

# ಗ್ಯಾಟ್-1994



ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳು  
ಮತ್ತೆ ವಸಾಹತುಗಳಾಗಬೇಕೇ?

ಸೀತಾರಾಂ ಯೆಚೂರಿ

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# ಮಹಾ ಮೋಸವನ್ನು ಬಯಲಿಗೆಳೆಯಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ

ಆಗಸ್ಟ್ 16ರಂದು ಸೆಪ್ಟೆಂಬರ್ 9, 1994ರವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತ ದೇಶ ಒಂದು ಕಾನೂನುಬಾಹಿರ ಚಳುವಳಿಯನ್ನು ಕಾಣಲಿದೆ. ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ನಂತರ ಎಂದೂ ಕಾಣದಷ್ಟು ತೀವ್ರವಾದ, ವ್ಯಾಪಕವಾದ ಆಂದೋಲನ ಅದು, ಎಡ ಪಕ್ಷಗಳ ಕರೆಯ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ದಂಕಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವನೆಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ವಿನಾಶಕಾರಿ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳ ವಿರುದ್ಧದ ಈ ಜಾರಿತ್ರಿಕ ಹೋರಾಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಲುಗೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸ್ವಯಂ ಸೇವಕರಾಗಿ ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಲಕ್ಷಾಂತರ ಮಂದಿ ಮುಂದೆ ಬರಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ದಿನೇ ದಿನೇ ಇದು ತೀವ್ರಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ನಾಳೆ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ತಮ ಭವಿಷ್ಯತ್ತಿಗಾಗಿ ಭಾರತ ವನ್ನು ಪರಿವರ್ತಿಸಲು ಇಂದು ಅದನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಭಾವನೆ ಎಷ್ಟು ತೀವ್ರವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಪ್ರತಿಫಲನ ಇದು.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್-1994 ಸಂಧಿ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ನವನಿರಾಕಾರಣತೆಗಾಗಿ ಶೋಷಣೆಯನ್ನು ತೀವ್ರಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಬದಗಿಸಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ಚೌಕಟ್ಟು ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಅದು ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ದೇಶಗಳು ಮೂರನೇ ಜನತೀನ ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ ವಸಾಹತುಗಳನ್ನಾಗಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ವಿಶ್ವದ ಮರು ವಿಂಗಡಣೆ ಮಾಡುವ ದುಷ್ಪ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳ ನೀಲನಕ್ಷೆ ಕೂಡಾ.

ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನ ಒಳಗೂ, ಹೊರಗೂ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಗೊಂಡ ವಿರೋಧವನ್ನು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಉಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಅಕ್ಟೋಬರ್ 15, 1994 ರಂದು ಮೊರಾರ್ಜಿ ದೇಶದ ಮರಾಠೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿಮಾಡಿಯೇ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿತು. ಎಪ್ರಿಲ್ 5 ರಂದು ದಿಲ್ಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಲಕ್ಷಾಂತರ ಪ್ರತಿಭಟನಾಕಾರರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಅದು ವರ್ತಿಸಿದ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲೇನೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಸಂಕೇತ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿತು. ಆಳವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಈಡೇರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕವನ್ನು ಒತ್ತೆಯೆಡಲು ಹಾಗೂ ಅದೇ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕದ ಈ ಮಾರಾಟದ ಹೊರೆಯನ್ನು ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ಪರಿಣಾಮದಿಂದ ನರಳುತ್ತಿರುವ ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರ ಹೆಗಲ ಮೇಲೆ ದಾಟಿಸಲು ಸರ್ಕಾರ ದೃಢನಿರ್ಧಾರ ಮಾಡಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಸಂಕೇತವಾಗಿತ್ತದು.

ಇಂತಹ ಸಂಧಿಯನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವ ಮೊದಲು ತನ್ನ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭವನ್ನು ಅ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಉತ್ತಮಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಭಾರತ ಪ್ರತಿದೋಷವನ್ನು ಒಡ್ಡಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಆದರೆ ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡದ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿಯೇ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿತು, ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆ (WTO)ಯ ಸದಸ್ಯನಾಗಿಯೇ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿತು... ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಈ ವರ್ತನೆಯೇ ಅದು ಕಳೆದ

ಹಲವು ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಂದ ಅನುಸರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಿರುವ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗೂ ನೇರ ಸಂಬಂಧವಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್-1994ರ ಹಲವು ಹಣಕಾಸು ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಅ ಒಪ್ಪದ ಆಗುವ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಮೊದಲೇ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದಿತ್ತು. 1991ರಲ್ಲಿ ಐಎಎಫ್-ವಿಶ್ವಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್ ಅಡಿಯಾಳತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಅರಂಭಿಸಿದ "ಮೂಲರಚನೆಗಳ ಹೊಂದಾಣಿಕೆ"ಯ [Structural Adjustment] ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮದ ಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಈ ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತಂತೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಬಯಸುವ ಶಾಸನ ಕ್ರಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಪಾಲುನ್ನು ಕಾಪಿರೈಟ್ ಶಾಸನ, ಟ್ರೇಡ್ ಮಾರ್ಕ ಶಾಸನ ಮುಂತಾದವನ್ನು ಮೊದಲೇ ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಬೀಜದ ತಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿಯ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಗಾಗಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಒಂದು ಕರಡು ಆಗಲೇ ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ ಬಹುಶಃ ಸದ್ಯದಲ್ಲೇ ಅದಕ್ಕೂ ಸಂಸತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮಂಡಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇನ್ನು ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಹೇಳಿದಂತೆ ಕೇಳಲು ಉಳಿದಿರುವುದೆಂದರೆ 1970ರ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನನ್ನು ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿ ಮಾಡುವುದಷ್ಟೇ. ಹೀಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಯ 'ಪಥ'ಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಹೊಂದಿದ ಬಂದವಾಳತಾಹೀ ದೇಶಗಳ ಎದುರು ಭಾರತದ ಚೌಕಾತಿ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಸವರು ಹೋಗಿತ್ತು.

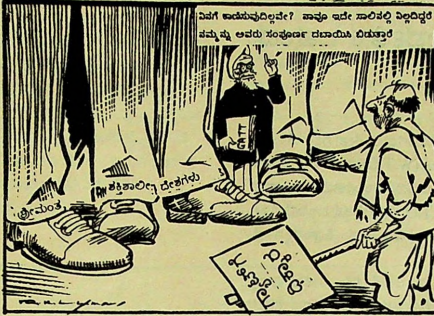
ಅದ್ದರಿಂದ ಯಾರಾದರೂ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಯನ್ನು ಬೆಂಬಲಿಸಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ನು ವಿರೋಧಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ ಎಂದರೆ ಅದು ಅರ್ಥ ಹೀನ. ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ತಗೊಂಡಿರುವ ಇಂತಹ ನಿಲುವು ಮೋಸವು ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಅಲ್ಲ ಜನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿರುವ ಅಸಂತ್ಸೆಯನ್ನೇ ಬಂದವಾಳ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಅದರ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷೆಯನ್ನು ಬಯಲಿಗೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ವಿರೋಧವನ್ನು ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗೆ ವಿರೋಧದ ಜತೆಗೆ ಮೂತ್ರ ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅವೆರಡೂ ಒಟ್ಟಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮತೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಜನಗಳ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣದ ಮೇಲೆ ಗಂಭೀರ ದಾಳಿ ನಡೆಸಿವೆ.

ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿರೋಧ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ, ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಈ ನೀತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸವಾರ್ಥಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಒಂದೊಂದಾಗಿ

ಎಪ್ರಿಲ್ 5 ರಂದು ದಿಲ್ಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಲಕ್ಷಾಂತರ ಪ್ರತಿಭಟನಾಕಾರರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಅದು ವರ್ತಿಸಿದ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲೇನೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಸಂಕೇತ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿತು. ಆಳವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಈಡೇರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕವನ್ನು ಒತ್ತೆಯೆಡಲು ಹಾಗೂ ಅದೇ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕದ ಈ ಮಾರಾಟದ ಹೊರೆಯನ್ನು ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ಪರಿಣಾಮದಿಂದ ನರಳುತ್ತಿರುವ ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರ ಹೆಗಲ ಮೇಲೆ ದಾಟಿಸಲು ಸರ್ಕಾರ ದೃಢನಿರ್ಧಾರ ಮಾಡಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಸಂಕೇತವಾಗಿತ್ತದು.

ದಿಲ್ಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹಿಳಾ ಮತಪ್ರಚಾರಕರ ಮೇಲೆ ದಾಳಿ ಪ್ರಚಾರ





ಟೈಮ್ಸ್ ಆಫ್ ಇಂಡಿಯಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಆರ್.ಕೆ. ಎಲ್.ಎಸ್.

ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗೆ ಇದೊಂದೇ ದಾರಿ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ.

ತರ್ಕಗಳನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿಡುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತಿಕೂಲವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ತಪ್ಪಿತಸ್ಥನಂತೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಸಮರ್ಥಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಿತು. ಈಗ ಷೇರವಾಗಿ ದಾಸ್ ಭಾವವನ್ನೇ ಪ್ರದರ್ಶಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಭಾರತದ ಸಮೃದ್ಧಿ ಮತ್ತು

ದೇಶದ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಶಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಗುರುತಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಇದೇ ತೆರನ ಒತ್ತಡ ಕಾಣುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಯ ದಾರಿ ಹಿಡಿದದ್ದರಿಂದ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ನ್ಯಾಯಯುತ ಒಪ್ಪಂದದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮಾತುಕತೆ ನಡೆಸುವ ಭಾರತ ಶಕ್ತಿ ತೀವ್ರ ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಯಿಂದಲಾಗಿದೆ. 1980ರ ದಶಕದ ಉತ್ತರಾರ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ದಾರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಎಚ್ಚರಗೇಡಿಯಾಗಿ ನಿಶ್ಚಿತಿಯಿಂದ ಮುಂದೂಡುತ್ತಾಯಿತು. ಈ ಉದ್ದೇಶದ ಕರಣದ ಭರ ಅರಂಭವಾಗುವ ಮೊದಲು ಭಾರತದ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲೇ ಅತೀ ಕಮ್ಮಿಯಿತ್ತು. 1980ರ ದಶಕದ ಅಂತ್ಯದ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅತೀ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ವಿದೇಶಿ ಸಾಲದ ಹೊರೆಯಿರುವ ಮೂರನೇ ದೇಶವಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿದೆ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಾ ವಿದೇಶಿ ಸಾಲಗಾರ ಅದೇಶಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ನಡೆಯಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿತು. ಎಚ್ಚರಗೇಡಿ ಉದಾರೀಕರಣದಿಂದ ಉಂಟಾದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಉದಾರೀಕರಣದಿಂದಲೇ ಪರಿಹರಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಕಟ್ಟುಕಥೆಯನ್ನು ಭಾರತದ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿ ಬಂದಿತು. 1991ರ ಮಧ್ಯಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಅರಂಭವಾದ ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ಹಿಂದಿರುವುದು ಇದೇ ನಟನೆ. ಅದೇನು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ಗೆ ಒಪ್ಪುವ ಮಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿದೆ.

117 ದೇಶಗಳು ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದ ಒಂದು ಒಪ್ಪಂದದಿಂದ ಭಾರತ ದೂರವಿರಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ?—ಇದು ಅವರು ಕೇಳುವ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ ದೂರ ನಿಲ್ಲುವಂತದ್ದಲ್ಲ—ಯಾವ ಶರತ್ತಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಬರಬೇಕು ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ. ಇದೇ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ತಾನು ಅನುಪ್ರಸರಣ ನಿಷೇಧ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಬಾರದು ಎಂಬ ನಿರ್ಣಯವನ್ನು ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಪಾಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇನೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ನೆನಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದು. ಅಂದರೆ ಈ ರೀತಿ ಸಹಿ ಮಾಡದಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ಭಾರತ ಅಣುಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸರಣಗೊಳಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸುತ್ತದೆಂಬ ಅರ್ಥ ಬರುತ್ತದೆಯೇ? 20 ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಹಿಂದೆ 1974 ರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ಭೂಮಿಯೊಳಗಡೆ ಪರಮಾಣು ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ ನಡೆಸಿತ್ತು. ಅದರ ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಬಾಂಬು ತಯಾರಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ಭಾರತ ಒಂದು ಶಾಂತಿಯುತ ಪರಮಾಣು ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮ ನಡೆಸುವ ಇಚ್ಛೆಯುಳ್ಳವರಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರ ಕಣ್ಣಿಗೂ ಇದೆ. ಆದರೂ ಅಣು ಪ್ರಸರಣ ನಿಷೇಧ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಲು ನಿರಾಕರಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಏಕೆ? ಸರ್ಕಾರವೇ ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವಂತೆ ಈ ಸಂಧಿ ಪಕ್ಷಪಾತಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ನಿಷೇಧ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕದಿರುವ ಮೂಲಕ ಇಂತಹ ಭದ್ರತೆಯ ಅಗತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬಯಸುವ ಒಂದು ಸಂಧಿ ವಿವಿಧ ದೇಶಗಳ ನಡುವೆ ಸಮಾನತೆಯ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ರೇಪೇಷಿಯೆ ಮತ್ತು ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಭಾರತ ಒತ್ತಡ ಹಾಕಬಯಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಕಳೆದ ಮೂರು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲವಾರು ದೇಶಪ್ರೇಮಿ ಮುಂತಾದವರು ದಂಕೀ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಆಧರಿಸಿದ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ವಿನಾಶಕಾರಿ ಮಧ್ಯರೀತಿಯನ್ನು ಜನರ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಎಡಪಕ್ಷಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಮೂಹಿಕ ಸಂಘಟನೆಗಳು ಒಂದು ಸಕ್ರಿಯ ಪ್ರಚಾರ—ಪ್ರತ್ಯೋಭಿ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿವೆ, ದೇಶವ್ಯಾಪಿ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಮುಖ್ಯರೀತಿಯು, ಭಾರತ ಬಂದ್, ಜೈಲೋಭರಣ, ಮತಪ್ರದರ್ಶನಗಳು ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಸಿವೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಎದುರಾಗಿ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ತನ್ನ ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಾಧ್ಯಮದ ಮೂಲಕ ಸುಳ್ಳು ಮಾಹಿತಿಗಳ, ತಪ್ಪು ದಾರಿಗಳ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಗಳ ಮಹಾಪೂರವನ್ನೆ ಹರಿಸಿದೆ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಈಗ ಕಾನೂನು ಭಂಗ ಚಳುವಳಿ ಅರಂಭಿಸುವ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ಹಲವಾರು ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟೀಕರಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಕೆಲವನ್ನು ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಉತ್ತರಿಸಿದ್ದರೂ ಮತ್ತೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಉತ್ತರಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಉದಾರೀಕರಣ, ಜಾಗತೀಕರಣ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಘೋಷಣೆಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ತ್ವರಿತ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಜನಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಮಹಾ ಮೋಸವನ್ನು ಅಂದಾಜು ಮಾಡಲು ಇದು ಅಗತ್ಯ.

ಇದೇ ರೀತಿ ಈ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಎಂಬ ಮ್ಯಾಜಾರ ಒಪ್ಪಂದದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇವಲ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾತ್ರ ಗುರುತಿಸದೆ ಎಲ್ಲಾ



# ಸುಂಕಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಕುರಿತಾದ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ

## ೧ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಎಂದರೇನು?

ಸುಂಕಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಕುರಿತಾದ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಎಂಬರ್ಥದ ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷ್ ಪದಗುಚ್ಚಗಳ ಸಂಕ್ಷಿಪ್ತರೂಪ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ (GATT-General Agreement on tariffs and Trade). ಇದು ದ್ವಿತೀಯ ಜಾಗತಿಕ ಯುದ್ಧಾನಂತರ 1948ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಡಿಬಂತು.

ಇದರ ಮೊದಲು ಯುದ್ಧ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗಲೇ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರವನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಅನುಕೂಲದಂತೆ ನಡೆಸಲು ಏನು ಮಾಡಬೇಕು ಎಂಬ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಮತ್ತು ಬ್ರಿಟನ್ ನಡುವೆ ಚರ್ಚೆಗಳು ನಡೆದಿದ್ದವು. 1945ರ ಬ್ರೈಟನ್‌ವುಡ್, ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್ (ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಣಕಾಸು ನಿಧಿ) ಮತ್ತು ವಿಶ್ವಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ ಜನ್ಮವಿತ್ತಿತ್ತು. ಅದರ ಚಿಕ್ಕಹಿಂದೆಯೇ ಒಂದು ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ವಿಚಾರ ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದಿತ್ತು.

ಯುದ್ಧದಿಂದ ಧ್ವಂಸಗೊಂಡ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪುನರ್ರಚನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖಂಡತ್ವ ಕೊಡುವ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯ ಹೊಂದುವ ಆರಂಭಿಕ ಯೆಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್ ಮತ್ತು ವಿಶ್ವಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್ ರಚನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮುತುವರ್ಜಿ ವಹಿಸಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಎರಡು ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳ ನಿರ್ಣಯ ಪ್ರತಿಯು "ತೂಕದ ಮತದಾನ"ದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ನಡೆಯುವುದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಯಿತು. ಅಂದರೆ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ತಲಾ ಒಂದು ಮತವಲ್ಲ - ಈ ನಿಧಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹಣನೀಡುವ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮತಗಳು. ಈ ರೀತಿ ಈ ಎರಡು ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಉಳಿದಿವೆ.

1948ರಲ್ಲಿ ಹವಾನಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯ ಒಂದು ಸಭೆಯ ಅಂಗೀಕಾರ ಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಸಂಸತ್ತು ಇದನ್ನು ಅನುಮೋದಿಸಲು ನಿರಾಕರಿಸಿ ಈ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ಮೂಡಿ ಬರದಂತೆ ತಡೆಯಿತು. ಈ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಅನ್ವಯವಾಗುವ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳು ತನಗೂ ಅನ್ವಯವಾಗುವುದನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಲು ಅದು ಸಿದ್ಧವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆ ಆಂದರೆ ಯುದ್ಧ ಮುಗಿದ ಕೂಡಲೇ ಇದ್ದ ಸನ್ನಿವೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾವೇ ಪ್ರಬಲ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಆದರೆ ನಂತರದ ದಶಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅದರ ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನ ಹಾಗೇ ಉಳಿಯಲಿಲ್ಲ, ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಜಪಾನ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಜರ್ಮನಿಯ ಗಮನಾರ್ಹ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಿಂದಾಗಿ. ವಿಶ್ವದಾದ್ಯಂತ ಸುಗಂಧಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಇವೆರಡೂ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ನೆರವು ನೀಡಿದ್ದು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾವೇ. ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ ವಶೆಯಲು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ತನಗೆ ಅನುಕೂಲ ವಾಗುವಂತೆ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರವನ್ನು ಮರು ಸಂಘಟಿಸ ಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು; ನವ-ವಸಾಹತುಶಾಹೀ ಶೋಷಣೆಯನ್ನು ತೀವ್ರಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಒಂದು ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ಚೌಕಟ್ಟನ್ನು

ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಸಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಹೀಗಿರುವಾಗ ಮಲ್ಟಿಕೋನ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ರಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆ (W.T.O)ಯ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶಕ ಸೂತ್ರ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೆ ಅಶ್ವರ್ಥವೇನು? ಯಾವ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ W.T.O. ಈಗ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿದೆಯೋ ಅವು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಇಂದಿನ ವಿಶ್ವ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೂಕ್ತವಾಗಿವೆ.

ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಹರಿವನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವ ಉದ್ದೇಶ ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದ ವೇದಿಕೆಯಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ 23 ಸ್ಥಾಪಕ ಸದಸ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತವೂ ಒಂದು. ಈಗ ಇದನ್ನು ಕೆಲವೇ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ದೇಶಗಳ ವಿಶ್ವ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯದ ವೇದಿಕೆಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ.

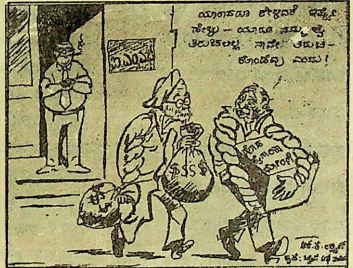
## ೨ ಬಹು ಪಕ್ಷೀಯ

ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳ ಉರುಗ್ಗೇ ಮತ್ತು ಎಂದರೇನು?

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಆರಂಭವಾದಂದಿನಿಂದ ಸರಕುಗಳ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಗಳ ಸುಕಳಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳ ಏಳು ಸುತ್ತಗಳು ನಡೆದವು. ಸುಂಕ ಎಂದರೆ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ದೇಶ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೇಳುವ ಹಣಕಾಸು. ಅದೇ ಸರಕುಗಳನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುವ ತಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗಳನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಲು ಅಥವಾ ದೇಶದ ಆಂತರಿಕ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಈ ಸುಂಕ ಹಾಕಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. 1986ರಲ್ಲಿ ಉರುಗ್ಗೇ ದೇಶದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ದೇಶ ಎಷ್ಟು ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಮುತುವರ್ಜಿಯಿಂದ ಬಹುಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳು ಆರಂಭವಾದವು. ಇದರ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಾ ಮೊತ್ತಮೊದಲ ಬಾರಿಗೆ ಸರಕುಗಳ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಪಾರಂಪರಿಕ ಚೌಕಟ್ಟನ್ನು ಮೀರಿ ಹೋಗಿತ್ತು. 15 ಹೊಸಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾತುಕತೆಗೆ ತರಲಾಯಿತು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಟ್ರಿಪಸ್ (TRIPS) ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಘಟನೆ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವಗಳು, ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್ (TRIMS-ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಹೂಡಿಕೆ ಕ್ರಮಗಳು), ಕೃಷಿ, ಸೇವೆಗಳು, ವಸ್ತುರೇಷ್ಮೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಉದ್ಯಮಗಳು ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳೂ ಸೇರಿವೆ. ಇವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಮೊದಲ ಬಾರಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿಸುವುದಲ್ಲದೆ ಇವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಒಟ್ಟಾಗಿ ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ಇಲ್ಲವೆ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ಯನ್ನು ಬಿಡಬೇಕು ಎಂಬ ವಿಧಾನವನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಯಿತು.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಸುತ್ತಿನ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾವೇ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿತು. ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದಲ್ಲಿನ ಬದಲಾಗುತ್ತಿರುವ

ಆರ್.ಕೆ. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣ್ ಅವರ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ವ್ಯಂಗ್ಯ ಚಿತ್ರ



1986ರಲ್ಲಿ ಹವಾನಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯ ಒಂದು ಸಭೆಯ ಅಂಗೀಕಾರಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಸಂಸತ್ತು ಇದನ್ನು ಅನುಮೋದಿಸಲು ನಿರಾಕರಿಸಿ ಈ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ಮೂಡಿ ಬರದಂತೆ ತಡೆಯಿತು. ಈ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಅನ್ವಯವಾಗುವ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳು ತನಗೂ ಅನ್ವಯವಾಗುವುದನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಲು ಅದು ಸಿದ್ಧವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.



ಅಂಕ-ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಗಳು ಇದಕ್ಕೊಂದು ಉದಾಹರಣೆ.

ಈ ರೀತಿ ಹತೋಟಿ ತರಬೇತೆಕಾರರ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವಕ್ಕುಳಿಸುವುದು (ಅಂದರೆ ಈಗಿನ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರಬಹುದಾದ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ) ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡರೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸಾಧ್ಯ. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ಮುಂದಿನ ವಿಶ್ವ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗಳನ್ನು ತಮಗೆ ಬೇಕಾದಂತೆ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸಬಹುದು, ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವುದು. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೇ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಸ್ (TRIPS) ಅಂತಹಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂತು.

ಸರಳ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಬದಲು ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನೇ ಲೋಪನೆಯ ಸಾಧನೆಯಾಗಿ ಬಳಸುವುದನ್ನು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪೂಲಕ ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬಯಸುತ್ತಿದೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ. ಅದರ ಲೆಕ್ಕಾಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹ ಜ್ಞಾನಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಪುನಶ್ಚೇತನ ಈ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ವಿವರದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು-

"ಆಕೀ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಬೆಲೆಬಾಳುವ ರಫ್ತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಚ್ಚ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಅಪಬಂಧಿಸಿದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, 1969ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಮತ್ತು ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ (R&D)ಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಬಳಸುವ ಸರಕುಗಳ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾತ 10.5 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಷ್ಟು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮೌಲ್ಯದ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದರೆ, 1979ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು 39.3 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಿಗೇರಿತು. ಇದೇ ಅನುಪಾತದಲ್ಲಿ ಇತರ ಸರಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಪೋತಾ 6.7 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಿಂದ 34.8 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಿಗೇರಿತು. ಈ ಹೆಚ್ಚಳದ ಬಹುಭಾಗ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿಗೆ ಮಾಡಿದ ಮಾರಾಟದಿಂದ ಬಂತು.

(ಪ್ರೊಫೆಸರ್ ಫ್ರಾನ್ಸಿಸ್ಕೊ ಡಿ ಸ್ಟೀನ್ ಫೋಲೊ)

ಈ ಹೊಸ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳ ಮೇಲಿನ ಹತೋಟಿಯ ಮೂಲಕ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ಜಗತ್ತಿಗೆ ಅದರಲ್ಲೂ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಬಹುಮಟ್ಟಿಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸವಾಲೇ ಇಲ್ಲದಂತೆ ಮಾಡಬಯಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ತಮ್ಮ ಸೂಪರ್ ಲಾಭಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಶೋಷಣೆಯನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಬಯಸುತ್ತಿವೆ.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮ ಪಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ಈ ಹೊಸ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ಉಯ್ಯೇ ಸುತ್ತಿನ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳು ಡಿಫಾರ್ ಕಾಲ ನಡೆಯಬೇಕಾಗಿ ಬಂತು. ಬಹಳ ದರ್ಜೆ ಇದು ನಡೆಯಿತು. ಈ ನಡುವೆ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ದೇಶಗಳ ನಡುವೆಯೇ ವಿಭಿನ್ನ ನಿಲುವುಗಳು, ಫೈರುಡ್ಡುಗಳು ಕಂಡುಬಂದವು. ಒಂದೆಡೆ ಅವು ತಂತಮ್ಮ ನಡುವಿನ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳನ್ನು ಬಗೆಬಗೆಯಿಂದ ಪೂರೈಸುತ್ತಿವೆ; ಇನ್ನೊಂದೆಡೆ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಶೋಷಣೆಯನ್ನು ತೀವ್ರಗೊಳಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಬಹಳತೆಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದವು.

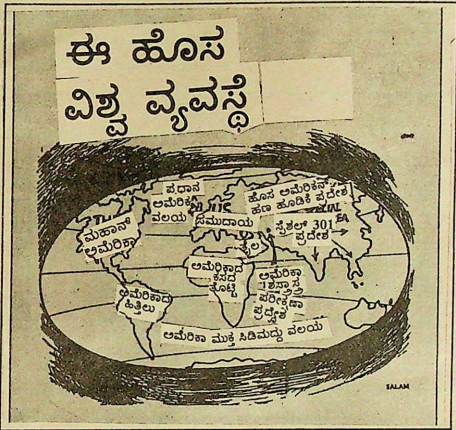
○ ದೆಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವನೆಗಳು ಎಂದರೇನು? ಉಯ್ಯೇ ಸುತ್ತಿನ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳು ಡಿಸೆಂಬರ್

1991ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಕ್ತಾಯಗೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಅದರ ಹಾಗಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ.

1991ರ ವಿದ್ಯಮಾನ ಭಾಗದ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ವಿಶ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹತ್ವ ಪೂರ್ಣ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗಳು ನಡೆದವು. ಸೋವಿಯೆತ್ ಒಕ್ಕೂಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರ್ವ ಯೂರೋಪಿಯನ್ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಾಜವಾದ ಕುಸಿಯಿತು. ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಅರ್ಥೈಕ ಜಾರ್ಜ್ ಬುಶ್ ಒಂದು ಹೊಸ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯ ಶಾಹಿ ಮುನ್ನೋಟವನ್ನು ಸಾರಲು ವೇದಿಕೆ ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಯಿತು. ಇನ್ನು ವಿಶ್ವ ರಾಜಕೀಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೈನಿಕ ಧೈರ್ಯಶಾಲಿ, ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಾಗಲಿ ತಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಸರಿಗಟ್ಟುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ ತುಂಬಿಕೊಂಡ ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ತಾನು ಬಯಸಿದ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉಯ್ಯೇ ಸುತ್ತಿ ಬೆಗನೇ ಮುಕ್ತಾಯಗೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಒತ್ತಡ ಹಾಕಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿತು. ಇದರ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಡಿಸೆಂಬರ್ 1991 ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗಿನ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮಹಾ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಕ ಅರ್ಥ ರಾಂಕೆಲ್ ಅವರವರಿಗೆ ನಡೆದ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳ ಅಧಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ತಯಾರಿಸಿದ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವನೆಗಳು 430 ಪುಟಗಳ ದಪ್ಪದ ಕರಡು ತಯಾರಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಕರಡನ್ನು ಒಟ್ಟುಗಿಯೇ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಬೇಕು. ಅಂದ ಯಾವುದೇ ದೇಶ ಅದರ ಒಂದಂಶವನ್ನು ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಿ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ತಿರಸ್ಕರಿಸಲು ಅನಕಾಶವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದೇ ದೆಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವನೆ ಮರಾಟೆಕೆಲ್ ನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದ ಅಂತಿಮ ಶಾಸನ ಈ ಕರಡಿನ ತುಸುವೇ ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿಯಾದ ಒಂದು ಅಭಿಪ್ರತಿ.

○ ಉದಾರಗೊಂಡ ಮುಕ್ತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೆ ನೆರವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೇ? ಎಲ್ಲಾ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೂ ಇದು ನೆರವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬುದೊಂದು ಮಿಥ್ಯೆ. ಎಲ್ಲಾ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಮಾನ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಅನಕಾಶಗಳಿಗುತ್ತವೆ ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥ ಬರುವಂತೆ ಜಾಗತೀಕರಣ ಎಂಬ ಪದವನ್ನು ಬಳಕೆಗೆ ತರಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಅದರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತತೆ ತದ್ವಿರುದ್ಧ. ಈ ಜಾಗತೀಕರಣ ಎನ್ನುವುದು ಅಸಮಾನ ಜಗತ್ತಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ಚೌಕಟ್ಟು ನೀಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ, ಅದು ಕೂಡಾ ತ್ರೀಮಂತ ಮತ್ತು ಬಡದೇಶಗಳ ನಡುವಿನ ಅಸಮಾನತೆಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸುವಂತಹ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳ

ಸಲಾಂವರ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ



ಸೋವಿಯೆತ್ ಒಕ್ಕೂಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರ್ವ ಯೂರೋಪಿಯನ್ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಾಜವಾದ ಕುಸಿಯಿತು. ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಅರ್ಥೈಕ ಜಾರ್ಜ್ ಬುಶ್ ಒಂದು ಹೊಸ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯ ಶಾಹಿ ಮುನ್ನೋಟವನ್ನು ಸಾರಲು ವೇದಿಕೆ ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಯಿತು. ಇನ್ನು ವಿಶ್ವ ರಾಜಕೀಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೈನಿಕ ಧೈರ್ಯಶಾಲಿ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಧೈರ್ಯಶಾಲಿ ತಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಸರಿಗಟ್ಟುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ ತುಂಬಿಕೊಂಡಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ತಾನು ಬಯಸಿದ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉಯ್ಯೇ ಸುತ್ತಿ ಬೆಗನೇ ಮುಕ್ತಾಯಗೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಒತ್ತಡ ಹಾಕಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿತು.

ಅಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ತೊಡಿಸಿರುವ ಸೈದ್ಧಾಂತಿಕ ವೇಷವನ್ನೇ.

ದೇಶಗಳ ನಡುವಿನ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸದಾ ಆಯಾಮ ದೇಶದ ಆಂತರಿಕ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಶಕ್ತಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ, ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ನಿಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಒಂದು ದೇಶ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕ್ಕೆ ಹೇಗೆ ಬಳಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಆಧರಿಸಿರುತ್ತದೆ. "ಮುಕ್ತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ" 18ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟನ್ನಿನ ವಸಾಹತುಶಾಹಿ ವಿಪರನೆಯ ತಾತ್ವಿಕ ನೆಲೆಗಟ್ಟಾಗಿತ್ತು. ತನ್ನ ವಸಾಹತುಗಳ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ತನ್ನ ಅಧಿಪತ್ಯವನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿ ಅದು ಭರದಿಂದ ಕೈಗಾರೀಕರಣ ನಡೆಸಿದುದರ ಹಿಂದಿದ್ದ ಸೈದ್ಧಾಂತಿಕ ವೇಷ ಅದಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಇಂದು ವಿಶ್ವಸಂಸ್ಥೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಯೋಜನೆ(UNDP) ಯು 1992ರ ಮಾನವ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ವರದಿ ಗ್ಯಾಬ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಮೂಲಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತಿರುವ ದೇಶಗಳು ಒಟ್ಟು 500 ತತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳನ್ನು ಕಳಕೊಂಡವು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಬಯಲಿಗೆಳೆದಿದೆ. ಉತ್ಪಾದಿತ ಸರಕುಗಳ ರಫ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪಾಲು 1966ರಲ್ಲಿ 11.2 ಶೇ. ಇದ್ದದ್ದು 1988ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇವಲ 13.8 ಶೇ. ಕೈರಿತವು. ಅದರ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಮುಕ್ತಾಯ ಪಾಲು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳ ನಡುವೆಯೇ ನಡೆಯಿತು. 1980ರಿಂದ 1989ರ ನಡುವೆ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ಪಾಲು 36 ಶೇ.ದಿಂದ 21 ಶೇ. ಕ್ಕೆ ಇಳಿಯಿತು. ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಬೆರತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಪಾಲು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶ ಗಳೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ವಿಶ್ವ ಬೆಲೆಗಳು ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾದವು. 1980ರ ದಶಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಡಾಲರು ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಶ್ವ ಅರ್ಥಿಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾರ್ಪಾನಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿತ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆಗಳು 35 ಶೇ.ದಷ್ಟು ಏರಿತದ್ದು. ಕೃಷಿ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ 30 ಶೇ.ದಷ್ಟು ಇಳಿಯಿತು. 1990ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾದುತ್ತಿರುವ 10 ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ 1980ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಕಮ್ಮಿಯಾಯಿತು. ಅತೀ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಇಳಿತವಾದದ್ದು ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬೆಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ. ಎರಡು ದಶಕಗಳ ಹಿಂದೆ ಒಂದು ಟನ್ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯಿಂದ ಕೂಟಾಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಟನ್ನಿನಷ್ಟು ತೈಲ ಸಿಕ್ಕರೆ ಇಂದು 8 ಟನ್ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟರೂ ಒಂದು ಟನ್ನಿನಷ್ಟು ತೈಲ ಸಿಗುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವಾಗಿರುವುದು ತೈಲ ಬೆಲೆ ಏರಿಕೆಯಿಂದಲೂ, ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬೆಲೆ ಇಳಿದಿದ್ದರಿಂದ.

ಲಂಬಿಸಿದ ಉಪ-ಸಹಾರಾ ಅತ್ವಿಕನೇ ದೇಶಗಳು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು 26 ಶೇ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಿದವು. ಆದರೆ ವಿಶ್ವ ಬೆಲೆಗಳು ಇಳಿದಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ರಫ್ತುಗಳಿಂದ 3 ತತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಷ್ಟು ಕಳಕೊಂಡವು.

ಹೀಗೆ ಒಂದು ಉದಾರಗೊಂಡ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೆ ನೆರವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಸತ್ಯದೂರವಾದ, ಕಳೆದ ದಶಕಗಳ ಅನುಭವಕ್ಕೆ ವ್ಯತಿರಿಕ್ತವಾದ ಮಾತು.

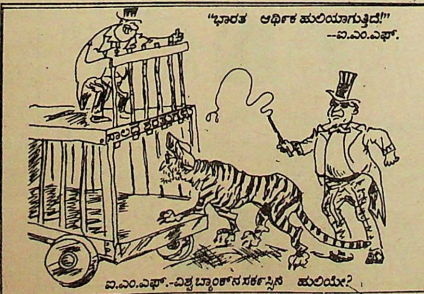
**○ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆ W.T.O. ದಿಂದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಿದೆಯೇ?**

ಮೂರನೇಶನಲ್ಲಿ ರಚಿಸಿದ W.T.O.ದ ಸನ್ನದು ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆಯೂ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನವನ್ನೇ ಬಲಗೊಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ, ಈ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕುವ ಪ್ರತಿ ಯೊಬ್ಬರೂ ಅದನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಒಪ್ಪಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ, ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವೀಕರಣ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಅನುಮೋದನೆ ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಭಾರತವೂ ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ದೇಶದ ಸರಕಾರವೂ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಬೇಕು, ಇಲ್ಲವೇ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯನ್ನು ಒದ್ದಬೇಕು. ಇಂತಹ ಒಂದು ಶರತ್ತಿಗೆ ಒಪ್ಪಿ ನಾವು ವಿವಿಧ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಒತ್ತಡಗಳಿಗೆ ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಅಧೀನಗೊಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದೇವೆ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ, ಭವಿಷ್ಯತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬರಬಹುದಾದ ಒತ್ತಡಗಳಿಗೂ ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ತೆರೆದಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೇವೆ.

ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ಈ ಸನ್ನದಿನಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಪರಿಸರ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಮಟ್ಟದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳನ್ನೂ ಸೇರಿಸಬಹುದು. ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮಾತಾಡುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಭಾರತದಂತಹ ದೇಶಗಳ ರಫ್ತಿನ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು W.T.O. ನ ಎರಡನೇ ಕಲಮಿನ ಅಧಿನಿಯೆ ಪರಿಚ್ಛೇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿಸಬಹುದು. ಗ್ಯಾಬ್-1947ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹುದಕ್ಕೆಲ್ಲಾ ಸರ್ವಸಮ್ಮತಿ ಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಬ್ 1994ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ವಸಮ್ಮತಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗದಿದ್ದರೆ ಎರಡನೇ ಮೂರು ಬಹುಮತದಿಂದ ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿ ತರಬಹುದು. ಯಾವುದಾದರೂ ದೇಶ ಇದನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಲು ಸಿದ್ಧವಿಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೆ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಪಾಲು ಬಹುಮತದಿಂದ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಬಾಗಿಲು ತೋರಿಸಬಹುದು. ಹೀಗೆ W.T.O.ಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಭಾರತ ಸದ್ಯದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಿದೆಯಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಇದನ್ನು ಮೂಲಭೂತವಾಗಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಡಿಸಿದರೆ, ನಮ್ಮ ಆಂತರಿಕ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನಿರ್ಣಯದ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯೊಳಗೆ ಬರುವ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳಿಗೂ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಲು ಒಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಂತಾಗಿದೆ. ಸಹಜವಾಗಿಯೇ ಇದು ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗೆ ಏನು ತರುವ ಸಂಗತಿ.

**"ಮುಕ್ತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ" 18ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟನ್ನಿನ ವಸಾಹತುಶಾಹಿ ವಿಪರನೆಯ ತಾತ್ವಿಕ ನೆಲೆಗಟ್ಟಾಗಿತ್ತು. ತನ್ನ ವಸಾಹತುಗಳ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ತನ್ನ ಅಧಿಪತ್ಯವನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿ ಅದು ಭರದಿಂದ ಕೈಗಾರೀಕರಣ ನಡೆಸಿದುದರ ಹಿಂದಿದ್ದ ಸೈದ್ಧಾಂತಿಕ ವೇಷ ಅದಾಗಿತ್ತು.**

"ಇಂಥದೊಂದಿಗೆ ವಿದಾ"



ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಸ್ವೀಡನ್ ಬಾಕೋಲಿಟ್‌ಗಳ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯನ್ನೇ ತಗೊಳ್ಳಿ. ಇದನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸಲು ಬೇಕಾಗಿರುವ ಕೋಕೋ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಿಂದ ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. 1985 ಹಾಗೂ 1986ರ ನಡುವೆ ಕೋಕೋವನ್ನು ಆದ



# ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮತ್ತು ಕೃಷಿ

೦ ಕೃಷಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿರುವ  
ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳೇನು?

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಕೃಷಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು 'ವಿಘ್ನತಿ'ಗಳನ್ನು ಗುರುತಿಸಿ ಅವನ್ನು ಕ್ರಮೇಣ ಸಂಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು, ಕೃಷಿ ಸರಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರವನ್ನು ಉದಾರೀಕರಿಸಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ವಿವಿಧ ದೇಶಗಳ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಪ್ರವೇಶಿಸಲು ಅವಕಾಶ, ಅಂತರಿಕ ನೆರವು ಅಂದರೆ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳು, ರಫ್ತು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳು ಇವುಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ವಚನಗಳಿಗೆ ಬದ್ಧವಾಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಆಮದುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಅಂದರೆ ಎಷ್ಟನ್ನು ಮಾತ್ರ ಆಮದು ಮಾಡಬಹುದೆಂಬ ಮಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಸುಂಕ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ತರಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ. ಈಗಿನಂತೆ ಕೆಲವು ಆಮದುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ನೇರವಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಬಂಧ ಹಾಕುವುದನ್ನು ಇಷ್ಟು ಮುಂದೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ದೇಶ ಮಾಡುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಬದಲು ಸುಂಕ ಹಾಕಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಎಷ್ಟು ಸುಂಕ ಹಾಕಬಹುದು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೂ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳಿವೆ.

ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ (ನೆರವು)ಗಳನ್ನು: ಎರಡು ವಿಧಗಳ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ- ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ನೆರವು, ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೇತರ ನೆರವು. ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಎಂದರೆ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ನೀಡುವ ನೆರವು. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸರಕಾರ ಬೆಳೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಭರವಸೆ ನೀಡುವ ಬೆಂಬಲ ಬೆಲೆ ಈ ತೆರನದ್ದು. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ 20 ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳಿಗೆ ಇಂತಹ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ನೀಡಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಉತ್ಪಾದನೇತರ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಎಂದರೆ ಬೆಳೆ ಯಾವುದಿ ದ್ದರೂ ಕೃಷಿಗೆ ನೀಡುವ ನೆರವು. ಅಂದರೆ ರಸ್ತೆ, ಅಣ್ಣ, ನೀರು, ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿ, ಬೀಜಗಳು, ಸಾಲ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳಿಗೆ.

ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳು ಈ ಎರಡು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿ ಕೊಡುವ ಹಣ ಆದರೆ ಒಟ್ಟು ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ 10 ಶೇ. ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಕಡಿಮೆಯಿದ್ದರೆ ಇದನ್ನು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಅಗತ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಕಲಮು 6. ಹಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಭಾರತ ಈ ಗುಂಪಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವುದರಿಂದ ಮುಂದಿನ ಆರು ವರ್ಷ ಇದರ ಮರುಪರಾಮರ್ಶೆ ಮಾಡುವವರೆಗೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯವೇನಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಅದು ತರ್ಕ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು. ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಬಂದಿರುವ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಕಡಿತಗಳು ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ಒತ್ತಾಯದಿಂದ ಬಂದವುಗಳು.

ಆದರೆ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳ ಖರ್ಚಿನ ಮೊತ್ತ ವರುತ್ತಾ ಹೋದಂತೆ ಈ ಗುಂಪಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ಉಳಿಯಲು ಹಿಡಿಯಬಹುದಾದ ಏಕೈಕ ದಾರಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಈಗ

ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವಂತೆ ಏಕಪಕ್ಷೀಯವಾಗಿ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಡಿತ ಮಾಡುವುದು. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವೇಶೀ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆಯ ನಿರ್ಣಯವನ್ನೇ ತಗೊಳ್ಳಿ. ಸರಕಾರ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಲು ಆಮೆರಿಕಾದ ದೈತ್ಯ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿ ಎಸ್ಪ್ರೋನ್ ಸಂಠವುಗಳಿಗೆ 16 ಶೇ. ಲಾಭದ ಭರವಸೆ ನೀಡಿದೆ. ಇದು ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಬಳಕೆದಾರರು ತೆರಬೇಕಾದ ಬೆಲೆಯನ್ನು ಖಂಡಿತಾ ಬಹಳವಾಗಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಸರಕಾರ ಕೃಷಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ನೀಡುವ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಯ ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಿ ಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಯ ಮೊತ್ತಗಮನಾರ್ಹ ವಾಗಿ ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಿಸಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಇರುವ ದಾರಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಈ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನೇ ತ್ಯಜಿಸಲು ಸರಕಾರ ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದು.

ಯೋಜನಾ ಆಯೋಗ ಒಂದು ಲೆಕ್ಕ ಹಾಕಿದೆ. ಕೃಷಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಒದಗಿಸುವ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಯಿರುವ ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿ ದರವನ್ನು ಯುನಿಟಿಗೆ 48 ಪೈಸೆಯಿಂದ 98 ಪೈಸೆಗೆ ಏರಿಸಿದರೆ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 25 ಶೇ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಳವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿಯ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಖಾಸಗೀಕರಿಸಿ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದಂತೆ 16 ಶೇ. ಲಾಭದ ಆಶ್ವಾಸನೆ ನೀಡಿದರೆ ಒಂದು ಯುನಿಟಿನ ಖರ್ಚು 4 ರೂ. ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆಗ ಮೇಲಿನ ಲೆಕ್ಕಾಚಾರದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಎಷ್ಟಾಗಬಹುದು, ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರ ಮೇಲೆ ಎಂತಹಾ ಹೊರೆ ಬೀಳಬಹುದು-ನೀವೇ ಊಹಿಸಿ.

ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶ: ನಾವು ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯ ಅವಕಾಶದ ಆಶ್ವಾಸನೆಗಳನ್ನು (ಅಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಅಂತರಿಕ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯನ್ನು ವಿವೇಶೀ ಆಮದುಗಳಿಗೆ ತೆರೆಯುವುದು) ಗ್ಯಾಟ್

ಯೋಜನಾ ಆಯೋಗ ಒಂದು ಲೆಕ್ಕ

ಹಾಕಿದೆ. ಕೃಷಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ

ಒದಗಿಸುವ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಯಿರುವ

ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿ ದರವನ್ನು ಯುನಿಟಿಗೆ 48

ಪೈಸೆಯಿಂದ 98 ಪೈಸೆಗೆ ಏರಿಸಿದರೆ

ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 25

ಶೇ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಳವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿಯ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು

ಖಾಸಗೀಕರಿಸಿ 16 ಶೇ. ಲಾಭದ

ಆಶ್ವಾಸನೆ ನೀಡಿದರೆ ಒಂದು

ಯುನಿಟಿನ ಖರ್ಚು 4 ರೂ.

ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆಗ ಮೇಲಿನ

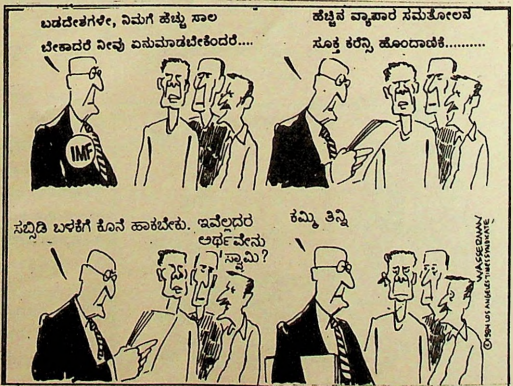
ಲೆಕ್ಕಾಚಾರದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಆಹಾರ

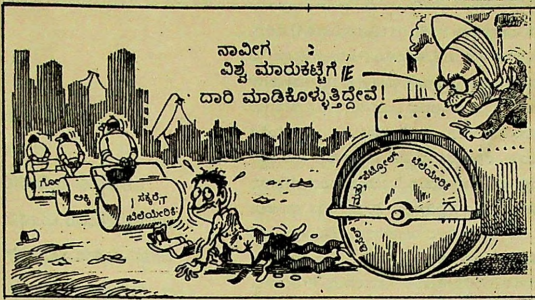
ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಎಷ್ಟಾಗಬಹುದು,

ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರ ಮೇಲೆ ಎಂತಹಾ

ಹೊರೆ ಬೀಳಬಹುದು-ನೀವೇ

ಊಹಿಸಿ.





ಇಂದಿಯನ್ ಎಕ್ಸ್‌ಪ್ರೆಸ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ಕೈನಾನ್

ಅಂದರೆ ಭಾರತ ಕನಿಷ್ಠ 4 ಶೇ. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಲೇಬೇಕಾಗಿಬಹುದು. ಈ ಒತ್ತಾಯದ ಅಮದು ದೇಶದ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯದ ಮೇಲೊಂದು ಭಾರಿ ಹೊರೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ 1993ರಲ್ಲಿ ಗೋಧಿಯ ಬೆಲೆ ದೇಶದೊಳಗೆ ಕ್ವಿಂಟಾಲ್‌ಗೆ 4350 ರೂ. ಇದ್ದಾಗ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡ ಗೋಧಿಯ ಬೆಲೆ 512 ರೂ. ಇತ್ತು. ನಮ್ಮ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 20 ಶೇ. ದಷ್ಟು ಮಾತ್ರ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರಲು ಉಳಿಯುವ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ. ಒಟ್ಟು ಬಳಕೆಯ 4 ಶೇ. ಅಂದರೆ ಈ ಮಾರಲು ಉಳಿಯುವ 4/5 ದಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ಎಂದರೆ ಅದು ಬೆಲೆಗಳ ಏಣ್ಣನ್ನು ದುಪ್ಪರಿಕಾಮ ಬೀರಬಹುದು.

ಸಂಧಿಯ ಕಲಮು 4(1) ರ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದೇಶೀಕಾರದ "ಅತ್ಯಾಸನಗಳ ಶೆಡ್ಯೂಲಿ"ನಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಪಾಠ (text) ಹಲವು ಕ್ಷಿಪ್ರ ಕಸರತ್ತುಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಇಂತಹ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶಕ್ಕೆ ಮಿತಿಯನ್ನೂ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟಪಡಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ದೇಶಗಳು "ವಿಶೇಷ ನಡವಳಿ"ಗೆ ಅರ್ಹರಾಗಬಹುದು. ಇದರರ್ಥ ಒಂದು ದೇಶ ಅಂತರರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಬೆಲೆಗಳನ್ನು ತಟ್ಟಬಹುದಾದಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಸರಕಿನ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ತೊಡಗಿಲ್ಲವಾದರೆ (ತನ್ನ ಬಳಕೆಯ 3 ಶೇ. ಕ್ವಿಂಟಾ ಕಮಿ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆ) ಅಂತಹ ದೇಶ ಇಂತಹ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದ ಮೇಲೆ ಮಿತ ಇತ್ತೀಚಿನ ಹಾಕಬಹುದು ಇದಕ್ಕೆ 'ಸೂಂಕವಲ್ಲ ತಡೆಗಳು' ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮವಾಗಿ ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಈ "ವಿಶೇಷ ನಡವಳಿ"ಯಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಶೇಷವೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಗ್ಯಾರ್ಸಿ ಸಂಧಿಯ 5ನೇ ಅನುಬಂಧದ 1(e) ಪರಿಚ್ಛೇದದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಬ್ಬರೂ ಮೂಡಲಿಬರುವ ಸಂಗತಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಇಂತಹ "ವಿಶೇಷ ನಡವಳಿ"ಗೆ ಅರ್ಹವಾಗಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಒಂದು ದೇಶ ತನ್ನ 1986-88ರ ಸರಾಸರಿ ಬಳಕೆಯ 4 ಶೇ. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬೇಕು. ಇದು ನಂತರ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ (ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಇದು ಹತ್ತುವರ್ಷ ಪ್ರತಿವರ್ಷ 0.8 ಶೇ.ದಂತೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಬೇಕು.

ಈ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನ ಅವಧಿಯ ಅಂತ್ಯದೊಳಗೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ಒಂದು ಸರಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ದೇಶದ ಈ "ವಿಶೇಷ ನಡವಳಿ"ಯ ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನ ಇಲ್ಲವಾದರೆ 1986-88ರ ಬಳಕೆಯ ಅಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ 8 ಶೇ. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಬೇಕು (ಅನುಬಂಧ 5, ಪರಿಚ್ಛೇದ 5). ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಸೂಂಕಗಳನ್ನು 15 ಶೇ. ದಷ್ಟು ಇಳಿಸಬೇಕು (ಅನುಬಂಧ 5, ಪರಿಚ್ಛೇದ 6)

ಅಧಿವೃತ್ತಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಕೃಷಿ ಸರಕುಗಳು ಎಂದರೆ ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಅಹಾರ ವಸ್ತುಗಳು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ WTO ಜಾಗೃತಿ ಬಂದ ಕೂಡಲೇ (ಅಂದರೆ ಜುಲೈ 1995ರಲ್ಲಿ) 1 ಶೇ. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಬೇಕು. 2005 ರ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ಇದು ಶೇ. 4ಕ್ಕೆರಬೇಕು. ಇದು ಅನ್ವಯವಾಗುವುದು

ಇತರ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಸರಕುಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೂಕ್ತಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಿದರೆ ಮಾತ್ರ. (ಅನುಬಂಧ 5, ಬಿ. ವಿಭಾಗ, ಪರಿಚ್ಛೇದ 7(a) ಮತ್ತು (b))

ಒಟ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಅಮದು ಬೇಕೊ ಬೇಡವೋ ಅಂತಹ ಬಳಕೆಯ ಕನಿಷ್ಠ 4 ಶೇ. ದಷ್ಟು ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲೇಬೇಕು. ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ನಮಗೆ ಅನುಕೂಲಕರವಾದ ಅಂಶವಿದೆ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ ಸರಕಾರ. ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ (balance of payments) ಮುಹಾತ್ಮಕವಾಗಿವೆ (ಅಂದರೆ ವಿದೇಶಗಳಿಂದ ಒಳಗೆ ಬರುವ ಹಣ ಹೊರಗೆ ಹೋಗುವುದೇ ಅಮದು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿತ್ತೆಂದು) ಅಧಿವೃತ್ತಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ವಿನಾಯಿ ಇದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಈ 'ಅನುಕೂಲ' ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸಲು ಭಾರತದ ಪಾವತಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣೆ ಶಾಶ್ವತವಾಗಿ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣಕರವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು! ನಮ್ಮ ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣೆ ಸುಧಾರಿಸಿದರೆ ಒಂದು ಸರಕಿನ ಅಂತರಕ ಬಳಕೆಯ ಕನಿಷ್ಠ 4 ಶೇ. ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲೇಬೇಕು. ಇನ್ನೇ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಪಾವತಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣೆಯನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವವರು ನಾವಲ್ಲ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಕ್ಷಿಪ್ರ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಅದರ ನಿರ್ಣಯ ಅಂತಿಮ. WTO ದಲ್ಲಿನ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸ್ವರೂಪ, ನಮ್ಮ ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣೆ ಸುಧಾರಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆಯೆಂಬ ಸರಕಾರದ ದಾವಳಿಗಳನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಅನುಕೂಲವು ಸಿಗುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ.

ಅಂದರೆ ಭಾರತ ಕನಿಷ್ಠ 4 ಶೇ. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಲೇಬೇಕಾಗಿಬಹುದು. ಈ ಒತ್ತಾಯದ ಅಮದು ದೇಶದ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯದ ಮೇಲೊಂದು ಭಾರಿ ಹೊರೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ 1993ರಲ್ಲಿ ಗೋಧಿಯ ಬೆಲೆ ದೇಶದೊಳಗೆ ಕ್ವಿಂಟಾಲ್‌ಗೆ 350 ರೂ. ಇದ್ದಾಗ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡ ಗೋಧಿಯ ಬೆಲೆ 512 ರೂ. ಇತ್ತು. ಇದೇ ರೀತಿ ಇತರ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದ ಸರಕಿನ ಬೆಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸದಿಂದ ಭಾರೀ ಮೊತ್ತದ ನಷ್ಟ. ಅದರಲ್ಲೂ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯದ ನಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಈ ಶೇಕಡಾಗಳೆಲ್ಲಾ ನಮ್ಮ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿರೋಧವಾಗಿ ತಳ್ಳಲಾರದಷ್ಟು ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಎಂದು ತುಷ್ಟೀಕರಿಸುವವರು ಈ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಉದಾಹರಣೆ ಗಮನಿಸುವುದು ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದು. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 20 ಶೇ. ದಷ್ಟು ಮಾತ್ರ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರಲು ಉಳಿಯುವ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ. ಒಟ್ಟು ಬಳಕೆಯ 4 ಶೇ. ಅಂದರೆ ಈ ಮಾರಲು ಉಳಿಯುವ 1/2 ದಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ಎಂದರೆ ಅದು ಬೆಲೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಏಣ್ಣೆಲ್ಲಾ ದುಪ್ಪರಿಕಾಮ ಬೀರಬಹುದು. ಎರಡನೆಯದಾಗಿ, 1987-88 ರಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಗೋಧಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಸುಮಾರು 5 ಕೋಟಿ ಟನ್. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಶೇ. 4 ಎಂದರೆ 20 ಲಕ್ಷ ಟನ್. ಇಷ್ಟು ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲೇಬೇಕು ಎಂದರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಬೆಲೆ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸದಿಂದ ಒಂದೇ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ 3340

ಕೋಟಿ ರೂ. ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯ ನಷ್ಟ! ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಿದಾಗ ಒಟ್ಟು ನಷ್ಟ ಎಷ್ಟು ಆಗಾಧ ಎಂದು ನೀವೇ ಊಹಿಸಿ!

**೦ ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮಾತ್ಯ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಕಡಿತದಿಂದ ಭಾರತದ ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳ ರಫ್ತು ಹೆಚ್ಚುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೇ?**

ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಅದರ ವಕ್ರಾರರು ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ತರ್ಕ ಹೂಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮಾತ್ಯ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳ ಕಡಿತದಿಂದ ಅವರ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಭಾರತದ ಕೃಷಿ ರಫ್ತುಗಳು ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಆಕರ್ಷಕವಾಗಿ ಆ ಮೂಲಕ ನಮ್ಮ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಚಿಹ್ನವೆನೆಗೆ ನೆರವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಇದು ಅವರು ಹರಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಕಟ್ಟುಕಥೆ. ಕಾಣದವರೇ ನೀಡಿದಾಗ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶೇಷ ಅವಕಾಶ ಒದಗಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಕಂಡರೂ ವಾಸ್ತವವಾಗಿ ಇಲ್ಲೂ ಲಾಭ ಪಡೆಯುವವರು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳವರೇ. ಗಮನಾರ್ಹ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಕಡಿತದಿಂದ ತಪ್ಪಿಸಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಈ ಸಂದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ಹಾದಿ ಗಳನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ಅವರು ಮೊದಲಿನಂತೆಯೇ ವಿಶ್ವ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಲೆಗಳು ಎಷ್ಟರ ಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಕೃಷಿ ಸಂದಿಯ ಸಂಬಂಧವಾದ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಕುರಿತಾದ ಅನುಬಂಧದ ಅರಸಿನ ಕಲಮಿನಲ್ಲಿ Decoupled Income Support(ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಗೊಳಿಸಿದ ಆದಾಯ ಬೆಂಬಲ) ಎಂಬುದಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ರೈತರಿಗೆ ವಿವಿಧ ಬಾಲ್ಯುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾವತಿ ಮಾಡಬಹುದಾದ ಹಲವು ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಇನ್ನೂ ಗಮನಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಸಂಗತಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಇದರ ಉಪ ಕಲಮು (ಇ)ನಲ್ಲಿ "ಸಂತಹ ಪಾವತಿ ಪಡೆಯಲು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಅಗತ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ" ಎಂದೂ ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ಇಂತಹ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ಸರ್ಕಾರ 1986 ರಿಂದ ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಅನುಕೂಲ ಪಡೆದ ಭೂಮಿಯೆಂದು ಘೋಷಿಸಿದ ಕೃಷಿ ಜಮೀನಿಗೆ ಹಣನೀಡಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇದು ದೇಶದ ಒಟ್ಟು ಕೃಷಿ ಜಮೀನಿನ 52.5 ಶೇ ದಷ್ಟಾಗುತ್ತೆ. ಯುರೋಪಿಯನ್ ಸಮುದಾಯ ಗೋಧಿ ಬೆಳೆಯಲು ತನ್ನ ರೈತರಿಗೆ ಟನ್ನಿಗೆ 180 ಡಾಲರು ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಗೋಧಿಯನ್ನು ವಿಶ್ವ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 80 ಡಾಲರಿಗೆ ಆರು ಮಾಡುತ್ತದೆ. 1982 ರಿಂದ 1985 ರ ನಡುವೆ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ತನ್ನ ರೈತರಿಗೆ ನೀಡಿದ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ 5 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಿಂದ 22 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಿಗೆ

(ಸುಮಾರು 750 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳಿಗೆ) ಏರಿತದೆ. ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ "ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಗೊಳಿಸಿದ ಆದಾಯ ಬೆಂಬಲ"ದ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ಇಂತಹ ಹಲವು ಅವಕಾಶಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ವಿವೇಕ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿದೆ. ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ತರ್ಕ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಆವಿಯಾಗಿ ಬಿಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ದೇಶಗಳು ಈಗಿನ ಮಟ್ಟದ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 20 ಶೇ. ಕಡಿತ ಮಾಡಲು ಒಪ್ಪಿವೆ. ಈ ಕಡಿತದ ನಂತರವೂ 1986-90ರ ಬೆಲೆ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ತನ್ನ 64 ಶೇ. ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಹಾಗೂ ಯುರೋಪಿಯನ್ ಸಮುದಾಯ 79 ಶೇ.ದಷ್ಟು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಇನ್ನೂ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಬಹುದು ಎಂದಿದ್ದ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಮಾಜಿ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಕಾರ್ಯ ದರ್ಶಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಎಸ್.ಪಿ. ಶುಕ್ಲಾ.

ಒಟ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಸಂದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗಿರುವುದೇನೆಂದರೆ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಗರಿಷ್ಠ ಮಿತಿ ಹಾಕಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಮೇಲ್ಮಟ್ಟದ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಗಳನ್ನು ಕಾನೂನುಬದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಉಳಿಸಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ನಾವು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನು 10 ಶೇ.ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮಾಡಬಹುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ 1986-90 ರ ಮಟ್ಟದ 64 ಶೇ. ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಯನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಬಹುದು! ಈ "ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಗೊಳಿಸಿದ ಆದಾಯ ಬೆಂಬಲ"ದ ಅವಕಾಶ ಗಳನ್ನು ಎಲ್ಲ ದೇಶಗಳೂ ಬಳಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾದರೂ ವಾಸ್ತವವಾಗಿ ಇದನ್ನು ಬಳಸಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗುವುದು ಈ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ತಮ್ಮ ರೈತರಿಗೆ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ನೀಡುವ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಇರುವ ಕೆಲವೇ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ.

ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮಾತ್ಯ ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳ ಮೇಲಿನ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಕಡಿತದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗೆ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಆಯಾಮವೂ ಇದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಯುರೋಪಿಯನ್ ಸಮುದಾಯ ಇಂದು ತನ್ನ ಕೃಷಿಗೆ ಸುಮಾರು 200 ಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಷ್ಟು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ನೀಡುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ 20 ಶೇ. ಕಡಿತ ಎಂದರೆ 40 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು ಕಡಿತ ದಿಂದ ಯುರೋಪಿಯನ್ ಸಮುದಾಯ ರಫ್ತು ಮಂಡುವ ಸರಕುಗಳು ಅಂದರೆ ಖಾದ್ಯ ತೈಲ, ಗೋಧಿ, ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಏರಬಹುದು. ಖಾದ್ಯ

ಒಟ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಸಂದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗಿರುವುದೇನೆಂದರೆ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಗರಿಷ್ಠ ಮಿತಿ ಹಾಕಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಮೇಲ್ಮಟ್ಟದ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಾನೂನುಬದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ನಾವು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನು 10 ಶೇ.ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮಾಡಬಹುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ 64 ಶೇ. ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಯನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಬಹುದು!

"ತಿಳಿದಿರೋ"ನಲ್ಲಿ ವೀಣಾ



ಇವೆಲ್ಲದರ ಒಟ್ಟು ಪರಿಣಾಮವೆಂದರೆ ಹಣದ ಬೆಳೆಗಳನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸುವ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ತ್ರೀಮಂತ ರೈತರ ಒಂದು ವಿಭಾಗಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ತಾತ್ಕಾಲಿಕ

ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ದೇಶದ ಒಟ್ಟಾರೆ ಆಹಾರ ಭದ್ರತೆಗೆ ಕೆಡುಕುಂಟು ಮಾಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಕಣ್ಣುದರೇ ಕಾಣುವ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯೆಂದರೆ ಗಗನಕ್ಕೇರಿದ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬೆಲೆ.

ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲೂ ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಒಟ್ಟು ಪರಿಣಾಮದಿಂದಾಗಿ ಬೆಳೆ ವಿಧಾನ ಬದಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ, ಆಹಾರ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಇಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಾಗೂ ಬರದ ಭಯ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ.

ತ್ಯೇಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಸ್ವಯಂಪೂರ್ಣರಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಭಾರೀ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಬೆಳೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾದರಿಯೇ, ಕೆಟ್ಟದಾಗಿದೆಯೇ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನಾಧರಿಸಿ ನಾವು ಸಕ್ಕರೆ, ಗೋಧಿ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳನ್ನು ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಹೊಸ್ತಿಲಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಂತಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಹೀಗಿರುವಾಗ ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮಾತ್ಯ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಕೃಷಿಗೆ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳಿಗೆ ನೀಡುವ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅರಿಸಿ-ಅರಿಸಿ ಕಡಿತೆ ತಂದರೆ ಅದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ಆಹಾರ ರಫ್ತು ಹೆಚ್ಚುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಬದಲಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಅಮದು ಖರ್ಚು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಸರಕುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆಯೇ ರೀತಿಯೇ ಫಲವಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ವಿದೇಶಿ ವಿನಿಮಯ ಹರದು ಹೋಗುತ್ತದೆ.

### ○ ನಮ್ಮ ಕೃಷಿ ನೀತಿಗಳನ್ನು

ಇದು ಹೇಗೆ ತಪ್ಪುತ್ತದೆ?

ಇದರ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಪರಿಣಾಮವೆಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಆಹಾರ ಭದ್ರತೆಗೆ ಗಂಧಾಂತರ ಬರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಲ್ಲಾಗಿ ರಫ್ತು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷೆಯಿಂದ ನಡೆಯಲಾರಂಭಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ರೈತರು ಯಾವ ಬೆಳೆಯನ್ನು ಅರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ಎಂಬುದರ ಮೇಲೂ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಬೀರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆಹಾರ ಬೆಳೆಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಹಣದ ಬೆಳೆಗಳತ್ತ ವಾಲುವ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಯೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಒಟ್ಟಾರೆ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಕುಗ್ಗುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮ್ಮಂತಹ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಪಾಲು ಜನರ ಆಹಾರ ಆಗತ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಆಹಾರ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ವಿಪರೀತ ಹೆಚ್ಚಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ದೇಶದೊಳಗೆ ಬಳಕೆಗೆ ಸಿಗುವ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಎಂದಿಗೂ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ವಿತರಣಾ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಕುಗ್ಗುತ್ತಾ ಸಾಗಿದೆ. ತೋರಿಸಿದಾಗಲೂ ಇದನ್ನು ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದರೂ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಈಗಿನ ಬುದ್ಧಿ ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಈ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಯೂ ಭಾರೀ ದೂರ.

ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯಲ್ಲೂ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳ ಆಹಾರ ಭದ್ರತೆ ಕುರಿತಂತೆ ಅನುಬಂಧ 2 ರ ಪರಿಚ್ಛೇದ 5 ಹಾಗೂ 6ರಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಅಡಿ ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳಿವೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ "ಕಣ್ಣಿಗೆ ಕಾಣುವಂತಿರಬೇಕು", "ಪೋಷಣಾಂಶ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆ" ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳಲ್ಲದೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಆಹಾರ ದಾಸ್ತಾನು ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡು ವಿತರಿಸುವ ಬಗೆಯೂ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳಿವೆ. ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬೆಲೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಬೆಲೆಗಳ ನಡುವಿನ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ಹಾಗೂ ರೇಶನ್ ಅಂಗಡಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬೆಲೆಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ

ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಬೆಲೆಗಳ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವನ್ನು ಬೆಂಬಲದ ಆಳತೆ ಮೊತ್ತಕ್ಕೆ (Aggregate Measurement of Support - AMS) ಸೇರಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಶರತ್ತು ಇದೆ. ಈ ಮೊದಲು ಹೇಳಿದ 10 ಶೇ. ಗರಿಷ್ಠ ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಮಿತಿ ಈ ಎ.ಎಂ.ಎಸ್. ನ್ನೇ ಆಧರಿಸಿದೆ. ಈ ಎ.ಎಂ.ಎಸ್. ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ 0 ಶೇ. ಮೀರಿಂದ ನಾವು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿಗಳನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದರಿಂದ ಈ 10 ಶೇ. ಗರಿಷ್ಠ ಮಿತಿಯೊಳಗಿರಬೇಕಾದರೆ ರೇಶನ್ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮಾಡುವ ಖರ್ಚಿನನ್ನು ತೀವ್ರವಾಗಿ ಮಿತಿಗೊಳಿಸಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಇವೆಲ್ಲದರ ಒಟ್ಟು ಪರಿಣಾಮವೆಂದರೆ ಹಣದ ಬೆಳೆಗಳನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸುವ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ತ್ರೀಮಂತ ರೈತರ ಒಂದು ವಿಭಾಗಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ತಾತ್ಕಾಲಿಕ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ದೇಶದ ಒಟ್ಟಾರೆ ಆಹಾರ ಭದ್ರತೆಗೆ ಕೆಡುಕುಂಟು ಮಾಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಕಣ್ಣುದರೇ ಕಾಣುವ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯೆಂದರೆ ಗಗನಕ್ಕೇರಿದ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬೆಲೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಕಾರಣ ಕಬ್ಬಿನ ಬೆಳೆಯಿಂದ ಬೇರೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಲಾಭಕಾರಿ ಬೆಳೆಗಳನ್ನು ಬದಲಾವಣೆ. ಪರಿಣಾಮವಾಗಿ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬೆಲೆ ಕೆ.ಜಿ.ಗಿ. 20 ರೂ.ವರೆಗೂ ಏರಿತು. ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲೇ ಬೇಕಾಯಿತು. ಇದರ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳಿಗೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ವಿದೇಶಿ ವಿನಿಮಯ ಕೂಡಾ ಹರಿದು ಹೋಯಿತು.

ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಇಂತಹಾ ನೀತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಅನುಸರಿಸಿದ ಹಲವು ಆಹಾರದ ಮಿಗುತೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಿದ್ದ ದೇಶಗಳು ನಂತರ ತಮ್ಮ ಮೂಲಭೂತ ಆಹಾರ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಕೂಡಾ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲೂ ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಒಟ್ಟು ಪರಿಣಾಮದಿಂದಾಗಿ ಬೆಳೆ ವಿಧಾನ ಬದಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ, ಆಹಾರ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಇಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಾಗೂ ಬರದ ಭಯ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ.

ಇದು ಕೇವಲ ಯಾರನ್ನಾದರೂ ಭಯಪಡಿಸಲು ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಧೃತ್ಯವಲ್ಲ. ಅಲ್ಲೇ ಭಾರತದ ವಿವಿಧ ವಿಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಸಿವಿನಿಂದ ಸಾವು ಸಂಭವಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಬಡಜನರಿಗೆ ಆಹಾರದ ಪೂರೈಕೆ ತೀವ್ರವಾಗಿ ಕಡಿತಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ್ನು ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತರುವುದರಿಂದ ಲಕ್ಷಾಂತರ ಜನ ಹಸಿವಿನಿಂದ ಕಂಗಾಲಾಗುತ್ತಾರೆ, ಆದರೆ ಕೆಲವೇ ಹಣದ ಬೆಳೆಗಳ ಉತ್ಪಾದಕರು ಲಾಭ ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸಬಹುದು, -ಅದೂ ಸದ್ಯದ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ.



# ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮತ್ತು ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು

## ○ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಸ್ ಎಂದರೇನು?

ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಸ್ ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರಾಚಾರ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಯ ಇಡೀ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವನ್ನೇ ಆವರಿಸಿವೆ. ಇವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಎಂಬ ತೆರೋಣಾಮೆಯಡಿ ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಎಂಬ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳ ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡಿದೆ: ಕಾಪಿ ರೈಟ್, ಟ್ರೇಡ್ ಮಾರ್ಕ್‌ಗಳು, ಭೌಗೋಳಿಕ ಸೂಚನೆಗಳು, ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಪ್ರಾರೂಪಗಳು, ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳು, ಇಂಟೆಲಿಜೆಂಟ್ ಸರ್ಕ್ಯೂಟ್‌ಗಳ ವಿಧಗಳ ಲೇಔಟ್ ಪ್ರಾರೂಪಗಳು (ಕಂಪ್ಯೂಟರುಗಳೂ ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಇಲೆಕ್ಟ್ರಾನಿಕ್ ಉಪಕರಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಪ್ರಿಂಟರ್ ಸರ್ಕ್ಯೂಟ್‌ಗಳು), ತಿಳಿಯಪಡಿಸದ ಮಾಹಿತಿಗಳ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ, ಪ್ರಾಚಾರ ರಹಸ್ಯಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಕಾಂಪ್ಯೂಟ್ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳ ಪ್ರಧಾನ-ವಿರೋಧಿ ಆಚರಣೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಹಕ್ಕೋಸ್ಕರ.

ಇವೆಲ್ಲದರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ತೀವ್ರವಾಗಿ ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವೆಂದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳದ್ದು.

ವಿಶ್ವಾಂವೇಯ ನಿರ್ವಹಣೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಂದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಎಂದರೆ ನಿರ್ವಾಹಕರಿಗೆ ಅಥವಾ ಸಂಶೋಧಕರಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಇವರಿಂದ ಹಕ್ಕು ಪಡೆಯುವ ಇತರ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕಾನೂನುಬಾಹಿರ ಒಂದು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಅವಧಿಯವರೆಗೆ ನೀಡುವ ವಿಶೇಷ ಸೌಧಭ್ಯು. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ಆ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೆ ಯಾರಿಗೂ ಅದನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುವ, ಬಳಸುವ ಅಥವಾ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆದ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾರುವ ಅಥವಾ ಒಂದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆದ ವಿಧಾನವನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಯನ್ನು ಬಳಸುವ ಹಕ್ಕಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಒಂದು ಹೊಸ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಅಥವಾ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯ ಜ್ಞಾನ ಅದರ ಸಂಶೋಧಕನೊಂದಿಗೆ ಮಣ್ಣಾಗಿದೆಯೆ ಇದೇ ಮಾನವ ಕಾಲದ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕ್ಕೆ ಬಳಕೆಯಾಗುವಂತೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಲು ಎಂಬುದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಿದ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ತತ್ವ. ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿಯಾದ ಇತರ ಸರಕುಗಳಂತೆ ಜ್ಞಾನ ಕೂಡಾ ಒಂದು ಸರಕು. ಆದರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಅದು ಎಷ್ಟು ಲಾಭತರಬಲವು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಅವಲಂಬಿಸಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳು ಹೀಗೆ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕವಾದ ವಿಧಾನವಾಗುವ ಬದಲು ಗುಟ್ಟಾದ ಲಾಭದ ಸಾಧನವಾಗಿವೆ. ಹೊಸ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದಿರಬೇಕು ಎಂಬ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ ಗುರಿಯ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಗುಟ್ಟಾದ ಲಾಭದ ಆವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಏರ್ಪಡಿಸಲು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಇರುವ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧೃವ್ಯತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಭಾರತದ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ನವೀನವಾದ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ

ಗಳನ್ನೇ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು. ಇದನ್ನು ಜೀವಂತ ಜೀವಿಗಳು, ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳು, ಗಣಿತದ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳಿಗೂ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಲು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಈ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳನ್ನೇ ಈಗ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಸ್‌ನಡಿ ತರಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಭಾರತವೂ ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ದೇಶಗಳು ಇವನ್ನೇ ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲೇಬೇಕು.

## ○ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನು, 1970ನ್ನು ಬದಲಿಸಿದರೆ ದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹಾನಿಕಾರಕ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಬೀಳುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೇ?

ಈಗ ನಾವು ಅನುಸರಿಸುವುದು 1970ರ ಭಾರತ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನನ್ನು. ಈ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಅಂಶವೆಂದರೆ ಔಷಧಿ, ಆಹಾರ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಸಾಯನಿಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅನುಮತಿಯನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವಿಧಾನದ, ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾತ್ರ ಇದೆ. ಪರಮಾಣು ಮತ್ತು ಬಾಹ್ಯಾಕಾಶ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೇಶದ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಿ ಯಾವುದೇ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅನುಮತಿಯನ್ನು ನೀಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಸ್‌ನ ಕಲಮು 28(1) ವಿಧಾನದ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕೂಡಾ ಅರಂಭಿಸಬೇಕು, ಇದು ಪರಮಾಣು, ಬಾಹ್ಯಾಕಾಶ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನೂ ಒಳಗೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ.

ಇದರ ಅರ್ಥವೇನು? ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕನ ಅನುಮತಿಯಿಲ್ಲದೆ, ಆತನಿಗೆ ರಾಯಧನ ನೀಡದ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಿದ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಬೇರೊಂದು ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ತಯಾರಿಸಲು ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅವಕಾಶವಿತ್ತು. ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದು ನಮ್ಮ ಔಷಧಿ ಉದ್ಯಮಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಸೇರ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಔಷಧಿ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ವಿದೇಶದ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವುದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಕಡಿಮೆ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೊಂದು ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಕೊಷ್ಟಕ -2 (ಪ್ರಜೆ 13 ನೋಡಿ) ಒಂದೇ ಔಷಧಿಯ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ವಿದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸಿದೆ. ಹೊಸ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಜೀವ ಉಳಿಸುವ ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ, ಬದಲಾಗಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಬೆಲೆಯ ಒಟುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅವಲಂಬಿಸಲೇ ಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

1970ರ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಸೆಕ್ಷನ್ 83 ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಿದ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಹಿಂದಿರುವ ತತ್ವವನ್ನು ಹೀಗೆ ಘೋಷಿಸುತ್ತದೆ:

1) ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹಿಸಲು, ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಆಧಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ತಾರ್ಕಿಕವಾಗಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗುವ

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳು ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕರಿಸುವ ವಿಧಾನವಾಗುವ ಬದಲು ಗುಟ್ಟಾದ ಲಾಭದ ಸಾಧನವಾಗಿವೆ. ಹೊಸ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದಿರಬೇಕು ಎಂಬ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ ಗುರಿಯ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಗುಟ್ಟಾದ ಲಾಭದ ಆವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಲು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕನ ಅನುಮತಿಯಿಲ್ಲದೆ, ಆತನಿಗೆ ರಾಯಧನ ನೀಡದ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಿದ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಬೇರೊಂದು ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ತಯಾರಿಸಲು ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅವಕಾಶವಿತ್ತು. ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದು ನಮ್ಮ ಔಷಧಿ ಉದ್ಯಮಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಸೇರ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಔಷಧಿ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ವಿದೇಶದ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವುದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಕಡಿಮೆ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೊಂದು ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ.

ಧಾರವೇಯು ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ಕಾನೂನು ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಗಾಗಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯಿಂದ

ರೂಪಿತವಾಗಿದ್ದು ಗ್ರಾ.ಪ. ಸಂಘ ಪ್ರಧಾನರು; ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ಧಾರವೇಳೆ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ವಲಯದಲ್ಲೂ ಗುತ್ತಿಗೆದಾರ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ವರ್ಧಕರಾದವರು ಬಾಡಿದೆ.

