്രീയ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ, 14 നവോദയ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ എന്നിവയും ഉ്. സംസ്ഥാനത്തെ ജനസംഖ്യയും കുട്ടികളുടെ എണ്ണവുമായി താരതമ്യം ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ സ്കൂൾ വയസ് പരിധിയിലുള്ളവരെ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളാൻ പാകത്തിലുള്ള, നടന്നെത്താവുന്ന ദുരപരിധിയ്ക്കുള്ളിൽ വിദ്യാലയസൗകര്യങ്ങൾ നിലവിലു്. (ഗിരിവർഗ, തീരദേശ മേഖലകളിൽ ഒറ്റപ്പെട്ട അപവാദങ്ങൾ കടക്കാം.) ചുരുക്കത്തിൽ സെക്കറിതലം വരെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസസൗകര്യങ്ങൾ കേരളത്തിൽ സുലഭമാണ്. എന്നിട്ടും അംഗീകാരമില്ലാത്ത നിരവധി വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ കേരളത്തിൽ നിലനിൽക്കുന്നു. നിർബന്ധിതവും സാർവത്രികവും സൗജന്യവുമായ പൊതുവിദ്യാഭ്യാസമെന്ന ഭരണഘടനാ വാഗ്ദാനം പാലിക്കപ്പെട്ട സംസ്ഥാനത്ത് അതിനുള്ള സൗകര്യങ്ങൾ ഉായിട്ടും പണം മുടക്കി പഠിക്കാൻ സംഭാവനകൾ നൽകി പ്രവേശനം നേടാൻ ഒരുവിഭാഗം രക്ഷിതാക്കൾ തയ്യാറാകുന്നു. പൊതുവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ തകർക്കുന്ന ഈ കച്ചവടം അനുവദിക്കില്ലെന്ന നയമാണ് നമുക്ക് ഉ ാ കേ ത് .



മാനംമൂട്ടെ പുകഴ്ത്താവുന്ന പൊതുവിദ്യാഭ്യാസമഹിമകൾ നമുക്ക് ധാരാളമുണ്ട്. അതൊക്കെ സത്യസന്ധവുമാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഏറ്റവും പുതിയ കണക്കനുസരിച്ച് 5573 പൊതുവിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾ അനാദായകരമാണ്. മൊത്തം വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളുടെ 47% സ്കൂളുകൾ അടച്ചുപൂട്ടൽ ഭീഷണിയുടെ വലയത്തിലാണ്. നിലനിൽപ്പിലാത്ത ഇത്തരം വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾക്ക് ചുറ്റും കഴുകൻകണ്ണുകളോടെ ഭൂമാഹിയ സംഘങ്ങൾ വട്ടമിട്ടുപറക്കുന്നു. നിയമപരിരക്ഷപോലും അവർക്ക് അനുകൂലമാണെന്ന പ്രചാരണവും നടക്കുന്നു. അതിലൊന്നും വലിയ കഴമ്പില്ല. കേരള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ നിയമത്തിലെ ചില ചട്ടങ്ങളുടെ പേരിലാണീപ്രചരണം നടത്തുന്നത്. ആ നിയമം മാറ്റാനും സ്കൂൾ മറ്റ് ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്ക് വിനിയോഗിക്കാതിരിക്കാനും നിയമം ഉറപ്പാക്കാൻ ജനാധിപത്യസർക്കാരുകൾക്ക് കഴിയും. കേരളത്തിലെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ വളർച്ചയുടെ ഘട്ടങ്ങൾ പരിശോധിച്ചാൽ ഏറ്റെടുക്കലുകളും, പിടിച്ചെടുക്കലുകളും, അംഗീകാരം റദ്ദ് ചെയ്യലും എല്ലാം മുമ്പും ഉായിട്ടുണ്ട്.

പൊതുവിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽ പഠിക്കാനുള്ള കുട്ടികളുടെ എണ്ണം കുറയുന്നു എന്നത് യാഥാർത്ഥ്യമാണ്. അതിന്റെ കാരണങ്ങൾ പലതാണ്. അതൊന്നും വിശദമായി പ്രതിപാദിക്കാൻ ഇവിടെ കഴിയില്ല. അധ്യാപകർ, തദ്ദേശഭരണകൂടങ്ങൾ, ജനങ്ങളുടെ മനോഭാവം, കാലാവസ്ഥ, ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപ്രത്യേകതൾ, ജാതി-മത-സാമൂഹിക സ്വാധീനം, ആചാരം, അനുഷ്ഠാനം, സർക്കാർ നയങ്ങൾ, പണാധിപത്യം തുടങ്ങി ഓരോ വിദ്യാലയത്തിന്റെയും നിലനിൽപ്പ് ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്നതിന് പ്രത്യേക കാരണങ്ങളുണ്ട്. അനാദായകരമെന്നോ നിലനിൽപ്പ് ഇല്ലാതാകുന്നതെന്നോ ലാഭകരമല്ലാത്തതെന്നോ എന്തുപേരിട്ടാലും വേില്ല അടച്ചുപൂട്ടലിന്റെ വക്കത്തു നിൽക്കുന്ന ഇത്തരം വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളെ രക്ഷിക്കാൻ നടപടി ഉറപ്പാക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്.



അടച്ചുപൂട്ടൽ ഭീഷണി ഏറ്റവും കൂടുതൽ നേരിടുന്നത് പ്രൈമറി വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളേയാണ്. സമീപഭാവിയിൽ ഇത് ഹയർ സെക്കറി, വോക്കേഷണൽ ഹയർ സെക്കറി വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളെയും ബാധിക്കാൻ പോവുകയാണ്. കേന്ദ്ര ഗവൺമെന്റ് തയ്യാറാക്കിയ പുതിയ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ നിയമം ഉടൻ പ്രാബല്യത്തിൽ വരും നടപ്പിലാകും. കാർക്കശ്യമുള്ള പരീക്ഷാരീതിയും, മൂല്യനിർണ്ണയവും (എട്ടാംതരം മുതൽ കുട്ടികളെ തോൽപ്പിക്കുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം) നടപ്പിലാക്കും. കേരള സർക്കാരിനുവേണ്ടി മുൻ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമന്ത്രി അബ്ദു റബ്ബ് ഈകാര്യം ആവർത്തിച്ചുവശ്യപ്പെടുകയും, നിവേദനം നൽകുകയും ചെയ്തു. അങ്ങിനെ വന്നാൽ ഹയർ സെക്കറി, വോക്കേഷണൽ ഹയർ സെക്കറി സ്കൂളുകളിലേക്ക് വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ ലഭിക്കാത്ത സ്ഥിതി വരും. പൂട്ടൽ ഭീഷണി അവിടേക്കും വ്യാപിക്കും. പരിഹാരമോനേയുള്ളൂ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളെ അന്തർദേശീയ നിലവാരത്തിലേക്ക് എത്തിക്കണം. അതിന് പാകത്തിൽ വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽ ഘടനാപരമായ മാറ്റങ്ങൾ ഉറപ്പാക്കണം. ചില നിയമങ്ങൾ പൊളിച്ചെഴുതണം. വിദ്യാലയങ്ങൾക്ക് പുതിയ നിർവ്വചനങ്ങൾ നൽകണം. പാഠ്യപദ്ധതി പരിഷ്കരണങ്ങളിലെ മാറ്റങ്ങൾ ഉൾക്കൊണ്ട് അവലോകനം നടത്തണം. ഉന്നത വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്റെ ചവിട്ടുപടിയെന്ന നിലയിൽ ഹയർ സെക്കറി വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളെ മെച്ചപ്പെടുത്തണം. കേരളത്തിന്റെ തൊഴിൽ ശക്തിയെ ദേശീയ അന്തർദേശീയ തലങ്ങളിൽ ഉപയോഗിക്കാൻ പ്രാപ്തമാകുന്ന രീതിയിൽ വോക്കേഷണൽ ഹയർ സെക്കറി സ്കൂളുകളെ ആകർഷകമാക്കണം.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ വകുപ്പിനു കീഴിലുള്ള ചില അനുബന്ധസ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾ ഇപ്പോൾ പരിതാപകരമായ അവസ്ഥയിലാണ്. അതിലേറ്റവും പ്രധാനം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ഗവേഷണ പരിശീലന കേന്ദ്രമായ എസ്.സി.ഇ.ആർ.ടി.യാണ്. കേരളത്തിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസരംഗത്ത് വരുത്തേ എല്ലാ മാറ്റങ്ങൾക്കും നേതൃത്വം നൽകേ ഈ സ്ഥാപനം



ഏതാനും ആശ്രമമുഗങ്ങളുടെ മേച്ചിൽപ്പുറങ്ങളാണ്. സ്ഥിരം നിയമനങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെയില്ല. മേധാവികളായി വന്നവർ പലരും അക്കാഡമിക് കഴിവില്ലാത്തവരായിരുന്നു. ഈ സ്ഥിതിക്ക് മാറ്റമുമാകണം. യശസ്സുയർത്തിയ ഐ.ടി. @ സ്കൂൾ പാടെ തകർന്നു. ഓപ്പൺ സ്കൂളും, സീമാറ്റും, സാക്ഷരതാമിഷനും എല്ലാം ദുർഗതിയിലാണ്. ഇത്തരം സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളെയെല്ലാം പുനർനിർവചനം നൽകി ശക്തിപ്പെടുത്തിയാലെ പൊതുവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ആകർഷകമാകൂ.

