

A Report
on
**Workshop on Globalisation, State Policies, Human
Rights**

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Indian Institute of Chemical Engineers, Dr. H L Roy Building, Jadavpur University
Campus
Kolkata 700 032

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Introduction

From the end of the last decade in particular, the government of India has come up with a number of policies aimed at protecting the people who may be adversely affected by globalisation. There has been a virtual policy explosion in past one decade in the area of agriculture, water, health, environment, forest, women empowerment, children care, education etc. These policies and charters are said to have increased our policy fund and set an agenda of governance for successive governments. On one hand these policies can be seen in the backdrop of resistance offered by various civil groups against the onslaught of globalisation, and the reforms carried out by the government. On the contrary it can also be said that the policy explosions has occurred with two main aims: 1) To control and mitigate the effects of globalisation process on the society; 2) To meet the demands posed by neo-liberal economic policies on the economy, environment and resources. However, the significant questions which need to be asked in this context is :

- Have these policies been able to help the sustainability of rights especially of marginalised communities under globalisation?
- If these policies form part of what has been called as “safety net”, what kind of safety do these policies provide?
- Where and to what extent do rights feature in this landscape of policies?
- To what extent the concerns of various marginalised groups are reflected in these policies, which could ensure their enhanced social and political participation, in governance structures and civil society?
- What are the ways in which these policies are formulated and executed?
- Does the policy explosion reflect a shift in governance agenda of the government from ‘rights’ to ‘policies’?

It is to discuss these questions and critically engage with various government policies in the context of globalisation that this advocacy workshop is organised with participants from organisations, social movements, networks and individuals working on these issues. The endeavour is to supplement the policy debate as well as listen to the testimonies of the individuals and organisations that are engaged with the implementation of these policies at grassroots levels in various parts of the country. Organised around different panels the endeavour is to engage critically with the specific state policies and enhance our understanding of the emerging policy regime in the context of economic reforms. The workshop would also discuss developing an educational programme for young students, teachers, activists and others on the theme of globalisation and sustainability of rights of marginalised communities.

Section 1 : Workshop Proceedings

Day 1 : April 9 2005, Saturday, 4:00 pm

Dr. Pradip Kumar Bose, *President, Calcutta Research Group* chaired the inaugural session. He welcomed all the participants to the workshop and gave a brief about the activities of the CRG. He further asked all the people present to introduce themselves before the meeting began. After the introduction by all present there, Madhuresh Kumar from CRG introduced the workshop and theme of discussion. He gave a brief overview of the project and CRG's role in it. He also mentioned other activities undertaken in the project "Regional initiative for the sustainable livelihood and the enabling of social and political participation". He talked about the policy review and related publication by CRG, and also laid down the ground for further discussion in various panels.

Keynote address

Dr. Sushil Khanna, from *IIM Calcutta*, delivered the keynote address. He started his lecture by defining globalisation as a process of increasing integration and a strategy of development based on rapid integration with the world economy. He addressed the issue of globalisation through questions like whether globalisation is a new phenomenon, if not what are the consequences of earlier globalisation, whether it is beneficial to all. The various attributes of globalisation are International Trade, International Finance and International Investment. Regarding economic perspective the primary engine that is driving the complex effects of globalisation on trade is liberalization. Globalisation emphasizes that trading among member countries would open up markets and that trade in goods and services should be borderless. The rapid growth of FDI has also been important element of economic integration. Overall the world trade has grown 2 or 3 times faster than global GNP in the last decade.

As regards International finance we see growth of foreign exchange markets, size of financial markets unrelated to real economic activity, this in turn erodes government ability to 'manage' exchange rates which affects the real economy. Regarding foreign investments we see 75% of foreign investment goes to the richer countries today, the poor countries we hardly find exporting capital.

If we make a comparison of globalisation of 100 years ago & today the basic feature will be Dismantling of barriers to International Economic Transaction. In the period between 1870-1913 is the LAISSEZ FAIRE AGE with little control over the movement of goods, capital or people. Similarly we have the GATT or trade liberalization between 1950-1970, liberalization of foreign investment in 1960-1980, financial liberalisation in 1980. Between 1870-1914 we find growth of enabling technologies like steamships, railways telegraph as we see in the period between 1950-1990 growth of container ships, jet aircraft, computers, IT, satellites. Again in the 19th century we find new forms of industrial organizations mass productions, high mechanization, & in the 20th century we find flexible production, declining share of wages, extermination of services.

As regards political hegemony in the period between 1870-1913 is called the age of Empire, and pound as the reserve currency. Between 1950-2000 is the Cold War age & dollar is the Reserve Currency. As regards the main differences in trade between the 19th & the 20th c we see half the world trade today is intra industry and one third is intra firm between affiliates of Multinational Corporations. In the 19th century trade was at arms length & driven by Comparative Advantage. There is a fundamental difference between the wrenching changes that marked the emergence of big capital 125 to 100 years ago and the changes today. Previously, capital relied on masses of workers to implement the most advanced production, such as the then-new assembly lines and mechanized factories. Today, capital cannot allow truly large masses of workers in the developed countries to participate in

building the next stage of humanity's economy. Instead, workers find themselves ousted from the better-paying jobs of old industries and having to take retail, clerical, janitorial and other jobs that are miserably paid. Businesses based on such jobs are not pushing the development of new productive powers; they exist because there is still profit opportunity when wages are so low. For nearly thirty years, through the ups and downs of the business cycle, this rot in capitalism has spread through the economy.