**ಕೆ.ಎಂ.ಎಸ್.ಕೆ - ೨**

ಪೂರ್ಣ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನಾಥ ವಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡಲು ಮತ್ತು 2) ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ಪದವಿದಾರ ಪೇಟೆಯಿಂದ ವಸ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಮದು ಮಾಡುವಲ್ಲಿ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯವನ್ನು ಅನುಭವಿಸಲು ವಾಸ್ತವ ಅಡ್ಡು ನಿರತರಾಗುವುದು; ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಗ್ರಾ.ಪ.ನ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಆಮಾನದ ICಯ 27(1)ನೇ ಅಂಶವು ಹೀಗೆ ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ:-  
 ".....ಯಾವುದೇ ಘರವು ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಲಾಗುವುದು ಆಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಅನಾಥ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯವಾಗಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಿದರೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ಭೇದ ಭಾವವಿಲ್ಲದ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳು, ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ಪಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು ಅನುಭವಿಸಲಾಗುವುದು."  
 ಹೀಗೆ ಧಾರವೇಯು ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ಕಾನೂನು ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಗಾಗಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯಿಂದ ರೂಪಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಗ್ರಾ.ಪ. ಸಂಘ ಪ್ರಧಾನರು; ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ಧಾರವೇಳೆ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ

ಭೇದ	ಭಾರತ ರೂ.	ಆಮಂತ್ರಣ ರೂ.	ರೂಪಾ ರೂ.	ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯ ರೂ.
ಕಾನೂನುಬಾಹಿರವಾದ	19.36	626.15	252.77	125.50
ನವರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯರಾದ	400 ಮು.ಗಾಂ. X 10 ಮಾತ್ರಿಗಳು	305.11	315.96	234.63
500 ಮು.ಗಾಂ. X 4 ಮಾತ್ರಿಗಳು	5.67	239.47	95.84	35.80
ಕೊಡಲಿ ನಾಡುಗಳಿಂದ	300 ಮು.ಗಾಂ. X 10 ಮಾತ್ರಿ	744.65	481.31	200.40
ಅಲ್ಪ ರೂ. ಮೊತ್ತ	71.25	992.46	684.05	
ಮಾತ್ರ 20 ಮು.ಗಾಂ. X 10 ಮಾತ್ರಿ	7.50	228.36	103.21	86.63
ಪ್ರಧಾನ ದೂರಗಳಿಗೆ	9.00	230.83	147.97	37.20
ಪದವಿದಾರರಾದ	28.80	1068.37	542.92	323.16
ಮಾತ್ರ 50 ಮು.ಗಾಂ. X 10 ಮಾತ್ರಿ	158.60	3612.47	750.93	-
ಮಾತ್ರ 100 ಮು.ಗಾಂ. ಇವೆರಡಕ್ಕಿಂತ				

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ವಲಯದಲ್ಲೂ ಗುತ್ತಿಗೆದಾರ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ವರ್ಧಕರಾದವರು ಬಾಡಿದೆ.

ಮಾನ್ಯ ಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳ ಕಾರ್ಯದರ್ಶಿ (ಅೀಯವು ಎ.ವಿ. ಗಣೇಶರಾವ್) ಗ್ರಾ.ಪ. 199ನೇ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಕರಾದ ದ್ವಯ, ಅತ್ಯುತ್ತಮ ಸಹಕಾರವನ್ನು ಪ್ರದರ್ಶಿಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಮೌಲ್ಯ 217.7. 89ರ ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ ನಂಬೆ 416/ 23ರಲ್ಲಿ ಏನು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದರೆಯಾದರೂ, ನೋಡಿ- "ಕಾನಾಜಿ, ಔಷಧಿ ಮತ್ತು ಯಾವುದೇ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ವಿಭಿನ್ನ ಸ್ಥಾನ ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಅನಾಥರಾದ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾನೂನುಬಾಹಿರವಾದ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳ ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಇವನ್ನು ಎಲ್ಲ ಗಮನಿಸುವುದು ಸೂಕ್ತ ಈ ಸಂಬಂಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂ ವಾರಂ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ನಿರ್ವಹಣೆಯಿಂದ ಮಾನ್ಯ ಹಿತವರ ಮೃತ್ಯುವು, ಎಲ್ಲರೂ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳ ಮಾಡಿ ಗೋಳಿಸಿ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಉಂಟಾಗುತ್ತದೆ, ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಮತ್ತು ಆದೇಗಾಗಿ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಸೂಕ್ತ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳ ಆಮದು; ಅತ್ಯಾವಶ್ಯಕ ಔಷಧಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ಗೋಳಿಸುವ ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅನಾಥರಾದ ವಲಯವನ್ನು ವಲಯವನ್ನು ಆರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಗುತ್ತಿಗೆದಾರರಾದವರು ಉಂಟಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ನಿರ್ವಹಣೆಯಿಂದ ಕೃಷಿ-ಕಾನೂನುಬಾಹಿರವಾದ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳ ವಲಯಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ವಹಣೆಯಿಂದ ಉಂಟಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ಅತ್ಯಾವಶ್ಯಕ ಈ ನಿರ್ವಹಣೆ ವಲಯಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಪರಿಣಾಮವನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿದ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳ ಈ ಕಾರಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಆಮದು, ಔಷಧಿ ಮತ್ತು ಯಾವುದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಮಾಡುವ; ಈ ಮಾರ್ಗದಿಂದ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಳ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಗೆ ಒಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆಮಾನಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿ ಬಂದರೆ ವಿಶೇಷ ಅನುಗ್ರಹಗಳನ್ನು ಆರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಗಂಪು ಮತ್ತು ಮಣ್ಣು ಮಣ್ಣುಗಳನ್ನು

".....ಯಿಂದ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ-ಆರ್ಥಿಕ, ಆಧಿಪತ್ಯ ಸಂಬಂಧ, ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಸರ್ವತೋಮುಖ ಹಿತಾನ್ವಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರದರ್ಶಿಸಿ ತನ್ನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಬಳಿಗಳ ಉಂಟಾಗುವುದು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಅನುಭವಿಸಲು ಅರ್ಹತೆ ಪಡೆಯುವುದು ಮತ್ತು ಅನುಭವಿಸುವುದು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸುವುದು ಸ್ವಯಂಸಹಾಯದಂತೆ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ.೧೯೬೨ರ ಮಾರ್ಚ್ ೨೬ರಂದು ರೂಪಿತವಾದ

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾದಲಾಗದ ವಿಧಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಒಂದು ಸಮರೂಪದ ಅಧ್ಯಯನವನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವುದಾಗಲೀ, ಒಂದು ವಿದೇಶವು ಬಲಯ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟಿನಿಂದ ಹೊರಡುವ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮಿತಿಗೊಳಿಸುವುದಾಗಲೀ ತರ್ಕಬದ್ಧವು" ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದರು. ಇದು ಉದ್ದಕ್ಕೂ ಸುತ್ತಿನ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳ ಸಭೆಗೆ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದ ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ ಎಂದು ಗಮನಿಸಿ.

ಅದರ ಇಂದು ಸರಕಾರ 10-15 ಶೇಕಡಾ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಇದು ತಟ್ಟುವುದನ್ನು ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಕಟ್ಟುಕಥೆ. ಅಪರೇಷನ್ ರಿಸರ್ಚ್ ಗ್ರೂಪ್‌ನ ಒಂದು ಸರ್ವೆ ಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ವಿವಿಧ ವಿಭಾಗಗಳಿಂದ ತಯಾರಿಸುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅದ ಔಷಧಿಗಳ ಪಾಲಿ ಅಂಟಿ-ಬಯೋಟೆಕ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ 40 ಶೇ., ಅಲೆ-ಬ್ಯಾಕ್ಟಿರಿಯಲ್ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 98 ಶೇ., ಡ್ರಗ್‌ಯ್-ಸಂಬಂಧ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 51 ಶೇ., ಅಲ್ಪರ ಹುಣ್ಣು ವಿರೋಧಿ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 99 ಶೇ. ಸೋವು ನಿವಾರಕ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 71. ಅಸ್ತಮಾ ವಿರೋಧಿ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 42 ಶೇ. ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ... 1970ರ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಬದಲು ಈಗ ಒತ್ತಾಯಿಸುವ ರೀತಿಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನು ಮೊದಲೇ ಇದ್ದಿದ್ದರೆ ಇವೆಲ್ಲವುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಬಹುಮಂದಿ ಭಾರತೀಯರ ಎಟುಕೆಗೆ ನಿಲ್ಲುಕದಂತಾಗುತ್ತಿತ್ತು. ಅದರ 1970ರ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನನ್ನು ಬದಲಿಸುವುದರಿಂದ ದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೆ ಎಷ್ಟು ಹಾನಿಕಾರಕ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ!

**○ ನಾವು ಹೀಗೆ ಕಿಮ್ಮಿ ಬೆಲೆಯ**

ಅತ್ಯಾವಶ್ಯಕ ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ಬಳಸಬಾರದೇ? ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಭಾರೀ ಬೆಲೆಯ ಔಷಧಿಗಳು ನಮಗೇಕೆ ಬೇಕು?

ಅತ್ಯಾವಶ್ಯಕ ಔಷಧಿಗಳು ಯಾವುದಕ್ಕೆ, ಒಂದು ಸರ್ವಕಾಲಕ್ಕೂ ಅನ್ವಯಿಸುವ ಅಳತೆಗೋಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಳೆಯ ಔಷಧಿಗಳು ಹಳಸಲಾದಂತೆ ಹೊಸ ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸತತವಾಗಿ ತರಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಈ ಮೂರು ದೃಶ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಿ:

1) ಈಗ ವಿಶ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ಷಯರೋಗ ಐವತ್ತು ರೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಈ ಹೊಸ ಕೇಸುಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಪಾರಂಪರಿಕ ಕ್ಷಯರೋಗ-ವಿರೋಧಿ ಔಷಧಿಗಳು ನಾಟವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊಸ ಮಾದರಿ ಕ್ಷಯರೋಗ-ವಿರೋಧಿ ಔಷಧಿಗಳೇ ಬೇಕು. ಇವೆಲ್ಲದಕ್ಕೂ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯಿದೆ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ಷಯ ರೋಗದ ಕೇಸುಗಳು ವಿಶ್ವದಲ್ಲೇ ಅತೀ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಈಗಲೂ ಕ್ಷಯರೋಗದಿಂದ 5 ಲಕ್ಷ ಮಂದಿ ಸಾಯುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಈ ಕ್ಷಯ ರೋಗದ ತೀವ್ರರೂಪ ಇಡೀ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ವ್ಯಾಪಿಸಿ ನಾವು ನಮ್ಮ ಆತ್ಮಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತು ಅರಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನದನ್ನು ದಂಕಲೆ ಕರಡಿಗೆ ಮಾರಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ರೋಗಿಗಳು ಈ ಜೀವ ಉಳಿಸುವ ಕ್ಷಯ ರೋಗ-ವಿರೋಧಿ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಿಂದ

ವಂತಿಕೆಲಾಗಬೇಕಾದೀತು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಉಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ?

2) ಫಾರ್ಮಿಷಿಯಾ ಮೇಲೆಯೂ ಮೇಲೆಯೂ ಕಾಯಿಲೆಯ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ದುಷ್ಟ ರೂಪ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಕವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದರ ಹಲವು ವಿಧಗಳಿಗೆ ಕ್ಷೋರೋ ಕ್ಷೀನಂತಹ ಪಾರಂಪರಿಕ ಔಷಧಿ ನಾಟುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇಂತಹ ಕೇಸುಗಳು ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ದಿಲ್ಲಿಯಲ್ಲೂ ಪತ್ತೆಯಾಗಿವೆ. ಈ ಕಾಯಿಲೆಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಔಷಧಿಯನ್ನು ಸಂಶೋಧಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇವೆಲ್ಲಾ ಕೂಡಾ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿ.

3) ಪಾರಂಪರಿಕ ಔಷಧಿ ಕ್ಷೋರೋಫೆನಿಕಾಲ್ ನಾಟದ ವಿಷಮಪ್ಪರ ಅಥವಾ ಟೈಫಾಯ್ಡ್ ಇಂದು ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಕವಾಗಿದೆ. ಕೆಲವು ಅಧ್ಯಯನಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಕೆಲವು ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 40-50 ಶೇ. ಕೇಸುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಔಷಧಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಪಡಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇಂತಹ ಕೇಸುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಸ ಔಷಧಿ ಸಿಪ್ರೋಫ್ಲೋಕ್ಸೆಸಿನ್ ಬಳಸಬೇಕು. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯಿದೆ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದನ್ನು ಹೊಸದೊಂದು ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ಈಗ ತಯಾರಿಸಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ 24 ರೂ. ಇದ್ದ ಈ ಮಾತೆಯ ಬೆಲೆ ಈಗ 12 ರೂ.ಗಿಳಿದಿದೆ. ಅದು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗಬಹುದು. ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಎಂಬುದು ಇದ್ದಿದ್ದರೆ ಹೀಗಾಗಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.

ಇವು ಕೇವಲ ಕೆಲವು ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳಷ್ಟೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಬಯಸುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಬಂದರೆ ವಿನಾಗಬಹುದು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಕೇತಗಳಷ್ಟೆ. ಇದು ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತೀ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ತಟ್ಟುವುದು ಬಡಜನರನ್ನು.

**○ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅಪಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ಇದೆಯೇ?**

ಈಗ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಹಾರ ರಾಸಾಯನಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಔಷಧಿ ವಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅಪಧಿ 7 ವರ್ಷ, ಇತರ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 14 ವರ್ಷ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ 33ನೇ ಕಲಮಿನ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಈ ಅಪಧಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲೂ 20 ವರ್ಷ ಎಂದಾಗಬೇಕು. ಅಂದರೆ ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಇರಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಯಾವುದೇ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಜನತೆಗಾಗಿ ಅಗ್ಗದ ದರದಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಲು ಇನ್ನೂ 20 ವರ್ಷದ ದೀರ್ಘ ಕಾಲ ಕಾಯಬೇಕು.

**○ "ಆಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದೆಂದರೆ ದುಡಿಸಿದಂತೆ" ಎಂಬುದರ ಅರ್ಥವೇನು?**

ಪೇಟೆಂಟನ್ನು ದುಡಿಸುವುದು ಎಂದರೆ ಒಂದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಡಕವಾಗಿರುವ ಮಾಹಿತಿಯನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟಾದ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಲು ಬಳಸುವುದು. ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನು



ಸುನೀಲ್ ಸಾಮಂತರವರ ವ್ಯಂಗ್ಯ

ಈಗ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಹಾರ ರಾಸಾಯನಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಔಷಧಿ ವಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅಪಧಿ 7 ವರ್ಷ, ಇತರ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 14 ವರ್ಷ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ 33ನೇ ಕಲಮಿನ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಈ ಅಪಧಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲೂ 20 ವರ್ಷ ಎಂದಾಗಬೇಕು. ಅಂದರೆ ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಇರಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಯಾವುದೇ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಜನತೆಗಾಗಿ ಅಗ್ಗದ ದರದಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಲು ಇನ್ನೂ 20 ವರ್ಷದ ದೀರ್ಘ ಕಾಲ ಕಾಯಬೇಕು.

ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾರಾದರೂ ತನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ್ನು ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬರು ಉಲ್ಲಂಘಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದು ಆಪಾದಿಸಿದರೆ ಆತ ತನ್ನ ಆಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಪುರಾವೆಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಟ್ರಿಪ್‌ನ 34ನೇ ಕಲಮಿನ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿ ಸಬೇಕಾದ ಹೊಸ ಆಪಾದನೆ ಹೊರಿಸಿದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಪಾದಿತನ ತೊಂದರೆಯುಂಟು ಮಾಡುವ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಯಿದೆ

ಸುರೇಶ್ ಸಾವಂತರವರ ವ್ಯಂಗ್ಯ ಚಿತ್ರ



ನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಹೊಂದಿರುವ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಒತ್ತಾಯ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಬ್ಬ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದರೆ ಆತ ಅದನ್ನು ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಇತರರು ಅದನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸದಂತೆ ಆತ ತಡೆಯಬಹುದು (ಟ್ರಿಪ್‌ನ ಕಲಮು 28(1 ಹಾಗೂ 2) ರ ಪ್ರಕಾರ). ಒಬ್ಬ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಅದರ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಆರಂಭಿಸದೆಯೇ ಅದನ್ನು ಆತ ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವ ಯಾವುದೇ ಬೆಲೆ ನೀಡಿ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ರೀತಿ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನು ದುಡಿಸುವುದು ಎಂದು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಬೇಕು! ಇಂತಹ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೆ ವಿನಾಶಕಾರಿ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರುತ್ತವೆ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ, ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುವ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯವಿಲ್ಲ ಎನ್ನುವುದರಿಂದ ಸ್ವಳಿಯ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗೆ ತೊಂದರೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಎರಡನೆಯದಾಗಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕನಿಗೆ ಇಂತಹ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ಹಕ್ಕುನೀಡಿ, ಅದೇ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಅದನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಬಾರದು. ಎಂದು ನೀಷೇಧ ಹಾಕುವುದು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಮಾರು ಕಟ್ಟಿಯನ್ನು ಸುಲಿಯಲು ಲಂಠು ಲಾಗುವುದರ ಪರವಾನಗಿ ನೀಡಿದಂತೆಯೇ. ಇದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯವೂ ಸೂರೆ ಹೋಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಿದ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲೇ ಅದನ್ನು ದುಡಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇದನ್ನು ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ವ್ಯತಿರಿಕ್ತವಾಗಿ ಬದಲಿಸಲೆತ್ತಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಅಮರಿಕಾವೇ:

○ ಪುರಾವೆಯ ಹೊಸ ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ಎಂದರೇನು?

ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾರಾದರೂ ತನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ್ನು ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬರು ಉಲ್ಲಂಘಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದು ಆಪಾದಿಸಿದರೆ ಆತ ತನ್ನ ಆಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಪುರಾವೆಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಟ್ರಿಪ್‌ನ 34 ನೇ ಕಲಮಿನ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಹೊಸ ಆಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊರಿಸಿದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಪಾದಿತನ ದುರೆಯುಂಟು ಮಾಡುವ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಯುಂಟು. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಒಂದು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿ ತನ್ನ

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿ ಕಳವು ಮಾಡಿತೆಂದು ಆಪಾದನೆ ಮಾಡಿದರೆ ತಾನು ಹಾಗೆ ಕಳವು ಮಾಡಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಈಗ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ನ್ಯಾಯಾಲಯದ ಕಟ್ಟು ಹತ್ತಬೇಕಾದ ಕೆಲಸ, ಕೋರ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿನ ಕೊಸರಾಟ ಇವೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಮಾಡಲು ಕೆಲವೇ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ಸಾಧ್ಯ. ಈ ನ್ಯಾಯಾಲಯ ವ್ಯವಹಾರ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿ ತಾನು ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದಿದ್ದ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನೂ ಮಾಡುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದರ ಅ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಯ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿ ಒಡತಕ ಹಾಗೇ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ತ್ವರಿತ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಮುನ್ನಡೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಹೊಸ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಬೇಗ ಬೇಗನೇ ಹಳಸಲಾಗುವ ಈಗಿನ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹ ಅವಕಾಶ ಯಾವುದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಕತ್ತನ್ನೇ ಹಿಡಿಸು ಹಾಕಬಹುದು. ಕೊನೆ ಮೊಕದ್ದಮೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂಡಾ ಆಪಾದಿತನ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಆಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಸಾಬೀತು ಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ ನ್ಯಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗೌರವವಿಲ್ಲ.

○ ತಂತಾನೇ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸಿಂಗ್ ಎಂದರೇನು? ಔಷಧಿ ಬೆಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ?

ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಆಹಾರ, ಔಷಧಿ ಹಾಗೂ ರಾಸಾಯನಿಕ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕ ತನ್ನ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ದೇಶದಲ್ಲೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಬಹುಪಾಲು ಜನರ ಹಿತಧ್ಯಕ್ಷಿಯಿಂದ ಅದನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಲು ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್ ನೀಡಬಹುದು. ಕ್ಷಯರೋಗ-ವಿರೋಧಿ, ಮಲೇರಿಯಾ-ವಿರೋಧಿ ಔಷಧಿಗಳಂತಹ ಅಗ್ಗವಾಗಿ ಭಾರೀ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇಕಾಗುವ ಜೀವ ಉಳಿಸುವ ಔಷಧಿಗಳ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗೆ ಇದು ಅನ್ವಯವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕ ಅನುಮತಿ ನೀಡಿದಾಗ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ, ಅದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ರೂಪಿಸಲು ಆಗದಾಗ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಕೊಡಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯ. ಆದರೆ ಲಾಭಕ್ಕಿಂತ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಯೇ ಅದ್ವೈತ ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕಾದ ನಿರ್ಣಾಯಕ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಅವಕಾಶ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿಕೆಯ ಭರವಸೆ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ.

31 ನೇ ಕಲಮು ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸಿಂಗ್ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ತುಂಬಾ ಸೀಮಿತ. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ತುರ್ತು ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಮತ್ತು ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯೇತರ ಉದ್ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಇದು ಸೀಮಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಅವಕಾಶ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವಾಗ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಬೆಲೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿ ಯಿಡಬಹುದು ಎನ್ನುವುದು ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಮಿಥ್ಯೆ.

1970 ರ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಸೆಕ್ಷನ್ 84 ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಂದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಸೀಲಾಗಿ ಮೂರು ವರ್ಷಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆದ ಸಂತೋಧನೆಯಿಂದ



ಯಥೋಚಿತ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಅಗತ್ಯ ಪೂರೈಸದಿದ್ದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅದ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ನ್ಯಾಯೋಚಿತ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಗದಿದ್ದರೆ ಆ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಅರ್ಜಿ ಬಂದಾಗ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್ ನೀಡಬಹುದು. ಕಡ್ಡಾಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸಿಂಗ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ತೀವ್ರ ಮಿತಿ ಹಾಕಿದರೆ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಪ್ರಸಾರಣದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಮೊಟಕುಗೊಳಿಸಿದಂತೆಯೇ. ಇದ್ದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕನಿಗೆ ಗುತ್ಕೇದಾರಿ ಒಡತನ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಭಾರತೀಯ ಕಾನೂನಿನಲ್ಲಿನ ಈ ಕುರಿತ ಅದಕಾಶ ಅವ್ಲೆ ಅಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಒಬ್ಬ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಧಾರಕ ತನ್ನ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ಗಳನ್ನು ಒಟ್ಟು ಸಮಾಜದೊಡನೆ ವಾಲ್ಮೋಕ್ಷಿಯಂತೆ ಮಾಡುವ ವಕೈಕ ಸಾಧನ ಇದು.

**○ ಅದರ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಔಷಧಿಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮೇಲೆ 2005ರವರೆಗೆ ಅಂದರೆ ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ ಆವಧಿ ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಬೆಲೆಯೇರಿಕೆ ಆಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದಲ್ಲವೇ?**

ಇಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಟಾಚಿಕೆಯಿಲ್ಲದ ಮೊಸೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಕಲಮು 70ರ ಪಂಚ್ಯೇದ 8(a) ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಭಾರತ ಡಬ್ಲ್ಯು.ಟಿ.ಓ. ಜಾರಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ಈ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಪ್ರವೇಶಿಸಿದುದರಿಂದ ಇಂತಹ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ ಅರ್ಜಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸುವಂತೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ಒದಗಿಸಬೇಕೆ. ಡಬ್ಲ್ಯು.ಟಿ.ಓ. ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯಾಗಲಿರುವ ಜುಲೈ 1, 1995ರಿಂದ ನಾಪ್ತ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅರ್ಜಿ ಗಳನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗೂ, ವಿಧಾನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗೂ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಬೇಕೆ.

ಕಲಮು 70ರ ಪಂಚ್ಯೇದ 9ರಲ್ಲೂ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗೆ ಸದಸ್ಯ ಪರಿಷೋಧರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಂಚ್ಯೇದ 8(A) ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅರ್ಜಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಹಕ್ಕು ನೀಡಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಹಕ್ಕು ನೀಡುವುದರಿಂದ ಜುಲೈ 1, 1995ರಿಂದಲೇ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ನೀಡಿದಂತೆಯೇ.

ಇನ್ನೂ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಸಂಗತಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಈ ಕಲಮಿನ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರೆ, ಅದನ್ನು ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರೆ ಭಾರತ ತಂತಾನೇ ಈ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಮುನ್ನ ಮಾಡಬೇಕು.

ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಏನೇ ಕಣ್ಣು ಮುಚ್ಚಾಲೆಯಾದರೂ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರುವ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಔಷಧಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಗಗನಕ್ಕೇರುವುದನ್ನು ತಡೆಯಲಾರದು.

**○ ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯ 'ಅನನ್ಯ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ' ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯೆಂದರೇನು?**

ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಜೀವ ವಿಧಗಳನ್ನು, ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಗಳನ್ನು, ಬೀಜಗಳನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡುವ ಅವಕಾಶ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಗಳು ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಜ್ಞಾನಭಂಡಾರವನ್ನು ಸೇರುತ್ತವೆ. ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಒಳಿತಿಗೆ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ಸಿಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಬೀಜಗಳೂ

ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಗೆ ಒಂದು 'ಅನನ್ಯ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ(Sui Generis) ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ' ಇರಬೇಕೆನ್ನು ತ್ತದೆ(ಕಲಮು 27 (ಬಿ)) 'ಅನನ್ಯ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ' ಎಂದರೆ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ಅರ್ಥವಾ ತನ್ನದೇ ಆದ ರೀತಿಯ ರಕ್ಷಣೆ ಎಂದರ್ಥ. ಭಾರತ ಇಂತಹ ಒಂದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯನ್ನು ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇದು ಹೊಸ ತಳಿಗಳ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಗೆ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಮಾವೇಶ(UPOV 1978)ಗೆ ಅನುಗುಣವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅರ್ಥ. UPOV 1978-24 ಜಾತಿಯ ಸಸ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸೀಮಿತ ರಕ್ಷಣೆ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಸಸ್ಯ ಬೆಳೆಸುವವರು ಅದನ್ನು ಕೇವಲ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಉದ್ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಬಳಸುವ ವಿಶೇಷ ಹಕ್ಕು ಪಡೆದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ.

ಈ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಬದಲಿಸಲು 2005 ರವರೆಗೆ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ ಅವಧಿಯನ್ನು ನೀಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ತನ್ನ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ಯಜಮಾನರುಗಳನ್ನು ಸುತ್ತೀತಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಒಂದು "ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಗಳ ಶಾಸನ 1993" ಎಂಬ ಕರಡನ್ನು ಫೆಬ್ರವರಿ 1994ರಲ್ಲೇ ತಯಾರಿಸಿದೆ.

ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ UPOV 1978 ಕೃತಲೂ ಬಹಳ ಮುಂದೆ ಹೋಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಕರಡು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇವಲ 24 ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಸಸ್ಯಗಳಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ತಳಿಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಧಾರಕನಿಗೆ ಕೇವಲ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಬಳಕೆಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ ಯಾವುದೇ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಮಾಡಲು ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಒಬ್ಬ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಒಂದು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಯನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಪಡಿಸಿದ್ದರೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಬೇರೆ ಯಾರೂ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಉದ್ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೂ ಬಳಸಬಾರದು. ಈ ರೀತಿ ಭಾರತದ ಕರಡು UPOV 1991ನ್ನು ನಕಲು ಮಾಡಿದೆ. ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ಕೂಡಾ ಇದನ್ನು ಅನುಮೋದಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ಹೀಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್ ಹಾಗೂ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳ ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಜೀವಾಣು ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಗಳನ್ನು ತಲಾತಲಿಯಿಂದ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಪದಕವಲಲ್ಲಿ ಇಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದರ ಫಲಿತಾಂಶವೆಂದರೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು ಬೀಜಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿತ್ತುವುದು ಮತ್ತು ವಿಮೆಯುಕ್ತೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸೀಮಿತಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದಕ ತಳಿಯ ಕೃಷಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಬೆಳೆಯಿಂದ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಿದ ಬೀಜವನ್ನು ಮಾರುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. 'ತನ್ನದೇ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ರಕ್ಷಣಾ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ರೂಪಿಸುವ ಹೆಸರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದು ಇದನ್ನೇ. ಇದು ಸದ್ಯದ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯನ್ನು ಮೀರಿ ಮುಂದೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಬೀಜಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಅಸ್ತಿ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಬಹು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಶೋಷಣೆಗೆ ಒದಗಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ ರಾಜೀವ್ ಧವಾನ್ ಮತ್ತು ಅರ್ಜುನ್ ವಿಶ್ವನಾಥ್ (ಟೈಮ್ಸ್ ಆಫ್ ಇಂಡಿಯಾ(ಮೇ 9, 1994)ರ ಲೇಖನದಲ್ಲಿ.)

ವಿತ್ತದ ಜೀನ್ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬಹು ದೊಡ್ಡ ವಾಲು ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಕೃಷಿಯಿಂದ, ಸಾವಿರಾರು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಈಗ ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಕಾಣದ ದೇಶಗಳ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್ ಸಹಾಯದ ವೋಷಿಸಿ ಬೆಳೆಸುತ್ತಿರುವ ಪಡೆದದ್ದು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇವನ್ನು ಬಳಸಿ

ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಏನೇ ಕಣ್ಣು ಮುಚ್ಚಾಲೆಯಾದರೂ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರುವ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಔಷಧಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಗಗನಕ್ಕೇರುವುದನ್ನು ತಡೆಯಲಾರದು.

ಈ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಬದಲಿಸಲು 2005ರವರೆಗೆ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ ಅವಧಿಯನ್ನು ನೀಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ತನ್ನ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ಯಜಮಾನರುಗಳನ್ನು ಸುತ್ತೀತಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಒಂದು "ಸಸ್ಯ ತಳಿಗಳ ಶಾಸನ 1993" ಎಂಬ ಕರಡನ್ನು ಫೆಬ್ರವರಿ 1994ರಲ್ಲೇ ತಯಾರಿಸಿದೆ.

ಕೆಲೆಲೆ ಮೊಕದ್ದಮೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂಡಾ ಆಪಾದಿತನ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಆಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಸಾಬೀತು ಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ ನ್ಯಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗೌರವವಿಲ್ಲ.



ಕಾಯಲೆಯನ್ನು ಅದು ಹೇಗೆ ತಡೆಯಿತು ಎಂಬುದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇಟಿಫೇರಾನ್ ಕೂಡಾ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಿದ ಅಚ್ಚಿಯ ಔಷಧಿ. ಗಣಿಗಾರಿಕೆ, ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಕಲ್ಪನದ ಪರಿಣಿತರಾಗ, ನೀರು ಶುದ್ಧೀಕರಣದಲ್ಲೂ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಬ್ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿ, ಅದಕ್ಕನುಗುಣವಾಗಿ 'ಸಸ್ತುತ್ವ ಗಳ ಶಾಸನ, 1993'ನ ಕರಡು ತಯಾರಿಸಿ ಬಾರತ ಈ ಎಲ್ಲದಕ್ಕೆ ಛಾಂಗಿಯ ಮುಖ್ಯವೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಬಹು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಲೋಷಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಒಡ್ಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಕಾನೂನು ಇನ್ನೂ ಮುಂದೆ ಹೋಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಗಳಿಗಿಂತ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಜೀವಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ನೀಡಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. 1988ರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಗುಣಾನುವನ್ನು ಬದಲಿಸಿದ ಹೆಗ್ಗಣವನ್ನು ಜೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಲಾಯಿತು. ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕವಾಗಿ ಹೆಗ್ಗಣಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಮಾನವ ಜೀವಿಗಳು ಒಂದೇ ವಿಧಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರದವು. ಅಂದರೆ ಸಸ್ತನಿಗಳು! ಬಗ್ಗು ಎಂದರೆ ಮೊಣಕಾ ಅೂರಲು ಸಿದ್ಧ ಎನ್ನುವ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಈಗಿನ ನಿಲುವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನು ನ್ಯೂ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಅಧಾರವಾಗಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡರೆ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯಪಡಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಜೀವರೂಪಗಳನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು ಎಂದು ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡ ಮೇಲೆ ಅದು ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಯೇ, ದೊಡ್ಡ ಜೀವಿಯೇ ಎಂಬುದು ವಿವರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ಉಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆಯಷ್ಟೆ.

ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಹಾಗೂ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಕಳ್ಳತನದಿಂದ ಮಾನವ ಜೀವಕಣವನ್ನೂ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿವೆ ಎಂದು ಇತ್ತೀಚಿನ ವರದಿಗಳಿಂದ ಹೊರಬಿದ್ದಿದೆ. ಪನಾಮಾ ದೇಶದ ಒಬ್ಬ ಇಂಡಿಯನ್ ಮಹಿಳೆಯ ಜೀವಕಣರೇಖೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅರ್ಜಿ ಹಾಕಿದೆ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಆಕೆಯ ಜೀವಕಣರೇಖೆ ರಕ್ತ ಕ್ಯಾನ್ಸರ್ ಗುಣಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆಯಂತೆ. ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ "ವಾಂಪೈರ್ ಪ್ರೋಗ್ರಾಂ"ನಲ್ಲಿ (ನೆತ್ತರು ದೆವ್ವ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮ!) ವಿಶ್ವಾದ್ಯಂತ ವನ್ನೂಲಿನಿವಾಸಿಗಳ ವಶಾನವ ಜೀವಕಣರೇಖೆಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಪನಾಮಾ, ಪಾಪುವಾ ನ್ಯೂಗಿನಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಸೊಲೋಮನ್ ದ್ವೀಪಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿರುವ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ದಾಖಲೆಗಳಿವೆ. ಇವನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ಬಳಕೆಗಾಗಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುವುದಂತೆ. ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಈ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಪಡೆಯಿತೆಂದರೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಜೈವಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಈ ಕಣಗಳಿಂದ ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪಡಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇಂತಹ ಒಂದು ಕಾರಣ ಕ್ಯಾಂಗಿಯೇ ಡಿ.ಎನ್.ಎ. ಸಂಶೋಧಕರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬರಾದ ಡಾ. ವಾಲ್ಗನ್ಸನ್ ನ್ಯಾಶನ್ ಇನ್ಸಿಟಿಟ್ಯೂಟ್ ಆಫ್ ಹೆಲ್ತ್‌ನ್ನು ತ್ಯಜಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆ ಮಾನವ ಜೀನೋಮ ಯೋಜನೆಯ ಅಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ಡೋಗಗಳನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿತ್ತು ಎಂಬುದು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಾಗ ಅವರು ಆ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನೇ ತ್ಯಜಿಸಿದರು.

ಜೈವಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂಬರುವ ದಿನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹಳ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಗಳಿವೆ. ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಮಾನವ ಜೈವಿಕ ವಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನೂ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಬಳಕೆಗೆ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುವ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿ ಹಕ್ಕು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಸರ್ವ ಸಿದ್ಧತೆ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿವೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗಳನ್ನು ಲಾಭಿಚ್ಛಿಸಲು ಬಳಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮಿತಿಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲ (ವಾಷಿಂಗ್ಟನ್ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮದ ವಿವರ ಜೂನ್ 1, 1994ರ ಟೈಂಸ್ ಆಫ್ ಇಂಡಿಯಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಿಶಯಾಗಿದೆ)

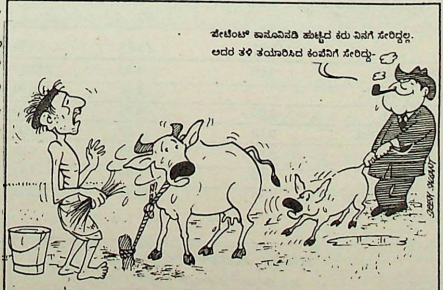
ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಒಟ್ಟು ಪರಿಣಾಮವೆಂದರೆ ಔಷಧಿ ಅಥವಾ ಇನ್ನಾವುದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಬೆಲೆ ತರುವುದಕ್ಕೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಸಸ್ತುಗಳು, ಬೀಜಗಳು, ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಗಳ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಮುನ್ನದೆಯನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಡುವುದಕ್ಕೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ-ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಬಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಡಬೇಕು. ಸರ್ಕಾರ ತಯಾರಿಸಿರುವ ಹಿಂದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ 'ಸಸ್ತುತ್ವಗಳ ಶಾಸನ, 1993'ದ ಕರಡಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಅದ ತಳಿಯನ್ನು ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗೆ ಬಳಸುವುದನ್ನೂ ನಿರ್ಬಂಧಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಎಲ್ಲಾ ರಂಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯೆಲ್ಲಾ ನಿರರ್ಥಕವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅನುಭವದ ಹೊಸ ಮುನ್ನದ ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮಾತ್ಯ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆಗಿರುವ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಯಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಸುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಮೂಲಕ ಕೈಗಾರೀಕೃತ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ರಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಇಡೀ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ-ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಮುನ್ನದೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿಕೆ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಬರ್ಚೆಸುವಾಗ ಬಹು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ವಿಶ್ವ ಅರ್ಥಿಕದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೊಂದಿರುವ ಅಪಾರ ಹತೋಟಿಯನ್ನು ನೆನಪಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು. ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ 70 ಶೇಕಡಾವನ್ನು 500 ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಂಡಿವೆ. ಇವು 80 ಶೇ. ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಂಡವಾಳಪೂಡಿಕೆ ಹಾಗೂ ವಿಶ್ವದ ಒಟ್ಟು ಆಂತರಿಕ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನದ 30 ಶೇ. ರಷ್ಟರ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದಿವೆ. ನಿಜವಾಗಿ ಈ ದೈತ್ಯ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಗ್ಯಾಬ್-1994ರ ಮೂಲಕ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಹಾಸನ್ನದ ಪಡೆದಂತಾಗಿದೆ.

**○ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ಕಳವನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೇ?**

ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ನೋಡಿದಂತೆ ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಮತ್ತು ಉದ್ದೇಶಕಳವು ಅಥವಾ ನಶಿಸಲು ತಡೆಯುವುದಲ್ಲ, ಭವಿಷ್ಯದ ಮಾನವ ಮುನ್ನದೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದುವುದೇ ಅದರ ಉದ್ದೇಶ. ಕಳವನ್ನು ತಡೆಯುವ ಹೆಸರಲ್ಲಿ ಅದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾ

ಪೆನಿಸಿಲಿನ್‌ನಂತಹ ಅದ್ಭುತ ಔಷಧಿಗಳ ತಯಾರಿಕೆಗೆ ವಿವಿಧ ರೀತಿಯ ಬ್ಯಾಕ್ಟೀರಿಯಾ, ತೀರೇಂದ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಬಳಸಲಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಷಯ. ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಈ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆಯಿತೆಂದರೆ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಜೀವ ಉಳಿಸುವ ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಕೈಮುಿಯಿದವು ಬಳಸಬಹುದು.

ಸುರೇಶ್ ಸಾವರ್ಕರ್‌ರ ವ್ಯಂಗ್ಯ



ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ 70

ಶೇಕಡಾವನ್ನು 500 ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಂಡಿವೆ. ಇವು 80 ಶೇ. ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಂದ ಬಾಳಹೂಡಿಕೆ ಹಾಗೂ ವಿಶ್ವದ ಒಟ್ಟು ಆಂತರಿಕ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನದ 30 ಶೇ. ರಫ್ತರ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದಿವೆ. ನಿಜವಾಗಿ ಈ ದೃಶ್ಯ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಗ್ಯಾರ್ಟ್-1994ರ ಮೂಲಕ ವಿಶ್ವವ್ಯಾಪಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಹಾಸನ್ನದ ಮದದಂತಾಗಿದೆ.



ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಒಟ್ಟು ಪರಿಣಾಮವೆಂದರೆ ಔಷಧಿ ಅಥವಾ ಇನ್ನಾವುದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಬೆಲೆ ತೆರಿವುದಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಗಳು, ಬೀಜಗಳು, ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೀವಿಗಳ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಯನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಡುವುದಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ-ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟತೆ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಬಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಡಬೇಕು

ನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕೌಶಲದಿಂದ, ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ವಿಧಾನ ದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಡೆಯುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಡ್ಡಾಗಲು ಹಾಕಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಔಷಧಿಗಳ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತದ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಇದನ್ನೇ ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ತೋರಿವೆ. ಆದೇ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಅಗ್ಗವಾದ ವಿಧಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕವಾಗಿ ತಯಾರಿಸುವುದನ್ನು ಕಳಚಿನ, ನಕಲು ಎಂದು ಪೇಳಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ!

ಈ ಇಡೀ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗೆ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಆಯಾಮವೂ ಇದೆ. ಅದೇನೆಂದರೆ ಜ್ಞಾನದ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ಮಾನವೀಯ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಪರಿಣಾಮ. ಇಡೀ ಮಾನವ ಕುಲದ ಒಳಿತಿಗೆ ಕಾರಣವಾಗುವ ವಿಚಾರಗಳು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಒಟ್ಟು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯ, ಅಥವಾ ಒಂದು ಕಂಪೆನಿಯ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿಕೆಯಾಗಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ; ಸಂಕಷ್ಟಗಳು ವ್ಯಾಪಕವಾಗಿ ಹರಡಿರುವಾಗ ಅದರ ನಡುವೆ ಒಟ್ಟು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಅಥವಾ ಕಂಪೆನಿಯ ಲಾಭಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಇರುವ ಸೊತ್ಸಾಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ, ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಔಷಧಿ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು, ಮಹತ್ವದ ಜೀವ ಉಳಿಸುವ ಔಷಧಿಗಳನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸಿ ಒಂದು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಪಾತ್ರವನ್ನು ವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಗ್ಯಾರ್ಟ್ ಜ್ಞಾನಿಯಾಯಿತೆಂದರೆ ವಿಶ್ವಾದ್ಯಂತ ಕೋಟ್ಯಾಂತರ ಜನ ಸಾಯಬಹುದು- ಆವರಿಗೆ ಔಷಧಿ ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂದಲ್ಲ, ಔಷಧಿಗಳು ಅವರ ನಿಲುಕಿಗೆ ಸಿಗದ್ದರಿಂದ. ಒಂದು ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ಮೂಲಭೂತ ನಿಲುಮೆಯಿಂದ ನೋಡೋಣ. ಮಾನವ ಜ್ಞಾನದ ಮುನ್ನಡೆ ಇಡೀ ಮಾನವ ಕುಲಕ್ಕೆ, ಗಣಿತದ (8) ಸೊನ್ನೆಯ ಆವಿಷ್ಕಾರವನ್ನೇ ತಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ಆದು ಗಣಿತದ ತೊಂದರೆ. ಇದಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ, ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಯೋಚಿಸಲೂ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಈಗ ಸೊನ್ನೆಯನ್ನು ಬಳಸಿ ದಾಗಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ನಮಗೆ ಉದಾಹರಣೆ ನೀಡಿ ಎಂದು ನಾವು ಆಮೆರಿಕಾವನ್ನು ಕೇಳಬಹುದೇ? ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಾದರೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದವು. ಅವರಿಗೆ ಗಣಿತದ ಸಮೀಕರಣಗಳನ್ನೂ ಲಾಭಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿವೆ.

ಪಾತ್ರಿಮಾತೃ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ದೇಶಸ್ವಂತ ಅನುಭವವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸುವುದೊಳ್ಳಿಯದು. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ದೇಶಗಳು ವಿಧಾನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಗೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗುವ ಘಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಷ್ಟೇ ತಂದರು. ಇಟಲಿ 1984 ರಲ್ಲಿ ತಂದಿತು. ಕೆನಡಾ 1987ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವೇನ್ 1992ರಲ್ಲಿ ತಂದವು. ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ತರುವಾಗಲೂ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ನಂತರ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದದ್ದನ್ನು ನಾವು ಈಗಲೇ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತರಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಕೇಳಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ!

○ ವಿಶ್ವ ವೇಟಿಂಟ್ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಿಸಿಯೇನು?

ವಿಶ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಟ್ಟು ಸುಮಾರು 35 ಲಕ್ಷ ವೇಟಿಂಟ್‌ಗಳಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ವೇಟಿಂಟ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ 2 ಲಕ್ಷ ಮಾತ್ರ, ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗಳು ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 30,000 ವೇಟಿಂಟ್‌ಗಳ ಮೇಲಷ್ಟೇ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ವಿಶ್ವದ ಒಟ್ಟು ಮೊತ್ತದಲ್ಲಿ 1 ಶೇ.ಕ್ಕೂ ಕಮ್ಮಿ. ಉಳಿದ 1,70,000 ವೇಟಿಂಟ್‌ಗಳು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 5 ಶೇ. ವನ್ನು ಕೂಡಾ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗೆ ಬಳಸುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಅಂತ-ಸಂಪುರ್ಣ ಜ್ಞಾನದ ಮೇಲೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ವಿಶ್ವಾದ್ಯಂತ ಬಯಸುತ್ತವೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ.

○ WTO ಸೇರದೆ ಭಾರತ ಶಾಶ್ವತವಾಗಿ ಕೀಳು ಮಟ್ಟದ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಇಳಿಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೇ?

ಭಾರತದ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಮುನ್ನಡೆ ಕೀಳು ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಮುಂದಲು ಅರಿತುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು. ನಮ್ಮ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳು ವಿಶ್ವದ ಅತ್ಯುತ್ತಮ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಬಲ್ಲರು. ನಮ್ಮದೇ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ, ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತರಬೇತಿ ಪಡೆದ ಭಾರತೀಯರು ವಿಶ್ವಾದ್ಯಂತ, ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಮತ್ತು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಸಂಘಟನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಕಟ್ಟುಕಡ್ಡ ಹರಡುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾರ್ಟ್ ಹಾಗೂ WTO ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ವರ್ಗಾವಣೆಗೆ ನೆರವಾಗುತ್ತವೆ ಎಂದು. ವಾಸ್ತವವಾಗಿ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು, ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಮೂಲಕ ಇದನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಬಂಧಿಸಲೆಂದೇ ಹೋರಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದರ ಫಲವಾಗಿ ನಮಗೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾವು ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನವಲ್ಲ, ಭಾರತವು ಮಾತ್ರ.

ಟ್ರಿಪ್ಲೆನ್ ಹಿಂದಿಯದ ತರ್ಕವೇ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿಯಿಡಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ, ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ಬಯಕೆ. ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ-ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಿಂದ ಇವು ಲಾಭದ ಪ್ರಮುಖ ದಾರಿಗಳಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದುವುದೆಂದರೆ ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಲಾಭ ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸುವುದೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಭವಿಷ್ಯದ ಲಾಭದ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೂ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದುವುದು.

ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ಭಾರತ ಮತ್ತು ರಷ್ಯಾ ನಡುವೆ ದ್ವಿಪಕ್ಷೀಯವಾಗಿ ನಡೆದ ಕ್ರಯೋಜಿನಿಕ್ ರಾಕೆಟ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪದ ಸುತ್ತ 'ಹೆಡ್ ವಿಮಾದಪಣ್ಣೆ ತಗೊಳ್ಳಿ, ಆಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಆಕ್ಟೀವ್ ಏನಿತ್ತು? -ರಷ್ಯಾ ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ತಯಾರಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬಹುದು, ಅದನ್ನು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಸೇವೆಗಾಗುವ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನವಲ್ಲ ಎಂಬುದೇ ಆಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಆಕ್ಟೀವ್.

ಆದೇ ರೀತಿ ಕಲ್ಕತ್ತಾದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅರೋಗ್ಯ ಸಚಿವಾಲಯದ ಲಸಿಕೆ ತಜ್ಞರು ಮತ್ತು ರಾಸಾಯನಿಕ ಪರೀಕ್ಷಕರ ವಿಭಾಗದ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ. ಇವರು ರಕ್ತ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಸುವ ವಿವಿಧ ಆಂಟಿ-ಸೆರೂಮ್‌ಗಳನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದು ಉನ್ನತ ವಿಶ್ವ ಮಟ್ಟದ್ದು ಎಂದು ವಿಶ್ವ ಆರೋಗ್ಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆ (ಡಬ್ಲ್ಯು.ಹೆಚ್.ಓ.) ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ಪತ್ರ ನೀಡಿದೆ. ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕಂಪಾನಿಯೇ ಕೊಡದೆ ಇಲ್ಲಿ 33 ಹುದ್ದೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ರಕ್ತವನ್ನಾಡಿ ಸುಮಾರು 40 ಡೀ ಇಲಾಖೆಯನ್ನೇ ಮುಟ್ಟಿಬಿಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಫಲಿತಾಂಶವೇನು? ಆಮೇ ಆಂಟಿಜೆನ್‌ಗಳನ್ನು ಈಗ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಂದ ಕೊಂಡುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು. ದೇಶೀ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನು ನಾಶಮಾಡಿ ಅವರು ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ಪಡೆಯುತ್ತಾರೆ (ಲೋಕಸಭೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 30.3.84 ರಂದು ಮಾಲಿನಿ ಭಟ್ಟಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಎತ್ತಿದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯಿಂದ)



# ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮತ್ತು ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆ ಕ್ರಮಗಳು

## ○ ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್ ಎಂದರೇನು?

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ಸಂಧಿ ವಿದೇಶೀಕಂಪನಿಗಳನ್ನು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳಂತೆ ಕಾಣಬೇಕು, ಅವುಗಳ ಮೇಲಿನ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ತ್ಯಕ್ತ ಮಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ತೆಗೆಯಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ. (ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್‌ನ ಕಲಮು 2 ಅನುಬಂಧ (1) ಹಾಗೂ (2) ಇವುಗಳ ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡಿದೆ) ವಿದೇಶೀ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಮಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ತೆಗೆಯಬೇಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತದೆ ಈ ಸಂಧಿ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಜಾರಿಗೆ ಬರುವ ಮೊದಲೇ ಹೊಸ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಯ ಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ಮಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಆಗಲೇ ತೆಗೆದು ಹಾಕಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್ ಇನ್ನೂ ಒಂದು ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ಮುಂದೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಉತ್ಪಾದಕರಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ನೀಡುವ ಮತ್ತು ಆಮದುಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಬಂಧಿಸುವ ಯಾವುದೇ ಕ್ರಮ ಕೈಗೊಳ್ಳಬಾರದೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಬಂಧಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಈ ಸಂಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಬ್ಬ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆದಾರ ದೇಶದೊಳಗೆ ಬರಬಹುದು, ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಘಟಕವನ್ನು ಹಾಕಬಹುದು, ಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಬದಲು ಕಚ್ಚಾ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಆಮದು ಮಾಡಬಹುದು ಅಥವಾ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯವಾಗಿ ಅಗ್ಗದಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅದನ್ನೇ ಬಳಸಬಹುದು. ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಲಾಭ ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಲಾಭವನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ತನ್ನ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ವರ್ಗಾಯಿಸಬಹುದು. ಹೀಗೆ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ನಮ್ಮ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ವೇಗವನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಿ, ಲಾಭದ ಒಂದುಭಾಗ ಮತ್ತು ಆರ್ಥಿಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೂಡಿಕೆಯಾಗುವುದರ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ಸಿಗಲಾರದಂತೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಅಂಶಗಳು ಇವು.

ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ಜನರಲ್ ಮೋಟಾರ್ಸ್ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ತನ್ನ ಘಟಕಗಳನ್ನು ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಹಿಂಬರಿತ ದಿಂದಾಗಿ, ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಖರ್ಚಿನಿಂದಾಗಿ ಮುಟ್ಟಿ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಘಟಕಗಳನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸುವ ಯೋಜನೆ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಖರ್ಚು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕಮ್ಮಿಯಾದ್ದರಿಂದ, ಲಾಭವನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೇ ಆದರೆ ಗುರಿ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ತಯಾರಾಗುವ ಕಾರುಗಳು ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯೂ ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಜನರಲ್ ಮೋಟಾರ್ಸ್‌ನ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಹೋಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರ ಒಟ್ಟು ಫಲವೆಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳು, ನಮ್ಮ ಶ್ರಮ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಳಕೆಯ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದರಿಂದ ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಲಾಭ ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳಿಗೆ ವರ್ಗಾವಣೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಇಂತಹ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಉದ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕುಂಠಿತಗೊಳಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಬಹು

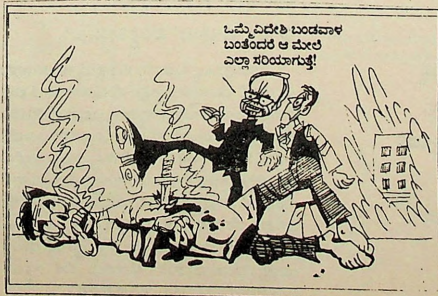
ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿ ಶಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಲಾರದ ಹಲವು ಮಧ್ಯಮ ಮತ್ತು ಸಣ್ಣ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದ ಉದ್ಯಮಗಳು ಮುಚ್ಚಿವೆ. ಈಗ ಸುಮಾರು 4 ಲಕ್ಷ ಘಟಕಗಳು ದೋಗಗ್ರಸ್ತವೆಂದು ಮುಚ್ಚಿವೆ. ಲಕ್ಷಾಂತರ ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರು ದೋಗಗ್ರಸ್ತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಭಾರತದ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬಂಡವಾಳಗಾರರು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಬೆದರಿಕೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿ 'ಸಮತಟ್ಟಾದ ಆಟದ ಜಾಗ' ನೀಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅಂದರೆ ಸಮಾನ ಅವಕಾಶ, ವರ್ತನೆ ಇರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬೇಡಿಕೆ ಎತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್‌ನಿಂದಾಗಿ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೀಕರಣ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಗೆ ತಡ್ಡಿದುದ್ದವಾದ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆಗಳ ನಾಶದ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ 'ಅಕ್ಕಿಗಾಕೀಕರಣ' ಅರಂಭವಾಗಬಹುದು.

ಈ ದೃಶ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿ, ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ರಫ್ತು ಸಬ್ಸಿಡಿ ಕಡಿತ ಮಾಡಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಅಂತರರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ರಫ್ತುಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ರಫ್ತು ಆದಾಯ ಕಮ್ಮಿಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದೇ ವೇಳೆ ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್‌ನಡಿ ಆಮದು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಲೇ ಹೋಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿದಾಗ ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ ಕೊರತೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಆಗತ್ಯ ಆಮದಿನ (ತೈಲ, ಪೆಟ್ರೋಲಿಯಂ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ) ಖರ್ಚುಗೂ ಹಣ ಸಾಲದ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೈಬಿಡುತ್ತದೆ ಅಥವಾ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್. ಎದುರು ಮೊಳಕಾಲೂರದೆ ಬೇರೆ ದಾರಿಯಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಅದರಿಂದ ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳನ್ನು ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಲಂಗುಲಗಾಮಿಯಾದ ಶೋಷಣೆಗೆ ನೀಡಿರುವ ಲೈಸೆನ್ಸ್, ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಮತ್ತಷ್ಟು ಸಾಲದ ಬಲಯುತ ತಳ್ಳುವಂತೆ ಇವು ಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ಅದರ ಕೆಲವು ಕೆಲವು ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಂದ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಂತೆ ಎಂದೂ ನಿಜವು ದರ

ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳು,  
ನಮ್ಮ ಶ್ರಮ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು  
ವಿದೇಶೀ ಬಳಕೆಯ ಒಂದು  
ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಾಗಿ  
ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದರಿಂದ  
ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಲಾಭ  
ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿದೇಶೀ  
ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ  
ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳಿಗೆ  
ವರ್ಗಾವಣೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.  
ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಇಂತಹ  
ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ  
ಉದ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು  
ಕುಂಠಿತಗೊಳಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ

ಫುಂಬರ ವ್ಯಾಗ್



ಅಮದಿನ ದರವನ್ನು ದಾಟಿ ಹೋಗಿಲ್ಲ.

ಹೀಗೆ ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್ ಎರಡೂ ಕಡೆ ಹರಿತವಾದ ಆಯುಧ. ಚಿಮ್ಮಟದ ಹಿಡಿತದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಹಿಡಿದಿರುವ ಆಯುಧ. ಬಂದೇತೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕವನ್ನು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಮಾರ್ಗವಿಡಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಇನ್ನೊಂದೇ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಸಾಲದತ್ತ ತಳ್ಳಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲ ಇಂದು 2,82,904 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂ.ಗಳು-ಅಂದರೆ ಪ್ರತಿ ಭಾರತೀಯನ ಮೇಲೆ ತಲಾ 3200 ರೂ. ರಫ್ತು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸರಕಾರ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ಶೋಷಣೆ ಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಅದರಿಂದ 1993-94ರಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ರಫ್ತಿನಿಂದ 1035.11 ಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು ಗಳಷ್ಟು ಆದಾಯ ಬಂದರೆ ಅಮದಿನಿಂದ 1079.16 ಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳು ಹೊರಹೋದವು. (1993-94ರ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಸರ್ವೇಕ್ಷಣೆಯಿಂದ). 1992-93 ರಲ್ಲೂ ರಫ್ತು ಆದಾಯ 853.46 ಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು, ಅಮದಿನಿಂದ ಹೋದದ್ದು 1114.91 ಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು. ಹೀಗೆ ರಫ್ತು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಎಂದೂ ಅದು ಅಮದಿಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಸನ್ನಿವೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್ ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಆಳಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದು ಬಲೆಯೊಳಗೆ ತಳ್ಳುತ್ತವಷ್ಟೇ.

○ ಅದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನಿಂದ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ 200 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತದೆ, ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಇದರಿಂದ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದು ಸರಕಾರ ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆಯೇ ?

ಇಂತಹ ಮೋಸದ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಧಾರವೇನು, ಮೂಲವೇನು ಎಂದು ಯಾವತ್ತೂ ಸರಕಾರ ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಏನೇ ಆಗಲಿ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕಿನ ವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ವರದಿಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಾರ 1986 ಮತ್ತು 1992ರ ನಡುವೆ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಹೆಚ್ಚಳ ದಶಕೋ ಅಥವಾ ಗಾಟ್ ಇಲ್ಲದೆಯೇ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ 200 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳು. ಸರಕಾರ ಹೇಳಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳುವ 200 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಹೆಚ್ಚಳವಾದರೆ ಅದು ವಿಶ್ವ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್, OCEC ಅಧ್ಯಯನಗಳನ್ನೇ ಆಧರಿಸಿರಬೇಕು. ಇವು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮಾತುಕತೆಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ವಿಶ್ವ ಆದಾಯ ಮುಂದಿನ ಎಂಟು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 213 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಷ್ಟು ಏರುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದು ಅಂದಾಜು ಮಾಡಿದೆ. ಅದರ ಒಂದು ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಮರೆಮಾಚಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ 231 ಶತಕೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಯೂರೋಪಿನ ಪಾಲು 80 ಶತಕೋಟಿ, ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದ್ದು 25 ಶತಕೋಟಿ, ಜಪಾನಿನದ್ದು 20 ಶತಕೋಟಿ, ಚೀನಾದ್ದು 37 ಶತಕೋಟಿ, ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದ್ದು 6 ಶತಕೋಟಿ. ಅಫ್ರಿಕನ್ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ 4 ಶತಕೋಟಿಯಷ್ಟು ನಷ್ಟ ಭಾರತದ ಪಾಲು 14.6 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳು ಅಂದರೆ 15,000 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳು. ಇದೂ ಮುಂದಿನ ಎಂಟು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವು ಅತ್ಯಲ್ಪ, ಬ್ಯಾಂಕು ಹಾಗೆ ಇದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ವಲಯದ ಶೇರುಗಳ ಮಾರಾಟದಂತಹ ಬೃಹತ್ ಹಗರಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಳಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಕಡಿಮೆ.

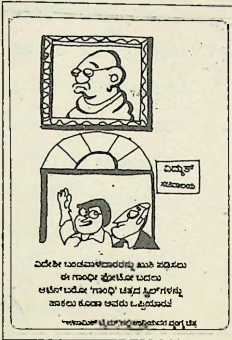
ಹಗರಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಳಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಕಡಿಮೆ.

○ MFA ಒಪ್ಪಂದವನ್ನು ಹಂತಹಂತವಾಗಿ ರದ್ದು ಮಾಡುವುದರಿಂದ ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೇ ?

ಇದು ಸರಕಾರ ಹರಡಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಮಿಥ್ಯೆ ಎಂ.ಎಫ್.ಎ. ಅಥವಾ 'ಬಹು ಎಳೆ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ' ಅಂದರೆ ವಸ್ತ್ರೋದ್ಯಮ ಕುರಿತಾದ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ. 1961ರ ಅಲ್ಪಾವಧಿ ಒಪ್ಪಂದದ ಮೂಲಕ ಮೂಡಿಸಿ, ನಂತರ ದೀರ್ಘಾವಧಿಯ ಒಪ್ಪಂದವಾಗಿ 1974ರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಗೊಂಡಿತು. ಇದೀ ವಸ್ತ್ರೋದ್ಯಮದ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ 30 ಶತ ಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳು ಒಂದು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೆ ದ್ವಿಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಕೋಟಾಂಗವನ್ನು ಹಾಕಬಹುದು. ಇದು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಎಂತಹಾ ದುಷ್ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರಿತು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಬಾಂಗ್ಲಾದೇಶದ ಉದಾಹರಣೆ ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬಹುದು. 1985-86ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ, ಫ್ರಾನ್ಸ್ ಮತ್ತು ಬ್ರಿಟನ್ ಬಾಂಗ್ಲಾದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೋಟಾಂಗವನ್ನು ಹೇರಿದರು.

ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳ ರಫ್ತಿನ 0.25 ಶೇಕಡಷ್ಟು ಮಾತ್ರ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವ ಬಾಂಗ್ಲಾದೇಶ ಬ್ರಿಟನ್ನಿನ ಶರ್ಟ್ ಮಾಲಕಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅದರ ಪಾಲನ್ನು ಶೇ. 4 ಗೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮಿತಿಗೊಳಿಸುವುದನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಯಿತು. ಇದರ ಫಲಿತಾಂಶವೆಂದರೆ ಬಾಂಗ್ಲಾ ದೇಶದ ಶರ್ಟ್ ಕಾರ್ಖಾನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಅರ್ಧದಷ್ಟು ಮುಚ್ಚಿ ಹೋದದ್ದು 1.50 ಲಕ್ಷ ಜನ ಕೆಲಸ ಕಳಕೊಂಡರು.

ಇಂತಹ ಎಮ್.ಎಫ್.ಎ. ಒಪ್ಪಂದವನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದು ಹಾಕಲು ಮೊದಲಿಗೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳು 15 ವರ್ಷದ ಅವಧಿ ಕೇಳಿದವು. ಇದು ಅದರ ಅಭ್ಯುದಿತನದ, ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂದಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಏನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಸಂಕೇತವೂ ಆಗಿತ್ತು. ನಂತರ ಈ ಅವಧಿಯನ್ನು 10 ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಗೆ ಇಳಿಸಲು ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡವು. ಅದರ ಈ ಒಪ್ಪಂದವನ್ನು ಹಂತ ಹಂತವಾಗಿ ರದ್ದು ಮಾಡುವ ಮಾತಿದ್ದರೂ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಗಮನಾರ್ಹ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ವಾಗುವುದು ಕೊನೆಯ ಹಂತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ. ಈ ನಡುವೆ ಟ್ರಿಮ್ಸ್‌ನ ಇತರ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಅಂಶಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ತೀವ್ರ ಶೋಷಣೆಗೆ ತೆರೆದಿಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನು ಮಧೂರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದಾದ ಈ ಒಂದು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂತಿಗೊಳಿಸುವ ಮಿತಿಗಳು ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ. ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ವಸ್ತ್ರೋದ್ಯಮ ಅತಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ನಿವೃತ್ತ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯತರದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಗಮನಿಸಬೇಕು.



21 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರು ಆದಾಯ ಹೆಚ್ಚಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತದ ಪಾಲು 14.6 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳು ಅಂದರೆ 15,000 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳು. ಇದು ಮುಂದಿನ ಎಂಟು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವು ಅತ್ಯಲ್ಪ. ಬ್ಯಾಂಕು ಹಗರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ವಲಯದ ಶೇರುಗಳ ಮಾರಾಟದಂತಹ ಬೃಹತ್ ಹಗರಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಳಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಕಡಿಮೆ.

# ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮತ್ತು ಸೇವಾ ವಲಯ

**○ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಅಥವಾ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಸೇವೆಗಳ ಕುರಿತಾದ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಎಂದರೇನು?**

ಇದು ಈ ಹಿಂದೆ ಗಮನಿಸಿರುವಂತೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಘಿಯ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಅಂಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು. ಇದು ಬ್ಯಾಂಕಿಂಗ್, ವಿಮೆ, ಎಲ್ಲಕ್ಕೂ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಗುರಿಯಿಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಸೇವಾ ವಲಯ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತೀ ವೇಗದಿಂದ ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ. ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ವಾಲು ಶೇ. 70. ಸಹಜವಾಗಿಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ದೈತ್ಯ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಾದ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕಿಂಗ್ ವಲಯದ ಅಮೆರಿಕನ್ ಎಕ್ಸ್‌ಪ್ರೆಸ್ ಮತ್ತು ಸಿಟಿ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್, ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ ವಲಯದ ವಿ.ಟಿ.ಆಂಡೆಲ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಮೋಟೋರೋಲಾದ ಪಟ್ಟಿಪದ್ಧಿ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಈ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ದೈತ್ಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ನಷ್ಟ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಕ್ತವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಲು ಹಕ್ಕು ಇರಬೇಕೆಂದೇ ಆಲ್ಲ, ಅವುಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ದೇಶೀ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ವ್ಯತಿರೇಕತೆಯೇ ವರ್ತಿಸಬೇಕು. (ಕಲಮು xvii). ಮೂರನೇ ಜನತನ ದೇಶಗಳು ಸೇವೆಗಳನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಥವಾ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೌಕರ್ಯವಾಗಬಾರದು. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವಷ್ಟು ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಇವರಿಗಿಲ್ಲದ ಬದಲೇಕು. ಇದ್ದರಿಂದ ಈ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಮುಕ್ತ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಿದರೆ ಮೂರನೇ ಜನತನ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ನಷ್ಟವೇ.

ಮೂರನೇ ಜನತನ ದೇಶಗಳು ಒಂದು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕಾರಿಯಾಗಿ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ನೀಡಬಹುದಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಅದರಿಂದ ನಿರ್ಜಲ ಮಾನವ ಶಕ್ತಿ ಒದಗಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ. ಆದರೆ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ದೇಶಗಳು ವಲಸೆ ತೋರುತ್ತಿದ್ದು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಕಠಿಣಗೊಳಿಸಿ ಇದಕ್ಕೂ ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲ ದಂಶಾಗಿ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಮೂರನೇ ಜನತನ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಹದಗೆಡುತ್ತದೆ.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಮೂಲಭೂತವಾಗಿ ಒಂದು ಅನುಭವ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಡುವ ಬೆಳಕನ್ನೂ ಒದಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಾನು ಯಾವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಬದ್ಧವಿನ್ನುವುದನ್ನು ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯನೆಯ ಆಧಾರ್ ನಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇಂತಹ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ತನ್ನ ಮಹತ್ವ ಪೂರ್ಣ ವಲಯಗಳಾದ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕಿಂಗ್, ವಿಮೆ ಮತ್ತು ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬ ನಿರೀಕ್ಷೆಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರಧಾನಿಗಳ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಭೇಟಿಯ ಎರಡು ದಿನಗಳ ಮೊದಲು ಘೋಷಿಸಿದ ಸರಕಾರದ ದೂರ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ನೀತಿ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಹುಸಿಗೊಳಿಸಿತು. ಆತ್ಯಂತ ತರಾತುರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೇ. 12, 1994 ರಂದು ಲೋಕಸಭೆ ಹೊಸ ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ ನೀತಿಯನ್ನು ಅಂಗೀ

ಕರಿಸಿತು-ಇದು ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ ದೈತ್ಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ತಟ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿಟ್ಟು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಉದಾಹರಣೆ.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರು ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಭಾಗಗಳಿವೆ - (1) ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಮುಚ್ಚಳಿಕೆಗಳು (2) ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯಗಳು ಮತ್ತು (3) ಬ್ಯಾಂಕಿಂಗ್, ವಿಮೆ, ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ, ವಿಮಾನ ಸಾರಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶ್ರಮಶಕ್ತಿಯ ಚಲನೆಯಂತಹ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಶ್ಚರ್ಯಗಳು.

ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳ ಸಾರಾಂಶ ಇಷ್ಟೇ-ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಭಾರತ 'ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯಗಳ ಶೆಡ್ಯೂಲ್'ನ್ನು ಪ್ರವೇಶಿಸಿದರೆ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳನ್ನು, ವಿದೇಶೀ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳನ್ನು ದೇಶೀ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಂತೆಯೇ ಕಾಣಬೇಕು. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡುವಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯ ಮೇಲಾಗಲಿ ಒಟ್ಟು ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳ ಮೌಲ್ಯದ ಮೇಲಾಗಲಿ ಅತಿ ಹಾಕುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ದುರಿಯುವ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಯಂತ್ರಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆಯಾಗಲಿ, ವಿದೇಶೀ ಇಕ್ಕಟೆ ಭಾಗದ ಬಗ್ಗೆಯಾಗಲಿ ಯಾವುದೇ ಶರತ್ತು ಹಾಕುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಜಂಟಿ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆ ನಡವೋಣವೆಂದೂ ಒತ್ತಾಯಿಸುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ (ಕಲಮು xvi).

ದೇಶದ ಹಣಕಾಸು ವಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳು, ವಿಮಾ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ನಗ್ನಗು ಅವಕಾಶ ಕೊಟ್ಟರೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಜನಗಳ ಆಗಾಧ ಉಳಿತಾಯವನ್ನು ಅವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಿದಂತೆಯೇ. ಇದನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆಗೆ ಅಥವಾ ಶೇರು ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲೇಬೇಕೆಂದೇನಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಂದರೆ ಭಾರತೀಯರ ಉಳಿತಾಯವನ್ನು ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಬಂಡವಾಳದ ಕಾಲ ಬಳಿ ಇಟ್ಟು ಅದನ್ನು ಅವರು ವಿಶ್ವದ ಯಾವ ಮೂಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಲಾಭ ಸಿಗುತ್ತದೋ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಸಲು ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಿದಂತೆ. ಉಳಿತಾಯ ಹೀಗೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಕೃತ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಹೋಗದೆ ಅಪ್ಪು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕವಾಗಿ ಆಗತ್ಯವಾದ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಾಲ ಅಥವಾ ಹಣಕಾಸು ನೀಡದಂತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿದೇಶೀ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಬಂಡವಾಳಕ್ಕೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಉಳಿತಾಯವನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಸೂರೆಗೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಿದರೂ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಂದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳತ್ತ ಸಿಬ್ಬಂದಿಯ ಚಲನೆಯೇ ಮಿತಿಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ. "ಸೇವೆಗಳನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸುವ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವಿಹ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗಳ ಚಲನೆ"ಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಅನುಬಂಧದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವಿಧ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉದ್ಯೋಗ ಆರಿಸಿ ಬರುವ ಸಿಬ್ಬಂದಿಯನ್ನು ಹತೋಟಿಗೆ ತರಲು ವಿವಿಧ ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸದ್ಯದ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಘಿ ಅನುಮತಿ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಅತೀ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಆಶಿಯಾದ ನುರಿತ ಹಾಗೂ ಅರೆ ನುರಿತ ಮಾನವ ಶಕ್ತಿ ಈ 'ಉದಾರಗೊಂಡ' ಸೇವಾ ವಲಯದ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ದಿಂದ ಏನೇನೂ ಲಾಭವಿಲ್ಲ!

ಭಾರತೀಯರ ಉಳಿತಾಯವನ್ನು ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಬಂಡವಾಳದ ಕಾಲ ಬಳಿ ಇಟ್ಟು ಅದನ್ನು ಅವರು ವಿಶ್ವದ ಯಾವ ಮೂಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಲಾಭ ಸಿಗುತ್ತದೋ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಸಲು ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಿದಂತೆ. ಉಳಿತಾಯ ಹೀಗೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಕೃತ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಹೋಗದೆ ಅಪ್ಪು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕವಾಗಿ ಆಗತ್ಯವಾದ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಾಲ ಅಥವಾ ಹಣಕಾಸು ನೀಡದಂತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿದೇಶೀ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಬಂಡವಾಳಕ್ಕೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಉಳಿತಾಯವನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಸೂರೆಗೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಿದರೂ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಂದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ದೇಶಗಳತ್ತ ಸಿಬ್ಬಂದಿಯ ಚಲನೆಯೇ ಮಿತಿಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ.

# ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನ ಮತ್ತು ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ದಾರಿ

○ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ದೇಶೀ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಯನ್ನು ತಟ್ಟುತ್ತದೆಯೇ?

ಹೌದು. ಬಹಳ ಪ್ರತಿಕೂಲ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಬೀರುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಿಸಲಾರದೆ ಹಲವು ಸಣ್ಣ ಮತ್ತು ಮಧ್ಯಮ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮುಖ್ಯಲಾರಂಭಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಇಲ್ಲವೆ ಆಂಟಿ ತಳ್ಳಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತವೆ. ಆಗಲೇ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಲಕ್ಷ ಘಟಕಗಳು ಮುಚ್ಚಿ ಸಣ್ಣ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದ ವಲಯ ಕುಂಠಿತಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತವೆ.

ಟಾಟಾಗಳಂತಹ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಭಾರತೀಯ ದೈತ್ಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳೂ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳ ಧಾಳಿಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿದೋಧಿಸಲಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಟಾಟೋ (ಟಾಟ ಕ್ವೆಲ ತಯಾರಿಕಾ ಕಂಪೆನಿ) ಯುನಿವರ್ಸೊಂದಿಗೆ ವಿಲೀನಗೊಂಡರೆ ಬ್ರೂಕ್ ಬಾಂಡ್ ಲಿಪ್ಪನ್‌ನೊಂದಿಗೆ ವಿಲೀನಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಈ ಲಿಪ್ಪನ್ ಈಗ ಯುನಿವರ್ಸಿನ ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಭಾರತದ ಮೆದು ಖಾನೀಯದ ಶೇ. 80 ಮಾಹಕಟ್ಟಿ ಹಿಡಿದಿದ್ದ ಪಾರ್ಲೆ ಕೋಣ ಕೋಲಾದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಆಸಮಾನ ಸಹಕಾರ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅದೇ ರೀತಿ ಗೋಡ್ರೆಡ್ ಕಂಪೆನಿ ಪ್ಯೋಕ್ಟರ್ ಆಂಡ್ ಗ್ಯಾಂಬಲ್ ಜತೆ ವಿಲೀನಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಭವಿಷ್ಯದಲ್ಲೇನಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಈ ಪ್ರಪತ್ತಿಗಳು ಸೂಚಿಸಿವೆ.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಅನುಗುಣವಾಗಿ ಕಸ್ತಮ್ಸ್ ಸುಂಕ ಇಳಿಸಿ ಅಮದುಗಳನ್ನು ಆಗ್ನೇಯಗಳಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ದೇಶೀ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಆಬಕಾರಿ ಸುಂಕಗಳನ್ನು ಅಷ್ಟೇ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಳಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ದೇಶೀ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗಳು ಪ್ರತಿಕೂಲ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಎದುರಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದೊಂದು ರೀತಿಯ ನಕಾರಾತ್ಮಕ ರಕ್ಷಣೆ. BHEL ಇಂತಹ ನಕಾರಾತ್ಮಕ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯಿಂದ ಸರಳುತ್ತಿದೆ ಎಂದು ವಿಶ್ವ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್‌ನ ಒಂದು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ತೀರ್ಮಾನಿಸಿದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ "ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸಮಾನ"ವಾದ ಆತಿಥ್ಯ ನೀಡುವ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗಾರರ ಒಕ್ಕೂಟ CII ಕಡೂ ಪ್ರತಿಭಟಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಆಬಕಾರಿ ಸುಂಕಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತಷ್ಟು ಇಳಿಸಲು ಸರಕಾರ ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಿದರೆ ಅದರಿಂದ ಸರಕಾರದ ಆದಾಯ ಇಳಿದು ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಡಿತಿವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ದೇಶೀ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆ ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಹಿಂಜರಿತಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಗಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಏನೇ ಮಾಡಿದರೂ ದೇಶೀ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗೆ ತೊಂದರೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

○ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನಿಂದ ಆತೀ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ಯಾರಿಗೆ?

ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಇಂದು ವಿಶ್ವ

ವ್ಯಾಪಾರವನ್ನೇ ಸುಮಾರಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡಿರುವ, ಭೌತಿಕ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಮೇಲೂ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದಿರುವ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳೇ ಈ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಫಲಾನುಭವಿಗಳು. ಈಗ ಅವರಿಗೆ ನವ-ವಹಾಹತುತಾಹೀ ಲೂಟಿಯನ್ನು ತೀವ್ರಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಪರವಾನಗಿ ದೊರೆತಿದೆ. ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿಯ ಈ ದೈತ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಇಂತಹ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ನೀಡಿ ಈ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಮರುವಹಾಹ ತೀಕರಣದ ಒಂದು ದುಷ್ಕ ಯೋಜನೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಿಯೇ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

○ ಬೇರೆ ಏನಾದರೂ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳಿವೆಯೇ ?

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಟೀಕಾಕಾರರ ಗಮನಕ್ಕೂ ಬಾರದ ಒಂದು ವಿಚಾರವಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು "ವೈಮರ್‌ಲ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ವೈಮರ್‌ಲ್ಯ ಕ್ರಮಗಳು" ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಇವು ಸದಸ್ಯ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪ್ರದೇಶದೊಳಗೆ ಮಾನವ ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರಾಣಿ ಜೀವನ ಅಥವಾ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸುವ ಕ್ರಮಗಳು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಇದು ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳ, ಸಸ್ಯಗಳ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟದ್ದು. ಕೃಷಿ ರಫ್ತುಗಳು, ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳು ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿವೆ. ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಳ ಸರಿಯಾದ ಆರೋಗ್ಯ ಕಾಪಾಡಲು ಅಗತ್ಯವಾದವುಗಳನ್ನು ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡುವ ಈ ಕಟ್ಟುನಿಟ್ಟಾದ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶಕ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳು ಸಸ್ಯಗಳ, ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿನ ಪರಿಸರ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನೇ ಪ್ರಶ್ನಿಸಿದಂತೆ(ಉದಾ. : ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವ ದೇಶಗಳು ಬಳಸುವ ಅಥವಾ ಬಳಸದ ಕೀಟನಾಶಕಗಳು ಯಾವುವು ಎಂಬಿತ್ಯಾದಿ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳು).

ಅಂದರೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ ಯಲ್ಲದೆ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊರತಾದ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಾಣಿ ಅಥವಾ ಸಸ್ಯ ಜೀವನಕ್ಕೆ ಅಪಾಯದ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಒಳತಂದು ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ತಡೆ ಕ್ರಮಗಳಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರಶ್ನಿಸಿದರೆ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಗಳ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಗೆ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಬೇಗನೆ ಹಾಳಾಗುವ ಕೃಷಿ ಸರಕುಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ಅಮದು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ದೇಶದ ಸಂಶಯ ತಪ್ಪಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಅದು ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಗೆ ನಡೆಸುವವರೆಗೆ ಕಾಯಬೇಕು. ಅಚ್ಚರವೇ ಆ ಸರಕೇ ಹಾಳಾಗಿ ಹೋಗಬಹುದು.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿ ಸುಮಾರಾಗಿ ಸುಂಕದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾ ಅದು ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಸದಸ್ಯ ದೇಶಗಳು ಸುಂಕದ ತಡೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಮಾಡಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರೂ ಸುಂಕವಲ್ಲದೆ ಬೇರೆ ರೂಪಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ್ಕೆ ತಡೆ

ಇಂದು ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರವನ್ನೇ ಸುಮಾರಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಹತೋಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡಿರುವ, ಭೌತಿಕ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಮೇಲೂ ಹತೋಟಿ ಹೊಂದಿರುವ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳೇ ಈ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಫಲಾನುಭವಿಗಳು. ಈಗ ಅವರಿಗೆ ನವ-ವಹಾಹತುತಾಹೀ ಲೂಟಿಯನ್ನು ತೀವ್ರಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಪರವಾನಗಿ ದೊರೆತಿದೆ.