കേരളത്തെ മുന്നോട്ട് നയിച്ച എല്ലാ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ചുവടുവെയ്പ്പുകളും ഉായിട്ടുള്ളത് പുരോഗമനവീക്ഷണമുള്ള ഭരണകർത്താക്കൾ അധികാരത്തിലിരിക്കുമ്പോഴാണ്. കേരളത്തിലെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസചരിത്രം പരിശോധിച്ചാൽ വ്യക്തമാകും. ആഗോളവൽക്കരണത്തിന്റെ ആസൂരതകൾ ഭീഷണി ഉയർത്തുന്ന വർത്തമാനകാല നയങ്ങൾ ഒരു ഭാഗത്ത്. വർഗ്ഗീയതയുടെയും അസഹിഷ്ണുയുടെയും ഇരുട്ട് പരത്തുന്ന ശക്തികൾ മറ്റൊരു ഭാഗത്ത് ഇതിന് ബദലുകൾ ഉയർന്നുവരേത് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസരംഗത്തുനിന്നാകണം. അതിന് പ്രാപ്തിയുള്ളത് കേരളത്തിലാണ്. സാമൂഹികനീതിയും തുല്യതയും ഗുണമേന്മയും ഉള്ള വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം എന്ന ലക്ഷ്യമാകണം പുതിയ സർക്കാരിന് ഉാവേ ത്.

പാഠ്യപദ്ധതിപരിഷ്ക്കരണം അവലോകനം ചെയ്യണം. പുതിയ സ്കൂൾ സമ്പ്രദായങ്ങൾ രൂപപ്പെടുത്തണം, ഭാഷാപഠനങ്ങൾക്കും, സ്കൂൾ സമയക്രമത്തിലും സാധ്യയദിനം ഉറപ്പാക്കുന്നതിനും, അധ്യാപകരെ പരിശീലിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും പുതിയ സമീപനം വേണം. കലാ-കായികപഠനം നടപ്പാക്കുന്നതിൽ, സ്കൂൾ പാഠപുസ്തകങ്ങളുടെ അച്ചടിയിൽ, വിതരണത്തിൽ, പാഠപുസ്തകങ്ങളുടെ ഡിസൈനിംഗിൽ, അധ്യാപക പരിശീലനകേന്ദ്രങ്ങൾ മികവുറ്റതാക്കുന്നതിൽ, പുതിയ കാഴ്ചപാടുകൾ വേണം. മൊബൈൽ ഫോണും, ടാബ്ലറ്റുകളും വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് നൽകണം. മേളകളുടെ നടത്തിപ്പ് പൊളിച്ചെഴുതണം. സ്കൂൾ അനുവദിക്കുന്നതിന്

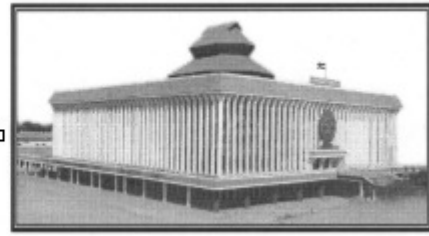


ശാസ്ത്രീയ സമീപനം വേണം. പ്രതിജ്ഞ ചൊല്ലൽ, പ്രാർത്ഥന ഗാനത്തിന്റെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് തുടങ്ങിയവ ചെറിയ കാര്യങ്ങളാണെങ്കിലും മതേതര സമീപനം വേണം. സ്കൂൾ ശൗചാലയങ്ങൾ, മെയിന്റനൻസ് ഗ്രാന്റ്, താൽക്കാലിക അദ്ധ്യാപക നിയമനം, സ്കൂൾ അറ്റകുറ്റപ്പണികൾ തുടങ്ങിയ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ പുതിയ രീതികൾ വേണം. സ്കൂൾ ബാഗ്, ബോൾപെൻ, ചോക്ക്, ബോർഡ് ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതിൽ, എന്തിനധികം വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളുടെ പേര് ഏകീകരിക്കുന്നതിലടക്കം പുതിയ കേരള മാതൃകകൾ സൃഷ്ടിക്കണം. അതിനുവേിയുള്ള കാത്തിരിപ്പിലാണ് കേരള ജനത.

ജനപഥം,  
ജൂലൈ 2016







## **Security measures in Internet Banking A study on User Adoption in Kerala**

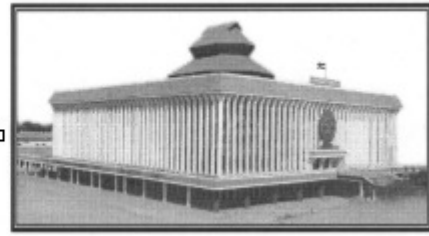
By Jubair T.

Online banking is a retail banking system allowing people to perform banking activities through a secure website operated by the bank. As an internet based system, the Online banking is subject to many inherent security threats. In addition to the security measures adopted by them, all the banks have suggested some precautionary measures to be taken by all customers while logging in and using online banking.

Privacy and security is one of the major issue in almost all internet based systems. Since it is proved that the internet has security holes, all the services delivered through internet are also subject to many security threats. The Internet banking, a self service retail banking system operated through a specially designed website of the bank is also subject to these security threats. A review of literature revealed that the publishing and other online banking threats is constantly growing. The question on the security of internet banking challenged in the light of the cyber attack on Bangladesh Central bank in 2016. The hackers stole over \$80 million from the account of Bangladesh Central Bank maintained in US Federal Reserve.

The online banking channels of all the banks have been protected by advanced security features such as data encryption, firewall, password and OTP authentication etc. to prevent unauthorised access in online banking transactions.





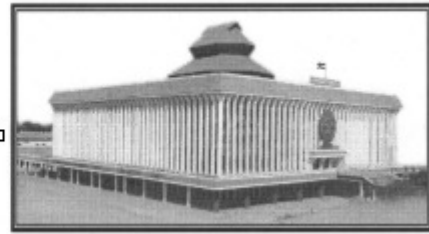
Since the security of online banking cannot be ensured through these processes alone, they advise the customers to take many precautionary measures while logging in and using online banking. The question derived from the situation is whether the users of Internet banking is properly educated about the precautions and whether they have been following these security measures suggested by the banks. This study is an attempt to bring together all such measures suggested by the banks' and other experts in the field and to analyse the extent to which these measures have been adopted by the internet banking users in Kerala.

### **Statement of the Problem**

All the banks in India and abroad providing internet banking facility have agreed that the internet banking is subject to many security threats and the adoption of security practices by both the banks and customers are required to avoid unauthorised access into the system. Websites of banks and other portals of finance and technology suggest some measures to be adopted by the customers to minimise the possibility of happening security threats. But the question derived from the situation is whether these threats and the precautionary measures have been properly communicated to the customers and whether they have been adopting these measures while doing internet banking transactions. Through analysing these factors, the security measures can be communicated to the public and the issues can be brought to the attention of bank authorities.

### **Objectives**

1. To identify the important internet banking threats and to consolidate the precautionary measures suggested by various banks to minimise the possibility of risk.