But the most important difference between the 2 centuries is the tremendous increase in income inequality. The first and most basic concept of inequality that we are familiar with is within-country or intra-country inequality. It indicates the disparity between the incomes of individuals within a particular country.

At a regional level, the African economies faced rising inequalities, Latin America saw declining inequalities of the 1970s reverse into a rise, while Russia and the Eastern European transition economies experienced a collapse of the middle class that made inequality soar. China experienced rising inequality, especially between its urban coastal areas and the rural interiors. Even the developed countries experienced rising inequality as a result of 'greater disparities in market income', the effect of which has been compounded recently by changes in the tax system, public services and income transfers.

A noteworthy feature is that adverse trends in income distribution not just for poorly performing economies, as in Latin America during the "lost decade" of the 1980s, but also for economies that experienced remarkable growth after liberalization, as was true of China. Thus, even when liberalisation was followed by growth, the benefits of that growth did not seem to accrue in full measure to the poorer sections of the population. To conclude, he said integration in the world market early 20th century did not help India, China or Indonesia to grow. And today few third world countries have succeeded in penetrating global market. However, to say today's globalisation is true globalisation would be a mistake and the process had started way back in early 20th century.

Panel 1 : Agriculture, Employment and Sustainable Livelihood

The panel discussion was chaired by **Ratan Khasnabis**, from *Calcutta University*. The first speaker was **Swapan Ganguly**, from *Paschim Bengal Khet Mazdoor Samiti, Kolkata*. He spoke mainly on how globalisation affects a workers rights and space. Workers union are constantly seen as anti growth, and anti development. The state and central government is making it difficult for the workers to form unions. If the agriculture workers need a trade union it has to have 6.5 lakh workers. The government is coming up with new laws to pay the workers less than the minimum wage. He felt that state policies are curbing workers rights, and leading to bondage of workers. Thus globalisation forces us to live in an undemocratic world.

The next speaker was **Bimal Kumar Pingua**, from *Human Endeavour for the Advancement of Rural Tribes, Ranchi* who highlighted the ecological effects of globalisation in Jharkhand. He talked about the problems being faced by the tribal communities in the region. He said how the aspirations of the state and its people were being denied expression because of underdevelopment and poverty. The basic needs like land, water and forest is not being met and the difficulties has increased further due to globalisation forces. He talked about the initiatives being taken by HEART with respect to the soil conservation, irrigation and forestry in order to supplement the livelihood and employment opportunities. In conclusion, he said unless the people themselves start working towards developing alternatives and force the state to take notice of it through peoples struggle things won't change and suffering would continue.

The last speaker was **Vishvanath**, from *Judav, Ranchi* who discussed the impact of globalisation in Jharkhand. Jharkhand is a state with very rich natural resources. Independence in 1947 brought emphasis on planned industrialization centring on heavy industries, including a large expansion of mining. The socialist pattern of development pursued by the central government led to forced sale of tribal lands to the government, with

the usual problem of perceived inadequate compensation. However, industrial development brought about further influx of outsiders, and local people considered that they were not being hired in sufficient numbers.

Land was also acquired by the government for building dams and reservoirs. However, some observers thought that very little of the electricity and water produced by the dams was going to the region. Traditional shifting cultivation and forest grazing were restricted, and the local people felt that the prices paid by the government for forest products they gathered for sale were too low. In the decades since independence, these problems have persisted and intensified. The workers who had left the state in search of employment outside are all coming back. Land, water, forests and cattle need to be protected in order to generate employment.

He said there was a hope that when Jharkhand would become a separate state things would change for better. But it hasn't. Jharkhandis continue to suffer and they are still gain the fruit of independence even after 3-4 years of independent existence. The need today is to fight for the rights of Jharkhandis and pave the way for sustainable development.

The session was followed by questions posed by the audience such as whether UNDP has framed the block development plans to develop the forests and the micro-hydel projects in Jharkhand, how far the New Panchayati Act has been implemented, how can employment be generated for those workers who are coming back to Jharkhand. Since two of the speakers were from Jharkhand, a lot of questions were on the livelihood and employment situation in the state. The discussion ended on the note that there has to be greater effort from the peoples to reclaim their right and fight against the forces of globalisation and the skewed development which it proposes.

Day 2 : April 10, 2005, Sunday

Panel 2 : Development, Displacement, Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Dr. Paula Banerjee, chair for the session introduced the speakers and raised the interrelation between displacement and development. She brought the attention towards the plight of women and children during the displacement situations and requested the panellists to consider it in their presentations.