ಸ್ವಸ್ಥವುವುದನ್ನು ಅದು ತಡೆಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಪರಿಸರ, ಆರೋಗ್ಯ ಪ್ರಸರಣ ನಿವೇದಕ ಸಂಧಿ, ಕೃಷಿ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಹತೋಟಿ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ, ಶ್ರಮ ಮಟ್ಟ, ISO 9000 ದಂತಹ ಗುಣಮಟ್ಟದ ಅಳತೆಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಸಂಕೇತ ತಡೆಗಟ್ಟಿ ಬಳಸಬಹುದು. ಈ ಮೂಲಕ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಉತ್ಪಾದಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ದೇಶಗಳ ಮಾದರಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸರಿಯಾದ ಮಾದರಿ ಬಹುದು. ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸಂಕ ತಡೆಗಳನ್ನು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾಗಿ ಇಳಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಯಶಸ್ವಿಯಾದ ನಂತರ ಗ್ಯಾಬ್ ಬೇದಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳು ಇಂತಹ ಸಂಕೇತರ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ತಡೆಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ವಾದ ಮಾಡಲು ಬಳಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ರಫ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಇಂತಹ ಕಲಮುಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ವಿಧಾನಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಕಡಿತ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು. ಸಾವು ಮಾತ್ರ ಸಂಕೇತಗಳನ್ನು ಇಳಿಸಬೇಕು, ಆದರೆ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇಂತಹ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಡದ ಕಲಮುಗಳನ್ನು ಬಳಸಬಹುದು!

**○ ಪರಿಷ್ಕೃತಿ ಹೀಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಭಾರತ ಸರಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ಇದನ್ನೇಕೆ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ ?**

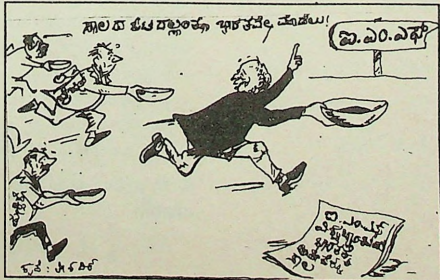
ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ನಂತರದ ದಶಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತದ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ವರ್ಗದ ನೇತೃತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳೆಸಲು ಕೈಗೊಂಡ ಶ್ರಮಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಶ್ರಮಜೀವಿಗಳ ಶ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಅಗಾಧ ಆಸ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಲೆ ಹಾಕಿದರು. ಅವರ ಆಸ್ತಿಗಳ, ಲಾಭಗಳ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಜನಸಮಾಜಕ್ಕಿಗಿಂತ ದೊರೆತ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗೆಂತೆ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಚಾಲು ಹೆಚ್ಚು. 22 ದೊಡ್ಡ ಗುಣ್ಣೆದಾರಿ ಮನೆತನಗಳ ಆಸ್ತಿ 1951 ರಿಂದ 1990 ರ ನಡುವೆ 321.16 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂ.ಗಳಿಂದ 34538.14 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂ.ಗಳಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿತು. ಅದೇ ವೇಳೆಗೆ 1990 ರಲ್ಲಿ (ಸರಕಾರ ಲೋಕಸಭೆ ಯಲ್ಲಿ 20.8.1990) ರಂದು ನೀಡಿದ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಬಡತನದ ರೇಖೆಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಬದುಕು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿರುವವರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 32.6 ಶೇ, ಅಂದರೆ ಸುಮಾರು 30 ಕೋಟಿ ಜನ ಇದು ಕೂಡಾ ನಿಜವಾದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯಲ್ಲ. ನಿಜವಾದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿದೆ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಬಡತನದ ರೇಖೆ ಗುರುತಿಸಲು ಸರಕಾರದ ಅಳತೆಗೋಲು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಗ್ರಾಮೀಣ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 4.38 ರೂ. ಹಾಗೂ ನಗರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 5 ರೂ. ದಿನ ಗೂಲಿ ಪಡೆಯುವವರು ಸರಕಾರದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಬಡವರಲ್ಲ! ಈ ಸಾಲು ದಶಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಲಾ ಆಹಾರ ಧಾನ್ಯ ಪೂರೈಕೆ ಅಮೆ ವೇಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಗಿತು. 1950-51 ರಲ್ಲಿ 395 ಗ್ಯಾಂ. ಇದ್ದದ್ದು 1990-91 ರಲ್ಲಿ 509 ಗ್ಯಾಂ. ಗೆ ಬೆರೆಯಿತು. ನಮ್ಮ ಜನರ ಪೋರ್ಟಿನ ಪೋಷಕಾಂಶದ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ಮೂಲ ವಾದ ದ್ವಿದಳ ಧಾನ್ಯದಂತಲಾ ಪೂರೈಕೆ ಕಮ್ಮಿಯಾಯಿತು. 1950-51 ರಲ್ಲಿ 60.7 ಗ್ಯಾಂ. ಇದ್ದದ್ದು 1990-91 ರಲ್ಲಿ

39.7 ಗ್ಯಾಂ.ಗಳಿಗೆಯಿಳಿತು. ಈ ವರ್ಗ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವ ಶೋಷಣೆಯ ಒಂದು ಚಿತ್ರ ಇದು. ಬಾಸಿಗಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗೆ ಅಗತ್ಯವಾದ ಆಧಾರವನ್ನು, ಇತರ ಮೂಲಭೂತ ಪರಿಕರಗಳನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸಲು ಭಾರತದ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ವಲಯ ಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಇದರಿಂದ 1980 ರ ದಶಕದ ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಬಳಿ ಎಷ್ಟೊಂದು ಅಗಾಧ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಶೇಖರವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದರೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಹೇಗೆ ಬಳಸುವುದು ಎಂದು ದಾರಿ ಹುಡುಕಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿದರು. ಅಂತರಿಕವಾಗಿ ಭೂ ಮಾಲೀಕರೊಡನೆ ಮಿತ್ರತ್ವ ಬೆಳೆಸಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ಭಾರತದ ಗ್ರಾಮೀಣ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯ ಶೇ. 70 ರಷ್ಟು ಜನರ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವ ಕೆಳಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲೇ ಉಳಿದು ಅಂತರಿಕ ಮಾಲೀಕಗಳಿಗೆಯ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗೆ ತೀವ್ರ ಮಿತಿ ಬಂದಿತ್ತು. ಅಂತಹ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಬಂಡವಾಳವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಉಳಿದ ದಾರಿಗಳೆಂದರೆ (1) ಒಟ್ಟು ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯ ಸಣ್ಣ ಭಾಗವಾದ ದರೂ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಇದ್ದ ಮಧ್ಯಮ ಮತ್ತು ಮೇಲ್ ಮಧ್ಯಮ ವರ್ಗದ ಜನಗಳ ಬಳಕೆಯ ವಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡುವುದು ಮತ್ತು (2) ವಿವೇಚಿ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗಳಿಗೆ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವ ಅಪಕಾಶ ಹುಡುಕುವುದು. ಈ ಎರಡೂ ದಾರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಬಳಸಬೇಕಾದರೂ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಶಾಹಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಧುನಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಈ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದರಷ್ಟೇ ಮಧ್ಯಮ, ಮೇಲ್ ಮಧ್ಯಮ ವರ್ಗದ ಜನಗಳಿಗೆ ಬೇಕಾಗಿದ್ದ ಉಚ್ಚ ಮಟ್ಟದ ಬಳಕೆ ವಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು (ಬಿಲ್ಲದ ಬಿ.ವಿ., ರೆಫ್ರಿಜರೇಟರ್ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ) ಸ್ಥಳೀಯವಾಗಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸುವುದು ಹಾಗೂ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವ ಕಟ್ಟಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದಕ್ಷಣ ಕೊರಿಯಾ, ಸಿಂಗಾಪುರ, ತೈವಾನ್ ನಂತಹ ದೇಶಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಿಸುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿತ್ತು.

ಇಂತಹ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಅವರು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಶಾಹಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಿಂದ ಮಾತ್ರ ಪಡೆಯಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿತ್ತು. ಇದನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಪಾರ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯ ಬೇಕು. ರಾಜೀವ್ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 1980 ರ ದಶಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಆರಂಭವಾದ ಅಮದು ಉದಾರೀಕರಣ ಭಾರತದ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಈ ಅಗತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಿತು. ಆದರೆ ಇಂತಹ ಮಿತಿ ಮೀರಿದ ಅಮದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಳವನ್ನು ತಡೆ ದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ನಮ್ಮ ಸೀಮಿತ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಅಧುನಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಪಡೆಯುವ

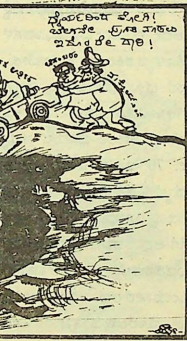
ಅಧುನಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಅವರು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಶಾಹಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಿಂದ ಮಾತ್ರ ಪಡೆಯಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿತ್ತು. ರಾಜೀವ್ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 1980 ರ ದಶಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಆರಂಭವಾದ ಅಮದು ಉದಾರೀಕರಣ ಭಾರತದ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಈ ಅಗತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಿತು. ಆದರೆ ಇಂತಹ ಮಿತಿ ಮೀರಿದ ಅಮದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಳವನ್ನು ತಡೆ ದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ನಮ್ಮ ಸೀಮಿತ ವಿದೇಶೀ ವಿನಿಮಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಕಡಿಮೆಯಾಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಅಧುನಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಪಡೆಯುವ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಐ.ಫ್. ಸಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೈಯೊಡ್ಡುವುದನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಬೇರೆ ದಾರಿಯಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.

ತೆಗೆದೀರ್ಸದ್ದಿ ನೀರೂ



ಪ್ರಯತ್ನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್. ಸಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೈಯೊದ್ದುವುದನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಬೇರೆ ದಾರಿಯಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಹೀಗೆ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ಮಾರ್ಗ ಹಿಡಿದ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್. ಬಳಿಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಅದರ ಕಠಿಣ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವುದು ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯವಾಗಿಬಿಟ್ಟಿತು. ಈ ಕಠಿಣ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳೇ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳ ರೂಪದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಎದುರು ಬಂದಿವೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಆರ್ಥಿಕದ ಈ ಸದೃಶ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಈ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನದ ಚೇರ ಪರಿಣಾಮವಾಗಿಯೇ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ವಸಾತುಕತೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ

ಆವರಿಗೆ ಅರಿವಾಯಿತು. ಭಾರತದಂತೆ ಹಲವು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳು ಒಂದು ಮುಟ್ಟಿದವರೆಗೆ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆ ಸಾಧಿಸಿವೆ. ಬಹುಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ನೆರವಿನಿಂದ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ಪಡೆದು ಇವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿವೆ. ಅದು ವಿಶ್ವಾದ್ಯಂತ ನವೀನ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಶೋಧನೆಗಳು ವಿಪರೀತ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿದ ಆವೃತ ಕೂಡಾ. ಇವು ಹೊಸ ವಸಾತುಕತೆಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಲು ಉಪಯೋಗವಾಗದಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿಯ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಅಂತಹ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳು ನಿಷ್ಫಲ. ಆವರಿಗೆ ಜ್ಞಾನವೂ ಒಂದು ಬಂಡವಾಳ. ಇತರ ಯಾವುದೇ ರೀತಿಯ ಬಂಡವಾಳದಂತೆ ಈ ಬಂಡವಾಳಕ್ಕೂ ಲಾಭದೋಚಲು ಮಾಯಕಟ್ಟಿ ಬೇಕು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ತನ್ನ ಹಿಂದಿನ ನಿಲುವು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ಜಗತ್ತು ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಮಾಹಿತಿ ಒದಗಿಸಲು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಯಿತು. ಆದರೆ ಇದನ್ನೂ ಅವರು ತಮಗೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗುವ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಮಾಡಬಯಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವಕ್ಕುಳಿದ ವಿಧಾನದ ಮೂಲಕ ಇಂತಹ ಮಾಹಿತಿಯ ಮೂಲವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಹಾಕಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಬಯಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ.



ಬತ್ತಡ ಎದುರಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ತಮ ಸಂಧಿ ಪಡೆಯುವಲ್ಲಿ ಅವು ಅನುಮರ್ಥವಾದವು.

1980ರ ದಶಕದ ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆಯ ಹೆಸರಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದದ್ದು ಬಿಡಿ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಆಮದು ಮಾಡಿ ಅವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಡಿಸುವುದಲ್ಲದೆ

ಹೀಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ಇದ್ದಕ್ಕಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿಗಳ ಆದಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದು ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗಳ ಅರ್ಥವಲ್ಲ. ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ನಂತರ ಅವರು ಅನುಸರಿಸಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ತರ್ಕವೇ ಅವರನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ತಂದು ನಿಲ್ಲಿಸಿದೆ. ತಮ್ಮ ಲಾಭವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಹಾಗೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಲು ಅಂತರ್ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಬಂಡವಾಳದ ಪಾಲುದಾರರಾಗಬಹುದಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸುವ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗೆ ಅವರನ್ನು ತಂದು ನಿಲ್ಲಿಸಿದೆ. ಇದೇ ರೀತಿ ಅಂತರ್ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಎತ್ತಲು ಅವರು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಬಯಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಹಲವು ಕಂಪನಿಗಳು ಯುರೋ-ಇಸ್ರಾಯಿಲ್ (ಯುರೋಪಿನ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶೇರು ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ)ಗಳನ್ನು ಹರಿಯಬಿಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಇದೇ ಉದ್ದೇಶದಿಂದ.

ಆದರೆ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಭಾವವನ್ನು ಬದಲಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ತಮ್ಮ ಈಗಿನ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಅಂತ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವನು ರವಾಗಿಯೇ ಅವರು ಈ ನೀತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಒಂದು ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ವಲಯ ಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಇಂದು ತಾವು ರಾಶಿ ಹಾಕಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳವನ್ನು ಬಳಸಲು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಈ ವಲಯದ ಖಾಸಗೀಕರಣ ಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಒಂದು ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ದೇಶೀ ಉದ್ದಿಮೆಗಳನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹತೋಟಿಯಿಡುವುದು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಅಗತ್ಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಈಗ ವಿದೇಶೀ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಪಡೆಯಲು, ಸ್ವಲಾಭಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ಮಾರ್ಗ ಹಿಡಿಯಲು ಈ ಹತೋಟಿಗಳನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದು ಉದಾರೀಕರಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ತೀಕ್ಷ್ಣದೀರ್ಘನಿ ವಿರೂ

ಪುಸ್ತಕ

ನಮ್ಮ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ಇದ್ದಕ್ಕಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿಗಳ ಆದಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದು ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗಳ ಅರ್ಥವಲ್ಲ. ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ನಂತರ ಅವರು ಅನುಸರಿಸಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹೀ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ಮಾರ್ಗದ ತರ್ಕವೇ ಅವರನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ತಂದು ನಿಲ್ಲಿಸಿದೆ. ತಮ್ಮ ಲಾಭವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಹಾಗೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಲು ಅಂತರ್ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಬಂಡವಾಳದ ಪಾಲುದಾರರಾಗಬಹುದಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸುವ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗೆ ಅವರನ್ನು ತಂದು ನಿಲ್ಲಿಸಿದೆ

ಮತ್ತಿನ್ನೇನೂ ಮಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. 1980ರ ದಶಕದ ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ತ್ವರಿತವಾಗಿ ಬೆಳೆದ ಎರಡು ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ-ಇಲೆಕ್ಟ್ರಾನಿಕ್ ಬಳಕೆ ವಸ್ತುಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ವಾಹನಗಳು-ಇದನ್ನೇ ದೇಶ ಕಂಡದ್ದು. ಆಗ ಈ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳು ಈಗ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವದಲ್ಲೇ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಅವು ಇದ್ದಷ್ಟು ವೇಳೆ ದೇಶದ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲ ಹೆಚ್ಚಳಕ್ಕೆ ಭಾರೀ ಕೊಡುಗೆ ನೀಡಿದವು. ಆದರೆ ದೇಶದ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಏನನ್ನೂ ನೀಡಲಿಲ್ಲ! ಆಗಾಧ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದೇವೆ, ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮನಾಗಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದಕ ಅಸ್ತಿ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ರಫ್ತು, ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಿ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲದ ಬಡ್ಡಿ, ಕಂತು ಪಾವತಿ ಮಾಡುವಷ್ಟು ಸಾಧನ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಕಂಡು ಬಂತು.

ಎಷ್ಟು ದಶಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಶಾಹೀ ಜಗತ್ತು ತನ್ನದೇ ಆದ ದಿಕ್ಕಿಟ್ಟಿನ ಮೂಲಕ ಹಾದು ಹೋಗುತ್ತಿತ್ತು. ಅದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹೀ ದೇಶಗಳ ನಡುವೆಯೇ ವೈರುಧ್ಯಗಳು ತೀಕ್ಷ್ಣಗೊಂಡು ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೊಂದು ಜಾಗ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ತುರ್ತು ಆಗತು ಅವಕ್ಕೆ ಕಂಡು ಬಂತು. ಹೊಸ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಿಗದಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಅವು ಅದರ ತುರ್ತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೊಂದು ಜಾಗ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಗಳಿಗೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ಅವಕಾಶ ಕೊಡುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಬಹುದೆಂಬ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕ ನಿಲುವು ಸಾಗದು ಎಂದೂ

**○ ಹಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಪರ್ಯಾಯವಿದೆಯೇ ?**

ಹೌದು. ಖಂಡಿತವಾಗಿ ಇದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮ ತೆಂನ್ನು ಅಪಾಯಕ್ಕೀಡು ಮಾಡದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಸಾಧಿಸುವ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ದಾರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹಲವು ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ತತ್ವ ಸುವೇ ಪದೇ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಲ್ಪಾವಧಿ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ದಾರಿಗಳೂ ಇವೆ, ದೀರ್ಘಾವಧಿ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ದಾರಿಗಳೂ ಇವೆ.

ಅಲ್ಪಾವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ: ತೀವ್ರ ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ ಬಿಕ್ಕಟ್ಟಿನಿಂದಾಗಿ, ವಿದೇಶಿ ವಿನಿಮಯದ ತೀವ್ರ ಕೊರತೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್. ಬಳಿ ಹೋಗಿ ಅದರ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಿ, ಸರಕಾರದ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ(ಅಂದರೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯ, ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ, ರೇತನ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳಿಗೆ) ಐರ್ಪುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತೀವ್ರ ಕಡಿತ, ಪಾಸಗೀಕರಣ, ವಿದೇಶಿ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದ ಉದಾರೀಕರಣ ಮುಂತಾದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಿ ಸಾಲ ತಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದಲ್ಲದೆ ಬೇರೆ ದಾರಿಯಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಸರಕಾರ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ ಬಿಕ್ಕಟ್ಟು ಬಂದದ್ದೇ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ 1980ರ ದಶಕದ ಮಧ್ಯಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಮಿತಿ ಮೀರಿದ ಅಮದು ಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್. ಸಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೈಗೊಂಡು ಬದಲು ಈ ಬಿಕ್ಕಟ್ಟನ್ನು ಇರಿಸುವುದು ಅನುಕ್ರಮದ ಅಮದುಗಳನ್ನು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ಮಿತಿಗೊಳಿಸಬಹುದಿತ್ತು. ಸರಕಾರ ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅದರ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಗಳ "ದೊರಗಾರ"ರಾದ ಈ ಅಲ್ಪಸಂಖ್ಯಾತ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಸರವಾಗಬಾರದಲ್ಲ! ಎರಡನೆಯದಾಗಿ, ಹೊರಗೆ ವಿದೇಶಿ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾನೂನುಬಾಹಿರವಾಗಿ ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ವಿದೇಶಿ ವಿನಿಮಯ ಹಣವನ್ನು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ವಾಪಾಸು ತರಲು ಹಾಗೂ ಅವಿವಾಹಿ ಭಾರತೀಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ವಿದೇಶಿ ವಿನಿಮಯ ಉಳಿತಾಯವನ್ನು ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ತೊಡಗಿಸಲು ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹ ನೀಡುವ ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದಿತ್ತು. ಮೂರನೆಯದಾಗಿ, ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಜೀನಾಮೆ ಇಟ್ಟು ಶಕ್ತಿಯಿದ್ದಿದ್ದರೆ ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವ ಕಪ್ಪು ಹಣವನ್ನು ಹೊರಗೆಯ ಬಹುದಿತ್ತು. ಸರಕಾರ ಈ ಯಾವುದೇ ದಾರಿ ಅರಿಸಲು ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಇವೆಲ್ಲಾ ಅದನ್ನು ಬೆಂಬಲಿಸುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟದ್ದು.

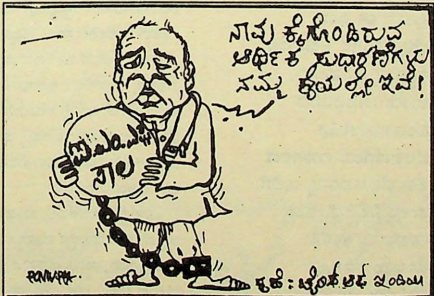
ದೀರ್ಘಾವಧಿ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ: ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ನಾವು ನೋಡಿರುವಂತೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ನಂತರ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಕಾಠಿಣ್ಯ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ಒಂದು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ದಾರಿ ಅನುಸರಿಸಿದ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಅಗತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಲೆಂದೇ ಹೊಸ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳು ಅರಂಭವಾದವು. ಅಂತರಿಕ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯ ಮಿತಿಯಿಂದಾಗಿ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು

ರಪ್ತು ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯತ್ತ, ತ್ರೀಮಂತ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಐಜಾರಾಮದ ಬಳಕೆ ವಸ್ತುಗಳತ್ತ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಹರಿಸಬೇಕಾಯಿತು. ಅಂತರಿಕ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯ ಮೇಲಿನ ಮಿತಿಗಳೇನು? ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯ ಬಹುಪಾಲು ಮಂದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಿಲ್ಲದಿರುವುದೇ ಆ ಮಿತಿ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಡತನದ ರೇಖೆಯ ಕೆಳಗಿರುವವರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಇಡೀ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಪೋಷಣಾಶರದ ಅಹಾರದ ಅಭಾವದಿಂದ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಸಾಯುವವರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಅಸ್ಟ್ರೇಲಿಯಾದ ಇಡೀ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಇಂತಹ ಜನಸಮೂಹ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಾಗಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ? ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಭಾರೀ ಜನಸಮೂಹಗಳ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು, ಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಬೇಕು. ಹೀಗೆ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಭೂಸುಧಾರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾರಿ ಗೊಳಿಸಿ ಉಳುವವರಿಗೆ ಭೂಮಿಯ ಹಕ್ಕು ಕೊಡಬೇಕು. ಈ ಕ್ರಮ ಕೈತಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಅಪಲಂ ಬಿಸಿರುವ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಸಮೂಹಗಳ ಶೇ. 70 ಭಾಗದ ಜನರ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನವನ್ನು ಒಮ್ಮೆಲೆ ಎತ್ತರಿಸಿ ಬಿಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ಅಂತರಿಕ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯನ್ನು ಅಗಾಧವಾಗಿ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿ ಸತತ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗೆ ಅಧಾರವಾಗು ಲ್ಲದು. ಒಂದು ಅಂದಾಜಿನ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಬಡತನದ ರೇಖೆಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಬದುಕು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿರುವವರಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಸೀರೆ ಅಥವಾ ಪಂಜೆ ಖರೀದಿಸುವಷ್ಟು ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ದೊರೆಯುವಂತಾದ ಹೀಗೆ ಉಂಟಾಗುವ ಬೇಡಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಲು ಈಗಿರುವದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮೂರು ಪಟ್ಟು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಬಟ್ಟೆ ಉಡಿಸುವ ಬೇಕಾದೀತು. ಅದರ ಇಂದಿನ ನೋಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇವೆ? ಬೇಡಿಕೆಯಿಲ್ಲದ್ದರಿಂದ ಬಟ್ಟೆ ಗಿರಣಿಗಳು ಮುಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿವೆ.

ಈಗಿನ ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ಈ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ದಾರಿ ಹಿಡಿಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಈ ವರ್ಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂ ಮಾಲಕ ವರ್ಗಗಳೂ ಇವೆ. ಈ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಕಾನೂನು ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಭೂ ಸುಧಾರಣೆ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳ ಜ್ಞಾರಿಯನ್ನೇ ಬಿಡುವೇ ಉ ಮಾಡುವ, ಪ್ರತಿರೋಧಿಸುವ ತಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನವನ್ನು ಈಗಲೂ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿ ದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಈ ಪರ್ಯಾಯ ದಾರಿಯನ್ನು ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತರಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಪಾಳೆಯಗಾರೀ ಪಳೆಯುಳಿಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರಡಿಗುಟ್ಟಿ ಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಒಂದು

ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಡತನದ ರೇಖೆಯ ಕೆಳಗಿರುವವರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಇಡೀ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಪೋಷಣಾಶರದ ಅಹಾರದ ಅಭಾವದಿಂದ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಸಾಯುವವರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಅಸ್ಟ್ರೇಲಿಯಾದ ಇಡೀ ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯೆಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಇಂತಹ ಜನಸಮೂಹ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯಾಗಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ? ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಭಾರೀ ಜನಸಮೂಹಗಳ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು, ಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಬೇಕು.

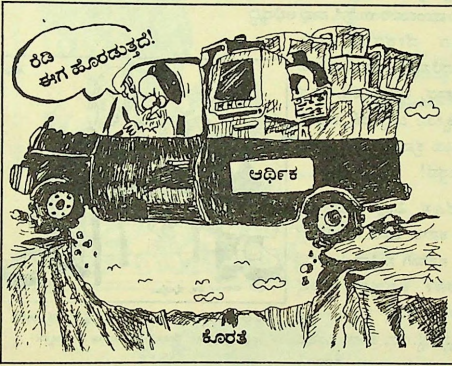
ಶೈವರ್ ಆಫ್ ಇಂಡಿಯಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೊನ್ನಪ್ಪ



ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ-ಭೂಮಾಲಕ ವರ್ಗ ಕೂಟ ಇದನ್ನು ಮಾಡಲಾರದು. ಅದು ತನ್ನ ವಿರುದ್ಧತಾನೇ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆ ನಡೆಸುವುದಾದರೂ ಹೇಗೆ ? ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಪಾಳೆಯಗಾರ-ವಿರೋಧಿ, ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ-ವಿರೋಧಿ, ಗುತ್ತೇದಾರಿ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ-ವಿರೋಧಿ ಶಕ್ತಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಒಗ್ಗಟ್ಟಾಗಿ ಈ ವರ್ಗ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊನೆಗಾಣಿಸಿ ಆ ಮೂಲಕ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಗಳ ವಿಮೋಚನೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಒಂದು ಸತತ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯ ಅಧಾರ ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

**○ಹಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಚೀನಾ ಏಕೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸೇರಬಯಸುತ್ತಿದೆ ?**

'ಕಸಾಬಿಕ್ ಟೈಪ್' ನಲ್ಲಿ ಸರಾಂ



ಹಿಂದೆಯೇ ಹೇಳಿರುವಂತೆ ಇಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ರಿಂದ ನಾವು ದೂರವಿರಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ಯಾವುದೇ ದೇಶ ಯಾವ ಶರತ್ತಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಈ ಸಂಧಿಯನ್ನು ಸೇರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬುದೇ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆ ಕಳೆದು ಒಂದು

ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಿ ಸಾಲ ತಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದಿಲ್ಲದೇ ಬೇರೆ ದಾರಿಯಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಸರಕಾರ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಪಾವತಿ ಶೇಷ ವಿಳಂಬ ಬಂದದ್ದೇ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ 1980ರ ದಶಕದ ಮಧ್ಯಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಮಿತಿ ಮೀರಿದ ಆಮದು ಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಚ್.ಸಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೈಯೊಡ್ಡುವ ಬದಲು ಈ ವಿಳಂಬವನ್ನು ಪರಿಹರಿಸಲು ಅನಗತ್ಯ ಆಮದುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಸುಲಭಶಾಹಿ ಮಿತಿಗೊಳಿಸಬಹುದಿತ್ತು. ಸರಕಾರ ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅದರ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಗಳ "ಡೆನೂರಗಾರ"ರಾದ ಈ ಅಲ್ಪಸಂಖ್ಯಾತ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಬೆರಸವಾಗಬಾರದಿಲ್ಲ!

ದಶಕಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಅವಧಿಯ ಗಮನ ಸೆಳೆಯುವ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಚೀನಾದ ರಫ್ತು ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಆಮದು ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿದೆ. 1993ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು 23 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರಗಳ ಭಾರೀ ಮೊತ್ತ! ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸೇರಿದರೆ ತನಗೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವಾಗುವ ಸನ್ನಿವೇಶ ಇದೆ ಎಂದು ಚೀನಾ ಭಾವಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ಭಾರತದ ಶಕ್ತಿಯೊಂದಿಗೆ (ಅಥವಾ ಡೌರ್ಬಲ್ ದೊಂದಿಗೆ) ಹೋಲಿಸಿ ನೋಡಿ. ಭಾರತ 2.8 ಲಕ್ಷ ಕೋಟಿ ಡೊ.ಗಳ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಸಾಲ ಹೊಂದಿದೆ. ಸತತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಕೊರತೆಯನ್ನು ಅನುಭವಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ದೇಶವೂ ಇಂತಹ ಸಂಧಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೇರುವಾಗ ತಮ್ಮ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕಾರಿಯಾದ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳು ಯಾವುವು ಎಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಬೇಕು. ಈಗ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಚೀನಾ ದ್ವಿಪಕ್ಷೀಯವಾಗಿ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ಮಾತುಕತೆ ನಡೆಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. (ಇದನ್ನು 'ಅಜಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಅನುಕೂಲ ಪಡೆದ ದೇಶ' ಅಥವಾ MFN ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ). MFN ಎಂದರೆ

ಈ ದೇಶದ ರಫ್ತನ್ನು ಸ್ವಲ್ಪೀಯ ಅನುಕೂಲನೆಯಂತೆ ಕಾಣಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ, ಯಾವುದೇ ಮಿತಿಗಳಿಲ್ಲದ ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನ ಪಡೆದ ದೇಶಗಳ ಅರ್ಥಿಕಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಹತೋಟಿ ಪಡೆಯಲು ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ತನ್ನ ಸೂಪರ್ 301 ಕಾನೂನುಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕು ಮುಕ್ತಾದ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಡದ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ಮೂಲಕ ಒತ್ತಡ ಹಾಕುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಕ್ಲಿಂಟನ್ ಬಾರಿ ಬಾರಿ ಈ ಬೆದರಿಕೆ ಹಾಕಿದರೂ ಚೀನಾದ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದಾಗಿ, ಚೀನಾವೇನಾದರೂ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಕೈಗೊಂಡರೆ ಅದರಿಂದ ಅಮೇರಿಕಾದ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಭಾರಿ ನಷ್ಟವಾಗುವುದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ಈ ಬೆದರಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳ ತರಲು ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲ.

MFN ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನ ಕೊಡದೇ ಇದ್ದಾಗ ಚೀನಾ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಿಂದ ಎರಡು ಲಕ್ಷ ಅಮೇರಿಕನ್ ಡಾಲರ್ ಕೆಲಸ ಕಳೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಸದಸ್ಯ ದೇಶ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಸದಸ್ಯ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ MFN ಸ್ಥಾನಮಾನ ನೀಡಬೇಕು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸೇರುವ ಮೂಲಕ ಚೀನಾ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ತನ್ನ ಮೇಲೆ ತರುವ ಇಂತಹ ಒತ್ತಡಗಳಿಂದ ಪಾರಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ, ಚೀನಾ ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ತನ್ನ ಮಣ್ಣಿನಲ್ಲಿ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಜಂಟಿ ಉದ್ಯಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪೀಯ ಅಂಶಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಕಟ್ಟುನಿಟ್ಟಾದ ನಿಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಜಾರಿಗೊಳಿಸಿದೆ. ಇದು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್-1994ರ ನಿಯಮಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾದ ಸಂಗತಿ. ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಸೂಪರ್ 301 ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ರಮ ಎದುರಾದಾಗ ಭಾರತ ಕೈಬಿಟ್ಟಿ ನಿತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇದೂ ಒಂದು. ನಿಸ್ಸಂಶಯವಾಗಿ ಯೂ ಚೀನಾ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಧನವಾಗಿರಬಯಸುತ್ತದೆ-ಆದರೆ ತನ್ನ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆಯೇ. ಇತ್ತ ಭಾರತ ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ಗೆ ಭಾಗವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ತನ್ನ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕಾರಿಯಾದ ಶರತ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯುವಂತೆ ಒತ್ತಡ ಹಾಕಲೂ ಆಸೆಪಟ್ಟಿರುವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಚೀನಾ ಇಲ್ಲದ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಬಹುಮಾನ್ಯೀಯ ಕಂಪೆ ನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿಗಳ ಮೂರನೇ ಜನಜನಿತ ದೇಶಗಳ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಕೋಷಣೆಯನ್ನು ಬಲಗೊಳಿಸಲು ಯಾವುದೇ ಮಿತಿಮೀರಿದ ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡುವ ಸಂಭವನೀಯವಾಗಿದೆ. ಚೀನಾ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದರೆ ಮೂರನೇ ಜನಜನಿತ ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ ವಸಾಹತುವಾಗಿಸುವ ಸಾಮಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ಕನಸನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿರೋಧಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಮಿಶ್ರ ದೊರೆತಂತೆ.

**○ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಭಾರತ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ಸೇರಲಿವೆವೆಂದು ಮುಂದೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು ?**

ಈ ಸಂಧಿಯ ಅಂಶಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ನಮ್ಮ ಕಾನೂನು

ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲವು ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಟ್ರೇಡ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ ಅನುಗುಣವಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ 1970ರ ಪೇಟಿಂಗ್ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳನ್ನು ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇಂತಹ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಸತ್ತಿನ ಎದುರು ತಂದಾಗ ಅವನ್ನು ವಿರೋಧಿಸಬೇಕೇಕೆ.

ಸ್ವ ತಳಿಗಳ ಶಾಸನ, 1993ರ ಕರಡನ್ನು ಆಗಲೇ ತಯಾರಿಸಿ ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ಸಂಸತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ವಿರೋಧಿಸಬೇಕು. ಅದೇ ರೀತಿ ಹಿಂದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ 'ಆತ್ಮಾನನಿಗಳ ಪಟ್ಟಿ'ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಯಂ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳು ಬೇಕಾದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅವನ್ನು ವಿರೋಧಿಸಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮತೆಯನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು.

ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಜೆಪಿಯ ಎರಡು ನಾಗರಿಕ ಗೋಸುಂಚಿತನ ಬಯಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಕಳೆದ ಸಂಸತ್ ಅಭಿವೇಶನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸರಕಾರ ಮೂರು ಮಹತ್ವದ ಮಸೂದೆಗಳನ್ನು ತಂದಿತ್ತು- ನಾಗರಿಕ ವಿಮಾನಯಾನ(ತೆರದ ಆಕಾಶ ನೀತಿ), ಗಣಿಗಾರಿಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಖನಿಜಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕಿಂಗ್ ಸೇವೆಯ ಬಾಹ್ಯೀಕರಣ ಕುರಿತ ಮಸೂದೆಗಳು. ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಮಸೂದೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪಾಸು ಮಾಡಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ಸರಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ನೆರವಾಯಿತು. ರಾಜ್ಯಸಭೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಭ್ಯಮತದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ಮತದಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸದೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಆಳವಡಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ನೆರವಾಯಿತು.

ಭಾರತದ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಮುದಾಯ ತಾವು ವಿಶ್ವದ ಯಾವುದೇ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಸರಿಗಟ್ಟುವ ಉತ್ತಾದನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪಡಿಸಬಲ್ಲವು ಎಂದು ಮತ್ತೆ-ಮತ್ತೆ ತೋರಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ-ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ಕ್ಷಿಪಣಿ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಅಥವಾ ದೂರಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗಳು. ಅದರ ಹಣಕಾಸು ಮೋತಾ ಭಾರೀ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗಿರುವುದು ಈ ವಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ. ಸರಕಾರ ವಿದೇಶೀ ಶಕ್ತಿಗಳ, ಹಣಕಾಸು ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳ ಆದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ತಲೆಬಾಗಿ ದೇಶದ ಇಡೀ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಆಧಾರವನ್ನೇ ಕಳಚಿ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಕಳೆದ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಶಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೋಟ್ಯಾಂತರ ಭಾರತೀಯರ ಬೆವರು, ರಕ್ತದಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಬೆಳೆಸಿದ ನಮ್ಮ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯವನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿ, ಪೋಷಿಸಲು ಒಂದು ದೀರ್ಘ ಸಮರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ.

**○ ದ್ವಿಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಒಪ್ಪಂದಕ್ಕೆ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯಿಲ್ಲ**

ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಘಟನೆ(WTO)ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯೊಂದಿಗೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಜಯಶಾಲಿಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬರಿಗೂ ಸಮೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಯುಗದ ಉದಯ

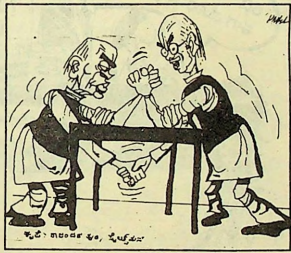
ವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದು ವಾದಿಸುವವರು ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ಕೂಡಾ ಸೂಪರ್ 301ನ್ನು ಬಳಸುತ್ತೇನೆ ಎಂದು ಬೆರಲ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಗ ಕಣ್ಣುಬಿಕ್ಕಿಯಾದರು. ಇಂತಹ ದ್ವಿಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಕ್ರಮಗಳು ಮುಂದೆ ಇರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪ್ರತಿ ವಾದಕರು ಉದ್ಧರಿಸಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ತನ್ನ ಕಾನೂನು ಪುಸ್ತಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಯ ಅಂತರಿಕ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳು ಮುಂದೆಯೂ ಇರುತ್ತವೆ ಎಂದು ಅಮೇರಿಕ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟ ಪಡಿಸಿದೆ. ಅಸಮಾನತೆಯ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಂತರ ಕಾನೂನೇ ಏಕೈಕ ಕಾನೂನು. ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಕೂಟಗಳು ನಾಫ್ಟಾ(NAFTA)-ಉತ್ತರ ಅಮೇರಿಕನ್ ಮುಕ್ತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ, ಯುರೋಪಿಯನ್ ಸಂಘ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ. ನಾವು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತಿರುವ ದೇಶಗಳು ಎಷ್ಟು ಸೋಗಿರುತ್ತೇವೆಂದರೆ ಸಾಮೂಹಿಕ ಚೌಕಾಶಿಯ ನಟನೆ ಕೂಡಾ ಸಾಧ್ಯ ವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ನಾವು ಒಂದು ಬಹುಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಒಪ್ಪಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಬದ್ಧರು, ಅವರ ಏಕಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಕ್ರಮಗಳ ಹಕ್ಕು ಮಾತ್ರ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ!

ಇದೀಗ ಹೊಸ ವಿಶ್ವ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ಕನಸು. ಭಾರೀ ಹಿಗ್ಗಿನಿಂದ ಅವರು ಅದನ್ನು ನನಸಾಗಿ ಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ ಮಹಾಪಾತವಾಗಿಸುವ ದುಷ್ಟ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಯನ್ನು ವಿಶ್ವವನ್ನು ಒಯ್ಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ಕೂಡಾ ಎಂತಹ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಭವಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ? 1980ರ ದಶಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ನೆರವೂ ಐ.ಎಂ.ಎಫ್. ನಾಗರಿಕರಿದ್ದಾಗ್ಯೂ ಒಟ್ಟಾರೆಯಾಗಿ ಸಂವನ್ಮೂಲಗಳು ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಿಂದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳತ್ತ ಹರಿಯುತ್ತಿರುವಾಗ. 1989ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರನೇ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಿಂದ 52 ಶತಕೋಟಿ ಡಾಲರುಗಳಷ್ಟು ಸಂವನ್ಮೂಲ ಹರಿದು ಹೋಗಿದೆ!

**ವಿನಾಶದ ನೀಲ ನಕ್ಷೆ**

ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಮಗಂತೂ ಇದು ಮತ್ತೊಮ್ಮೆ ವಿನಾಶದ ನೀಲ ನಕ್ಷೆ. ಭಾರತದ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನು ನಾಳೆ ಸುಧಾರಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಇಂದು ಅದನ್ನು, ಅದರ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಸರಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಅಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮತೆಯನ್ನು ಒತ್ತೆಯಿಡುವ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಜನ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಲಿ, ಎಂದೂ ಸಹಿ ಮಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕಳೆದ ಸಂಸತ್ ಅಭಿವೇಶನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸರಕಾರ ತಂದ ಮೂರು ಮಹತ್ವದ ಮಸೂದೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪಾಸು ಮಾಡಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ಸರಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ನೆರವಾಯಿತು. ರಾಜ್ಯಸಭೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಭ್ಯಮತದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ಮತದಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸದೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಆಳವಡಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ನೆರವಾಯಿತು.



ಇದು ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವಿನಾಶದ ಖನಿಜದ ಬದಲಿಗೆ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ, ಅದರ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ನೀತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆಯೂ ನೀಲ ಅಕ್ಷವೇ!

ಅಸಮಾನತೆಯ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಂತರ ಕಾನೂನೇ ಏಕೈಕ ಕಾನೂನು. ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಕೂಟಗಳು ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ. ನಾವು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತಿರುವ ದೇಶಗಳು ಎಷ್ಟು ಸೋಗಿರುತ್ತೇವೆಂದರೆ ಸಾಮೂಹಿಕ ಚೌಕಾಶಿಯ ನಟನೆ ಕೂಡಾ ಸಾಧ್ಯ ವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ನಾವು ಒಂದು ಬಹುಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಒಪ್ಪಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಬದ್ಧರು, ಅವರ ಏಕಪಕ್ಷೀಯ ಕ್ರಮಗಳ ಹಕ್ಕು ಮಾತ್ರ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತವೆ!



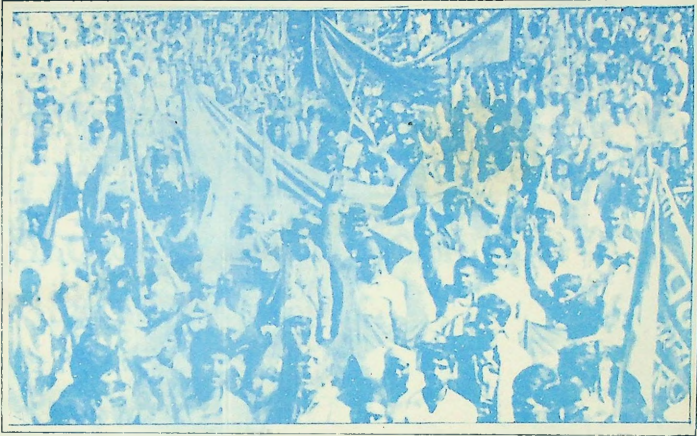


ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಅಳುವ  
ವರ್ಗಗಳು ನಮ್ಮ ಅಧಿಕ  
ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮತೆಯನ್ನು  
ಒತ್ತೆಯಿಡುವ ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ  
ಹಾಕಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಜನ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸಹಿ  
ಹಾಕಿಲ್ಲ. ಎಂದೂ ಸಹಿ  
ಹಾಕುವುದಿಲ್ಲ

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ಏಪ್ರಿಲ್ 15, 1994 ರಂದು  
ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಫೋಲೀಸರ  
ಜಲಧಿರಂಗಿಗಳನ್ನು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ವಿರೋಧಿ  
ಮತಪ್ರದರ್ಶಕರು ಎದುರಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿ  
ಬಂತು





ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಮಗಂತೂ ಇದು  
ಮತ್ತೊಮ್ಮೆ ವಿನಾಶದ ನೀಲ ನಕ್ಷೆ.  
ಭಾರತದ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನು ನಾಳೆ  
ಸುಧಾರಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕಾದರೆ  
ಇಂದು ಅದನ್ನು, ಅದರ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ  
ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು  
ಉಳಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು  
ಆಳುವ ವರ್ಗಗಳು ನಮ್ಮ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ  
ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮತೆಯನ್ನು ಒತ್ತೆಯಿಡುವ  
ಸಂಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಜನ ಮಾತ್ರ  
ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿಲ್ಲ, ಎಂದೂ ಸಹಿ  
ಹಾಕುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

Security gadgets

**LIVE LIKE  
MANDRAKE!**

Phoolan Devi

**LAST REFUGE  
IN BUDDHA**

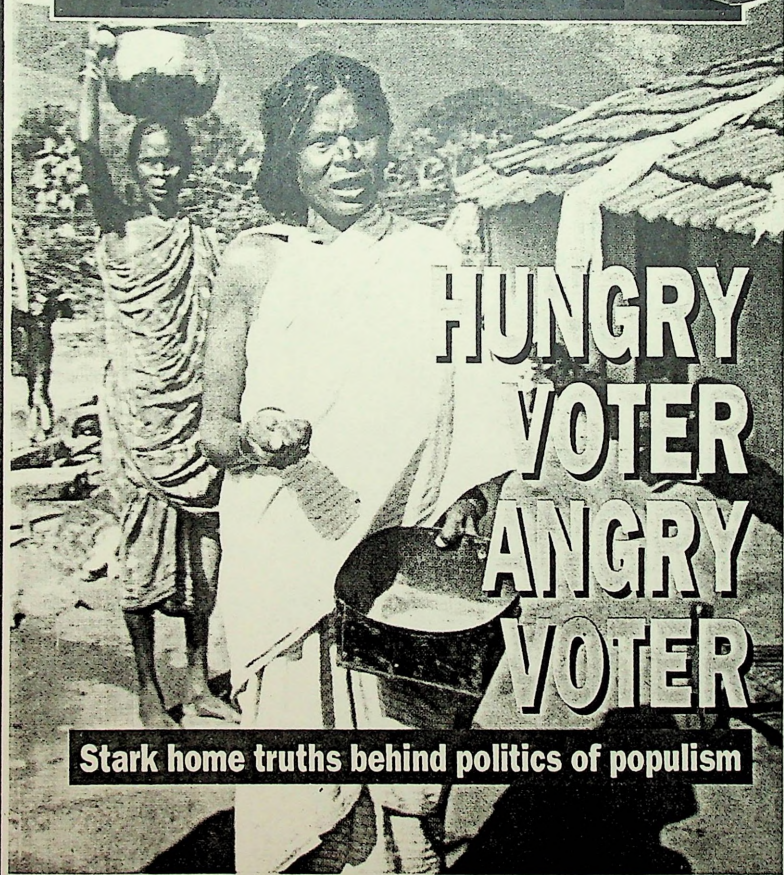
Maharashtra

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# THE WEEK

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**HUNGRY  
VOTER  
ANGRY  
VOTER**

**Stark home truths behind politics of populism**



# POWER OF HUNGER

Poll promises reveal stark home truths. A large number of Indians have very little to eat in the era of liberalisation. And politicians cannot afford to ignore them.

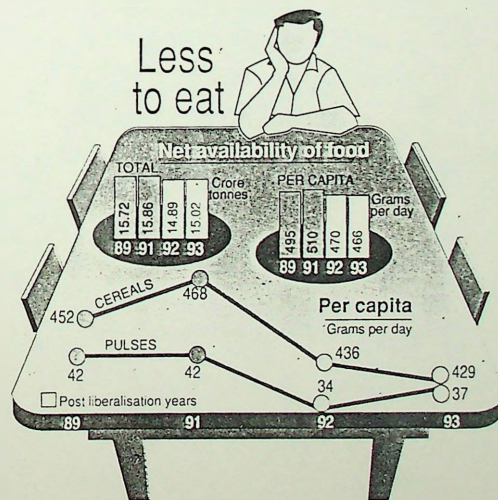
THE free lunches are back on the political dining table. Politicians, including the Congressmen who have been taking to Manmohan's social-slimming diet, are once again dishing out the politically itattering menu of populist promises. From cheap rice to interest-free loans, cheap bus tickets to free insurance, fruit trees to free uniforms, vote-seeking politicians are riding high on promises, making the 'miserly' Manmohan flinch. After three years of fiscal austerity, politicians have

rediscovered what they had been taught to forget—that the route to the voter's heart is through his stomach. And that road eventually leads to political power.

If in doubt, ask N.T. Rama Rao of Andhra Pradesh or Deve Gowda of Karnataka who are, in the eyes of the fiscal disciplinarians, the gurus of a new philosophy of profligate political management. Wishes, of the country's millions of wretches, were the horses that they rode to power last autumn. Rama Rao promising a kilo of rice at



PIC: B. JAYACHANDRAN





P. S. MISHRA

### The voters of Andhra Pradesh didn't want a million dollars; they wanted rice to eat.

—Dr Jay Dubashi, BJP's chief economic adviser

two rupees and Gowda offering it at fifty paise less and waiving interest on small farm loans. This season, when more than half of India's urban poor and a little less than half of their country cousins are electing six state governments, the politician finds that he has little to offer them but freebies.

Despite all the pat they have been receiving from investors and economists abroad, the fact remains that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, the liberalising duo, have been unable to sell their growth-path economy to the voting poor. In fact, Rao learnt it the hard way in his home state of

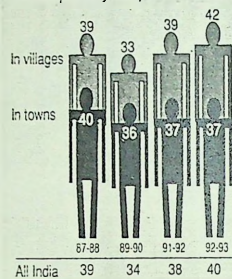
Andhra Pradesh where he had uncharacteristically boasted that only he could get million-dollar loans from abroad on a phone call, "even at midnight". Said Dr Jay Dubashi, BJP's chief economic adviser: "The voters of Andhra didn't want a million dollars; they wanted rice to eat." Sharper still was a comment from a Congress MP: "Rao saheb may get us loans; but who will get us votes?"

With the daily bread getting costlier despite plenty of food stocks, the hungry voter is turning angry. Bolstered by the success of 'food-for-vote' promises in the earlier round, the opposition parties are now on a give-away spree. If the BJP has promised the poor in Maharashtra daily bread for one rupee, it offers poor Gujaratis a kilo of wheat at two rupees. If given a second term in Bihar and Orissa, the Janata Dal would give rice at two rupees, interest-free loans to irrigate farms, cheap power to every village and so on. After initial scepticism, the state units of the Congress are promising the very same things which its fiscal-frugal leaders at the Centre had scorned in Andhra and Karnataka.

The fear of the Congress is that the party's image has changed from a poor man's forum to a rich man's club. Said BJP president L.K. Advani, releasing his party's promise-pregnant poll manifesto: "The distorted priorities of the government in the economic field, with its wrongly sequenced economic programmes making the rich richer and the poor poorer, have created more problems than they have solved." Within the Congress, the ambitious muieneer Arjun Singh has cited this (or at least such a perception) as a reason for his

## More into penury

(Percentage of people below poverty line)



revolt. Even the Arjun-haters in the party privately endorse the view. As former Andhra chief minister J. Vengala Rao observed recently, Manmohan Singh's "knowledge of life in the villages and the ground realities concerning the common man's hardship is nil."

Ironically, when more and more party members are getting restive over the double-digit inflation, Rao has been chastising them for not properly explaining the benefits of the new economic policy to the poor voter. "You have a greater responsibility to educate the people on the schemes and programmes being implemented by the Central government for their benefit," he told the Congress parliamentary party recently. Perhaps that was why he had sent Manmohan Singh to launch the campaign in Maharashtra.

But the candidates soon signalled to the high command that not only the politically inarticulate Manmohan Singh, but Rao too was unwelcome to campaign for them. After all, Congress MPs have not forgotten Singh's gaffe at his first press conference as finance minister—that politicians were in the habit of making a lot of promises during elections which they could not keep.

Even as Congressmen at the state level racked their brains to 'out-promise' the opposition, Manmohan Singh retired to his budget room after one foray into the electoral battlefield. The task there is tougher. As Lok Sabha elections are due next year, he has to make a balanced budget which will attract both dollars and ballots. On the one side are the claims

of vote-earning 'populism' and on the other are the stringent demands of fiscal discipline which cannot tolerate allocation of Rs 6,000 crore to subsidise fertilisers and Rs 9,600 crore to give cheap power to farmers.

The task before the average Congressman is to answer (or 'educate' in Rao's lingo) the hungry voter. Indeed, the economy has registered commendable overall growth, but as Prof. S.K. Goyal, director of the Institute for Study of Industrial Development, put it, "It means people made more money; it does not mean more people made money."

The recent national sample survey showed that the rich 20 per cent people earned more and bought more things, while the poor 20 per cent earned less and so consumed less in Rao's first 18 months. More alarmingly, the percentage of the poor has been increasing in the years of liberalisation. If more than half the Indians (53 per cent) had been poor in 1979, large doses of social security measures ensured that only a third (34 per cent) remained poor by 1990. But in 1992, the second year of subsidy-cutting liberalisation, 40 per cent were found poor.

The champions of liberalisation have all along been swearing by the trickle-down theory—that the benefits of growth would percolate to the poor. In simpler words it means the rich would invest more, profit more, produce more, employ more and pay



**Economic growth means people made more money; it does not mean more people made money.**

—Prof. S.K. Goyal, Institute for Study of Industrial Development

## PROMISING SPREE

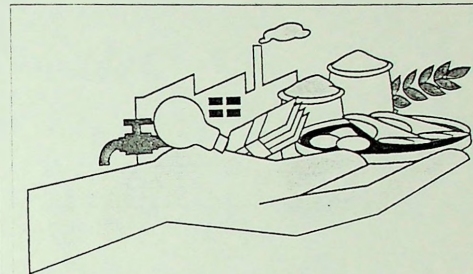


ILLUSTRATION N. V. JOSE

### CONGRESS

**MAHARASHTRA:** Industrial estate in each taluka

- 3 million jobs in 5 years
- GUJARAT:** A kilo of rice at Rs 2 in drought areas
- A kilo of rice at Rs 1.75 for 26 lakh families (Cost Rs 64 crore)
- Noon meal for school children
- Free power for street-lighting in small villages
- Cheap power to schools, hostels, shrines
- ORISSA:** Free noon meal for primary school children
- Free food for 2 lakh destitutes in 20 blocks
- Rs 1,000 grant to 10 lakh poor women
- A kilo of rice at Rs 2
- Jobs for 20 lakh
- Double stipend to poor meritorious students

### JANATA DAL

**ORISSA:** A kilo of rice at Rs 2 for the poor

- Irrigation of 1,000-25,000 hectares in every panchayat
- Job for one in every family of jobless and landless
- Interest-free loan for irrigation
- 5 free fruit trees for every household
- Power and link road for every village
- Low-cost houses to the poor
- Tubewell for every hamlet
- Total prohibition in 5 years
- Rs 25 monthly stipend and uniform for poor meritorious students
- Rs 10,000 deposit for every girl child in one-child family (Already giving two-rupee rice, Rs 200-dole to 6 lakh jobless, subsidised seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and pumpsets.)

### BJP

**MAHARASHTRA:** Jowar roti meal at Re 1

- Rs 3,000 to each poor family
- Grant to poor students
- GUJARAT:** A kilo of wheat at Rs 2 for the poor
- Grant of Rs 2 lakh each to 18,000 villages
- Free power and water to 18,000 villages
- Noon meal for school children
- 20% cut in bus fare
- No sales tax on fertilisers, seeds, pesticides, tractors
- Life insurance of Rs 20,000 for every farmer

## Who is giving cheap power

Power tariff in election states

(Rs per kwh)

	Householder pays	Industrialist pays	Farmer pays	Tariff introduced by
Bihar	1.09	1.56	0.41	Janata Dal govt
Orissa	0.87	0.72	0.34	Janata Dal govt
Gujarat	1.71	1.48	0.16	Cong-JD(G)
Maharashtra	1.82	1.54	0.15	Congress govt
Andhra	1.45	1.35	0.14	Congress govt
Karnataka	1.92	1.15	0.06	Congress govt



PIC: ARVIND JAIN

**Increasing food support to the poor is not populism. Is it populism to look after the people who cannot afford food?**

—Dr S.L. Rao, National Council for Applied Economic Research

more. Advani scoffs at it quoting J.K. Galbraith: feed horses with oatmeal so that the sparrows can feed on their dung.

Even the Prime Minister has admitted that the trickling stream of prosperity has run into hard rocks. Said he at the Confederation of Indian Industry's centenary address in Calcutta: "Realising that percolation is time-consuming, I have decided on a lateral injection of resources at the village level to assist the poor."

Cutting out the administrative jargon, this means he would spend more on digging village wells, subsidising ration shop sales, installing hand-pumps, building houses and so on under a myriad schemes like Integrated Rural Development Plan or Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, all welfare measures figuring in populist manifestos.

In fact, even economists who support liberalisation are averse to calling such measures populism. "Increasing food support to the poor is not populism," says Dr S.L. Rao, director-general of the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER). "The ration shop price of rice has gone up from Rs 3.70 to Rs 5.20 in three years. Is it populism to look after the people who cannot afford food?"

But he would not advocate fiscal profligacy to look after them. "The public distribution system is grossly inefficient. I wonder how, with the

## How the poor were hit worst

(The ration price rise has been highest for common variety of rice and least for fine variety)

Variety	Price in 1991	Price in 1992	Rate of change
Common rice	289 per quintal	377	30.4%
Fine rice	349	437	25.2%
Superfine rice	370	458	23.8%

present system, the two-rupee rice can reach the real poor. Spending more money on it would not do as a great part of it goes for administrative expenditure. The same rupee should be made to go farther."

Dr Rao also cautions against interest-waivers which "create a bad mindset among borrowers". Dejiends Deve Gowda who did exactly that to win the Karnataka election: "The interest waiver is a one-time concession. The total cost to the exchequer, including the interest concession to large agricultural borrowers, is Rs 130 crore." Adds his party president S.R. Bommai: "Banks are writing off crores of rupees of bad debts of industrialists. How is it wrong if our government waives the interest on loans to farmers which is much less?"

He is right on facts. While farmers owe only about Rs 21,000 crore to banks, industrialists owe more than Rs 80,000 crore. As Gowda points out, banks have written off Rs 30,000 crore as bad debts of industrialists and the Centre has given Rs 12,000 crore to banks to offset their scam losses. In contrast, he was writing off only Rs

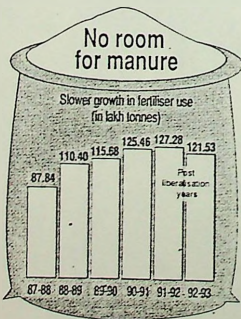
130 crore owed by poorer people.

"Much as Gowda and company would protest, the government is determined to lend less to farmers in the future. Manmohan Singh has accepted the Narasimhan Committee recommendation that farmers be not given more than a tenth of total bank loans. Gowda is already in a squeeze, with the National Bank for Rural Development refusing to lend any more to Karnataka farmers.

The welfarist argument is that the liberalisation, which cut fertiliser subsidy, has harmed the farmer. Rao and Singh believe that the farmer can afford costly fertilisers if his grain fetches better prices. Attacking the two-rupee rice schemes, Rao told his parliamentary party. "How can farmers produce if higher and remunerative prices are not given to them?" The opposition's argument is that this hurts the consumer. So it would rather subsidise fertilisers, seeds and power and keep the grain cheap in the ration shops and the market, than make everything costly and wait till everyone is rich enough to buy costly grain.

That the lot of the farmer and the poor consumer has worsened in the last three years is borne out by figures released by the government. Farmers had been using more and more fertilisers till 1991 when fertiliser prices rose after subsidy cut; farmers use less fertilisers now. This will lead to less productivity.

The government has sought to streamline public distribution system by augmenting it in areas of utter deprivation (tribal belts, dry regions, slums) and eliminate the rich from its ambit. The result has been far from satisfactory. In fact, the quantity of grain that people bought from ration shops this year has been less than half (40 per cent) of what was offered. If 92 lakh tonnes of wheat was offered in 1992-93, people bought 74 lakh tonnes of it. But the next year they



bought only 44 lakh of the 70 lakh tonnes offered. The irony is that there is plenty of grain in the godowns ("comfortable food stocks", as the government calls it) but people cannot buy it. So, it would be released into the open market.

Welfarists argue that the people bought less because they could not afford the ration shop grain. The large tax give-aways have left a lot of money in the hands of the upper classes which has protected them from the 44 per cent rise in wholesale price index since March 1991. At the same time, the prices of foodgrain rose by 54 per cent and of pulses by 67 per cent—items on which the poor spend most of their money.

Worse still has been the oddity of the price rise which a Bangalore-based social scientist, Amitava Mukherjee, brought out in a seminar at a Third World Network. The rise in the price of low-quality rice, which the poorest buy, has been much higher than that of better variety bought by the better-off. In effect, the price rise in the liberal years has been worse for the very poor than for the poor.

As a result, the average Indian had less to eat in the liberal years. If he had more than 500 grams of food a day in 1991, he got 44 grams less in 1993; if he had 468 grams of rice, wheat, maize or jowar (cereals which are staple foods) in 1991, he got 39 grams less in 1993. When these statistics are seen in hard reality, it would explain the voter's hunger and anger. Assuming that the rich did not eat less, it means many poor had to sacrifice more than 39 grams of rice and many others starved. Earlier, the government used to curb food price hikes by invoking the essential commodities act which has become unfashionable in the reform raj.

None disputes that the liberalisation has benefited the rich and the middle classes. They have more planes to fly, better cars to drive, better colas to drink, better chocolates to eat and better perfumes to spray. But the high-flying, car-driving, cola-drinking, chocolate-eating, perfume-spraying are not even a third of the population. And a good section of this affluent section is the politics-hating variety who would not stand in the polling booth queue and gain

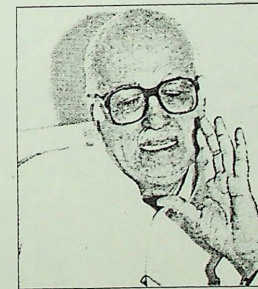
## Who owes what

Outstanding bank loans on March 31, 1994

Farmers	Rs 21,203 crore
Small businessmen	Rs 22,620 crore
Medium & big businessmen	Rs 57,872 crore

the fingers.

Most votes, as every politician knows, come from the ill-clad and ill-fed in the villages where there are colas (after aggressive rural marketing among the rural rich) but no drinking water. And that is why, Manmohan Singh's claim. "Three years are too short a time to expect substantial results from the reforms, but there have been positive developments," did not cut much ice with the state labour ministers at their conference on January 20. Two weeks earlier, he had told the Indian Labour



**It means feed horses with oatmeal so that the sparrows can feed on their dung.**

—L.K. Advani quoting J.K. Galbraith on trickle-down theory

Conference: "Doling out assistance to the poor is no way to fight poverty." But representatives of his own party's labour union, the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), replied to it with a mild attack on his policies.

The debate over liberalisation till recently was between its champions in the Congress and its critics in the opposition parties. Now the debaters are the state governments on one side and the Centre and its agencies on the other. Most economists and Central agencies have condemned the populist promises made by the state governments or state-level parties. Rao led the chorus when N.T. Rama Rao

approached him for Central help to offset the loss of Rs 3,000 crore due to the two-rupee rice scheme and the ban on liquor. At a party meeting the Prime Minister mocked at the state leaders making impossible promises and then seeking Central help. Perhaps Rao was a little hurt, too, after Deve Gowda, demanding that the fertiliser and food subsidies be restored to 1992 levels, had told him that Manmohan Singh "will put his last nail in the Congress coffin."

In fact, most state governments have come to power promising freebies. For instance, the Congress came to power in Madhya Pradesh a year ago promising free power to farmers; Chief Minister Digvijay Singh still swears by that. "My priorities are clear," he said recently. "The farmers have put me in this seat. I have to guard their interests." Adds Dr S.L. Rao of NCAER: "It is economic sanity to show concern for the people who put you in office.

Cheap power is one of the most contentious issues between the fiscal disciplinarians headed by Manmohan Singh and the promising profligates within the Congress and outside it. Foreigners keen on investing in the power sector have been insisting on an assurance that they would get returns, but no state government, in its electoral wisdom, can impose higher power tariff on farmers. The state power boards have been trying to offset the loss in selling power cheap to farmers by making the domestic consumers and industries pay higher charges. Even then, not many power boards are able to break even.



**The 300 million in the middle too are poor, and need help as do the 300 million at the bottom.**

—Dr George Mathew, director, Institute of Social Studies

Interestingly, Congress governments have been the most populist in the power sector. In Bihar and Orissa, where the Janata Dal rules, the farmers pay 41 paise and 34 paise, respectively, for a unit of power. The farmers in the Congress-ruled Gujarat and Maharashtra do not have to pay even half that rate. In fact, the Bihar farmer has been paying nearly seven times the price that the voted-out Congress government of Karnataka had been taking from the farmer. Whether it was a Congress sin or not, the fact that worries the Manmohan Singh-led fiscal disciplinarians is that the power boards are losing Rs 5,500 crore this year.

Anyway, it is more or less clear that the disciplinarians would have to come down their high horse as they present the Union budget. Former Reserve Bank Governor S. Venkataramanan in a recent article has predicted that the budget "will bear the scars of political compromise. It will be cautious but cosmetic." Rao himself had hinted at it through his promise of "lateral injection".

"A pyramid," Rao said while inaugurating the Netaji Bose air terminal in Calcutta, "has a wide base and we have to cater to the needs of that base." If none else, Chief Minister Jyoti Basu must have understood. Marx-

ist theory has always looked at society as a pyramid with a few rich at top and many poor at bottom. The neolaissez faire school has portrayed modern society as a rhombus (diamond-shaped) with a few rich at top, a large middle class and a few poor.

The pyramid and the diamond have their political significance. The welfarists insist on strengthening the poor at the pyramid base and getting their votes, as the Congress had been doing in the last half a century. The anti-welfarists believe that the middle classes have grown large enough to sustain political parties.

It is simple arithmetic in the Indian context. As P. Chidambaram, who is now back in the commerce ministry, pointed out at a recent seminar in Delhi, of the 900 million Indians, 300 million have good jobs, good schools (and contentment); 300 million have bad jobs, bad schools (and hope); 300 million no job, no school (and no hope). "The last category deserves help, as the reforms won't help them. We have to (meet) their needs like drinking water, village roads and village schools. The reforms have given us the strength to abolish this acute poverty of 5,000 years."

Welfarists disagree. "Poverty in the 20th century," says Prof. Goyal, "is not the same as poverty in the 18th century. Poverty today is not lack of food alone. It means disparity also. If



**With the tightening of the purse... even non-Congress states may have to take to privatisation in a big way.**

—Amresh Bagchi, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy

you manage to just survive when others live well, you will call yourself poor though you are eating."

Agrees Dr George Mathew, director of the Institute of Social Studies, Delhi: "It is not just the bottom 300 million, but the 300 million in the middle too are poor. Though in the middle, they are not the middle social classes. They are the small farmer, the farm labourers, the slum-dweller and so on. They too need help as do the 300 million destitutes at the bottom." Politically translated, the votes are the aspirations of the 600 million for whom promises are being made.

While agreeing that the giveaways can ruin state economies, Dr Amresh Bagchi, director of the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, sees a silver lining. "With the tightening of the purse, the state governments would have to find ways of raising additional resources. That might lead to even non-Congress states taking to privatisation in a big way which would be a positive development in the restructuring process."

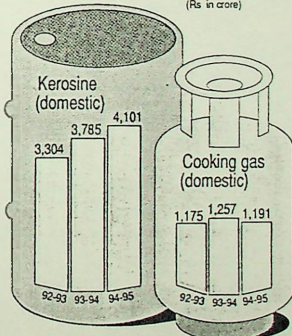
Are Jyoti Basu's open arms to private investors and Deve Gowda's Davos pilgrimage signs of such changing attitudes?

—R. PRASANNA

## What it costs to keep the fire burning

Subsidies on the kitchen fuel

(Rs in crore)



jump to conclusions."

More fundamentally, estimates of poverty levels in India are less than precise. As Delhi School of Economics professor Suresh Tendulkar puts it: "There is an inherent element of arbitrariness about the whole procedure."

First of all, calorie intake is today not the best means of assessing poverty. That's because the consumption basket has changed since the calorie norm was adopted in 1973-74. Several studies have shown that as incomes rise, the proportion spent on food declines. Some state governments too argue that with widely different eating habits and calorie requirements, a uniform norm distorts the true picture.

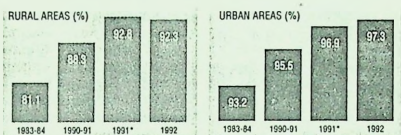
Secondly, the NSSO's estimate of aggregate consumption (total consumption by households in various income groups) is lower than that of the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO). The CSO arrives at the aggregate consumption level by subtracting savings in the economy from total income. The Planning Commission has tried to overcome this by increasing the NSSO figure to the CSO figure. So long as the difference was narrow, it didn't matter. But in the 1987-88 exercise, the difference was 40%. "This does lead to underestimation of poverty," admits an official.

Thirdly, some economists question the use of the two-meal criterion in arriving at assessments of poverty. NCAER director S.P. Pal argues that other basic needs should also be included. The Planning Commission, in fact, does precisely this; it puts together a basket of food and non-food items when judging poverty.

More to the point, other studies suggest just the opposite of what the NSS data suggest. A survey by Pal shows that the real or inflation-adjusted wages (a fairly good index of purchasing power

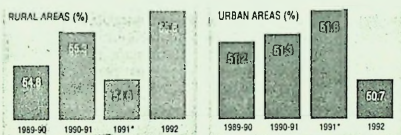
### INDIANS ARE BETTER FED IN THE POST-REFORM YEARS...

Households that have two meals throughout the year



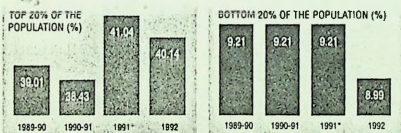
### ...AND JOBLESSNESS ISN'T ON THE RISE

Men employed for the better part of the year



### BUT INEQUALITIES HAVE INCREASED...

Share in total consumption of food/non-food items

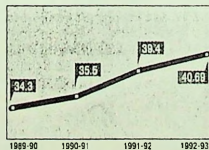


Source: National Sample Survey, 48th Round

\* July-December

### ...AND SOME PRIVATE STUDIES SUGGEST PEOPLE ARE POORER

POVERTY RATIO



Source: A study by S.P. Gupta, Icrier

and hence of poverty) of agricultural labourers, carpenters and the lowest paid workers in cotton mills fell in most states between 1991 and 1993. Another study by Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations director S.P. Gupta shows that the percentage of those below the poverty line increased from 35.5% in 1990-91 to 39.4% in 1991-92, and to 40.6% in 1992-93. This means that poverty increased during the post-reform years.

Both studies explain this by referring to the rise in foodgrain prices in the first year of two of the Rao government. Pal and Gupta claim that foodgrain prices went up by over 15% a year between 1990-91 and 1993-94, and that the gross domestic product increased by under 2%. That raises the possibility of purchasing power having dropped.

There is, of course, a contradiction here: if foodgrain prices went up, how did more people eat two square meals a day? The NSS data do not deal with this, nor were they meant to.

Clearly, a longer term trend is required to draw conclusions about whether poverty has declined or not. And many of these approaches do not take into account the use of such public utilities as health services and sanitation. An alternative approach by the United Nations Development Programme's human development index takes into account factors such as education, access to safe drinking water, health services and sanitation, life expectancy at birth, and access to newspapers and TV. On this basis, India was ranked 135th in a list of 173 countries.

In other words, even if more Indians are eating regularly, the country is still poor by these yardsticks.

BHUPESH BHANDARI

Subject: Goliaths Of Globalization Groom The Media

Date: Thu, 10 Feb 2000 00:30:06 PST

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At The Top Of The World: Covering The World Economic Forum How The Goliaths Of Globalization Groom The Media  
By Danny Schechter

When demonstrators packed the streets of Seattle last December to scuttle the World Trade Organization meeting and shout about their dissatisfaction with economic globalization, some journalists described them as "politically correct" activists. Reporters and pundits contended that the protestors offered simplistic and one-sided solutions lacking any objectivity. Two months later, scores of these same media commentators showed up in Davos, in the Swiss alps, to cover the annual summit of the World Economic Forum, a gathering of many of the most important corporate and government leaders in the world. I joined them to watch top media chieftains interact with the overlords of the global economy-only to discover, ironically, that there was a PC quality to the media's cheerleading at Davos.

In this case, "P" stood not for "political" but for "participate"-and "promote": many media people were invited to Davos as insiders, not outsiders; to join, not to watch. The agenda of globalization requires public acceptance of that model as the only viable strategy for economic growth. That was the message that Bill Clinton brought to Davos. The architects of the new global economic order need to market this message; that's the role they've assigned to the media. Media outlets have become willing promoters of globalization and consistent attackers of its noisy critics. The media not only spin global news to hype market values but are themselves purveyors of products, which they bring to the world market. They sell as they tell. In Davos, many media companies had displays to demonstrate their wares and push propaganda via their information technology and specialized services.

As for the "C" in "PC," I was struck by how the media landscape was literally, physically divided along class lines. The working press-the grunts who file daily copy-were stuck in the dungeon-like basement of the high-tech Congress Center, with its plethora of conference rooms, meeting halls and executive lounges looming above. They were crammed into small, smoky rooms in the area typically used, in Swiss buildings, for fallout shelters. You had to squeeze your way between the rows of computer screens and reporters babbling in a cacophony of different tongues. There, behind bombproof doors, many media drones seemed tethered to their computers, pounding away to meet deadline cycles: It's important to note that all of these working class journo had badges restricting their access to certain Forum events. Thus, much of the copy they wrote was based on reams of handouts, session summaries and the snatches of the proceedings they watched on live, closed-circuit TV. The whole building was quickly wash in tons of background documents and company promo packets. The airlines would later rack up a fortune in excess baggage charges for overweight luggage, stuffed with forests' worth of Davos documents. I nearly suffered a hernia hauling all my booty home.

A level up, some of the better-known media brands, such as CNN, CNBC and Reuters, had their own suites and mini-studios, designed to shuttle interviewees in and out for quick Q&As and pithy soundbites. A state-of-the-art, user-friendly computer conferencing system with scores of available terminals made requesting appointments from the high and mighty easy and efficient-for the media's high and mighty. Outside crews from lesser media outlets were escorted in for limited shooting on the conference floor.

Further up the media food chain, and not confined to offices or routines, "name" correspondents were given privileged "all access" white badges and full conference status. The editors and star columnists were labeled "media leaders" and invited to join key panels to share their punditry with the

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crowds. Usually, these were globalization gurus such as the MIT economist Paul Krugman and Thomas Friedman of The New York Times op-ed page. The more skeptical among us were kept in the seats, not on the stage. We could ask questions but not offer perspectives.

Finally, at the apex of the heap, were the big media bosses and new media honchos who were there to do much more than report on the schmoozing. They wheeled and dealt in separate meetings in nearby well-guarded hotels and special offices. I met Microsoft chief Bill Gates; Howard Stringer, the newly knighted head of Sony; Michael Bloomberg of Bloomberg Media; Rob Glazer of Real Networks; Shelby Coffey of CNN; and Robert Bartlet, the ultra-conservative commissar of The Wall Street Journal's editorial page. I missed AOL's Steve Case, News Corp's Rupert Murdoch, Barry Diller of USA Networks, and other top players who were on hand to promote their companies and explore new business alliances.

Significantly, and not surprisingly, there was no discussion, at any level of the media pyramid, of the media's role and responsibility in covering economic issues-nor did any media company take part in the many discussions of corporate social responsibility. As well, none of the handful of well-known critics of globalization from non-governmental organizations, who were invited to add spice and conscience to this year's debates, challenged media practices or the largely uncritical coverage of the event. They, like the policy makers they came to criticize, were happy to get their 15 seconds in the media sun.

This is not to deny that critical and reflective reports on the Forum did emerge in some outlets. The Wall Street Journal's news pages exposed the business-related conflicts of interest of Forum founder Klaus Schwab, while the International Herald Tribune reported thoroughly on NGO concerns and gave op-ed space to globalization critics like AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and Malaysian environmentalist Martin Kohr. London Observer's editor Will Sutton slammed the lack of critical voices in the conference, noting that "the voices arguing that corporations need to behave...socially responsibly, and with an eye on environmental sustainability, are the weakest in the 11 years I have been coming here. In over 70 sessions on business there are no more than half a dozen in and around this territory-and they tend to be undersubscribed. The 'hard' conversations are about how to maximize shareholder value and how to be a winner in the new economy." Nonetheless, there were many experienced and thoughtful writers on hand who deserve credit for competent and balanced takes.

Overall, however, the Forum did a good job of comforting-some might say co-opting-reporters. I'll admit to enjoying media dinners (paid for by Coca-Cola) and a special program for the "Club of Media Leaders" featuring briefings by His Majesty King Abdullah of Jordan and the billionaire King of New Media, Bill Gates. It was hard not to feel a sense of importance and entitlement when supping with kings and king-servers. These "briefings" were largely superficial. Gates, for example, sang the praises of Microsoft's 2000 product line, sounding like a salesman, not a visionary. There was an unmistakably American spin on all of this, too, evident in the cozy meals arranged with U.S. trade-negotiator Charlene Barshefsky and Treasury Secretary Larry Summers.

American officials dominated the Forum, perhaps reflecting the still ballooning U.S. economy. President Clinton flew in, along with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, and National Economic Advisor Gene Sperling. While other countries dispatched Presidents and Ministers to lobby the corporate elite, none sent more big guns than Washington did. This year, Davos was USA all the way.

While CEOs and monarchs wined and dined with the press, activists got nowhere near this high-toned brand of access to the media-though top U.S. financier George Soros, who has warned of a "capitalist threat" as dangerous as yesteryear's communist threat, did get his own meet-the-press luncheon. A watchdog group, Public Eye on Davos, condemned the focus of the Forum and sponsored a debate between NGO leaders and Forum officials, which I moderated. It was poorly covered-perhaps because it was held at a nearby

asthma clinic, which would have required journalists to leave the warm cocoon of the Conference Center.

TV crews did hustle into the streets when a smaller than expected anti-globalization demonstration finally materialized. The protest was quickly contained by the Swiss police, who physically limited media access. I was in the right place at the right time, which gave me a front-row seat when a handful of stick-wielding, slogan-shouting anarchists trashed the windows of a local McDonald's. Unfortunately, the fast-charging demonstrators-with their German signs calling for victory for Mexico's Zapatista rebels and freedom for American death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal-made little effort, unlike their Seattle counterparts, to communicate their ideas to the press, or even to translate them for non-German speakers. Confused and incoherent, the messages and concerns of the protestors were reduced to a side bar in most articles. Some TV units did get pictures of the melee, which included snowballs hurled at tear gas-toting police (two of whom were assaulted by the protestors).

Often, media coverage snidely denigrated globalization critics. Here's Diane Francis of Canada's National Post on John Sweeney. "While some CEOs try to skimp, union chiefs live like kings. Take John Sweeney, head of the 13 million-member AFL-CIO union giant in the United States." After criticizing Globalization, "he left for his spacious Davos apartment digs. No spartan ski lodgings for this self-appointed champion of the working class around the globe." Self-appointed? Of all the critics in Davos, Sweeney was one of the few who was elected. He doesn't deserve this type of cheap shot in a town where most corporate CEOs were housed in far fancier luxury suites.

To their credit, many of the journalists and editorialists I met at the Forum had thoughtful and critical insights to share about their own media experiences, though it is doubtful many of these critiques will make it into print. One of these conversations-an informal discussion about media corruption worldwide among an international group of journalists-will be the subject of an upcoming "Dissector" column. For now, I am still digesting the dialogues and diatribes I attended at Davos. Then, too, I've resolved to work hard at losing calories from all those freebie, sauce-rich Swiss meals as I sort through my piles of Davos detritus and watch the follow-up globalization infomercials.

- Danny Schechter, "The News Dissector," is the Founder and Executive Editor of the Media Channel.