**Table-1 –Presence of Security measures**

| <b>Security measures</b>                              | Yes | No | Total |
|---|-----|----|-------|
| Strong and Unique password                            | 76  | 24 | 100   |
| Separate Account for online transactions              | 20  | 80 | 100   |
| Genuine Operating System                              | 42  | 58 | 100   |
| Using paid antivirus or firewall or internet security | 32  | 68 | 100   |

**Table-2 –Frequency of Security measures**

| <b>Security Measure</b>                        | Never | Rarely | occasionally | Frequently | Regularly | Total |
|--|-------|--------|--------------|------------|-----------|-------|
| Password Change                                | 8     | 42     | 25           | 17         | 8         | 100   |
| Enter URL in address bar                       | 28    | 51     | 4            | 4          | 13        | 100   |
| Looking Padlock symbol & colour of address bar | 27    | 46     | 8            | 8          | 11        | 100   |
| URL begins with https                          | 32    | 36     | 16           | 12         | 4         | 100   |
| Online banking in personal computers only      | 4     | 8      | 13           | 25         | 50        | 100   |
| Log out after use                              | 0     | 0      | 0            | 8          | 92        | 100   |

Source: Primary data



2. To analyse the extent of the adoption of security measures by the users of Internet banking in Kerala

### **Methodology**

The study is descriptive in nature which uses primary data. Primary data is collected from the users of internet banking in three districts of Kerala by using value judgement sampling. A structured interview schedule is used to collect primary data from customers.

### **Adoption of Security Measures In Kerala- An analysis .**

A sample survey was conducted . among 100 bank customers who are using electronic banking instruments in Kerala and 71 of them are the users of internet banking. The data relating to the presence of some security measures, the frequency of using some other security measures and the reason behind the adoption and non-adoption of security practices were collected by using a well structured interview schedule.

From Tabe-1 it can be inferred that the basic security measures adopted by majority of the customers of online banking is Unique password only. But it is adopted mainly because of the restrictions imposed by the banks for fixing the combination of letters in passwords. Only 20% of the customers are using separate account for online banking and the reason is the practical difficulty to switch over between accounts. In a community were pirated software is widely using, it is hopeful from this study that the



42% of the online banking customers are using genuine operating system. Even though the majority of the customers are not using paid anti-virus, the percentage of online banking users depending genuine OS and internet security is considerably sufficient.

From Table-2, we can infer that the security measures adopted by the customers frequently or regularly are the log out after use and the use of online banking in personal computers only. It is interesting to see that around 30% of the internet banking users have never looked into the security elements of URL and address bar. The customers revealed the reason behind this situation is that it is not properly communicated to them. It indicates the education provided by the bank through website are not enough to reach the customers.

### **Results & Discussions**

Phishing is the most important internet banking threat which has been increasing due to the carelessness of people. All banks offering internet banking service are using a part of their website to educate the customer about the internet banking threats and the precautions to avoid these threats. However, the study reveals that the education provided by the bank through website is not enough to reach the customers and to make them security conscious.

Log out after use, Strong & unique password and the use of personal computers are the only security measures highly adopted by the users in Kerala. Among these security measures, strong and unique password is adopted only due to the restrictions imposed by banks while setting



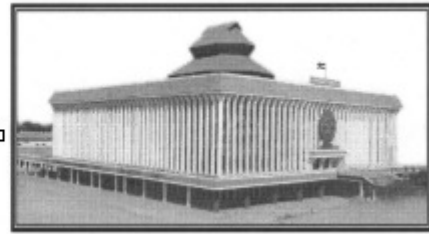
passwords. The habit of logging out from the system and the practice of avoiding public computers are acquired by the people from their personal experiences with other services such as e-mail and other user accounts. If the access to online banking is conditioned with some security procedures and steps, the banks may be able to make customers more security conscious.

### **Conclusion**

Online banking is an internet based self service banking mechanism offered by banks through a well designed and secured website. Internet banking involves many security threats and it is necessary that the security measures are taken by both banks and the users. The study reveals that adoption of security measures among the internet banking users in Kerala is very low. It is mainly due to the lack of proper awareness about the security holes in internet banking and the improper communication of the security measures to the users.

*Southern Economist,*  
July 15,2016



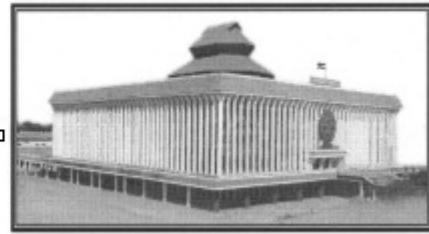


## Growth of inequality

Inequalities in the distributions of consumption expenditure and household wealth have shown a systematic secular increase. This is true of other human development indicators such as mortality, morbidity, age and literacy.

BY S. SUBRAMANIAN

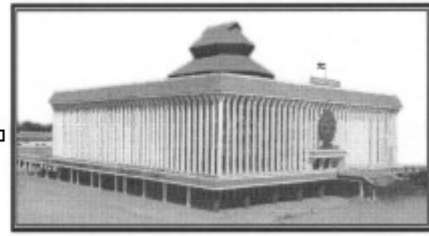
WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO GROWTH IN PER capita income, to poverty, and to inequality in India in the last 30 or so years of economic liberalisation? There are economists who come close to suggesting that India's growth performance has been spectacular, that reductions in poverty have been profoundly impressive, that the latter state of affairs is directly attributable to the former one, and that all of this has happened without any serious secular increase in economic inequality. At the other extreme, we have those who claim that the nature of growth has been dangerously non-inclusive and that poverty, over the long haul, has remained either unchanging in magnitude or has actually increased. There is cause to believe that a reasoned assessment of the facts of the case would suggest a more moderate inference than the picture yielded by such



“reactionary” constructions at one polar extreme and “radical” constructions at the other extreme. In particular, it seems fair to assert that growth has indeed been impressive; that poverty has declined, but altogether less dramatically than “pro-liberalisation” analysts would claim, and that it exists in intensity and spread on a scale which continues to be a matter of grave concern; and that it is simply nonsense to claim that growth has not been accompanied by an increase in economic inequality.

#### **THE 1991 CRISIS AND THE AFTERMATH**

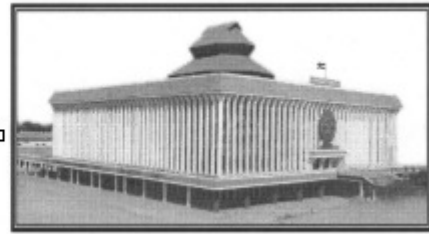
It is customary to date the era of “economic liberalisation” to the sequence of “reform” measures that were initiated by the Congress-led government following the 1991 economic crisis, although the move towards liberalisation had already begun in the 1980s. However, the crisis of 1991 is a helpful starting point. That crisis and the subsequent recovery of the economy are now part of the mythology (in that word’s senses both of legendary status and hyperbolic embellishment) of India’s economic development. From ‘around the mid 1980s, India had been gradually building up to a balance of payments crisis, to the accompaniment of a growing fiscal deficit, depreciation in the real value of the rupee, and erosion of the country’s foreign exchange reserves, until a point was reached in mid 1991 when these reserves amounted to no more than the value of three weeks’ worth of essential imports. Foreign investor confidence in India was also on a downward spiral. Emergency measures were called for to deal with this



crisis situation. To this end, India was forced to raise a loan from the international Monetary Fund(IMF) by pledging its gold reserves with the IMF. The main ingredients of the subsequent liberalization programme assured in by the Government are by now well known: trade liberalization, grater openness to foreign investment, financial deregulation, privatisation, publicsector disinvestment, marketisation and relaxation of the” licence permit raj” culture which had dominated the relationship of bureaucracy with private enterprise. It would be churlish to deny some of the positive outcomes of these strategies of “reform” - in particular, the growth in per capita income- although it is another matter whether these outcomes are to be certified as unqualified successes, or have been purchased at a non-negligible cost.