Prof. Asha Hans was the first speaker. She said displacement poses as one of the most critical challenges to women in India. The socio-economic threat produced by the displacement primarily undermines women's rights and entitlements which are two important constituents of citizenship. It therefore has an important connection to political agendas with pressures from within the country and also external manifestations thus combining citizenship and sovereignty. She also showed by way of example how displacement affects people. She talked of the travails of the people from Himachal Pradesh who were displaced by a dam. She noted that most rehabilitation policies are insensitive to the needs of the people. Second, she pointed out that policies are generated from small concerns like that in Kashipur where what was happening in the villages was discussed in classrooms. These are in the order of a people's movement many of which are led by women. Women are involved in these movements because of their natural instinct to protect biodiversity.

What has to be looked into is the relationship between rights of citizenship, sovereignty and people's access to land resources. Prof. Hans noted that the issue of displacement concerns the alienation of man from land which creates a new quality of life which one is not used to. This produces a change in their identity. What we see is the increase in violence in society. She also spoke of instances of increased displacement in Orissa and its link with the globalisation process and increased demand on natural resources. She said that the need is for a right to information; right to access to wages; a look into land policy and a vision of development.

Sebastian Rodrigues of *Nature Environment Society and Transformations, Goa* was the second speaker. He began by saying that tribals in India has the history of over two centuries of oppression and revolt beginning with the colonial rule of British East India Company. The recent upsurge against introduction of new forest law in 2005 in the parliament is the latest initiative in this series. At the national level the movement has thrown up the campaign for survival and Dignity. He took up some of the problems associated with policies in India with special reference to the tribals in Goa. He pointed out that the source of displacement in Goa is mining which accounts for 50% of the total exports. The decline of agriculture is 60%. There is censorship in the press wherein mining is not to be discussed, since the mining industries own these newspaper establishments. The other problem which he notes is that the corporations often situate their offices in the tribal lands which leads to deforestation of tribal lands and amounts to an intrusion into the lives of tribals.

Gautam Sen, from *Forum against Eviction, Kolkata* was the third speaker. In India and elsewhere, displacement has always been associated with development, and even during the initial euphoric period of post-independent reconstruction we have been advised to accept sacrificing displaced few for the larger interest of nation by our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. In the present march of globalisation-induced liberalisation, the development has been proceeding in such an unprecedented manner and unformidable pace that development has become almost synonymous to the term displacement. Wherever there is drum-beat of development, thousands and thousands people are not only apprehending, but also facing the bulldozer of displacement (Though the connotation of displacement is much broader, for the time being I shall concentrate on eviction, a specific form of displacement.)

He cited the case of an attempt by the West Bengal state government to evict slum dwellers near the Ballygunge station area in Rabindra Sarovar on 10th December which was foiled. This was seen also in the case of metro extension project which exceeded the permissible limit of 12 feet. He noted that eviction is a specific form of displacement. Ultimately it is the unorganised labouring masses who provide various odd and marginal services to the society (Rickshaw-pullers, auto-drivers, cleaners, garage workers, domestic helps etc.) gets evicted. Eviction is always part of beautification drive. Those who are displaced would not oppose displacement per se (as they live in most unhealthy manner and in filthy places they would never object displacement, if they are resettled in a better place), but they oppose eviction without rehabilitation.

He said that unfortunately, the housing of the poor has never been treated as a right to shelter, not even a minimum condition for life and livelihood. To the planners, they have always been a nuisance, never to have a due place in their planning. The state plays its own role by dividing the citizens so that they can never stand united. In the end the slum dwellers are a nuisance to policymakers; are vote banks for politicians; are sub-humans to intellectuals and objects of pity to ordinary citizens.

He also said though all major cities in India and a vast area of countryside in almost all the states have been facing development-induced displacement in one form or other, the West Bengal Government is unique, so far the rehabilitation policy is concerned. Probably this is the only state government in India who states unequivocally that they would continue eviction and there would be no rehabilitation of the evicted people; and this is the policy of the government. He concluded by saying that along with the overall protest against 'eviction without rehabilitation' and 'rehabilitation for all the evicted persons', it is high time to raise our voice against the dominating paradigm of the course of development. And ask *after all, whose development is it?*

Gita Bharali, from *North Eastern Social Research Centre, Guwahati* was the fourth speaker and spoke about land Acquisition, displacement and the rehabilitation Policy in Assam from her field experiences. She said development, displacement and resettlement are very controversial issues at present. Development is considered as a "larger good" in the name of

the Nation's Development. Millions of people have been affected all over the world by the development projects and fallen victims to the argument of this larger good. Pity that the affected do not get to decide most of the times whose good it is for.

Speaking of the north east of India, she said while dams are the only recipe provided for mitigation of the flood situation in Assam, the rivers and river systems of the region provide for major prospecting of hydel power. 148 major and medium schemes of various kinds have been planned for the river systems in addition to 900 other relatively smaller schemes. These are going to displace many more people in the region. This will add to those thousands who have already displaced by other development projects, political and ethnic conflicts, defence measures, natural disasters and other human made disasters. In all about 13 lakhs people has been displaced majority of them being tribals. Only about a few have had some sort of compensation though most of them are dependent on Common Property Resources (CPRs), which is not considered in the compensation package. Moreover, the State does not have a rehabilitation policy and at the same time the implications of the recently announced NPRR 2003 in the state is very doubtful considering the distinctive land relation system in the state.