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**Structural Adjustment Programmes,  
Globalisation, Economic Growth  
and Human Development**

by

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June 17-21, 1998

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## Executive Summary

This report begins with the genesis of the debt crisis initiated by the irresponsible lending by multinational banks in the North to developing countries for grandiose industrial and agricultural schemes. These failed; debtor countries were unable to honour their repayment schedules. The creditor banks were in danger. The World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) went to rescue the banks by offering loans to the debtor countries. But there was a condition. These countries had to introduce extreme austerity measures by agreeing to implement Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The component policies of SAPs, their adverse impacts on the health and economy are described in detail with data from several African and Latin American countries. The gains painstakingly achieved in the health sector by several African countries over a period of 15 years were wiped out by SAPs in a few years.

Economic growth stagnated or declined. The heaviest price was paid by infants and young children. Millions of children died. Communicable diseases that were controlled reappeared in outbreaks due to the cancellation of immunisation programmes.

The report then examines the impact of globalisation on economic growth and human development. There has been enormous economic growth but this has been very uneven. Only eleven developing countries out of a total of 150 have been integrated into globalisation. A vast majority have been excluded and many of them are experiencing negative economic growth.

In spite of the obvious failure of globalisation, liberalisation and deregulation, the WB and IMF are promoting these to all developing countries and referring them to the stunning economic growth of the tiger economies of East and Southeast Asia – at least until mid 1997.

The paradox of the Asian economic miracle and poverty in Asia is discussed next, followed by the description of the Guyana's Alternative Structural Adjustment Programme (ASAP).

The report ends with conclusions and recommendations.

## B. Impact of SAPs on health

It is children who have paid the heaviest price under SAPs. There is some evidence that malnutrition and child mortality are rising in some of the most heavily indebted countries of Africa and Latin America.<sup>iii</sup> Brazil had to cut its health budget. This led to delays in immunising children with later outbreaks in communicable diseases.<sup>iv</sup>

In Mexico, 80-90 per cent of the children pass through a period of early malnutrition, from which they suffer irremediable and permanent losses in physical and mental capacity.<sup>v</sup>

The "debt war" declared by WB and IMF on African countries in the short period of just five years, completely reversed the gains painstakingly made by these countries over a period of 15 years. Infant mortality rate (IMR), the number of deaths of children under one year per 1000 live births in one year, is universally accepted as a very sensitive indicator of the health and well being of a country. The IMR which had begun to decline in many African countries rose by 54 per cent in the SAP period of five years between 1980 and 1985 in seven African countries (Table 1). Increases in under five mortality rates of three to 91 per cent were seen in the same period in these countries.<sup>6a</sup>

Table 1: Infant mortality rates in seven countries, before and after SAPs

Country	Infant Mortality Rates			Percentage Change	
	1965	1980	1985	1960-1980	1980-1985
Ethiopia	165	146	168	-11.5	+15.1
Kenya	112	87	91	-22.3	+ 4.6
Madagascar	n.a.	71	109	-	+53.5
Mali	200	154	174	-23.0	+26.5
Somalia	165	146	152	-11.5	+ 4.1
Tanzania	138	103	110	-25.4	+ 6.8
Uganda	121	97	108	-19.8	+11.3

n.a. - not available

Source: Commonwealth Secretariat (1989): *Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s*. Commonwealth Secretariat Publications, London.

In 1988, the UN was informed during the review of its Programme of Action for Economic Recovery that one million children had died in the "debt war" declared by WB/IMF on African children.<sup>6b</sup>

African countries under SAPs have been reported to have experienced rising rates of ill health and mortality in both urban and rural poor. Diseases that had reportedly been

The perverse impact of the policies demanded by WB/IMF under the SAPs on the economic development in developing countries was clearly stated in the verdict of the Permanent People's Tribunal on the policies of WB/IMF which states:

The World Bank and the IMF are in breach of the Charter of the UN in that they have not promoted higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development, nor have they promoted a universal respect of the observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all.<sup>16</sup>

It would sometimes appear that the right hand of WB/IMF does not know what the left hand does! A 1990 global study of the impact of SAPs over a period of 15 years carried out by the IMF conclusively proved that the growth rates in programme countries were significantly reduced compared with the growth rates in non-programme countries.<sup>17</sup> Yet these agencies continue to pressurise countries to implement SAPs.

The draconian policies of WB/IMF under SAPs resulted in the net transfer of US\$178 billion between 1984 and 1990 from poor developing countries to commercial banks in the North. This transfer was so outrageous that a former executive of the WB described it as follows, "Not since the *conquistadors* plundered Latin America has the world experienced a flow in the direction we see today."<sup>18</sup>

The adverse impact of SAPs on economic growth is best shown by the number of countries that are classified as least developed countries (LDCs) by UN. In 1978 there were a total of 28 LDCs. The latest count is close to 50!

While the WB and IMF have called for cuts in non-productive sectors like health and education, they have almost never targeted military budget. In many developing countries, allocations military are higher than those for health and education combined. Increased military spending will not help growth of economy or promote health. However, it is of economic interest of the arms industry in the North. Additionally, SAPs increase poverty; a strong army will be necessary to put down riots and violent demonstration against austerity measures and also to ensure that these countries are always safe for foreign investment. WB, IMF and USAID encourage governments of developing countries to show "resolve" in pursuing SAPs and not to relent in the face of public criticism.<sup>19</sup> However, it is noteworthy that IMF demanded reduction in military spending in few countries; Nicaragua was one. It is a country where the military is still largely controlled by Sandanistas.<sup>19b</sup>

#### D. Globalisation, Economic Growth and Human Development

Globalisation or international economic integration, started in 1950, with a marked acceleration since 1980. This has certainly resulted in enormous economic growth as the following data show.<sup>20</sup> World exports grew from US\$61 billion in 1950 to US\$3,447 billion in 1992. The stock of foreign direct investment in the world economy increased from US\$68 billion in 1960 to US\$1,948 billion in 1992. The flows of direct foreign investment increased from less than US\$5 billion in 1960 to US\$171 billion in 1992.

The economic growth we see today can best be described as a ruthless growth which benefits only the rich and makes the poor, poorer still.

However, WB and IMF continue to advocate globalisation and free market. They hailed the stunning success of the fast growing tiger economies of East and Southeast Asia until mid 1997, and recommended their model to all developing countries.

#### E. The Asian Miracle and Poverty in Asia

The WB defines a miracle economy as the unusual combination of rapid and persistent economic growth and high income equality.<sup>22</sup> Based on this definition, analysis of the Bank's own data will show that the Asian economy is not a miracle economy. There is a wide income disparity among population sub-groups. Table 2 gives the incomes distribution among population sub-groups in eight Asian countries, prevalence of malnutrition in young children and the percentage of population living on less than one dollar a day.

The real per capita GDP of each population sub-group has been estimated from data given in the World Development reports and have been arbitrarily divided into miserably poor, poor, low income, low middle income, middle income, rich and very rich based on comparison with national per capita GDP.

Table 2 clearly illustrates the high-income inequality among population sub-groups in three miracle economies and four newly industrialising countries. This confirms the fact that rapid economic growth is associated with high income inequalities and therefore do not fit into the category of miracle economies. Table 3 further confirms that rapid economic growth leads to high income inequalities. Table 4 compares the incomes of the poorest and the riches in eight Asian countries.

Table 3: Ratio of per capita GDP of the poorest and the richest population sub-groups in China and Thailand at intervals of 5 and 4 years respectively and the average annual growth rate.

Country	Average Annual growth rate (%) 1985-1995	Years	Ratio of per capita GDP of the poorest and the richest population sub-groups
China	8.3	1990	1:7.7
		1995	1:14
Thailand	8.4	1988	1:7.5
		1992	1:14.8

Sources: *World Development Reports, World Bank 1993, 1997.*

This table show that the two countries had a rapid and persistent growth rate for a period of 10 years. The price paid for the economic growth was widening of the income disparity. The ratios of the per capita GDP between the poorest and the richest population sub-groups have doubled in favour of the rich.

If children are the wealth of the nation, it would appear that some of the Asian countries are not attempting to preserve their wealth (Table 5). Hong Kong has eliminated malnutrition in about five years. Thailand has reduced the incidence by 50 per cent. There is hardly any change in Malaysia. The prevalence of malnutrition has increased in Indonesia, Philippines and Singapore, one of the tiger economies. It is well-known that malnutrition in young children retards their physical and mental development. We will, therefore, have a future generation of Asians who had been denied the opportunity to maximise the full genetic potential bestowed on them by their parents. It is indeed ironical that Asia while having the tallest buildings in the world, will also have many stunted children. It is reported that of the world's top 10 tallest buildings scheduled to be completed in the 1990s, nine will be in Asia.<sup>23</sup>

#### F. Alternative to the Structural Adjustment Programme - ASAP

##### Guyana's experience with an equity based structural adjustment<sup>24</sup>

Guyana, the only English speaking country in South America, is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere. In the 1980s, Guyana became the most heavily indebted country in the world. Since 1988, 80 per cent of the government revenues have gone to service foreign debt.

Under the IMF supervised adjustment policies, the value of the Guyanese dollar fell from 10 to one US dollar in 1988 to 144 Guyanese dollars to one US dollar in 1995. Subsistence agriculture has been replaced by export crops. Forests cut and minerals mined for export. Budget for health and education was cut.

Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, malnutrition, child death rates, diseases, unemployment and overall poverty rose dramatically.

In 1992, in the first free election after 30 years, the people of Guyana elected a socialist president, Cheddi Jagan.

At first IMF policies kept Jagan from implementing social and economic reforms to combat poverty. In August 1993, the citizens of Guyana joined forces with the Bretton Woods Reform Organisation (BWRO) to create the first concrete Alternative Structural Adjustment Programme (ASAP). It so happened that at that time the IMF resident representative to Guyana was a socially conscious person, Davison Budhoo. He resigned. In his open letter of resignation titled, "Enough is Enough" he said that he hoped to "wash my hands of the blood of millions of poor and starving people".

ASAP involves democratically designing a comprehensive economic policy to meet the basic needs of the entire population. The first step is to form a national committee which is responsible for getting inputs from all affected sectors and groups. Through a series of seminars and symposiums, a core group of people eager for an alternative development strategy brought together representatives from workers, women, educators, farmers, business people and indigenous peoples. Together they developed a new economic development plan aimed at meeting the needs of all Guyanese people.



model, among people in developing countries. The TNCs have capitalised on this and created a "middle class", empowering it with campaigning and lobbying capabilities to promote the advantages of a development model based on market forces, liberalisation and deregulation. Based on this vociferous support from the so called exploding middle class, several developing countries, including India, are competing with one another to liberalise, deregulate, open their markets and invite foreign investment, offering several initiatives. However, there seems to be no mechanism to control and regulate the activities of the TNCs. This would be similar to developing a jumbo jet and equipping it with bullock-cart brakes!

Alternate development models are urgently needed. Guyana's Alternative Structural Adjustment Programme (ASAP) may be a useful model for developing countries to study and adapt it to suit their unique needs.

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## LEADERS

# As Japan goes?

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WHEN the mighty fall, mere mortals get scared. After clinging on desperately for years, Japan has finally tumbled: output has fallen for two quarters in succession, so its economy is no longer merely drifting but is officially in recession. The news provoked another wave of worldwide economic alarm, as the yen sank at the beginning of the week to an eight-year low. Once the global exemplar, Japan's failing economy has come to be seen as a potent risk to its neighbours and the rest of the world. Outright depression in Japan, further rounds of economic and political turmoil in the rest of Asia, and a global slump to follow: might this dismal scenario unfold after all? What, if anything, can be done to prevent it?

On June 17th the governments of Japan and America made a show of acting together to fend off the danger. They announced no new policies, but did back their soothing words with determined intervention in the foreign-exchange markets. The yen rallied impressively and global stockmarkets bounced. The respite is likely to prove short-lived. Asia's nightmare, and the West's anxieties about what it means for Europe and America, are far from over.

## What Japan must do

A coherent account of what went wrong in Asia, what should have been done to stop it happening, and what should be done now to restore stability in the region, is still lacking; for the time being, damage control and crisis management remain the orders of the day. Yet the latest events do allow one conclusion to be drawn and acted upon. Japan must—and can—act decisively to revive its economy.

It has every reason in its own interests to do so, but the fate of the region also hinges on whether it meets the challenge. The rest of East Asia is in a terrible fix. GDP fell by an annualised 20% or more in South Korea, Malaysia and Indonesia in the first quarter of this year, and new forecasts suggest these economies will at best see no growth next year. As the mayhem continues, Europe and America can exhort, plead and affect to intervene (in both senses), but for the most part this is a sideshow. If Asia ever needed, or was entitled to expect, Japanese leadership, now is the time.

Japan's plight has not caused the region's ills. But it affects Asia in two ways. Lack of demand in its economy—much the region's biggest—means that the crippled tigers cannot export their way to recovery. Sales to Japan account for as much as

12% of Malaysia's GDP, and 5-7% of GDP in Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and Taiwan. In addition, the weak yen reduces the competitive advantage that the Asian devaluations would otherwise have given the tigers' currencies. On the face of it, Asia needs both stronger demand in Japan and a stronger yen. But arranging both is tricky, even supposing that Japan can summon the will to do so. A loose monetary policy is essential if Japan is to spur domestic demand; a loose monetary policy means, among other things, a depreciated yen.

This dilemma has helped to fuel the recent mood of despair—and yet it can be resolved. In itself, the harm that a weak yen does to Asia is not great. The yen has fallen over the past couple of months, but it remains much stronger against the other East Asian currencies than a year ago. Also, though South Korea and Taiwan compete head-on with Japan, other Asian countries, such as China, Thailand and Indonesia, export quite different goods: their competitiveness in third markets is not directly affected by the fall in the yen. All in all, a cheap yen would be a small price for Asia to pay for a speedier recovery in Japan.

To this, the most resolute pessimists reply that neither a cheap yen nor anything else will spur the Japanese economy. Fiscal policy has stopped working; the sickness of Japan's banks makes any macroeconomic approach to the problem, fiscal or monetary, irrelevant; the country's productive potential, not merely its ability to mobilise demand, is collapsing. And so the litany of despair goes on. Things are bad, all right, but nowhere near as bad as this. Fiscal policy remains both usable and, if used, effective. The problems in the banking system, once properly acknowledged, can be dealt with. The "supply-side" of Japan's economy needs further reform, but it is hysterical to say that, regardless of demand in the economy, Japan is henceforth condemned to little or no growth (see [article](#)). These are excuses for inaction—the last thing Japanese politicians need.

Suppose then that Japan does what it should—spurring demand with monetary and fiscal policy, cleaning up the banking mess and vigorously pursuing reform elsewhere in the economy—will that be enough to make the world economy a safe place? No. Risk can be reduced but not eliminated. A devaluation of China's yuan, for instance, would cause further real harm to the region's other economies. The Hong Kong dollar's peg would probably give way, too, leading to another round of competitive devaluations across the region. With luck, China will continue to resist devaluation: the recent fall in China's exports is mainly due to weak regional demand, not an overvalued currency. But China may devalue anyway, and that would be scary.

Another risk is the delicate state of western stockmarkets, especially Wall Street. If more bad news from Asia causes equity prices in the United States and Europe to slide, the scene would be set for a slowdown spreading far beyond Asia. This remains the likeliest channel of contagion. America's exports to Japan account for a tiny 1% of its GDP. All its exports to the whole of Asia amount to a relatively modest 2.4% of GDP. Even if its sales to the region fell by 25%, this would reduce growth only by half a point. This is why the slump in Asia has so far had little effect in the United States. Also, the faster-than-expected recovery in continental Europe this year is helping to fill the hole in world demand.

Were it not for the problems in Asia, the Fed would almost certainly have raised America's interest rates by now. Indeed, there is growing evidence that the American economy is overheating despite the chilly breeze from across the Pacific: consumer spending continues to boom, unemployment is at a 30-year low of 4.3%, and inflation is starting to creep up. Asia notwithstanding, America needs to raise its interest rates—but to do so would hurt Asian debtors and, by drawing more capital out of Asian markets, worsen the region's difficulties.

So here is another monetary-policy dilemma. Again, it is best resolved by attending first to the needs of the domestic economy. Japan needs looser monetary policy, America needs tighter. Moves in either case would act to weaken the yen—which is a risk, but on balance one that is worth taking. Just as Asia's interests are better served by stronger demand

in Japan than by a policy to defend the yen, so they are better served by economic stability in the United States than by a concern to keep American interest rates low. If inflation in America continues to rise, the Fed will have to raise rates abruptly, and by more than if it acts now. That would deal Asia a worse blow.

A decade ago, Japan faced pressure from the United States to keep its interest rates down. America was worried about the tumbling dollar and slow growth. Japan obliged, despite signs that its economy was overheating and a financial bubble was developing. Japan's current mess has much to do with that mistake. It is a lesson worth pondering.



**EDITORIAL**

**Rational Prescribing is NO DREAM !**

The potential of modern drugs to cause harm is universal and enormous. On the contrary, whether the drug would benefit a patient is highly conditional and depends on the way it is used. Since more often than not, drug use is dictated by the prescribers, lot of improvement in the drug use scenario can be brought about by pouring prudence into prescribing practices. Let us now examine the areas where prescribing can go wrong and consider what could be done to set things in order.

Probably all consultations in general practice in the developing countries result in a prescription and hardly a prescription could be encountered that does not contain a drug and advises only non-drug measures despite the fact that there are many a ills for which simple non-drug measures would suffice. Such an attitude has probably resulted from the doctor's perceptions about the patients' expectation that *'for every ill, there is a pill'*. The extra cost and risk involved with such prescribing practice in the wake of only marginal or dubious benefit or no benefit at all, could hardly be justified. Thus the *first step* to check irrational prescribing is to critically assess the NEED of any drug before the prescription is written.

A careful scrutiny and follow-up of the prescribing pattern of an average general practitioner in India would reveal that often he/she suffers from confusion and uncertainty insofar as the purpose of the drugs written and most of the times the treatment goals are not ascertained. This is one of the reasons for too many drugs in a single prescription and for too frequent changeover to other medications of the same or different chemical or pharmacological groups. Thus the *second step* to rational prescribing is to ascertain the OBJECTIVES of drug treatment before a prescription is planned.

Choosing the most appropriate DRUG for a given patient situation is the most difficult task a doctor is confronted with and probably a task looked upon most casually by an average doctor. This calls for scientific knowledge about the efficacy and safety of the drug, the special precautions, contraindications and adverse drug interaction potential of the drug. It is here that prescribing is greatly influenced by the promotional activities of the pharmaceutical industry. The access of a general practitioner to unbiased, objective information on drugs is very limited. The industry takes full advantage of this situation and there are reasons to believe that the information they provide to doctors are often biased aiming at promoting their own products. A conscientious doctor should not take the claims made by the industry at their face value and should critically evaluate the promotional literature and detailing by the medical representatives. Based on unbiased, objective informations, a careful risk-benefit analysis should be done and the expected benefit with a drug must outweigh the estimated hazards associated with the drug use. This forms the *third step* to rational prescribing.

It is a common experience to come across prescriptions which have gross, shortcomings in the treatment REGIME that is recommended. Thus although the drug selected in the given situation may be the most appropriate one, the dose size is not proper, either too small or too big for the given patient. The route of administration chosen may not be the ideal one. The duration for which the drug should be taken is often not mentioned. This may create confusion among patients who may underuse or overuse the drug. Thus the treatment regime must be carefully decided and written clearly and legibly in the prescription. This is an *important step* towards rational prescribing.

Many of the doctors do not know how much their prescription would cost to their patient. The cost of a treatment has an important bearing on the patient compliance. The prescriber should 'give value for the money' the patient would spend to buy the treatment prescribed. Thus ECONOMICS of drug prescribing is an *important step* towards rational prescribing.

Prescribing is an interaction between the doctor and the patient and therefore should essentially be the product of a dialogue between them. In reality the prescriber enjoys the liberty of ignoring the patients share of responsibility in the activity of prescribing and puts down his instructions unilaterally. Whatever communication skill an average prescriber utilizes in a consultation is until he/she comes or tends to come to a diagnosis. Once the diagnosis is reached or, rather more often, the attempt to arrive at a diagnosis is over, he/she is averse to spending any more time in communicating to the patient and a prescription is written. This invariably adversely affect the patient compliance, if not the therapeutic outcome as a whole. A rational prescriber should always honour the patients 'right to be informed'. By doing so he/she can earn a lot of confidence from the patient. A doctor should never forget his role and responsibility as a teacher or educator and should always try to keep the patient AWARE and well-informed about the medications he/she prescribes. This forms a *very important step* to rational prescribing.

Finally the question of follow-up and self-auditing the prescribing. This has immense value in correcting the lapses and improving upon one's prescribing behaviour. Thus, the *last but not least step* towards rational prescribing is to MONITOR one's own prescribing.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| N = Assess the NEED of drug treatment.          | R = Recommend the appropriate REGIME.          |
| O = Ascertain the OBJECTIVES of drug treatment. | E = Consider the ECONOMICS of prescribing.     |
| D = Select the right DRUG.                      | A = Keep the patient AWARE of the medications. |
|   | M = Remember to MONITOR your prescription.     |

Fig.1 Seven Steps to Rational Prescribing.

These seven steps to rational prescribing is summarised in Figure 1. If a practitioner develops a habit of following these seven steps, rational prescribing would be NO DREAM to him any longer it will be a reality !

Santanu K Tripathi

\*Editor's Note : See page 4

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# IMPACT OF DUNKEL-GATT PROPOSAL ON DRUGS, CHEMICALS AND PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Naresh Banerjee

The GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariff) proposal was originally conceptualized and formulated as a multilateral trade policy to encourage and ensure freedom of international trade. With a view to arrive at a consensus, the member states including India met several times through the first round (Geneva 1947) to the seventh round (Tokyo 1973-79) and the proposals were examined and discussed threadbare. Finally in the eight round (Uruguay 1986) the then Director General Arthur Dunkel formulated and finalised the proposals by laying down a 32-page document in which all the suggestions and amendments put forward by the developing and under developed member states were rejected. This document is now referred to as Dunkel Draft. Subsequently after several meetings of the governing body at Montreal (1988), Geneva (1989), Brussels (1990) and after meetings held in 1991, it came out with a 436 page final document highlighting (a) Trade related investment measures (TRIMS), (b) Trade related intellectual property rights (TRIPS) and (c) General agreement on trade in services (GATS).

In summary, the measures proposed in the Dunkel Draft are:

- (i) No restriction of foreign equity participation,
- (ii) No restriction on areas of investment,
- (iii) No licensing,
- (iv) No export obligation to fund import,
- (v) Free import of raw materials, components and intermediates,
- (vi) Foreign investors to be treated at par with domestic companies in all respects.

All these types of measures and agreements appear to be intended for global domination by the multinationals in almost every spheres of socio-economic life including the area of drugs and pharmaceuticals.

Before adoption of the Indian patent act (1970), the drug price in India were amongst the highest in the world. This was reported by the American Senate Committee headed by the Senator Kefauver in 1963. Since the introduction of Indian patent act (1970), the growth of domestic section has been significant in respect of price, availability, early introduction, self-reliance in manufacture, and also in export potential of drugs. This is evident in the data as presented in Tables I, II, III, IV and V.

The Indian patent act 1970 clearly provides the patent rights of a drug to remain in force for 5 years to 7 years. There is scope for manufacturing the patented product through alternate process. The Dunkel-GATT proposal advocates both product and process patent to be incorporated so that no one can manufacture the patented product through alternate process. It also recommends that the patent period should continue for 20 years with scope to extend it for a period of about 20 years more by the end of which the product would become obsolete. Because of the Indian patent act 1970, the problem of drug lag has been almost nonexistent in India (Table IV).

India is now capable of manufacturing most of the bulk drugs (over 80%) required for producing most of the essential drugs and the significant share of Indian patents in therapeutic groups, as on 31st March, 1993, are depicted in Table V.

The open door policy for unrestricted FERA equity, unchecked foreign imports with investments by the giant multinationals of the developed industrial countries will undoubtedly cripple our indigenous industry, self-sufficiency technological progress and research in the field of drugs and pharmaceuticals. The Dunkel-GATT proposal, it is rightly apprehended, shall adversely affect the economic and political sovereignty of India, shall compel us to do away with the Indian patent act 1970, shall retard the growth and development and achievement in the field of drugs and formulations. The rise in the price of drugs will be inevitable. With the high rate of morbidity and with the huge population still lying below the poverty line, very few would be able to have access

**Table I: Drug production growth in India.**

Year	Worth of drugs produced.
1973-74	Rs. 500 Crores.
1992-93	Rs. 5,400 Crores.

**Table II: Drug exports from India.**

Year	Worth of drugs.
1985-86	Rs. 140 Crores
1992-93	Rs. 1281 Crores.

**Table III. Drug Prices in UK, USA, Pakistan and India, in Indian Rupees (1992-93).**

Drugs	UK	USA	Pakistan	India
Ranitidine (300mg) x 10.	481.31	744.65	260.40	29.03
Diclofenec (50mg) x 10.	95.84	239.47	55.80	5.67
Norfloxacin (400mg) x 10.	252.77	626.15	125.50	39.36
Ciprofloxacin (500mg) x 4	315.96	305.21	234.63	51.00
Atenolol (50mg) x 10	103.21	228.36	86.63	7.50
Astemizole (10mg) x 10	100.50	436.36	120.90	6.00
Vincristine 1mg vial	542.92	1068.37	323.16	28.90

**Table IV: Relative delay in introduction of new drugs in India.**

Drugs	Introduced in world market	Introduced by national section	Time Gap
Salbutamol	1973	1977	4 years
Mebendazole	1974	1978	4 years
Rifampicin	1974	1980	6 years
Naproxen	1978	1982	4 years
Bromhexine	1976	1982	6 years
Ranitidine	1981	1985	4 years
Captopril	1981	1986	4 years
Norfloxacin	1984	1988	4 years

**Table V: Share(%) different therapeutic groups of Indian patents as on 31st March 1993.**

1. Antibiotics	40.23	9. Anti-peptics ulcer drugs	65.92
2. Antibacterials	98.80	10. Oral-anti diabetics	55.30
3. Systemic antifungals	25.66	11. Anti-asthmatics	47.53
4. Anti-leprotic	69.96	12. Anti-histamines	21.34
5. Cardio-vasculars	40.18	13. Cytostatics & anti leukemias	32.41
6. NSAIDs	22.16	14. Contraceptive hormones	88.79
7. Tranquilizers	74.42	15. Anti-diarrhoeals	90.00
8. Anticonvulsants	65.93		

to modern health care. Drug needs to meet the goal of 'Health for All by 2000 AD' will go by default.

The call given by the Government of India to introduce free market economy to compete with the giant multinationals who are armed with the global economy, production base and market their command, is like calling upon goals to compete with tigers. Everyone knows what would be the fate. The people are being pushed under an indirect colonial rule.

All section of the people of India, committed to the welfare of people, should join hands to launch mass movement to forestal this suicidal anti-people move by the Government of India.

## DRUG INFORMATION SERVICE : FRONTIER OF RATIONAL DRUG THERAPY

Krishnangshu Ray

India has an exploding drug market, one of the largest in the world. There are around sixty thousand drug formulations whereas in most of the European countries the number is restricted to only three to four thousands. Out of this vast number, only 15% are considered useful and the majority of the rest are ineffective, useless or even harmful. In a developing nation, drug is probably a minor aspect when compared to poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, lack of safe drinking water and poor environmental sanitation. However, the drugs when they are needed and if given rationally, can play a vital role in improving the health of the people.

'Drug Information' is scientifically-derived and documented body of knowledge involving the pharmacological, toxicological and therapeutic use of drugs. It comprises informations such as chemical names, structures and properties, identification, diagnostic or therapeutic indications, mechanism of action, recommended dose schedules, drugkinetics, therapeutic and chemical interactions, comparative data and other pertinent information useful in the diagnosis and treatment of patients. Drug information service (DIS) includes the gathering, reviewing, evaluating, indexing, organizing, storing, summarizing and distributing information on drugs in various forms by various methods to actual and potential users. The first official Drug Information Centre (DIC) in North America was started in 1962. In the late 50's and 60's, several professionals in the field of medicine and pharmacy agreed that an organized programme in hospitals was necessary to achieve rational drug therapy, and the pharmacists are responsible to provide information sources for the programme. However the new developments in hospital health care such as pharmacy departments receipt of physician's original directions, the development of patient profiles intravenous additives, unit-dose drug distribution system etc., freed the pharmacists a little and allowed for more clinical discussions with doctors and nurses.

The chief usefulness of DIC is to act as a bridge in the communication network between the wealth current informations available and the active health professional. It facilitates access of the health professionals to the data in a highly specific and efficient manner to enable them in arriving quicker and more rational decisions. DIS may be both active and passive types. Active information dissemination occurs when relevant information is passed on directly to the physicians, usually at the bed side to interact patient-care immediately. Passive service would consist of the pharmacist responding to queries received at the centre. The organization and content of the centre will depend upon the main user i.e. patient-oriented, clinician-oriented or community-oriented. A community DIC acts as

a resource base for questions on poisonings, drug abuse, OTC products, proper administration of medications, side effects etc.

Organizationally, a simple DIC can consist of one or two desks, a shelf, filing cabinets, a telephone and access to xerox machine. In addition, some basic reference texts, some current journals of medical and pharmaceutical orientation, access to medical library and essential telephone numbers (poison control centres clinics and other hospitals) are the essential requisites. The core of the centre is the files which contain organized information on drugs and diseases. Usually at least one trained pharmacist is employed to operate the centre. The person should have sound pharmaceutical knowledge base, blended with clinical aptitudes and familiarity to information technology with excellent communication skills. This expertise is usually developed via a combination of formal training and on-the-job education. Answered queries are usually recorded which may be preserved for future references and for statistical purposes to determine the type and number of questions answered and who the major users of the service are. The reference sources of DIS may be tertiary (text books, pharmacopoeia), secondary (abstracts) or primary (journals, research papers). Several on-line computer searches like Med-line, Drugdex, Toxline etc. may be pressed into service. Other comprehensive modalities such as lowa Drug Information Service (DIS) Paul de Haen Drug Information Service are some of the popular retrieval services.

The underlying theme of DIC is the development of an increase in communication between various members of the health care team. The function of a DIC is to keep everyone abreast of current knowledge with regard to drugs and drug therapy. With the tremendous advances in telecommunication, this knowledge can be disseminated on a global scale. Information on references of new advances or in therapy may be identified, compiled and sent to various locations around the world using Facsimile machine. In supplement to all these services of informatics, DIC can function as one of the bases of active training in the hospitals. The centre can be responsible for organizing journal clubs, educational talks to keep the staffs up-to-date about new drug developments. This can be accomplished by publication of newsletters, bulletins, the format of which may depend upon the group that is targeted. Liaison with the government eventually play a vital role in shaping rational drug and health policy by providing unbiased information. It is trusted that increases in up-to-date pharmaceutical communication amongst physicians would hopefully lead towards rational therapeutic practice.

### Dr. A.K. ROY IS NO MORE !

Dr. A.K. Roy, the erstwhile Editor of the 'Rational Drug Bulletin', is no more with us. He passed away following a brief illness on 19th May, 1993.

Dr. A.K. Roy was born on 11th November, 1910. Throughout his life, he fought for justice through his association with many social service organisations.

Dr. Roy, the Founder Treasurer of the CDMU, was a constant source of inspiration in continued struggle for the justice in the field of health care.

His patriotism, selfless devotion to work, clear judgement and prophetic vision had won spontaneous love and respect. His demise is great a loss to us.

We pledge to strengthen our effort to promote rational use of drugs in India, and that is the best way to pay homage to his departed soul, we trust.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SEMINAR ON RATIONAL USE OF DRUGS

Bijoy Jacob

Community Development Medicinal Unit (CDMU). Calcutta, India was able to make a significant inroad in propagating the message of Rational Use of Drugs (RUD) among the pharmacologists in West Bengal by conducting a seminar on RUD on 11th December, 1993 during the course of the sixth Annual State Conference of the Indian Pharmacological Society, West Bengal Branch held at N.R.S. Medical College, Calcutta. The seminar was moderated by Prof. N.C. Bagchi, Director, Drugs Control, Govt. of West Bengal and Prof. P.K. Sarkar, Head of Dept. of Pharmacology, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.

Prof. B.N. Nag, Principal N.R.S. Medical College, Calcutta set the note for the seminar by speaking on the prevalent irrational drug soaked market in India. Lamenting the wastage of money on irrational drugs, he pointed out the lack of availability of correct information to doctors on RUD. Lack of motivation on the part of doctors was also an important factor. Some actions should be taken to improve the quality of drug use, he suggested.

- i. List of Essential drugs should be prepared.
- ii. Drugs should be marketed only in generic names.
- iii. Drug information services should be provided.
- iv. Quality control of drugs should be given high priority.
- v. There should be a ban on unethical marketing procedures.
- vi. Concept of Essential Drugs/RUD should be included in the undergraduate medical course curriculum.
- vii. Continued medical education programme for doctors should be made compulsory.

The other speakers spoke on the same lines highlighting different aspects of the key note address and the role of CDMU in the particular field. Dr. Naresh Banerjee, Advisor, Dept. of Health & Family Welfare, Govt. of West Bengal, hoped for a change in the medical course curriculum and some system of providing correct scientific information to the consumer public. Mr. Amitava Guha spoke on the prevailing scenario of irrational use of drugs highlighting the unethical marketing procedures being followed by pharmaceutical companies. Dr. Krishnangshu Roy, Demonstrator, Dept. of Pharmacology, Burdwan Medical College spoke on the need of Drug Information Services, CDMU would be shortly setting up a Drug Information Services he said, and hoped it would be immensely useful, to the physicians, patients and activists in the field of RUD.

During the question hour session, a pertinent point was raised by a professor of pharmacology who commented that irrational drugs are not taught in medical colleges. He blamed unethical marketing procedures and prevalent OTC sales of irrational drugs. Prof. Ashok Chowdhury, Dean, Faculty of Medicine, Calcutta University commented that the doctors must participate in continuing medical education programmes and should get re-registration depending on the number of programmes attended.

The well attended seminar highly appreciated by the participants, has laid the foundation for future programmes where CDMU hopes to conduct short training programmes for doctors, and medical students on RUD and the concept of Essential Drugs. The idea of establishing a Drug Information Service Unit set for inauguration in April 94 was also appreciated.

### \* Editor's Note :

After a long gap of two years, the Rational Drug Bulletin now resumes its journey. Owing to circumstances beyond our control, the Bulletin could not be published during 1992 and 1993. Meanwhile we lost the Editor, Dr. A. K. Roy, last year. With changes in the Editorial Board, the Bulletin makes a 'restart' and we preferred to start from the point where we stopped. We pledge to make up the gap in the continuity and promise to bring to the readers all the back numbers of this quarterly that they have missed, at the earliest.

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PUBLISHED BY : COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MEDICINAL UNIT, 86-C Dr. Suresh Sarkar Road, Calcutta-700014.  
Phone : 245-2363

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PHOTO-COMPOSED AT : Rikta Printer, Calcutta- 4, PHONE : 27-6732

*Publication of this issue has been made possible with partial assistance from WBVHA. — Editor*



My 616



See GATT / Dimal Article - p. 9.

# The Voice of People AWAKENING

VOL. 7 NO. 4

APRIL 1994

Rs. 2.50

## EDITORIAL

# Social claws unsheathed!

Among the many hot quarrels simmering just below the bubbles of champagne at Marrakesh, the most heart-rending was the one that didn't finally take place. Because this was a quarrel between the Ultra-Nationalists and the Super-Humanitarians, over the now-infamous Social Clause.

### The Ultra-Nationalists

Let us first introduce you to the Ultra-Nationalists, because you just may not recognise them. After years of groveling on all fours in front of the imperialists, the Narasimha Rao government had suddenly, with great difficulty, taken the unfamiliar position of standing up. "We will not be dictated to", "We will not tolerate unjust practices of bringing in social issues into trade agreements," thundered the government. Yes, we assure you, this is the truth. This government, well-known as a rubber stamp on the orders of Clinton and Co., did really stand up! And all on behalf of 'the sovereignty of the nation'.

Here was a government that had bent over backwards to implement orders from Washington to increase ex-

ports, never mind if the masses here starved; to cut down custom duties and all other barriers to foreign products and companies, never mind if companies here closed and workers were thrown on the street; to cut down government expenditure on food distribution, health, education, and all other facilities in order to deliver the zooming interest payments on the foreign debt; a government that had literally twisted itself into knots to do the bidding of its foreign masters -- suddenly digging in its heels and snapping at them! When the developed countries, specifically the US and France, threatened to introduce the social clause into GATT, which called for additional tariffs on exports from third world countries like India, as a 'penalty' for their exploitative use of cheaper labour, especially child labour and bonded labour, much lower pollution control and environmental protection standards, etc -- our rulers would have nothing of it.

"They are trying to take away our only 'competitive edge'!", "They are trying to deny us our only advantage, that people here lead relatively simple lives!",

ALSO: Fertilisation Technology 4 ▸ Mahanagar Editor jailed 7 ▸ Handbill 8 ▸ Judges transferred 11 ▸ India overfed? 14 ▸ AND MORE . . .

**A monthly that challenges the ideas of the ruling classes.**

The views expressed by the authors do not necessarily represent those of the editorial board.

20 MAY 1994

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"They are interfering with our internal affairs, our sovereignty!", "This is too much!", shouted the Prime Minister and all his men, in righteous patriotic fury.

We can understand their emotion. After all, how dare the first world interfere with their right to use the free labour of their bonded peasants? How dare the West ask them not to ravage the environment of their own country? How dare the US tell them not to starve their workers, to stop exploiting their child labourers, especially when the Indian masses are so accustomed to just such a 'simple' life? How dare they, in short, interfere with the sovereignty that these rulers have enjoyed for centuries, right from the time of Manu?! Never ever before, even under the British Raj, had their fundamental rights been so horribly challenged. And that too after being such faithful lap dogs!

Hence our ultra-nationalists had to go to the extent of uniting with other third world governments on the issue, something they had never felt the need of during this entire round of GATT. And they found among them many like-minded souls. All the G-15 governments put away their begging bowls, discovered their legs, and tottered to their feet in a rage. They pledged to fight unitedly at Marrakesh against this assault on their sovereignty. But luckily for them the horrifying issue was shelved for the moment, and they were saved from having to actually stand up again.

Even so, it was an outstanding display of patriotism. All the more in India, where it was graced by that golden state of parliamentary 'consensus'. All the big 'opposition' parties, from right to left, forgot their differences over the seats of power, and came together to face the challenge to 'national sovereignty'. Saffron, green and tricolour, they united as one in defence of the inviolable right to exploit. It was truly a display of unity which the working people will not forget!

**How dare the US tell them not to starve their workers, to stop exploiting their child labourers? How dare they interfere with the sovereignty that these rulers have enjoyed for centuries? Never ever before, had their fundamental rights been so horribly challenged!**

### The Super-Humanitarians

Now meet the Super-Humanitarians -- the US and its pals in the European Community. "Social issues are a legitimate global concern, which cannot be taboo among participants in the world economy", "We have to address ourselves to problems such as child exploitation, forced labour or the denial of free speech or free association to workers", "Less environmentally conscious countries should be made to pay a penalty .....". Now isn't this just what you'd expect to hear from the 'leaders of the free world', and the 'defenders of democracy'? Grave concern about the world's children and workers, and the earth itself, that they cannot help but bring into trade discussions! And not only do they sound concerned, but they're all ready to put their money where their mouth is -- in the form of stiff tariffs on exports from guilty countries. Well, on behalf of those children and workers and the earth itself, we have a small idea to give our large-hearted Uncle Sam.

Let us forget for the moment that the US is the home of, and the safe haven for, monsters like the Union Carbide Corporation, functioning happily after committing genocide and ecocide on a scale never seen before. Let us forget the US companies that are gobbling up the for-

ests of third world countries like Brazil and Indonesia, the other US companies that are dumping substandard and poisonous drugs on third world children. Let us forget the US arms manufacturers, global suppliers of death and destruction. And let us even keep aside for the moment, the fact that such exploitative labour conditions do not exist in the US itself today, not because of its government! but despite the government! They do not exist today because of the heroic struggle of U.S. workers against their employers and their government, the workers who gave the world the immortal legacy of May Day and the red flag, who faced bullets and the hangman's noose to win the rights and the conditions that allow the US government to call itself a 'caring welfare state'!

But let us forget all this, and instead inform the new avatars of super-humanitarianism of the simple solution for the problems that are furling their noble brows -- cancel our foreign debt. Wipe out the third world debt to your banks and your governments, the debt on the toiling people of our countries that they were never consulted about, that they never used, that they have paid back 1000s of times since! Erase the debt which has forced the slashing of government expenditure on all essential public facilities, closing down schools, rations shops, hospitals and factories, and pushing the masses into a desperate struggle of survival. Cancel this debt that has already sent you over \$500 billion in NET profit, achieved by growing mortality rates, exploitation, malnourishment and starvation of third world children, by the spread of disease, illiteracy, dictatorship and violence. Simply write off this debt so that in India itself we will be able to save the Rs 75 crores that we are sending you PER DAY. So that these resources can be used on health and education for the small children you are weeping for today, who toil ceaselessly to send you cheaper and cheaper exports, and earn not even

Rs 5 a day. India has over 1 crore child labourers, so 75 crores would mean less than 75 rupees per child per day, much less of course than what is spent on the *laadlas* of the elite, and nothing at all compared to what is spent on your darlings - but a start nevertheless!

The only question is -- is the US government really interested in solving these problems, or is it just interested in the penalty tariffs? The answer was provided by US Senator Tom Harkin, one of the strong supporters of penalties, when so-called 'pro-India' liberals pointed out that trade penalties may not stop the exploitation of children in India and elsewhere. "We are not saying that these countries can't use child labour," explained Mr. Harkin. "We're saying that they cannot use the US as a dumping ground." In other words, they can exploit their workers as much as they like, but we are not going to let their cheap products, achieved by their cheap labour, grab the US market and drive down the profits of US companies!

Well, the dispute has been put off for the moment. But US and ECC spokespersons have said that the issues of 'labour standards and environmental conservation' will have to be included in the agenda of the World Trade Organisation, the new super-governmental trade authority to be set up soon. And here the Ultra-Nationalists' resolve seems just as strong. While vowing never to compromise with the 'sovereignty of the country', the government has discovered a good 'nationalist' issue to press if the US and Co bring the social clause up again -- immigration barriers. US immigration barriers should go down, they say, so that US employment markets are further open to Indians -- so that the increased exodus towards Not Required Indian-ship will cause increased foreign exchange remittances! "Take our 'educated', in return for only a few dollars more", is the new slogan of our nationalists in govern-

ment. Meanwhile the nationalists in Opposition have equally strongly vowed to see that the social clause 'is not accepted in any manner'.

The fact is, both Ultra-Nationalists and Super-Humanitarians have neither the interest nor the capacity to solve any social issue, at home or abroad. For both, the social clause is just a means to claw at each other's profits and markets. As GATT director-general Peter Sutherland himself said, with the signing of GATT, trade wars have not ended, they have begun. And as the fight for international markets intensifies, more claws are going to be unsheathed and more fur will fly.

The masses of India know very well that even if the two sides manage to iron out any of their differences, their solutions will only involve ironing us out further. But not only us here in India. For further enlightenment, just listen to our stalwarts in the 'national' press, who have taken upon their shoulders the task of trying to broker a settlement. In a recent editorial, *The Times of India* urged the US government to understand the merits of the suggestion on immigration barriers -- that, if more Indians go to the States, the increased labour force will create increased demand for scarce jobs, which will drive down the wages there, and thus solve the US's problem over lower wages in the Third World! In other words, take our workers so that you can better exploit your workers!

To us, these same penpushers speak with tears in their eyes about the sad divide between 'India' and the 'US'. But in the fights between the Ultra-Nationalists and the Super-Humanitarians, and in their solutions too, more and more illusions of the masses are being shattered. And the more the fur flies, the clearer will it be where the real divide lies -- not between national boundaries, not between government and 'Opposition', but between the working people and the exploiters, national and international!

## To those who are committed

*The Voice of People Awakening* is not an intellectual exercise. It is a weapon in the hands of those opposed to the growth of fascism. It strives to ideologically unite and organise all those opposed to the mortgaging of our country to the imperialists. It is a political monthly which challenges the ideas of the ruling classes.

If you are interested in forging a revolutionary democratic alternative to the present ruling parties, we call upon you to join in our endeavour and make it your own. Become a subscriber to *The Voice of People Awakening* and write for it. Tell your friends and comrades about the paper and make them subscribers. You can also help us keep the paper in bookshops and newspaper stalls, libraries and institutes.

Every month, in different cities and towns our activists sell the paper at railway stations and public places, at political meetings and seminars. You too can help truly make it *The Voice of People Awakening*. Above all, remember we value your suggestions and criticisms.

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**FROM THE RAJA  
TO THE BOURGEOIS**

# Oh, for an heir!

**PARUL KUMTHA**

Long long ago, there lived a Raja who could not have any children. He had heard of many other Rajas who had solved such problems by marrying again. The new queen then provided the heir which the former barren queen could not. Unfortunately this was not his problem. He had a large harem of the most beautiful women of the land, and yet alas, none of them had borne him a single child, leave aside a male child. It saddened him greatly. He had nobody to leave his kingdom to. He was growing older by the day.

Then somebody advised him to do what the kings in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* had done. So he called a young, healthy and learned sage to solve his predicament. The young sage was exclusively served hand and foot, day and night, by a few chosen near and dear queens of the Raja. And lo and behold, after two full moons, the queens were rewarded for their dedication and devotion -- each of them was with child. The king was no longer worried about whom to leave his kingdom and his riches to.

Today the rich and famous have no use for such dubious and imprecise ways by which to beget heirs. After all science and technology has come a long way since the days of the Raja. Why, not so long ago, there lived a businessman who suffered a similar predicament. He had no heir to leave his business empire to. He did have four beautiful daughters, but alas he had no son. Luckily he could afford the miracles offered by science. His fifth child was a son. Well actually his ninth child -- if you count the four girls who were aborted after amniocentesis tests detected their sex within their mother's womb.

Science has kept on advancing, opening newer and newer possibilities for childless and heirless couples who can afford to avail of them. The latest science-send for childless couples who wish to fulfill their urge to bear children, to see their own flesh and blood recreated, is the process of in-vitro insemination, popularly called the test-tube baby phenomenon. This process has already evolved into many techniques -- in-vitro fertilisation (IVF), gamete intra-fallopian transfer (GIFT), zygote intra-fallopian transfer (ZIFT), etc. But the latest technique evolved is the most phenomenal of them all. It is now possible for a couple to grow the fertilised egg from their respective ovum and sperm to the full maturity of nine months, and have their baby born, from another woman's womb. Hence the natural mother, who has carried the child for nine months, who has nurtured the baby, and suffered the discomforts of pregnancy, the woman to whom the baby is joined by the umbilical cord, is not the genetic mother of the baby! What a breakthrough! From an age when Maharanis had *dais* to breast feed the princelings, and when slave-owning white-skinned mistresses allotted such demeaning tasks to negro mummies...through an age when rich mensahebs barely

*Imagine the deal --  
her beauty and his  
brains -- no pregnancy  
attached! No career  
breaks, no morning  
sickness, no stretch  
marks or sagging  
figures, no motherhood  
blues, yet an  
heir to boot!*

paused to give birth before going back to their careers and kitty-parties by conveniently dumping their babies on a retinue of servants and ayahs....to an era of total freedom!

Just try and picture the scene of the future -- rich and ambitious couples pauselessly pursuing the lifestyles fit for talented ones such as themselves, while another bears their genetic baby! Imagine the deal -- her beauty and his brains -- no pregnancy attached! No career breaks, no morning sickness, no stretch marks or sagging figures, no motherhood blues, yet an heir to boot!

After all this is a world where billions of women are forced into prostitution by dire economic conditions. What else can such phenomenal scientific breakthroughs result in, except yet another exploitative practice -- the hiring and selling of wombs! Thus total freedom for a few women only means further bondage for the millions who have never dared to dream of careers, and talents and lifestyles, who have anyway always been the *dais* and *mammies* of their future masters! Of course in return, they will be well-fed and clothed and looked after, and even well-paid, during their pregnancy. This practice has started already in the more affluent countries of the world, where besides phenomena like 60-year-old women becoming mothers and women bearing their own grandchildren, women are also becoming surrogate mothers for a price.

And this is not all. This technology has even made possible racist genetic engineering, again only for those who can afford to pay, to ensure the best future for their child. A black woman in London recently decided to have a baby by in-vitro insemination. She chose to be inseminated by the fertilised egg

resulting from the sperm of her white husband and the ovum of a donor white woman. So what if it has been scientifically proved that no race is superior to any other? A 100% white child stands a better chance in this world than a partially white child! In another case last year, a woman from a third world country similarly convinced her doctors that a Caucasian baby would have a better future.

While the world is reeling under the social, ethical and moral implications of these biotechnological advances, the far-reaching benefits possible from these to the human civilisation as a whole are paid little or no attention. These same techniques of amniocentesis and in-vitro insemination have deepened mankind's knowledge of the womb to the extent that it is now possible to conduct corrective operations on the foetus before birth, saving the yet-to-be-born child of lifelong handicaps. Similarly genetic engineering can be used to erase congenital defects in yet-to-be-born generations.

Yet we see that the instant these advances are made to serve selfish, self-centered interests, revolving around the propagation of one's lineage and to ensure that one's property is inherited by the deserving blood heirs, it becomes a tool for sexist, racist and fascist ends. And this is true for all scientific advances. Although science has widened its horizons such that they stretch today from beta particles to star constellations, leaving the era of the Raja far behind, the interests of today's bourgeois rulers cannot leave the shores of private property. Although science has deepened our knowledge of life, creation and reproduction, and shattered gender and racial biases, the vision of these rulers remains myopic, within lineage, ancestry, caste and race. So while more and more re-



sources are poured into furthering such research as will ensure a good lineage to a rich handful, simple technology costing a pittance to put into practice in order to ensure healthy human beings is ignored. There are many examples to prove this point, but only one right here in India should suffice.

For every child born to a childless couple through in-vitro fertilisation, the total cost per cycle of IVF is Rs. 50,000, and several such attempts have to be made before the woman conceives. This is just the cost borne by the childless couple, not taking into account the cost of the facilities and research that go into it. While millions are spent to fulfil the parental urges of a handful of lucky couples, 40% of all the children in India die every year due to malnutrition. While it is a proven fact that just 15 paisa worth of vitamins daily per child can build a healthy generation, according to the Indian Council of Medical Research, over 7 million children annually suffer vitamin A deficiency, resulting in poor vision or total blindness! Such are the gains from science!

Some might ask -- can the natural urge of mankind to recreate its own flesh and blood be dismissed? What about the need to help barren women to overcome the trauma of social stigma? Well, no social stigma has ever been overcome by conforming to it. Barrenness ceases to be a stigma in societies which have gone beyond treating the woman as a mere womb. Besides, the emptiness of childlessness has down the ages been filled to overflowing by the simple process of adoption. For although the urge to recreate cannot be denied, and although child-bearing is an unforgettable experience, childrearing is the truly fulfilling experience. Ask any mother.

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# "The dead are alive and healthy"

SVATI BHATKAL

**"We are caught in the third World War, an economic war..... The corpses are already piling up, but the aggressors maintain that the war doesn't exist, that the dead are alive and healthy."**

-- Fidel Castro

The imperialist aggressors in India don't even need to do their propaganda themselves, for our lap dog intelligentsia is ever ready to parrot the Goebbelsian propaganda which the imperialists and their puppets in New Delhi are churning out at the rate of a myth a minute. "The new economic policy will unleash the caged Indian tiger." "Foreign investments will give Indian industry a major boost." "The new policies will bring us foreign exchange." "India will become self-reliant."....etc., etc., etc.

Just how the Asian tiger is being unleashed and Indian industry being given a boost is exemplified by the case of the pharmaceutical company Boehringer Mannheim India Ltd.

## The facts

Boehringer Mannheim India Ltd. (BMI) is the Indian collaborator of the German company, Boehringer Mannheim. The company installed a plant at Thane 35 years ago, to manufacture chloramphenicol, an anti-typhoid drug. Rather than depend on importing the chemical L-Base for manufacturing chloramphenicol, BMI chose to manufacture the drug right from the basic stage, by converting benzaldehyde. Thus the import component involved in BMI's manufacture of chloramphenicol was negligible. BMI, with a capacity of over 75 metric tonnes a year, was able to meet a major portion of India's requirement of 200 metric tonnes a

year of chloramphenicol. In the year 1991, BMI's cost of manufacturing one kilo of chloramphenicol from indigenous materials was Rs. 1,171. At that time, in the international market, the price of the chemical L-Base, from which chloramphenicol can be manufactured, was \$75 per kilo. After payment of the 110% customs duty and 16.5% countervailing duty on L-Base, the cost of manufacturing one kilo of chloramphenicol from the imported material was Rs. 2,875 per kg. Obviously, BMI, the largest manufacturer of chloramphenicol in India, was not interested in importing L-Base. That is, until the New Economic Policy changed all this.

By the year 1992-93, the supply of L-Base in the international market far outstripped demand. International manufacturers had to dump their products in newer and newer markets. By end 1992-93, the price of L-Base in the international market was slashed to \$29.50 per kilo. The Indian government obligingly slashed the customs duty from 110% to 25%, all in the interests of the free market, of course. By March 1993, the customs duty on L-Base was scrapped altogether, as was the countervailing duty. The foreign manufacturers gleefully began dumping their products at rock bottom rates.

What was the result? The foreign manufacturers of L-Base found a new and huge market for their product -- India. BMI closed down its unit for converting benzaldehyde, thus throwing 200 workers out of their jobs and stopping production from the basic stage. In short, pushing India back by 35 years and utilising precious foreign exchange to buy a crucial drug which we have been manufacturing for 35 years.

Says K. Murlidharan, an office bearer

of the BMI employees union, "The foreign manufacturers of L-Base slashed their prices to penetrate the Indian market. But for how long will they keep their prices down at this cut rate. They are only waiting till we have destroyed our capacity for indigenous manufacture and then they will hike their prices steeply."

According to data gathered by the BMI union, even while the company was manufacturing chloramphenicol totally indigenously, the drug was being sold at 100% more than its cost, making the medicine unaffordable for a vast section of our people. In the new situation where we are dependent on foreign L-Base manufacturers, sooner rather than later the anti-typhoid drug will become unaffordable even for our middle class -- the champions of the NEP -- once the foreign manufacturers start hiking their prices in true free market style.

Says Murlidharan, "Prior to Independence we did not have the capacity to manufacture chloramphenicol from the basic stage. We were at the mercy of the foreign drug manufacturers. Lakhs of people died in typhoid epidemics because they just could not afford the drug. Now we are going back to the same situation once again. I shudder to think what will happen if a typhoid epidemic breaks out again."

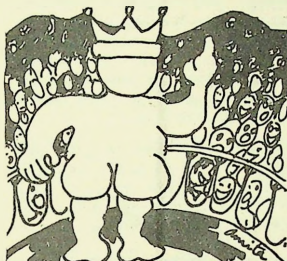
For the benefit of our Indian lap dogs so mesmerised by the promised goodies of the NEP that they cannot see the "corpses piling up", we would like to end with an old fable of Aesop's. The wolves told the dogs one day, you are no different from us. Why do you attack us? We are your friends. Let us into your farms to eat the sheep -- we'll share the feast. When the dogs let the wolves in, the wolves first attacked the dogs and broke their necks.

# Hee dhongbaji kashasathi? (Why this hypocrisy?)

AMITA KANEKAR

This question was first asked by Nikhil Wagle, editor of "Aapla Mahanagar," in the paper 2 years ago. The question was the title of an article which while discussing the motion of condolence moved by the Maharashtra Assembly on the shoot-out death of Shiv Sena MLA Vitthalrao Chavan, exposed the criminal background of a large section of the MLAs in the house. Our honourable legislators did not answer Wagle's question directly. They accused him of violating the 'privileges' of the House by his article, and ordered him to explain his behaviour before the House Privileges Committee. On his refusal to do so, he was sentenced to 4 days imprisonment for 'breaching the privileges of the House'. Wagle was arrested and refused to ask for bail. At the time of writing, he is serving his sentence in the Arthur Road Jail.

The government has proudly announced that the resolution to imprison Wagle was passed unanimsously. But despite this, like magicians pulling rabbits out of empty hats, a host of opposition leaders erupted on the streets to protest against Wagle's arrest. Who were they? Leaders of the Janata Dal, Bharatiya Republican Party, CPI and CPM, all of whom have members in the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly! So what exactly were these members, who call themselves the Progressive Democratic Front, doing when the resolution against Wagle was passed UNANIMOUSLY? The answer from the BRP, CPI and CPM was that their MLAs were absent, what with their various preoccupations, while this historic motion was put to vote. As for the Janata Dal, well, it was



**WHO DARED SAY THAT  
THE EMPEROR IS NAKED??  
YOU WILL BE  
PUNISHED FOR VIOLATING  
MY PRIVILEGES!**

their very own Gulabrao Patil, who was the first to raise an objection against Wagle's article! Therefore, we ask our honourable Progressive, Democratic, Opposition leaders who are vociferously protesting, sloganeering and giving press statements -- hee dhongbaji kashasathi?

Nikhil Wagle had asked this question when an MLA with known criminal links was eulogised on the floor of the House of the People's Elected Representatives. Those to whom the question was addressed have given their answer. We would like to give ours. The reason for what Wagle has called *dhongbaji* (hypocrisy) is simply that it is the lifeline of our rulers. If the ugly stench of their deeds were not to be doused in the strongest possible perfume of lies and myths, what would remain of the public credibility of these 'elected representatives' and their democratic institutions? It is the privilege of these elected representatives, whose fitness for a party ticket is measured in suitcases

and whose electoral victory is measured in booths captured and bribes successful, who wine with smugglers and dine with *supari*-killers, who get so drunk that they cannot help molesting women in public, who laugh and titter in the Assembly when the case of tribal women raped in police custody is discussed, whose criminal records or sugar daddies are their greatest qualification for public life.....it is the 'privilege' of such 'elected representatives' to murder at night and have a beaming ribbon-cutting photograph on the front page the next morning. To expect them to distance themselves from goondas and gangsters is like expecting a fish out of water to survive! It is therefore but natural that such illustrious statesmen should also enjoy the relatively minor privilege of ensuring that the masses never know the men behind the masks, and obviously also the privilege of punishing those who expose them.

There are many who are shocked and stunned at such revelations, both about the elected representatives as well as their privileges. But we are not. Because we know whom these representatives, elected in the name of the people, really represent, and what kind of a democracy they uphold. A democracy whose laws and institutions are riddled from top to toe with thousands of privileges, for a handful. A democracy where a 'secular' chief minister could give a Rs 600 crore public sector cement factory virtually free to the industrialist president of the VHP, and then get his police to fire upon and kill workers protesting the sale. A democracy where there is five-star justice for the Harshad Mehtas, and none for the eight-

year-old Shiva tortured to death by his employer. A democracy which 'punishes the Justice Ramaswamys with paid leave and then forgiveness, while innocents are handed instant dismissal, arrest, thrashings and custodial deaths. Which provides a Palace for the President, and not even the pavement for thousands. Five-star international cuisine for some, dirt-filled rations for lakhs. Doors slamming on the majority, ministers salaaming a tiny minority!

It is to uphold this democracy of riot-mongers, gangsters, kickback-eaters, multi-million-rupee tax-evaders, dalals and rapists, that our MLAs and MPs grace the hallowed portals of Vidhan Sabhas and Parliament, and require their special

privileges. To those who wish to abolish the special legislative privileges of our MPs and MLAs, we would like to say, it is useless talking about such abolition as long as this rule of a handful exists. The laws may be whitewashed or they may be even removed from the statute books, to quieten the outcry and to better suit the garb of democracy, but make no mistake about this -- the privileges will remain. To really throw them out, this democracy of the privileged, by the privileged, and for the privileged, will have to be thrown out first!

Today the only ones who are talking of throwing out this sham democracy, who are trying to build their base among the masses disillusioned by this democracy, are the

fascists -- despite being the most ruthless and brutal protectors of privilege. In this whole Wagle episode, the fascists did not say a word, even though it began with the death of a Sena MLA. They merely sat back and enjoyed the spectacle of the Janata Dal and Co. further destroying what little remains of the credibility of today's democracy. Remember, under fascism, privilege is not protected by sham democracy and *dhongbaji*, it is protected by the naked jackboot. The dalits, the workers, the childworkers, the landless, the tribals, battered by 47 years of this 'democracy', already know the meaning of dictatorship. Are the intellectuals going to wait for the fascists to teach it to them!

## HANDBILL

With a virtual blitzkrieg of pro and anti Dunkel propaganda in the media for weeks prior to the final signing of GATT in Morocco on April 15, the hot topic of conversation in various strata of society all over India, was GATT and Dunkel. Yet, despite all the 'detailed discussions' and 'erudite television debates', despite the projected future export figures by the pro-Dunkel/GATT 'experts' and the doomsday prophecies of the 'opposition', the masses had no knowledge of what GATT and Dunkel really are.

In a bid to expose not only the fraudulent claims of the Narasimha Rao government and its propaganda machine, but also the fraudulence of the so-called "opposition" by the suddenly ultra-nationalist opposition parties from Right to Left, the Bharatiya Janwadi Aghadi held a month long series of railway station and street corner meetings all over Bombay and Thane culminating in a public meeting at Dadar in central

Bombay on April 9. The topic of the meeting was 'Can A Fraudulent Opposition Halt the Dunkel/GATT Attack?'. The speakers, while condemning the signing of GATT, exposed the hollowness of the slogan of Swadeshi as an answer to the selling out of the country -- when in fact this round of GATT had exposed the growing and irreconcilable contradictions among the imperialists, and also the ripening conditions for an international struggle of the working people against the foreign debt. Because this mammoth debt is the crux of both GATT as well as the IMF-ordered structural adjustments of innumerable Third World countries, and is impoverishing the masses of the developing and developed world alike. The Bharatiya Janwadi Aghadi gave a public call for the cancellation of the foreign debt -- the only weapon with which the working people the world over can unitedly fight their common oppressors.

On April 15, the Aghadi held a day-long dharna at Hutatma Chowk, to condemn the signing of GATT. Activists of the Aghadi, wearing black arm-bands, addressed people through the day, explaining how GATT and Dunkel had already affected the lives of millions of our people, since the structural readjustment programme commenced in 1990. Bharatiya Janwadi Aghadi activists burnt a 10-ft high cut-out of the monstrous bloodsucking 'international moneylender'. The imperialist monster, depicted as holding the earth in his paws, was using the IMF, WB, and GATT as tools to feed off the common people all over the world. Members of the public enthusiastically joined the BJA activists in burning down the monster.

On the eve of May Day, we publish the handbill brought out by the Bharatiya Janwadi Aghadi on GATT, explaining the tasks ahead of the international working class movement.



# GATT/Dunkel -- The hidden reason! The only way to fight it!

There is no limit to the hypocrisy of the ruling classes. We are being told that Shri. Pranab Mukerjee will sign the GATT treaty on behalf of the Government of India on 15th April, 1994. But in actual fact the Congress government has been implementing the Dunkel/GATT agreement since the past two and half years. The signing on April 15 is just a mock ritual! Mockery of the working people! Ritual for the ruling classes!

What are the oppressive implications behind the high-sounding legalistic phrases of the Dunkel draft? The GATT/Dunkel draft dictates: *Increase the prices of rations, foodstuffs, medicines, fertilisers, etc.* In the process the people have to die of hunger and disease, so be it! Has not the Congress government already precisely been doing this? The GATT/Dunkel agreement dictates: *You must import food grains from abroad.* If in the process the foodgrains produced by your own farmers rot, so be it! Has not the Congress government already imported rotten wheat from America even before signing GATT? The GATT/Dunkel agreement dictates: *Reduce customs duties to enable the goods of the imperialist countries to flood the Indian market.* If in the process Indian companies go bankrupt and workers become jobless, so be it! And yet even before the signing of GATT, this is precisely what Manmohan Singh has already been doing in every budget of his.

## WHY?

Why have these traitors already started implementing GATT/Dunkel even before signing it? No more can they even try to hide the real reason. These rulers have burdened our country with a stag-

gering foreign debt of Rs.2.75 lakh crores. This debt was taken to satisfy every whim and fancy of the ruling classes for foreign goodies while the masses are being forced to repay this debt. The IMF loan in 1991 came with a string of oppressive conditionalities which concretely meant implementing the provisions of the GATT/Dunkel. It is no secret that the same imperialist powers which control the IMF also control GATT! It is no secret that the imperialist powers have ruthlessly used foreign loans as a weapon to prise open the Indian market. This is what GATT/Dunkel is all about. The cynical use of foreign debts to forcefully open up the markets of the third world for the imperialist plunderers. Not only have these treacherous rulers agreed to all this, but they have also guaranteed the imperialist banks that debt servicing will continue unabated. **Every day as much as Rs. 75 crores is paid in servicing the foreign debt!** Though this debt has been paid for a hundred times over, yet its servicing not only continues mercilessly but is also rapidly increasing by leaps and bounds.

And yet the imperialist system which our middle class has been taught to worship is in serious crisis today. This same imperialist system has indebted not only India but the entire third world. From 1982 through 1990, each and every day, for 9 years continuously, debtor countries of the third world daily paid foreign banks Rs.six hundred and fifty crores in interest payments alone. This has multiplied today. Third world debtor rulers could only make these staggering interests payments day after day by ruthlessly driving up their exports; by flooding foreign

markets with their cheap exports produced by dirt cheap labour; by keeping their own masses hungry and naked in order to export grain, fruits, vegetables, fruits, meat, cloth.

However as third world exports grew, exports from the imperialist countries began to be drastically affected. Countless factories in the imperialist countries have started closing down and unemployment and mass poverty have begun spreading in these "oasis of capitalism." The problem has only worsened with the big multinationals shifting their production units to third world countries like Mexico where labour is dirt cheap. Unemployment in the imperialist countries is more than 10% today. The crisis has also affected agriculture in the imperialist countries as tens of thousands of farmers have been ruined due to the loss of both their domestic and export markets. Eg. In 1981-82, US share of wheat exports world wide was 48% while Argentina's share was 4%. By 1984-85, US share had fallen to 35% while debt-ridden Argentina had doubled its share. US export markets for aeroplanes, trucks, tyres, iron, steel, tractors, etc. have suffered a similar beating.

This contraction of domestic and export markets have created a crisis for the imperialist powers. Like rabid dogs they are fighting and scrounging, forcing themselves into each other's markets, forming trade blocs and unleashing trade wars. Without markets they are doomed. And yet the debt-trapped third world countries can only service their mounting debts by increasing their exports, further cutting into the markets of the imperialist powers. This is the



scissors in which the imperialist system is trapped today. The whole system led by the big foreign banks parasitically lives off the interests payments of the third world which in turn has affected the markets of the imperialist powers. That is why they desperately need GATT/Dunkel today. GATT/Dunkel is aimed at forcibly opening markets for the multinational companies of the imperialist powers. GATT/Dunkel is aimed at forcing third world debtor countries to welcome these multinational companies even if it means killing domestic industries (TRIMS). It aims at protecting the technologies of these multinationals by stricter patent laws (TRIPS). But above all, this has to be implemented by ensuring that the foreign banks are paid their daily pound of flesh of interest payments.

All this can only mean massive unemployment for the organised working class in not only the imperialist countries but also the third world countries. This can only mean the institutionalisation world-wide of cheap labour, contract labour, and child labour in the drive for export markets. This can only mean mass poverty and destitution for the poor peasantry in not only the third world but also the imperialist countries.

### **Globalisation vs Internationalism!**

GATT/Dunkel is the unstable alliance of the imperialist powers with the treacherous rulers of the third world. On this unstable alliance is perched the globalisation plans of imperialism and their lackeys. However this very globalisation is also forging together the interests of the toilers of the world. The toilers of India have everything in common with the toilers of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, even with the toilers of USA, Japan and Europe. The toilers of India have nothing in common with their own

ruling classes.

For the toiling people of the world there is only one way forward. The struggle to CANCEL ALL IMPERIALIST DEBT. This is internationalism in concrete! It is this debt that distorts world trade; that enables our rulers to reach their export targets by keeping the masses hungry; that creates unemployment in the imperialist countries while forcing workers in the third world to daily labour for 12 to 16 hours. The struggle for the cancellation of the foreign debt is the working peoples answer to the attacks of GATT/Dunkel. The treacherous ruling classes of the third world will not even dare to think, leave alone carry out this task.

### **Swadeshi!**

Look at the Parliamentary opposition of these very ruling classes. Today because multinationals are standing on the toes of the capitalist class in India, this opposition is screaming that "the Centre is mortgaging the country." But till yesterday, this very opposition was in the majority in Parliament when the process of mortgaging the country began. Then some of these very parties like the BJP had hailed the "reforms". We ask them: How was a minority government allowed to "mortgage the sovereignty of the country"?

The RSS/BJP with its Swadeshi Jagran Manch and the socialists with their Samajwadi Abhiyan are both involved in a new swadeshi circus. The homes of the rich and powerful are filled with goodies from the West while these leaders preach swadeshi to the masses who cannot afford swadeshi essentials let alone videshi goodies! The BJP's "swadeshi" industrialists and leaders like Viren Shah are busy working out collaborations and mergers with foreign multinationals while the masses are lured to be Indian and to buy Indian. Is it then surprising that

when you challenge these swadeshites and nationalists to struggle for the cancellation of the foreign debt, they are all silent as mice.

### **Social clauses!**

The hypocrisy of the imperialists and the treachery of the third world rulers has come to the fore in the so-called social clauses dispute. The US and Europe who still want to protect their markets from third world exports have merely dropped hints that goods manufactured through child labour, in sweat shops, in environmentally hazardous conditions should not be provided export markets. The very imperialist countries who are homes to killer multinationals like Union Carbide; whose banks are daily paid through exports produced in sweat shops have suddenly developed a social conscience! However look at the response of the Indian ruling classes and you will understand why the working masses have nothing in common with them. The very rulers who were spineless with both the IMF and in GATT have suddenly begun talking tough. All these leaders are screaming "this is not fair"! For all these "nationalists," the exploitation of child labour and cheap labour is a birth right. They will at all costs preserve this hard earned freedom. Which nation then are these "nationalists" really representing?

It is these very "nationalists" whom imperialism has time and again used to spread national hatred and wars; to sell sophisticated arms to rival countries and to provide them both with fat loans and commissions to buy these arms. If Pakistan is given the F 16's, India lobbies for the F 17's. The imperialist war merchants make their super profits. The nationalists in both countries not only make their commissions but carve out their political bases by spreading anti-India or anti-Pakistan hatred while the masses of both the coun-

tries are pauperised, divided and burdened by debt. Can such "nationalists" fight the attacks of GATT/Dunke!? Never!

### Learn! Organise! Struggle!

Working People! The Bharatiya Janwadi Aghadi since its very

inception has been struggling for the cancellation of the foreign debt. Not only for us, but for the oppressed and exploited of the whole world who can only survive as humans by striking at the heart of imperialism -- this is the only road open.

Generously lend your hearts and hands to the anti-imperialist struggle. Prepare for this struggle wherever you are. Keep in contact with us. We too pledge you our solidarity.

15th April, 1994

*For too long have we been exploited! Enough, no more!  
The foreign debt will not be repaid!!*

## Bharatiya Janwadi Aghadi

254, Ambedkar Nagar, MIDC Road No. 8, Andheri East, Bombay 400 093.

335/1 Ganeshnagar, Old Belapur Road, Kalwa East, Thane 400 605.

### THE JUGGLING OF THE JUDGES

# M' Lords can do no wrong!

#### LANCY FERNANDES

One had heard of the mass transfers of cops, bureaucrats, even school teachers. But High Court judges?? And yet that is exactly what took place on April 13, when in one shot, as many as 50 High Court judges were transferred out of different courts all over the country. As expected, the law and justice ministry tried to conceal the real reason behind these mass transfers using the screen of POLICY -- the policy of having at least one-third of the judges in each high court from outside the state. But all in vain. The real reason behind the rigorous implementation of this policy can now be summed up in one sentence. Judges, and that too High Court judges, have not only become corrupt, but worse still are being seen to be corrupt.

The stink of judicial corruption emanating from the courts has become so strong that the best legal minds in the country have been running helter-skelter trying to put a lid on it. Since the past decade, the phenomenon of High Court

judges actively promoting and patronising their wives, sons, daughters, sons-in-law, brothers and nephews who happen to be lawyers has become an embarrassment for even these corrupt ruling classes. Judges have even gone to the extent of meeting litigants directly and settling cases on behalf of their lawyer relatives. Some judges have even used subordinate judicial officers to procure work from the district and mofussil courts for their lawyer relatives. Cases are obligingly fixed before "convenient" judges, by a corrupt High Court bureaucracy. Relatives of judges, some of them below 25 years of age have become multi-millionaires charging astronomical fees for obtaining over-generous judicial orders. Judges have been found hearing and deciding cases in which their own relatives have actually been engaged as counsel, but put up a third lawyer to appear as a frontman. So open has this corruption and nepotism become that about four years ago, Justice Venkataramaiah favoured the transfer of about 90 High Court judges round the country "who are practi-

cally out every evening, wining and dining either at a lawyer's house or a foreign embassy." (The Tribune, December 17, 1989).

This is exactly what the chief justice of the Supreme Court has done. He has used the weapon of transfers to break the nexus between the judges who can be transferred and the vested interests which are supposed to be non-transferable. But the matter is not so simple. The judges have to be transferred, but the reason has to be skillfully hidden from the people. That too at all costs. Can one imagine the chief justice announcing that "X" number of judges have been transferred because they were supposed to be corrupt? Of course not. The ruling classes can afford to have a corrupt police or even corrupt generals. It can afford corrupt bureaucrats or even a corrupt P.M. But corrupt High Court judges! When the masses realise that in this system even "justice is a fraud", how long can it last? That is why the real reason has to be hidden.

But that is not all. If the masses are told that "Y" judge has been

transferred because he is corrupt, the first reaction would be that of outrage. Not because they would be surprised that M' Lords had fallen so low, but for another reason. When a worker is caught stealing a loaf of bread to feed his famished children, he is beaten, humiliated and jailed. But when it comes to M' Lords, they are only transferred!

Of course, of course, "it has never been proved beyond all reasonable doubt" that our Lordships are corrupt. In fact it never will be proved. The Ramaswamy case has proved beyond all reasonable doubt that to expect the ruling party to impeach a corrupt High Court or Supreme Court judge is like expecting a dacoit to convict a petty thief. Since this is impossible, our judges remain as innocent as lambs, being transferred from one court to the other only "to further the cause of national integration".

So you see how it works. First the judges are peddled as Gods on earth dispensing justice to rich and poor alike. To keep this mythology alive, an elaborate system of security and inverse segregation is created to ensure that out honourable lordships are protected from the millions of eyes and ears of the masses. The people may be sovereign but the sovereigns have to be avoided like the plague! So much the easier to maintain the pretense that the judges are no ordinary mortals. Imagine how difficult it would have been to maintain this pretense if M' Lords had to wait in queue with us before the public urinal!

It is easy to segregate the judges from the masses. But it is impossible to separate them from the classes, especially because they themselves come from there and belong there. A judge has sons, daughters, aspirations... A judge hath need of friends. Friends with whom he can eat, drink, sing, dance and let his wig down. Obviously M' Lords are not going to look for companionship among ragpickers, coolies, servants, slum dwellers. They need "decent company" which is in keeping

with their status and mission: M.D.s, government secretaries, ambassadors, ministers, businessmen -- all the lions, lionesses and their cubs. To add to all their woes are those tempting ads on TV and the programmes about the rich and famous on Star Plus. You can then imagine their plight when senior counsels earn more in one hour than what their lordships are paid for one month. Obviously M' Lords are going to fall despite all the needs of the ruling classes to peddle them as whiter than lilies.

But you are not supposed to see or hear even when they fall in this manhole. The Contempt of Courts Act legislates collective blindness and deafness. Unfortunately for them, it is impossible to legislate against the stink from reaching people's noses. This is precisely what is happening. The stink is getting unbearable. Not only can the lawyers smell it, but so can their clients. And it is now being talked about in the market place.

What is to be done? TRANSFERS. However the real reason has to be hidden from the public in the guise of "public interest". How is it to be hidden? Transfer some good mangoes along with the rotten ones so that the transfers are not viewed as penal action. Thus to hide someone's crime, also punish an innocent. So that the crime is hidden and the punishment is hidden. This is how bourgeois justice metes out justice to its own kind!

**W**ill transfers stem the rot? Is there anyone who really believes that vested interests cannot be transferred along with the transferred judges? Are not vested interests akin to stocks and shares transferable on any of the stock exchanges of the country? Let our "guardians of judicial morality" live in their fools' paradise. At least we can be sure of one thing. The stink will only get worse. For one, since it is impossible for all the "suspects" to be transferred, some will get transferred while others will escape scot free. The vested interests who will be affected by the transfers will

certainly not take this "injustice" heaped on their patrons lying down. Nor of course will the innocents bear the cross silently. Thus the contradictions, not only within the bench, but also within the bar can only exacerbate. This may be anathema for all our constitutionalists who still swear that we are governed by the rule of law. However, since our rulers believe rotten food is good enough for the physical development of the masses, won't exposure of judicial rot be excellent for their mental development?

**P.S.** Two days after the transfers, one more skeleton tumbled out of the cupboard. Ten senior judges from Bombay demanded that the chief justice of India transfer his Lordship, Justice Ashok C. Agarwal of the Bombay High Court. The senior lawyers alleged that his lordship had on three consecutive occasions granted temporary bail to Shaikh Ashraf Kadar who had been sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment by a special court under the Narcotics Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act. Kadar's appeals were admitted by the High Court each time his bail period ran out. On three occasions, Shaikh Ashraf Kadar was represented by Mr. N. N. Gavankar and Mr. M. R. Pujari. But what's wrong with all this? Surely a High Court judge is entitled to give bail. But wait a minute! When Shaikh Kadar appealed for bail on the fourth occasion, his case came up before Justice Kantharia and Justice Sahai. On this occasion, he was represented by none other than Mrs. Anita Agarwal, wife of Justice Agarwal! In their letter to the chief justice the senior lawyers have raised the question whether Mrs. Agarwal had been engaged by the convict right from the outset or only when the matter came up before Justices Kantharia and Sahai. Investigations ordered by these two judges proved that the convict had earlier "successfully deceived the court".

Please note: The convict had deceived the court -- the court can never deceive the people!

# Some create, others consume!

CHRISSE D' COSTA

The population bomb is ticking away, say intellectuals, govt. officials, environmentalists, scientists, etc., in voices of grave concern. These eminent souls are trying to outdo each other in putting forward proposals to restrict India's population growth.

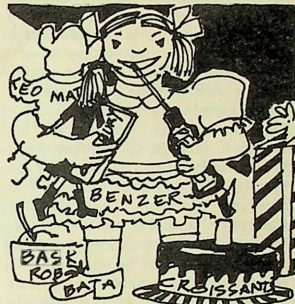
"Rigid efforts to enforce the one child per family norm and massive efforts to reach out to at least 75% of the fertile married couples with the message could alone prevent the population crisis that could soon overtake us." -- Dr. Rashmi Mayur, environmentalist. (Free Press Journal, 16 April 1994)

"Concerted effort is required to tackle the vicious circle of rapid population growth, wasteful resource consumption, environmental degradation and poverty. The goal should be to reach zero population growth within the lifetime of our children." -- Population Summit of the World's Scientific Academies. (The Hindu, 28 October 1993)

"...Population growth should be dealt with by coercion, whatever infringement of sovereignty that may entail. The violators of good order -- those who let their populations grow without restraint -- are a threat to what are called the global commons. The rest of us will be less secure, or less well-off, if they continue their wayward courses." - Editorial (Nature, 1 April 1993)

These eminent personalities must be thrilled that some sections in India are seriously tackling the population problem. Let us see whether the one child norm which they are zealously implementing actually contributes to India's progress and development.

But first let's find out who are these thoughtful parents who proudly proclaim to the world: "We want only one child." Such caring parents can be distinguished by the following activities: pouring over the business pages for the best investment, so that their child "will walk when he is one, talk when he is two, and be a millionaire at 21", as promised by the high returns Teakquity Fund Drives; being chauffeured around in a Mercedes, with another car around to whisk mensaheb to the beauty parlour whenever she desires, and maybe yet another car for junior to go for karate, judo, taekwondo, pottery, painting, flower arrangement, swimming, tennis, squash, music, singing and elocution classes. One such yuppie mother had to set aside a separate car and driver to ferry her child to and from his 6 different classes (Saturday Times, 16 April 1994). Save your sighs for later, there's more to come! After all, the children of such doting parents deserve the most of the best, forget the about the rest. And so, they are fed a steady diet of Taj and Cadbury's chocolates, Baskin Robbins and Kwality ice creams, cream cakes and Swiss pastries, apple pies and all things nice. Remember, no rationing system here! But there are certain problems attached to such a marvellous existence. Layers of flab get attached to these marvellous people. But no problem, our rich friends have discovered "Sugar Free" and desserts "High on taste. Light on the waist". And then, there's always the gym, the work-out at the club to battle the bulge. They naturally need appropriate clothes for all these activities. And so there is a whole range of outfits for exercise, play, casual wear and parties, with matching accessories too. From tip



WE LOVE  
GOODIES & YUMMIES,  
NOT DADDIES OR MUMMIES!

to toes the family is draped in exclusive designer wear -- Pierre Cardin, Benetton, Wrangler, Reebok, Lotto -- each priced at over Rs. 3,000. But so what, "If the child wants it, the parents will give it to him, not just one, but three or four outfits if asked for", says the general manager of Shoppers Stop (Saturday Times), a huge shopping arena for kids. And to inspire the little *laadlas*, there are rows of such shops -- Benzer, Weekender, Hilton -- all overflowing with temptingly displayed goodies, especially for such whiz kids. And thanks to the govt's liberalisation policy, the stores are stacked with plenty of foreign brands. So the yuppies parents with the blessings of the Indian govt. have worked out a complete plan to lavish the 23 (or even more) vital ingredients growing yuppie children need. For the child's birthdays, mountains of exotic food and rivers of imported booze add to the glitter and glamour of the five-star celebration. Not just elite schools but, the best coaching classes too, not just fast cars but horse riding too, are all part

of the Barbie doll lifestyle that these parents fashion for their only child.