The singular (and impressive) feature of India’s growth performance has often been the only focus of attention of the country’s middle and upper classes and castes, who are happy to herald the arrival of their country at the doorstep of superpower status; and, now that we have won the 2011 Cricket World Cup and the 2016 T-20 Championship, apparently all that is left to achieve perfect bliss is to be allowed a place at the high table of the United Nations Security Council. We do not, when we assume such positions, pause to ask if our poverty statistics are based on reliable conceptual premises (which they are not); whether a more multi-dimensional approach to poverty would reveal a different picture (which it does); whether the sectoral composition of our national income could be excessively weighted in favour

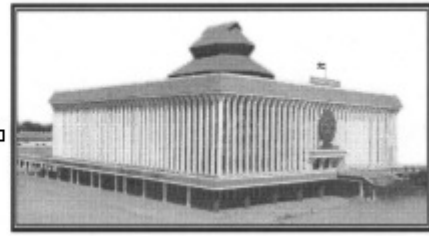




of services (which it is) and distressingly biased against agriculture (which also it is); whether the mix of foreign investment (direct and portfolio) is appropriate (which it arguably is not); whether it is either equitable or efficient to privatise services such as banking, insurance and financial intermediation; and whether reducing public spending (especially on capital formation and the social sector), as opposed to mobilising additional tax resources, is the right (and progressive) way of holding the fiscal deficit down. Should the growth story (which is itself now beginning to unravel, despite heroic efforts to salvage it with the assistance of fudged statistics) edge out our concerns about the profoundly more serious moral problems of poverty and inequality? Where do we stand in relation to these problems?

#### **POVERTY**

Successive expert committees set up by the Indian Planning Commission have gone into the question of how to define the “poverty line” appropriately. It is remarkable that all of them have succeeded in getting the outcome wrong. Bereft of nuances of detail, the official procedure of setting the poverty line has been to identify it with that level of consumption expenditure at which a specified calorific norm of nutritional intake is observed to be actually achieved in some reference year which is certified as the “base” year. (This is done on the basis of data on the distribution of consumption expenditure across consumption and calorie size-classes.) The poverty line in subsequent years is obtained by simply “updating” this base-year poverty line by means of a



suitable price index. This procedure takes no account of the fact that the choice of base year is an essentially arbitrary one. The choice of an “early” year as base year yields a pleasing trend of relatively small and declining headcount ratios of poverty. As we shift the base year forward in time, the declining trend (though at less steep inclines) is preserved, but at the cost of embarrassingly higher magnitudes of poverty. If we change the reference year at given intervals of time, then we tend to obtain an up-and-down regime of alternately falling and rising poverty rates. If we treat every year as a reference year, then we actually obtain a trend of increasing poverty rates, as has been established by the economist Utsa Patnaik.

With such shaky conceptual foundations, we are hardly in a position-given these methodologies of poverty assessment-to verify even the direction, leave alone the magnitude, of change in poverty over time. Indeed, as we move forward in time, we find that the observed calorific intake at the official poverty line keeps declining a phenomenon now called the “calorie drift”, It is plausible that the drift occurs because as we move forward in time, people’s needs, and how these are prioritised, change in such a way that desired expenditures on education, health, clothing, footwear, transport and energy can only be met by tightening the belt. What is worst of all is that official poverty lines are set with apparently little regard for their adequacy in meeting the basic necessities of life.



The protocols governing the official measurement of poverty are, regrettably, frequently endorsed by independent professionals; and the deeply suspect logical and normative bases of these protocols are a poor foundation on which to build complacent theories of rapidly declining money-metric poverty. It is even worse that such dramatic declines in poverty have been attributed to neoliberal economic policies. Exercises aimed at decomposing the decline in poverty into a “growth effect” and a “redistribution effect” find that it is growth that plays an overwhelming role in accounting for the decline. This has led to the misleading commendation, and prescription, of growth as the great alleviator of poverty, when all that the result probably demonstrates is the poor record of redistributive effort undertaken by the state.

That poverty continues, or should continue, to be a major source of concern to us is brought home even more tellingly when we look at non-income dimensions of poverty, such as in respect of access to schools, public health centres, drinking water, toilets, electricity, elementary transport, roads and energy for cooking. Instances of simultaneous multiple deprivation in several dimensions bespeak a condition of an order of severity of poverty which compares badly with both the nation’s untapped potential for escaping poverty and the record of other comparably poor countries such as China, Sri Lanka and Cuba.



## INEQUALITY

Questionable measurement protocols have again played a major role in propagating the view that while economic inequality has perhaps increased to some extent in urban India, there is relatively little evidence of such an increase in rural India. A significant source of such findings is that the sorts of inequality measures most commonly in use are “relative” inequality measures—measures which display no variation if every person in a community were to have her income increased by the same proportion. Thus, the two-person income distribution (10, 20) would show the same amount of relative inequality as the distribution (20, 40), obtained by doubling each person’s income. This way of measuring inequality neglects to note that though the poorer person’s relative share in total income is the same, at one-third in both distributions, the gap in the incomes of the two persons has risen from 10 in the distribution (10,20) to 20 in the distribution (20, 40). An absolute inequality measure would assert that inequality remains unchanged when every person in a community has her income increased by the same absolute amount. It is easy to see that, in the presence of income growth, relative inequality measures would tend to transmit a “rightist” message, and absolute measures a “leftist” message. Away from these extremes is a “centrist” measure which has the property that inequality increases with an equi-proportionate rise in all incomes, and declines with an equal absolute rise in all incomes. An example of such an inequality measure

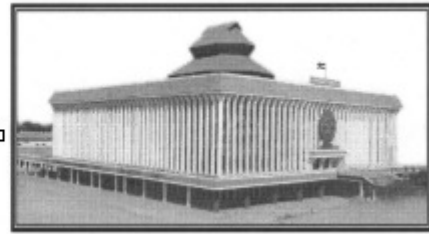


is the so-called Krtscha measure. The Krtscha measure suggests a pronouncedly rising trend of inequality in the distribution of consumption expenditure in India, and an even more dramatic explosion of inequality in the distribution of household wealth.

Thus far, we have spoken only of interpersonal (or “vertical”) inequality, not of inter-group (or “horizontal”) inequality. We have also spoken only of money-metric disparities, not disparities in other dimensions. As it happens, work done by my former colleague D. Jayaraj and myself suggests that there is a well-defined way in which group inequalities in the distributions of both consumption expenditure and household wealth, reckoned in terms of caste, gender and occupational partitions of the population, have shown a systematic secular increase. This, as it happens, is true not only of income and wealth but of other measures of human development such as mortality, morbidity, age, and literacy indicators. Just about the most unhappy conjuncture of circumstances, when it comes to the rights-status of an individual, from the perspectives of both positive and negative freedom, is to be a poor, rural, illiterate, Scheduled Caste woman.

#### **WHERE ARE WE HEADED?**

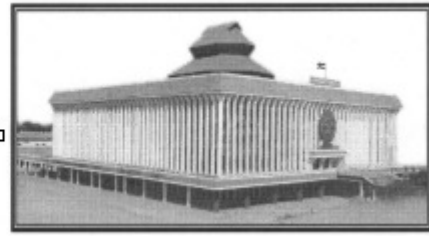
When one contemplates the situation of that woman, even as one hears accounts of India’s great leap forward in the era of liberalisation, it is hard for



one to resist being overtaken by a sense of both alienation and shame. The environment of rising levels of vertical and horizontal inequality in which we find ourselves is also just the sort of environment in which it is possible to successfully feed the forces of divisiveness between rich and poor, “upper” and “lower” castes, majority and minority religious communities, males and females, and “patriots” and “anti- nationals”. In such an environment, it is becoming increasingly hard to speak of the virtues of affirmative action, communal inclusiveness, gender equality, land reform, and democratic decentralised governance.

In the exclusively economic domain, it is becoming even harder to advance the cause of a universal “minimum inheritance” to all citizens upon the attainment of adulthood; of substantial Child Benefit to all children and its financing out of income-taxation; of a more progressive income-tax schedule; of a more progressive property-tax schedule; of taxes on gifts and inheritances; of an annual tax on wealth; and of a minimum tax for corporations. The experts who have taken monopolistic control of the discussion forums on our television channels would laugh out of court any such counsels as those that have just been catalogued as emanating from a raving radical lunatic living in a world that is out of joint with the reality of “reform”, liberalisation, and globalisation.

As it happens, though, these prescriptions for a less unequal world than the one we live in have come not from some deranged “lefty” but from a deeply principled and brilliantly analytical “mainstream” economist,



Sir Anthony Atkinson: the reader is referred to his recent book *Inequality: What Can be Done?* Atkinson does not stand alone in his recognition of inequality as a great and growing contemporary evil and of what should be done to counter it. It is instructive also to look at the work of other European and American economists such as Thomas Piketty, Branko Milanovich and Joseph Stiglitz.