She gave a lot of data on the displacement in Assam and said while collecting and accessing the data we have faced many difficulties. First of all the issue itself have not attracted much attention of the people in the region. That may be one of the important causes for not getting permission from many authority in the process of data collection. Besides, very few studies have been done on the issue in Assam. That is why it becomes very difficult to compare the official and the research data.

In conclusion she said that the national policy speaks of rehabilitation of people from projects that displace more than 500 families. In practice most projects can speak of a smaller number because only patta owners are counted. Based on that one can say that the policy is not relevant to Assam and to the rest of the Northeast where many large dams are being planned mostly on the CPRs. The persons affected by them will not be counted. So it needs to overhauled completely.

There was an intense discussion followed by all the speeches mainly on the kind of development which is being followed and where does the rights of the marginalised communities figure in this. There were questions on the kind of transport Calcutta as a city should have rather than building flyovers the emphasis should be on the better traffic management and development of the public transport which would discourage people from buying cars. One of the participants showed how the emphasis has been on building flyovers which is being promoted as a symbol of better infrastructure and fast connectivity to airport which is hardly used by 10% of the population. There was also discussion on the development model being followed by the state and the linked displacement. Then there was discussion on the national policy for resettlement and rehabilitation of the project affected people and the need for its revision.

Panel 3 : Environment and Sustainable Development

Dr. Samir Kuman Das, chaired this panel. He introduced the speakers and raised five questions on the basis of which he requested the participants to structure their presentations. The questions were:

- What are the kinds of environmental problems?
- Did these problems pre-date globalisation and what are their linkages with globalisation?
- What does sustainability mean in respect of environment?
- How do these problems affect marginalised people and how can one integrate them in to civil society as equal partners and stake holders?

Dr. A. K. Ghose from the *Centre for Environment and Development, Kolkata* pointed out that The subject of environment cuts across all vital issues concerning quality of life and human development. However, the concern for environment both globally and at national level has not even completed four decades. The access to and use of land & soil, water & agriculture and forests & biodiversity are the primary determinants of whether environmental problems exist or not. Premising his presentation on these determinants, Dr. Ghose went on to discuss issues of environmental governance in India through the years since independence. He said that in pursuance of international commitment, the country has also announced a series of National policy statement on Forest (1988), Environment and Development (1992), Pollution abatement (1992), Population (2002), Agriculture (2000), Water (2002), Resettlement and Rehabilitation (2003), Environment (2004 - Draft) and Seed (2004-Draft in the form of a bill). Mostly such policies are never publicized widely in local media or debated or argued and refined with comments from the civil society. The colonial top-down approach continues to keep the People of India largely out of such decision making process although policies are meant for welfare of the people.

He argued that the government's draft environment policy 'sounds good' but the governance is poor. Even when policies apparently are supportive of pro-poor philosophy, action to implement remains tardy and questionable. Mega projects, mega investment, private capital's participation and an all out effort to please the WTO authorities appear glaring. In the process both 'environmental conservation' and process of 'sustainable development' are increasingly impaired. However, he hailed the developing field of environmental jurisprudence in India. He also talked about issues of environmental budgeting in India.

Mohit Roy from *Vasundhara, Kolkata* spoke next and his take on the subject was about environmental management. He said that like any other natural resource if one cannot develop a system to measure environment then it couldn't be managed. Concurring with Dr. Ghose, Roy also talked about the landmark M.C. Mehta cases of the Indian Supreme Court. However, he pointed out, that the judgments have remained dead letter and even after the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution the Kolkata Municipal Corporation has no environment department. He went on to talk about the National Environment Policy in India and observed that the policy makes human development its central issue.

He said a policy statement is always welcome as it shows the mindset of the administration about the concerned issue. In that respect National Environmental Policy (NEP) is a praiseworthy document in general though with some omissions. However a good intention is useless unless backed up by targeted implementation mechanisms as 73rd and 74th Amendment of the Indian constitution provided environmental responsibilities to local institutions, but without any support mechanism.

He added, NEP also talks about sustainable development which is the politically correct norm today. However "sustainable development", a term not properly defined, specified or quantified, is often a misnomer for poor countries which often means "sustainable impoverishment" for the poor to save environment for the rich. The poor needs development first, whether that is sustainable or not is a subsequent issue Sustainable development has been defined as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Sustainable development commits us to considering the long-term and to recognizing our place within the ecosystem. Poor cannot afford for long term planning and go on suffering in the mean time while rich debates in air-conditioned seminar rooms.

He concluded by saying that to have a culture of sustainable development one must be able to develop specific measuring indicators and environmental policies must not pit environment against people, rather look at people as an intrinsic part of the environment.

The last speaker, **Kalyan Rudra** from *Sri Chaitanya College, Calcutta University* spoke on India's national water policy and critiqued the inter-linking of rivers initiative. He argued

that the very initiative goes against the principle of holistic strategy for development. His presentation also raised issues of water privatisation as a threat to sustainable development. He talked about concepts like hydrological equity and hydro solidarity and criticised the recommendation of the World Bank that that water should be taken from the State list and put into the Central List. He pointed towards the existing conflict over water throughout India amongst states and situation and said it will only worsen if government presses for the river interlinking project.