But it's amazing that despite their preoccupations and their busy lives, these people are still concerned about the country. So they are forever exhorting their bais, their drivers and slum dwellers to have just one child if they want a comfortable existence. Our yuppie friends and advising officials may try to convince a worker who slogs 18 hours a day, whose wife and children engage in similar back-breaking labour, that he and his family will be able to gorge on Baskin Robbins ice cream, Cadbury's and Taj chocolates and Swiss pastries if only they have just one child. Or that he will enjoy the splendour of a marble and granite mansion instead of his hand-to-mouth existence in a 6 ft x 6 ft hole. But a worker knows that he will never be able to afford even a glass of milk for one child, as long as milk is robbed from the mouths of babes to satisfy the yuppies crazy for ice cream, shrikhanda, yogurt, pedhas, croissants, etc. Or as

long as it is dumped into the sea to maintain the profits of the private milk producers! Actually these yuppies proffer their advice only because they fear that the large numbers of starving people will one day snatch away their govt-given acquisitions, and end the never-ending consumption of their brats!

Did we hear someone say that overpopulation is destroying the country's resources? But what about the fleet of cars that each yuppie family possesses, contributing massively to environmental pollution? What about the fact that a few yuppies are gobbling up much more than a large number of poor, hardworking people? For while one-third of the infants from working class homes die before age one due to inadequate nutrition, the yuppie brats bloat with confident, continuous, overeating. The truth is that the consumerist lifestyle of the one-child yuppie families will in no way contribute to the all-round development of the country, but only to the rotund development of our yuppies!

Dr. Norman Myers of Britain has

the answer to these one-child policy makers: "The average British family comprises less than two children, but when we factor in resource consumption and pollution impacts... the real size of a British family is more like 15-25 children. Just because population growth in Bangladesh is 23 times that in Britain does not mean that children of Bangladesh are a bigger threat to the future of the Earth." (The Independent, U.K.)

How true! After all who is keeping this earth alive? Not the parasites who are gobbling the cream of the earth, but the numerous underfed hands who are regenerating the earth resources. This invaluable human resource -- the toiling people of India and the world -- operate the machines, construct roads, bridges, buildings; sow and harvest crop; weave and spin cloth. And yet they are forced to remain hungry, unclothed and homeless. But it won't be long before they harness their hard work, power and might to spin the wheels of revolution too and build a new world for themselves!

# To <sup>eCONomics!</sup> too much food, for India's good!

CHERYL KANEKAR

**"The problems of plenty are becoming acute with godowns overstocked with foodgrains, which have few takers."**

-- The Times of India, April 8, 1994.

This sentence is not about the U.S.A. or Europe or Japan. It is about India. The Times of India, on April 8, informed us that India is facing a crisis of too much food. India has had bumper harvests the last three years, with 180 million tonnes of foodgrain being produced

each of the last two years. In other words, for a population of 850 million, 210 kgs, of grain per person per year were produced, or 0.57 kgs. per person per day. Far far too much! The government procured the record amount of 23 million tonnes of last year's 180 million tonnes and was "forced" to sell its excess wheat and rice on the open market to get rid of it. Much of the grain lies rotting in granaries. Now the big problem for the government is what to do with this excess grain.

You may find it hard to understand why a country, whose official records show that 10,000 children die every day of malnutrition, whose Kalahandi district is famous worldwide for its starvation deaths, does not know what to do with surplus grain. But don't forget -- beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder. And problems lie in the eyes of the perceiver.

For the rulers of India, foodgrains have little to do with feeding people and much to do with feeding profits to a handful. So what can they do,

the poor things, if there is so little demand? What can they do if the lakhs of bonded labourers, the daily wage workers earning less than Rs. 30/- a day, the child labourers earning Rs. 5/- to Rs. 7/- a day, the Adivasis getting a few paise for collecting forest produce, are somehow not interested in buying rice costing Rs. 8/- per kilo? Now, now. Don't ask who ensured that minimum wages remained on paper most of the time.

Don't ask whose police have always broken up workers' struggles for better conditions. Don't ask whose courts take enough years to give judgments on the masses' problems to finish off any justice in them. What can these rulers do now if food rots, with few who can buy it? After all, where there is the demand, there is a limit (sadly!) to how many different kinds of breads, cakes, biscuits, pastries, breakfast cereals the consumers of our country can consume.

But how come our rulers are so deeply concerned about excess today? Well, don't just look at the problem they are crying about. Look where their escape route is leading them -- straight into the laps of the I.M.F.! The solution to this crisis of plenty, reported the Times of India, is to export these excess foodgrains, and also to cut down on foodgrain production and grow cash crops for export instead. Now what a coincidence that this brilliant "solution" is exactly what countries under I.M.F. structural adjustment programmes, like Morocco, Brazil, Mexico, etc. have done with agriculture, since the eighties! In fact, if you take a closer look at the crisis, you'll see that the bumper harvests of 180 million tonnes each of the last two years were actually below the government's own targets of 182 and 188 million tonnes respectively! And yet the government is screaming "Too much!" So this new tune is just Tommy Tupper singing for

his supper. With India's foreign debt of Rs. 2.75 lakh crore, this crisis and its solution is just a means of increasing exports, to get the foreign exchange to keep servicing the debts and keep foreign loans flowing in.

But will this really rake in foreign exchange? Take a look at what happened to other countries, which went in for export-oriented cash crop policies, on the advice of the I.M.F.

***After two decades of export-oriented cash crop policy, lakhs of crates of oranges and tomatoes lay rotting on the docks of Morocco, with no export market -- while the Moroccan people starved to death, heavily dependent on imported foodgrain.***

Susan George in her book "A Fate Worse Than Debt", 1988, tells us about Morocco, which, in the 1950s was a major exporter of foodgrains, called the "North African granary". In the 1960s, on I.M.F. recommendation, Morocco switched to cash crop production of oranges, tomatoes, and other citrus fruits and vegetables for export. It also started importing foodgrains, which seemed very smart then, since world prices were low. Thus Morocco's home-grown hard wheat and olive oil was steadily replaced all over the country by imported soft wheat and American soyabean oil. Cash crop production was developed through an extensive modernisation programme, in which dams were built all over the country. At the start, this was financed mainly internally, but as competition from the dozens of countries exporting similar goods to the markets of the West grew, more and more foreign loans were taken for technological development. By 1984, the foreign loan share of the funding for modernisation had reached 76%. The Morocco government declared that the spiralling debt would be paid back through the resulting export profits. Did this work?

No. Morocco's export grew steadily

at the rate of 8% per year. But food imports grew at the rate of 17% per year -- over double the rate of export growth. Even as the volume of exports grew, export prices fell, as competition grew. The prices of phosphate, Morocco's major export, fell drastically. When Spain and Portugal, both major growers of citrus fruits and vegetables, joined the European Community (E.C.), Morocco's exports to the E.C. were hit badly. Crates and crates of oranges and tomatoes rotted in the fields and docks of Morocco, with no market. At the same time, with barely any investment and technical development being put into

foodgrain production, the per capita production of wheat in 1984 had fallen to less than half that in 1950 and was even lower than that in 1930! The former exporter of wheat by 1988 could not satisfy more than 1/5th of its own wheat needs and was dependent on the import of 3 million tonnes of wheat per year from western countries, not to mention other foodgrains. Morocco's foreign debt in 1970, consumed 18% of its G.N.P. By 1984, the foreign debt was 110% of the G.N.P. In other words, forget any net foreign exchange earnings, the country was drained of foreign exchange, ending up owing more to the Western banks than the entire sum total of its produce!

### **Who paid the bill for Morocco's horror story?**

**T**he Western banks got their pound of flesh and are still getting it. In Morocco, big farmers and private agri-businesses bloated on export profits, since the modernisation programme developed only less than 10% of the land, i.e. the land that they owned, where water, electricity, machinery and credit were provided almost free, subsidised by the State. Meanwhile, indirect taxes have been massively

raised, with 3/4th of the country's tax revenues coming from taxes on necessary consumption like milk, foodgrains, etc. Along with the rising prices of imported food, this has meant crushing inflation. And as Susan George puts it:

"Since Morocco has no say in the price that its export crops will fetch, nor in the cost of its imported foodstuffs, the only factor that it really controls today is the cost of labour...the most obvious way to remain competitive...is to keep wages low."

In other words, the working people of Morocco are being squeezed dry to keep competing in the global market.

Morocco is not alone. Former President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania said in 1986. "This year the rains in Tanzania were quite good. The peasants in our major cotton-growing regions have more than doubled their cotton crop compared with that of last year. We are desperately short of foreign exchange with which to buy essential imports, and cotton is one of our major exports; we were therefore pleased about this big output increase. But the price of cotton on the world market dropped from 68 cents a pound to 34 cents a pound on a single day in July this year. The result for our economy -- and the income of the peasants -- is similar to that of a natural disaster: half of our crop, and therefore of our income, is lost. Our peasants -- and our nation -- have made the effort, but the country is not earning a single extra cent in foreign exchange. This is theft!"

Tanzania's coffee exports boomed massively in 1976-77, because freezing weather destroyed the Brazilian harvest and therefore Brazilian competition (meaning that Tanzania's exports could grab the market only by eating Brazil's share). Yet export earnings began falling rapidly. In 1984, export earnings were 30% lower than those of 1980-81. In 1985, export earnings were 40% below those of 1980-81. Again it was not the rulers, but the common people of Tanzania who paid the bill.

To quote Susan George:

"Tanzania does not suffer from a shortage of goods. My informants tell me that the shops are full -- because people can't afford the goods in them."

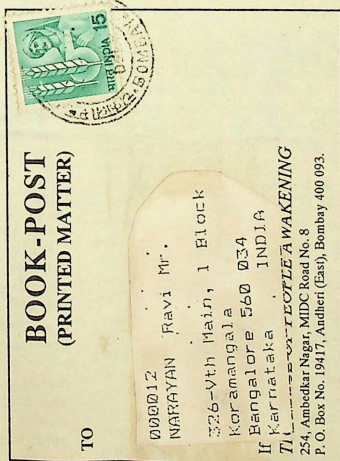
Mexico spent enormous amounts breeding beef cattle for export, with very few Mexicans being able to afford beef. The volume of exports to the U.S. more than doubled between 1985 and 1986, from 577,000 to 1.2 million heads. But the export profits did not double, since each animal was worth \$100 less than the year before.

Dozens of Third World countries are desperately



competing to export their primary products to the shrinking First World markets. As more and more countries join this race, as each desperately tries to undercut the others, export prices fall steadily. So that each year more and more goods have to be exported to get the same earnings as before. At the same time, the technology which these countries are importing to modernise and make their goods more competitive, is firmly in the control of the imperialists, whose patents and property rights ensure that these prices rise steadily. This is the jungle the rulers of India are dragging our country into.

But then problems lie in the eyes of the beholder. For India's rulers, the problem of plenty is a convenient means of mortgaging the country further to their masters in the Western banks. For our working people, whether these rulers scream "Crisis!" or smirk "Solution!" the end result is not too different -- starvation, disease, illiteracy, misery mounting day by day. The problem for us is not too little or too much. The problem is these rulers, for whom every scrap of our resources, every shred of honour, is a commodity to be sold. We cannot find our way out of this mess, without first getting rid of these parasites and their international masters.





# India's Apparel Sector in the Global Economy

## Catching Up or Falling Behind

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*Given the emphasis on export-oriented development it is especially important to understand the nature of the global production system that shapes the insertion of third world countries like India into the international economy. This paper on the apparel sector focuses on three themes: First, the interlinkages in the organisation of international economic activity and the changing competitive conditions in the global apparel market; second, the associated importance of distribution and marketing links in the apparel production chain; and third, the cotton fabric-based nature of India's apparel exports and its competitive advantage.*

### I Introduction

INDIA has initiated, since August 1991, a far-reaching structural adjustment programme (SAP) to reduce policy induced rigidities in the functioning of the economy and to achieve competitiveness in the international market. The SAP involves reducing state intervention in product and factor markets and correcting the import substitution bias that characterised India's industrial development strategy and policy. The policy reforms include industrial deregulation, reduction of tariffs and quantitative restrictions on imports, access to disembodied foreign technology, liberalisation of exchange rate and foreign direct investment policies.<sup>1</sup> The primary objective of policy changes has been to improve the efficiency of the manufacturing sector through increased competitive pressure and access to imported inputs at international prices. The assessment of the impact of the first five years of reform on industrial and trade performance has shown the impact to be largely positive [see World Bank 1997]. Between 1991 and 1994, India's exports have grown in dollar terms, at the annual average rate of 12.4 per cent [Economic Survey 1997]. However, India's penetration of world export markets is very low, at 0.60 per cent in 1994, relative to many other Asian developing countries. Consequently, the emphasis of government policy will continue to be on achieving export growth and integration with the world economy.

Given the emphasis on export-oriented development, it is especially important to understand the nature of the global production system that shapes the insertion of third world countries, like India, into the international economy. In this paper we focus attention on the apparel sector in India. The reasons are two-fold. First, the textiles and apparel complex, despite its status as a declining sector in developed countries, represents the leading edge of economic globalisation for many third world countries

including India. Second, the apparel or garment sector industry is India's number one export industry with negligible import intensity. Sustaining the level of attained export levels in the apparel sector is critical to Indian industry's programme of restructuring in the post-Uruguay world economy.

The paper presents a perspective that focuses on three themes: First, interlinkages in the organisation of international economic activity and the changing competitive conditions in the global apparel market; second, the associated importance of distribution and marketing links in the apparel production chain; and third, the cotton fabric-based nature of India's apparel exports and its comparative advantage. The paper is divided into four sections. Section II introduces the perspective of global commodity chains (GCC) to understand the linkages between firms, industries and countries in the global economy. It also contains a digression on structural changes in east Asia's apparel commodity chain. Section III discusses the main features of India's apparel sector with an emphasis on the US market. Section IV presents the summary and implications for policy.

### II Global Commodity Chains (GCC) and Export Networks

The increasing interaction of domestic economies with the world economy is generally termed as 'globalisation'. Globalisation or global integration is reflected in the rising share of international trade in world output. The volume of world merchandise trade is estimated to have increased at an average annual rate of more than 6 per cent, during the period 1950-94, compared with an output growth of less than 4 per cent (WTO 1995). This means each 10 per cent increase in world output has on average been associated with a 16 per cent increase in world trade. The more interesting development was the steady rise in the ratio

of trade growth to output growth for manufacturers, from an average of 1.3 in 1950-64 to 3.2 in 1984-94. It is clear that the pace of global integration has been mainly driven by the manufacturing sector.

The relatively new aspect that makes globalisation different, from earlier stages in the international division of labour, is the ability of producers to slice up the value chain. That is, breaking up of the production process into many geographically separated steps [Krugman 1995]. A good is produced in a number of stages in a variety of locations, adding value at each stage. To understand and analyse the implications of this globalisation of production for specific countries, like India, it is useful to utilise the concept of commodity chains. This is essentially a network centred view of the world economy.<sup>2</sup> The concept recognises that in the global economy, economic activity is not only international in scope, it also is global in organisation. 'Internationalisation' refers to the geographic spread of economic activity across national boundaries. 'Globalisation' implies the functional integration of internationally dispersed activities. The GCC approach emphasises the globalised co-ordination system that integrates the organisation of international production networks [Gereffi 1995].

Commodity chains are conceived as networks of business units involved from the stage of raw material supply to production, exporting and finally marketing and retailing. It includes both forward as well as backward

TABLE I: GROWTH OF WORLD TRADE IN CLOTHING (AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE)

	1980-85	1985-90	1980-93	1990-94
World	4	17		7
India			15	10
China			21	25
Indonesia			32	18
Thailand			24	13
South Korea			6	-8
Pakistan			NA	12

Source: WTO, 1996.

linkages from the production stage in the commodity chain. The business units may be subsidiaries of transnational corporations (TNCs) or independent companies of varying sizes. Two alternative modes of organising international production networks are distinguished, namely, 'producer driven commodity chains (PDCCs)' and 'buyer driven commodity chains (BDCCs)'.

The PDCCs are found in those industries in which large, usually transnational corporations play the central role in co-ordinating production networks (including their backward and forward linkages). This is characteristic of capital and technology intensive industries such as automobiles, aircrafts, computers, semiconductors and heavy machinery. International subcontracting of components is common for the most labour intensive production processes, as well as strategic alliances between international rivals. Capital and proprietary know-how constitute the chief barriers to entry into PDCCs. The commodity chain in this case is supposed to be driven the TNC or the producer. The sources of profit are scale of production and technological innovations.

BDCCs are found in those industries where large retailers, branded marketers and trading companies play the key role in setting up decentralised production networks in a variety of exporting countries, typically located in the third world. Production is generally carried out by locally owned third world factories that make the finished goods (rather than components or parts) for foreign buyers. The specifications are supplied by the branded companies or large retailers that design and order the goods. This pattern of trade led industrialisation has become common in labour intensive consumer goods such as garments, footwear, toys, housewares, consumer electronics and a variety of handcrafted items (e.g., furniture, ornaments). The BDCCs tend to be labour intensive at the manufacturing stage. Consequently, they are characterised by very competitive and decentralised factory systems. They are also a design and marketing intensive activity. The barriers to entry into BDCCs are investment in product development, advertising, and electronic data interchange (EDI) linkage, between stores and their suppliers for inventory control and automatic orders.

In contrast to PDCCs, where the control is exercised at the point of production, in BDCCs the main leverage is exercised by retailers and branded merchandisers at the marketing and retailing end of the chain. In fact, the essence of BDCCs is the separation of physical production activity from the design and marketing stages. The companies constituting the BDCCs are 'manufacturers without factories'. For example, retailers

like Wal-Mart, Sears Roebuck and J.C. Penny, athletic footwear companies like Nike and Reebok, and fashion-oriented companies like Liz Claiborne and The Limited, do not manufacture the products that they design or sell. The sources of profit are a unique combination of high value research, design, sales, marketing and financial services. They link overseas factories and traders with evolving product niches in the main consumer markets. In the 1980s many retailers began competing with the brand name companies directly by expanding their sourcing of 'private label' (store-brand) merchandise, which is sold more cheaply than the national brands.

There has been a substantial consolidation of power in the hands of retailers and designers in the developed countries. Between 1991 and 2000, for example, the 10 biggest public retailers in the US are expected to increase their share of the US retail market from 34 per cent to nearly 60 per cent [KSA 1992]. This is a consequence of mergers and acquisition in the US retail sector. They are expanding their operations to Mexico. A similar shift in power from manufacturers to distributors and retailers appears to be underway in the European Union as well [Gereffi 1996a]. This will continue to provide the retailers and designers unprecedented scope to reshape international supply networks.

The east Asian newly industrialising economies (NIE) became successful exporters in the late 1960s and 1970s, primarily by mastering the dynamics of BDCCs [Gereffi 1996b]. Apparel was a leading export sector for each of the four east Asian NIEs, namely, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. Similarly toys for all except Singapore, footwear for South Korea and Taiwan. These countries moved from assembly to original equipment manufacturing (OEM) production in BDCCs. The OEM is also known as specification contracting and has the following features: the supplying firm makes a product according to

TABLE 3: REGIONAL TRADE PATTERNS IN FLOWING IN WORLD EXPORTS OF CLOTHING

	(Dollar)		
	1980	1990	1995
World (value in \$ bn)	41.80	106.40	158
World (percentage)	100	100	100
Intra-Western Europe	36.6	35.2	27.7
Asia to North America	14.8	19.5	16.8
Asia to Western Europe	14.4	12.9	11.6
Intra-Asia	4.3	8.8	12.8
Latin America to			
North America	1.7	2.4	4.6
Africa to Western Europe	1.9	NA	NA
Other	26.3	21.1	NA

Source: *International Trade: Statistics and Trends*, GATT, 1994; WTO, 1995; *WTO Annual Report*, Vol II, 1996.

TABLE 2: STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN ASIA'S CLOTHING EXPORTS, 1980-94

Countries	Apparel Labour Costs US\$ Per Hour 1993	Exports				Share in Economy's Total	
		Value (US\$ Million) 1980	Value (US\$ Million) 1994	Share (Per Cent) 1980	Share (Per Cent) 1994	Merchandise Exports 1980	Merchandise Exports 1994
World		40590	140100	100	100	2	3.3
Japan	10.64	488	582	1.2	0.4	0.4	0.1
<i>East Asia</i>							
Hong Kong	3.85	4976	21406		15.3	24.5	14.1
Domestic Exports		4664	9457	11.5	6.8	34.1	32.9
Re-exports		312	11948		8.5	4.7	9.7
China <sup>a</sup>	0.25	1625	23731	4	16.9	8.9	19.6
South Korea	2.71	2949	5653	7.3	4.0	16.8	5.9
Taiwan	4.61	2430	3446	6	2.5	12.3	3.7
Macau	NA	422	1204	1	0.9	78.4	65.3
Subtotal			76845	29.8	54.9		
<i>South-east Asia</i>							
Thailand	0.71	267	4510	0.7	3.2	4.1	10.3
Indonesia	0.28	98	3206	0.2	2.3	0.4	8
Malaysia	0.77	150	2071	0.4	1.5	1.2	3.5
Singapore	3.06	427	1523			2.2	1.6
Domestic Exports		354	674	0.9	0.5	2.8	1.2
Re-exports		73	849			1.1	2.2
Subtotal		942	11310	2.2	8.1		
<i>South Asia</i>							
India	0.27	590	3701	1.5	2.6	6.9	13.6
Pakistan	0.27	103	1578	0.3	1.1	3.9	21.4
Bangladesh <sup>b</sup>	0.16	2	1244	0	0.9	0.2	54.8
Sri Lanka	0.35	109	1474	0.3	1.1	10.2	46
Mauritius	1.04	73	718	0.2	0.5	17	53.3
Subtotal		877	8715	2.3	6.2		

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Includes significant exports from processing zones; <sup>b</sup> 1993.

Source: *International Trade Statistics: Trends and Statistics*, GATT, 1995, p 125; *Recent Developments in the Clothing Industry*, ILO, 1995.

to the design specified by the buyer; the product is sold under the buyer's brand name; the supplier and buyer are separated; and the supplier lacks control over distribution. East Asian firms became full range 'package suppliers' for foreign buyers.

How do countries in BDCCs deal with the competition from low cost suppliers? One of the important adjustment mechanisms for maturing export industries in east Asia has been the process of 'triangle manufacturing'. The essence of triangle manufacturing is that US (or other overseas) buyers place their orders with the NIC manufacturers, from whom they have sourced in the past (e.g. Korean or Taiwan apparel firms), who in turn shift some or all of the requested production to affiliated offshore factories in low wage countries (e.g. China, Indonesia or Bangladesh). The triangle is completed when the finished goods are shipped directly to overseas buyers by the low wage country using the allocated US quota. The key asset possessed by the east Asian NICs is their close relationship with foreign clients, which is based on the trust developed through numerous successful transactions.<sup>3</sup> Another way to counter loss of competitiveness in mature products is to move from simple to more sophisticated items within an export niche. One important reason for the continued apparel export growth of Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea even in the face of rising labour costs, is that they have upgraded the quality of their apparel products and moved to higher value-added segments. Further they are in the process of making the transition from OEM to original brand name manufacturing (OBM), whereby manufacturers make goods for export and sale under their own label. The strategy is to carry out forward integration into retailing. Most of the leading Hong Kong apparel manufacturers now have their own brand names and retail chains for the clothing they

make. There is Hong Kong owned retail stores throughout east Asia, North America and Europe [Gereffi 1994].

With the restoration of Hong Kong to Mainland China in July 1997, a combination of Hong Kong's marketing expertise and China's production capacity is likely to give People's Republic of China (PRC) an enormous clout in the world clothing markets. Another significant development is the increasing prominence of intra-Asian trade in clothing. The share of intra-Asian trade in world clothing exports have risen from 8.8 per cent in 1990 to 12.8 per cent in 1995 (Table 3). However there is a clear evidence that NIEs like Korea and Taiwan are making the transition from labour-intensive segments of the apparel commodity chain (clothing) to capital and technology intensive segments (textiles and fibre). Against this background, we will attempt an assessment of the performance of the apparel sector in India, its main features and implications for policy.

### III

#### Main Features of India's Garment Exports

The remarkable export performance of India's garment sector, beginning in the late 1980s, is well-documented [Chatterjee and Mohan 1993]. We focus on more recent years and summarise the main features.<sup>4</sup> According to the latest available data the garment sector's exports in the year 1995-96 are \$ 3,675 million. It was just \$ 1,598 million in 1989-90. It has more than doubled in the last five years. Garment exports constitute 12 per cent of India's merchandise exports and nearly 16 per cent of manufactured exports. India's share in world exports of clothing in 1994 is 2.6 per cent up from 1.5 per cent in 1980.

A careful assessment of this export growth calls for a comparison with other Asian countries in terms of growth and

structure of garment exports. A useful way to begin is to consider recent trends in world clothing trade.

#### WORLD TRADE IN CLOTHING

World clothing exports increased faster than trade in manufactures between 1983 and 1993. It is also the second fastest growing product category next only to office and telecom equipment, perhaps the prime mover of global integration [GATT 1994]. Particularly, the second half of the 1980s is a period of rapid growth in world exports of clothing (Table 1). World exports increased at the rate of 17 per cent between 1985 and 1990. This is higher than the world trade in manufactures of 15.5 per cent during the same period. India's exports closely follow the world trend. However, other Asian countries like China, Thailand and Indonesia have achieved higher growth rates relative to India and have improved their share in world exports (Table 1). Thailand and Indonesia had a share of 0.7 and 0.4 per cent respectively in 1980 world clothing exports. Their share in 1994 rose to 3.2 and 2.3 respectively. During the same period Bangladesh, a country with zero exports in 1980, emerged as a new garment exporter and currently has a share of 0.9 per cent of the world market.<sup>5</sup> Its growth is largely attributed to the initial access to markets without quota restrictions, and its continued quota free access to EU. Pakistan also penetrated the world markets with significant growth rates in the 1990s.

Until the end of the 1980s the top four garment exporters were Hong Kong, Italy, South Korea and Taiwan. China emerged as a leading exporter in the second-half of the 1980s and today occupies the number one position in the world. In 1995, China and Hong Kong together have a share of 21.1 per cent of the world markets and pose formidable challenge to other developing

TABLE 4: WORLD'S LEADING EXPORTERS OF GARMENTS, 1995

	Share in World Exports		Growth (Per Cent)	
	1980	1990	1995	1980-93 1990-95
Hong Kong	11.5	8.6	6.0	5 7
China	4	8.9	15.2	32 20
Italy	11.3	10.9	8.9	21 3
Germany	7.1	7.3	4.7	8 -1
South Korea	7.3	7.3	3.1	6 -9
US	3.1	2.4	4.2	11 9
France	5.7	4.3	3.6	5 3.6
Turkey	0.3	3.1	3.9	31 13
Thailand	0.7	2.6	2.9	24 10
Portugal	1.6	3.2	2.3	17 1
Chinese Taipei	6	3.7	2.1	3 -4
India*	1.5	2.3	2.6	15 10
Indonesia	0.2	0.5	2.1	32 15
UK	4.6	2.8	2.9	5 9
Netherlands	2.2	2.0	1.8	8 5

Note: \* 1994 instead of 1995.

Source: GATT, 1994, Table III.41 and WTO, 1996, Table IV.58.

TABLE 5: ITEMWISE COMPOSITION OF INDIA'S GARMENT EXPORTS

SITC 2	Item Description	1991		1994	
		\$ Million	Share	\$ Million	Share
84	Clothing and accessories	2531.1	100	3711.9	100
842	Men's outerwear non-knit	94.0	3.7	156.8	4.2
843	Women's outerwear non-knit	1032.8	40.8	1409.2	38.0
8433	Dresses	191.8	7.6	286.0	7.7
8434	Skirts	85.5	3.4	193.9	5.2
8435	Blouses	510.2	20.2	617.7	16.6
8439	Outer garments	166.8	6.6	214.6	5.8
844	Undergarments non-knit	435.5	17.2	724.6	19.5
8441	Men's shirts	408.6	16.1	659.0	17.8
84411	of cotton	325.6	12.9	604.5	16.3
84412	of synthetic fibres	83.0	3.3	54.5	1.5
845	Outerwear knit non-elastic	236.6	9.3	338.5	9.1
8451	Jerseys, pullovers, etc	70.0	2.8	116.0	3.1
8459	Outer clothing accessories	123.5	4.9	175.6	4.7
846	Undergarments knitted	298.2	11.8	480.3	12.9
847	Textile clothing accessories nec	106.4	4.2	172.6	4.7
848	Headgear non-textile clothing	327.5	12.9	429.9	11.6

Source: UN International Trade Statistics Year Book, 1994.

countries (Table 4). The US and the EU together import more than 70 per cent of world's clothing imports. The US and EU in 1994 imported clothing worth \$ 38.6 billion and \$ 68 billion respectively [WTO 1996]. The share of China and Hong Kong in the US market is estimated to be 29.2 per cent and in EU it is 14.3 per cent.

A significant observed feature of India's garment exports is the predominance of cotton as the fibre base and the high share of few items in the composition of trade. Cotton fibre garments constitute 68 per cent of total garment exports and synthetic fibre garments had a share of 31 per cent in 1991 [Chatterjee and Mohan 1993]. Similarly, an analysis of itemwise composition of garment exports reveals that it is concentrated in a few items (Table 5). Women's outerwear had a share of 40.8 per cent in 1991 but it declined to 38 per cent in 1994. Men's shirts made of cotton increased its share from 16 per cent in 1991 to 17.8 per cent in 1994. Two items contributing to more than 50 per cent of exports of garments appear high apparently but this is not unusual. Consider Table 6, which presents data on the itemwise composition of India and its comparator countries. The share of top item range from 36 per cent in Malaysia (SITC category 848) to 21 per cent in Bangladesh (category 845). In Indonesia and China the top two items, namely, men's and women's outerwear, contribute more than 50 per cent of the value of their garment exports. This only indicates that they have developed a market niche and not necessarily a sign of weakness.

The bulk of world trade in textiles and clothing is regulated by the Multi Fibre Arrangement (MFA) which came into force in 1974. Under the MFA the developed

countries negotiate bilateral agreements with individual trading partners, in order to restrict the quantity of exports of specific product categories by their trading partners. The intention of MFA is to protect domestic producers in the developed countries. Consequently, product categories are defined in fine detail and are often multiplied. There were as many as 148 MFA categories in 1996 in the US. They are closely monitored by the US Trade Administration. The MFA is to be phased out under the Uruguay Round agreement in four different stages by the end of the year 2005. The US currently imports more than 25 per cent of world's clothing imports and its imports have grown at the annual average rate of more than 10 per cent since 1991.

Since 1983, the US and the EU have been India's principal markets. The EU faking the number one position with a share of 44 per cent. In the late 1980s the market share of US showed signs of decline [Mohan and Chatterjee 1993]. Consistent

recent data on the garment imports of EU is not available. Our estimates suggest that US has regained its importance with a share of 35 per cent of India's exports. It is similar to its reported share in the year 1983. In the following section we focus attention on the place of Indian garment exports in the US market. Availability of disaggregated data on US imports is an important reason. Reported research also suggests that the broad composition and fabric base of India's garment exports to the EU does not differ significantly from the US [Majumdar 1996]. Consequently, our conclusions will have more general validity than that indicated by our narrow focus on the US market.

#### INDIA IN THE US MARKET FOR APPAREL PRODUCTS UNDER MFA

The US absorbed just over 35 per cent of India's total apparel exports in 1993\* (Table 7). However the importance of US

TABLE 7: LEADING ITEMS IN US APPAREL IMPORTS FROM INDIA AND THEIR SHARE IN INDIA'S EXPORTS 1993

SITC Rev 3 Groups	US Imports		India's Exports	Total Share of I in 2
	Share	(1)		
841 Men's and boys' coats, jackets, etc, not knit	144.1	13.5	578.9	24.9
842 Women's/girls' coats, capes, etc, not knit	581.3	54.4	1067.0	54.5
843 Men's and boys' coats, jackets, etc, knitted	15.5	1.5	323.7	4.8
844 Women's and girls' coats, capes, etc, knit	25.0	2.3	189.1	13.2
845 Articles of apparel of textile fabric nes	185.1	17.3	281.8	65.7
848 Apparel and clothing accessories excluding textile	117.1	11.0	383.5	30.5
	1068.2	100.0	2977.0	35.9

Note: All figures are in US \$ million.

Source: 1 US Foreign Trade Highlights, 1995, US Department of Commerce.

2 United Nations International Trade data.

TABLE 6: ITEMWISE COMPOSITION OF CLOTHING EXPORTS OF SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES, 1994

(Value in \$ million)

SITC Rev 2 Groups	India		Pakistan		Bangladesh*		Indonesia		Malaysia		South Korea		China	
	Value	Share	Value	Share	Value	Share	Value	Share	Value	Share	Value	Share	Value	Share
84 Clothing and accessories	3711.9	100	1618.0	100	1245.7	100	3272.9	100	2075.8	100	5692.6	100	23793.5	100
842 Men's outerwear non-knit	156.8	4.2	243.0	15.0	196.1	15.7	823.6	25.2	199.5	9.6	667.2	11.7	5464.7	23.0
843 Women's outerwear non-knit	1409.2	38	185.0	11.4	162.3	13.0	860.6	26.3	210.9	10.2	1035.0	18.2	6613.2	27.8
844 Undergarments non-knit	724.6	19.5	156.1	9.6	246.6	19.8	313.9	9.6	214.2	10.3	517.5	9.1	2357.2	9.9
8441 Men's shirts of cotton	658.9	17.8	109.8	6.8	236.6	19.0	247.5	7.6	192.6	9.3	484.4	8.5	1638.6	6.9
84411 of cotton	604.5	16.3	102.26	6.3	124.7	10.0	147.5	4.5	152.6	7.3	175.6	3.1	665.5	2.8
84412 of synthetic fibres	54.5	1.5	45.3	2.8	111.9	9.0	100.0	3.1	NA	NA	308.8	5.4	973.1	4.1
845 Outerwear	338.5	9.1	183.6	11.3	267.0	21.4	578.0	17.7	495.3	19.5	1468.4	25.8	3908.3	16.4
846 Undergarments knitted	480.3	12.9	320.5	19.8	136.5	11.0	425.9	13.0	243.9	11.7	652.8	11.5	2332.3	9.8
847 Textile clothing accessories nec	172.6	4.7	139.2	8.6	1.7	0.1	76.2	2.3			547.5	9.6	664.9	2.8
848 Head gear non-textile clothing	429.9	11.6	390.5	24.1	19.2	1.5	194.5	5.9	755.0	36.4	804.3	14.1	2452.8	10.3

\* For 1993.

Source: UN International Trade Statistics Year Book, 1994.

markets for certain apparel products of India is indicated by a greater than 50 per cent share of commodity group women's outerwear (842). In that year India exported more than a billion dollars worth of women's outerwear and more than half of it to the US. Table 7 also shows that women's outerwear constitutes more than about 50 per cent of US apparel imports from India. To understand markets and market shares, it would be useful to analyse more disaggregated data.

The US imposes quotas on textiles and apparel of cotton, other vegetable fibres, wool, manmade fibres, and silk blends, which are referred to as MFA products. Data on US imports of MFA products by category is published by the US International Trade Commission (USITC). Apparel imports accounted for 79 per cent of the total value of US imports of MFA products in 1996. In Table 8 we have presented US apparel imports by fibre, between 1988 and 1996, measured in million equivalent square metres. During this period US total imports rose at the annual average rate of 8 per cent. Within that cotton apparel increased by more than 12 per cent and that of the manmade fabric (MMF) lagged behind with an annual average growth of 4.6 per cent. With the enactment of North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) in 1994, the market shares in US textile and apparel market have continued to shift in favour of Mexico, Canada and the Caribbean Basin Initiative countries (CBI).<sup>7</sup> Under NAFTA apparel and other textile articles assembled in Mexico from fabric both made and cut in the US can enter duty free. Further some special tariff provisions (9802) of the US provide duty exemption for US-made components returned to the US as parts of articles assembled abroad. Duty is assessed on the value added and not on the value of the US parts sent offshore for assembly. This has led to the rapid growth of what is known as 'production sharing' arrangements. It is known as 'outward processing trade' in Europe. Under this arrangement parts made in the US (or cloth cut to shape in the US) are sent abroad to

countries with low labour cost for assembly and imported back to the US. Apparel is especially suited to production sharing because of relatively high US duty rates, the value of US components and the high import volume. Three-fourths of the US imports from Mexico were under the special tariff provision 9802 and are free of duties and quotas [USITC 1997]. Consequently, Mexico emerged as the second largest supplier by value (\$4.2 billion in 1996) after China with a share of 9.2 per cent of the value of total US imports of MFA products (Table 9). This suggests the potential dramatic impact the improved market access can have on developing country exports. In this case the growth in US apparel imports from Mexico seems to have come at the expense of other Asian and CBI countries. Two countries consistently losing market shares are Taiwan and South Korea. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka show some improvement in their market shares. The market share of India and other countries has remained more or less constant reflecting the constancy of allocated quotas under the MFA.

We have also estimated the market share of India in 17 selected MFA product categories in the textile and apparel imports of the US. They are the top 17 product categories in terms of value of US imports from India in the year 1996. Our estimates are shown in Table 10 along with total US imports for two selected years, that is, 1990 and 1996. The following trends emerge:

(1) Between 1990 and 1996 India's market share shows positive change in 14 of the 17 categories. It improved by more than three percentage points in seven of the 17 categories. Market shares declined in three categories, namely, cotton dresses (336), cotton skirts (342) and cotton women's trousers (348). In the last mentioned category, cotton women's trousers, it is largely seen to be the impact of exports by the two countries with preferential market access,

namely, Dominican Republic and Mexico. Mexico is the number one supplier of cotton men's and women's trousers.

(2) Further, Table 10 shows the percentage change in the growth of US imports over the period 1990-96 as a measure of market growth for the same 17 categories. No systematic association can be observed between change in India's market share and the estimates of US market growth. This outcome is not surprising as imports are subject to quota restrictions.

(3) In Table 11, we present the market share of India and the other comparator countries which are leading suppliers to US in the 17 product categories. A striking feature is the wide diversity in specialisation by country. No single country dominates across product categories. This supports the proposition that globalisation promotes specialisation in terms of development of market niches. Specialisation is not by fabric alone but by product.

(4) In 10 of the 17 categories, shown in Table 11, supplies from Hong Kong at first appear to compete directly with India. Our estimates of unit values (see below) indicate that they operate in different price and quality segments. In nine categories China has a higher share than India. Only in one category India occupies the top position, namely, cotton women's non-knit shirts (341). Among the other Asian suppliers Pakistan has a greater share than India in two products, namely, cotton men's knit shirts (338) and cotton Terry towels (363). Bangladesh outperforms India in two categories, namely, cotton other apparel and cotton men's trousers. Supplies from Indonesia exceed India in three categories, namely, MMF women's skirt, cotton sweaters and men's trousers. Three other countries, namely, Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka are found to have higher share in one product each. South Korea appeared as a close competitor in only two categories. The information on

TABLE 8: US APPAREL IMPORTS BY FIBRES 1988-1996 (Million equivalent square metres)

	Cotton	Wool	Manmade	All		Total
				Fibres	Other	
1988	2153	127	2710	286	5276	
1989	2443	112	3091	403	6049	
1990	2550	104	3013	341	6007	
1991	2717	111	2975	347	6149	
1992	3451	134	3107	387	7079	
1993	3835	147	3187	377	7546	
1994	4363	183	3464	411	8421	
1995	5004	197	3718	336	9255	
1996	5324	218	3837	280	9659	

Source: US International Trade Commission, 1997.

TABLE 9: US TEXTILES AND APPAREL IMPORTS: MARKET SHARES, 1993-1996

All Countries	Value in US \$ Million				Per Cent			
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1993	1994	1995	1996
All Countries	36079	39981	43974	45933	100	100	100	100
China	4767	4931	4803	4892	13.2	12.3	10.9	10.7
Hong Kong	3957	4406	4391	4031	11.0	11.0	10.0	8.8
Taiwan	2861	2830	2757	2733	7.9	7.1	6.3	5.9
South Korea	2477	2449	2271	2049	6.9	6.1	5.2	4.5
India	1286	1520	1615	1737	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.8
Philippines	1337	1457	1704	1706	3.7	3.6	3.9	3.7
Indonesia	1111	1170	1336	1493	3.1	2.9	3.0	3.3
Thailand	1131	1234	1420	1402	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.1
Bangladesh	766	927	1115	1178	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.6
Sri Lanka	840	892	1025	1139	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.5
Pakistan	652	768	965	1011	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.2
Macao	483	607	764	761	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.7
Malaysia	678	704	745	707	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.5
Mexico	1372	1894	3037	4232	3.8	4.7	6.9	9.2
Dominican Republic	1458	1616	1787	1802	4.0	4.0	4.1	3.9

Source: US International Trade Commission, 1997.

three leading suppliers to the US market and their respective market shares are shown in Table 13.

#### UNIT VALUES AND UPGRADING

MFA imposes restrictions in terms of physical quantity of the product categories exported by the trading partners, that is, by weight, number of pieces, or surface area. Producers in developing countries face volume restrictions on their exports. They can enlarge the value of their sales by moving up the market segments into higher quality lines in their product categories. This quality upgrading results in increases in unit values. The classic case has been that of Hong Kong whose sales realisation has risen while quantity sold has declined. Kumar and Khanna (1991) report the sources of this

quality improvement in the Indian garment industry as better quality control mechanisms which improved finishing and better design through the use of foreign designers. It is attributed to the general maturing of the garment industry rather than to the quota restrictions. As India has faced binding MFA quotas only in the late 1980s, it is pertinent to look at the movement of unit values of recent years to verify the hypothesis of quality upgrading. Countries facing rising labour costs, like the east Asian countries, also reportedly practice the strategy of upgrading to become specialist suppliers to particular markets. Unit values of different countries for the same product also throw light on the market segments of each supplier country. We have estimated the unit values of six selected MFA categories of US imports

for India, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Indonesia and Hong Kong. They are presented in Table 12. All of the chosen six categories are cotton fabric based and account for more than 70 per cent of US garment imports from India. The prices (unit values) received by Hong Kong are at the top of the distribution followed by China and Indonesia. High prices received by Hong Kong indicate specialisation and high design content. China's prices are much lower than Hong Kong in all the years. China's strength is reported, as early as in 1987, to be in its ability to produce fabric at least cost and careful quality control [Mody and Wheeler 1987]. Unit value of Bangladesh and Pakistan appears to be in the same ballpark and are the lowest for all products for all years. India is in the middle. For the category cotton

TABLE 10: INDIA'S MARKET SHARE IN 17 CATEGORIES OF MFA IMPORTS OF THE US

Category Code	Category Description	1990			1996			Change in Market Share	Per Cent Change 1990-96
		All Countries Value (US \$ Million)	India	Per Cent Share	All Countries Value (US \$ Million)	India	Per Cent Share		
341	Cot women's non-knit shirt	612.6	139.2	22.7	891.6	222.0	24.9	2.2	31.3
338	Cot men's knit shirts	888.3	2.7	0.3	2919.1	186.4	6.4	6.1	69.6
340	Cot men's non-knit shirts	1039.4	70.5	6.8	2137.3	163.9	7.7	0.9	51.4
369	Cot other manufactures	543.0	69.5	12.8	812.5	176.5	21.7	8.9	33.2
636	Manmade fibre dresses	441.9	21.2	4.8	904.6	79.0	8.7	3.9	51.1
359	Cot other apparel	486.4	10.1	2.1	1157.7	54.3	4.7	2.6	58.0
339	Cot women's knit shirts	1136.7	11.4	1.0	1937.2	50.4	2.6	1.6	41.3
641	MMF women's non-knit shirt	790.8	68.0	8.6	555.1	49.7	9.0	0.4	-42.5
642	MMF skirts	290.9	23.0	7.9	419.7	45.8	10.9	3.0	30.7
336	Cotton dresses	278.4	24.2	8.7	403.4	33.8	8.4	-0.3	31.0
363	Cot/terry towels	185.8	6.5	3.5	264.2	30.5	11.5	8.1	29.7
635	MMF women's coats	772.1	10.5	1.4	1066.9	28.1	2.6	1.3	27.6
342	Cotton skirts	289.6	29.8	10.3	345.0	27.3	7.9	-2.4	16.1
335	Cot women's coats	364.8	7.9	2.2	354.4	22.3	6.3	4.1	-2.9
347	Cot men's trousers	1339.4	7.3	0.5	2942.2	21.0	0.7	0.2	54.5
348	Cotton women's trousers	1490.0	20.7	1.4	2288.7	20.0	0.9	-0.5	34.9
345	Cotton sweaters	328.5	5.3	1.6	336.5	18.8	5.6	4.0	2.4
	Total	27935.8	792.9	2.8	45932.8	1737.0	3.8	0.9	39.2

\* Market growth is estimated as percentage change in value between 1990 and 1996.

Source: US International Trade Commission, 1991, 1997.

TABLE 11: MARKET SHARE IN 16 CATEGORIES OF MFA IMPORTS OF THE US, 1996

Category Description	US Imports All Countries \$ US Million	India	Bangladesh	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Indonesia	Thailand	Philippines	China	South Korea	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Mexico	
341	Cot women's nonknit shirt	891.6	24.9	6.5	1.5	5.9	5.6	2.9	1.5	7.2	0.5	0.9	24.8	1.5
338	Cot men's knit shirts	2919.1	6.4	1.7	10.2	3.0	2.9	4.5	4.5	5.1	1.0	1.7	4.1	9.0
340	Cot men's non-knit shirts	2137.3	7.7	7.6	1.3	3.2	5.9	1.1	2.8	2.9	2.1	5.2	13.7	2.3
369	Cot other manufactures	812.5	21.7	3.2	15.4	1.2	0.5	2.3	3.7	23.9	1.1	6.8	0.9	3.6
636	Manmade fibre dresses	904.6	8.7	0.9	0.1	4.9	6.6	1.5	9.9	18.5	5.3	4.9	5.7	7.6
359	Cot other apparel	1157.7	4.7	10.5	2.1	5.3	4.6	1.5	6.2	15.3	3.1	13.9	10.3	5.2
339	Cot women's knit shirts	1937.2	2.6	0.7	2.4	1.5	1.7	1.4	2.4	2.5	4.2	2.3	10.5	10.1
641	MMF women's non-knit shirt	555.1	9.0	2.8	0.1	4.2	15.7	0.4	1.9	20.7	9.6	2.0	8.6	9.0
642	MMF skirts	419.7	10.9	0.6	0.1	4.5	5.3	4.6	7.3	8.3	6.6	11.5	6.6	5.0
336	Cotton dresses	403.4	8.4	3.9	4.1	3.2	3.5	3.1	12.9	5.4	1.8	2.9	6.4	6.8
363	Cot/terry towels	264.2	11.5	3.4	17.9	1.0	0.0	6.7	9.0	14.8	0.0	5.9	0.4	3.4
635	MMF women's coats	1066.9	2.6	3.1	0.7	3.3	2.9	5.5	5.2	15.9	7.7	7.3	9.6	2.3
342	Cotton skirts	345.0	7.9	4.1	1.9	7.7	4.0	5.2	3.5	5.6	0.5	3.7	14.5	4.8
335	Cot women's coat	354.4	6.3	4.5	0.8	7.6	2.6	4.3	2.7	21.0	4.3	1.9	14.3	1.6
345	Cotton sweaters	336.5	5.6	0.7	0.1	1.2	9.6	7.3	6.0	8.1	1.8	6.0	23.0	0.5
347	Cot men's trousers	2942.2	0.7	3.5	0.8	1.9	3.8	1.1	3.0	3.8	0.3	1.6	8.1	25.8
348	Cotton women's trousers	2288.7	0.9	1.4	0.6	2.1	2.4	1.5	2.5	4.8	1.1	3.7	17.4	21.9

Source: US International Trade Commission, April 1997.

other manufactures (369) prices of India and Indonesia are very similar. In two of the six categories (338 and 340) India's unit values have risen consistently over the years 1993 to 1996. The remaining four show improvements but fluctuate from year to year. In contrast the unit values of China increases for all the categories except, to an extent, in the category non-knit shirts for men (340). We have also shown the average prices of products for the year 1996 in column 3 of Table 12. India's prices are below the average for all products except for cotton men's non-knit shirts. The above average price indicates higher quality. We attribute China's increasing unit values to the influence of Hong Kong traders, who provide the marketing expertise and often supply the materials.

#### MFA PHASE-OUT, QUOTA GROWTH AND TARIFFS

The Uruguay Round Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) specifies a phase-out programme, during which international trade in textiles and clothing will be gradually integrated into the GATT/WTO framework between now and 2005. At the start of each phase of integration importing countries, like US and EU, must integrate a specified minimum portion of their textile and garment imports, based on total trade volume in 1990 for the items listed in the annex to the agreement and provide for a progressive increase in quota growth rates for products remaining under a quota. The timing of the trade three phases, the percentage of trade that must be integrated, and the quota's growth rates are shown in Table A.

The US has published a list of products which it intends to integrate in each of the three stages. However, the objective is to defer the most sensitive products until the

end of the 10-year period. Consequently, the most import-intensive items like shirts and women's outerwear, in which India has an advantage, will not have their quotas removed until 2005. However, the permitted quotas will be relatively more generous for developing countries like India with a permitted growth of 6-7 per cent. Imports from the 'dominant' supplier countries like Hong Kong, China, South Korea, has restricted quota growth rates of 0-2 per cent (Majumdar 1996). In addition the textile and clothing sector will have tariff rates higher than that for all goods in post-Uruguay round. The US MFN tariff rates are shown in the Figure. Note that apparel has the higher tariff rate relative to all other MFN products even in 2004.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

India's apparel industry has achieved rapid growth of exports in recent years. Studies of the garment industry have underlined

certain weaknesses of the industry in terms of narrow fabric base and export destination. The suggested remedies call for adopting policies to promote the switch from exclusive reliance on cotton-based garments to synthetic garments and market diversification to enter non-quota markets (Chatterjee and Mohan 1993). The argument is unassailable as far as it goes. In this paper we argue that the problem of sustaining the attained level of clothing exports needs much more careful

TABLE A

Starting Date	Minimum Trade Integrated	(Per Cent)	
		Increase in Quota	Growth Rate
Phase I	1-1-1995	16	16
Phase II	1-1-1998	17	25
Phase III	1-1-2002	18	27
Final Phase	1-1-2005	All restrictions eliminated	

Source: US ITA document on Internet at <http://WWW.ta.doc.gov>

TABLE 13: MATRIX OF INDIA'S COMPETITORS IN US APPAREL TEXTILE MARKETS IN 1996

MFA Category	Three Leading Suppliers and Market Shares				
	India (24.9)	Hong Kong (24.8)	China (7.2)	Others	Others
Cot W non-knit shirts	Pakistan (10.2)	Mexico (9)	India (6.4)	Others	Others
Cot M knit shirts	Hong Kong (13.7)	India (7.7)	Bangladesh (7.6)	Others	Others
Cotton other man's	China (18.9)	India (21.7)	Pakistan (15.4)	Others	Others
MMF dresses	China (15.3)	Philippines (9.9)	India (8.7)	Others	Others
Cot women other apparel	Hong Kong (10.5)	Mexico (10.3)	Bangladesh (10.5)	India (4.7)	Others
Cot men's knit shirts	China (20.7)	Indonesia (15.7)	S Korea (4.2)	India (2.6)	Others
MMF women non-knit	Taiwan (11.5)	India (9)	China (8.3)	Others	Others
MMF skirts	Philippines (12.9)	India (8.4)	Mexico (6.8)	Others	Others
Cotton dresses	Pakistan (17.9)	China (14.8)	India (11.5)	Others	Others
Cotton/terry towels	China (15.9)	Hong Kong (9.6)	Thailand (5.5)	India (2.6)	Others
MMF women coats	Hong Kong (14.5)	India (7.9)	Sri Lanka (7.7)	Others	Others
Cotton shirts	China (21)	Hong Kong (14.3)	Sri Lanka (7.6)	Others	Others
Cotton women coats	Hong Kong (23)	Indonesia (9.6)	India (5.6)	Others	Others
Cotton sweaters	Mexico (25.8)	Hong Kong (8.1)	Indonesia (9.6)	India (0.7)	Others
Cotton men's trousers	Mexico (21.9)	Hong Kong (17.4)	China (4.8)	India (0.9)	Others

Notes: The MFA category codes are omitted. They are available in Table. Source: US International Trade Commission.

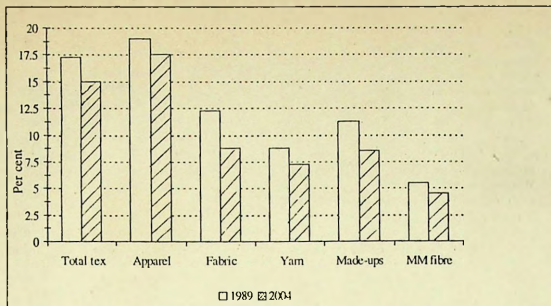
TABLE 12: US IMPORTS FROM SELECTED COUNTRIES BY MFA CATEGORIES, 1993-1996

Code	Category Description	Average* 1996	India			Bangladesh			Pakistan					
			1993	1994	1995	1996	1993	1994	1995	1996	1993	1994	1995	1996
338	Cot men's knit shirts	8.35	7.09	8.33	9.10	10.35	7.29	7.26	8.27	8.92	7.20	7.44	8.31	9.65
340	Cot men's non-knit shirts	4.13	3.64	4.13	4.23	4.35	2.70	2.77	3.18	3.05	2.98	3.01	3.00	2.73
341	Cot women's non-knit shirts	5.57	4.86	5.40	4.76	4.42	3.45	3.89	3.75	3.86	3.68	3.91	3.70	3.74
369	Cot other manufactures	0.75	0.55	0.54	0.57	0.57	0.41	0.43	0.44	0.42	0.45	0.49	0.53	0.52
347	Cot men's trousers	5.19	4.25	4.57	4.26	4.16	3.85	4.19	4.23	4.21	4.22	4.02	3.93	3.76
348	Cot women's trousers	4.82	4.36	4.87	4.70	4.76	4.14	3.66	3.78	3.81	3.07	3.34	3.09	2.76
			Indonesia			Hong Kong			China					
			1993	1994	1995	1996	1993	1994	1995	1996	1993	1994	1995	1996
338	Cot men's knit shirts	8.35	13.28	14.12	14.48	16.00	18.28	18.52	21.00	20.83	10.93	12.59	14.40	16.42
340	Cot men's non-knit shirts	4.13	4.16	4.46	4.64	4.75	5.76	5.67	5.67	5.67	4.13	4.02	4.10	4.69
341	Cot women's non-knit shirts	5.57	5.41	5.00	5.10	5.63	8.03	7.25	7.43	7.71	7.10	6.64	6.54	7.85
369	Cot other manufactures	0.75	0.59	0.62	0.64	0.57	0.97	1.01	1.11	1.20	0.83	0.91	1.09	1.07
347	Cot men's trousers	5.19	5.56	5.69	5.41	5.59	7.00	6.31	6.43	6.70	5.57	5.20	5.26	5.99
348	Cot women's trousers	4.82	5.96	6.04	5.67	5.77	6.28	5.98	6.15	6.40	5.37	5.87	5.42	6.13

Note: \* Average for all countries.

Source: United States International Trade Commission, 1997.

FIGURE: US MFN TARIFF RATES (TRADE WEIGHTED AVERAGE)



Source: Internet: <http://www.ita.doc.gov/textiles>

attention. The process of globalisation involves specialisation. Specialisation in the global apparel market is not by fabric base alone but by product. India has a comparative cost advantage in cotton cloth and the clothing export growth has been achieved with no reliance on imports.

In this context we surveyed the recent developments in global clothing trade and India's relative position in one major quota market, that is, the US. In the world apparel market the main leverage is exercised by retailers and braded merchandisers at the marketing and retailing end of the chain. The recent trend is toward consolidation of market power in the hands of retailers in the developed countries which provide them with unprecedented scope to reshape international supply networks. The continued export success of east Asian newly industrialising countries attributed to quality upgrading and shift to higher value added segments.

A significant observed feature of India's apparel exports is the predominance of cotton as the fibre base and the high share of a few items in the composition of exports. Comparison of composition of garment exports of India and her comparator countries revealed that narrow concentration is a common feature of other competing clothing exporters. We argued that the observed diversity in product specialisation by country only indicates the development of market niche and not necessarily a sign of weakness. We estimated India's market shares and prices in 17 MFA product categories of US Textile and Apparel imports. We observed wide diversity in product specialisation by country. India has improved its market shares, between 1993 and 1996, in nine of 17 product categories. Its unit value realisation has shown positive improvement for several categories. Market share analysis for the 17 product categories indicated that in a majority of the

product categories China and Hong Kong have higher market share than India in the year 1996. In several other categories other Asian low cost producers, namely, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia are found to have a higher market share. They are emerging as close competitors to India. Countries with preferential market access to the US market like Mexico and Dominican Republic are found to be leading suppliers in two fast growing product lines, namely, cotton men's and women's trousers, both belonging to the standardised segment of the US apparel domestic market. The big American retailers such as Wal-Mart and Sears, have started to promote Mexican goods through their North American networks.<sup>4</sup>

Under the Uruguay ATC quotas will be phased out by the year 2005. Strategic planning is needed to capture the benefits of this trade liberalisation. The buyers are expecting more services and higher quality. It cannot be presumed that advanced country buyers will continue to choose to source their textile and apparel products from India. It depends on India's competitiveness in terms of price and quality. In the past there is some anecdotal evidence that the advanced countries chose to source from the big three Asian producers when there was a switch to global import quota [Whalley 1994]. In addition, it is reported that India's cost per standard minute is higher than in Indonesia, Thailand and China [Majumdar 1996].

Ensuring the supply of quality cotton fabric at low prices should be on top of the supply management. India's strength is that it is also a producer of cotton cloth unlike Indonesia and Thailand which are dependent on imports. China is reducing its production of cotton fabric relative to synthetic, to reduce its reliance on imported synthetic fabric. Competition in synthetic fibre-based garments is more intense and east Asian countries with strong synthetic textile and

apparel complex are likely to have an edge. In terms of production strategy, ways to switch production lines toward a greater mix of basic standardised products and fashion and seasonal garments along with quality upgrading need attention.<sup>5</sup> The base of competitiveness need not be only low cost and high volume but quality, design and service. Methods of increasing local value addition through investing in backward linkage industries would perhaps yield greater benefits. Collaborative relationships with US buyers need to be promoted and strengthened. In these two areas of supply management of cotton fabric and information and marketing management, government policy seems to have a greater role than markets.<sup>10</sup>

## Notes

[This paper was written while the author was visiting Centre for International Development Research (CIDR), Duke University, as a Ford Foundation Post Doctoral Fellow, 1996-97. I wish to thank Tirthankar Roy for helpful conversation.]

- 1 The continuing reforms are documented in the successive annual *Economic Surveys* of the government of India. We abstain from providing a summary.
- 2 For an initial formal discussion of the concept see Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1990); Gereffi (1994). Further discussion and extensions are found in Gereffi (1995, 1996). The following discussion borrows heavily from Gereffi (1995, 1996).
- 3 For an informative discussion of buyer-seller links in export development see Egan and Mody (1992).
- 4 The garment industry has been classified in the United Nations International Standards Classification as including "those establishments which cut and/or stitch/make up garments out of woven or knitted fabrics without being involved in the manufacture of fabrics". Thus, the term apparel or garments would include ready-made garments as well as knitwear/hosiery.
- 5 For an insightful study of Bangladesh's garment exports see Rhee (1990).
- 6 In 1994, approximately 44 per cent of all apparels sold in the US was made outside the US. (This figure excludes imported fabric and yarn that went into apparel that was

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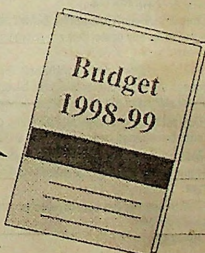
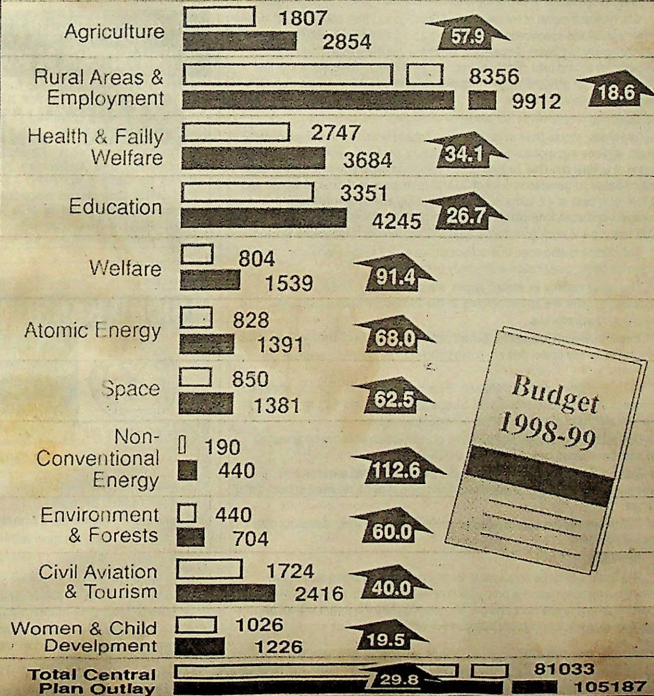
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## Plan Expenditure of Central Government

in Crore Rupees

1997-98 (RE)   
  1998-99 (BE)   
 ▲ % Increase



BE - Budget Estimates

RE - Revised Estimates

Source : Budget 1998-99

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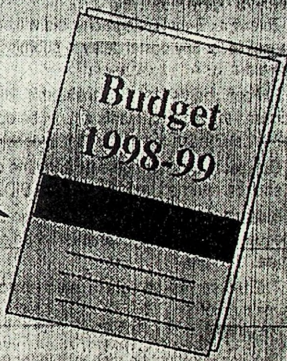
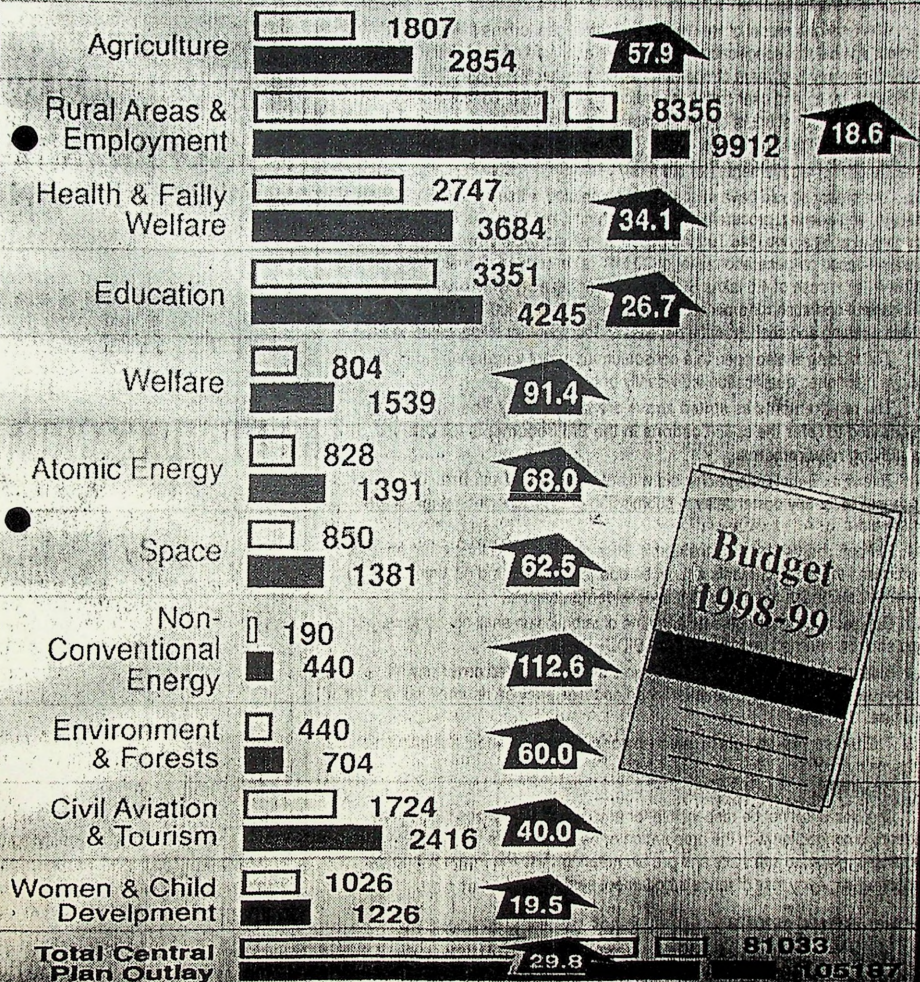
## Plan Expenditure of Central Government

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□ 1997-98 (RE)

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## Amnesty and India-Baiters

A G Noorani

*There are politicians, like Jesse Helms in the US, to whom the label of 'India-baiters' can be fittingly applied. But to apply it to Amnesty International and Asia Watch is a deliberate falsehood. Their reports, which do not spare western governments, are telling precisely because of their careful documentation and their objectivity.*

IS there any doubt in anyone's mind that the union home minister, S B Chavan's belated admission, on September 21 at the Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Police Academy, on the prevalence of the practice of torture by the police to elicit information was due to the fact that this practice of our police has won international renown? "In the process of eliciting information from a hard core terrorist, you should not commit a crime yourself." Why was he silent all the time that the prevalence of such crime, in Kashmir particularly, leading to 'custodial deaths', was being publicised with documented detail by Amnesty International and Asia Watch, to name only two foreign non-governmental bodies, besides, of course, our own dedicated civil liberties bodies, PUCI, PUDD, CFD and a host of individuals?

The *Indian Express* report of the speech makes interesting reading. Chavan is reported to have said:

Already a disinformation campaign was going on against India and the perpetrators of crime were crying hoarse about human rights violations in Kashmir. Police officers should not be cruel enough and commit a 'murder'. Even while interrogating a terrorist one must be human...

The implications of this belated admission are obvious, especially the one on 'murder'. The speech was delivered in Hyderabad to probationers. It should have been delivered at Srinagar to the BSF and the CRPF.

Unfortunately, some dailies and correspondents, eager to please the authorities, have also joined in the cry of 'India-baiters'. That there are politicians like Jesse Helms to whom this description can be fittingly applied is incontestable. It is a deliberate falsehood to apply it to Amnesty and Asia Watch. Their reports indict the Kashmiri militants for their excesses. What is more they do not spare western governments.

Amnesty's Annual Report for 1993 alone proves that. Its report (*Getting Away with Murder*) on killings and 'disappearances' in the 1990s published in October 1993 is a chilling document precisely because of its documentation and objectivity. Along with the report was published a brochure entitled *Conspiracy of Terror*. The following passage provides a flavour of the whole and is illustrative of Amnesty's approach:

In India, more than 130 people were killed by the security forces in Bombay during the violence which followed the destruction of the Babri masjid in Ayodhya in December 1992. Most of those killed belonged to the Muslim community. Eye-witnesses said the police sided with Hindu mobs attacking Muslims.

The circumstances surrounding apparent political killings are often unclear. It is only the conduct of the state combined with a pattern of similar incidents that point to the probability that the killings were deliberate and unlawful.

In Northern Ireland (United Kingdom), dozens of killings by the security forces in suspicious circumstances since 1982 have led to allegations that suspected members of armed opposition groups were being deliberately killed, rather than arrested. The government's consistent refusal to hold independent inquiries into the killings has lent support to these allegations. The findings of the only detailed inquiry, led by a senior police officer from another force, were never published. Although the inquiry found evidence of police misconduct, the authorities announced that no officers were to be prosecuted for reasons of 'national security'.

Fear of attracting international scrutiny of their human rights records has meant that few governments openly order political killings and 'disappearances'. More and more rely on covert operations and sophisticated cover-ups.

The 'death squads' are among the most deadly of governments' secret killers.

This passage Chavan and his apologists are welcome to use as a red herring—"See. These things happen even in Northern Ireland." But where does it leave their accusation of bias against Amnesty?

The report *Getting Away with Murder* is not so much a denunciatory document as an analytical one. It describes the disease, analyses its causes and the techniques of cover-up and prescribes the cure in the form of two 14-point programmes on 'disappearances' and extra-judicial executions. The relevant UN documents are appended to the report.

Since early 1992 Amnesty has recorded 'disappearances' in at least 20 countries. There have been "scores in India". Here is a passage that deserves wide reading:

The evidence showing that deliberate killings are a matter of policy in some Indian states includes an order issued in August 1989 by the Director General of Police in the Punjab to all district superintendents of police in the state. It included a list of 53 people and specified: "Rewards for the apprehension/liquidation of wanted terrorists/extremists". The Attorney General stated a year later that the order had lapsed. Nevertheless this and other such messages from the state encouraged police to summarily kill unresisting suspected opponents on the spot or after arrest and attribute the killings to 'encounters'. In mid-1990, the new governor of Punjab appealed to police officers to "stop fake encounters". Despite this, the killings continue. In 1992 alone, hundreds of political activists were alleged to have been deliberately killed in incidents falsely described as 'encounters' by the police in Punjab, or in 'cross-fire'—a term increasingly used to conceal numerous killings in custody by paramilitary forces and the army in another Indian state, Jammu and Kashmir.

The report is not blind to militants' excesses:

Armed opposition groups in Asia and the Pacific, too, have taken hostages and deliberately targeted and killed unarmed civilians.

In India, such groups have committed numerous human rights abuses in many states, including Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh. In Punjab, armed separatists have deliberately killed thousands of civilians. They have dragged Hindus from trains and then massacred them. In Jammu and Kashmir, armed separatist groups have captured and killed civilians, taken hostages, tortured prisoners and raped women in their custody. In

Andhra Pradesh, they have killed or mutilated alleged 'informers'.

In Sri Lanka, violence by armed opposition groups has intensified over the years in the face of savage government repression. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Tamil militants of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), seeking independence for the north-east of Sri Lanka, attacked mainly state targets. More generalised attacks against civilian targets, such as bombing bus stops and attacking the Sinhalese and Muslim communities, came later.

Today the LTTE has excluded almost all expression of dissent within the area it controls by using violent repressive measures against rival groups. LTTE forces have committed numerous gross abuses of human rights including the massacre of hundreds of non-combatant persons.

But the state, by definition, is accountable. And it shows no accountability:

What marks all the disparate scenarios... is the fact that the agents of terror are allowed to get away with their crimes. Perhaps this should not be surprising. They are, after all, at the service of those responsible for "law and order".

In some countries where human rights are most brutally violated, there is little pretence of accountability. In Myanmar, the government has turned the country into a 'secret state of terror' in its ruthless crackdown on any opposition...

Other governments have barely concealed open invitations to their security forces to kill with impunity when introducing what are ostensibly 'emergency' or 'temporary' measures. These are said by the government to be needed to combat political violence, but often amount to an official policy to dispense with arrests and to shoot-to-kill with no questions asked.

In India, for example, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, which is in force in several states where there is armed insurgency, gives the security forces wide powers to shoot suspects on sight with impunity so long as the killing nominally occurs in the line of duty. It states: "No prosecution, suit or other legal proceeding shall be instituted... against any person in respect of anything done or purported to be done in the exercise of the powers conferred by this Act."

Amnesty and Asia Watch bashing is a demeaning exercise. As UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali has said:

In our efforts to build a culture of human rights, we must not forget the importance of human rights workers and non-governmental organisations, nor the courage shown by many who risk their lives and security for the rights of others.

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## Patent System and Pharmaceutical Sector

H Ashok Chandra Prasad  
Shripad Bhat

WHILE we are not sure of the intention of Biswajit Dhar and C Niranjan Rao ('Patent System and Pharmaceutical Sector', *EPW*, October 2, 1993) in misinterpreting our analysis twisting our arguments and quoting from different places in the paper ('Strengthening India's Patent System: Implications for Pharmaceutical Sector', *EPW*, May 22, 1993) without spelling out the context, they do not seem to have been able to come to grips with the ongoing debate on Dunkel draft within the hard realities facing the developing countries and the findings of various research studies on the implications of different patent regimes and the desirability of strengthening patents to promote R and D and the growth of knowledge by protecting the interests of those involved in the process, especially in the context of the enormous costs involved in undertaking certain inventive activities. We do not consider it necessary to answer each of the remarks, academic and unacademic, made by the two critics. However, we wish to place some of the facts and arguments straight, lest the readers be unnecessarily misled by the strange arguments and misinterpretations of Dhar and Rao.

The two critics say that their intention 'may have been to express our support for the Dunkel proposals'. This remark shows that the critics have not followed the message of our paper and possibly believe that there can only be either staunch supporters or opponents of Dunkel's proposals. Dhar and Rao have argued that "whether strengthening patents regime will lead to better technology transfer or indigenous technology generation" should have been our primary concern. We have mentioned on p 1049 that "we do not intend to deal in detail with this aspect". But in the present situation "refusal on the part of India to strengthen the patents regime will definitely affect the flow of latest technology and the quality of drugs". Moreover, Dhar and Rao themselves in their papers do not seem to go into this aspect, though they accept that patents lead to transfer of technology and also the new technologies [e.g. see Rao 1989, pp 1055-56]. They have also alleged that we have used patent statistics to highlight India's dependence on technology. The critics would be well

advised to read the paper again and see that this is one among the many indicators used by us. They would also be well advised to see note 3 in our paper where we have quoted Griliches, who says "... showing that patent statistics are a good indicator of inputs into inventive activity is a useful accomplishment on its own merit. It allows us an insight into what is going on in more areas and also in much more detail than is possible, to glimpse from the available R and D statistics." Further, we do not consider it necessary to answer their allegation that the figures given to highlight India's technology gap *vis-a-vis* other countries is an exaggeration, as they themselves have given the ratio of India's technology-intensive exports to India's technology-intensive imports given by us for 1984-85 (0.26) without acknowledging that this figure is also low. Comparison of the results of Table 6 showing the export and import market shares of some selected technology-intensive products of India and some other countries for other years like 1984 and 1985 (quoted by the critics) do not differ much from the results given by us.

Dhar and Rao have stated that we have made a bold statement regarding data used by others. We wish to give the full statement again, instead of stopping half way as they have done: "... the arguments of many supporters and opponents of India's present patents regime are not backed by data and also data given by alternative sources differ greatly". To argue that references quoted by us can be used to contradict us without actually putting forth the arguments and without considering the fact that some of them are biased (as shown by us) seems to be a spurious argument.

Dhar and Rao have argued that the DPCO and the Patents Act were introduced almost at the same time and "the comparison between the two time periods before and after 1972 does not make any sense". We feel that they have failed to follow the analysis, especially the analysis of prices of drugs under patents and under DPCO. They have also questioned the effectiveness of DPCO after the acceptance of Dunkel proposals. They should note that while price controls have not been prohib-

ited under Dunkel's proposals, we have also not suggested complete acceptance of Dunkel's proposals. We have, in fact, suggested a careful and judicious policy of price controls.

Dhar and Rao have stated that in one context we have said that India is a drug starved country and in another that India is self-sufficient in drugs. Though these have been written in different contexts, there is nothing logically wrong. India is drug starved because the per capita consumption of drugs in India is relatively low. But India is also self-sufficient in drugs in the sense that it is able to produce about 90 per cent of the demand (or shall we call it 'effective demand' for the benefit of the critics), besides being a net exporter of drugs. Some similar statements in common parlance are "Indians are relatively underfed... India is self-sufficient in food-grains", etc.

In the course of their criticism of our discussion on GATT negotiations, Dhar and Rao have quoted Articles 28 and 31 of the Dunkel draft text to justify that these two articles together mean that "imports are tantamount to working the patents in the country". While we have stated that some of the clauses of the Dunkel draft are mischievous and are capable of being interpreted in different ways, we have not supported "imports as tantamount to working the patents". On the other hand, we have vehemently opposed it. Dhar and Rao have simply sidelined the main issues dealt by us. Regarding the criticism of our definition of 'pipeline protection', we do not know why Dhar and Rao want to create unnecessary confusion. We have said that "in the course of the GATT negotiations, the US is insisting on exclusive marketing right for pharmaceuticals and agro-chemical products. This is called 'pipeline protection'. Possibly we should have written "...exclusive marketing rights granted on products which were "in the pipeline" (awaiting marketing authorisation) is called pipeline protection", as Jeroen Van Wijk and Gerd Junne 1992, p 38, put it. Then possibly, Dhar and Rao would have understood it to mean "accepting applications for product patent immediately after the new GATT comes into force is called pipeline protection" (see Dhar and Rao, p 2168). They have also argued that once the TRIPS agreement is signed, then as per the Dunkel proposals the issue of joining the Paris Convention gets settled automatically and therefore, we are ignorant about the status of the Paris Convention.

Dhar and Rao have once again failed to follow the argument in our paper that India should not accept Dunkel proposals on TRIPS in toto.

Finally, while we tend to disagree with the tenor and content of the discussion by Dhar and Rao on the grounds discussed above, we however, feel obliged to thank them for pointing out the typing error of RCA expanded as 'Relative Competitive Advantage' in the tables though it has been correctly printed in the text as 'Revealed Competitive Advantage'; for pointing out the error that 'all developing countries' and 'not all countries' get a transition period of five years; for pointing out

that the issue of 'pipeline protection' has been given in the Dunkel draft text; for making us realise that the patents of 'many' and not 'most' American drugs are expected to expire in 1990-95; and finally, for accepting our paper as an academic article.

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# Crisis in Sociological Research

G B Venkatesha Murthy

VEENA DAS's article 'Sociological Research in India: The State of Crisis' (*EPW*, June 5) makes interesting reading. I am inclined to say that the situation is no different in the other branches of social sciences. The article should serve as an eye-opener to all those who are interested in the development of sociology in particular and social science in general.

Veena Das points out that while students cannot be trained to do brilliant research they can and must be trained to do competent research. Research performance to a large extent depends not only on the students' calibre but also their commitment to the discipline. "It is well known that in India the majority of the brighter students are attracted to science, technology and professional courses. Even amongst those who choose courses in the faculties of arts, social sciences and humanities, the brighter ones tend to choose either mathematics or economics. Obviously, those students who choose sociology are not necessarily the best, not do they necessarily have any clear notion of why they chose the subject which has definite implications for their interest and performance" [Damle 1974]. It is a matter of regret that students tend to choose sociology as a last resort when they find other options not possible or available. If they are primarily interested in attaining a formal degree what might one expect from them in respect of pursuing further studies and contributing something to the discipline?

M N Srinivas and Panini (1973) say that there is no attempt to restrict admissions on the basis of qualifications and aptitude. Thus all and sundry are allowed to pursue their studies in sociology. This is one of the main reasons why high quality research in sociol-

ogy is not forthcoming.

Who is to be blamed for such a state of affairs? It is common knowledge that appointments are made frequently on grounds other than merit. In the words of M N Srinivas (1993): "Many if not most of our universities and other centres of higher learning have become cockpits for caste, regional and linguistic conflict and intrigue and both teaching and research are in a deplorable condition. Appointments are made frequently on grounds other than merit. In fact, 'merit' has become a dirty word in the lexicon of the advocates of caste quotas and the progressives." When substandard recruits are placed at the helm of affairs the net result is negative.

Das has pointed out that in doctoral theses there appear long lists of references and extensive bibliographies, but that the students display their ignorance when they are asked about what has been quoted. It has become ornamental to give a long list of references in the theses. But if the students are found to be not familiar with what has been referred to or quoted by them, the examiners should be bold enough to reject the theses, instead of accepting them on the basis of formal considerations. Strict scrutiny would eliminate poor and mediocre exercises so that what remains is meaningful and solid work.

Veena Das says that the universities, UGC and professional bodies are responsible for such a state of affairs. It is true that quite often outdated textbooks are used in the universities and colleges. Many if not most of the teachers seldom care to know what is happening in the field of sociology. Teachers, even at the highest levels, very rarely refer to national and international journals. "In the case of most

college teachers they look upon themselves mainly as communicators of available knowledge to the students and not as producers of knowledge" (Commen 1983). The Indian Association for Study of Population (IASP) conducts periodic reorientation in various parts of India for its members and concerned researchers. Similar reorientation training or workshops for research workers and college teachers in sociology will go a long way in improving the position.

Regarding the evaluation of doctoral theses, it has been mentioned in Das's paper that examination of PhD dissertations is managed within a small coterie of scholars. We are now in a situation when dissertations are approved on the basis of reciprocity rather than the application of academic standards. This does not stop with examination of dissertations. It extends to seminars, workshops and appointments as well. Something drastic has to be done before it is too late.

To conclude, it is necessary to restructure the entire education policy in regard to social science in general and sociology in particular. This should facilitate generating the right kind of teaching and research ethos in which teachers ought to see that students reciprocate by the way of enriching the discipline through the development of aptitude, commitment and academic skills.