These economists, it is worth noting, speak from countries in which poverty is nowhere near as large a problem as it is in ours. According to the distributional ethic of “sufficientarianism”, due to the philosopher Harry Frankfurt, inequality (to put it a bit crudely) is problematic in the sense and to the extent that it coexists with a situation in which some people do not have access to sufficient resources for the avoidance of poverty. Objecting to inequality in the presence of “sufficiency” might, therefore, largely be a matter of just resentment and envy. Is that the kind of economy ours is? You would think so, going only by neoliberal celebrations of India’s growth. There are principled moral and political reasons to be deeply worried about both poverty and inequality in India. But to turn one’s back on these problems, as is becoming an increasingly common feature of the response of our elite classes and castes, is also a profoundly unwise reaction from the perspective of enlightened self-interest.

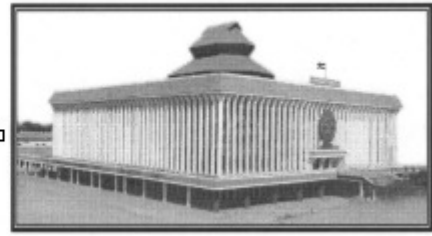


Whether from impulses of “stout denial” or from a certain general culture of insensitivity that seems to flourish in a climate of liberalisation and globalisation, we tend to ignore or minimise the ills of poverty and inequality. But we do so only at our own peril. That sounds portentous, I will admit; but, and perhaps more to the point, I am afraid it is also true.

Frontline,  
August 5, 2016.



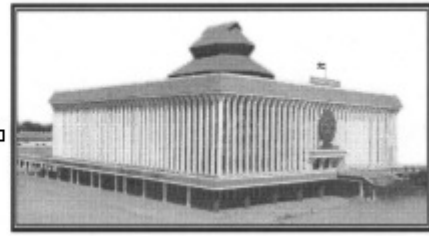




## **GST Statute Bill**

By Vijayalakshmi V.

The Rajya Sabha passed the Bill to amend the Constitution paving way for the roll out of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) on 3rd August by two thirds majority. All political parties except AIADMK pledged support. The Bill will now be returned to Lok Sabha for its approval. The Bill has to be ratified by the Lok Sabha and subsequently get approval from 50% of State Assemblies. The Constitutional amendment will enable both Centre and States to simultaneously levy the GST, which will subsume all indirect taxes currently levied (including excise duties and service tax). The shift to the GST regime will lead to uniform, seamless market across the country; it will be a uniform rate, will check evasion, and boost growth rates as per



statement of Finance Minister Arun Jaitley (reported in news papers)

It is reported that all 200 members present in Rajya Sabha voted for the Bill; Congress insists on keeping the tax rate at 18% to ensure its support. GST will be the country's most comprehensive tax change since Independence and the single biggest reform initiative after the 1991 liberalization - globalization policy. In the long term, the GST will eliminate multiple taxes on firms (help in ease of doing business), reduce logistics cost for firms due to elimination of Inter-State tax, and will reduce black money; need for financial documentation will increase.

According to a report by Nomura, the implementation of GST would have an inflationary effect in the short term. The longer term impact of GST could structurally reduce inflation due to lower tax and logistics costs, productivity gains and higher investments. The expected passage by Parliament of a key constitutional amendment would resolve crucial issues needed to transform India's \$2 trillion economy and 1.3 billion consumers into a single market for the first time. (The Hindu, August 4, 2016).

Eleven years after it was first mooted in Parliament, the Rajya Sabha has finally adopted GST. Parliament stamp is historic as the proposed tax will alter the powers of taxation



that States enjoyed under the constitution and usher in a uniform consumption-based tax structure across the country for almost all goods and services. An article in the editorial page of The Hindu (The Hindu, August 4,2016) by Ajit Ranade, Mumbai based economist clearly highlights the merits and challenges of GST. The benefits he has mentioned include ease of doing business, and, producers being more competitive against imports. He opines that adoption of GST is an iconic example of what Prime Minister called *Cooperative Federalism*. Once the GST is in place, it means unified, national market for goods and services. The challenges he considers include, GST rate (basis for determining a rate?), regressive nature of indirect tax, issue of tax litigation, issue of implementing the GST in the governance within GST Council and the issue of States' autonomy. Rajya Sabha debate on Constitution Amendment Bill on GST sees rare unanimity among parties.

### **Impact of GST as viewed by Economic Times:**

**Technology: Positive Effects:** GST will eliminate multiple level taxes.

**Negative effects:** With GST, IT Companies with several delivery centres and offices might require each centre to generate a separate invoice to every contracting party. Duty on manufactured goods will increase (from 14-15% to 18%)



## **FMCG**

### **Positive Effects:**

- Companies could generate savings in logistics and distribution costs.
- Reduction in tax for companies.
- Warehouse rationalization and reduction of overall tax rates

### **Negative Effects:**

- Prices of aerated beverages and tobacco products may increase by 20%.
- Many food companies may see increase in effective tax.

## **E Commerce**

**Positive Effects:** “ GST will help create a single unified market across the country and allow free movement of supply of goods. It will also eliminate the cascading effect of taxes on customers.

**Negative Effect:** “ The tax collection at source guidelines in the GST regime will increase administration, documentation for e commerce firms and increase costs.

**Telecom: Positive Effects:** Handset prices likely to fall or even out across States. For Handset makers, GST will bring in ease of doing business.



**Table-1 - Benefits of GST**

| <b>Sector</b> | <b>Benefits/Gain</b>  |
|---------------|---|
| Economy       | <p>One market, one tax may add up to 2% to GDP</p> <p>Boost to investments via cheaper capital goods</p> <p>Manufacturing to become competitive; boost to 'Make in India' exports</p> <p>Higher tax revenues owing to lesser tax evasions and wider tax base</p>        |
| Government    | <p>Easier to administer tax</p> <p>Decline in cost of tax collection</p>  |
| Business      | <p>Lower logistics- (costs-30-40% savings as per some estimates.</p> <p>Reduction in compliance cost and disputes</p> <p>Single market to allow optimal investment decisions</p> <p>Protection from cheaper imports</p> <p>Lower incidence of tax as cascading ends</p> |
| Customers     | <p>Taxes on goods to reduce; prices could fall if benefit passed on</p> <p>Transparency in taxes</p> <p>Taxes on services may increase</p>  |



**Negative Effects:** • Call charges, data rates will increase if tax rate exceeds 15%. Tower firms will not be able to setoff their input duty liabilities if petro-products continue to stay outside GST framework.

Automobiles: **Positive Effects:** Possibility of reduction of on road prices of vehicles; lower prices can be constructed as indirect stimulus.

**Negative Effects:** Commercial vehicles may be hit in the medium term.

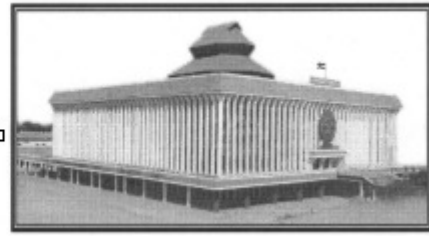
**Media: Positive Effects:** Multiplex chains will save on revenues as there will be more uniform tax ; it may lower the ticket prices and increase the footfalls in multiplexes. GST will be big boon to film producers and studios that currently pay service tax on most of their cost, but cannot charge input credit on creative services.

Insurance policy costs and airfare may be expensive as service tax will be replaced by GST.

This is just the beginning. Several hurdles have to be crossed to roll out this from April 1, 2017.

For GST roll out, the Bill passed on 3rd August, has to be backed by three more legislations-the Central GST Bill, the State GST Bill and the Integrated GST Bill.

# Lok Sabha needs to clear amendments in the Bill approved by Rajya Sabha.



- # At least 50% of State Assemblies have to pass the Constitution Amendment Bill with two-thirds majority.
- # The legislation to be sent for Presidential assent.
- # Formation of GST Council.
- # The Union Finance Ministry has to negotiate with committee of State Finance Ministers and GST Council to arrive at a consensus on GST rate.
- # States have to pass their own GST laws.
- # A huge IT system needs to be set up, tax collectors trained and companies brought up to speed on a levy that experts say. will force them to overhaul business process.
- # This law is not applicable in Jammu & Kashmir. The State has to pass a separate legislation.