The questions raised during the discussion were primarily on present developmental projects like the Sahara Project in the Sunderbans and Damming in the North East. Few other issues addressed were safe drinking water, illegal extraction of ground water in Kolkata and automobile pollution in relation to the imposition of CNG. People also discussed the point raised by Mohit Ray of environment management and environment engineering.

Panel 4 - Information, Development and Governance

Prof. Asha Hans from *Utkal University, Orissa* chaired this session.

Malini Bhattacharya, *former Member of Parliament and eminent educationist*, was the first speaker. She spoke on the linkages between basic and primary education and globalisation. She emphasised on change at two polarities of the education sector: basic education and Higher Education. Two such examples, (a) Special emphasis on non-formal education at school level and (b) making private universities an acknowledged part of higher education, are being taken to demonstrate a major shift in policy perspectives to adjust to a new economic order where space for public sector is diminished, opportunities are opened for private investors to make unlimited profit and third world human resources are utilized by transnational investors.

She analysed the government's education policies since 1986 and based her presentation on the debates raised at the Jomphian Conference in Thailand. She also pointed out that access to education is an equalizing factor. Her critique of the Indian governments educational policies observed the contradictory nature of recommendations made by the different committees. The last part of her presentation discussed the rise of private institutions and of education as a business. She pointed out two statements from international monetary institutions coming from the 90s are used to show the pressure wielded by these agencies on the state: (a) P. Carnoy: Basic Education and Economic Development (1991) (b) World bank Sector Review (DPEP Newsletter, July 1995). Both documents talk about the objectives of basic education in developing countries being enhancement of productivity of labour, reducing fertility etc. Basic education is played off against Higher education, spending public funds for higher education is seen as a lower priority and privatisation at all levels is recommended. In the prioritisation of non-formal education and in the Private Universities Bill, the shadow of these documents may be observed. But these are neither likely to solve the problem of access, nor can these be seen as enhancing the quality of education.

Today, the prescription is also for de-linking degrees from jobs. Objective for education is enhancing labour productivity, reducing fertility, imparting skills, and developing attitudes necessary for work place in developing countries. Why are they interested in developing countries? For Outsourcings? Productivity example that is cited is about Ford worker in Mexico; where it is claimed that after basic education they could compete with the workers in USA and Canada. These workers got same pay but they became more docile.

Another point that is focused is the education of Women; related to productivity of labour in IT sector. IT sector is largely in the hands of one or two multinational Companies. Women are supposed to be more docile than men. Education would lead to birth control through fertility rate droppings.

The end objective of education is complete development of Human being and not instrumental like fertility rate droppings or increasing workers productivity. The public sector in education should rather be strengthened and improved should be looked upon as an essential and not an alternative.

The next speaker was **Sujato Bhadra**, of the *Association for Protection of Democratic Rights*. He spoke on the Right to Information in India. He started by addressing some conceptual issues like the difference between right to know and the right to information and which one is a more powerful tool. He also addressed the issue of people's participation by talking of differences between the roles of the pedagogic citizen and the performative citizen. He traced the genesis of the Right of Information movement in India from the works of Aruna Roy and the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan in Rajasthan.

He said post-colonial Indian State is based on secrecy. People are not taken into confidence. How many People in Prisons are on Death Rolls? Nobody knows. According to West Bengal government in cases of Custodial deaths, post-mortem reports are not made public. Atomic energy Act keeps all information related to Atomic energy secret. Recently there has been drafting of state wise right to information Bills with Goa and Tamilnadu being the first to enact them into the Acts. But the draft Right to information Bill 2004 at the Central government explains as to how not to get the information. He then critiqued the present Freedom Of Information Act. Right to information Bill 2004 denies information on Security organizations like BSF. Also Public authorities can deny any information if prosecution is suspected. This means that in cases of house raids, arrests and imprisonments authorities can deny information. Legal knowledge must be provided to the People. Finally concluded by saying that unless people know what their rights are and struggle for that governments will keep coming with sham Acts like this present one.

The last speaker **Pranab Jyoti Neog** from the *Xavier Foundation in Guwahati* talked about development and education of tribals in North East India. He spoke about attempts by the government to develop procedures to educate the tribes in the North East. He said four models of tribal development currently in practice are : a) Isolation, b) Assimilation, 3) Evangelism, and 4) Participation. However, in general, government supported programmes in contrast to community controlled programmes, treat tribals as objects of development - as machines that need upgrading. He urged that tribals should be treated as subjects with volition to do things and ability to make choices beneficial to them. Education should be to make them conscious of the consequences of the choice they make. For their development, all they need is support system and access to resources. The new knowledge and skills provided to them through education must be to augment their naturally endowed and culturally acquired knowledge and skills.