The role of established academics becomes significant in such a context. They must continuously inspire and guide young minds and also help in formulating the right kind of policy both with respect to its theoretical dimensions as well as applied aspects. Instead of becoming sceptics they should come forward and do what is possible. Scholars like Veena Das might critically analyse what is going on, but that is not sufficient. She must also become part of an academic community whose aim is to make a sincere attempt to correct the shortcomings in the existing academic scenario.

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## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATISTICS IN INDIA

With particular reference to children's well being

Source: "The State of the World's Children", 1999; UNICEF

Total population: 960178000

Annual number of births: 24389000

GNP per capita (US\$): 380

Life expectancy at birth: 62

Annual rate of inflation: 9%

53% of Indian population lives on less than 14 a day.

% of central government expenditure allocated to	Health	1%
	Education	2%
	Defence	13%

- o 2634000 children in India die every year before the age of 5. (An estimated 193 children per every 1000 live births in the country die before completing 5 years of age.(U5MR)
- o 71 babies per every 1000 live born children in India die before reaching their first birthday . (IMR)
- o 33% infants in India have low birth weight.
- o 52% underfives in the country suffer from stunted growth.
- o 53% underfives in India are moderately or severely underweight, out of which 21% are SEVERELY UNDERWEIGHT.
- o 51% babies in India are exclusively breastfed for 0\_3 months (31% of them are breastfed alongwith complementary foods till 6\_ 9 months . 67 % mothers in India breastfed the child till 20\_ 23 months .
- o Only 34% of births in India are attended by trained health personnel.
- o Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) i.e annual number of deaths of women from pregnancy related causes per 100,000 live births for the country is 440.
- o 41% of married women on India aged 15-49 years use contraception.
- o 100% of routine vaccination in India (against deseasis like TB, DPT, measles and polio, neonatal tetanus for which pregnant women are vaccinated, hepatitis B) is financed by the government.
- o % of 1yr. Old Indian children, fully in unibed (1995-97)
  - TB - 93%
  - Polio - 91%
  - Pregnant women tetanus - 80%
  - DPT - 89%
  - measles - 81%
- o 67% of all cases of diarrhoea in Indian children under five years of age are treated with ORS (oral rehydration salts) and /or recommended house fluids
- o 81% of Indian population has access to safe water
- o Only 29% of Indian population has access to adequate sanitation. There is WIDE GAP in the facilities available to rural and urban population as regards sanitation.

Breakup - Rural Pop	14%
Urban Pop	70%
- o 75% of primary school age boys in India attend primary school as against 61% of girls of this age attending primary school. (1993-97)
- o 62% of primary school entrants in India reach grade 5

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# Future Directions of Research

August 2000



# Future Directions of Research

A Report based on a Workshop

Held on 17 August 2000

At Hotel Harsha, Bangalore<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The objective of the workshop was to open ourselves to an *academic audit among our peers*—other NGOs, government officials, donor agencies, and researchers. Copies of work done by us were given to all the participants before the Workshop to ensure meaningful exchange of ideas. Based on what we had so far done, and taking into account advice from this meeting, we will make our future research plans. A copy of the programme and a list of participants is attached. This is a report on the proceedings of the workshop, circulated to share our experience and to present our perspectives and plans to a wider audience.

After the workshop, Vinod Vyasulu recorded his personal impressions of what had transpired, and what the lessons for CBPS were. This personal report was circulated widely—including persons who had not been able to attend the workshop. This note was meant to share his impressions with friends—and to serve as a starting point for our internal discussions. Notes taken by others were also a part of this discussion process which took place over the next two weeks. Everyone in CBPS has participated in this process. This note has been prepared and finalised on this basis, and it is meant for wider circulation among those concerned with our long term plans. It represents a programme of work to which all in CBPS are now committed.

What was most encouraging to all of us was the positive attitude and goodwill of all who participated in the workshop. We received very useful and constructive comments—we realise it will take us some time to absorb all of it fully through discussions among ourselves. Everyone offered to co-operate in any way required to achieve what CBPS would decide to do after this meeting was over. The spirit of co-operation across sectors—from government officials to researchers and NGOs, was most encouraging to all of us from CBPS.

CBPS has a small but adequate office, with excellent computer facilities using the open source linux platform. The organisation works so as to minimise overheads—we have no plans to acquire buildings, cars and the like. This is something we believe we should maintain.

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<sup>1</sup> This report has been drafted by Vinod Vyasulu, but represents the common voice of the staff of CBPS. It has been finalised after intense internal discussions in which all the staff members took part.

## The Presentations by CBPS

The workshop had two parts. In the first, CBPS staff presented the work we had done—all projects completed so far [from January 1995 to 1999] were presented in brief by Vinod Vyasulu. Then S.B. Anuradha, S. Manasi, A. Indira and Vinod Vyasulu presented brief statements on work currently underway. There was an open discussion on it which we found very helpful.

## Past Work

Vinod Vyasulu began with 1995 when he took up this work in TIDE—and he expressed his gratitude to TIDE for its support over the years. A. Indira joined this programme at that time, and the others somewhat later. The first project was on "trends in social sector expenditure" [which remains unpublished] at the instance of Actionaid. The Structural Adjustment Programme had been accepted by the Government of India, which then took on loans from the IMF and the World Bank<sup>2</sup>. It was expected then that one inevitable consequence of this would be a decline in social sector expenditures in Karnataka. Our study, which used data from the Finance and Planning Departments of the GOK, suggested that in Karnataka at least, social sector expenditures, in real terms, had at least been protected. It could be argued that they had increased marginally, but not that they had declined. Further, the study suggested that expenditures on General Administration in the GOK had declined in percentage terms—although this issue was not followed up. The empirical reality was very different from what many, for whatever reason expected. Clearly, research of this type had a basic value in changing times.

The next project, also for Actionaid, was much less of a success. We were asked to document how tribal people in Madhya Pradesh viewed environmental changes, using PRA techniques. While we did the work and submitted a report, we learned several lessons from this project. One, we should not go into projects in which the basic skills did not exist in-house—we were dependent on a consultant for PRA skills and this led to several problems for us. Two, if we were to work in a far away place, it is necessary to have good local contacts—we had none at the time. Three, while many of us spoke Hindi, in such work high levels of competence in the local language is essential in the organisation. We had such capabilities in Kannada, but not in other languages.

There were two other major projects that were presented. One was the study of "Rural Industrialisation in India", in collaboration with the Stockholm School of Economics and the Delhi office of the ILO. This was of

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<sup>2</sup> Our views on this are given in another collaborative work that appeared in 1995—Shobha Raghuram, Heiko Sievers and Vinod Vyasulu, editors, Structural Adjustment: Economy, Environment, Social Concerns, Macmillan, New Delhi. A popular exposition is Vinod Vyasulu, Crisis and Response: An Assessment of Economic Reforms, Madhyam, New Delhi 1966. This is mentioned to show that many of us have been concerned with research in these issues for quite a while now.

great importance to us all, as it exposed us to international academic standards and norms. We learned much from the intense process of designing the questionnaire, in which several international scholars took part over a period of two weeks. This exposure to international ways of working, and to the standards underlying them, was of great importance in building up the skills of our team.

The survey we conducted—of 400 units belonging to 8 sectors in 4 districts of 2 states—was huge. It consumed the entire office for more than 6 months. The returns in terms of learning have been large. For example, we now find that enterprises may hire a worker, but often function out of households. They work with second-hand machinery, produce for niches in segmented markets, provide low quality, low wage work, and cannot be seen as engines of growth. Much of policy meant for promoting rural industry is really another kind of Poverty Alleviation policy—but it is presented differently<sup>3</sup>. These insights have important policy implications<sup>4</sup>.

We have not yet reaped the full benefits of this work in terms of publications, yet, it has been a great experience. A research team has come into being, comfortable with work as a Team<sup>5</sup>. But it also led to some re-thinking: should we in future take on the task of conducting such large surveys? This is a specialised activity, and perhaps it would be better to depend on others who are experts in this work.

The last project presented, was on “Devolution of Panchayat Finances”, supported by the Ford Foundation over more than three years. We got into this project because of our earlier work with social sector expenditures in Karnataka that Ford Foundation came to know about. They suggested further work in the area. The Ford Foundation also put us in touch with the International Budget Project at the Centre for Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington DC, and this led to a great deal of interaction with agencies working in many countries. Vinod Vyasulu took part in the two international conferences in Washington DC in 1996 and Cape Town in 1998.

These interactions there were invaluable for all of us. Budget Analysis has become an important area of work among NGOs in India now. This became clear from a conference that was held in Goa in 1999 in which many

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<sup>3</sup> Detailed in our report “Rural Industries in India: Aspects of Productivity, Environment, Technology and Employment: Results of a Field Survey”, by A. Indira, B.P. Vani and Vinod Vyasulu, September, 1999, submitted to the ILO. Copies can be obtained from ILO Delhi.

<sup>4</sup> This has been summarised in Vinod Vyasulu, B.P. Vani, and A. Indira, “Rural Industrialisation in India: Lessons from a Survey”, presented in the Expert Group Seminar organised by the ILO in Manesar, August 25-26, 2000. We hope it will be published soon.

<sup>5</sup> While this was not discussed in the workshop, we had our share of problems with staff turnover etc. We have learned valuable lessons from this experience. But today we have a team, and this is a major strength.

agencies from different parts of the world participated<sup>6</sup>. We are now working with the Ford Foundation and other agencies in organising the third such international conference in India in November 2000. A whole new world of work possibilities opened up for us.

After the 73<sup>rd</sup> constitutional amendment, local governments in the form of zilla, taluk and gram panchayats became a reality in rural India. Karnataka had earlier experience of them, and it became important to understand how finances were devolved to these levels. We worked intensively in two districts—Dharwad and Bangalore [Rural] where based on expenditure data collected locally, we could present an analysis of social sector expenditures at this level over a ten year period. The need to compile databases in this area became very clear—and we learned how to do it.

This work has been brought out in a set of four volumes<sup>7</sup>, [in English and Kannada], that were released on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2000 by the Governor of Karnataka, Smt V.S. Rama Devi. As the Governor emphasised in her speech, there is much to follow up on in this field—from more work to using what has been done in useful training. She hoped that we would intensify our efforts in this important field of activity, especially because budgets had not been the focus of the work of other groups.

This experience and interaction led to major developments<sup>8</sup>. We realised that budget analysis never ends. Every year budgets are presented, and this means priorities are constantly being set and revised. The system is becoming more complex, with so many local levels of government to cater to. There are so many more elected representatives who now require—and demand—budget information in analysed form. A great deal of monitoring is required, and having built up some expertise and interest in this field, we could hardly stop when one project ended. This was discussed in great detail by all concerned with the work.

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<sup>6</sup> Mark Robinson and Abha Shankar, *Budget Analysis and Policy Advocacy—A Report*, Ford Foundation, Delhi, May 2000. This is being mentioned to show how a programme of work has begun to grow around this theme—and we are happy to be part of it.

<sup>7</sup> A. Indira: Democracy and Decentralisation: A Study of Local Budgets in Two districts of Karnataka, March 2000; A. Indira, with Anuradha, Jayasimha, R. Kiran Kumar, Shashi Kumar and Thyagarajan, [1] Democracy and Decentralisation: A Qualitative Study of Zilla and Taluk Panchayats—Dharwad and Bangalore [Rural], [2] Democracy and Decentralisation: Grama Panchayats at Work in Karnataka, March 2000; Vinod Vyasulu, Decentralisation From Above: Panchayati Raj in the 1990s, March 2000—in English only.

<sup>8</sup> There were two other efforts in which we played a supporting role. When the Women's Research, Policy and Advocacy Unit at the National Institute of Advanced Studies carried out a large survey on the status of Women in Karnataka, we provided support by processing their data—converting bulky questionnaires into an electronic database. Similarly, when the Indo Dutch Project Management Society was developing a baseline and monitoring system for the self help credit groups they work with, we provided technical support. Such interaction has been very useful to us—and, we hope to them as well. This is just mentioned for the record here—we have been working with others in the past.

As a result, TIDE<sup>9</sup>, where the team had done all this work, encouraged the spinning off of a new centre, the CBPS, to continue work on these lines. On the base that had been built by the work so far reported, the CBPS began its existence—and what follows is CBPS's work. This takes us to the second part of this presentation.

### Ongoing Projects

On this base, work that is now ongoing in CBPS was presented before the distinguished gathering. Anuradha presented the work now underway with the District Planning Committees in Kodagu, funded by the Ford Foundation. Under the 74<sup>th</sup> amendment, and under the conformity legislation of the state, District Planning Committees, with elected members and a mandate for integrating the plans of rural and urban areas, are to begin functioning soon. They were set up in the earlier period, but never took off. Why? How can they be made to function as envisaged? We plan to analyse district level data, prepare a paper on "The Economy of Kodagu" and use this to begin a dialogue with those who would be members of the DPC. In this process, we would work also with the three municipalities in Kodagu—a new area for us. Work has begun, and we expect it to be completed by March 2001.

Manasi spoke on the work being undertaken on panchayati raj and natural resource management, in collaboration with Taru Leading Edge. The focus is on watershed development and joint forest management efforts. How are these projects managed? Who benefits from these investments? Are the institutional structures appropriate? What are the variations across states? And so on. This is a project of the Overseas Development Institute in London, with Taru as Indian partner. CBPS has been asked to be the partner for Karnataka. The other states being studied are Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, with local partners. The idea is to look into the political economy of natural resource use at the state and local levels and think of practical suggestions. Who controls resources, and to what ends do they use them? Who are the losers in this process? And so on.

We plan to do a detailed study of Bellary district. A study of "The Economy of Bellary" has already been prepared, and presented to local officials by M Prahладachar. They have agreed to collaborate in further work, which is only now beginning. Eight village studies of joint forest management and watershed development across three districts will be completed over the next year. This project is a natural extension of earlier work with panchayats to a new area—natural resource management at the local level. Ironically, the subject of natural resources has not yet been devolved to local bodies in Karnataka, so this should give us an opportunity to see how departments work in the field with the new local bodies.

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<sup>9</sup> As an organisation, TIDE is concerned with issues of diffusion of technology—and this would have been a distraction. Excellent working relationships continue between the two.

A. Indira spoke on our recent collaboration with the Task Force on Health and Family Welfare set up by the GOK in order to advise on policy matters. We made a presentation to the Task Force on the budget analysis we had done for Dharwad. This was found to be useful, and we have been requested to undertake a study of health, broadly defined, in the state budgets over the past ten years. The purpose is not only to see what the priorities have actually been, but also to look into the manner in which health activity has been financed—with loans, at what terms and so on. This work is expected to begin shortly<sup>10</sup>.

Vinod Vyasulu ended the presentation by mentioning the work now beginning, of an input to the Bangalore Water Supply and Sanitation Board Masterplan project. The BWSSB has received special aid from Australia to enhance its capacities. One part of such capacity building relates to economic analysis—the pricing of water, the benefits of conservation, the potential to reduce leakages and so on. In this CBPS will function as an economic consultant to the team implementing this project. It will be a part time involvement over a two-year span. This work too is just beginning, and there is not much to speak of at this stage.

We have plenty<sup>11</sup> on our plate! But where do we go from here? And how? At what pace? There are many questions we have to deal with.

### Towards A Programme of Work

This discussion was followed by the second session on where we should go from here. The discussion began with an introduction by Vinod Vyasulu, in which he presented a brief **Strength, Weakness, Opportunities, and Threats** analysis of CBPS, which could serve as a base for discussion. This SWOT analysis was:

The strengths of CBPS are its organisational flexibility, its small but independent and hardworking team; its links across a number of sectors and institutions, the goodwill of its many friends and its record of work built over the past few years. Our Advisory Council, which distinguishes between administrative management of the CBPS and professional/peer review of its

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<sup>10</sup> We have also plans to work with the Singamma Srinivasan Foundation in Bangalore. The SSF is working with women elected to local governments under the reservation policy. The idea is to explain the importance of budgets to them, so that they can use the authority of their office to influence the budget process. This will clearly be an effort over the long haul.

<sup>11</sup> To properly undertake all this work, the CBPS has set up an internal system. The Director chairs an internal Research Committee, which consists of all Team co-ordinators working on projects in CBPS. This meets at regular intervals—at least once in two months. There are regular internal seminars, attended by all staff members to ensure that projects are properly scrutinised. Above this, there is an external Advisory Council, with experts in the subjects from outside, that meets twice a year and reviews all research work. This Committee is chaired by Dr K.S. Krishnaswamy, and the Director is its convenor. We find that this dual structure has served us well so far, and we plan to continue with it.

work, has been an effective means of quality control on our projects: we have benefited from its supervision/advice.

The weakness could lie in our location, in remote Bangalore, far from the powerful policy decision making centres of Delhi. Actionaid, which has supported us in the past, has moved its office to Delhi, and its focus to the north of the country. Another weakness could lie in the fact that the majority of us are economists—a mix of other disciplines would have been useful for inter-disciplinary research. Also, the team was too small to make an impact in any area. There has also been the problem of our people leaving for better jobs—good for them, but creating a problem for the organisation. We have to ensure stability in our human resources.

The opportunities lie in the amount of work yet to be done where development is concerned—both in other panchayats as well as in urban areas. There are major policy debates on power reform, environmental conservation, regional imbalances, social sector improvements, institutional development and so on in which CBPS can play a useful role by contributing research based position papers. There was a need to extend from research to training and advocacy. We have to choose our work carefully.

And the threats could be internal: some of us from CBPS did not come early enough to this meeting!—a warning of laxity? Threats could be external: for example, the need to get recommendations from government departments in applying for prior permission under the revised FCRA rules.

It was noted however, that this could be an opportunity as well: it forced CBPS to think in terms of working along government priorities within its own mandate. Given the excellent relations with government bodies built up over the past few years, this should be treated positively.

This, and the background of work already done by CBPS, set the stage for discussion. Every one present took an active part, and for each one of them we are deeply grateful. So many busy people have come to this meeting to help us in this exercise! It is the learning from this session that is the focus of this note below.

The main points for our consideration on future work that emerged from the discussion are:

1. Be clear about your niche—no organisation can do all that is needed. Is CBPS a research body? Or an advocacy agency? Or a Training centre? Or something else? In our judgement, *we are a research agency*. Further, we are a research agency *in the field of policy*—its formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Our *focus is on developmental issues*—and *development is seen as a process of social transformation in an equitable way—equitable in terms of gender and generations.*

The work we do should be passed on to other agencies that can then take the task further. CBPS should not attempt working across the entire chain, but should be a strong part of that chain. This means working by

strong ethical norms; maintaining the best of academic standards, and being open to comment and criticism at all times<sup>12</sup>. A research agency must encourage different lines of thought and work with such differences effectively if it is to make a contribution.

2. After choosing your niche, co-operate with others. Choose the questions for research from interaction with and based on the experience of other agencies in the sector. For example, Community Health Cell in Bangalore is doing a lot of work on community health. They have found the district analysis of the health budget we have done useful. Much more such work is needed. It should be possible to co-operate with CHC in which their strengths in the area of health can be leveraged by CBPS who can work on the financial aspects of health—move beyond budgets to other things with CHC. This way, there will be *a purpose to research*. This would also build linkages to others works, exposing us to different thoughts and works.

3. The work done so far should find its way into training programmes in an appropriate way. CBPS may not be a training agency. But our results can be used by trainers, advocacy groups etc. An example will be to work with Search, ISST and others to reach out to the elected members of local bodies. Given its research expertise in budget matters, especially at the local level, we can help in the formation of new groups elsewhere that would take up such work. A *network* would be most useful. CBPS should think of how best this can be operationalised.

4. Some orientation sessions on budget analysis, for NGOs, officials at local levels and other people would be useful, even if CBPS does not go into training activity. Efforts to disseminate its work at different levels must be regularly undertaken. And this must include officials of the relevant government departments as well as others in the districts.

5. Fieldwork based research must not be given up, even if CBPS decides not to go in for survey kind of research. Where large survey data is required, it should be given over to agencies that specialise in data collection. But we must not lose touch with the local bodies at any time.

6. A budget information system/service would be most useful. A databank on budgets would be helpful. This would mean building on work already done to set up such a service. This work has ready partners—all the participants felt they could use such a service, especially if it was regularly updated. CBPS should think in terms of growing into such a local budget information service, starting with the state of Karnataka. Details of such a service could be worked out in consultation with donors.

7. CBPS has so far concentrated on rural areas. There is urgent need for not just budget analysis, but studies of municipal finances of bodies under the 74<sup>th</sup> amendment. Such bodies also have—and use, the power to tax. Some

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<sup>12</sup> Thelma Narayan drew our attention to the draft prepared by Cehat, Mumbai: "Ethics in Social Sciences and Health Research—Draft Code of Conduct" Economic and Political Weekly, February 19-26, 2000.



have even floated bonds on the market. Yet, studies of the finances of such bodies are few and far between. CBPS should begin work on urban municipal finances. The kind of work done in Dharwad should be taken up for these bodies, in a gradual manner. This could also be taken up with funding agencies.

8. A choice has to be made between studying more district budgets vs moving on to urban bodies. If there is a district partner, then that should not be given up. But urban bodies should not be neglected either. We should also maintain a national perspective. We must not become narrow minded by working only in one region or state. Productive links with other areas must be developed.

9. There is scope also to get into depth in selected sectors: environment, education, health, gender and so on. This extension should be in the nature of building on past work or on new opportunities that come up, especially in networking with others who have a strong base in a given line of activity.

Plans and programmes stemming from this brainstorming exercise should now be prepared and submitted to major donors and government bodies.

CBPS, in thinking of a sustained programme, has also to think of *the nature of funding required over this period*. We have so far been moving from project to project. This makes it difficult to build skills in people and retain those with high level skills. To keep capable young people in the organisation, it is essential that they find challenging work, but also that they are paid in accordance with normal academic norms. This meant that the pay scales should compare with universities or national institutions like IISc. It is not market rates of the corporate sector, but of academic institutions—taking into account all the long-term benefits that such institutes offer—that should be offered to research staff. The current policy of benchmarking salaries in CBPS to those at the Indian Institute of Science can continue—even if CBPS is not able to offer all the long-term benefits that such an organisation routinely provides. This long term programme should be a step in building CBPS into such an institution.

Efforts will have to be made to *gradually build a corpus that will reduce the uncertainty that prevails now*. Under the Societies Registration Act, CBPS cannot undertake any commercial or profitable activity. But some stability is required over the medium term. The Board of CBPS should look into this at once, with a long-term perspective. Unless this is done, the programme we are talking of may come to naught.

On this base, CBPS will work on its programme over the next three years. We hope to live up to the goodwill and encouragement that we received from our friends in this Workshop.

*Workshop on "Future Directions of Research in CBPS"*

*17<sup>th</sup> August, 2000, Hotel Harsha, Bangalore*

**I: 1<sup>st</sup> session: 9.30 AM-11: 30 AM**

**Chair: Dr N.C. B. Nath**

1. Welcome—President CBPS—Dr DK Subramanian
2. Work done so far—Dr Vinod Vyasulu
3. Work currently under way in CBPS: A Brief Presentation:
  - With the DPC, Kodagu—Anuradha
  - With PRIs and NRM—Manasi
  - In health budgets studies—Dr A. Indira
  - In the BWSSB masterplan project—Dr. Vinod Vyasulu
4. Open Discussion
5. Chairman's Comments

**Tea-break: 11.30-11.45 AM**

**II: 2<sup>nd</sup> session: 11.45-1.30 PM**

**Chair: Dr K.S. Krishnaswamy**

6. Directions for future work: A Discussion—Introduction-Dr Vinod Vyasulu
7. Discussion
8. Chairman's Comments
9. Vote of Thanks

**Lunch: 1.30--2.00 PM**

Invitees:

This is a list of people we are inviting. We hope all will attend!

**NGOs:**--GPC/FAIR [Dr N.C.B. Nath], IDPMS [Mr S Sadananda], ISST [Ms Meera], Search [Mr Stephen], MYRADA [Mr Fernandes], TIDE [Ms Svati Bhogle, PAC [Dr Sita Sekhar].

**Researchers:** Dr Inbanathan, Dr Vijayalakshmi, Dr Sivanna, Dr V.M Rao, Dr C Sen, Dr S. Shashikala, Dr Shanta Mohan, Dr T. Krishna Kumar, Dr Ramesh Tagat.

**Government:** Secretaries for Panchayati Raj [Shri M.R. Srinivasa Murthy], Planning [Shri Abhijit Dasgupta], Urban Development [Shri S Krishna Kumar]; Task force on Health and Family Welfare {Dr Sudarshan}, Chairman, BWSSB [Ms Usha Ganesh], Director, Watershed Programme [Shri Narasimha Raju], Chief Conservator of forests, Western Ghats [Shri Dilip Kumar].

**Funding Agencies:** Ford Foundation, Hivos, Plan International, SDC, Norad.

**CBPS:** Dr. D.K Subramanian, President, Dr Vinod Vyasulu, Director, Dr K.S. Krishnaswamy, Chair, Advisory Council, Dr M. Prahladachar, Fellow, Dr A. Indira, Consulting Economist, and R. Thyagarajan, Shashi Kumar, R. Kiran Kumar, S.B. Anuradha, S. Manasi—staff

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS WHO ATTENDED THE WORKSHOP  
ON 17<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2000.**

**VENUE : HOTEL HARSHA**

<b>Sl.</b>	<b>NAME AND ADDRESS</b>
1	Dr. N C B Nath-FAIR
2	Dr. K S Krishnaswamy Chairman CBPS Advisory Council
3	Dr Charles Geiger SDC
4	Mr. F. Stephen SEARCH
5	Dr. Sita Sekhar PAC
6	Dr. V. Vijay Lakshmi ISEC
7	Ms Meera ISST
8	Dr. N. Sivanna ISEC
9	Ms. Svathi Bhogle TIDE
10	Mr. Sadananda IDPMS
11	Dr. Asha Ramesh NIAS
12	Mr. Girish Menon Plan International
13	Dr. Krupa Researcher, Mysore
14	Dr. Ramesh Kanbargi CSD Bangalore
15	Dr. B. K. Anitha NIAS
16	Dr. S. Rajagopalan TIDE
17	Dr. Thelma Narayan CHC
18	Mr. D. Gurubasavanna, Planning department, GOK
19.	Dr. Renuka Vishwanathan, IAS, GOK
20	Mr. Govinda Raju K.—researcher Bangalore
21	Dr. Vinod Vyasulu CBPS
22.	Dr. Indira A. CBPS
23	Ms.Manasi CBPS
24	Mr. R. Kiran Kumar CBPS
25	Mr. Shashi Kumar CBPS
26	Mr. Thyagarajan CBPS
27	Ms. Anuradha CBPS

Subject: Where's the Media on the WTO?

Date: Thu, 18 Nov 1999 23:20:12 -0800 (PST)

From: Vinay Baidur <yanivbin@yahoo.com>

To: il-rti@ilban.ernet.in

More material on wto and media

Where's the Media on the WTO?

Peter Phillips, Project Censored

For three years representatives of the world's twenty-nine richest nations met secretly in France working towards an international agreement on investment policies. Known as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), it would have set in place a vast series of protections for foreign investment. It would have thrust the world economy much closer to a system where international corporate capital would hold free reign over the democratic values and socioeconomic needs of people. The MAI would have had devastating effects on a nation's legal, environmental, and cultural sovereignty. It would have forced countries to relax or nullify human, environmental and labor protections to attract investment and trade. Necessary measures such as food subsidies, control of land speculation, agrarian reform and health and environmental standards could have been challenged as "illegal" under the MAI.

The MAI talks in France broke up at the end of 1998 due to extensive objections from Canadian and European labor unions, environmental groups, consumer unions, and cultural organizations. The pros and cons of MAI were widely covered in the European and Canadian press. Canadian Public Broadcasting ran three national programs on MAI. Yet in the U.S. media scarcely a word on MAI was heard during that period. The few minor articles in the business sections and pack pages of the American papers failed to bring MAI to public consciousness, nor cover the negative aspects of the proposed treaty.

Trade agreements are fast becoming the globalization instruments of the "New World Order." Multinational corporations, are seeking a free economic reign in the world regardless of negative impacts on human populations and the environment. 500,000 U.S. jobs have been lost to The North American Free Trade Agreement. World Trade Organizations rulings in 1997 and 1998 weakened U.S. federal air quality standards and undermined our Endangered Species Act. Trade laws threaten negative effects on every family in the U.S.

Agenda setting for a new round of trade discussions is scheduled through the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle for November 30 to December 3. At stake is the establishment of the content of future trade talks for the next five years. Tens of thousands of union, environmental, and social justice activists are planning to assemble in opposition to the WTO

*Lib - WTO Resource File*

*RL*  
*24/11*

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meetings. Back on the agenda is MAI. Additionally, multinational corporations want to form global agreements on competition, whereby developing countries would be forbidden to give special support to domestic businesses, but instead be required to throw open their doors so their internal companies would have to compete openly with the huge multinationals.

Where is the U.S. media on these issues? Why haven't the pros and cons of the proposed WTO agenda been reviewed on the front pages of every newspaper in the U.S.? As the Seattle area gears up for some 5,000 WTO delegates and perhaps ten times as many activists, local media has had fairly extensive coverage on the upcoming events, but little on the issues. However, media throughout the rest of the U.S. has almost completely failed to cover the issues on this globally important event. Millions of American will be impacted by the agenda set late this Fall. We deserve to read and hear about the consequences of global trade agreements in our morning newspapers, and on radio and television nationwide. We cannot maintain a democratic process if the people are unaware of the issues.

Peter Phillips is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Sonoma State University and Director of Project Censored, a national media research group. For more information on the Seattle WTO talks, visit AlterNet's WTO site.  
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Vinay Baidur  
Coordinator  
CIVIC Bangalore

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Subject: N30 International Day of Action Against the WTO

Date: Thu, 18 Nov 1999 23:36:36 -0800 (PST)

From: Vinay Baidur <yanivbin@yahoo.com>

To: il-rti@ilban.ernet.in

N30 International Day of Action Against the WTO

Because this global threat demands a global response.

The World Trade Organization is a "union" of the largest corporations and most powerful nations in the world that uses solidarity between the rich to crush workers' rights, social well-being and the environment. The WTO member nations use their enforcement power on "free trade" agreements by collectively withholding their resources to enforce their will on the entire planet and over every national

government - thus creating the first undeniable global government in history. This corporate takeover is

not a conspiracy at all, actually it's just the way that capitalism works. For the rich, it works - for the poor, it makes them work.

Since the WTO was created in 1995 it has made over 100 judgements, all of which have been anti-worker, anti-environment, pro-maximum profit. Among these include demolition of a law pushed through by activists in Massachusetts, USA barring trade with human-rights abuser Burma, a resolution in favor of Chiquita banana that resulted in over 200,000 lost jobs in Latin America, and many more. Make no mistake, every worker in the world has been or will be impacted by the WTO.

The movement against globalized capitalism around the world has become increasingly popular, determined and militant each year. The first widely known action was the uprising of the poor in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994 against the North American Free Trade Agreement, a pact between the rich of

Mexico, Canada and the United States to bring down national borders for corporations while simultaneously reinforcing them for working people. Self-proclaimed Zapatistas declared revolution and

took up arms against corporate domination. Then in 1995, the WTO came into existence as a global version of NAFTA. In combination with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other corporate run "free trade" organizations, the heartless goons of global capitalism have rocked the planet - leaving nearly half of the world's economies in depression. And each year, in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, and now in 1999, militant nationwide and citywide strikes, occupations, and more have taken place all over the world to attempt to reclaim what has been lost to the corporate takeover of Earth.

Since 1995, militant actions have occurred in

*Library WTO-Resource file*

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Germany, Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, Nigeria, Ecuador,

Israel, England, Switzerland, Sweden, Australia, Canada, United States, and many other places.

Unfortunately, there has been nothing concrete that has connected all of these actions into a unit capable of changing things on a global scale.

The IWW is a global union that is one of many groups calling for N30. It is organized in such a way that

if a majority of the world's workers were organized into it, we could use our solidarity to globally

withhold our resources (our labor) from the rich - which would bring them to their knees more quickly than they would like to think. Then we could start calling the shots ourselves, and living our lives for us, rather than for the bosses of the world.

It is true that there are many roads to a truly free society. But before we can embark on them, a movement that will radicalize average working people - those who make this society run - must be built.

Here is your chance to build on what has already been started in that direction.

The International Day of Action on November 30, 1999 also known as N30, will take place in cities all over the world to shut down the WTO. Strikes, walkouts, pickets, occupations and more are currently being planned in cities all over this nation and the entire planet. N30 has been called for by the IWW, People's Global Action (founded by the Zapatistas) and many other groups who are organizing against

the WTO 3rd Ministerial Conference in Seattle, USA in November.

While actions are happening around the world, Seattle will undoubtedly be the epicenter of action against WTO. Right now, workers across the city of Seattle are organizing and agitating for a city-wide

walkout on N30 to meet downtown for a huge rally at the Kingdome, a mass march, direct actions, and civil disobedience. No less than 100,000 are expected. In addition, hundreds of people are planning on

making it physically impossible for WTO Trade Ministers to meet by completely shutting down Seattle's downtown area early in the morning of N30.

If you are interested in going to Seattle to take part in this historic day of action contact them at the

address below. But we really need you to help us here locally to build a city-wide response that is organized, militant, and serious about stopping this global race to the bottom. This is our chance - help us take it.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACT:  
Puget Sound IWW  
5215 Ballard NW Seattle, WA 98107

(206) 706-6250  
jason@iww.org  
<http://iww.org/>

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Let Our Resistance Be As  
Transnational As Capital!  
November 30th, 1999 - A Global Day of Action,  
Resistance, and Carnival Against the Global  
Capitalist System

Activists from diverse groups and movements  
around the world are discussing, networking and  
organising for an international day of action on  
November 30th. On this day, officials of 150  
governments will meet in Seattle for the 3rd  
conference of the World Trade Organisation  
(WTO), at which they will decide on new policies  
that will further escalate the exploitation of

our  
planet and its people by the global capitalist  
system. Thus, there will be attempts to push  
through a new version of the Multilateral  
Agreement on Investment (MAI), strengthen  
intellectual property rights, and further  
neoliberalization through a new round of free  
trade talks.

A coalition of radical activists has been formed

in  
Seattle to stage actions against the conference,  
and activist groups around the world are planning  
to converge on the city.

Also, the international Peoples Global Action  
(PGA) network and the IWW (Industrial Workers  
of the World) are planning actions against the  
WTO around the world. Meanwhile, various  
grassroots groups prepare to take action in their  
own parts of the world in recognition that the  
capitalist system, based on the exploitation of  
people, societies and the environment for the  
profit of a few, is the prime cause of present  
social and ecological troubles.

In view of these developments, we now call for  
sympathetic communities, grassroots  
groups, and individuals around the world to  
organise their own autonomous actions,  
protests, and carnivals against the capitalist  
system on November 30th.

Our simultaneous transformation of the  
capitalist social order around the world - in the  
streets, neighbourhoods, fields, factories,

offices,  
commercial centres, financial districts, and so

on-  
would contribute to the process of bringing  
separate struggles together and building  
alternative social and economic structures  
based on co-operation, ecological sustainability,  
and grassroots democracy.

This call is made in the spirit of continuing the  
process of building a strong, bold, and creative  
grassroots movement against the economic  
and political institutions of capitalism. For as

we  
realise that no issue is isolated, be it



exploitation

of workers, the peasant farmers going bankrupt, the indigenous peoples getting displaced by "development" programmes or our environment being destroyed, we also realise that we must act together and UNITE OUR STRUGGLES AGAINST the social, political, and economic institutions of the capitalist system. Only a strong and united movement of grassroots groups who struggle independent of these institutions and seek to effect change directly through their own autonomous action can dissolve their power and build a better social order based on grassroots organisation.

Our simultaneous occupation and transformation of economic centres around the globe on November 30th, and our preparations leading up to this, would be an essential contribution to the process of making local, national, and international connections. The day would bring different movements together in solidarity with one another and strengthen the mutual bonds of otherwise disparate groups - workers, the unemployed, students, trade unionists, peasants, the landless, fishers, women groups, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, peace activists, environmental activists, ecologists, and so on. This process could be continued through further global days of action in the future - Mayday 2000, for instance, has been pointed out as a perfect symbolic and real opportunity to escalate our resistance.

The present proposal of a November 30th global day of action follows from the success of the co-ordinated global day of action on June 18th this year, and is intended to expand on it in the same spirit. On that day, separate grassroots movements in over 30 countries on all continents worked together and joined forces against the global capitalist system. The day saw for instance marches by workers in Bangladesh and Pakistan; a fake trade fair by Uruguayan activists; thousands of people in a carnival in London's financial district; occupations and street parties in Spain, Italy, USA, and Canada; ten thousand people in Nigeria protesting the oil industry and imperialism; and, in Melbourne, a prominent politician hit with a cream pie and a logging multinational blockaded with dead wombats.

The November 30th global day of action would be organised in a non-hierarchical way, as a decentralized and informal network of autonomous groups that struggle for solidarity and co-operation while employing non-authoritarian, grassroots democratic forms of organisation. Each event or action would be organized autonomously by each group, while coalitions of various movements and groups could be formed at the local, regional, and national levels. A strategy

that may be useful at the local level is that various groups co-operate in creating a surrounding atmosphere of carnival and festivity as a setting for their various actions. Examples of conceivable actions are:

- street parties - strikes - handing out flyers -
- street theatre - pickets - demonstrations -
- occupations of offices - blockades and shutdowns
- building gardens - speeches -
- appropriation and disposal of luxury consumer goods - critical mass bike rides -
- banner hangings - sabotaging, wrecking, or interfering with capitalist infrastructure -
- carnivals - appropriating capitalist wealth and returning it to the working people -
- handing out free food - mock trade fairs -
- marches - music - dancing - solidarity actions
- declaring oneself independent from global capitalism and authoritarian governments -
- setting up grassroots' community councils and holding meetings outside city halls -
- setting up economic alternatives, like workers' co-operatives - offering no interest loans outside major banks - reclaiming space (streets, government land, office buildings, etc.) for living, playing, etc. - free distribution of community controlled newspapers

Your initiative and participation, no matter how small, are crucial to the success of the November 30th day of action in your location. This proposal needs to be spread and discussed, perhaps translated; meetings need to be organised; events planned; leaflets printed and distributed; funds raised; laughter and conversation shared.

If you, or your group, plan actions on November 30th, please let others know as soon as possible, to FACILITATE NETWORKING and communication, as well as International media efforts.

Please send your contact information to:  
n30contacts@angelfire.com

Your contact information may be included in an international contacts list. The more detailed information you send (land address, phone number, fax number, email address), the better it is, but, for your own security, please do not include any contact information that you prefer not to be made public.

We expect to communicate internationally primarily by email, and so encourage all groups and individuals who plan to take action to subscribe to suitable mailing lists, and in general make efforts to stay in touch through this and other means. There is a list of available mailing lists in the appendix below. Please join one, and share your thoughts and plans with the rest of us.

This proposal must be translated into as many languages as possible, and as soon

as possible, since the availability of translations will very much affect our chances of spreading it at a truly global level. If you wish to translate it into some language, please start as soon as possible, and let the rest of us know that you are doing it. Write N30contacts@angelfire.com with offers or requests for translations.

Please forward this proposal to appropriate lists and to people who will be interested, reproduce it and circulate, put it on a web site, and most importantly, act.

November 30 Global Day Of Action Collective  
N30 c/o IWW  
5215 Ballard NW  
Seattle, WA. 98107  
(206)706-6250  
<http://go.to/n30>

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Vinay Baindur  
Coordinator  
CIVIC Bangalore

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**Subject: A Brief Comment/Whats Happening in Seattle and Why**

**Date:** Thu, 02 Dec 1999 07:49:35 PST

**From:** "Vinay Baidur" <v\_baidur@hotmail.com>

**To:** il-rti@ilban.ernet.in, ilnuke@ilbom.ernet.in

A Brief Comment-What's Happening in Seattle and Why  
By Michael Albert

Ballpark 50-100,000 demonstrators assembled in Seattle. They are farmers and industrial workers, unionists and environmentalists, young and old, men and women, from the U.S. and from the third world, and they are angry and their target is the WTO, and thus also oppressive world trade, and thus also, just a minor step beyond, the market system and capitalism itself. They are there to raise social costs to elites by their actions on the scene and by the repercussions for continuing organizing around the world (75,000 today demonstrated in France, for example) to curtail or better to close down the WTO agenda.

So what do you do if you are in charge of the City and have Clinton due in town imminently and the whole world, literally, watching? What's the elite strategy?

(1) You can sit back and be nice and allow the demonstrators to move freely and make their points and develop confidence and grow in number and size and, most important, in their mutual solidarity, with more people arriving every hour, and education and outreach blossoming each day.

Or (2) you can try and break the thing up, quickly, even if at great risk should you fail.

>From early reports it seems that the powers that be decided that to leave hands off was a recipe for sure disaster. They likely envisioned the specter of growing numbers, growing willingness to do civil disobedience, and worst of all, growing solidarity between diverse sectors and outreach to new constituencies, and realized that throughout the country and world this would send a message that dissent can restrain the state. They didn't like that picture.

Their other option - the usual favorite choice of U.S. elites - is to try to bust up opposition by using as much force as they can get away with. The idea in this case is to send an immediate message that being in Seattle as a demonstrator means braving gas, truncheons, and rubber bullets, at least. The police and media try to together get the less mobile and less militant demonstrators to leave, depressed or angry. Then the thinned ranks can be herded away from the WTO buildings and arrested or banished.

Judging by early reports I'm guessing that's the elite plan. The tactics are very typical - intimidating costumes, quick and eager but still for the moment limited violence, curfews, provocations to get demonstrator (or town citizen) actions that one can complain are the source of the repression. Provoke a little violence, repress it, in due course, with a lot...

The demonstrator reaction will hopefully be not to fracture but instead to generate more and more organization, discipline, and steadfast solidarity and militance in marching, and, when need be, in committing non-violent civil disobedience.

What will happen?

No one can possibly know, of course. But if you are in Seattle I think the

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*Jo*

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thing to try to affect is whether Seattle's citizens -- its cab drivers, its bus drivers, its small shop keepers, its folks on the street -- become sympathetic to the demonstrators or even outright supportive of them, and whether the union and other more mainstream demonstrators align with the street demonstrations and continuing marches and rallies, telling the Seattle police that their opposition is workers like themselves, and angry ones at that. This is already an important event. If alliance and solidarity can be forged, it will be historic.

Here are some sites where you can get excellent up to the minute information to pass along to others to build support for the demonstrators and opposition fo the WTO:

ZNet's Global/WTO Watch -- Direct from the scene reports and analysis--plus contextual reports and in depth materials from Z Magazine's writers and beyond--and you can post your own reports, as well:  
<http://www.zmag.org/CrisesCurEvts/Globalism/GlobalEcon.htm>

The Seattle Indy News Center -- on the ground, on the scene, with audio, video, and print reports: <http://www.indymedia.org/>

Democracy Now -- Amy Goodman reports with noted guests on the scene on events in Seattle and their meaning:  
<http://www.webactive.com/pacifica/demnow.html>

World Trade Watch Radio -- Live reports from Seattle with Julie Light and Norman Solomon and their guests:  
<http://www.webactive.com/pacifica/demnow.html>

Global Exchange's Democratize the Global Economy -- Analysis and context:  
<http://www.globalexchange.org/>

Corporate Watch's WTO Coverage -- Analysis of corporations and their role in society focused on the WTO:  
<http://www.corpwatch.org/feature/index.html>

Food First -- Food politics in general and regarding the WTO:  
<http://www.foodfirst.org/>

The Preamble Center: A research project into the U.S. economy...with special coverage of the WTO: <http://www.preamble.org/>

Legal Help for Seattle Demonstrators: Information and connections:  
<http://www.nlg.org/wto/>

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# SAHAYAK

## Species in Partnership

Traditional societies across the globe relate to biodiversity through the concept of **SAHAYAK** -- of species in partnership with one another. Plants are not merely food for humans, but also the source of medicines. This is in total contrast with the emerging world view of Intellectual Property Rights which totally deny the intrinsic worth of life forms, and which has led to the near extinction of many traditional species of plants. The only places where these these species may still be found are the farms of marginal farmers and herbal gardens of traditional healers, for whom traditional varieties mean survival.

**SAHAYAK - Species in Partnership**, jointly produced by the Navdanya programme of the Research Foundation and South View Productions, examines the relationship between the peasant, the herbalist and biodiversity that makes possible conservation as a way of life.

*For more information and copies, contact*

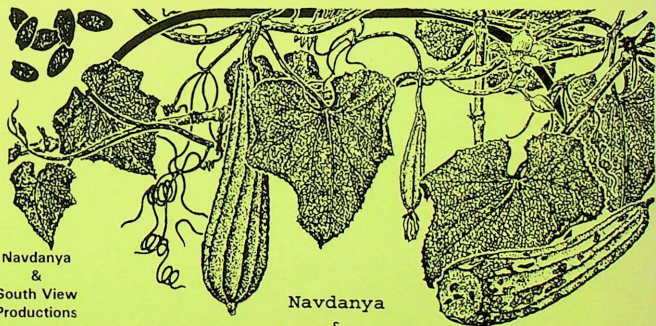
The Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, A 60 Hauz Khas, New Delhi 110 016, India.

# SAHAYAK

Species in Partnership

# SAHAYAK

## Species in Partnership



Navdanya  
&  
South View  
Productions

Navdanya  
&  
South View Productions

## PATENT PENDING



PATENT PENDING unfolds the conflicts between the two world views - that of traditional Third World farmers, mostly women, for whom agriculture is a way of life, and that of transnational corporations trading in seed.

The film, through the experiences of three women farmers, highlights how Seed Satyagraha - a spontaneous non-violent movement of Indian farmers to protect their rights over seeds - is an intrinsic part of the life of the Indian farmer.

PATENT PENDING also documents the Patent Yatra of August 15 1993, where farmers in every village of the state of Karnataka vowed to keep their plant and livestock diversity in the commons.

*For information and copies, contact*

Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, A 60 Hauz Khas, New Delhi 110 016, India.

## PATENT PENDING



## PATENT PENDING

Navdanya  
&  
South View  
Productions

Navdanya  
&  
South View Productions

# SEED WARS

## The Indian Farmers Fight Against IPRs in Agriculture

SEED WARS is the first and only documentary record of the historic struggle of the Indian farmers against patents on seeds and plants as a result of the Uruguay Round of GATT Negotiations. The farmers launched the *Seed Satyagraha* on the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, October 2, 1992.

The video also explores the relationship between transnational agribusiness which controls the world trade in food and the loss of food security. It also for the first time documents the *Action against Cargill* where the irate farmers of Karnataka demolished the Cargill factor.

SEED WARS records all the subsequent major rallies and actions taken by the farmers in protest against the inclusion of Agriculture and IPRs in GATT.

*For information and copies, contact*

Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, A 60 Hauz Khas, New Delhi 110 016, India.

The Indian farmers' fight against IPRs in agriculture

SEED WARS

# SEED WARS

## The Indian farmers' fight against IPRs in agriculture

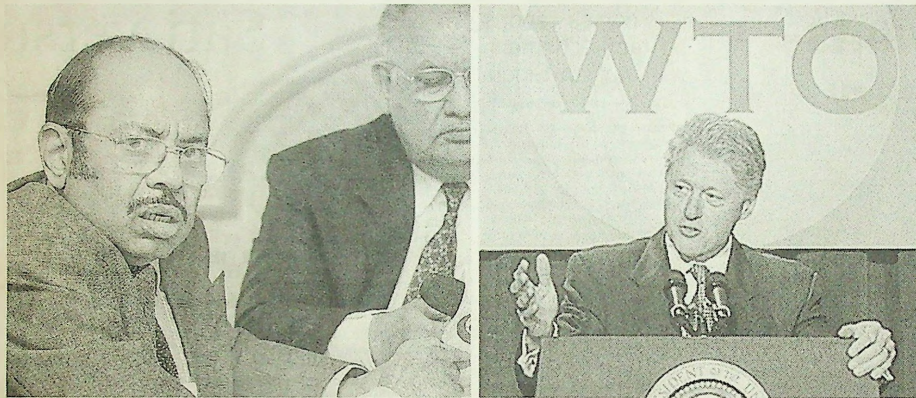


Produced by

Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha & Third World Network (India)

KRRS & Third World Network (India)





The Union Minister for Commerce and Trade, Mr. Murasoli Maran, addressing a press conference in downtown Seattle on Wednesday. (Right): The U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, speaking at a luncheon hosted in honour of the Trade Ministers attending the WTO meet in Seattle on Wednesday. AP

## The answer is not in avoiding labour issues: Clinton

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

SEATTLE, DEC. 2. Calling for the launch of a new World Trade Organisation Round that would be about jobs, development and the quality of life, the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, made yet another pitch for core labour standards and work to protect and improve the environment.

In an address to the Ministers attending the Third Ministerial of the WTO here, Mr. Clinton argued that the WTO must make sure that open trade respected core labour standards that were essential to not only worker rights but also human rights. "To deny the importance of these issues in a global economy is to deny the dignity of work — the belief that honest labour fairly compensated gives meaning and structure to our lives", the President noted.

"Acknowledging that many in the developing world had reservations when the United States brought labour concerns into the trade debate, Mr. Clinton argued that the answer to this was not to avoid the labour issue "... not when there's still child labour all over the world; not when there were still oppressive labour practices all over the world; not when there is still evidence in countries that ordinary people were not benefiting from this".

"The answer is not just to throw away the issue. The answer is to write rules in such a way that people in our position, the wealthier countries, can't do that, can't use this as an instrument of protectionism. We can find a way to do this", Mr. Clinton said.

The President said that ordinary people de-

serve basic and fundamental decency and that the progress of global trade should reflect also in their own lives. "I do not want the United States or any other country, now or later, to be able to use this as a shield for protectionism", he said.

On the issue of the environment, the U.S. was committed to finding solutions that were "win-win" and ones that benefited both the economy and the environment. Mr. Clinton said that some believed that his concern and that of the United States about the environment was another way to somehow keep the developing countries down.

"That is not true. There are basically two great clusters of environmental issues facing the world today. First, there are the local issues faced primarily by the developing nations: healthy water systems and sewer systems; systems to restrict soil erosion and to otherwise promote the public health... But the real issue that affects us all, that prompts my insistence that we put this issue on the agenda, is global warming and the related issue of the loss of species in the world as a consequence of global warming", Mr. Clinton argued.

"I do not believe that the United States has the right to ask India or Pakistan or China or any other country to give up economic growth. But I do believe that all of us can responsibly say, if you can grow at the same rate without doing what we did — that is fouling the environment and then cleaning it up... It is not just a national issue. If you foul the atmosphere, and then you later clean it up, the

greenhouse gases are still up there, and they'll be there for 100 years, warming the climate", Mr. Clinton said.

The U.S. did not have the right to ask anybody to give up economic growth, but it did have a right to say, "if we're prepared to help you finance a different path to growth... that your growth will be faster, not smaller, that you'll have more good jobs, more new technology, a broader base for your economy — then I believe we ought to have those kind of environmental standards", Mr. Clinton observed.

Mr. Clinton came to Seattle at a time when the city was under virtual siege by anti-WTO protesters with a small minority of the demonstrators resorting to violence and destruction of property. In condemning the violence, Mr. Clinton took the opportunity to make the point that it was imperative that the WTO become more open and accessible. There were people outside the meeting rooms who were demanding a say in the emerging scheme of things quite unlike the past five decades when decisions were largely "the province" of trade ministers, the heads of government and business interests. Mr. Clinton said.

### Has lunch with Maran

Prior to his address, Mr. Clinton had lunch with the Trade and Commerce Ministers at a prominent downtown hotel. Seated in his table, among others, were the WTO Director-General, Mr. Michael Moore, the U.S. Trade Representative, Ms. Charlene Barshevsky and India's Commerce Minister, Mr. Murasoli Maran.

## Protests in Seattle for second day

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

SEATTLE, DEC. 2. Defiant demonstrators forced the authorities in Seattle to clamp curfew for the second day in a row as protesters tried to break police cordons in different parts of the city in the afternoon especially in and around the hotel where the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, is staying.

"We're going to extend the curfew another night; same rules, same borders. Expect to be stopped if you're engaging in unlawful conduct. You should expect to be arrested", said the Mayor of the City, Mr. Paul Schell, at a news conference at the Convention Centre on Wednesday night.

The Seattle Police, which thought it had the situation much under control on Wednesday morning and had thought they had the city "back", were somewhat surprised at the sudden and quick turn of developments. With the President in his hotel room, the police were resorting to pepper gas and teargas to break up small bands of demonstrators trying to force their way through the cordon. Mr. Clinton leaves Seattle on Thursday.

The confrontation with the protesters started after the President addressed the Trade Ministers at a downtown Hotel. Security in and around the venue was extremely tight, but a few blocks down the demonstrators had started taunting the authorities. Only this time round, the reaction

was much different and on a swifter footing. Caught flatfooted by the depth of the demonstrations on Tuesday, which forced the cancellation of the inaugural ceremonies of the World Trade Organisation, the Seattle police were out in strength this morning cordoning off the downtown and not letting people enter the streets unless they had valid WTO identifications or had genuine business in the area. Police also resorted to mass and swift arrests of those trying to defy the orders.

By and large, the situation was much different the day following the largescale incidents of violence, including sporadic incidents of looting commercial establishments. The Mayor referred to Tuesday's incidents not as a battle but as a "triumph of free speech" and took all the blame for what had happened. In all, fewer than 70 persons were arrested on the opening day of the Third Ministerial of the World Trade Organisation.

Today the situation was different in the sense that after clearing the streets in the course of a 12 hour curfew, the Seattle police were out in a major show of force assisted by the National Guard Units that had been called in. The National Guards were not involved in any riot control, but they merely provided the second line of defence. In sharp contrast to the number of people arrested on Tuesday, Wednesday's tally was in the neighbourhood of 500.

## CPI(M)'s letter to Maran

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, DEC. 2. The CPI(M) has said that India should concentrate on mobilising the "third world" in favour of its stand on the issues being negotiated at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) conference in Seattle.

"We need not diffuse our effort by trying to reach many countries but concentrate on countries like Brazil, Mexico, Argentine, South Africa and ASEAN while keeping the South Asian neighbours firmly with us. Unlike last time, in 1994, we should not throw in the towel even before the battle begins," the party's deputy leader in the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Biplob Dasgupta,

has said in a letter to the Commerce Minister, Mr. Murasoli Maran, who is leading the Indian delegation to Seattle.

Dr. Dasgupta, who is the CPI(M)'s nominee on the delegation, wrote the letter on the eve of Mr. Maran's departure for Seattle. It sets out the CPI(M)'s position on key issues relating to the WTO regime. It opposes linking of trade with labour and environmental issues; says that ways should be devised to avoid patent on life forms; demands rethinking on the issue of subsidy; and insists on multilateral settlement of trade disputes and the scrapping of Super 301.

# Proposal for biotechnology agenda at WTO

By C. Rammanohar Reddy

SEATTLE, DEC. 2. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) moved a step closer to taking a decision on yet another controversial proposal when the European Union on Tuesday announced its support for a suggestion to establish a working group to study the adequacy and effectiveness of the existing rules on trade in biotechnology products.

Innocuous as the working group proposal may seem, if the Seattle conference does decide to take up the issue for study it will undermine the efforts of a number of developing countries to institute stricter regulations on trade in these products through a United Nations protocol.

The developing countries, including India, have opposed the proposal, which until this week enjoyed the support of Canada, Japan and the U.S. With the E.U., which has seen the most public protests about food products with genetically-modified organisms (GMOs), giving up its earlier opposition, the pressure on the developing countries to agree to the working group will now grow.

At a time when the U.S. suggestion for a working group on another area — the links between labour and trade — is dividing the WTO, the biotechnology suggestion may not seem very controversial. But as the biotechnology industry grows rapidly, this could become the issue of the future.

Domestic production and sale of GMO foods have become a matter of public concern in west Europe and it is only a question of time before these concerns spill over into the trade of these products between countries.

The WTO has already seen its first controversy in this area in the high-profile dispute over the E.U.'s ban on U.S. exports of beef from cattle injected with growth hormones.

As there is public anxiety about GMO food and since scientific opinion too is divided about its safety, there are moves to regulate the trade in these

products. The developing countries, many of whom do not have the scientific capability to test and evaluate the safety of such products, have argued in this context that it was better to take a precautionary approach in regulation.

The "precautionary principle" was contained in the draft Biosafety Protocol that was negotiated earlier this year under the U.N. Convention on Bio-Diversity (CBD).

The centrepiece of the Biosafety Protocol was an "advance information and approval" system under which producers would need to obtain prior clearance from the authorities in the destination markets before they exported any products. This is seen as the best way to regulate shipments across national borders of products which may have implications on public health.

This attempt at regulation has so far not received the endorsement of all countries, since some of them, led by Canada and Argentina, have taken the position that mere notification of these products on the Internet would be adequate.

While the Biosafety Protocol remains in a limbo, the U.S., which has not signed the CBD, has argued at the WTO that what were needed for biotechnology products were "transparent, predictable and timely" regulatory processes.

This would take regulation in the opposite direction of the "advance information and approval" system proposed in the U.N. protocol. As the U.S. is the leader in biotechnology, it is obviously interested in less stringent regulation of trade.

If the working group proposal, which also enjoys the support of some large developing countries such as Argentina, goes through, then like most working groups in the past it will end up in negotiations on new WTO rules. And since the countries which have blocked the Biosafety Protocol are also the ones which have made the suggestion for a WTO study of the rules for trade in biotechnology products, the agenda for future negotiation will very much revolve around less looser regulation of trade.

# WTO should address labour concerns: Clinton

By C. Rammanohar Reddy

SEATTLE, DEC. 2. On the second day of the ministerial conference of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in a city which continues to look like a battle-zone, the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, reiterated the U.S. demands that the WTO take into account concerns about labour and environment as well as open up the trade body to greater participation by non-governmental organisations. In a speech to the Ministers attending the conference, Mr. Clinton said that while he condemned the violence by a small group, he "welcomed" the questioning of the WTO by the demonstrators in Seattle.

Taking legitimacy for the official U.S. position from a selective interpretation of the public protests, Mr. Clinton has raised the stakes at the WTO conference which now looks even more divided than it was at the beginning of the week. Mr. Clinton, who spoke about labour standards at a luncheon meeting in a hotel where the staff are not unionised, offered some sops to the developing countries in the form of a less rigorous application of the WTO agreement on patents on HIV/AIDS medicines, more technical assistance for implementing trade agreements and the promise of duty-free access to exports from the Least Developed Countries.

But Mr. Clinton and his administration have seen to it that the labour issue, from being one

## U.S. bans child labour

SEATTLE, DEC. 2. The U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, today signed an international treaty to ban child labour, making the United States the first major industrialised country to ratify the document.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention on elimination of the worst forms of child labour protects children under 18 from slavery and similar practices, prostitution and pornography, illicit activities such as drug production and trafficking, and work likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

"We give them back the most precious gift in life — their childhood," Mr. Clinton signed the convention while visiting the World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations in Seattle. — DPA

of the many controversies, has become the most divisive and controversial one. With Mr. Clinton adding his voice to that of the demonstrators demanding that the WTO intervene in the issue of working conditions of labour in-



A gun-wielding police officer kicks an anti-WTO protester near the hotel where the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, is staying in Seattle.

volved in the export industries of the developing countries, much of the next two days will be taken up in trying to bridge the steadfast positions on both sides — the U.S. and the European Union, on one side, and most of the developing countries, on the other.

Meanwhile, meetings continue in the centre of a city which, with policemen in riot gear at all corners and empty streets, hardly looks like the downtown of a thriving centre of commerce and industry. Shops and offices around the convention centre were closed, there was no traffic and the streets were empty. However, the demonstrators were far fewer today. There were many more policemen than demonstrators, with the police showing a greater edginess than yesterday. More arrests were made and more teargas canisters fired — at times for no reason other than nervousness.

In the negotiations themselves, there is no sign as yet of a change in the official and openly-stated positions of the member-countries on all outstanding issues. The WTO members have reiterated their positions on the four committees discussing those matters. At the end of the first day of formal meetings, the committees put out texts which either remained "bracketed" (showing a difference of opinion) or merely summarised individual positions on the implementation issues, agricul-

ture, market access and the new issues of investment and competition policies. The Union Minister for Commerce, Mr. Murasoli Maran, said at a briefing today that there was no substantial progress in resolving the outstanding issues.

The E.U. has tried to take control of the agenda by putting together, along with Japan, South Korea and Switzerland, an alternative ministerial declaration which attempts to enlist developing country support by going further than the U.S. has been willing to in addressing the problems faced by the developing countries in the implementation of the existing WTO agreements. Of course, the price of support for the E.U. is an all-encompassing round of negotiations which would include industrial tariffs, investment, and competition policies. Though India has made the implementation issues the centre of its negotiating position, there is no indication of support for the E.U.'s draft text. Indian officials would only say that the E.U.'s position was an evolving one and that the draft which would be negotiated was the "official" one put together last month in Geneva by the Chairman of the General Council of the WTO.

Protest for second day, Proposal for biotechnology agenda: Page 14

# WTO: what next?

By C. Rammanohar Reddy

*If the success of negotiations is to be measured in terms of maximising benefits and minimising losses, then while the developing countries left Seattle by minimising losses they also left without any gains whatsoever.*

**H**ISTORIC AND 'fiasco.' Both words have been used to describe the outcome of the third Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organisation in Seattle last week. The conference was a historic one if the failure to agree on an agenda for future trade negotiations is interpreted as a victory for those who were able to stonewall an attempt to impose a particular plan of action on the WTO. The meeting was a fiasco if the collapse of talks is interpreted as a setback for world trade.

The Seattle meeting was not the first conference of the Geneva-based trade body to end in a failure. In its earlier incarnation as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, there have been three other ministerial meetings since the early Eighties which ended in a complete breakdown of negotiations — in 1982, 1988 and 1990. At the time all of them were major events. The meetings in Montreal in 1988 and Brussels in 1990 were held to review the progress of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. But failure at those meetings was not a fiasco. They only delayed an agreement which was finally concluded in 1993.

Last week's meeting bears a closer resemblance to the 1982 ministerial meeting in Geneva. In that year too Ministers from the member-governments met to decide on an agenda for trade negotiations, but had to give up because the differences were beyond resolution. It was another four years before another meeting was held in Punta del Este in Uruguay and an agreement was reached there to launch what was to become the controversial Uruguay Round that took seven years to complete.

However, the resemblance between 1982 and 1999 is more superficial than real. The 1982 conference at least ended in an agreement to begin a work programme on a number of subjects, which paved the way for the 1986 consensus at Punta del Este. In Seattle, the conference ended in a complete shambles. There was not even the fig leaf of a brief ministerial communiqué reiterating the faith of governments in the WTO to cover up the collapse of the talks.

There were two other major features of

the Seattle meeting which make it stand apart from the conference in Geneva close to two decades ago. First, in Seattle there were innumerable groups (governments, business interests and non-governmental organisations) trying to influence the outcome of a meeting which as it is had just too many items on the agenda. In the past, the only participants were governments and some business interests. And the agenda was usually more concise and focussed. Second, for the first time the host country which also happened to be the world's richest nation and the biggest trading power did all that it

could, wantonly or unconsciously, to sabotage a ministerial meeting. When the third ministerial meeting first started falling apart in the wake of demonstrations it was difficult to believe allegations that the U.S. is not actively encouraging the protests, was acting in benign neglect. But in the days since the conference ended in a failure, everything points to a U.S. disinterest in a successful outcome. The President, Mr. Bill Clinton, with all his political acumen, must surely have known that he was sabotaging the conference when he timed his call for labour-related trade sanctions for the morning that formal negotiations were to begin. No one — no government, no official, no business group or trade union — had ever before used the word "sanctions" in the trade-labour debate. It is a frightening thought that Prof. Jagdish Bhagwati may well be true with his allegations in *The Washington Post* earlier this week that Mr. Clinton had a cynical approach to the WTO meeting. The U.S. President kept U.S. business happy with the trade agreement with China in early November and kept U.S. labour — the traditional supporters of the Democrat Party — happy by killing the Seattle conference.

One may never fully know what happened in Seattle. But the big question now

is what next of the agenda for the next round of trade liberalisation? More importantly, what next for the WTO as an institution itself?

At a more mundane level, the WTO Secretariat can be expected to begin consultations early next year to bridge the differences between the rich and the poor countries and among the rich countries on the Seattle agenda. However, nothing will happen before the U.S. presidential elections late next year since the European Union and the other members of the WTO

do not know that there is no point in reaching an agreement with an administration that is only serving time.

Yet, when discussions begin afresh, the controversial issues of labour and environment are bound to return. It is a sad thought that NGO activism has done most to highlight issues peripheral to the WTO, while the more important shortcomings have been ignored.

In the new tussle that will begin later in Geneva, the developing countries can buy some time as long as the U.S. and the E.U. are unable to end their differences on the liberalisation of trade in agriculture. But the failure of the governments of the developed countries and some NGOs in Seattle to bring environment and labour more firmly into the domain of the WTO does not mean that they have been effectively dumped. Pressure will build up again from both quarters to include these 'non-trade issues'. Similarly, there will be a new momentum to take up negotiations on global agreements on a number of 'new issues' — investment, competition policies, biotechnology, government procurement, electronic commerce, and many other such issues.

However, incomplete as the success of the developing countries in Seattle was, a larger two-fold message has been sent out

from the meeting that failed. One, even if developing countries differ on specific issues they can make a difference if even a few of them stand firm — as they did at the WTO conference on the labour issue. Two, both small and large developing countries will no longer countenance decisions taken behind closed doors by a group of select countries. From the stand that they took at the Seattle meeting, these countries gave the lie to the argument that countries with an insignificant share of world trade simply have no say in the decision-making.

Clearly, then, if the WTO were to become a more representative world organisation, it has to address two major issues. First, just because the WTO has been vested with the power to enforce decisions, it should not become the instrument for redressal of all manner of Western concerns like the use of child labour or the death of turtles. It should confine itself to dealing with trade. Second, unless the WTO institutes a more transparent and participatory decision-making process it is in danger of losing its legitimacy entirely. Both issues demand more action by the developed countries than the developing nations. Yet, it is the very future of the WTO that is at stake.

Finally, the only reason that India and other developing countries have to feel satisfied about the collapse in Seattle is that the inclusion of the non-trade and new trade issues on the negotiating agenda has been stalled. If the success of negotiations is to be measured in terms of maximising benefits and minimising losses, then while the developing countries left Seattle by minimising losses they also left without any gains whatsoever.

The collapse of the talks has meant that the problems they identified in the existing WTO agreements — on patents, anti-dumping duties, subsidies, trade and textiles, etc. — are yet to be rectified. These were all potential benefits. Moreover, new forms of protectionism in the developed countries like the setting of opaque and high product standards could have been tackled in future negotiations. But for now they are on the backburner. All told, Seattle is only the beginning of the road towards turning the WTO into a more responsive and equitable organisation.

# Taking Seattle resistance seriously

By Balakrishnan Rajagopal

**S**EVERAL REASONS are being adduced for the collapse of the recent Seattle WTO talks: the intransigence of the Europeans in the agricultural sector, the narrow focus of the Japanese on U.S. anti-dumping laws, the rejection of non-trade related concerns by the developing countries and, above all, the ham-handedness and arrogance of the U.S. Mentioned in passing are the public street protests in Seattle. Whether or not the Seattle protests were "responsible" for the failure of the WTO talks, dismissing them too quickly blinds us to the substantive issues that they have put on the world's agenda. These issues raise deeply troubling questions about the future of democracy, the accountability of international organisations and the very meaning of "development" that free trade is intended to promote.

This unprecedented popular backlash has built up at least over the last decade against the World Trade Organisation and the global trading regime that it promotes, in the form of a potent global movement of Northern and Southern NGOs, students, farmers, women and other activists. This "Seattle resistance" was quickly dismissed in the West as a misguided and fringe "disruption" that blinds us to the real long-term benefits of free trade. To the extent that the protests were reported in the media, the focus was more on the tactics of confrontation — such as skyscraper climbing and use of tear gas — and very little on the substantive issues that the protesters were articulating. On the other hand, many developing countries and their sympathisers took the view that this protest is a typical example of well-intentioned efforts orchestrated by mainly Northern NGOs that play into the hands of Western negotiators who exploit environmental and labour issues to deprive them of their comparative advantage in trade. Both these positions contain grains of truth, but they are to a large extent inaccurate and based on several myths, half-truths and exaggerations, which must be exposed in order to acknowledge the seriousness of the challenges the Seattle resistance poses to the world trading system.

Myth 1: The Seattle resistance is a fringe phenomenon, generated by Northern

NGOs and unions like AFL-CIO; the popular resistance seen in Seattle is neither recent, fringe, nor generated exclusively by Northern NGOs or unions. Indeed, thousands of people around the world, including farmers, fisherfolk, women, indigenous people and other groups from developing countries have been protesting against the global trading regime for at least a decade now. The resistance has the support of millions of people in developing countries. This is hardly the first time that the WTO has faced such global protest: thousands of activists have descended upon its offices in Geneva as well as the World Economic For-

*The most crucial need is to recognise the Seattle resistance as the voice of millions of those who lose out in the trading game.*

um in Davos in recent years. The protests have been considered such a threat by the world trading class, that vigorous police action has been used to break them up in Geneva in recent times.

Myth 2: Most people in the world want WTO-style free trade: Providing fodder for the first myth is a second one: that compared to "50,000 protesters," "billions," of people want the free-trade policies recommended by the WTO. Mr. Mike Moore, head of the WTO, cites the pending entry of China as proof of this. This is at best an unproved assertion with no existing empirical proof, for example, through democratically-determined views of the majority. At worst, it confuses states with people, takes the views of a handful of policy-makers to be representative of the views of the majority and thereby entirely ignores the importance of democracy in the world.

Myth 3: Free trade is an end in itself: The purists of free trade in Seattle — from WTO bureaucrats to international lawyers to bio-tech lobby groups — made the claim that the Seattle protests overlook the long term benefits of free trade. They suggested that, despite its costs, free trade will eventually lift everyone's economic status and even introduce freedoms and democracy. This is a powerful argument since there is considerable evidence that free trade pol-

icies do contribute significantly to economic growth and prosperity. But it is not true that this automatically results from free trade per se. Rather, strong government actions are necessary to convert the economic opportunities created by free trade into real improvements to the well-being of all citizens. In other words, free trade is not an end in itself, but means to an end.

Myth 4: Anti-WTO protests are anti-poor. This is a common criticism, especially in developing countries and even among some on the Left. According to this, an expansion of free trade is supposed to bene-

fit poor people in developing countries in sectors such as garments or agricultural products in which these countries have a comparative advantage over developed countries. Therefore, the anti-WTO protests must be anti-poor. This myth is unfounded for several reasons. First, it unfairly conflates anti-WTO protests with anti-trade protesters and reduces all the protesters to the status of wacky isolationists. Second, while the WTO regime has helped in dismantling very discriminatory legal regimes — such as the Multi-Fibre Agreement which imposed quotas on how much can be exported by developing countries — it has also remained largely irrelevant to the real needs of developing countries so far. Third, the sectors where the developing countries are supposed to have a comparative advantage are precisely those sectors where one finds the maximum amount of exclusionary practices, exploitation and repression. The Seattle protests reminded us of the underside of the global trading regime. Far from being anti-poor, they were the protests of the poor.

Myth 5: The protests overestimate the power of the WTO: One common belief among those who were critical of the Seattle resistance was that they were an overkill. The WTO, it has been contended, is not some power-hungry leviathan, but an

international organisation that depends on the sovereignty of member-states, which means that the states retain the final word on enforcement. Therefore, the belief goes, the Seattle resistance aims at a phantasmic target. One can take issue with this belief on at least three grounds. First, the Seattle resistance was not simply aimed at the WTO, but at the way in which the global trading regime is challenging democratic accountability systems and cultural survival. To see it as simply an anti-WTO protest is to reduce it to crude anti-internationalism. Second, many critics often stress the horizontal, sovereignty-dependent enforcement mechanisms of the WTO as proof that states are still in charge. But this begs the question: whose sovereignty? It is a trite but undeniable fact that the sovereignty of developing countries is less weighty than the sovereignty of developed ones. The latter are simply able to do far more with their sovereignty than the former. This translates into less flexibility and bargaining power on the part of developing countries vis-a-vis WTO decisions and a consequent compulsion for concessions and a consequent system of greater compliance. Third, the serious question of global trading rules raises serious questions about the legitimacy of the process that generates the norms and institutions which underpin them.

Dismissing the Seattle resistance as an aberration or misguided do-goodism is a serious mistake. The world needs universal rules for trading and institutions to administer them. But to be legitimate, they must result from the democratic processes need to be applicable to the West as well and to be applicable to standards. Protectionism without doubt in agriculture — as in the Florida orange market — is hardly compatible with the purist free trade theory that the West preaches to developing countries. What in the end, the most crucial need is to recognise the Seattle resistance as the voice of millions of those who lose out in the trading game. It is upon this recognition that the next round of negotiation must proceed if it aspires truly to fulfil the promise of becoming a 'development

promise of becoming a 'development (The writer is Assistant Professor of Law and Development, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.)

Lib - WTO file  
31/1/2000

B THE HINDU, Saturday, January 1, 2000

# Challenges of the new millennium

**T**HE WTO meeting in Seattle was supposed to be the last Summit of the millennium to arrive at trade agreements — secretly in order to determine the political structure of the world in the new millennium.

If we had a choice, 4.8 billion people inhabiting the impoverished Southern part of the earth should have been there. As it turned out 99 per cent of the people of the world either did not know anything about it or would not even understand the true purpose of the meeting or what WTO implies in relation to their future. Those who did challenged the insidious and the criminal plans of the powerful and rich 29 countries who have been working to colonise the planet and all its people — the planet of the white people in the north, who started their conquest in the 15th century and whose dream is to complete the task of the global domination by the transnational corporations.

Already, according to a UN report "the richest 20 per cent of the world's population consume 86 per cent of the world's resources." Indeed some of these high consumers are in the poor countries.

WTO, along with the World Bank and IMF restructuring programmes and the lending policies, have already accelerated the trends towards opening up the countries through trade liberalisations, which would provide the rich countries cheap labour, taking liberties with the environment and by availing of resources at low prices.

The FAO admits that 900 million people in the world go to bed hungry and the World Bank President bemoans that 1.3 out of 6 billion people in the world today live in extreme poverty earning less than a dollar a day. This is not an act of nature or God; it is a well-designed plan of the New World Order dictated by the highly industrialised wealthy countries and cohorts in the developing world. The latest Human Development Report of the UNDP asserts that business entertainment expenditure in Japan is \$35 billion, the cost of pet foods in Europe and America \$17 billion. The world is poor, but 188 countries in the world spent totally \$780 billion on wars and armaments in 1998 — one out of 3 dollars was expended by the most secure country, the United States, the lone Superpower.

Look at the picture from the other side. Bangkok has been a paramount city of the largest sex industry in the world for the last 30 years. The most striking feature of the trade is that an 8-year-old girl available for \$100 to \$150. It is estimated that in Asia alone there are about 500,000 to 600,000 child prostitutes and about 250 million children are working in multinational and local factories earning 50 cents a day in the poor countries of the world. This is only one part of the formula for the accumulation of wealth in this globalised world.

Today, the fundamental *mantras* of the world are: market economy, economic commerce, privatisation, efficiency, and competition, profits and accumulation of wealth. Is there life after the \$100 billion that Mr. Bill Gates has accumulated?

This is the story of the world we live in and it is this moronic and pathological world, which we are here to transform as those who revolted against the criminality of WTO — farmers, workers, protectors of the rights of women and children, environmentalists and ordinary human beings, who are tired of this immoral world order. There will

never be peace, security, rights, sustainability, equity, justice until the transnational corporations, free trade and the present forum of globalisations are governed by the World Rules of Law, which is based on the intrinsic values of humanity, and which is implemented by a global authority.

For a long time now we have all been conditioned to think of the world in terms of the nation-states and the UN as a forum for settling disputes among them. But the world has undergone profound changes during the last 50 years. The nation-states have become redundant and obsolete as David C. Korten, in his revealing book *How Corporations Rule the World* says that the large number of transnational corporations, with their massive wealth, influence the policies of practically all the governments. Some of these corporations have such an enormous power that they can even buy them.

When the Monsanto's BGH milk was approved last year in India, practically nobody knew (even though India is supposed to be a democracy), not to speak about a debate. Recently in Colombo, I saw

ads of cigarettes (many of them foreign ones) without even a caution that cigarette smoking causes cancer. Are people of the Philippines and Nigeria consulted when such large quantities of modified foods are dumped on them? People don't exist. What is needed is wealth to buy governments. It is all secret and everybody knows about a great democratic and egalitarian Switzerland. That is where you can keep all your ill-gotten loot, of course legally.

If the present world disorder continues on this destructive path, the next century may take us to our ultimate doom. Therefore our efforts should be directed towards the following:

- Reorganisation of the United Nations by eliminating the Security Council and making it a truly democratic institution reflecting the will of the people. Ultimately, sovereignty must come back to the people and all people, not just a few.
- Our ultimate goal should be to see that eventually the United Nations becomes a World Government, which can implement the rule of law governing all the activities, including the transnational corporations.

- The urgent task confronting the world is to ensure the total disarmament starting out with dismantling 35,000 nuclear warheads and stopping any development of Star Wars.

- The most significant task confronting the United Nations today is to bring an end to the growth of 80 million people a year, 91 per cent of which are added in poor countries.

- If the WTO wants the free movement of trade, we have to demand a free movement of people. All the people should have the right to live wherever they want, which means bringing an end to all the arbitrary political boundaries.

- There can never be peace until the wealth of the planet is shared by all human beings. How does the world allow accumulation of \$100 billion by one person, which is no different from a human being weighing 800 pounds?

- Since the environment is besieged by brutal exploitation in the name of "progress and development," the world community should not adopt an alternative path of making the earth ecological. Consumption is not for which the humans have come to the earth and the earth is not a

market place. This unique planet is a beautiful garden for life to live and enjoy the fruits of the earth by living in harmony with all the other 40 million species.

- Our social institutions and education should be so revolutionised that we will be able to build a world of social equity, unity, preservation of diversity of cultures and the promotion of the values of unity. Today the most exploited members of our society are children, women, indigenous people and the poor. Their liberation is our urgent task.

This has been a half a millennium of atrocities, destructions, exploitations, wars, diseases and death. Our challenge for the next millennium is to reconstruct and rebuild a world of our dreams since the dawn of our arrival. Our vision for the future is not to have a utopia or heaven. All human beings want to live — live a joyful life on a good earth. Let us put our life, our blood, our imagination and our creativity to build a world worthy of our children.

**Dr. RASHMI MAYUR**

(The writer is the Director of International Institute for Sustainable Future, Mumbai.)

Main Identity

**From:** "Pervin Jehangir" <pjenangir@rediffmail.com>  
**To:** "Social Analysis" <csatts@md5.vsnl.net.in>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 11, 2003 3:30 PM  
**Attach:** Final Annexure to the Final GATS letter.doc; Final version of the GATS letter.doc  
**Subject:** Fw: request to send on your list serve to endorse

----- Original Message -----

**From:** focusing  
**To:** Pervin Jehangir  
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 11, 2003 10:42 AM  
**Subject:** request to send on your list serve to endorse

Dear Pervin

Ken chro iame?

It would be really helpful if you could kindly forward the letter and the annexure attached to this mail on the list serve that you host.

thanks a tonne

warm regards

Raghav

Focus on the Global South  
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 3rd Floor, Premises No. 11,  
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Dear Friends,

On June 05, 2003, the Cabinet Committee on WTO Affairs gave a nod to the negotiating strategy of the Ministry of Commerce with regards to services negotiations under the umbrella of the GATS framework.

This decision has been taken without consulting working classes and without referring to the state governments, panchayats as well as other local self government bodies. Such a process therefore defies the spirit of the 73rd and 74th Amendment to the Indian Constitution. Moreover the entire process of formulating a negotiating position lacks transparency and accountability. The Ministry is seen to only consult big business and is not showing any interest to discuss issues with movements and groups who have been actively working on various issues concerning essential services in the country.

*lib*  
*GATS file*  
*to*  
*5/19*

In this context trade unions, movements and groups like AITUC, AKSHARA, Focus on the Global South, EQUATIONS, MANTHAN, Nimad Malwa Kisaan Sangharsh Samiti, Jameen Jungle Pani Lokadhikar Andolan, Shahar Vikas Manch have come together and drafted a letter to the Prime Minister highlighting a number of lacunae in the processes and have demanded that there should be moratorium on tabling our offers to the

requests made by other countries. This letter is followed by a detailed annexure that elaborates on the various issues touched in the letter.

In fact you would be glad to note that already 130 Panchayats from Tamil Nadu have endorsed this letter and have demanded that the Tamil Nadu Government should come out clean on its position on GATS.

We would kindly request you to endorse the letter as an individual or as an organization within a week or two and if possible send across your endorsements on the following email address: [focusind@vsnl.net](mailto:focusind@vsnl.net) We would also be grateful if you could also request other friends or groups to kindly endorse this letter.

warm regards

Raghav

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# Mining and Quarrying Workers

By

Dr. R. Sugathan

*mines, minerals & people*

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION  
ANANDWAN  
17-21 December 2001

Centre for Communication and Education  
New Delhi



## **Mining and Quarrying Workers**

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1. Introduction
2. New policy problems
3. Workers
4. Wages
5. Working conditions
6. Social security
7. Impact of mining on environment
8. People's movements

## **Mining and Quarrying Workers**

In this paper, we are trying to present the labour scenario of the mining sector, particularly in the light of the new economic policy initiatives.