As per reports in the newspapers of 5<sup>th</sup> August, West Bengal and Kerala are protesting against the Bill. Chairman of the Empowered Committee of State Finance Ministers on the GST is reported to have written to Union Finance Minister against the change in Article 270, appearing in the Clause 10 of the proposed amendments to the Bill, as it would deprive States of the share of the IGST revenue of unclaimed credits in transactions not forming part of the divisible pool of tax revenues. Finance Minister of Kerala also sought the deletion of this amendment. Many such issues may be raised by concerned Ministers of many States Government expects at least 50% of States to ratify the Bill in 30 days. Due consideration needs to be given to issues like complex billing and invoice requirements, reverse charge on import of services

FOCUS

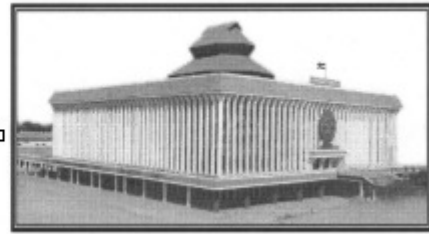


and impact on export competitiveness of IT sector before finalizing this Bill.

Southern Economist,  
August 15, 2016







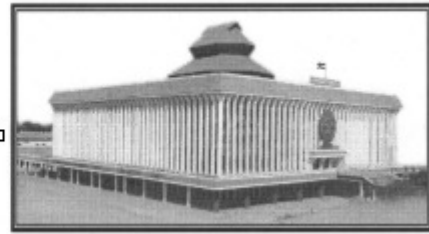
## The economics of political change

JAYATI GHOSH

Faced with increasing inequality, stagnant real incomes and growing material fragility of daily life, ordinary people in the developed world are beginning to see themselves as victims of globalisation.

ACROSS the world, people have been watching recent political changes in developed countries with a mixture of bemusement and shock. From the recent appointment of Donald Trump as the Republican candidate for United States President to the rise and spread of blatantly racist anti-immigration political parties and movements in Europe, it is clear that there are tectonic shifts under way in the political discourse and practice in these countries. As these changes have gone from the unthinkable to the depressingly predictable, there are increasingly desperate attempts to understand what is driving them. This is especially the case because what happens in the developed countries still matters hugely in international relations and to the rest of the world despite all the talk of a shift in global power to some large “emerging nations”.

It is now obvious that increasing inequality, stagnant real incomes of working people and the increasing material fragility of daily life have all played roles in creating a strong sense of dissatisfaction among ordinary people in the rich countries. While even the poor amongst



them still continue to be hugely better off than the vast majority of people in the developing world, their own perceptions are quite different, and they increasingly see themselves as victims of globalisation.

While this is increasingly recognised, the full extent of recent economic trends is probably less well known. A new report from the McKinsey Global Institute (*“Poorer Than Their Parents? Flat or falling incomes in advanced economies”*, July 2016) brings out in detail that the past decade, in particular has been significantly worse for many people in the developed world.

The report is based on a study of -income distribution data from 25 developed countries; a detailed dataset with more information on 350,000 people from France, Italy and the U.S. and the United Kingdom; and a survey of 6,000 people from France, the U.K. and the U.S. that also checked for perceptions about the evolution of their incomes.

The results are probably not surprising in terms of the basic trends identified, but the sheer extent of the change and the deterioration incomes still comes as a surprise. In 25 advanced economies, between 65 and 70 per cent of households (amounting to around 540-580 million people) were in income segments that experienced flat or falling incomes between 2005 and 2014. By contrast, in the previous period, between 1993 and 2005, less than 2 per cent (fewer than 10 million people) faced flat or falling incomes.



The situation was much worse in particular countries. In Italy, a whopping 97 per cent of the population had stagnant or declining real incomes between 2005 and 2014, while the ratios were 81 per cent for the U.S. and 70 per cent in the U.K. This refers to market incomes, and it is true that government tax and transfer policies can change the final disposable income of households, in some cases improving it. Indeed, for the 25 countries taken together, only 20-25 per cent experienced flat or falling disposable incomes. In the U.S., government taxes and transfers turned a decline in market incomes for 81 per cent of households into an increase in disposable income for nearly all of them.

Similarly, government policies to intervene in labour markets also made a difference. In Sweden, the government intervened with measures designed to preserve jobs, so market incomes fell or were flat for only 20 per cent, while tax and transfer policies ensured that disposable income advanced for almost every- one. But in most of the countries examined in the study, government policies were not sufficient to prevent stagnant or declining incomes for a significant proportion of the population, and labour market trends contributed to feelings of insecurity among workers everywhere.



## **YOUNG AND INSECURE**

“While these changes were evident across the board, the worst affected were less educated workers, and particularly the younger ones among them, as well as women, especially single mothers. The report notes that today’s younger generation in the advanced countries is at real risk of ending up poorer than their parents, and in any case already faces much more insecure working conditions.

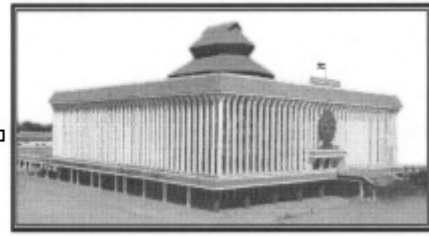
This material reality is actually quite accurately reflected in popular perceptions. A survey conducted in 2015 of British, French and U.S. citizens confirmed this, as approximately 40 per cent of those surveyed felt that their economic positions had deteriorated. Interestingly, it was also such people, and those who did not expect the situation to improve for the next generation, who felt most negatively about both trade and migration. More than half of this group agreed with the statement, “The influx of foreign goods and services is leading to domestic job losses,” compared with 29 per cent of those who were advancing or neutral. They were also twice as likely to agree with the statement, “Legal immigrants are ruining the culture and cohesiveness in our society,” compared with those advancing or neutral. The survey also found that those whose incomes were not improving and who were not hopeful about the future were more likely to support political parties such as



Front National in France and movements such as Brexit in Britain.

One major driver of stagnant worker incomes has been the combination of labour market developments and public policies that have resulted in declining wage shares of national income. The report notes that from 1970 to 2014—with the brief exception of a spike during the 1973-74 oil crisis—the average wage share across the six countries studied in depth (U.S., U.K., France, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden) fell by 5 percentage points. In the most extreme case of the U.K., it declined by 13 percentage points. These declines in wage shares occurred despite increases in labour productivity, as the productivity gains were either grabbed by employers or passed on in the form of lower prices to maintain external competitiveness.

Such declining wage shares are commonly seen to be the result of globalisation and technological changes that have led to changing patterns of demand for low-skill and medium-skill workers. But even here, it is evident that state policies and institutional relations in the labour market matter. In Sweden, where 68 per cent of workers are union members and the government has in place policies that enforce contracts that protect both wage rates and hours worked, the median household received a greater share of output that went to wages, and even got more of the gains from aggregate income growth than households in top and bottom income deciles over the 2005-14 period.



By contrast, countries that have encouraged the growth of part-time and temporary contracts experienced bigger declines in wage shares. Once again, this is especially adverse for the young. According to Europe- an Union official data. more than 40 per cent of workers aged between 15 and 25 years in the 28 countries of the EU. have insecure and low-paying contracts, while the proportion is more than half for the 18 countries in the eurozone, 58 per cent in France and 65 per cent in Spain. This is obviously a concern for the young people who have to experience this, but it is as much a source of unhappiness and anger for their parents who worry for the future of their children. In the meantime, they can all observe the counterpart in terms of rising profit shares in many of these rich countries. Economic processes and government policies increasingly appear to favour plutocratic tendencies. In the U.S., for example, post-tax profits of firms in the period 2010-14 reached more than 10.1 per cent of gross domestic product, a level last reached in 1929 just before the Great Depression. Ironically, in the U.S. this is apparently favouring the political rise of one of the biggest beneficiaries of this process, Donald Trump, who is himself emblematic of such plutocracy.

If economic policies do not change dramatically to favour more good quality employment and better labour market outcomes, through coordinated fiscal expansions, to lift growth in more inclusive ways things are likely to get even worse. The report projects that even if the



previous high-growth trajectory is resumed (an unlikely prospect) at least 30-40 per cent of households would not get income gains over the next decade, especially if technological changes like more automation accelerate. And if the slow growth conditions of 2005-12 persist, the proportion of households experiencing flat or falling incomes could go to as much as 70-80 per cent by 2025.