He then discussed various approaches to tribal education which revolve around curricular, content, and medium of instruction. Some of the approaches in use are , a) Immersion approach, b) Ashram schools, c) transfer approach, d) integrated curriculum. He said traditionally in North Eastern regions education was imparted mainly through the dormitory system based on informal interaction between peer groups outside and parents and children at home which provided much of the education and training need in adult life, maintained discipline and were powerful institutions with sanction from the local community. However, things changed with the introduction of formal systems earlier by Christian missionaries and later by the government.

Later on he addressed the debates concerning scripting tribal languages and safeguarding linguistic rights. He was of the view that use of tribal language in education necessitates its development as an educational tool. In Indian context there could be following choices of scripts for tribal education : a) the script of the official language of the state, b) roman, and c) invented script.

He stated that the rest of the society should be sensitive to the tribal cultures.

So, the right education for tribals is closely related to the right education for India as a whole, as the majority is the disadvantaged. To conclude, the rest of the society will have to respect its culture in relation to the dominant western culture.

The discussions for this session centred around the following issues:-

- (1) How relevant are the trends to 'evangelize' and 'mainstream' tribals.
- (2) Is not the intrusion of organized religions into the tribal areas bringing about very nature of tribes?
- (3) Is Education paved way for class society or is it Class society which paved way for education?
- (4) Was isolation as policy ever practiced in India other than in Andaman and Nicobar islands?
- (5) Won't inclusion of tribal language be a burden to the child considering that the child already has to study Hindi, Assamese and Bangla?
- (6) Do tribals have a choice in terms of script?
- (7) The choice of script in Manipur is determined by the Movement.
- (8) How to ensure quality teachers in Public Schools?
- (9) Hiking of fees in Universities itself is part of re-structuring programme.
- (10) Goa's right to information has the history of protests too. In the original version included imprisonment of six months to any journalist writing against the state and the fine ten thousand rupees. This provision was withdrawn after the protests in 1997.

Concluding Discussion - Educational Programme on Globalisation and Sustainability of Rights

The session was chaired by **Subhash Ranjan Chakraborty**, from *Calcutta University* who gave a brief idea of the session and asked **Madhuresh Kumar**, from *Calcutta Research Group* to present the brief framework and idea behind the programme. He presented the framework for the course, (see *annexure*) and asked for suggestion on the further development. During this discussion participants first raised concern regarding the use of the word 'globalisation' in the title of the course. There was a consensus on titling course as one that would not subject it to the colonization of definitions but attempt at rethinking or reconceptualising issues concerning globalisation and human rights. It was also agreed that there is a need to pay attention to the nomenclature in an initiative like this. A very welcome suggestion was to include real-life case studies as part of the course and make field work an intrinsic part of the course depending on period of the course. There was a need to also make the course more participatory and interactive by initiating discussion through case studies.

It was emphasised that the exercise of course material preparation becomes very critical in an endeavour like this and should take in account the target audience, level of understanding, their background and language. There was also need to include issues like Health, Patents Bills, and problems of HIV/AIDS etc. and its relation to the broader rubric of rights and globalisation. Rights based approach to development versus welfare approach should be made a part of the course. The need was also felt to take in account the problems with the current approaches in education system and the need to constantly innovate new methods of learning.

Vishwanath, from Jharkhand shared his experience of developing a training package to be implemented at the grassroots level and things they needed to keep in mind. He said though sometimes it becomes difficult to work in the area because of problems of violence but never the less they manage to work by winning the goodwill of people. The discussion ended on the note that the people present would contribute towards developing the course and send case studies from their regions to be included in the course.

Concept Note to Workshop on Globalisation, State Policies and Human Rights

Introduction

India started its Economic Reforms programme in July 1991 under the TINA (There Is No Alternative) doctrine in wake of foreign exchange liquidity crisis, declining GDP growth rate and a near stagnating economy. Soon all the political parties across the spectrum accepted it as an 'inevitable' and 'irreversible' process. The reforms have continued since then irrespective of changes in the government at centre. After more than a decade, the 'pain' and the 'gain' of the reforms process is not hidden from anyone. The debate on the process has its supporters on both the sides depending on what they have got from it, 'pain' or 'gain'. The ruling argument has often been that some one will have to bear the price of 'Development' in the larger interest of 'Nation'. But the people have started challenging and asking, why should only the poor suffer? Why the rights of poor already at the margins of development should always suffer? Why can't the gains of the process be distributed equitably? Why should the reforms carried in the name of generating employment and high economic growth result in further impoverishment and disempowerment? It is these issues which are now beginning to gather the centre stage all over the world.

The resistance has grown since then and the neo-liberal economic policy has drawn flak from various quarters. The protests have been stringent especially because of its predatory effects on the poor and marginalised communities, now pushed further along paths of impoverishment and disempowerment. These protests emanate from the enhanced understanding of the globalisation process among people who are beginning to see the linkages between the government's policies, wider economic processes and the impact on their livelihood. This has been confirmed by researchers, World Bank, IMF and government's own reports as a result of which in recent times a whole lot of policy measures has been introduced and tabled in Parliament with mainly two aims : 1) To control and mitigate the effects of globalisation process on the society; 2) To meet the demands posed by neo-liberal economic policies on the economy, environment and resources.