### **1. Introduction**

1.1 Minerals are considered the mainspring of industrial civilisation. There is a close relationship between development and mining. Indian development planning accorded great importance to mining in industrial development and the overall growth of the country. In Indian mining statistics, minerals are classified into fuel minerals, metallic minerals, non-metallic minerals and minor minerals. It excludes atomic minerals. Within the fuel minerals are petroleum and natural gas, and coal and lignite. Metallic minerals include such principal minerals like iron ores, chromite, copper, lead, zinc, manganese, gold, bauxite, silver, tin, etc. Among the non-metallic minerals are limestone, phosphorite, dolomite, kaolin, barytes, manganese, gypsum, steatite, etc. The principal items of minor minerals include brick earth, building stone, marble, quartzite and sandstone, ordinary sand, road metal, boulder, murrum, limestone and kankar, etc. (John, 2000:3). Non-metallic deposits like stones are often said to be 'quarried' in common parlance, and quarrying involves mostly opencast mining.

1.2 Buildings, roads and bridges ultimately draw upon sand mining and quarrying of sandstone, building stone and gravel, marble, etc. The consumers of these materials remain the government departments like PWD and Railway, local self-governments,

role in India's mineral wealth. Progress was reported in Indian Mining Industry from 1947 to 1985 when mineral production grew by about 120 times (Dias, 1999). In 1950, there were 24 types of minerals with a total value of \$US 23 million. Today, we produce 84 minerals valued at \$US 900 million.

During 1999-2000, four fuel minerals alone accounted together for 82.3 per cent of total value of the extracted minerals. Eleven metallic minerals account for 7.56 per cent and the remaining percentage is attributed to 49 non-metallic minerals (4.05 per cent) and 20 minor minerals (6.09 per cent). Total value of minerals produced during 1999-2000 is Rs 452335 million (Minerals Yearbook 2000: 3). According to some source, the mineral sector employs 800,000 personnel, accounts for 3 per cent of the country's GDP, and shares 11.5 per cent of total industrial sector production. Public Sector mines account for 91 per cent of the total mineral value, although 80 per cent of mines are privately owned (Dias, 1999).

## 2. New policy problems

Lopsided policy initiatives had contributed to improper kind of technology import at the nationalisation stage and the opening up of the national resources for uncontrolled and unscrupulous exploitation at the globalisation/denationalisation phase. At both these stages, workers had been and continue to be at the receiving end. In the recent phase of liberalisation, the ideology of new economic policy has further dented the safety and security of the labour involved in extracting these mineral resources.

### *'Technology import'*

2.1 In the 1980s, the Government sought import of technology in the coal sector to encourage foreign collaborators to implement the projects on a turnkey basis. With guarantees against time and cost over-runs, the Government entered into a long-term agreement for Soviet "technical assistance" in the coal sector until the year 2000. The USSR was to collaborate in the development of fifteen coal mining projects (five open cast mines and ten underground mines) from the stage of preparation of the feasibility report up to the mining stage. The foreign exchange component to cover the cost of equipment and services would be covered with Soviet soft loans and long term credit. The Government also sought collaboration with Poland, UK, France, West Germany, East Germany, Canada and Australia for projects until the mining

amount of capital. The question of technology or choice of technology or mechanisation in mining is a complex one. When technology totally replaces labour it is a political and social question. When technology reduces the hazards of mining especially occupational health hazards then it is beneficial to labour. When technology is used only with the sole aim of increasing profit and production over the interest of society, the environment and labour, it should be questioned.

Firstly, the Mining sector in India has gone in for technological upgradation without having a clear human resources perspective. In most mechanised mines, we find only machines and few skilled workers, resulting in large-scale unemployment. Where manual work matters, job is casualised or contractualised, bringing in unfair labour practices. Mining sector is no exclusion to the rule.

Secondly, most of the technologies we import are designed for countries with a shortage of labour force i.e. Australia, Canada, USA. Thirdly, our own R&D in the field of mining technologies are almost absent. Nor even this kind of import is made use for further indigenous development. In fact, there is no effort of interface between imported technical expertise and our needs. Even the safety equipment our miners are supplied with makes it impossible for them to use in tropical and humid climates. Consequently, many miners do not use the safety equipment (provided in the few mines), giving the Management a convenient excuse for not providing safety equipment.

Fourthly, as Dias (1999) says, if at all, import of technology has helped, it was the companies producing these technologies and selling them to us, and also the members of the management who get foreign trip abroad.

2.4 This failure in 'technological collaborations' or in the 'choice of technology' brought a shift in the Governments policy and it placed all hopes on the Private Sector. That why the modernisation drive in the Public Sector mines had not succeeded was not evaluated. Privatisation, which includes foreign collaborations and Joint Ventures (JVs) are being seen as a panacea and are being given a red carpet.

noble metals and other scarce minerals." That whose interests are served becomes clear here. Reconnaissance permits in 42 cases involving an area of about 53,000 square kms have been approved till February 2001 (Ministry of Mines, Annual Report 2000-2001).

2.9 The new mineral policy has different results in some States. Rajasthan resorted to all-out exploitation of its resources. The Rajasthan government introduced a New Mineral Policy with the aim of maximising exports. Rajasthan has the largest number of leases for small mines in the country. 42 major and 23 minor varieties of minor minerals. There are 10851 leases of minor minerals and 19,251 quarry licenses in force. The labour employment in the sector has temporarily increased ten-fold from 0.32 lakhs in 1950 to about 3.25 lakh in 1993. It could be read that there was ten-fold increase in unorganised labour in the small mines in Rajasthan.

2.10 In September 1994, the government issued an extra ordinary Gazette notification amending some of the provisions of the Mineral Concession Rules 1960. With the notification, a mining lease would be considered deemed renewed until the State Government decides the renewal application. This had widened the loophole that was already existing in the previous Mineral Concession Rules. However, this loophole further widened when the government has in 1999 relaxed the terms of lease:

All mining leases will be granted for a minimum period of 20 years and a maximum of 30 years (the earlier Act permitted the maximum period for just 20 years, there was no minimum period). All leases can now be renewed for 20 years as against 10 years earlier. Besides this, prospecting licenses can now be granted for a longer period of one year to three years.

2.11 The Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act 1957 was earlier amended in 1994 allowing foreign equity, i.e., 'Joint Ventures' (JVs) up to 50 per cent in mining companies. The Reserve Bank of India grants automatic approval for foreign equity participation up to 50 per cent in the equity of Indian companies engaged in mining activities. Processing units which wish to develop captive mines for an assured supply of raw materials need no separate approval for undertaking captive mining activity.

passed by the winter session of parliament. This has become the Act since 8 December 2000 (Ministry of Coal, Annual Report 2000-2001: 58-59).

2.16 All these policy initiatives and the inherent perspective involved have gone consistently against the workers. The closure of 'uneconomical' mines and the retrenchment of 'surplus' labour represent by far most serious obstacles to the 'smooth implementation of reforms' (Dias, 1999). Disinvestment, 'sickness' and closure of industries, and VRS and retrenchment for workers are the catchwords in the current industry/labour scenario.

### 3. Workers

3.1 The policy elements of disinvestment, 'sickness' and closure of industries, and VRS and retrenchment of workers affected negatively the mining workers as in all other sectors of industry. For instance, Coal India Ltd. in 1993, approached the World Bank for a loan of \$ US 500 million to fund their retrenchment programme, officially for 15,000 mine workers but unofficially for 1,40,000. Since the World Bank cannot provide financial assistance for such a programme (retrenchment), Coal India has requested that the proposed Bank loan would also cover the local cost of investments. This would free resources, which Coal India could use to finance its retrenchment programme (Dias, 1999).

The Government of India and Coal India has agreed on a reform strategy that would ensure that Coal India would

- invest only in the most profitable mining operations;
- phase out its subsidies to loss-making operations over a 5-7 year period;
- 'outsource' all activities that can be obtained cheaper from other companies;
- improve the quality of its coal supplies; and
- make its operations environmentally and socially sustainable.

While the last two steps are welcome and to be taken seriously, it is clear that the first three steps involve reduction of workers and retrenchment.

Eastern Coalfields Ltd. (ECL) had in October 1998 announced closure of 64 mines, which were making losses of over Rs 500 crores per year. Fifty of these mines are in

Vigyan Bhawan, India during 25-27 April 1994 that "India has vast potential in many minerals, but two of them - gold and diamonds - stand out."

With the exception of a marginal increase in worker count in the coal and iron ore mines, the statistics show a fall in the number of mine workers from the period of 1991. The Steel Authority of India Ltd. (SAIL) is drawing up an ambitious plan to get rid of 25,000 of its 1.70 lakh workers - 15.6 percent of the workforce within a year. Six thousand workers have already accepted the previous VRS plan.

The Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) that was introduced by the Mining Companies in the 1970s has resulted in grave consequences to particular sections of the working class, especially Women, Adivasis and Dalits as a community, and the class four workers. Workers were cajoled and, in some cases, even force was used to sign on the forms. Adivasis and Dalits were falsely lured by the golden handshake. This method of retrenchment has drastically reduced the number of Women, Adivasis and Dalits in the mining industry and it continues even today. If the statistics show any employment of women in mines, it is largely those jobs like sweepers, nurses teachers. The effect of VRS and now Early Separation Scheme (ESS) on Women, Adivasis and Dalits needs to be closely studied and taken up as a Public Litigation issue (Dias, 1999).

3.2 Besides loss of existing jobs, no growth is reported in employment. Because, recruitment is almost absent in PSUs with the exception of Northern Coalfields Limited (NCL). If we look at the humanpower status in CIL subsidiaries and related collieries for the last three and half years from March 1997 to December 2000, the strength of workers can be found consistently decreasing on a linear scale with the exception of NCL (see tale below).

**Table: Status of Humanpower in CIL and Subsidiaries**

Company	As on 31.3.97	As on 31.3.98	As on 31.3.99	As on 31.3.2000	As on 1.12.2000
ECL	158,251	153,154	142,746	133,383	129,177
BCCL	142,436	135,535	127,220	119,978	115,758
CCL	91,649	88,122	84,993	80,916	79,016
WCL	84,805	84,787	83,156	80,228	78,413

### 3.4 Organised Labour:

While all the workers are affected by the new policy of shedding humanpower, the schemes like VRS are available only to the permanently employed. However, workers are in a state of uncertainty. To take the case of ECL, the company was referred to BIFR (Board of Industrial and Financial Reconstruction) in the end of 1995 under section 23 of the SICA [Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act 1985] as more than 50 per cent of its net worth was eroded. Subsequently, its debt was converted into equity. However, its assets went negative again, and the company was referred to BIFR in 2000. Indian National Mine Workers Federation has raised the question of lavish spending by the Company. "There is no justification for the CIL maintaining a plane and a helicopter draining the company of around Rs 50 crores per year. The company can save about Rs 200 crores per year if it goes in for its own guest house or prefer three star hotels instead of five star hotels for accommodating officials on tour," says Rajendra Prasad Singh, President of the Federation.

Within the organised labour, the social composition gravitates against dalits, adivasis and women despite protectionist legislation. These social and gender groups find fewer berths in higher classes of employment in PSUs. They have least strength in highest class (see the tables below). As far as the social groups are concerned, the private sector does not volunteer to bother to be bound by constitutional provisions followed in the public sector.

**Table: Employment divide in NALCO as on 31.12 2000**

Group	Total	SCs	STs	Ex-Service	PII	LDP	Minorities
Executive	1530	174	77	9	4	10	65
Non-executive	4921	915	1096	79	51	1709	176
Trainees	63	10	10	-	-	30	23
Total	6514	1099	1183	88	55	1749	264

Source: Ministry of Mines, Annual Report 2000-2001, p. 46

**Table: Employment divide in Indian Bureau of Mines as on 31.12 2000**

Class	Total	SCs	STs	OBCs	Women
Group A	252	53	19	3	8
Group B	84	14	5	1	4
Group B (Non-gazetted)	54	8	6	0	13
Group C	472	74	37	9	29

certainly going to add to the **casualisation** of the **organised sector labour** and in turn the strength of membership in the camp of unorganised mine workers.

### 3.5 Self-employed workers:

The so-called self-employed and freelance workers are a problematic coinage. They constitute an informal stream of workers, unable to be accommodated in formal employment, not because of lack of work, but because of lack of responsibility from the side of the employers. In a way, the contract and casual labourers can come in this group. The interface between the positions of worker and the self-employed is equally the link between the two. The self-employed in the mining processes are in fact the exploited workers who find it difficult to mend a living out of the wages or payments earned for the performed tasks.

One gets the self-employed workers in thousands of small quarries throughout the country. In real terms, stone quarrying involves minimum of capital investment against maximum profiteering and capital augmentation. In contrast, the same work involves a group of willing workers equipped with simple tools such as chisel and hammer. For self-employed labour, the stone quarrying entails maximum expenditure of human energy alongside minimum opportunities and provisions for the life of a quarry worker (Talib, 1999).

Minor minerals engage mostly self-employed labour. According to mineral statistics of Rajasthan State 1990-91, the minor minerals generated employment to the tune of 3.10 lakhs persons per day. The share of employment of masonry stone, sand stone, marble stone and lime stone to the total employment was 32 per cent, 29.3 per cent, 13.1 per cent and 6.1 per cent respectively (cited in Talib, 1999). Sand, rocks and brick-earth are the common minor minerals quarried in Kerala. The workers throughout India involved in quarrying minor minerals are mostly piece-rated self-employed labour.

3.6 Unorganised labour comprises of casual labour, contract labour and self-employed labour. Though bonded labour is abolished, and child labour is regulated as well as abolished in some sectors, both these aberrations of labour are found in mining sector.



years of age. However, this provision was misinterpreted, and we have data to show the employment of child labour in 1925 after the Act came into effect. The largest number of child labour was employed in the mica mines, and coal mining (underground) comes second. No statistics are available to show the employment of children above thirteen years of age. The Indian Mines Act was further amended in 1952 limiting hours of work to 54 per week and raising minimum age for children to 14 years.

**Table: Children in Mines in Specified Years**

Year	Total Workers	Child workers	Percentage
1901	104,660	5,147	4.9
1921	249,663	8,548	3.5
1925	253,857	4,135	1.6

Source: Dias (1999)

**Table: Distribution by Industry of Child Labour in Mines in 1925**

Industry	Child Labour	Percentage
Mica Mines	2,031	49.1
Coal Mines	1,210	29.3
Limestone Quarries	463	11.2
Others	431	10.4
Total	4,135	100

Source: Dias (1999)

To some extent child labour has been eliminated in the 'official' or 'major' mines. However, this is not due to good will or legislation. Mechanised mines do not need child labour. The government has identified ten project areas as being particularly hazardous to children. This includes the slate industry in Markapur, Andhra Pradesh and the slate industry in Mandsaur, Madhya Pradesh. It is estimated that in Rajasthan, of about 1.8 million workers in mining in Jodhpur, Udaipur, Ajmer Jaipur, Alwar and Maharana areas, 15 per cent are children. Twenty-two thousand of them are in the age group of 10-12 years and 37 per cent are women.

According to Ministry of Labour, in the below ground mines the number of women mineworkers fell from 9,568 in 1981, to 3,152 in 1993. In the above ground mines the statistics show a decline, but not as serious as the above from 21,290 women in 1981, to 18,532 in 1993. In both these cases, the decline was sharper from 1991 onwards. In the Coal and Iron ore mines, men workers replace jobs of women workers. Women were encouraged to give up their jobs to their sons or sons-in-laws, with the encouragement of the male workers and the trade unions (Dias, 1999). Special VRS (Female) is the presently operating scheme in BCCL wherein a female employed may take voluntary retirement in favour of her son as a miner/loader (Barnes, 1999).

When mines were manually operated and a large workforce was needed, women were employed. In some cases like iron ore mining, the percentage of women involved was more than 50 as in IJSCO (Gua), SAIL (Chiria) and BSP (Dalli-Rajhara). In clear violation of the Contract Labour Act, works that are of perennial nature to production/mining, i.e., cleaning of conveyor belts area, transport and haulage, wagon loading, etc. are contracted. Contractors employ women to all these tasks. Contractors taking contracts within mine area do employ women in all operations at all times. When it comes to a permanent job, the women are discounted. The common reasons given by Managements is that employment of women in Mines is 'risky': 'their saris get caught in the conveyor belts and machinery,' 'in the dark underground tunnels, women are vulnerable to men workers,' etc.

Even today, mines such as the SKG & SKG Iron Ore Mines, Balaji Iron Ore Mines and Bihar Iron Ore Mines in Singhbhum that supply ore to MMTC employ over 50 per cent of women workforce. The issue of women and mining cannot be seen just as question of the women miners in conflict with management or labour policy. This question is now being raised at the global level too. In January 1996, for the first time, an International conference on Women & Mining was held in Bagio city in the Philippines. In South Bihar, a group of women affected by mining meet often, and they hope to make their demands heard by the government and mining industry (Dias, 1999).

Devkumari of Tentulhari Colliery told: "These *rangdars* are outsiders, but they have settled in the coalfield. When nationalisation took place, the papers of the 'company' were burnt. Then these *rangdars* claimed that they were genuine workers and got jobs in BCCL. Even today, they do not do any work, only they get their attendance recorded. This is BCCL's weakness" (cited in Barnes, 1999). Rangdari system in BCCL is practically a legalised system of exploitation of workers by the rangdars, officialdom, unions and mafia.

During the 1950s and 1960s, colliery owners successfully wiped out genuine trade unions by setting up pocket unions with the help of the administration, police and contractors. But, these pocket unions relied heavily upon musclemen for industrial peace, and over time these gangsters became powerful contractors, moneylenders, trade union leaders, and influential in their own right. By the early seventies, they became known throughout India as the Mafia (Barnes, 1999a). They are responsible for the rangdari system.

The big rangdars become, by and by, big Mafia. They build big houses, buy cars and trucks. The rangdars who used to loot workers before, buy one or two trucks, then something else, and become Mafia. They are usually from Arrah or Balia, mostly Rajputs, and are all leaders as well. Whenever some good officer or police would come here, these Mafia would get him removed. Any good DC, SP or DSP would be transferred.

In each coal dump the amount paid, and those involved in extracting the rangdar tax, varied. Putul Devi, a truck loader-turned-leader, explains the system at her depot: "At that time we'd get four hundred for loading a truck. Out of that, a hundred went to the man who dropped the coal, the 'dumperwalla', fifty went to the rangdar, and the sirdar (gang leader) would eat up another hundred, so we'd be left with a hundred and fifty, out of which all the labourers would be paid. I hardly earned a thousand rupees a month, too little money for all that work! All of us hated the sirdar. They used to get a lot of money. He'd give money to the rangdars, distribute some to the drivers, throw parties and eat and drink as much as he could, and all we earned for the whole day's hard labour would be fifty Rupees."

no question of improvement in working conditions. In such mines, occupational respiratory disorders like silicosis, asbestosis and forms of pneumoconiosis are rampant. Unfortunately, most of these cases are diagnosed and treated as tuberculosis. Accidents, occupational diseases and the health status are discussed here.

### 5.1 Accidents in mines

Actual death rates in coal mine accidents, however, are much higher than the figure given by the state sources for many reasons. Firstly, on many occasions deaths of casual labourers employed are not reported. Another gripping situation is that private individuals illegally engaging casual labourers are mining many abandoned mines. This illegal mining is in nexus with authorities, police and politicians. Many mines being already abandoned are worst traps for workers. There is no scope for any safety as mining is done illegally. Further, deaths are hushed up by the persons who engage them with money and muscle power.

In 1973, i.e., before the nationalisation of coalmines, the rate of fatalities per million tonnes was 2.73. In 1995, the rate has come down to 0.81 in the mines under CIL (Coal Directory 1995-96, and Annual Report 1995-96, Ministry of Coal). However, it needs to be noted that after nationalisation 80 per cent of mining is done in opencast mines, which have better safety records. This implies that safety records of underground mining had not improved. However, the records for 2000 (table) show that:

- Fatalities in opencast mining had only increased, and
- Underground mining still leads the number of fatalities.

**Table: Place-wise fatalities in CIL during 1999 and 2000**

	2000	1999
Underground	50	58
Opencast	32	21
Surface	17	24
Total	99	103

Source: Ministry of Coal, Annual Report 2000-2001, p. 91  
 Note: All figures subject to reconciliation with DGMS

According to ILO statistics, India ranks sixth among 14 coal producing countries in the rate of fatalities, with 75 deaths per million tonnes of coal produced, between the years

1998 September 14 Banjana Coal Mine I ECL  
 (Compiled by Mining Concerns Desk - BIRSA)

Source: Dias (1999)

The figures for accidents, injuries and fatalities during January-December 1999 and 2000 in the various companies under CIL are given in tables below. A cause analysis shows that roof and sidewall falls, transport (haulage, conveyors, trucks, dumpers, etc.), and explosives form the three main cause-groups of fatalities. Though the total number of fatalities remains more or less same in 1999 (103) and 2000 (99), the major cause of fatality could not be weakened; i.e., deaths due to sidewall and roof collapse increased from 28 in 1999 to 42 in 2000. However, deaths due to explosives came down from 7 to 2 for the same period (tables).

Table: Cause analysis of fatalities in CIL mines during January-December 2000

Cause	ECL	BCCL	CCL	NCL	WCL	SECL	MCL	NEC	CIL
Roof/side falls	8	12	-	-	15	7	-	-	42
Winding	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Haulage	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Dumpers	2	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	9
Conveyors	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Trucks & wagons	-	-	7	1	4	2	1	-	15
Other non-transport m/c (CCM, dozer, shovel, pumps, etc.)	1	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	6
Explosives	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Electricity	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	5
Dust, gas, etc.	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Fall of objects/persons	3	1	-	-	1	2	-	1	7
Water inrush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	4
Total	17	18	15	7	24	15	2	1	99

Source: Ministry of Coal, Annual Report 2000-2001, p. 91

Note: All figures subject to reconciliation with DGMS

Table: Cause analysis of fatalities in CIL mines during January-December 1999

Cause	ECL	BCCL	CCL	NCL	WCL	SECL	MCL	NEC	CIL
Roof/side falls	6	12	-	-	2	8	-	-	28
Winding	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3

Mine managements are negligent of safety measures. The parliament subcommittee on mine safety noted that the Gazlitand accident was essentially due to negligence of safety measures. The accident occurred when it rained heavily over a few days. On the fateful day, it rained incessantly for more than eight hours. Even after the water level rose above the marked danger level, no warning was given; instead, the mines had continued working. The embankment of the river was not maintained despite a notice by the Director General of Mines Safety (DGMS) to Bharat Coking Coal Ltd (BCCl.) to strengthen it. When the accident occurred, the manager and the overman were not present on the top to sound an alarm.

### 5.2 Safety measures in mines:

The chairman of the parliament subcommittee on mine safety pointed out in January 1996 that Coal India does not even spend one per cent of its total expenditure on safety. The recommendations of national safety conferences are not being implemented. Craze to higher production coupled with poor implementation of safety norms was responsible for high rate of fatalities in mines.

One week in a year is designated as 'Mines Safety Week,' and prizes are given for safety in mines. It is well known that mining companies play down deaths in mines and misinterpret the definition of safety in mines. A death in the pit is considered as a death in the mine. So most deaths and injuries on paper are shown outside the pit area. There have been cases of the medical reports being manipulated to show a worker dies of 'cerebral thrombosis' or other 'natural causes' when in fact the death was the result of electrocution or other mechanical injuries.

Contract labour is not supplied any safety equipment. Their deaths and injuries in the mines are denied, making it possible for the mining company to get the coveted 'Mines Safety Week' prize, and avoiding any medical treatment cost and cash compensation. Contract labour is used for the cleaning and maintaining of the conveyor belt systems, that can extend up to a couple of miles, and many deaths take place here as there is no proper signalling system or communication to warn the workers when the belts will start rolling (Dias, 1999).

- The floor of the pit is uneven and always littered with stones, rocks and boulders. Because of this, there is the danger of workers tripping and falling, especially while running after igniting the fuse.
- As the walls are steep and uneven, there is no safe access to the boulders to be drilled and blasted. Workers scramble and jump around, at the risk of slipping and falling headlong into the pits.
- While breaking the stones, small, sharp chips can fly off and pierce the skin on any part of the body including the eyes. At times, they are lodged under the skin and cause great trouble to the worker. This appears to be a frequent occurrence. Iron chips flying from the hammer cause similar problems. Sometimes the handle of the hammer too breaks while wielding it. There is also the risk of exposure to stone-dust.
- Blasting is also dangerously conducted. The worker has to light the fuse, which is kept short and run to safety. If he does not hurry, the stones thrown up by the blast can hit him.
- A constant and the biggest hazard are the dust belched out in huge amounts when the stone crushing machine is working. The workers merely cover their noses with a piece of cloth while working.

### 5.3 Occupational diseases of mine and quarry workers:

The notification by government declares only two diseases - silicosis and pneumoconiosis - as occupational diseases in mineworkers. Other diseases caused by circumstances such as noise, vibration and heat are not mentioned in the Mines Act. Mining operations like drilling, loading, dumping, blasting of coal generate respirable dust. Airborne coal particles in the working atmosphere enter in the breathing zone. Coal miners also inhale a large amount of toxic fumes and gases. This affects workers' health and results in many diseases including respiratory problems, asthma, emphysema (breathlessness), stomach and lung cancer, and hypertension. Long exposure to, inhalation and retention of excessive amounts of airborne coal dust lead to what is called coal miner's pneumoconiosis or black lung disease. Pneumoconiosis affects workers with a history of many years of work on coal-face and exposure to heavy coal dust.

## 6. Social security

The International Labour Organisation (I.L.O) proposed a comprehensive definition as follows:

The protection which society provides for its members, through a series of public measures, against the economic and social distress that otherwise would be caused by the stoppage or substantial reduction in earnings resulting from sickness, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death; the provision of medical care, and the provisions of subsidies for families with children (I.L.O. 1989).

Social security comprises mainly two elements – job/work and income securities. That is why social security is taken linked to work or economic security. As important as the work security is income security. Inadequate income resulting from unprotected and irregular employment, is a direct threat to their lives and families. Therefore, socially relevant minimum wages should be guaranteed. To avoid the blockage of such a possibility, atmosphere for collective bargaining and right to unionisation should also be provided. In addition to income security, certain other basic elements of social protection are also essential towards work security. These are health care, childcare, shelter and education. No such comprehensive social security measures are given to mine workers. Whatever schemes are available are offered to the permanent workers.

Labour Welfare Fund Acts for workers in Mica Mines (1946), Limestone and Dolomite Mines (1972), and Iron, Manganese and Chrome Ores Mines (1976) provide to constitute funds for the financing of activities to promote the welfare of labour employed in mining industry for various minerals. The proceeds of the duty of excise, customs, etc. are deposited in the Funds after deducting the cost of collection. The welfare commissioners and staff are appointed to administer the funds. These funds are utilised for the welfare measures of the employed persons in these mining industries. Theoretically, the Central Welfare Funds for mine workers use the fund for the improvement of public health, sanitation, medical facilities, water supplies and educational facilities, prevention of disease, and the improvement of standards of living including housing and nutrition, amelioration of social conditions and provision of recreational facilities. In actual practice, as Subrahmanya (2000: 68) says, most of the expenditure from the welfare funds has been on health, education and housing. For example, in 1992-93 in the case of the limestone/dolomite mine workers 51.49



Mining involves movement of mountains, the changing of river courses, digging deep into the bowels of the earth, some times thousands of feet below, and extensive and intense blasting with scaring amounts of dynamite. The rich geology that has taken million of years to evolve, our tropical forest, store-houses of rich and irreplaceable bio-diversity, can be overnight changed, for as little as some tones of steel to reinforce our armoury or some aluminium to make our beer cans portable. Its operations need a large amount of energy, water and chemicals, called process chemicals. Only a fraction of the earth that is removed is used as ores, and the rest goes as wastes or tailings. The topsoil that is nutrient rich and has taken thousands of years to form, is called the 'over burden' in mining jargon and it is normally wasted.

The ores have to be washed and huge amounts of water are needed for this purpose. The washeries consume about 50,000 litres of water per hour. For this, traditional sources of water of the people are diverted to the mines. In return, the water laced with effluents, chemicals and sewage is poured back into the rivers or on people's lands, including agricultural lands.

The Damodar River that flows through West Bengal and Bihar is burdened with 1.5 tones of pollutants per minute. The level of pollutants in the Damodar River is 8000 mg per litre. In the Rajrappa washery, the physico-chemical analysis established that the effluents range between 2,29,555 and 82,858 mg per litre. Oil and grease concentration also exceeded the limit of 10-mg per litre. In and around Dhanbad 2,500 tones of coal are burning every day which release 250 tons of Suspended Particulate Matter (SPM) along with 5,877 tons of carbon dioxide, 1.25 tons of carbon monoxide and 9.25 tons of the oxides of sulphur per day.

An imminent danger posed by the Dhanbad mines, particularly in Chathai Kuli and Hussainabad areas of Jharia region is the possibility of large-scale land subsidence. The entire 450 sq. kms of the city and around three lakh population are under threat with 92 mines spread over 258 sq. kms below the heart of the township. In recent years, frequent land subsidence is being reported resulting in deaths and damage of houses. In Chathai Kuli, in March 1996, close to 150 houses got damaged and in the same place in October 1996 another subsidence caused the damage of around 200 houses injuring six people. In 36 subsidence, around 125 people have been killed. In

11-17 March 1999 to study the feasibility of revival of asbestos mining. Such a step would be detrimental to the interest of the people and nation.

The Director of Geological Survey of India visited HINDALCO Bauxite mines in the tribal belt of Bihar. He said that the dust from blast, mining and grinding should not be allowed to enter the atmosphere as the trace elements in it such as vanadium, cobalt, nickel, selenium, chromium, calcium, gallium, magnesium, and molybdenum besides fluorides are harmful to human beings and the biosphere.

A study undertaken by Tata Energy Research Institute (TERI) on behalf of the State of Goa (and Daman and Diu) has in its report concludes that mining cum export industry in the past five decades has been the largest source of environmental pollution. TERI has recommended a four point strategy costing Rs 234 crores to stop further damage to the ecology. The government has not yet officially published the report, and the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association (GMOEA) says the report is biased. There are 90 mining leases operating in Goa and 15 million tones of iron ore are exported annually to Japan, Europe and South East Asia. The TERI report has recommended establishment of a Mineral Area Development Authority (MADA).

The mining of heavy metals and rare earths has left a radioactive trail in the Indian soil. The percentage of the ore is so little that it accumulates mines and mill tailings that build mountains. For instance, in uranium it is only 0.02 per cent. Apart from these tailings, it also consumes large quantities of water, in quantity three times the material waste, which ultimately flows into our rivers and joins the underground water sources. The problem of these materials is their low dose radioactive potential that can go on for thousands of years. The half life of Thorium, a waste product in uranium mining, is 80,000 years and it will take 250,000 years for all the waste tailing in our uranium mine in Jadugora to become lead and harmless. Each day tones of radioactive waste is sent down the Subarnarekha river that winds its way around the city of Jamshedpur into West Bengal, Orissa and into the Bay of Bengal.

The question of environmental pollution in Mining is a very serious one, and it is time our government and concerned citizens pay serious attention to it. Here, technology should be used. We do need technologies to reduce the risks and occupational health

concept of land from a simple natural resource that constitutes the basic means of their livelihood into property which can be traded at will by the owners.

The opening up of forest and tribal homelands to private mining companies has not been taken lying down by communities whose lands are taken away. Hundreds of groups all over India are demanding that the government does not misuse the land acquisition Act for the purposes of giving land to mining companies. Negotiations are going on with the Government and NGOs for a change in the Act.

In the Adivasi belt of Palamau District in Jharkhand, the HINDALCO owned by the Birlas had started mining Bauxite in the villages of Orsapat and Kukurpith, dominated mainly by the Kisan (Nagecia) Adivasis. A strong people's organisation named *Path Agravami Sangh* has successfully driven out the Mining Company from their lands in 1997.

Nimmalapadu is just one of those tribal villages that would have been deleted from the map of India. India's second largest monopoly house Birlas entered there and obtained leases for mining calcite. Soon bulldozers were brought in to demolish the village. Samata, an NGO moves in and takes the case to court. The Supreme Court of India rules in favour of the tribal villagers. No lands in the scheduled areas can be leased out to non-tribal persons or industries for mining purposes and that all the mining leases shall be cancelled. This judgement has brought relief to thousands of tribal peoples in India threatened by Mining and Industry. The importance of the judgement can be gauged when it found mention in International Mining Journals. The Government of India has since filed a review petition in the Supreme Court.

A JV comprising of Tata, INDAL (Utkal Alumina), Norsk Hydro-Norway and Alcan-Canada is trying to set up Rs 2800 Crore bauxite mining and smelting plant in Kashipur area of Orissa. The JV is receiving stiff opposition from the Adivasis of the area who formed their own organisation *Prakrutiko Samphado Surakshya Parishad*. Following this, the Norsk pulled out of the venture, and after this announcement, there is further news that the Tata too may pull out.

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EC-1.

Main Identity

From: "benny kuruvilla" <benkuru@yahoo.com>  
 To: "benny 2" <benkuru@rediffmail.com>  
 Sent: Tuesday, September 09, 2003 8:56 PM  
 Subject: Protesters Vow to Derail WTO Meetings

Protesters Vow to Derail WTO Meetings  
 By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Filed at 8:47 a.m. ET

CANCUN, Mexico (AP) -- Activists marched in the streets and stripped on the beaches in an attempt to derail a meeting of the World Trade Organization, at which representatives of 146 countries will try to increase global commerce without throwing millions out of work.

At a beach resort best known for turquoise surf and drunken U.S. college students, trade ministers huddled in conference rooms of five-star hotels in preparation for the meeting, which begins Wednesday.

Away from the hotel zone, thousands of anti-globalization activists from around the world set up camp, renting hammocks and swatting mosquitoes, and vowed to derail the meetings with protests and marches, as they did in Seattle in 1999.

Ministers at the meeting hope to close in on a binding treaty to make trade freer throughout most of the world. Under a WTO agreement, they are supposed to approve such a treaty by the end of next year.

Agriculture will likely be at the top of the Cancun agenda. Removing barriers to trade in agriculture is controversial, with developing nations demanding that rich countries like Japan, the United States and European nations end subsidies and tariffs designed to keep unprofitable farms afloat.

Several competing proposals are being pushed, including one from the United States and the European Union that would create limited cuts in farm subsidies and another from a group of developing nations led by India and Brazil that would move toward eliminating the subsidies and opening the markets of rich countries to their farm products.

"We need, without any question, to make some progress on agriculture, because this is an issue of great importance to virtually all our members, and it is an issue on which progress in other areas hangs," WTO spokesman Keith Rockwell said.

*lets write file*

*JL*

*[Signature]*  
11/9

9/11/03

economies to more foreign investment -- which some say will drive local producers out of business -- and how to cut tariffs on industrial goods without shuttering factories and spurring unemployment.

Anti-globalization activists, farmers and labor rights promoters planned a week of protests, saying trade can also increase poverty, encourage mistreatment of workers and the environment and diminish cultural diversity.

Thousands of protesters already were in Cancun. Organizers said they hoped some 15,000 protesters would participate in the week of action against the WTO.

Although organizers have said they want to shut down the talks, they also pledged to avoid violence.

"We are not here to throw sticks or stones," said Rafael Alegria, international secretary of the farm group Via Campesina. "We are here to send a clear and ringing message: Take agriculture out of the WTO talks."

In one of the first protests Monday, 29 activists stripped off their clothes on a public beach and spelled out "No WTO" in the sand with their bodies. Protesters will be kept away from the meeting venue. Only one road down the narrow peninsula leads to the meeting site, and police likely will block it if protesters try to march down it.

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**MEETING AT 'EQUATIONS'**

**Topic:- GATS and various sectors  
12<sup>th</sup> November 2002**

A meeting was organized at Equations, a NGO working for equitable tourism options. This was one of a series of such meetings that have been taking place to try to develop a framework for a workshop on GATS and various service sectors including tourism, health etc. and also its effect on citizens. Mr. Naveen Thomas has been regularly attending these meetings and on his invitation Dr. Anant Bhan( on behalf of CHC) attended a meeting held at Equations on 12<sup>th</sup> November 2002 from 3: 45 P.M. onwards. Mr. Benny (Equations Team member) and Mr. Rana Ghose, a volunteer initially shared their work. The formal meeting started at 4:15 P.M. involving Mr. Suresh, a policy expert and Benny from Equations, Naveen and Anant. Mr. Vinay Baidur from CIVIC, Bangalore (a citizens initiative NGO) later joined the deliberations.

The discussions in the meeting initially revolved around the Asian Social Forum and the various workshops that Equations would be involved in/ co-coordinating. Benny spoke briefly about GATS as a WTO Services agreement and the need to involve all the various organizations representing the sectors that would come under the purview of the agreement. Mr. Vinay spoke about the 73<sup>rd</sup> and the 74<sup>th</sup> amendment and how CIVIC was involved in the evolution of these. He also spoke about the emerging changes in the functioning of the Municipality and other government services in Bangalore and the increasing transparency that is being adopted after the Transparency in Public Procurement Act was brought about in Karnataka. He also shared the plan of CIVIC to hold a 2-day workshop on the 74<sup>th</sup> amendment in second part of December 2002.

Since ASF was coming up and both Equations and CHC would be actively involved in preparations and conduct of the forum, it was decided to hold the workshop on GATS after ASF in late January 2002. However, since CIVIC was already conducting a workshop in December, Mr. Vinay was requested to explore the possibility of granting a 1-hour session to Equations and CHC for them to share their experiences with the participants and to build up the momentum for the proposed workshop in January. Equations would explore the possible effects of GATS on the various service sectors and CHC would give an input about the effect in the domain of public health and environment (74<sup>th</sup> amendment and Public Health; Municipalities and public health).

The meeting was then concluded. Mr. Vinay was requested to discuss with his organization and intimate to CHC and Equations about the decision as soon as possible for further action.

*AB*  
*Anant*  
*13/11/2002*  
*we should have a preliminary meeting*  
*in CHC on the impact of GATS on*  
*the health sector for our region.*  
*Pl. collect info from our library*  
*& discuss with me.*  
*1*

? EC-1.

Subject: Fwd: submission by ASEAN on Special and Differential Treatment

Date: Sun, 14 Jan 2001 15:06:27 +1100

From: David Legge <d.legge@latrobe.edu.au>

To: m.l.russell@bigpond.com.au, frvjohn@hotmail.com, dharmabharathi@yahoo.com, n.d.emmel@leeds.ac.uk, helen.sharp@bbc.co.uk, rajashrid@hotmail.com, rajashri@vsnl.com, nsingh@ncacr.org, ted.greiner@kbh.uu.se, ted\_greiner@hotmail.com, capas@tamnct.com.mx, g3w@ngonet.be, mohanrao@bol.net.in, sandhya@bom3.vsnl.net.in, jgoitschalk@tamiu.edu, james\_orbinski@bi.msf.org, oxfam@acc.am, margarit@acc.am, hccaprue@dynamite.com.au, Fran.Baum@flinders.edu.au, moazzem@scfbangla.org, tropmed@sudanmail.net, ccs-dgh@ix.netcom.com, lannysmith@post.harvard.edu, frchpune@giaspn01.vsnl.in, drsnm@pn3.vsnl.net.in, mikacla.grotenfelt@helsinki.fi, jihad@shabaka.net, goej@bplnet.com, rajashekarpalleti@usa.net, sarah.burns@neweconomics.org, allyson.pollock@ucl.ac.uk, uarf@ksc.th.com, ruahcd@rusys.eg.net, sridhar@mfcindia.org, sochara@vsnl.com, luisarias@prodigy.net.mx

Dear colleagues,

this submission from ASEAN captures the idea of positive discrimination in the regulation of world trade.

cheers

david legge

>From: "Mark Ritchie" <mritchie@iatp.org>  
>To: d.legge@latrobe.edu.au  
>Subject: submission by ASEAN on Special and Differential Treatment  
>Date: Fri, 17 Nov 2000 07:53:19 -0600  
>X-Mailer: Allaire Cold Fusion 3.1

>WTO Activist (wto-activist@iatp.org) Posted:  
>11/17/2000 By mritchie@iatp.org

>From: "Sophia Murphy" <smurphy@iatp.org>

>N.B. I will be sending through a number of submissions on the list. For statements for individual countries, I encourage you to go straight to the web site (www.wto.org and then search for documents with the G/AG/NG symbol).

>\*\*\*\*\*

>WORLD TRADE  
>ORGANIZATION

>G/AG/NG/W/55  
>10 November 2000

>(00-4776)

>Committee on Agriculture

summary 16/1 10/11

(120) 16/01/01 jrs



>Special Session  
>Original: English  
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>  
>SPECIAL AND DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES  
>IN WORLD AGRICULTURAL TRADE  
>  
>Submission by ASEAN  
>  
>  
>Introduction  
>Special and differential treatment for developing countries (S&D) has to be  
>appreciated from the point of view that developing countries, although  
>possessing a fair degree of comparative advantage in agricultural  
>production, are still in a substantially different "playing field" when  
>compared to developed countries. Special and differential treatment for  
>developing countries is an integral part of the reform process and must be  
>developed taking into account the principles of fair trade and the need to  
>achieve a level playing field for all WTO Members. Following is a  
>presentation of what the negotiations should be able to achieve at its  
>conclusion.  
>  
>Schedule and Level of Commitments:  
>The primary intent of S&D is to establish equity and fair competition where  
>structural conditions across countries are different. Paragraph 5 of the  
>"Enabling Clause" captures the essence of S&D:  
>  
>"The developed countries do not expect reciprocity for commitments made by  
>them in trade negotiations to reduce or remove tariffs and other barriers  
>to trade of developing countries, i.e. the developed countries do not  
>expect the developing countries, in the course of the negotiations, to make  
>contributions which are inconsistent with their individual development,  
>financial and trade needs. Developed contracting parties shall therefore,  
>not seek, neither less developed contracting parties be required to make,  
>concessions that are inconsistent with the latter's development, financial  
>and trade needs."  
>  
>The sheer underdevelopment of agriculture in developing countries limits  
>their ability to implement reforms at the same level and pace as that which  
>developed countries are able to undertake. The Agreement must therefore  
>afford developing countries to adopt reforms in a differential and more  
>gradual basis. As such, flexibility in terms of longer timeframe for the  
>implementation of commitments, which must continue to be given to  
>developing countries, will not suffice. The nature, depth and substance of  
>commitments must also be different.  
>Export Subsidies  
>As a first general obligation, developed countries must immediately  
>eliminate all forms of export subsidies and commit to their unconditional  
>prohibition.  
>Developing countries, on the other hand, must be able to continue using  
>existing flexibility with respect to export subsidies (i.e. Article 9.4).  
>Furthermore, disciplines in export credits, export credit guarantee or  
>insurance programmes should be developed and concluded before the end of  
>the implementation period. The development of these disciplines should  
>provide adequate flexibility for developing countries.  
>Domestic Support  
>The inclusion of domestic support policies in agriculture is seen as a  
>major breakthrough in the Uruguay Round. However, the rules and disciplines  
>on domestic support in the Agreement on Agriculture were formulated more in  
>consideration of the policies of developed countries. This has resulted in  
>major imbalances in obligations and commitments between developed and  
>developing countries.  
>The present Agreement allows most developing countries, which had applied  
>little or had no trade-distorting domestic subsidies, a 10 per cent ceiling

>on the level of this type of domestic support they can provide. The  
>developed countries, however, are not subject to an effective upper limit,  
>but are only expected to bring down trade-distorting subsidies (AMS) by 20  
>per cent in six years.

>As a result, it is evident that the heavily subsidising countries, which  
>include the majority of developed countries, will have an obvious  
>advantage. They can retain up to 80 per cent of their trade-distorting  
>subsidies, while the developing countries, which had not applied  
>trade-distorting support measures can subsidize their farmers no more than  
>10 per cent of the total value of their agricultural production.

>It is therefore imperative that the next reform programme must remedy this  
>state of imbalance by taking on board the following:

>A. Developed Countries:

>1. Developed countries must commit to a substantial downpayment of  
>aggregate and specific support from a determined base period, in absolute  
>terms. The remaining AMS should then be subject to reduction overtime  
>leading to their elimination. This depth of commitment will render any  
>tendency to apply export subsidies (to resolve the perennial problem of  
>over-production due to unbridled internal subsidization) academic.

>  
>2. The aggregate nature of AMS reduction in the present Agreement has  
>allowed countries to meet their overall commitment by adjusting policies in  
>a manner that resulted in some changes in a limited number of sectors while  
>preserving the support regimes in others, particularly in more sensitive  
>commodities. Reduction commitments in the next phase must therefore be made  
>on a disaggregated level, to ensure that all sectors are included in the  
>multilateral disciplines and to avoid greater distortions in the level of  
>support between commodities.

>  
>3. The Blue Box category of support measures, or domestic support under  
>production limiting programmes, must be subjected to similarly substantial  
>reduction commitments leading to their elimination.

>  
>4. Given their already high levels of AMS, developed countries should no  
>longer be allowed to have the additional flexibility to apply de-minimis .

>  
>5. Moreover, the criteria for "Green Box" measures or Annex 2 of the  
>present Agreement must be reviewed to ensure that they meet the fundamental  
>requirement that they have at least minimal or no trade distorting effects  
>or effects on production. The review should also ensure that the elements  
>contained in the "Green Box" are more responsive to the needs, particularly  
>food security concerns, of developing countries.

>  
>6. There should be an overall cap on the budget of developed countries  
>allocated for Green Box measures.

>  
>B. Developing countries

>  
>For developing countries, domestic support will continue to be important,  
>considering that efforts to develop their agricultural sectors remain a  
>long-term legitimate concern. S&D under the umbrella of domestic support  
>must therefore provide developing countries the flexibility to pursue  
>policies and strategies that would allow them adequate incentives to  
>develop their agricultural potential.

>  
>While considered to be an essential feature of S&D in domestic support,  
>lower levels in reduction alone would not be adequate to address the  
>development needs of developing countries because, in the first instance,  
>developing countries have not historically provided large trade-distorting  
>subsidies. Moreover, resource constraints faced by developing countries  
>prevent them from realising fully the advantages offered by the present S&D  
>scheme in the Agriculture Agreement.

>  
>The following are some key elements of S&D that would continue to be

>relevant to the needs of developing countries:

>

>1. Direct or indirect measures that are an integral part of the development

>programmes of developing countries, including investment and input

>subsidies, as identified in Article 6.2 of the present Agreement, must

>remain exempt from reduction commitments during the next phase of the

>reform programme.

>

>2. Measures intended to promote agricultural diversification must be exempt

>from reduction commitments;

>

>3. The existing de minimis concept and threshold must be continued to be

>applied but only to developing countries;

>

>4. Developing countries must be given an effective and meaningful degree of

>autonomy on policy instruments to address food security concerns.

>

>5. In addition, the Agreement must be able to make an appropriate

>differentiation between domestic measures which result in overproduction

>and the ability to carve out a niche in the international market, and those

>measures designed to face the challenges of food security of developing

>countries.

>

>Market Access

>

>The negotiations must include a clarification of the continuation of the

>use of tariff quotas, and if so, ensuring the non-discriminatory allocation

>and administration of tariff quotas, involving inter-alia disciplines in

>the operations of state trading enterprises.

>The next round must result in the elimination of tariff disparities, with

>developed countries committing to greater tariff reductions.

>

>Presently, tariffs on tropical products remain significant in developed

>countries' markets. Imports of tropical agricultural products from

>developing countries continue to suffer from tariff escalation against

>processing of exports. The next reform programme must therefore pursue the

>fullest liberalization of trade in tropical products, by among others,

>applying further tariff reductions and eliminating tariff peaks and tariff

>escalation on these products.

>

>Developing countries must have differential commitments and modalities as

>appropriate, in the area of market access. In addition, developing

>countries must be allowed the flexibility to continue the application of

>special safeguards.

>

>Although many developing countries are accorded preferential tariff margins

>under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) scheme, the concessionary

>nature of the GSP and the recent tendency to impose conditionalities on GSP

>benefits not only flouts the fundamental GSP principles of

>non-discrimination and non-reciprocity, it also results in unpredictable

>market access conditions for developing countries. To rectify this, the GSP

>principles already encapsulated in the Enabling Clause should be elaborated

>and maintained in the framework of the Agreement, with an explicit

>commitment by developed countries to conform to the principles of

>non-discrimination and non-reciprocity.

>

>Conclusion

>This submission has broadly outlined the essential elements of any

>meaningful manifestation and implementation of Special and Differential

>Treatment for Developing Countries as unambiguously stated in Paragraph 5

>of the "Enabling Clause". S & D, as specified in this outline - that

>further trade reforms, promote fairness and are facilitative rather than

>constraining of developing countries' development aspirations, in turn,

>must be essential in addressing the latter's legitimate concerns if they

>are to meaningfully participate, contribute and benefit from furthering the  
>reform process.

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>G/AG/NG/W/55Committee on Agriculture - Special Session - SPECIAL AND  
>DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN WORLD AGRICULTURAL TRADE  
>- Submission by ASEAN

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**Community Health Cell**

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**Sent:** Wednesday, May 26, 2004 12:50 PM  
**Subject:** South Asian Trade & SPS + Gov'ts New Farm Policy

In The Financial Express, India, May 24, 2004  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Here Are FOUR News items -

1. Comment Article On Proposed South Asian Free Trade & SPS Norms
2. South Asian Meet On Common Quality Norms

New Govt In India & Farmers -

3. New Agriculture Minister Announces His Priorities
4. Efforts To Evolve A Common Farm Policy

FAKM FRONT Column in the Commodity Watch Page

Common Quality Norms Are Vital In SAFTA Trade

[http://www.financialexpress.com/fe\\_full\\_story.php?content\\_id=52844](http://www.financialexpress.com/fe_full_story.php?content_id=52844)

**ASHOK B SHARMA**

Countries across the globe are realising the importance of regional trading blocks. The South Asian countries too have now felt the urgency of such an arrangement.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) with membership of seven countries including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives, is gradually moving towards a distinct regional trading block.

Beginning was made with the signing of the SAARC Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) in Dhaka in April 11, 1993. Subsequently the concept of South Asia Free Trade Area (SAFTA) was mooted at the 11th SAARC summit in Kathmandu and ultimately an agreement on SAFTA was signed on January 6, 2004 at the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad. SAFTA agreement is slated to come into force from January 1, 2006 upon completion of formalities including ratification by all contracting states and issuance of notification by the SAARC Secretariat.

Apart from compliances mentioned in the SAFTA agreement relating to regional trade like tariff reductions, there is a mention of trade facilitation measures like harmonisation of standards, reciprocal

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recognition of tests and accreditation of testing laboratories in member countries. This important aspect of trade is mentioned in Article 8 of the SAFTA Agreement. Non-tariff barriers can deter trade and hence need to be negotiated well in the interests of intra-SAARC trade.

The SAARC Secretariat with this foresight in view had initiated this process even before the signing of SAFTA agreement. A beginning was made with the SAARC workshop on regional approach to standardisation and quality control in Delhi in December 1997. The recommendations of this workshop was considered at the 2nd SAARC Commerce Ministers' Meeting in Islamabad in April 1998 which led to setting up of a SAARC Standing Group on Standards, Quality Control and Measurement.

This SAARC Standing Group had so far held three meetings and all of these meetings were hosted in Delhi as India is the coordinator. The first meeting was held within a year after its formation. It was held in June 29-30, 1999. The second meeting was held after a gap of two years in February 4-6, 2002. The delay was due to political difference between major member countries in the region. Now as the political differences between major countries have narrowed down leading to the success of the 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad the Standing Group could eventually meet in Delhi on May 18-19, 2004.

Lessons need to be learnt from the collapse of the last WTO ministerial meeting at Cancun. Developing countries need to remain united if they are to get any benefits from global trade. There is also a need for forming regional trading blocks. European Union, Mercosur, NAFTA, ASEAN are the examples of success. The South Asian countries should, therefore realise and move faster towards implementation of SAFTA Agreement.

One significant result of the 3rd meeting of the SAARC Standing Group which concluded its deliberations in Delhi on May 19, 2002 was that the members agreed to set up a regional standards body for formulating and administering quality norms for goods and services in the region. With harmonised standards put in place, it was decided that the SAARC countries would work for evolving a common position in meetings of global standard setting bodies like International Standards Organisation (ISO), Codex Alimentarius Commission and WTO. This is a notable achievement. Hope some more progress will be made in this direction before the next SAARC Summit in Dhaka in January 2005 and the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong which is also scheduled in January 2005.

It was also agreed in the 3rd meeting of the Standing Group to have bilateral agreements in areas of conformity assessment to facilitate intra-SAARC trade. A proposal for utilisation of available facilities in the SAARC region for accreditation of testing facilities and certification by member countries was also agreed upon.

The ISO has also recently recognised South Asian region as a separately distinct region for formulation of regional standards. SAARC signed a MoU with the German Metrology Institute, PTB for promoting cooperation in fields of measurement, calibration, standards, conformity assessment and accreditation. It is also planning to enter in agreement with other European bodies for technical assistance in developing standards. SAARC is currently formulating a MoU with UNIDO. These efforts will help South Asian countries to develop standards in equivalence to globally accepted norms.

Separate SAARC groups on customs simplification, investment promotion and protection, avoidance of double taxation are meeting shortly. There is a proposal to set up a regional arbitration council. Yet harmonisation of quality norms for the region is vital for trade.

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South Asian Meet On Common Quality Norms

ASHOK B SHARMA

Our Economic Bureau  
New Delhi, May 18

Technical experts from the South Asian countries began their deliberations today for developing common quality standards and measurements for goods in the region keeping in view of the proposed implementation of South Asia Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) from January 1, 2006.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) group on customs cooperation is expected to meet shortly to deliberate on simplification and harmonisation of customs procedures and documentation. The SAARC inter-governmental group is scheduled to meet in Kathmandu next week to prepare a blueprint of investment promotion and protection agreement, avoidance of double taxation agreement and setting up of an arbitration council for the region.

SAARC has decided to appoint a consultant to suggest strengthening transportation links in the region.

The director-general of the Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS), Nirmal Singh in his welcome address informed that keeping in view of the importance of regional standards and accreditation of conformity assessment systems, the international Standards Organisation (ISO) has divided the world into regional blocks and has recognised several formal regional bodies for this purpose. He further said "ISO perceiving the commonalities of South Asian countries, has recognised the region as one separate block".

He said that ISO has agreed to conduct a two-day regional workshop for certification and conformity assessment in New Delhi from December 6, 2004.

Inaugurating the meeting of technical experts, the Union secretary for consumer affairs and public distribution, Navin B Chawla called for reduction of non-tariff barriers in trade in South Asian region. He appealed to the experts "to ensure that differing national standards within the region do not impede trade till such time the standards are harmonised". He stressed the need for harmonising standards as well as conformity assessment procedures and set up regional standards. He suggested that the South Asian countries should take a common position at WTO, ISO, IEC and Codex.

The SAARC director for trade, economic and transport division, Rajiv K Chander said that all these developments have followed the successful conclusion of the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad in January, this year. Before the 12th SAARC summit adequate efforts were also undertaken to move in the direction. SAARC signed a MoU with the German Metrology Institute, PTB for promoting cooperation in fields of measurement, calibration, standards, conformity assessment and accreditation. SAARC is currently in active negotiations with UNIDO on formalising an MoU. "The European Commission is another potential partner that we are exploring cooperation with in this area," he said and added that common quality, measurement and testing norms will enable the least developing countries (LDCs) in the region to benefit from SAFTA.

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Commodity Spectrum Waits With Bated Breath As New Govt Takes Charge

Sugar Sector Revival, Easy Credit Flow To Farmers Top Pawai's Farm Agenda

[http://www.financialexpress.com/fe\\_full\\_story.php?content\\_id=59839](http://www.financialexpress.com/fe_full_story.php?content_id=59839)

±The Maratha strongman, Sharad Pawar, who is now the new Union minister for food and agriculture has promised to revitalise the sugar sector, easy flow of credit to farmers at a lower rates of interest and nursing back the cooperatives to health.

He is also in favour of utilising all the protective measures available under the WTO agreement to protect the interests of domestic farmers and make them globally competitive. He, in his personal capacity, also advocated putting in place "a strong and independent anti-dumping authority for ensuring a level playing held for domestic industries and trade and protection of Indian crops and herbs from bio-piracy."

Mr Pawar, however, declined to elaborate in details his plans to revitalise the sugar sector. He said "this is an intricate problem. I need to study it in detail before formulating any such plan." Mr Pawar expressed deep concern over "the wrong policies pursued by the erstwhile NDA government in agriculture sector which has ruined the entire farming community, driving many of their families to commit suicide."

When asked whether he would call for a total change in national agriculture policy adopted by the erstwhile NDA coalition, Mr Pawar said "I cannot commit anything at this moment. A draft of the common minimum programme (CMP) for implementation by the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) has been circulated amongst the alliance partners and we are all working to give it a final shape. I can tell the detailed approach to agriculture only after the CMP is finalised "

Mr Pawar, however, called for increased public investment in agriculture.

As had been earlier reported Mr Pawar was lobbying for the post of the defence minister of the country. The coalition partners had gathered at the residence of the Congress president, Sonia Gandhi at 10, Janpath Road till midnight on Friday and the matter of portfolio allocation remained unresolved. There were several contenders for the post of agriculture minister like Mr M Janardana Reddy of the Congress, Mr Raghuvansh Prasad Singh and Mr Devender Prasad Yadav, both of the Rashtriya Janata Dal. It was only on Saturday morning it was finalised that Mr Pawar would be the Union minister for both food and agriculture in the new government.

In this context, when asked if he is happy at the new dispensation, Mr Pawar said "it is an opportunity to serve the cause of the farmers and rural people which constitute more than 70 per cent of the population in the country."

In fact, apart from being a leader of sugar cooperative in Maharashtra, Mr Pawar has taken keen interest in agriculture. He is the president of the Centre for International Trade in Agriculture and Agro-based Industries (CITA), an organisation formed by his efforts about three years ago. CITA is engaged in documentation and study on every aspects of agriculture including production, prices and global trade

The finalisation of the CMP will pave the way the policy approach to be taken up by the UPA coalition. Mr Pawar's Nationalist Congress Party which is an active partner in the coalition has already provided valuable inputs like substantial increase in allocation for agricultural infrastructure, improved irrigation facilities, power supply to farmers at reasonable rates, extension of roadways and railway lines to facilitate easy access of agricultural areas to railway sidings and ports.

NCP has also suggested crop diversification by introduction of commercial

and export-oriented crops, floriculture and horticulture, strengthening of the cooperative movement and encouraging cooperatives in farming and dairy sectors, ensuring remunerative prices to farmers, strengthening and



monitoring of public distribution system (PDS), delegation of powers to panchayats, financial support and marketing assistance for promoting agro exports, comprehensive crop insurance scheme and sufficient compensation to farmers for damages caused by natural calamities and financial assistance for resuming cultivation after natural calamities.

NCP suggested promoting of khadi and village industries through special support with steady supply of raw materials, up gradation of technologies, diversification of products, marketing linkages and craftsman training.

The draft of the CMP circulated by the Congress party suggests "enhancing the welfare and well-being of farmers and farm labour and assure a secure future for their families in every respect." The draft CMP calls for setting up of a national commission for studying the problems facing enterprises in the unorganised and informal sector as opposed to the NDA coalition which set up a national commission only for farmers. The draft CMP also talks of revamping of the Khadi & Village Industries Commission and modernisation of coin, handloom, powerloom, handicrafts, food processing, sericulture, wool, leather and pottery sectors.

The draft CMP calls for grain procurement by government agencies in poor and backward areas, greater public investment in farm sector particularly in central and eastern regions of the country, revamping of rural cooperative credit structure, doubling the flow of rural credit in three years, coverage of small and marginal farmers by institutional credit structure, lower rates of interest on farm loans, farm diversification, effective farm insurance scheme.

It also called for a special programme for dryland farming, water management and watershed development programme, implementation of minimum wage for farm labour, modernisation of revenue management, autonomy for cooperatives, removal of controls that depress farmers' income, protection of farmers against cheap imports, strengthening of PDS in backward areas, direct devolution of funds to panchayats and examining the feasibility of interlinking of river basins and resolving inter-state water disputes.

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Standing apart on common ground

As the Congress promises priority to agriculture, it needs to strike a balance between its policies and the Left's

[http://www.indianexpress.com/full\\_story.php/content\\_id=47327](http://www.indianexpress.com/full_story.php/content_id=47327)

ASHOK B SHARMA

NEW DELHI: The news of Dr Manmohan Singh as prime minister has given the farmers, among others, a cause for cheer. Their happiness has everything to do with Singh's statement that "agriculture should be given first priority. We will work for creating employment opportunities and accelerating rural development."

To the farmers, Singh's words clearly show that the government means business. Like in other policies, the Left Front supporting the government will also have a say in agricultural policies.

A closer look at the two manifestos shows that though both parties agree on broader issues, there are some basic differences where a common meeting ground has to be found.

3/26/04

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In its election manifesto, the major party of the Left combine the Communist Party of India-Marxist CPI(M), had criticised the Congress saying that its policies were no alternative to the BJP. "The Congress advocates economic policies that are not different from the BJP." read the CPI(M) election manifesto

Some of the sticky points now could be the CPI(M)'s insistence on reintroducing quantitative restrictions (Qs) on imports of those commodities which are backed by domestic and export subsidies in developed countries, increase in import duty to protect agriculture, protection of biodiversity and seed rights of farmers and setting up an institutional state framework to fight biopiracy.

It also calls for a review of amendments to the Indian Patent Act which weighs heavily in favour of multinational companies.

On the domestic farm policy front, the CPI(M) in its poll manifesto had insisted on strict implementation of land reforms. It said "keeping in mind that 70 per cent of the people of India live in the rural areas, the single most important step for rural transformation is the implementation of land reforms."

The Congress poll manifesto skips any mention of implementation of land reforms and suggests only "to redouble its efforts to distribute surplus productive land to the landless."

The CPI(M) has categorically urged "to prohibit sale of agricultural lands to foreign companies or their subsidiaries for agri-business." This statement of CPI(M) runs counter to the policy of the erstwhile NDA coalition and the Congress party on inviting foreign direct investments (FDIs) in agriculture.

The CPI(M) poll manifesto has called for remunerative prices for crops through market intervention by the government which the erstwhile NDA planned to gradually dismantle through a series of substituting measures like farm income insurance scheme, introduction of futures trading, encouraging farmers to set up companies of their own with landholdings being treated as equity base and persuading state governments to amend laws permitting private operators to directly purchase farmers' produce in regulated markets. The Congress is, however, silent on this issue.

The CPI(M) wants to revert to universal public distribution system of foodgrains and "giving up targeting in the name of reaching the poor." In fact, this system of targeting the poor in PDS was initiated by the Left parties-supported United Front government in late 1990s but was not implemented then till the NDA coalition came to power. CPI(M) suggested that 14 essential commodities should be distributed under PDS.

The CPI(M) also suggested that those who are not income tax payers should get the same benefits now extended to families living below the poverty line (BPL) under PDS. The Antodaya Scheme for highly subsidised grain distribution to the 'poorest of the poor' should cover all sections of the rural poor. It calls for a network of fair-price shops and consumer cooperatives covering all panchayats, cutting down overhead costs of Food Corporation of India and streamlining its mechanism.

However, the Congress manifesto does not talk of universal PDS or restructuring of the Antodaya Scheme to include all the rural poor. It says that the focus of the PDS will be BPL families. But it talks about extending the reach of the PDS. The Congress approach to the PDS is similar to that of the erstwhile NDA coalition.

The CPI(M)'s insistence on increase in subsidies on agricultural inputs may

3/26/04

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clash with Manmohan Singh's desire for doing away with subsidies on power.

However, there are some areas of agreement between the Congress and the CPI(M) with varying degrees of emphasis on issues like increasing public investment in agriculture, ensuring self-sufficiency in food output, greater allocation for developing irrigation, comprehensive insurance schemes for crop and cattle, expansion of farm credit facilities, sufficient allocation

Community Health Cell

From: "benny kuruvilla" <benkuru@yahoo.com>  
To: "GATSCrit" <GATSCrit@yahoogroups.com>  
Sent: Monday, June 14, 2004 6:08 PM  
Subject: India may review GATS proposals and call for consultations

Folks,

note that the new govt is a) likely to review all new proposals from WTO members to India and b) will call for more consultations. also welcome news on more political involvement in the formulation of trade policy.

india did make a guarded initial offer in Jan 04 - any info on proposals post this from trading partners would be useful

best,

benny

Economic Times,  
New Delhi

Industry, farmers to get 'protection'  
G GANAPATHY SUBRAMANIAM

TIMES NEWS NETWORK[ MONDAY, JUNE 14, 2004 12:32:34 AM ]

The government is planning a significant shift in the country's external trade policy, adopting a protective attitude towards the domestic industry and farmers.

A review of the positions firmed up so far is on the cards, and a higher level of political involvement is expected in future decision-making on WTO issues. Preliminary discussions in the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government indicate that a "calibrated" approach, more cautious than the strategy followed by previous governments, would be adopted for opening up the Indian market.

The previous government was of the view that lower import tariffs on farm goods and industrial products may be the trade-off to obtain higher market access in agriculture and services.

The increased level of political consultation in global trade issues has already been kicked off by including four MPs in the Indian delegation to the eleventh session of the United Nations Conference on

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Sub-WTO/GATS  
file  
for  
23/6

Akhilesh Das (Raiva Sabha) and Pawan Kumar Bansal (Lok Sabha) of the Congress are part of the delegation, along with Ramesh Bais (LS) of BJP and DP Pande (RS) of BJD. Moreover, the Left parties have already been briefed about WTO-related issues by senior Congress leaders

The Indian delegation to the meet is led by commerce & industry minister Kamal Nath and a number of officials, including SN Menon, special secretary in the commerce department, and KM Chandrasekhar - India's ambassador to the WTO, are part of the team. The UNCTAD meet is considered significant since it is the first major global meet on trade since the UPA government took over.

As a result of the policy shift at the political level, India is expected to harden its stand on elimination of farm subsidies by the US and the EU. Any effort to persist with a textile export quota beyond the end of this year will be opposed tooth and nail, highly-placed sources in the finance ministry said.

Similarly, a tougher stand will be adopted on tariff reduction for industrial goods. The idea of monitoring farm imports more closely, treating the entire segment as sensitive, is also under consideration. However, there is no plan to impose higher duty on any farm commodity since a spurt in global prices is providing adequate cushion for domestic producers. It is understood that a Cabinet sub-committee would be formed on agriculture to constantly update policies and assess the global situation.

India will also emphasise strongly on preferential treatment for developing countries and strengthening the coalitions formed on various issues like agriculture and non-trade issues. In these aspects, the policy adopted by NDA will be "continued" and taken forward.

In the case of services, the government may review all proposals from WTO members before firming up its commitments. Another round of discussions with stakeholders is likely, the officials added. The government considers global developments in textiles significant, since the quota system for exports is coming to an end this year.

Therefore, the sources said that the focus of the country's efforts would be to provide a quantum push to exports from '05 onwards. The textiles ministry and

6/15/04

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the textiles industry feel that developed countries should not be allowed to erect new barriers to trade.

India should ensure that no country retains the right to levy specific duties, they have argued

The "formula approach" - which allows less than full

reciprocity for developing countries in submitting  
market access commitments - is favoured for opening up  
the textiles and clothing sector

The government is also considering proposals that  
would allow developing countries to keep some products  
"unbound" so that sensitive sectors can be protected

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**Sent:** Tuesdav, August 10, 2004 11:39 PM  
**Subject:** Proposed MFA Quota Phaseout Under WTO + Quality Norms On Pepsi-Cola On Arvil

In The Financial Express, India, Aug 9, 2004  
 .....

Here Are TWO News Items :-

- 1. WTO-related - MFA Quota Phaseout : A Move Towards Eliminating Protectionism
- 2. First Mandatory Norms For Pepsi-Cola On Arvil In India

FARM FRONT Column In The Commodity watch Page

MFA Quota Phaseout: A Move Towards Eliminating Protectionism

[http://www.financialpress.com/fe\\_full\\_story.php?content\\_id=65452](http://www.financialpress.com/fe_full_story.php?content_id=65452)

ASHOK B SHARMA

Posted online: Monday, August 09, 2004 at 0000 hours IST

The textile quota system in global trade is slated to be phased out by the end of this year. The Indian textile and apparel industry views this likely development an opportunity to double its global market share.

This confidence of the Indian textile sector once again proves that the economy of a developing country can be competitive on its comparative advantage, if the rules of the global trade are fair and non-discriminatory

The study "Vision Statement for the Textile Sector" released by The Indian Cotton Mills' Federation (ICMF) last week said that China and India are well positioned to garner an increased market share. The study, however, says "the quota elimination from January 1, 2005 will put certain countries at risk, and the countries most at risk are those which developed because quotas held some other countries back."

True, the existence of quotas in the international textile and apparel trading system for the past half century has, in effect, shielded the textile apparel exporting countries from competition and granted them relatively predictable export earnings by guaranteeing fixed market shares. The lifting of the quota system will place some existing exporters at a disadvantage.

The ICMF vision document analysing the fate of preferential suppliers to H.U says "countries with no particular cost or locational advantage (like ASEAN except Vietnam) and countries, which historically enjoyed high quota holding like Hong Kong (which is now a part of China), will also find their exports in high risk category post-2005."

Quoting an analysis by Nathan Associates of US imports of apparels by regions based on the risk of market losses, the ICMF vision document says "countries/regions that currently possess export competitiveness built on quota-free access treaties and mechanisms such as AGOA, NAFTA and CBI will be affected adversely once the quotas are removed. The quota system restrained market share growth of competition from counterparts in Asia and China "

A study done by Oxfam International places Bangladesh and Sri Lanka in high risk category in post-2005. Other to be affected are Pakistan, Mauritius, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic. Oxfam apprehends that the situation may arise in these two countries (Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) where hundreds of thousands of job may be lost over night and therefore, the rich countries must help them with aid, retraining assistance and better deals on trade.

The Oxfam study equally criticises the MFA quota system as "one of the most pernicious weapon in the rich world's arsenal of protections". The study says that MFA restrictions and high tariffs cost developing countries \$ 40 billion per annum and a loss of 21 million jobs. The protectionist trade barriers have pushed up the cost of clothing for an average European family of four to around Euro 270 a year. High tariff barriers are discriminatory.

For instance Cambodia exports \$ 0.96b worth of goods to US and is taxed \$ 152 m while Norway which exports \$ 5.2b worth of goods to US is taxed just \$ 24 m. The US charged Bangladesh \$ 531m in tariff in 2001 and in the same year invested a meagre \$ 8/m in aid.

Oxfam fears that in event of the phase out of the textile quota system, the rich may resort to anti-dumping measures, use of several non-tariff barriers to trade, indiscriminate use of the rules of origin with a view to restrict imports from developing countries. Oxfam has called upon developed countries to reduce their tariff barriers from the current average of 12 per cent to 4 per cent by the end of the decade and relax their rules of origin for textiles and clothing to facilitate imports from poor and vulnerable countries.

The ICMF vision document classify India under low-risk category post-2005. It says that India's global market share will double from \$ 355bn in 2002 to \$ 653 bn by 2010, textile and apparel exports will rise from \$ 12bn in 2003 to \$ 40 bn by 2010. By 2010 the industry can achieve a size of \$ 85 bn, domestic market will increase to \$ 40bn and over 12 million jobs will be created in the country.

The industry will need an investment of Rs 1,40,000 crore to meet the challenges and opportunities.

The ICMF vision document analyses the strength and weaknesses of the textile sector in competing countries like Bangladesh, China, Sri Lanka and Pakistan and concludes that India and China are in win-win situation post-2005

The MFA quota phaseout will, therefore, help the developing countries with comparative advantages to be competitive, only if fair rules of trade are allowed to operate.

CSE Urges Govt To Approve BIS Draft Norms For Carbonated Drinks

[http://www.financialexpress.com/fe\\_full\\_story.php?content\\_id=63466](http://www.financialexpress.com/fe_full_story.php?content_id=63466)

ASHOK B. SHARMA  
New Delhi, Aug 8

The Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) has demanded that the draft norms formulated by the Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS) on carbonated soft beverages like Pepsi-Cola should be approved and made mandatory immediately.

It has criticised the "compromising" steps taken by the Union ministry of health and family welfare on the issue.

The CSE has also demanded the citizen's right to access potable water, free from any health and hygienic hazards. It has urged the government to formulate a policy for regulation of pesticide use and lowering the maximum residue levels (MRLs) of pesticide residues in foods as per international norms. After revising the MRLs care should be taken that the pesticide intake through an Indian diet should not exceed the acceptable daily intakes (ADIs) of the commonly used pesticides.

The statutory autonomous body, BIS, on July 15 had circulated a draft standard on 'ready-to-serve non-alcoholic beverages' for public comments. The last date for such comments to come in is August 31, 2004. In this context the CSE director, Dr Sumita Nairan speaking to FE said "the BIS norms are a giant leap forward for the food safety movement in India. India will be the first country in the world to have quality norms for carbonated soft drinks. We want that the norms circulated by BIS to be approved and made mandatory."

It may be noted that the CSE initiated a countrywide debate in February 2003 by exposing the high pesticide residues in packaged drinking water and subsequently in carbonated soft drinks. Packaged drinking water and soft drinks are mostly marketed by multinational companies in the country. As a result the quality norms for packaged drinking water was aligned to European standards and made mandatory. For reviewing the CSE expose on carbonated soft drinks a joint parliamentary committee (JPC) was set up under the chairmanship of the present Union agriculture

minister, Sharad Pawar which recommended setting up of separate standards for carbonated soft drinks and fruit juices.

Dr Narain said "we agree to the BIS norms on soft drinks which are in keeping with the recommendations of the IPC. It has set the norms for pH and caffeine content in these drinks, imposing strict labelling requirements. The draft standards set limits for 16 pesticides in the finished product. The limit for individual pesticide residue has been fixed at 0.0001 milligram per litre and the total pesticide residue should not exceed 0.0005 milligram per litre."

She said that BIS has rightly extended to same norms for pesticide residues applied for packaged drinking water to carbonated soft drinks. The pH of carbonated beverages has to be not less than 2.3. The caffeine content in these beverages has been reduced from 200 milligram to 145 milligram. The labelling norms will have to indicate as to whether it is recommended or not for children, pregnant or lactating mothers and individuals sensitive to caffeine, she said.

She said that the draft BIS norms have been formulated carefully by a committee consisting of representatives from the soft drink industry, industry associations, consumer and environmental groups and leading agricultural scientists, nutritionists and toxicologists and hence there should be no excuse for its implementation.

Dr Narain came down heavily on the compromising attitude of the Union health and family welfare ministry. She said that after the recommendation of the IPC, the health ministry decided to take some steps by formulating norms. It soon came under the pressure of multinational and decided to formulate norms for the raw water used in preparation of soft drinks instead of setting standards for the final product as suggested by the IPC. She alleged that this is a compromising attitude of the health ministry which has overlooked the hygienic of millions of consumers. Currently, the pesticide intake through an Indian diet exceeds the ADIs of commonly used pesticides. There is, therefore, no space in our diet for pesticides from non-dietary food such as soft drinks. All kinds of food items have to be accounted for in estimation of ADIs, she said.

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## ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್

### ಎಂಬ ಅಂತಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮೋಸ

ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷರು, ಅದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹಿಂದೆ ಮುಘಲರು ಫಾರಸಿ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಹರಣ ಮಾಡುವುದರ ಜತೆ, ದೇಶಪ್ರೇಮ, ದೇಶದ ಅಭಿಮಾನಗಳನ್ನೂ ಸೆಳೆದೊಯ್ದರೆ? ಈಗಲೂ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಲೂಟಿ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರವಾರಗಳನ್ನು ತಡೆಯುವಷ್ಟು, ಗಲ್ಲುವಷ್ಟು ಶಕ್ತಿಯೂ ನಮಗಿಲ್ಲವೇ?

ಫಾರಸದ ಮೂಲ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನೇ ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ, ಜಪಾನ್, ಯುರೋಪು ಮೊದಲಾದ ದೇಶಗಳು ಇಂದು ಲೂಟಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿವೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಅನುಭವ, ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ, ಪ್ರಯೋಗ ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಸ್ವತ್ತಿ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಇದು ಮೋಸಗಾರಿಕೆ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದೂ ತಿಳಿದೂ ನಾವು ಇದನ್ನು ಬಿಳಿಯಲು ಬಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಏಕೆ ಇಷ್ಟು ಪಂಡಿತನ?

ಬಾಸುಮತಿ ಅಕ್ಕಿಯಾಯಿತು, ಕೆಳಬೇವು ಆಯಿತು, ಭೂ ನೆಲೆ ಆಯಿತು, ಹಾಗಲಕಾಯಿ ಆಯಿತು, ಆರಸಿನ ಆಯಿತು, ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷೆ ಆಯಿತು, ಸಾಸಿವೆ ಆಯಿತು, ಹಸಿ ಕುಂಬೆಯಾಯಿತು, ಕರಿಬೇರಿಗೆ ಆಯಿತು, ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀ (ಒಂದೆಲೆ) ಆಯಿತು, ಸೀತಾಫಲ ಆಯಿತು, ಹಲಸಿನಗುಣ್ಣೆ ಆಯಿತು, ದಾಳಿಬೆ ಆಯಿತು, ಕರಿಮಾಂಸ ಆಯಿತು, ಇಸಬ್‌ಗೋಲ್ ಆಯಿತು... ಈ ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಇನ್ನೂ ದೀರ್ಘವಾಗಿದೆ. ಸುಮಾರು 30 ವಸ್ತುಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆಯಿತು. ಅಲ್ಲ ನಮ್ಮ ಹಕ್ಕು ಹೋಯಿತು. ಅರ್ಥಾತ್ ಫಾರಸೀಯರಿಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಇವುಗಳ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಲು ಸಿಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕಕ್ಕೋ ಜಪಾನಿಗೋ ಬರೆದು ತರಿಸಬೇಕು.

ಇದು ಅಂತಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಳ್ಳತನ. ದಿನನಿತ್ಯ ನಮ್ಮ ಅಡುಗೆಗೆ ಬೇಕಾಗುವ, ಆಯುರ್ವೇದದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಹಲವು ವಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನೇ ಅಪಹರಿಸಿ, ಅದ್ದು ನಮ್ಮ ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಕಾದರೆ ನಾವು ಈ ಪದದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ರೇಷಾಗಾಜೀತು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮೊದಲೆ ಅಪಮಾನ ಬೇರೆ ಇದೆಯೇ?

ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ರೈತರು, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳು, ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರು ಹಲವು ಬಾರಿ ಪ್ರತಿಭಟನೆ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾಯಿತು. ತಕರಾರು ತಂದೆದ್ದಾಯಿತು. ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆಯನ್ನು ಅಂತಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಲು ಸನ್ನದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಆಗಾಗ ಸುದ್ದಿಯ ತುಣುಕುಗಳು ಬರುತ್ತವೆ. ದೀಪ್ತಿ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗೂ ತಕರಾರು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದುಂಟು. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಹಗಲುಗಳ್ಳತನ ನಿಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ನಾಗರಿಕತೆಯ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ, ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ್ಕಾಗಿ, ತ್ರಿಮುಖತೆಯ ಲಾಭಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವ ಈ ಹಗಲು ದರೋಡೆ ಹೀಗೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯಬೇಕೇ?



ಭಾರತ ಒಂದು ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ - ವಿಪ್ಲವ ಭೂಪ್ರದೇಶ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಎಲ್ಲ ಬಗೆಯ ಹವಾಮಾನಗಳಿವೆ. ಅತಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಚಳಿ, ಮಳೆ, ಬಿಸಿಲು ಕಾಯುವ ಮರುಭೂಮಿ ಎಲ್ಲವೂ ಇವೆ. ಇಷ್ಟು ವೈವಿಧ್ಯದ ನಿರ್ಭರ್ಗ ಸಂಪತ್ತು ಇರುವ ನಾಡು ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ನಮಗೆ ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ, ಬಳಸುವ ಯೋಗ್ಯತೆಯೂ ಇಲ್ಲವೇ? ಹಣ ಸಿಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದರೆ ಈ ದೇಶದ ಮಹಾತ್ಮರೊಬ್ಬರು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಸ್ವರ್ಗವನ್ನೂ ಒಡೆಯಲು, ಮಾರಾಟ ಮಾಡಲು ನಾವು ಸಿದ್ಧರು!

ಆಯುರ್ವೇದ ದೀಪ್ತಿಯ ರುಚಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಮೌಲ್ಯ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ಲಾಫಬಡುಕ ಫಾರ್ಮಸ್ಯೂಟಿಕಲ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದಕರು ಈ ಕಾಳು, ಹುಲ್ಲು, ಎಲೆ, ಹಣ್ಣುಗಳಿಂದ ಬಿಲಿಯಗಟ್ಟಳೆ ಡಾಲರ್ ಮಾಡಲು ಆಕರಲಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ದೀಪ್ತಿ ಚೀನಿಗಳ ಪೈಕಿ ಶೇಕಡಾ 25ರಲ್ಲಿ ಗಿಡಮೂಲಿಕೆಗಳ ಅಂಶಗಳಿರುವ ಮದ್ದುಗಳಿವೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಒಂದು ಅಂದಾಜು. ಆದರೆ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತು - ಮೂವತ್ತು ಬಿಲಿಯ ಡಾಲರ್. ಕೆನಡಾ, ಇಂಗ್ಲೆಂಡ್, ಆಸ್ಟ್ರೇಲಿಯಾ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೀಗೆ ಮಾರಾಟವಾಗುವ ದೀಪ್ತಿಗಳ ಒಟ್ಟು ಮೌಲ್ಯವೇ 70 ಬಿಲಿಯ ಡಾಲರ್‌ಗೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು.