The unpleasant and even terrifying political fallout of such outcomes is now only too evident. How much more will it take for political leaders to recognise the need for a move away from business as usual to radical change in economic policies?

FRONTLINE  
AUGUST 19, 2016.





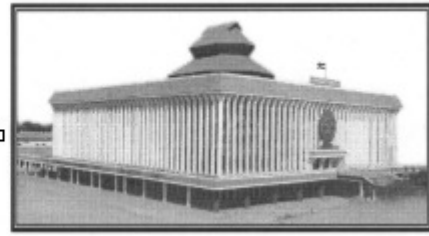
## Need for reform

A formal procedural framework to select judges, guaranteeing openness and transparency, is necessary to counter the trust deficit affecting the collegium system.

BY KALEESWARAM RAJ

NEITHER the Constitution nor any statute provides for an instrument like the Memorandum of Procedure (MoP) for judicial appointments in India. Like the collegium, the MoP is also a judicial invention imposed on the executive by the judgment in the Second Judges' case (1993). Last year, the Supreme Court struck down the statute for the National Judicial Appointments Commission (NJAC) and the 99th Constitutional Amendment by its 1st NJAC judgment of October 16, 2015, which resuscitated the collegium. The most unfortunate part of the judgment was that it had the effect of deluding the people, by its pomposity, about "glasnost" and "perestroika" in the judiciary. Through a tumultuous judicial call, the entire nation was requested to put forward suggestions for reforms. The public in the republic responded. The suggestions ran over 11,500 pages, as acknowledged later by the Supreme Court in its 2nd NJAC judgment of December 16, 2015.





It was this judgment that again asked the Centre to come up with a new MoP. Practically, the entire rhetoric on reforms in the 1st NJAC judgment stood reduced to this MoP. Recently, the Centre, by way of the revised MoP, sought a system which it claimed would be relatively translucent and adorable. The Centre's plea for some limited privileges for itself, the Attorney General, and the Advocate General in the matter of selection to the higher judiciary was turned down by the collegium ("SC sends back draft on judges' appointment", *The Hindu*, May 5, 2016). The MoP arms the government with the power to reject a nomination citing the "national interest". The Centre is not bound to reconsider a recommendation once rejected. The collegium, finding such clauses "undesirable", returned the MoP to the government ("High Court faces shortage of 458 judges, say latest data", *The Hindu*, June 3, 2016). The number of vacancies of High Court judges has grown to 470 (*The Hindu*, July 5, 2016).

The revised MoP, which is substantially a reiteration of the earlier one, was again turned down by the collegium, according to the news reports of July 7, 2016. A uniform complaint redress mechanism against the Judges substituting the earlier 'in-house mechanism', was also sought by the government, according to the reports. The Law Minister responded to the rejection in a conciliatory tone, clarifying that "the Government is willing to work in harmony with the judiciary" (NDTV, July 7, 2016). This means that no fundamental change is going to be



effected in the process or procedure. The opaque system is to stay on, unwearyed by possible cosmetic change. This, in turn, would invigorate Judicial supremacy, which *T.T. Krishnamachari* famously described its *Imperium Imperio*”.

No democracy can dispense with formal system and a clear procedure for judicial appointments, which should be predetermined and structurally guaranteed. We have, in effect, neither a constitutional provision nor any legislation on the subject. In a consecutive adjudicative tragedy, Articles 124 and 217 of the constitution, dealing with the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court and the High Courts, were practically done away with, as per the second and Third Judges’ cases of 1993 and 1998 respectively, which stalled the system of the collegium. Last year’s NJAC verdicts just repeated, extended and expanded the tragedy. They had an exacerbating effect on our polity. The Constitution is practically rewritten, though the authority to do so is vested only with parliament and not with the court. The national Lawyers Campaign for judicial Transparency and Reforms, through its letter dated November 2015, bemoaned: “The judgment of Supreme Court in the NJAC case, running into more than 1,000 pages, means that what legislative or administrative policy the country should adopt could not be decided by the people through their elected representatives.”



In the 2nd NJAC verdict, the Court noted that the “practice (of MoP) had been consistently adopted following the Second Judges’ (1993). The court asked the Centre to finalise the existing MoP “by implementing it in consultation with the Chief Justice of India”. It was further held that “the Chief Justice of India will take a decision based on the unanimous view of the collegium”. Though it was opined that factors such as (i) eligibility criteria; (ii) transparency in the appointment process; (iii) secretariat; and (iv) complaint redress mechanism are to be considered, there was no “wholesale change” in the matter, to use the words of Justice Jagdish Singh Khehar. The “trust deficit” that “has affected the credibility of the collegium system”, as lamented by Justice Kurian Joseph, remained unaddressed in the verdict.

The primacy of the executive or judiciary has been the moot question whenever the issue was adjudicated or legislated in India. Both the executive and the judiciary wanted to have the final say and this fissure is one of the greatest misfortunes in India’s constitutional history. A Procedural framework for judicial selection is quite feasible and possible, provided there is a will to formalise the method and to institutionalise it by way of an independent commission that guarantees objectivity and openness. Lobbying is an unhealthy means for selecting the umpires of democracy.



Though the Supreme Court emphasised reform in the 1st NJAC judgment, it took a highly undemocratic position in the 2nd NJAC judgment. The plea for eligibility (as different from suitability) got reduced to the prescription of a minimum age and such other “innocuous” aspects since it appeared that the collegium did not favour any radical shift. The secretariat that the legal fraternity aspired for as a centre for judicious selection became a store house of data on those who were fortunate enough to be close to the power centre.

### **UNFAIR SYSTEM**

In such a system, denial of opportunity to ordinary hands would be ensured and secrecy preserved as a “great Indian judicial value”, The “kin syndrome”, a term coined by Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, would hold the field with judges choosing those lawyers who are in their own image while those from “non-traditional backgrounds” would be practically fenced out. Thus, the collegium after the NJAC verdicts is in no way different from the one that has functioned until now. In my view, it is fallacious to think about reforms either by way of the collegium or by way of the MoP, both of which are ostensibly unconstitutional.

The NJAC judgments empirically demonstrate that judicial reforms do not happen from within. They also show that any move for executive predominance would be curtailed in the review jurisdiction, relying on the doctrine of ‘Judicial independence’ as interpreted by the judiciary



itself which would project itself as the “basic structure” of the Constitution. The basic structure doctrine, evolved in *Kesavananda Bharati* (1973), is, again, the court’s own creation, used to preserve another creation, namely, the collegium.

### GLOBAL TRENDS

According to the Commonwealth Latimer House Principles, judicial appointments need to be made by following “clearly defined criteria and by a publicly declared process” (Principle No. IV. Relying on the same, Jan van Zyl Smit says: “The criteria for judicial office will usually be determined to a greater or lesser extent by the Constitution or by statute, although there may be some scope for commissioners to bring to bear their experience and expertise if the Commission is authorised to elaborate the criteria for particular judicial posts, or develop guidelines or tools for use when evaluating individual candidates” (British Institute of International and Comparative Law, 2015).

The MoP in India and its latest additions are apparently antithetical to the practice elsewhere in the Commonwealth, which Smit does not analyse. He says that he is “surprised and fascinated” by the 1st NJAC judgment (“Judicial Appointments in the Commonwealth: Is India bucking the trend?”, U.K. Constitutional Law Association, 2016). As acknowledged by him, when “more than 80 per cent of the Independent



Commonwealth jurisdictions have a Commission, established by law or under the Constitution”, any euphoria, or even a gesture of optimism, based on India’s collegium is unfounded, given the flexible and uncertain characteristics of the MoP. It is doubtful whether the MoP is a “law” even for the limited purpose of Article 13 of the Constitution. Thus the collegium stays far away from the Second Wave Commissions” found elsewhere, as noted by Smit. When the process of selection and appointment does not provide for “advertisement and open applications” and since the process remains “confidential”, as held by the Supreme Court, Smit’s hope that the “Court’s recommendations would constitute valuable improvements” would remain surreal.

Practising advocates continue to form the principal source of judicial appointments in India. A judge is essentially a public officer. James E. Moliterno reiterates his position by indicating that lawyers who are “client centred” “may have an important disadvantage in the role of public official” (*Fordham Law Review*, Volume 77, Issue 4). Daniel Markovits, while explaining the structural character of a lawyer’s function, puts the issue in perspective: “[T]he effort to connect partisan lawyering to the pursuit of justice” is “both theoretically and practically unsatisfying” (*Three Issues in Legal Ethics*, Daniel Markovits, Yale Law School, 2010). Article 124(3) (c) of the Indian Constitution says about appointing “a distinguished jurist” as a judge of the Supreme Court, which, however, never happened in the country. A broader



platform for judicial appointments should resort to a larger spectrum of academics, jurists, researchers, and also intellectuals with a legal background.