The current UPA government has acknowledged this fact especially after the election verdict that rejected the NDA government's 'India Shining' and 'Feel Good' Campaign. So, now in second-generation reforms the emphasis is on reforms with a 'human' face. But we need to critically look at the dictum of the 'human' face and resulting 'policies' in order to seek answers to the questions raised above and see if these policies lead to sustainability of the socio-economic rights of the marginalised communities and if they can ensure enhanced social and political participation by these groups in governance structures and civil society.

New Perspectives

If the years of the 1990s were known for the start of economic reforms marked by increased privatisation, liberalisation, and globalisation then it was also the time which saw consolidation of resistance to attack on natural resources, and the evolution of new perspectives on development, democracy, assertion of rights. The period saw birth or consolidation of popular struggles such as Narmada Bachao Andolan, Chilika Bachao Andolan, Beej Bachao Andolan, Mazdoor Kisan Sakti Sangathan leading the right to Information campaign, National Fish Workers Forum, National Alliance for Peoples Movement and a host of civil and political organisations in rural and urban areas which aligned with the movements and provided resources of all kinds in their struggles. What marked the difference between pre and post 90s was the sudden surge in people's struggles over the question of livelihood, 'control' of natural resources, accountability and transparency in governance. This change

can be seen in the light of general crisis of government's legitimacy on account of its failure to develop and implement a model of development catering to needs of all the sections of society. It needs to be noted that economic reforms have made situation worse in rural areas indirectly and livelihood more difficult by destroying sources of non-farm employment, increased informalisation of labour, migration etc.

For instance, the Chilka Bachao Andolan, a movement by the people, mostly fishermen, who created a successful resistance in the early 90's to the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP)-a joint venture agreed upon by the Tata Iron and Steel Company and Government of Orissa for intensive prawn cultivation and export. Starting from the initial resistance to the project at local level over the immediate loss of livelihood and fishing rights they took it to the national level and questioned the development logic and policy of the government. As the Andolan put it, "The Tata project is not the central point of attack of this people's movement. The prime focus of opposition is the policy of the government towards Chilka and its people, and the Tata project is only an instance of this policy".

The movement articulated the issues in the three questions it posed:

1. Whom does Chilika belong to - the people or the state?
2. If the big business houses enter into prawn culture what will be the fate of the people for whom fishing has been the only source of livelihood?
3. In a situation where the commercial use of resources comes into conflict with the livelihood pursuit of poor people, what should be the priority of the state?

This and many other movements have contributed to the evolution of a whole new perspective on the issues of development, governance, transparency, and accountability which include :

- A model of development that will be truly sustainable and not exclusionary.
- People's power is superior to state power and they are agents for social change.
- Women are equal partners at all level of decision making and development.
- Ensure a truly participatory democratic, transparent, and accountable government.
- Nurture a culture of non-violent protest against all forms of injustice.
- Promote constructive work at the village level through efforts of voluntary action and government.
- Bring policy changes which would ensure equitable development, and ensure a just and sustainable livelihood to millions of poor.
- Emphasise non-violent direct action as a tool of basic change.
- Control of livelihood resources should be in the hands of the local people/communities so that people's basic survival is guaranteed.
- Protect the indigenous peoples culture and their way of life, which is increasingly being threatened by a 'mainstream' model of development.
- Implement pro-poor policies and legislations that have been enacted but never implemented for example, a minimum wage act, equal wage for equal work, bonded labour release rehabilitation act, harijan adivasi's atrocities act, scheduled caste and scheduled tribes atrocities act.
- Develop an ethos of conservation that is based on the synthesis of human rights of forest dwellers and required conservation needs.

Government's Responses

The demand of the movements has forced the government to open up and be more sensitive and inclusive to the demands of the popular movements. If at one level it has meant change in the language of the government's policy then on the other hand it has meant co-option of the movement's leaders in the governments consultative and advisory committees.

However, the process has not resulted in significant results either in terms of more people friendly policies, or better implementation. The process of policy formulation is still fraught with a capital-intensive logic of development with precedence of economics over the social. This was very much visible in the way the provisions of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Bill were diluted only due to larger economic concerns completely bypassing the accrued social benefits.

If the response of the government on one hand is due to people's struggle then on other it is also to meet new challenges which the reforms process has thrown up for governance. It is important to note that the social security policies (even on paper) are a prerequisite to access to loans and investments from international financial institutions and Western countries.

Thus the government on one hand moves on with the reform process at policy level and tries to mitigate its fallout through social measures and policies. This does not take us anywhere as we will see later in the volume, because it is these policies which are responsible for the deteriorating conditions, growing disparity, inequality, and regional imbalances throughout the country.