In a recent study, the authors Graham Gee and Kate Malleson, while praising the “robust processes” in the United Kingdom that have “identified suitably qualified candidates of good character”, worried about “the slow progress in increasing judicial diversity” (U.K. Constitutional Law Blog, May 6, 2014). Their plea is to “remove barriers that might prevent non-conventional candidates from being called for interview”.

The pre-selection debate in the United States Senate on judicial candidates is another captivating idea. South Africa and Kenya have also opted for open interviews as part of the selection process. Malaysia and Nigeria have gone for sizable commissions. In Bulgaria, according to Peter Roudik, the National Assembly has adopted a law to amend the Constitution in order to establish a Supreme Judicial Council for selection to the highest national courts (*Global Legal Monitor*, December 30, 2015). The *U.K.* has an evocative institutional model, a 105-member secretariat, to ensure objectivity and transparency in the selection process. There were concerns, however, when the staff strength of the secretariat was reduced later because of budgetary constraints.

The details of global trends were placed before the Supreme Court after the Ist NJAC judgment through detailed written submissions.





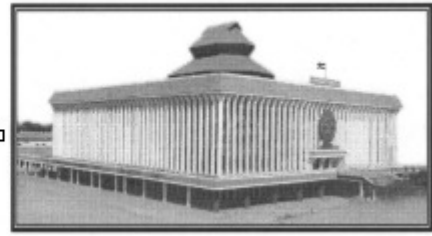
But the plea for radical reforms was rejected by the apex court, which did not want to do away with the collegium system. The court, after noting that it had a “challenging responsibility to embark and reflect” on the suggestions, did not, however, synthesise them appropriately or prescribe any fundamental change.

Simon Evans and John Williams recommend “a modified version” of the U.K. system even for Australia, where the opportunity to apply for judicial posts is already recognised. According to them, the *U.K.* model “is a cautious and incremental development that does not break with Australia’s legal traditions” (“Appointing Australian Judges: A New Mode!”, 2008). India needs to follow suit. The NJAC judgments do not foreclose further legislative imagination, as commonly perceived. A valid law on the subject is worth attempting, provided it satisfies the characteristics of curative and competent legislation. The legislative potential in such situations was underlined by the apex court **III** *Indira Nehru Gandhi* (1975) and *Hari Singh* (1972). The Centre has to assiduously try a new law on the subject for revamping the system of judicial appointments and in that process the executive should forsake its “political” interests. It should also defend the democratic cause staunchly when subjected to judicial scrutiny in future.

FRONTLINE  
AUGUST 19, 2016





**BOOK REVIEW**

A review of the Book 'Police and Counter Insurgency- The Untold story of Tripura's COIN campaign' by Kuldeep Kumar

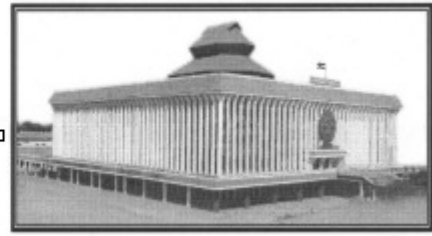
## **Tripura's fight against insurgency**

*How civil governance, development and welfare helped the state limp back to normalcy*

V.B. GANESAN

The Northeast presents a complex picture, where stunning natural beauty combines with ethnic violence and insurgent movements. From Assam to Tripura, the region of the Seven Sisters has become a hot topic for strategists and social activists, who have debated on how to bring about normality and connect the region, emotionally and physically, with the rest of India.

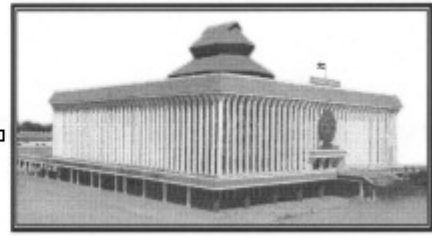
Governments have consistently resorted to a militaristic approach to deal with the escalating insurgent violence. Over the past two decades, almost 20,000 people have died in the Northeast and millions have been displaced a testimony to the failure of the state's approach to the problem and its ability to protect common citizens. While many ceasefire



agreements and peace accords have been signed to end the violence and heal the mental and physical wounds of the people, the scars have seldom healed completely. In this situation, tiny Tripura's successful restoration of normality after decades of turmoil is indeed a story worth telling.

Chronicling Tripura's experience with counter insurgency-(COIN) operations, senior IPS officer Kuldeep Kumar, who led the Special Forces (SF) of the Tripura State Police, regrets the scholarly neglect of its achievements. Kumar took on the responsibility of remedying this, and the present volume is his succinct description of the efforts that went into transforming the state. Tripura the only state in the region to have repealed the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in May 2015, demonstrates how the integration of police strategies with comprehensive government initiatives have re-established the rule of law and a sense of security among the people.

Tracing the roots of unrest, Kumar points out that Tripura's tribal population, which stood at 52.89 per cent in 1901, came down to 31.8 per cent in 2011 with the influx of refugees during Partition and again after the liberation of East Pakistan Bangladesh. As a result, many tribal people lost their land and were reduced to working as landless labourers. This generated much heartburn, frustration and discontent that set the stage for violence. From the emergence of the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) in 1978 to the National Liberation Front of Tripura



(NLFT) and All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) in later years, 28 insurgent groups sprang up in Tripura. By 2000, the security scenario was extremely disturbed as a result of both land alienation and tribal insurgency.

According to Kumar, the achievement of the Left Front government in re-establishing a secure environment for civil governance, development and welfare in areas ‘liberated’ from insurgency has been an integral component of the comprehensive COIN campaign in Tripura.

Kumar points out how in Tripura troops of armed battalion have lived in close proximity with civilians in areas of intense conflict. This has provided effective security through protective patrols and also helped in the collection of intelligence and in liaising with local leaders. The government promoted ‘peace through development’, through large-scale meetings, effective political mobilisation of women, devolution of powers to local bodies and by encouraging the youth to renounce violence.

In real terms, the figures released by the Planning Commission in 2012 indicate a substantial decrease in reduction of poverty from 40 per cent in 2004-05 to 14 per cent in 2011-12.

However, charting out the path ahead, Kumar says that despite various positive developments, much remains to be done to uplift the economic status of the tribal people and improve their access to quality education, health, sanitation, drinking water and physical infrastructure. In this respect, he also points out that the Tripura Tribal Areas



Autonomous Development Council is an extremely important institution geared towards fulfilling the aspirations of self-administration by tribal people. He also cites the highly visible role of women in the fight against insurgency.

On the whole, this book is a timely reminder for strategists, social activists and scholars struggling for solutions to insurgency.

THE HINDU,  
14th AUGUST, 2016.





## **News from other Legislative Assemblies across India**

### **Arunachal Pradesh:-**

Shri. Tenzing Norbu Thongdok, Deputy Speaker, Sixth Legislative Assembly of Arunachal Pradesh, Naharlagun resigned from the office of Deputy Speaker with effect from 20th July, 2016 in pursuance of Article 178 of the Constitution of India, Shri. Tenzing Norbu Thongdok, was declared elected as the Speaker of the Arunachal Pradesh Assembly in its Ninth Session held on Wednesday, the 20th July, 2016.

### **New Delhi:-**

Ms. Rakhi Birla, a Member of the Sixth Legislative Assembly of the National Capital Territory of Delhi was unanimously elected as Deputy Speaker of the Assembly on 10<sup>th</sup> of June. 2016.

### **Gujarat:-**

Shri. Ganpatsinh Vestabhai Vasava resigned the Office of the Speaker of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly with effect from 6<sup>th</sup> August, 2016 A.N.

Shri. Atmaram Makanbhai Parmar regained the Office of the Deputy Speaker of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly with effect from 6<sup>th</sup> August, 2016 A.N.

**FOCUS**



**Madhya Pradesh:-**

Shri. Awdhesh Pratab Singh assumed the charge of Principal Secretary, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly with effect from 1st July, 2016