The Workshop Structure

It is in this background that the workshop wishes to discuss the state policies and its impact over the question of sustainability of rights of marginalised communities in the context of globalisation. The meeting will be organised around following five themes :

1. Agriculture, Employment and Sustainable Livelihood
2. Development, Displacement, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
3. Environment and Sustainable Development
4. Education, Information, Development and Governance

Annexure 2

Draft Framework for an Educational Programme on Globalisation and Sustainability of Rights in South Asia

Objective

1. To design a short course for teaching and training that will define a regional content including the definition of the SAARC Social charter, interpretation of rights prescribed and the antecedents found in international instruments, methodology for analysis of the rights and their status in countries including advocacy strategies, globalisation and the question of sustainability of rights and most importantly, the transfer of knowledge which empower groups and people to define, plan and forge their development. The course will therefore be customised in nature according to the specific needs of countries in South Asia in form of a toolkit.

Guidelines

1. Designing of the short course to be done on the basis of the collective mapping exercises and the policy reviews prepared by all the partners in this field which will enable preparation of toolkit and organising of short courses on sustainable livelihood in India and elsewhere in South Asia. While preparing the course, MCRG is to make the issue of gender justice one of the central concerns.
2. The design is to keep in mind the intersection of civil and political rights on one hand and economic and social rights on the other as a key guide; similarly its orientation to combine the flexibility needed for customisation of knowledge in view of the particular requirements where the syllabus has to be used, and the rigour of study and training.
3. The methodology, content and practice of the training are to utilize rigorous practices including the use of course work, fieldwork, and linkages with other relevant knowledge centres, there by linking regional objectives with national characteristics, and national needs delivered in the language of the people of the region in their distinct settings.
4. The design is to take into account of other similar pedagogical initiatives and include audio, video and other multimedia resources available in the field.

Target Communities

1. Civil and political organisations, grassroots movements, comprising of people/persons drawn from community activists dealing with localised community based issues in terms of advocacy and direct action.
2. The organisations and the activists related to the field, the participants in the orientation and training programmes and the associated tasks with at least fifty percent of the participants being women.

Proposed Structure of the Short Course

Duration : 3 or 5 Days depending on the time and resources available preceded by supply of reading material to the course participants a month before.

Modules :

- Rights and Justice : Concept, Profile, Provisions in National and International Law, Practical applicability.
- Globalisation Process : Concept, significant provisions vis-à-vis marginalised communities, its impact on common property resources, livelihood issues, sustainability of rights.
- Government's Response : Policy regime, review in context of sustainability of rights, Implementation.
- Alternatives : Development paradigm, Grassroots and people's movements alternative.
- Intervention strategies

Instruction Formats : Readings, Lectures, workshops, panel discussions, Films, Case Studies. Emphasis will be on making the course more participatory and interactive for the participants.

Resource Persons : To be drawn from the researchers, policy analysers and practitioners, and activists from the grassroots and people's movements.

Annexure 3

Programme for the advocacy workshop on the theme Globalisation, State Policies and Human Rights

April 9 2005, Saturday

- 4:00 – 4:10 pm Welcome address by Pradip Kumar Bose, *Calcutta Research Group*
4:00 – 4:15 pm Introduction to the workshop theme, Madhuresh Kumar, *Calcutta Research Group*
4:15 – 4:45 pm Keynote Address by Sushil Khanna, *Indian Institute of Management, Kolkata*
4:45 – 5:00 pm Tea Break

Panel 1 : 5:00 – 6:30 pm

Agriculture, Employment and Sustainable Livelihood

Chair : Ratan Khasnabis, *Calcutta University*

Swapan Ganguly, *Paschim Bengal Khet Mazdoor Samiti, Kolkata*

Bimal Kumar Pingua, *Human Endeavour for the Advancement of Rural Tribes, Ranchi*

Vishwanath, *Judav, Ranchi*

April 10 2005, Sunday

Panel 2 : 9:30 – 11:30 am

Development, Displacement, Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Chair : Paula Banerjee, *Calcutta Research Group*

Asha Hans, *Utkal University, Orissa*

Sebastian Rodrigues, *Nature Environment Society and Transformations, Goa*

Gautam Sen, *Mazdoor Mukti, Kolkata*

Geeta Bharali, *North Eastern Social Research Centre, Guwahati*

Tea Break 11:30 – 11:45 am

Panel 3 : 11:45 – 1:15 pm

Environment and Sustainable Development

Chair : Samir Kumar Das, *Calcutta Research Group*

A K Ghose, *Centre of Environment and Development, Kolkata*

Mohit Roy, *Vasundhara, Kolkata*

Kalyan Rudra, *Sri Chatainya College, Calcutta University*

Lunch Break 1:15 – 2:15 pm

Panel 4 : 2:15 pm – 4:00 pm

Education, Information, Development and Governance

Chair : Asha Hans, *Utkal University, Orissa*

Malini Bhattacharya, *Jadavpur University, Kolkata*

Sujato Bhadra, *Association for Protection of Democratic Rights, West Bengal*

Pranab Jyoti Neog, *Xavier Foundation, Guwahati*

Tea Break 4:00pm – 4:15 pm

Concluding discussion on developing an 'Educational Programme on Globalisation and Sustainability of Rights' 4:15 pm – 5:00 pm

Chair : Subhas Ranjan Chakrabarty, *Calcutta Research Group*

Vote of Thanks Sabyasachi Basu Raychaudhury, *Calcutta Research Group*

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