ಈ ದೀಪ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಕುಮಾರು 2,50,000 ದಿನದ ಬಗೆಯ ಗಿಡಗಳು ಬೇಕಾಗಿವೆ. ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಅರ್ಧಕರ್ಡ್ ಇವೆ. ಕೆಲವು ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಇವೆ. ಭಾರತವನ್ನು ಕೊಳ್ಳಿಹೋಡೆಯುವುದು ಬಲು ಸುಲಭ ಎಂದು ಈ ಜಾಲತಿಕ ಚೋರರಿಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯಲು ತಡವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ.

ಅತ್ಯಂತ ತೀವ್ರ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಿ ವೈಯೋಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅಮೆರಿಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ಫಾರ್ಮಸ್ಯೂಟಿಕಲ್ ಕಂಪೆನಿಗಳು ಒಳಿದೊಂದು ವನಸ್ಪತಿಯ ಹಲವು

“ಭಾರತದ ನಿರ್ಭರ್ಗ ಸಂಪತ್ತು ಅದ್ಭುತ ವೈವಿಧ್ಯ ಏಕೆ ಇಲ್ಲದ್ದು. ಇದರ ರಕ್ಷಣೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಹೊಣೆ.” ● ಸರ್ ಜಿ. ಪಿ. ಬೋಸ್

# ಅಂತರಂಗ ಬಹಿರಂಗ

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡ ದಾಖಲೆಗಳಿವೆ. ಒಂದು ಕಂಪನಿಯು ಕುಬೇರನ್ನು ಸೊಪ್ಪಿನ ಮೇಲೆ 65 ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಮಾಡಿದೆ. ಅರಿಸಿನದ ಮೇಲೆ 15, ಸಾವಿವೆ ಮೇಲೆ 10, ನಲ್ಲಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ 20... .. ಹೀಗೆ ಈ ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಸಾಗಿದೆ. ಬೇರೆ ದೇಶದ ಸೊಪ್ಪನ್ನು ಕದ್ದು ಅದು ತಮ್ಮದು ಎಂದು ಸಾಧಿಸುವ ಈ ಅಂತಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಫಟಿಂಗತನಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊನೆ ಇಲ್ಲವೇ? ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಏನನ್ನವೇಕು?

ಈ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವವರು ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳೇ. ಈ ಅವಿವು ನಮ್ಮ ಸರಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಇಲ್ಲವೇ? ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡದಂತೆ ನಾವು ಏನೂ ಮಾಡಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲವೇ? ಸರಕಾರ ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಈ ಕುರಿತು ಗಂಭೀರವಾಗಿ ಯೋಚಿಸಿದ್ದಿಯೇ? ಏಕೆ ಈ ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಮೌನ?

ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲೂ ಒಂದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನು ಇದೆ. ಅದು 1970ರದ್ದು. ಹಳೆಯದು. ಅದನ್ನು ಈಗಿನ ಸಮಾಜಗಳಿಗೆ ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿ ಮಾಡುವುದು ಬೇಕವೇ? ಲೋಕಸಭಾ ಸದಸ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಈ ಕುರಿತು ನಿಜವಾದ ತಿಳಿವಳಿಕೆ, ಕಳಕಳ, ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಇದೆಯೇ?

ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಮತ್ತು ಯುರೋಪಿನ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಔಷಧಿ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳು ನಮ್ಮ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನನ್ನೇ ತಿರುಳು ಮಾಡಲು ಹವಣಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಈ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ವಿವಾದದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ಕೆಲವು ಬಾರಿ ಸೋತಿದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಒಂದೊಂದೇ ವಸ್ತುಗಳು ಹೊರಗಡೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆಗುತ್ತಿವೆ. ವಿದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆದ ಇಂಥ ವಸ್ತುಗಳ ಏಕಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯ ಆಯಾ ದೇಶವೇ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಮೇರಿ ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಅವುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಯಾವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳೂ ಇರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲವು ಆಯುರ್ವೇದ ಔಷಧಿ ತಯಾರಕ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳಿಗೆ ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಗಂಡಾಂತರ ಬಂದಿದೆ. ವಿದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೊಡ್ಡ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳು ಒಂದಾಗಿ ಏಕಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬಲಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಅವುಗಳ ಮುಂದೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಆಯುರ್ವೇದ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳು ಏನೂ ಮಾಡಲಾರವು. ವಾಸ್ತವವಾಗಿ ಈ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಗಳು ಭಾರತದ ರೈತರ ವಿರೋಧಿಯಾಗಿವೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ನಿರ್ಮಿತಿ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ವಿದುರದ್ದವಿವೆ. ಒಟ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾವಿರಾರು ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಂದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹವಾಗಿರುವ ನಮ್ಮ ಆಹಾರ, ಆರೋಗ್ಯದ ಕುರಿತಾದ ಅನುಭವಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಸದ್ವಲ್ಲೇ ಬೆಲೆಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲದಂತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲನಿಯತ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ನಾಗರಿಕರಾಗಿರುವ ನಮ್ಮ ಭಾರತೀಯ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳ ಹೆಸರಲ್ಲೂ ಕೆಲವು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದು ಕೇವಲ ಅವರ ಅನುಕೂಲಕ್ಕಾಗಿ. ಇದು ನಮ್ಮ ಹಗ್ಗದಿಂದಲೇ ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಹಾಕಿದ ಸಂಗತಿಯಂತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿದೇಶೀಯರಿಗೆ ಭಾರತದ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿಲುಗಳು ತೆರೆದಿವೆ ಎಂದರೆ ಅವರು ಹೀಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ವಸ್ತುಗಳಿಗೆ ನಮಗೇ ಸಂಚಿಕಾರ ಮಾಡುವ ಸಂಚು ಧೂರ್ತತನದ ಪರಮಾವಧಿ. ಒಳಜಗಳಗಳಲ್ಲೇ ತಲ್ಲೀನರಾಗಿರುವ ನಮ್ಮ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ನಾಯಕರು ಈಗಲೂ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸುವರು ಎಂಬ ನಂಬಿಕೆ ಎಷ್ಟು ಮಂದಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಳಿದಿದೆ?

ಸಂತ್ರೇಷಣೆ ಸುಲಭ  
● ಸಂಪಾದಕ

## What is the IMF and the World Bank?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were set up at the end of World War II at Bretton Woods, USA in 1944. After the World War II, the USA emerged as a successful victor in political and economic terms. The USA was looking for new and growing markets and sources of raw materials. The war-ravaged countries like Germany were in dire need of capital to revive their economies. The USA managed to force its interests against rival industrial countries weakened by the war and to anchor these interests in the structure of the new world monetary system led to the creation of twin institutions, the IMF and World Bank. The IMF started its operation in 1947 while the World Bank commenced operations in 1946. With the foundation of these institutions, the USA succeeded in imposing its interests on world economic order based on free trade and free enterprise. These institutions closely follow a carrot and stick principle - without IMF membership no admission to the World Bank, without conformity to IMF rules no development aid from the World Bank.

### The IMF

As watchdog, the IMF ensures that loans of private banks will be repaid and countries like Mexico should not be allowed to default the repayments. In Mexico, it acted as an arbitrator rather than a lender. It made a package for Mexico—rescheduling of debt, new loans through banks, governments and its own resources.

**Founded** — 1944

**Members** — 155 (likely to increase due to the changes in Eastern Europe and disintegration of Soviet Union).

### Mother and Son

Mother?

Yes, Son?

If I owe the bank Rs. 1000 then what will happen?

Then you will have a problem. The bank will not give any loans to you, son.

If we owe the IMF and World Bank several billions then what will happen, mother?

Then they will have a problem. They will give you more and more loans, son.

**Voting** — The IMF does not follow the rule of one-country, one-vote system. It operates on a system of weighted voting. Votes are allocated according to the amount of money that each country has paid into the Fund, which is known as Quota. Each member country is allocated 250 votes plus one additional vote of each 100,000 SDRs of its quota in the Fund. The Special Drawing Rights (SDR), the unit of account for all fund financial transactions, consists of a weighted basket of five major currencies (US dollar, German DM, Japanese Yen, French franc and British pound sterling). India's quota in the Fund is \$2.9 billion. This system guarantees the dominant influence of the industrialised countries, particularly of the USA, in the decision-making. The following table shows how the distribution of votes within the IMF influence its decision-making.

#### Distribution of Votes in the IMF

Country	Votes (in %)
USA	19.3
U.K.	6.7
West Germany	5.8
France	4.8
Japan	4.6
China	2.6
India	2.2

MY POUND  
OF FLE\$H



Courtesy : Salam in Business and Political Observer

The table reveals that the lion's share of the votes is taken by the five industrial countries, led by the USA. The USA can block any major changes in policies because such a change would require an 85 per cent majority.

**Loans** — The fund only lends money to its member countries experiencing balance of payments difficulties. It is not a development institutions. Development is the concern of its sister agency, the World Bank. The IMF attaches stiff conditions to the granting of loans. The conditionalities are dependent on the actual use made of loan facilities and can range from recommendations, suggestions to detailed condition. Money is lent in a levies of "credit tranches". Basically, these refers to the

percentage of it paid aid-in-quota that a country wishes to borrow.

**Reserve Tranche** — The first tranche is known as the Reserve Tranche. It equals the difference between the country's quota in the Fund and the Fund's holdings of the country's currency. It can be drawn at any time without conditions, without charges, and need not be returned.

**Credit Tranche** — Borrowings begin with the first credit tranche (25 per cent of the quota). This tranche is not stringently conditioned but the next three credit tranches may only be withdrawn if the country concerned has agreed a stabilisation programme with the IMF and signed a standby arrangement or extended arrangement. The government of the country concerned has to sign a letter of intent committing it to wide-ranging economic changes which the Fund believes will restore a healthy balance of payment. Stand-bys permit borrowings to be made over a year and extended arrangements for three years. India borrowed 2.2 billion dollars loan as standby arrangement in October 1991. This standby loan would not be released to India in one instalment. It will be released in six quarterly instalments over the 18 months period. Thus each quarterly instalment would fetch India a loan amount of \$366.7 million. Along with the Reserve and Credit Tranches, the IMF has also created a series of "facilities" which are accompanied by harsh and stringent conditionalities. The facilities are following:

1. **Buffer Stock Facility (BSF)**: This facility is meant to help members to build international buffer stock of primary commodities. Countries are allowed to borrow upto 45 per cent of quota under this facility.
2. **Compensatory and Contingent Financing Facility (CCFF)**: Under this facility, money is available to member countries who are facing balance of payments problems due to circumstances beyond their control, such as drought, floods, fall in commodity prices, in-

creases in import costs, etc. This facility has an access limit of 122 per cent of quota. The "contingent" part of facility enables countries implementing adjustment programme e.g. India. The IMF approved a contingency loan of \$ 635 million to India in September 1991. The CCFF loan can be sanctioned only when the recipient country agrees to the conditionalities associated with the upper tranche of a standby loan arrangement. With the clearance of this loan, India's application for the upper

### For Your Eyes Only

## Austerity begins at home !

The World Bank President, Mr. Lewis Preston will be making Rs. 72,50,000 (\$290,000) a year. —Rs. 16,25,000 (\$65,000) more than his predecessor Mr. Conoble. Mr. Preston is "a bit embarrassed" about the 28.8 per cent raise. He didn't ask for it you see. It is being forced on him by tradition. By custom, salaries of the head of the World Bank and IMF are linked. So why is Michael Comdessus over at the IMF getting a raise? Think hard. Because he thought he should make just as much money as the head of the new European Bank For Reconstruction and Development, Jacques Attali. That's why.

tranche of the stand-by loan of \$2.2 billion was approved.

3. **Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF)** : Created in 1986 for use by low-income countries, this facility provides balance of payments assistance on concessional terms with repayment beginning five and a half year after dis-

bursement. The overall access limit is 70% of quota. The member countries who wish to borrow from the SAF are required to prepare a "policy framework paper" with the assistance of the IMF and World Bank, which details structural reforms the country intends to make in the coming years.

4. **Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF)** : Created in 1987 with the same purpose as the SAF, although it has a maximum drawing limit of 250-350 per cent of the quota. Like SAF, members countries are also required to prepare a policy frame-work paper under the ESAF and submit it to the Executive Boards of the IMF and World Bank.
5. **Extended Fund Facility (EFF)** : Under this facility, loans are given over a 3-4 year period to members implementing IMF 'Structural Adjustment Programmes'. This facility has an upper drawing limit of 140% of quota. India has requested the IMF to convert the \$2.2 billion stand by credit into an extended fund facility which means a bigger loan between \$5-7 billions. This would be carried out after the presentation of the 1992-93 budget.

## The World Bank

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is the full name of the World Bank. It is a sister organisation of the IMF. The governing structures of the IMF and the World Bank are similar. Their annual meetings are held jointly. Both have their headquarters in Washington, DC.

**Founded** : 1944

**Members** : 158 (likely to increase due to changes in EE and disintegration of USSR).

**Voting** : Like the IMF, the World Bank also uses a weighted system of voting—each country has 250 votes plus one additional vote for each share of the value of US \$ 100,000 each. The following table

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gives a picture of dominant position of industrialised countries led by USA in the votes within the World Bank in 1989.

#### Distribution of Votes in the World Bank

Country	% total votes	%G P *
USA	19.63	5.00
Japan	9.43	2.40
West Germany	7.29	1.20
U.K.	6.99	1.10
France	4.76	1.00
China	2.55	21.00
India	2.55	16.00

\*G P—global population

**Voting** : The biggest shareholders get the most votes on the powerful Executive Board. Industrialised countries (over 60 per cent of the votes) have an effective say in the policy matters. One representative from each member country sits on the Bank's Board of Governors though day-to-day decisions of the Bank are made by 22 Executive Directors who reside permanently at Bank headquarters in Washington, DC. Five are appointed by the members holding the greatest amount of shares (Germany, France, Japan, U.K. and USA), while 17 are elected by a group of countries. At present, India is an elected Executive Director in the Bank.

**Loans** : The majority of the loans that the Bank makes are financed with borrowings from the international capital markets, not from the contributions on the international capital markets. In 1988, its borrowings amounted to \$84.5 billions. Since its inception, the Bank has earned a profit every year.

**Project Loans** : Traditionally, the World Bank has been giving loans to specific projects in the member countries. In 1987, the combined lending of the World Bank to the every sector was 21 per cent. Most of this lending is meant to finance the big hydroelectric dam projects (such as Narmada and Subernarekha Projects in India), coal mining projects, transportation projects like roads, agricultural, telecommunications, industrial and ur-

ban development projects.

**Sectoral Adjustment Loans** : These loans have been given more and more by the bank in the 1980s as countries in the third world grapple with increasing debt. Although these loans are still project oriented but only a part of the money is used to meet the costs of specific projects while the rest goes to support policy changes in the relevant sector. For instance, a part of the loan for energy sector would be used in some specific project say a thermal power project but the rest will be disbursed against changes in the policies of the energy sector such as cut in subsidy for electricity, greater role for private companies in exploration and development of natural gas and oil, etc. Such sec-

For Your Eyes Only

### Sweeping the slum dwellers under the red carpet

About 2000 slum dwellers in Bangkok were scurried away in time for the annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF. The slum dwellers, apparently, were just too unsightly for the thousands of bankers, financiers and bureaucrats who are the first big-line meeting-goers to use the shiny new conference center across the street from the poor people. The World Bank insists that it is not part of any Bank forced resettlement scheme. "We have never asked, or suggested, that this should be done," said a senior Bank official.

We are certain that the Bank never asked or suggested anything of the kind should be done in 1976 either, when the World Bank and IMF meeting took place in the Philippines, and the Marcoses sent in a cleaning team to move hundreds of slum-dwellers out as part of its own beautification campaign.

tor-wide policy-changes are the distinctive feature of sectoral adjustment loans.

**Structural Adjustment Loans (SAL)**: These loans completely disconnected from projects are disbursed quickly in return to major economic policy changes at the national levels. Similar to IMF loans, the SAL programmes require the borrowing country to make policy reforms, although these tend to be more fundamental institutional changes than the short-term arrangements of the IMF. The World Bank has given more SAL loans in the 1980's and is committed to providing more loans of this kind during the 1990's. In 1988, 27% of total bank lending was in the form of SAL. In December 1991, India received US\$ 8 billion from the World Bank under the structural adjustment loan. These loans are designed to support a greater reliance on market forces, cuts in government price interventions and subsidies, greater reliance on private sector than public sector and a liberalised trade policy. In addition, the World Bank provide research, training and other support to member countries. In 1988, the Bank provided US \$ 15.2 million loan for such activities. It also runs a Economic Development Institute whose activities are to educate and train the development bureaucracy. Like a Hindu god, the World Bank has 4 arms—the IBRD, the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Multilateral Investment Guaranty Agency (MIGA).

IFC

Founded : 1956

Members: 133

**Purpose** : Backs loan for private sector investment in member countries without guarantees of repayment by the concerned member government.

**Function** : Bulk of its monies come from capital subscription of its members. It has same director as those from the Bank and operates on a weighted

voting system. Most of the IFC's investments are in manufacturing followed by mining, energy, tourism and public utilities.

**Activities in India :** Since 1959, the IFC has invested about one billion dollars in 57 companies operating in India, including industries such as shipping, iron and steel, chemicals, fertilisers, building and industrial equipments. The TISCO modernisation plan and the Chandil Iron Project in Bihar are a few examples.

## IDA

**Founded :** 1960

**Members :** 137

**Purpose :** Concessional loans to poor countries.

**Function :** Makes 90% loans to poorer countries in the field of agriculture and rural development. It generally finances a larger percentage of total project costs than the Bank. In 1988, IDA lent US \$ 4.5 billion for 99 projects and adjustment programmes, amounting about 23 per cent of total Bank lending.

**Activities in India :** The National Renewal Fund is funded by IDA support.

## MIGA

**Founded :** 1988

**Members :** 104

**Purpose :** To encourage the flow of private foreign investment to the developing countries by guaranteeing the investments of foreign cooperations against risks such as civil war, host government currency restrictions, nationalisation, etc.

**Function :** The President and Board of Directors of MIGA are the same as those of the World Bank.

**Activities in India :** India is being pressurised to become a member of the MIGA.

## For Your Eyes Only

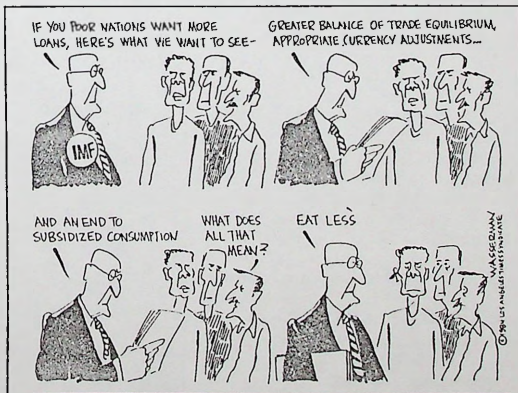
### World Bank enters MCD...

As part of its 'Globalisation' drive, The World Bank has entered into the arena of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. A ten members delegation of the Bank have held three closed doors meeting with the officials and "Safai Karamcharis" (cleaners) of the Corporation. The deliberations during the meetings remain a 'mystery'. Grapevine tells us that the Bank officials are seiously pushing a scheme to "cleanise" (read remove) the jhuggi-jhonpri clusters and slums which are becoming an 'eyesore' to the Bank and IMF officials on their way to daily visits to Ministry of Finance. Now with an IMF office in the capital and ex-IMF and World Bank officials joining the government, it is certain that this scheme will be cleared with no restrictions, no conditionalities!

### How much 'Neutral'?

*The IMF and World Bank claims to be 'neutral' and make decision on the basis of pure economics. In fact, it has arthustastically supported corrupt, right-wing regimes while stopped support to countries that challenge its free-market philosophy.*

- ❶ When Chile's left-wing government of Salvador Allende was elected in 1971, the Bank effectively stopped all loans. Funding was resumed shortly after the 1973 military coup.
- ❷ Shortly after the 1979 revolution in Nicaragua, the Bank stopped lending claiming that the Sandinista administration was biased against the private sector. However, it had no problems with the Sumoza dictatorship.
- ❸ Zaire's corrupt President Mobutu has virtually destroyed his country's economy yet the dictator's embrace of free-market rhetoric has resulted in full support from the Bank.



### IMF and World Bank<sup>1</sup>

IMF's main role was to guard the gold standard under which the value of a country's currency defined in terms of ounces of gold. Countries facing imbalances in their external account usually sought IMF's financial support to tide over temporary difficulties. If the imbalances persisted and reflected a fundamental disequilibrium, the IMF prescription was for devaluation - to encourage exports at a cheaper price. In both cases, the time span was short and the medicine was expected to work immediately. From earlier days conditionalities had been a part of IMF loans.

Those seeking long-term financial support for a project went to the World Bank, which acted as an international Banker. It assessed the viability of a project in terms of its capability of repaying the loan with interest and offered loans in the basis of guarantees provided by the governments. The WB urged the governments to get the prices right, to make the private sectors the main actors in the economic scene, and to reduce the role of the state in the economy to the minimum.

With the abandonment of gold standard and the floating of currencies in 1971, IMF's role as supervisor of the gold standard was over. Its role as a world body declined, as the rich countries found other ways of funding their deficits, eg. from capital market. The last occasion when a rich country took an IMF loan was in 1975, UK and Italy were loanees. IMF's activities remain exclusively confined to the LDC's, a 180-degree deviation from the original concept. IMF carries no influence over the rich country governments. Only 10% of the global liquidity, for which the poor countries were responsible, remains with in the control of IMF. The current level of IMF support covers only about 2% of World Imports. The World Bank too operates exclusively in the LDC's. With the emergence of an integrated global capital market, backed by modern means of communication, rich countries with good credit ratings face no difficulty in mobilising required project funding from the source. Only countries with low credit rating, having no other source of funding, now come to the World Bank as a last resort.

International Development Assistance, the agency providing soft loan accounts for 12% of all concessional assistance worldwide, is a subsidiary of WB.

In their charters, IMF and WB were affiliated to the United Nations, they were to play a role in the World Economy that was parallel to the role of the Security council in political and military affairs. In practice, neither the World Bank nor IMF ever played this subordinate role. With the beginning of the cold war, the rich countries patronised the WB and the IMF. The twins were seen as instruments in the cold war and were more amenable to their influence than the less orderly UN. The west preferred IMF and WB for its decision making process. Unlike the United Nations, where every country, big or small, has one vote, in the case of the twins, voting is linked with their contributions to the initial fund, which again is linked with their size of the GDP's. Over the past five decades the 'quotas' for various countries have been revised, each revision raising the share of the rich countries. Such revisions are not simply based on key national and international and international economic variables, but reflect the bargaining strength of various countries and group of countries in the executive bodies of these organisations. At present, the G& countries - US, UK, France, Germany, Canada, Italy and Japan - account for roughly half the voting power and virtually control the World Bank and IMF.

The two agencies operate in close understanding with each other. IMF leads on exchange rates, balance of payment problems and restrictive trade systems, while the World Bank leads in development, financial institutions and capital markets. Both work together with the country concerned to produce what is known as the Policy Framework Paper which forms the basis of support given by either. The LDC's delegate these functions to the Fund and Bank staff, the country would then sign the paper.

While the twins were set up to perform two distinct tasks, over time, they have come closer in their mode of functioning and treatment of issues, IMF, which was supposed to be concerned with short-term remedies to balance of payment difficulties, is offering 10-year term Extended Fund Facilities (EFF) since 1974, and

<sup>1</sup> The deficit countries were punished as they alone were responsible for their trade deficits. European reconstruction was carried out by the US-sponsored Marshall Plan with a huge budget of \$13 billion

structural adjustment loans, while the World Bank, specialising in micro issues, has now graduated from project based lending to policy-based programmes (structural adjustment loans and sectoral adjustment loans (SALS and SECALS) and is taking a close interest in macro-economic management, including balance of payments. With these shifts in policy, 'the former distinctions between the roles of the Fund and the Bank – macro versus micro, demand versus supply, adjustment versus development, financial versus real, programme versus project loans, short term versus long term – have been severely broken.

The Structural Adjustment Programme, as a loan package, was introduced by the World Bank in 1980, and IMF began offering SALS from 1986. The decade of the 1970s was one of massive economic upheavals, prompted by two oil crises – in 1973 and in 1979-80. The international commercial banks were flush with funds and lent to LDCs. Large number of countries, mostly poor and backward, ruled by authoritarian governments, preferred this source of borrowing. Between 1970 and 1980, public and publicly guaranteed loans to LDCs, from this and other sources increased from \$46 billion to \$410 billion, nine times. Almost every country in Africa and Latin America took huge loans.

International banking, despite the fact that the number of banks was growing due to the influence of the petro-dollar, was highly concentrated. The top 100 banks accounted for three-quarters of the total assets and the top 20 banks accounted for half the international lending. Further, 70 % of total assets of the top 10 banks controlled 60 %, and the top 25 US banks controlled 80 % of private international bank lending. The fact of the dominance of international banking by the US banks.

The international banks rather than extending further loan, operated pro-cyclically, wanted their money back with interest, and were not willing to take and further risk in this volatile financial situation. The credit rating of the LDCs fell and further loan was denied. Lending by private international banks to LDCs, rising dramatically from \$14 billion in 1973 to \$57 billion in 1980, plummeted in subsequent years, reaching a negative figure of -\$6 billion in 1987. To make things worse, the coming to power of monetarist regimes in the west, particularly in UK and the US, under Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, resulted in a rise in interest rates accompanied by a fall in prices because of tighter monetary control, thus accentuating the debt burden as most loans were subject to variable interest rates.

At this stage IMF stepped in, offered fresh loans, with the understanding that, with that support, loan repayments to private international banks would be continued. During 1983-88, in three years, \$12.7 billion of adjustment loan was given to six countries by the Fund, and another \$2.3 billion by the Bank. Such loans were tied to stabilisation and structural adjustment conditionalities. The primary concern of the major industrial countries was the protection of the international banking system. IMF through its stabilisation programmness, to the indebted LDCs, was intended to ensure repayment of bank loans, so that the grave crisis facing the international banking system could be resolved.

Structural adjustment accompanied debt rescheduling under international agreements, by waiving a part and stretching the rest over a longer period, which further guaranteed repayment. Between 1984 and 1991, with interest and principal repayments far exceeding new loans, their net transfer was negative to the tune of \$20 billion. Debt-equity swap and other debt-conversion mechanisms reduced debt owed to commercial banks by \$25 billion, while debt-servicing and debt reduction accounted for another \$80 billion between 1987 and 1991. The private international banks got much more than the lendings were worth at market price, because of the support they received from the BWIs and the Western countries

The other motive, consistent with rich-country self-interest, was the urge to find markets in the LDCs, especially for the MNCs based in the US. The soaring US balance of trade deficits, in particular with Japan, Germany and China reaching a dizzy figure of \$162 billion in 1987, impelled these MNCs to look for markets elsewhere, particularly in those countries where the governments were weak. Finding access to markets in various countries also became a matter of urgent priority in the Uruguay round. Between 1984 and 1991, the net transfer out of the LDCs amounted to \$20 billion per year. IMF net lending was negative during most of the 1980s. As for the World Bank, by mid-1983, net transfer to developing countries became zero, and became -\$30 billion by 1987. Both IMF and the World Bank were getting back more than they were lending.



The conditionalities accompanying the loans of these two organisations reflect their common market-oriented approach. IMF conditionalities prescribe the following : a) devaluation to bridge the gap between official and market exchange rates of the currency of the country concerned, b) demand management, mainly by way of reducing government expenditure, to reduce domestic demand, c) reduction of fiscal deficit, as a proportion of GDP, below 4%, in phases. Devaluation has become virtually a compulsory requirement for getting IMF assistance since 1980.

One programme is followed by another and loanees, in particular low-income countries, find it difficult to disengage themselves from these funding bodies. 21 countries had their support for 14 years, and Mexico has continuously been on the agenda, one programme succeeding another, from the beginning of structural adjustment in 1980. During 1979-89, no less than eight had used a minimum of six programmes over a period of six and a half years.

Community Health Cell

From: "aidslaw-delhi" <aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org>  
To: <robin\_koshy@yahoo.com>  
Cc: "samar verma" <sverma@oxfam.org.uk>  
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2005 7:35 PM  
Subject: Action Alert!!! Patent Bill is introduced with NO change

**Action Alert!!!  
Patent Bill is introduced with NO change**

On Friday, 18 March, the Government introduced the Patent Bill in the Lok Sabha, despite the overwhelming voices of objection from opposing parties being in the majority.  
<http://www.hindu.com/2005/03/19/stories/2005031907500100.htm>

The Bill replicates the original Amendment which had been passed in the Ordinance. Newspaper reports confirm that the Government is negotiating with political parties, in particular with the left parties, to obtain changes to the Bill. However, information we are receiving indicates that offers by the Government to amend the Bill are merely cosmetic and far from satisfactory in terms of protecting and ensuring the public's future ability to access affordable medicines and healthcare.  
<http://www.hinduonnet.com/2005/03/19/stories/2005031906781100.htm>

7M  
23/3

It is imperative that parties and groups negotiating with the Government do not compromise on any of the amendments that have been sought to the Bill and immediately urge that negotiations are made transparent and a full opportunity for all groups to discuss the Bill is allowed, ideally through a select committee.

Therefore, as a matter of urgency, we call up on all groups to express their concerns by contacting political parties/politicians by email, fax or telephone. A sample letter to raise your concerns to the politicians/political parties, which you may copy and paste, is attached.

Thank you for your continued support.

Affordable Medicines and treatment Campaign(AMTC), ACT UP Paris, Alternative Law Forum, Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF)

Dear Sir

**Introduction of the Patent Bill**

Following the introduction of the Patent Bill in the identical form that it was passed in the Ordinance, we implore you to ensure that the amendments to the Patent Bill which we have been calling for are not compromised in any way or form. We understand the Government is in negotiations with the Left parties and is offering concessions to amend the Bill, but we believe that such concessions are merely cosmetic. For the sake of public interest and affordable medicine and healthcare in India and other countries around the world, there can be no compromise of the following points:

- Clearly define 'Patentable Criteria' i.e what is patentable and what is not.
- Exclude secondary patents for new usage, dosage combination etc of known drugs.

Patent file (2005)  
23/3

- Restore the Pre-grant opposition provision to its original form to prevent frivolous and invalid patents.
- Delete the 3 year moratorium on compulsory licenses.
- Introduce a ceiling royalties to pharmaceutical companies.
- Delete the requirement of the country importing drugs to also issue a compulsory licence.
- Restrict the latitude given to the Government in the rule making powers.

We ask that you realise the importance and effect of compromising on any of the above and trust that you will support the need to have a full transparent discussion, namely through the select committee process, on the Patent Bill in order to achieve the above.

Yours sincerely

[Name of organisation]

3/23/2005

Community Health Cell

From: "aidslaw-delhi" <aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org>  
 To: <AIDS-INDIA@yahoo.com>  
 Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2005 8:15 PM  
 Subject: [AIDS-INDIA] AIDS Activists Letter to Left Parties appealing against The Patent Amendment Bill, 2005

AIDS Activists Appeal to Left Parties against The Patent Amendment Bill, 2005

To: Harkishan Singh Surjeet, General Secretary CPI(M)  
 Cc: Prakash Karait, Member, Polit Bureau, CPI(M)  
 S. Ramachandra Pillai, Member, Polit Bureau, CPI(M)  
 Nilotpal Basu, Parliamentary Party Leader, CPI(M), Rajya Sabha  
 Hannan Mullah, Honorable Parliamentary Party Leader, CPI(M), Lok Sabha  
 A.B. Bhandan, General Secretary CPI  
 D. Raja, Assistant General, Secretary CPI  
 C.K. Chandrappan, Honorable Member of Parliament, CPI  
 Abini Roy, Leader, RSP

Date: 20/3/2005

Subject: Amendments to Proposed Patents Bill

Regarding: Implication for Survival of All Those Who Do and Could Benefit from Affordable Indian Medicines

This weekend in Mumbai, dozens of organizations from India, Brazil, South Africa, Thailand, Nigeria, Nepal, Venezuela, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Costa Rica, Colombia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, U.S.A, France, Australia, U.K and Switzerland, have gathered for a global south dialogue about the future of affordable and sustainable access to HIV/AIDS treatment and health services generally. One issue critical to that future is India's Patent Bill.

We represent and support people living with and affected by HIV/AIDS from five continents. We are grassroots and international organizations, human rights advocates, lawyers, public health experts, and activists. We know from experience that extending access to HIV/AIDS treatment and preventing the deaths of millions more people living with HIV/AIDS in the global south - including the 5.6 million people living with HIV/AIDS in India - depends on access to a sustainable supply of affordable medicines, which includes the production and distribution of generic antiretroviral medicines. India has played a critical role in this regard, and has a legal and constitutional obligation to protect, respect and guarantee access to the highest attainable standard of health for its own people. It also has a moral duty to all those around the world who have benefited from affordable Indian medicines to continue providing such access, so that people do not prematurely die without them.

Sub. Patents file  
 23/3

If the Patent (Amendment) Bill, tabled on 18 March, in Parliament is passed without substantial amendments, India will have failed these obligations. People that are alive today because of access to affordable drugs and those that have a hope of getting onto treatment will have been betrayed. It is up to you to join civil society in its opposition of this Bill. You have made a commitment to do so with the Common Minimum Program, which promises to ensure access to affordable medicines. As the parties most critical of the unequal trade regime imposed by the WTO, you cannot stand by and watch as India adopts patent legislation that is more restrictive than the WTO requires.

We are worried by reports that already your discussions are not going in the right direction. You must ensure that the Bill is referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee so that all of the communities affected can participate in the debate. This would allow you to lead the people's movement against a Patent Bill that denies access to medicines for those who need them the most. It will also prevent a retreat from the previous initiative of the Indian government to support access to AIDS treatments. Losing India's enlightened leadership would set a bad precedent for other developing countries who are also seeking to resist the pressure of the multinational pharmaceutical industry. It will also undermine global competition in the generics industry, and diminish pressure on generic companies in other countries to keep prices down.

To prevent this, several aspects of the Bill require amendment. At a minimum you must insist - without compromise - on the following amendments to the Bill:

1. Limit the scope of patentability: The Bill proposes to extend the scope of patentability beyond the TRIPS requirements. TRIPS does not require India to grant patents on new uses of known drugs, new dosages and formulations, or combinations of known drugs. Earlier, the Mashelkar Committee recommended limiting the patent protection only to new chemical molecules. TRIPS requires no more, and the Bill should not provide for more.

2. Retain the pre-grant opposition: The Bill proposes to remove the pre-grant opposition procedure. This is a vital right given to the public to oppose the grant of patents. Currently, approximately 7,000 applications are pending in the mailbox for the period from 1995-2004, although only 500 drugs were marketed in India during that time. Many of these applications could be frivolous and legally invalid. Without a pre-grant opposition procedure, generic companies could be forced to remove existing drugs from the market, despite the fact that they could challenge these patents later. All medicines will be affected by this problem, including existing drugs such as the anti-cancer drugs Gefitiniv, Temozolomide, Zoledronic Acid Vail, and Letrozole, and the anti-AIDS drugs Duovir, and Tenofovir.

3. Streamline compulsory licensing procedures: The Bill fails to revamp the compulsory licensing mechanism. This mechanism must be swift and simple, and provide certainty about timelines, procedures, and royalties, to

overcome abuse by patent holders. Cumbersome procedures will make compulsory licensing an impractical option, and invite vexatious litigation and other obstruction by patent monopolists.

incorporated the waiver to Articles 31 (f) and (h) of TRIPS adopted on August 30, 2003 by the WTO General Council. It imposes an unnecessary hurdle on many developing countries without their own manufacturing capacity who might want to buy low-cost drugs from India, by requiring them to issue a compulsory license whether or not the drug they want to purchase is patented in their country. This is illogical, unnecessary, and an imposition on other countries' ability to respond to domestic public health needs. It will also prevent Indian companies from exporting to many countries that are in desperate need of affordable, quality medications.

5. Keep generic drugs on the market: Lastly, the Bill does nothing to prevent medicines currently being produced in India from being removed from the market when mailbox patent applications are granted. The Bill must be amended to ensure immunity for any producers currently making, distributing, and exporting any medicine that may later come under patent, subject only to the payment of a reasonable royalty from the date of the grant of the patent.

The choices that are made regarding the Bill have serious life and death consequences for millions of people around the world. In fact, there have already been protests in several countries against the Ordinance, to support efforts to ensure affordable and sustainable access to medicines. Letters from the United Nations, the World Health Organisation, and Médecins Sans Frontières have also been sent to members of the Government. If the "parties of the People" trade away our rights to life and health today by accepting ill-considered provisions and/or amendments, it will seriously undermine affordable access to all medicines for all people.

Sincerely,

One World, One Fight, Brazil

Pan African Treatment Access Movement, Africa

Aids Law Project, South Africa

Aids Law Unit Legal Assistance Centre, Namibia

Treatment Action Campaign, South Africa

Agua Bucna Human Rights Association, Costa Rica

GESTOS-Soro positividade, Comunicacao e Genero, Brazil

Marhalem Mansor - Positive Malaysian Treatment Access Advocacy Group, Malaysia

Act Up-Paris, France

Gay Men's Health Crisis, U.S.A

Amy Kapczynski, U.S.A

Consumer Project on Technology (CPTech), U.S.A

Ellen 't Hoen - Médecins sans Frontières, Access to Essential Medicines

Campaign

Thabo Cele - Treatment Action Campaign, South Africa

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Open Kumar - Care Foundation, India

Edward Low - PT Foundation, Malaysia

Gaelle Krikorian, France

Lawyers Collective HIV/AIDS Unit, India

Affordable Medicines Treatment Campaign, India

Nava Kiran - Plus, Nepal

German Humberto Rincon Perfetti - Lawyers and Human Rights, Colombia

Lawan Sarovat, Thailand

Thai Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS, Thailand

Dr Prakash C Rao - Peoples Health Movement, India  
Solidarity and Action Against the HIV Infection in India, India  
Dr Alpana Sagar - Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, India  
Peoples Health Movement (Jan Swasthaya Abhiyan), India  
Positive Action for Treatment Access, Nigeria  
Dr. Tokugha - YRG Care, India  
Delhi Network of Positive People (DNP+)  
Andy Quan, Australia  
Bhavani Fonseka, Sri Lanka  
Ng. Ratan Singh, Manipur Network of Positive People, India  
Sharan Society for Serving Urban Poverty, India  
Health Gap (Global Access Project), U.S.A  
Megharaj Pokharel - Nepal Environmental Lawyers Association, Nepal  
Mr. Bajendra A. Shioke - Network of Maharashtra by People Living with HIV & AIDS (NMP+), India  
Grupo Pela Vidda -RJ, Brazil  
Ezio T Santos-Filho, Brazil  
Zimbabwe Activists on HIV and Aids, Zimbabwe  
Pan-African Treatment Access Movement, Africa  
Tendayi Kureya - Southern Africa HIV/AIDS Information, Zimbabwe  
Group for Rehabilitation, Awareness, Care & Empowerment, India  
Essential Inventions, U.S.A  
Linda Olayi Mafu, Treatment Action Campaign, South Africa

"aidslaw-delhi"

E-mail: <aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org>

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For further assistance please contact the forum moderator Dr. Joe Thomas by e-mail:  
[joe\\_thomas123@yahoo.com.au](mailto:joe_thomas123@yahoo.com.au)

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Community Health Cell

From: "aidslaw-delhi" <aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org>  
To: <AIDS-INDIA@yahoogroups.com>  
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2005 8:47 PM  
Subject: [AIDS-INDIA] An appeal of Sonia Gandhi: The Patent Bill 2005

AIDS ACTIVISTS APPEAL TO SONIA GANDHI TO REVIEW THE PATENT BILL, 2005

To: Sonia Gandhi, Hon'ble Congress Party President  
Cc: Manmohan Singh, Hon'ble Prime Minister  
Abdul Kalam, Hon'ble President  
Anbumani Ramadoss, Hon'ble Minister of Health  
Kamal Nath, Hon'ble Minister of Commerce and Industry  
Kapil Sibal, Hon'ble Minister of Science Technology and Oceans Development  
Oscar Fernandes, Hon'ble MP, Chairperson on Parliamentary Forum on HIV/AIDS  
Ram Vilas Paswan, Hon'ble Minister of Chemicals and Fertilisers

Date: 20/3/2005  
Subject: Amendments to Proposed Patents Bill

Regarding: Implication for Survival of All Those Who Do and Could Benefit from Affordable Indian Medicines

"My idea of a better world is one in which medical discoveries would be free from patent and there will be no profiteering from life and death" Indira Gandhi 6 May, 1981

This weekend in Mumbai, dozens of organizations from India, Brazil, South Africa, Thailand, Nigeria, Nepal, Venezuela, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Costa Rica, Colombia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, U.S.A, France, Australia, U.K and Switzerland, have gathered for a global south dialogue about the future of affordable and sustainable access to HIV/AIDS treatment and health services generally. One issue critical to that future is India's Patent Bill.

3/22/2005

We represent and support people living with and affected by HIV/AIDS from five continents. We are grassroots and international organizations, human rights advocates, lawyers, public health experts, and activists. We know from experience that extending access to HIV/AIDS treatment and preventing the deaths of millions more people living with HIV/AIDS in the global south - including the 5.6 million people living with HIV/AIDS in India - depends on access to a sustainable supply of affordable medicines, which includes the production and distribution of generic antiretroviral medicines. India has played a critical role in this regard, and has a legal and constitutional obligation to protect, respect and guarantee access to the highest attainable standard of health for its own people. It also has a moral duty to all those around the world who have benefited from affordable Indian medicines to continue providing such access, so that people do not

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prematurely die without them.

If the Patent (Amendment) Bill, tabled on 18 March, in Parliament is passed without substantial amendments, India will have failed these obligations. People that are alive today because of access to affordable drugs and those that have a hope of getting onto treatment will have been betrayed. The Common Minimum Program made a commitment to ensure access to affordable medicines and use all the flexibilities in TRIPS. Moreover, India's leading role in fighting the unequal trade regime imposed by the WTO will all be to no avail if you insist on adopting a patent legislation that is more restrictive than the WTO requires, thus causing harm to millions more in the international world.

We are deeply disturbed and concerned that you are failing to listen to the voices of your people who have entrusted you with their welfare, not to mention the poor in the developing world who rely on affordable medicine from India. As a democratically elected party, you have the strictest obligation to ensure that the Patent Bill is debated thoroughly in a transparent manner. This can only be done if it is referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee, so that all of the communities affected can participate and ensure that their voices are heard and represented. Losing India's enlightened leadership would set a bad precedent for other developing countries who are also seeking to resist the pressure of the multinational pharmaceutical industry. It will also undermine global competition in the generics industry, and diminish pressure on generic companies in other countries to keep prices down.

To prevent the above mentioned catastrophe occurring in India and other developing countries, several aspects of the Bill require amendment. At a minimum we implore that you make the following amendments to the Bill as it stands:

1. Limit the scope of patentability: The Bill proposes to extend the scope of patentability beyond the TRIPS requirements. TRIPS does not require India to grant patents on new uses of known drugs, new dosages and formulations, or combinations of known drugs. Earlier, the Mashelkar Committee recommended limiting the patent protection only to new chemical molecules. TRIPS requires no more, and the Bill should not provide for more.

2. Retain the pre-grant opposition: The Bill proposes to remove the pre-grant opposition procedure. This is a vital right given to the public to oppose the grant of patents. Currently, approximately 7,000 applications are pending in the mailbox for the period from 1995-2004, although only 500 drugs were marketed in India during that time. Many of these applications could be frivolous and legally invalid. Without a pre-grant opposition procedure, generic companies could be forced to remove existing drugs from the market, despite the fact that they could challenge these patents later. All medicines will be affected by this problem, including existing drugs such as the anti-cancer drugs Gefitiniv, Temozolomide, Zoledronic Acid Vail, and Letrozole, and the anti-AIDS drugs Duovir, and Tenofovir.

3. Streamline compulsory licensing procedures: The Bill fails to revamp the compulsory licensing mechanism. This mechanism must be swift and simple, and provide certainty about timelines, procedures, and royalties, to overcome abuse by patent holders. Cumbersome procedures will make

...provision... an impacted upon, and invite vexatious litigation and other obstruction by patent monopolists.

4. Facilitate export under compulsory license: The Bill has not properly incorporated the waiver to Articles 31 (f) and (h) of TRIPS adopted on August 30, 2003 by the WTO General Council. It imposes an unnecessary hurdle on many developing countries without their own manufacturing capacity who might want to buy low-cost drugs from India, by requiring them to issue a compulsory license whether or not the drug they want to purchase is patented in their country. This is illogical, unnecessary, and an imposition on other countries' ability to respond to domestic public health needs. It will also prevent Indian companies from exporting to many countries that are in desperate need of affordable, quality medications.

5. Keep generic drugs on the market: Lastly, the Bill does nothing to prevent medicines currently being produced in India from being removed from the market when mailbox patent applications are granted. The Bill must be amended to ensure immunity for any producers currently making, distributing, and exporting any medicine that may later come under patent, subject only to the payment of a reasonable royalty from the date of the grant of the patent.

The choices that are made regarding the Bill have serious life and death consequences for millions of Indians and people around the world. In fact, there have already been protests in several countries against the Ordinance, to support efforts to ensure affordable and sustainable access to medicines. Letters from the United Nations, the World Health Organisation, and Médecins Sans Frontières have also been sent to members of the Government. If you trade away our rights to life and health today by accepting ill-considered provisions and/or excessive TRIPS amendments, it will seriously undermine affordable access to all medicines for all people and the peoples trust in you.

Sincerely,

One World, One Fight, Brazil  
Pan African Treatment Access Movement, Africa  
Aids Law Project, South Africa  
Aids Law Unit Legal Assistance Centre, Namibia  
Treatment Action Campaign, South Africa  
Agua Buena Human Rights Association, Costa Rica  
GESTOS-Soropositividade, Comunicacao e Genero, Brazil  
Marhalem Mansor - Positive Malaysian Treatment Access Advocacy Group, Malaysia  
Act Up-Paris, France  
Gay Men's Health Crisis, U.S.A  
Amy Kapczynski, U.S.A

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Nava Kiner - Plus Nova

German Humberto Rincon Perfetti - Lawyers and Human Rights, Colombia  
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Thai Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS, Thailand  
Médecins sans Frontières - Belgium, Thailand  
Dr Prakash C Rao - Peoples Health Movement, India  
Solidarity and Action Against the HIV Infection in India, India  
Dr Alpana Sagar - Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, India  
Peoples Health Movement (Jan Swasthaya Abhiyan), India  
Positive Action for Treatment Access, Nigeria  
Dr. Tokugha - YRG Care, India  
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Bhavani Fonseka, Sri Lanka  
Ng. Ratan Singh, Manipur Network of Positive People, India  
Sharan Society for Serving Urban Poverty, India  
Health Gap (Global Access Project), U.S.A  
Megharaj Pokharel - Nepal Environmental Lawyers Association, Nepal  
Mr. Bajendra A Shioke - Network of Maharashtra by People Living with HIV & AIDS (NMP+), India  
Grupo Pela Vidda -RJ, Brazil  
Ezio T Santos-Filho, Brazil  
Zimbabwe Activists on HIV and Aids, Zimbabwe  
Pan-African Treatment Access Movement, Africa  
Tendayi Kureya - Southern Africa HIV/AIDS Information, Zimbabwe  
Group for Rehabilitation, Awareness, Care & Empowerment, India  
Essential Inventions, U.S.A  
Linda Olayi Mafu, Treatment Action Campaign, South Africa

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Lawyers Collective HIV/AIDS Unit  
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e-mail - [aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org](mailto:aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org)

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For further assistance please contact the forum moderator Dr. Joe Thomas by e-mail:

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**From:** "Prasanna Saligram" <prasanna\_aid@yahoo.com>  
**To:** "Priti Radhakrishnan" <pritiwho@yahoo.com>; "Lawyers Collective - Bangalore" <aidslaw2@lawyerscollective.org>; "TAHIR AMIN" <tahir.amin@btopenworld.com>; "arvind aathreya" <arvindaathreya@gmail.com>; <draghuna@diablo.greenpeace.org>; <Anjali\_rk@rediffmail.com>; <navthom@yahoo.co.uk>; "Mathew John" <mathewjohn@vsnl.com>; <dafk@rediffmail.com>; <chc@sochara.org>; <sangama@sangama.org>; <spadorg@satyam.net.in>; <knppplus@vsnl.net>; "Edwin, esqr., Moses Dhasepak" <dhasepakedwin@yahoo.co.in>; <lawrence@alllawforum.org>; <vishwas123@gmail.com>; "Arvind Aathreya" <arvind@spectraind.com>; "Anamika Wani" <anamikawani@yahoo.com>; <prasanna@phmovement.org>; <psubramanya@gmail.com>  
**Cc:** <aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org>; <a\_prabhala@yahoo.co.uk>; "Vineeta Gupta" <guptanr@yahoo.com>; "Vaijayanti G" <vaijayantig@yahoo.com>; "Priya Ranjan" <priya@aidindia.org>; <wim.deceukelaire@intal.be>; "Gopal Dabade" <drdabade@sancharnet.in>; "Lawyers Collective" <amtc\_india@yahoo.co.in>  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 03, 2005 6:21 PM  
**Subject:** Bringing all the people who are working against the Patents together.

Hi All,

A time has come when I need to collect all of us together who are going to work intensively against the Patents Ordinance. Actually I am tired of forwarding mails from this group to the other to the other:-) So I thought I will connect all of us together.

Let me introduce the various people and their roles:

[aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org](mailto:aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org) is the Lawyers' collective Delhi Email ID.

[aidslaw2@lawyerscollective.org](mailto:aidslaw2@lawyerscollective.org) is the Lawyers' collective Bangalore Email ID. Priti is a person in LC B'lore whose private email ID can also be found

[amtc\\_india@yahoo.co.in](mailto:amtc_india@yahoo.co.in) is Gopakumar of Lawyers' Collective Mumbai

[anamikawani@yahoo.com](mailto:anamikawani@yahoo.com), [arvindaathreya@gmail.com](mailto:arvindaathreya@gmail.com) and [draghuna@greenpeace.org](mailto:draghuna@greenpeace.org) are the three media savvy people Anamika, Arvind and Divya ( greenpeace) in the group who would be coordinating our media efforts.

[a\\_prabhala@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:a_prabhala@yahoo.co.uk) is the email address of Achal Prabhala from South Africa

Tahir ([tahir.amin@btopenworld.com](mailto:tahir.amin@btopenworld.com)), Lawrence ([lawrence@alllawforum.org](mailto:lawrence@alllawforum.org)), Vishwas ([vishwas123@gmail.com](mailto:vishwas123@gmail.com)) are from the Alternative law Forum (ALF), B'lore. They along with LC coordinate the legal aspects of the issue

Naveen ([navthom@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:navthom@yahoo.co.uk)) is from CHC, Bangalore. [chc@sochara.org](mailto:chc@sochara.org) is the email address of Community Health Cell. Dr. Thelma Narayan, coordinator of CHC accesses this email ID.

Dr. Gopal Dabade ([drdabade@sancharnet.in](mailto:drdabade@sancharnet.in)) and Prakash Rao ([dafk@rediffmail.com](mailto:dafk@rediffmail.com)) are the Drug Action Forum Karnataka / India people

[sangama@sangama.org](mailto:sangama@sangama.org), [spadorg@satyam.net.in](mailto:spadorg@satyam.net.in), [knppplus@vsnl.net](mailto:knppplus@vsnl.net) are the organisational addresses

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of sangama, SPAD, KNP+ which are groups working on the HIV/AIDS issues. Edwin is from SPAD and his personal ID can also be seen in the list.

Anjali is also one more person associated with this campaign and interested in this.

Wim De Cukelaire (wim.deceukelaire@intal.be) is from Belgium and is the fulcrum of the No war, No WTO, Health Now campaign a broad based anti war, anti WTO movement (health-now.org). He would be roping in the other international actors into this.

Vineeta Gupta ( [guptahr@yahoo.com](mailto:guptahr@yahoo.com)), Vaijayanti([vaijayantig@yahoo.com](mailto:vaijayantig@yahoo.com)) and Priya Ranjan ([priva@aidindia.org](mailto:priva@aidindia.org)) are the People from AID Maryland, US. They are also coordinating the efforts from the US side. Priya is helping us out with the generic website for this campaign.

[prasanna@phmovement.org](mailto:prasanna@phmovement.org) is my identity for International PHM so I would be using either of my email addresses interchangeably.

Let me tell you some updates. For some of you it might be repetition but I would like to bring all of us on the same level so that we can give more steam now for this campaign.

1. The Global action day against the Present form of the Patents Amendment is fixed for Feb 26th. CITU is planning a rally in New Delhi against this on that day and we are attaching our campaign to that. Also partner organisations will do protests in their decentralised ways in their / cities / districts etc.,
2. Leena of LC Delhi was able to present this idea of the Global action to a meeting on 1st Feb of the National Working group on Patent Laws which was led by Vandana Shiva and other movements.
3. There is going to be a generic website ( designed by AID in the US) which merges all the individual campaigns and mentions and acknowledges the various actors into that to bring all of us into one umbrella. We now have a lot of people who have shown interest in the same. I have talked to Vandana Shiva also and she was also enthusiastic about this. She might send some material to me on the agri side of it. So an AID webpage talking about the campaign links to this generic webpage telling about the campaign, a Health Now website tells them about this issue and sends them to this generic webpage, a Hesperian talks about this and sends them to this generic webpage, PHM also does the same etc.,
4. As I have repeatedly said since we are broadbasing the same we need to include agriculture, the other life threatening diseases in addition to HIV/AIDS etc.,
5. Also we are now for the time being fighting the immediate devil of India not making use of the flexibilities inside the TRIPS and the Doha Declaration, the fight against WTO / TRIPS would continue sometime later
6. For our international supporters we also would be coming up with specific action points what could be done by them at their ends.
7. Efforts have to be made to now contact the MPs (irrespective of the Party affiliation) and apprise about the Bill and details to be given. LC Delhi / Divya of Greenpeace would be sending us the latest list of MPs who need to be written a one pager.
8. I.C and A.I.F are working on simplification of all what we have to say on the Ordinance and Friday ( 04 Feb 2005) is the deadline

For some of you out of Bangalore and out of India this could also mean that you might receive mails ( we will have the discipline to remove your email addresses which are in the CC, but still some might creep in) which we use for local Bangalore coordination. Pls. bear with us. This is also one of

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the reason why I have not tried out an e-mail list server like yahoogroups. Also whoever would not be comfortable with the volume of mails can pls send back a mail to me asking me to remove them from the group.

So I hope this sets the ball rolling for a busy 3 weeks' campaign both at the activist level and the strategic level

Thanks

Prasanna

Priti Radhakrishnan <pritiwlc@yahoo.com> wrote:

Patent regime? Not the end of the road

Bhupesh Bhandari, Business Standard February 02, 2005

Ever since the country switched to the product patents regime on January 1, there has been widespread speculation that the days of the Indian pharmaceutical industry are numbered.

It is just a matter of time before the market is taken over by multinationals with their wonder drugs and superior scientific knowledge.

Multinational pharmaceutical companies have always had superior firepower than their Indian counterparts. It is worth remembering that in 1971, when the Indira Gandhi government rewrote the Indian Patents Act to do away with product patents, multinational pharmaceutical companies controlled almost 80 per cent of the market.

Thanks to the change, the tables were turned and the share of the same companies had dwindled to around 20 per cent by 2004. There is a real danger that the tables could turn again.

Every sector that was opened up to foreign competition in the past 15 years has resulted in multinationals coming on top and Indian firms getting relegated to the bottom of the value pyramid.

Cars, consumer electronics, computers -- the list is long and interesting. Does a similar fate await the Indian pharmaceutical industry?

At the moment, there are no fewer than 20,000 pharmaceutical companies operating in India -- big and small, Indian and multinational. Together, they sell medicine worth Rs 200,000 crore (Rs 2,000 billion)

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every year in the country and export drugs worth another Rs 9,000 crore (Rs 90 billion).

With no protection for product patents, there was scope for all of them to survive -- an Indian company was free to reverse engineer any drug so long as it used an unpatented process.

Even process patent infringements were overlooked by the government. That is why every molecule would have up to 60 brands in the market. In the process, India had become the most competitive pharmaceuticals market in the world -- even market leader GlaxoSmithKline has a share of just over 6 per cent of the national pie.

Obviously, the party is over. The Indian government is going to recognise all product patents obtained after 1995. In other words, any

drug or medicine patented after 1995 can no longer be cloned by Indian companies.

Sooner or later, this will choke the product flow of Indian companies. "I think it will start happening from 2007," says Malvinder Mohan Singh, president ( pharmaceuticals), Ranbaxy Laboratories Ltd, India's largest pharmaceuticals company.

But this is not the end of the road for a growing number of Indian companies that have started looking at global opportunities, leveraging the capabilities they have developed in the field of process chemistry in the past 34 years.

This has earned them a place amongst the cheapest producers of off-patent generic drugs in the world. Also, sticking to India means restricting yourself to less than 2 per cent of the world market.

Industry estimates suggest drugs worth \$60 billion will go off-patent by 2010. This has already led to a mad scramble for cheaper generic versions of these drugs.

There are two ways in which the Indian pharmaceutical industry is trying to tap this opportunity: some like Ranbaxy, Dr Reddy's Laboratories, Sun Pharmaceuticals and Wockhardt are going to sell their generic medicines directly in the West, while others like Matrix Laboratories, Jubilant Organosys, Nicholas Piramal India Ltd and Dr Divi's Laboratories have started supplying to multinationals scouting for cheaper options.

The second model is risk free and the returns are steady, although thin. No payments need to be made to expensive patent attorneys. The buzzword in the industry is now CRAM or contract research and manufacturing.

Such is the rush that the Shyam and Hari Bhartia-controlled Jubilant

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Organosys is repositioning itself from a speciality chemicals company to a ~~pharmaceuticals~~ company focused on CRAM.

"The opportunities are immense and we want to focus on it," says Shyam Bhartia.

At the moment it is small. Industry estimates suggest that Indian companies bagged contract manufacturing contracts worth \$75 million in 2004.

"But there is no reason why it can't go up to \$1 billion in the next two or three years," says Sanjiv Kaul, an advisor with ChrysCapital.

Kaul is also of the opinion that multinational pharmaceutical companies can outsource R&D work to India.

"This can be in the area of late-discovery and early development," he adds. GlaxoSmithkline Plc has already got into such a tie up with Ranbaxy.

The cost of discovering a new chemical entity has risen sharply in the past few years in the West -- it can now cost up to \$1 billion.

At the same time, there is evidence to suggest that R&D productivity is on the decline. This is where Indian companies like the Ajay Piramal-controlled Nicholas Piramal India Ltd could play a role.

"We want to partner foreign companies in the area of R&D. Our model is different. We don't want to take on the pharmaceutical companies in the West," Piramal had told Business Standard some time ago.

His company had recently been appointed by Advanced Medical Optics, a global leader in ophthalmic surgical devices and eye care products, to make products in India for several overseas markets.

There is big money to be made in the other model. But the expenses are huge -- large investments need to be made in setting up your own sales and distribution network, hiring patent attorneys and so on.

The model is also fraught with risks -- reading a patent wrongly could lead to damages running into millions of dollars. Moreover, drug stores in the West are reluctant to stock more labels.

For an Indian company to make inroads into drug stores in the US requires substantial investment.

But the rewards are handsome. Especially if a company can be the first to file with the US Food and Drug Administration to launch the generic version of a drug.

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This gives the company exclusive rights to market the drug in the US for a period of six months. This is the opportunity both Ranbaxy and Dr Reddy's are eyeing.

Much of their R&D effort is focused on drugs that are going off-patent. Both the companies are known to have a score of first-to-file applications under their belt.

Ranbaxy, for instance, has it for atorvastatin, an anti-cholesterol agent. This is sold by Pfizer under the brand Lipitor. Ranbaxy has challenged some patents on Lipitor held by Pfizer.

If the challenge is upheld, it can launch the drug as early as in 2006. Lipitor is the largest selling medicine in the world with a turnover of \$10 billion.

Once the patent on a drug expires and generic versions come to the market, prices tumble by as much as 80 per cent and the molecule's turnover falls by an equal amount.

Also, generics capture about 50 per cent of the drug's sale. By this account, Ranbaxy could make up to \$500 million in the six-month exclusivity period, if it gets to launch its atorvastatin in the US.

Of course, Ranbaxy has to get the nod of the courts before it can



start selling atorvastatin in the US. In this context, generic companies the world over are encountering "evergreening" by large pharmaceutical companies -- repeated extension of patents on molecules.

On the positive side, governments in the West are trying hard to bring down the cost of medication. In France, for instance, the government has declared that a chemist can give a generic alternative if the prescribed brand is not available.

Indian companies have positioned themselves well in the generics space in the West. Several of them, including Ranbaxy, Sun Pharmaceuticals, Wockhardt and Dr Reddy's, have set up base in the US as well as key European countries, such as the UK, France and Germany, either through acquisitions or setting up greenfield ventures.

Of course, these markets will be fed by their low cost production facilities in India.

Breaking into the generics space in the West is not easy since there are well established players like Teva, Sandoz, Watson and Ivax. (Teva of Israel even has a manufacturing facility in India, which it acquired from the Hari Shankar Singhania group over two years ago.)

These companies have been significant players in the Western generics

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market for much longer than any Indian company. But there is no country in Asia or east Europe (the low-cost hubs of the world) where generic medicine is such a large industry.

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Prasanna

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## PROBLEM STATEMENT

With Liberalization, Globalisation and privatization concern for the health of the common man has diminished considerably. Commercialization has hit the health scene like never before. Rising costs of health care along with proliferation of inessential and hazardous drugs has become the bane of the ill. India at present has an estimated 80,000 formulations of pharmaceutical drugs when WHO has recommended just 300 formulations are enough to treat any health problem.

Irrational drug use has been well documented and includes problems of overuse, underuse and inappropriate use. The reasons for this include:

Lack of adequate regulatory systems; shortage of essential drugs: the lack of sound and objective information of drugs for prescribers and consumers; strong influence of drug promotion of both prescribers and consumers. Outcome of these reasons include:

- a. The use of unsafe and ineffective drugs that proliferate in the market, particularly in the informal sector; this creates a danger to community and individual health.
- b. The use of drugs for indications that could be handled by non-drug alternatives; in such cases there can be increased risk and needless expenditures.
- c. prescribers or the multiple use of drugs, which increases the risks of adverse reactions, including drug interactions.
- d. Drug and prescription holding, which is common in our country. People tend not to complete the full dose, with the left overs, use it for other illness or give it to others.
- e. Inappropriate use of antibiotics and other anti-infectives, which results in drug resistance, contribution to higher morbidity and mortality.

There is a vicious cycle that operates in drug misuse since resources that could have been used indirectly for disease prevention and control are diverted and used instead to "treat" the consequences of this misuse. Public health problems resulting from drug misuse are serious, and could worsen if they are not addressed now. There are also number of current trends which increase the need for and importance of public education in drug use. They include:

1. Expansion of the private sector as source of drugs
2. Market deregulation
3. Descheduling of drugs which means that products previously available only on prescription can be bought over the counter
4. An increase in direct-to-consumer advertising of prescription drugs and new forms of marketing including "advertorials".

## GOALS

- \* To promote rational drug use.
- \* More understanding and support for rational drug policy.
- \* A more economic use of drugs and less waste of resources.
- \* Improved confidence in health services and health professionals.
- \* Increased success of measures to deal with public health problems.

## OBJECTIVES

- \* To prevent the use of irrational and hazardous drugs
- \* Better appreciation of the limits of the role of medicines within health care and less belief in the idea that all ills require pharmaceutical treatment
- \* An improved balance of power between consumers/patients and health professionals
- \* A more critical attitude to advertising and other commercial information, which often fails to give balanced information about drugs
- \* A better understanding of the decision to take medicines when needed.

## STRATEGY

In rational use of drugs there are three major role players. The consumer, the prescriber and the policy maker. As the latter takes much time to realise the gravity of the situation and take action, the primary contact would ideally be the consumer. The objectives would be achieved through RATIONAL DRUG EDUCATION. Consumers are given the required information to make informed decisions about how to use drugs (including when they should not be used) and to understand the role of drugs in health care. Recognition of the importance of public education in rational drug use will be slow but it will grow eventually.

The key elements of such education will be:

- \* The health situation in India,
- \* The common health problems,
- \* Approaches to a health problem,
- \* Patient-doctor relationship, for better information and informed decisions
- \* Correct treatment
- \* Pharmaceutical situation in India,
- \* Avoidance of spurious drugs in the market and

## **IMPLEMENTATION PLAN**

The target groups will be students studying in the undergraduate, graduate and the post-graduate teaching institutions in and around the city of Bangalore. If the requests come from outside Bangalore, the education will be extended. Other troops such as Lions, Rotaries and Mahila associations will be informed about the Rational Drug Education.

In Rational Drug Education the participants will be introduced to the concept of Essential Drugs and rational drug use. The information exchange will be participatory in approach. Several instances of health seeking behaviour, medical consultations and post consultation phases of actual experiences of the participants will be analysed by the educator. Computing of money and time spent and outcomes of each illhealth episode will be analysed. Each education session will be providing the educator with more inputs for the next one. Sessions will include group discussions and arriving at answer for specific pharmaceutical drug related problems. Slides, transparencies, videos and posters will be used for RDU sessions.

Each RDU session will span for a minimum of two hours. But the exact time limit will depend on the management of the participating Institution. The project holder intends to conduct a minimum of three RDU sessions in a month.

## **MONITORING AND EVALUATION**

Quantitatively the number of sessions held against the target will indicate the objectives achieved. For Qualitative evaluation, the participants will be most suitable candidates. In each session ten percent of the participants will be given a questionnaire to fill up and express their evaluation. This will be computed once in three months to fine tune the succeeding sessions.

## **BUDGET**

Preparation for a model session/materials

Travel

Communication with the Institutions

Postal expenses

# Statement of the African Regional Workshop on Patents and Access to Medicines: Appropriate National and Regional Policy Responses

(Addis Ababa, 1- 4 March 2005)

The Workshop was organised by the Commission of the African Union (AUC), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Third World Network (TWN).

## INTRODUCTION

1. The African Regional Workshop on Patents and Access to Medicines: Appropriate National and Regional Policy Responses was held at the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa from 1 to 4 March 2005. It was co-organised by the Commission of the African Union (AUC), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Third World Network (TWN).
2. The Workshop was attended by 135 participants, including representatives from governments of 35 African Union member states, as well as representatives from non-governmental organizations, international agencies and experts and practitioners in the field of health, development and international law.
3. The Member States represented were Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, Senegal, Somalia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
4. The Intergovernmental and International Organizations that participated were the African Union Commission (AUC), World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the South Centre, East African Community, International Organization on Migration (IOM).
5. NGOs represented were the Third World Network, Consumer Project on Technology, Health Action International Africa, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), Institute for Sustainable Development (ISD), Southern Environmental and Agricultural Policy Research Institute (SEAPRI), Trade law Centre for Southern Africa (TRALAC), Association de Lutte contre le Sida (ALCS), Students Stop AIDS Society (Kings College London), Caritas (Egypt), MMM Counseling Center (Ethiopia). The business sector was represented by Cosmos Ltd (Kenya), Varichem Pharmaceuticals (Zimbabwe), Bethlehem Pharmaceuticals (Ethiopia), East African Pharmaceutical Factory (Ethiopia), Ethiopian Pharmaceuticals Manufacturing Enterprise (Ethiopia) and the Indian Pharmaceutical Alliance (India).
6. The workshop was organized through several plenary sessions, working groups that considered country reports, and panel discussions, on a wide range of topics. Representatives of the participating Member States of the AU, NGOs and Experts attending the meeting adopted the following conclusions and recommendations.

## GENERAL

7. Participants stressed that the issue of the effects of patents on access to medicines is very crucial for the African region which among all continents in the world is the poorest and its people are most affected by serious diseases, and therefore the need for access to affordable effective medicines is a must. Deaths attributable to HIV/AIDS alone in 2004, estimated at 2.5 million, are equivalent to ten times the devastation caused by the Tsunami of December 2004. It is urgent that all countries act individually and collectively to remove all obstacles to securing sustainable supplies of essential medicines for the people of the region.
8. Yet the complex web of intellectual property rights and patents is keeping HIV/AIDS and other essential medicines out of the hands of those who are most in need. The situation is critical since most of the people who do need such medicines are not getting them, as many of these medicines are expensive. The prices are high because important medicines are patented and the companies that hold the patents have a monopoly of

sales and control the prices. Besides they are rarely willing to issue voluntary licenses on reasonable terms to enable the production of generics. That has resulted in the inability of the majority of Africans to pay the high cost of medicines in the world market.

9. In many African countries there are patent laws that grant exclusive rights to patent holders, including for pharmaceutical products. Most African countries are members of the World Trade Organisation and thus they are obliged to implement the Agreement on Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). As a result, most African countries have granted patent protection for pharmaceutical medicines, with the effect that the companies holding patents are able to charge high prices, which in turn adversely affects access to medicines, especially for the poor.

10. We recall that the Africa Heads of State and Government at their Extraordinary Summit in April 2002 at Abuja adopted the Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS and other related infectious diseases in Africa through which they committed themselves to many actions, including providing affordable medicines to cure those diseases.

11. We also recall the AU Assembly Decision: Assembly/AU/Dec.55(IV) adopted by Heads of States and Government in January 2005 in Abuja, which urged Member states "to take the lead in TRIPS negotiations and in implementing measures identified for promoting access to affordable generic drugs." Given the commitment of our leaders and the flexibilities in TRIPS, it is time to translate the principles contained in the Doha Declaration into concrete gains at continental, regional and national levels to let our peoples benefit from.

## **USING FULLY THE FLEXIBILITIES IN TRIPS AND THE DOHA DECLARATION**

12. However, there are many flexibilities in the TRIPS Agreement that allow governments to establish pro-health measures such as compulsory licensing, government use provisions and parallel importation and production of generic versions of medicines that have been patented. The African Group in the WTO played a pioneering and leadership role in negotiations for the landmark Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health in 2001, which among other things stated that "The TRIPS agreement does not and should not prevent members from taking measures to protect public health"; "We reaffirm that the Agreement can and should be interpreted in a manner supportive of WTO members' right to protect public health and, in particular, to promote access to medicines for all"; and

"We reaffirm the right of WTO members to use, to the full, the provisions in the TRIPS Agreement, which provide flexibility for this purpose." **We therefore urge policy makers, international and regional organizations to take full advantage of the flexibilities provided in the Doha Declaration and Paragraph 6 decision, by enacting enabling trade and intellectual property legislation that will speed the importation and/or production of essential medicines.**

13. In this respect, the Doha Declaration has also allowed the postponement of the implementation of TRIPS obligations on pharmaceutical products to 1 January 2016 for LDCs. After that date, the WTO shall also grant further extension of the transition, upon duly motivated request by the LDCs. We encourage and urge governments in LDCs in the African region "to use, to the full" the flexibilities accorded to LDCs in TRIPS and the Doha Declaration in this regard.

14. The WTO General Council in August 2003 also adopted a decision aimed at facilitating developing countries with insufficient or no production capacity to produce pharmaceuticals, to have a sustainable supply of imported generic products, by waiving the requirement that the supply of medicines under compulsory licenses in countries that can produce them have to be predominantly for the domestic market. We note however that this decision imposes several conditions on importers and exporters who wish to make use of the waiver, which may hinder the smooth operation of the mechanism.

15. There is a relationship between patents, price and generic competition. In general, prices of generics are lower compared with the prices of branded products. But when there is competition between both products, the prices of branded products would decline. Countries that do not have access to generics pay higher prices. Therefore, we urge African countries to adopt and implement policies that promote generic competition in order to enhance access to medicines. Governments should also consider mechanisms for the regulation and control of medicine prices.

16. We also urge governments of developing countries in Africa to similarly use to the full, the flexibilities that they are provided, including measures such as compulsory licensing, government use measures and parallel importation, so as to ensure access to medicines.

17. It is crucial that African countries strengthen their capacity and knowledge about their rights and obligations in relation to patents and access to medicines, including understanding the implications of TRIPS and other agreements and proposals, and what are the ap-

appropriate policy measures and legal options available.

18. African governments are urged to review their patent laws and to amend them, where appropriate, to bring them in line with the best options and provisions possible. The patent laws should enable the country to provide compulsory licenses, government use orders and parallel importation in simple and effective ways. The governments in the region should then exercise their rights by taking these measures to ensure access to medicines.

19. We note that many publications and documents from WHO, UNDP and Third World Network (TWN) provide useful guidance on implementing the TRIPS flexibilities. We therefore recommend that these documents, including the Manual on Good Practices in Public Health Oriented Patent Policies and Laws and its supplementary papers (which were developed with the encouragement of the AU and published by TWN) be used as a key reference point for review of policies and laws.

20. We congratulate those African countries (and developing countries in other regions) that have already started to make use of safeguard measures such as “compulsory license” and “government use” orders that allow the supply of generic medicines in their countries. We are also encouraged by cases in some African countries where negotiations have led to voluntary licenses for the supply of generic drugs. We encourage other African countries to look at and learn from these experiences.

21. We call upon the African Union Commission to prepare a set of guidelines on appropriate national policy measures and national patent legal provisions for African countries, which enable them to make use to the full the flexibilities in TRIPS agreement and the Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health that support public health and access to medicines for all. The Commission should also assist African countries to build their capacity to institute the appropriate policies and laws.

22. We call upon the WHO to expand its activities in providing technical assistance to African countries to review their laws and policies so that they can make full use of TRIPS flexibilities to promote public health, and to continue to assist African countries in implementing national medicine policies and in strengthening medicine regulatory capacities.

23. We urge UNDP to scale up capacity building support at national and regional levels to enable countries to apply the full flexibilities of the Doha Declaration

and Paragraph 6 to sustainably import or produce low-cost, quality HIV/AIDS drugs. This includes support to countries in the legal and economic assessment of national drug manufacturing and related capacity.

24. We encourage African countries to increase their capacity in technical knowledge in understanding their rights and obligations in WTO and the use of TRIPS flexibilities in patent laws and health policies through collaboration with stakeholders and NGOs, in particular the Third World Network.

#### **“PARA 6” MECHANISM FOR COUNTRIES WITH NO OR INADEQUATE MANUFACTURING CAPACITY**

25. The temporary mechanism to address the “para 6 issue” to ensuring supply of medicines to countries with no or inadequate manufacturing capacity, known as the August 30 2003 decision, provides a waiver to TRIPS Article 31(f) for exporters. However this decision imposes several conditions on importers and exporters who wish to make use of the waiver, which may affect the ability for the mechanism to meet its goal. African countries should make use of this “temporary solution” mechanism where appropriate to test how effective it is in practice, and to take steps to improve the mechanism if needed.

26. We call for a more appropriate “permanent solution” that revises TRIPS and that removes the Article 31(f) constraint without placing new constraints so that the export and import of generic medicines can be smoothly facilitated. We support the position and efforts of the African Group in this respect.

27. African authorities should propose in the WTO a united common position to review the TRIPS Agreement aimed at expanding the policy flexibilities in TRIPS to promote public health. For example to consider that countries are enabled to exclude patents on pharmaceuticals and to determine the period of patents on pharmaceuticals without a TRIPS-prescribed minimum period. We note that before the TRIPS agreement came into being, many countries had excluded pharmaceutical products from patentability, for example in India Patent Act 1970.

#### **TRIPS-PLUS PROVISIONS IN BILATERAL AND REGIONAL AGREEMENTS**

28. The proliferation of bilateral and regional trade and economic agreements that contain TRIPS-plus provisions or proposed provisions on IPRs is a matter of serious concern, as these prevent the use of TRIPS

flexibilities. The related "TRIPS-plus" provisions of such agreements include restrictions in the use of compulsory license; extension of the period of patentability; the use of the national drug regulation authority as "patent police" to block approval of generic products on the ground that the products are patented; and "data exclusivity" (where drug regulatory authorities are prohibited from relying on test data submitted by originator companies for marketing approval for a period of time).

29. African countries should guard against proposals to introduce TRIPS-plus IPR provisions in bilateral and regional economic agreements, and should insist that they would not be included in these agreements.

30. We recommend that the AU Commission initiate efforts to enhance collaboration among the Ministries of Health, Trade and Industries and Patent offices, so as to build their capacity to monitor and analyse the implications of TRIPS-plus provisions in bilateral agreements, to be able better negotiate such agreements and to maintain TRIPS flexibilities. We also ask WHO, UNDP and TWN to support such efforts.

31. It should be ensured that African regional agreements such as the Bangui Agreement 1999 do not offset or prevent the full use of the TRIPS agreement and the Doha Declaration of TRIPS and Public Health. Governments should review these agreements and recommend how to reconcile any possible discrepancies between such agreements and the TRIPS/Doha flexibilities, in a manner that supports pro-public health policy measures.

## POST-2005 SITUATION

32. We would like to express great concern about the impact of the expiry of the transition period on 1 January 2005, in particular with regard to the continued production and supply of generic medicines and active pharmaceutical ingredients in producing countries, such as India. The expiry of the transition period on 1 January 2005 requires countries that had not previously done so, to extend patent protection to pharmaceutical products and to grant patents to applications placed in the "mailbox". The implementation of the new obligations should be in a manner that facilitates the continued and regular supply of good quality and affordable generic medicines. It is particularly important that the supply of medicines, active pharmaceutical ingredients and other pharmaceutical products to African countries is not disrupted.

33. We also urge countries that export and supply medicines and raw materials to African countries to take all the necessary measures to ensure that African countries continue to receive the needed supplies of these medicines.

34. In the examination of patent applications for pharmaceutical drugs, the views of those with pharmaceutical expertise (including in the relevant health departments) should be sought, in order to enable better decisions on the granting of medicines patents, including addressing the problem of "evergreening" of drug patents.

## ISSUES RELATING TO DRUG REGULATION, PROCUREMENT AND FINANCING

35. We view the importance that African countries should take seriously the issues related to drug regulation and good practices in procurement of medicines. All medicines procured and distributed (whether by originator or generic producers) should meet the requirements of quality, safety and efficacy.

36. The WHO prequalification project, although intended as a service for UN procurement agencies, has become a useful quality criterion for developing countries in providing them with the choice of a range of quality medicines for priority diseases. The prequalification project has been important in securing access to affordable medicines. We ask therefore that the WHO prequalification project be further strengthened, in light of the continuing public health crisis. It is, however, important for countries to build their regulatory capacities. We therefore ask WHO to continue its work in providing technical assistance and capacity building of drug regulatory authorities to improve access to medicines of assured quality.

37. We are concerned that some trade partners are attempting to have African countries grant exclusive rights over test data to the originator drug company, through bilateral or regional trade and economic agreements, which would have adverse effects on supply of generic medicines and access to medicines. The drug regulatory authorities are being asked through bilateral or regional agreements to take on non-safety issues relating to IPRs, for example that drug regulators deny approval for generic drugs that are patented. Also, we note that the TRIPS Agreement does not require that exclusive rights be granted over the test data submitted for the approval of the originator medicines.

38. The drug regulatory authorities are being also asked through bilateral or regional agreements to take on



non-safety issues relating to IPRs, for example to deny approval for generic drugs that are patented. We recommend that governments ensure that drug regulatory authorities carry out activities within their area of competence (ensuring safety, efficacy and quality of medicines) and that are not asked to take on additional responsibilities such as enforcement of IPRs.

39. We recommend that governments give higher priority and where needed more budget resources to be allocated in order to build the capacity of drug regulatory authorities so that they can perform their tasks effectively

40. African Governments should also make full use of TRIPS flexibilities in relation to the data protection issue, i.e. that WTO members are not required to establish "data exclusivity" provisions and LDCs do not have to implement data protection provision until 2016. Further, countries that have already entered into bilateral agreements that include obligations for data exclusivity or protection could consider reviewing these obligations included through amendment of such provisions and also examining the possibility of "compensatory liability" for the use of data.

## LOCAL DRUG PRODUCTION

41. Local production, where feasible, is an important component of a national medicine policy, by contributing to the establishment of a reliable supply system. The development of local production capacity will require an enabling policy and technological environment, including through support by government through provision of incentives and infrastructure as well as appropriate IPR and procurement policies.

42. The AU Commission in collaboration with its developmental partners should make progress on identification and promotion of **centers of excellence** for the production of medicines in the region, including for traditional medicines. We request the AU Commission, WHO and UNDP to conduct studies on an enabling regional policy framework on drug manufacturing in Africa.

43. African countries should encourage local drug manufacturers to cooperate among themselves at national and regional level to strengthen local and regional drug production. The local manufacturers should also be enabled to have access to the African Union Commission through their respective associations, so that they could express their views on the development of local production.

## REGIONAL COOPERATION

44. There is a lot of scope for regional cooperation in Africa in improving access to medicines. The Doha Declaration and the August 30 2003 Decision has increased the space given to African countries to cooperate regionally. For example, regional economic groupings that have LDCs forming at least half of their membership are eligible to be treated as a "domestic market" in relation to the supply of generic medicines under compulsory licensing. This can facilitate regional cooperation in marketing, supply and trade so that African countries can take advantage of economies of scale.

45. It is recommended that the AU Commission initiate efforts to coordinate a regional approach, including studies on the feasibility and modalities of regional cooperation in the area of supply of and access to medicines. Measures for cooperation can include establishing a system for the collection and sharing of information on prices and supply of medicines; establishing regional or sub-regional groupings as "domestic markets" for the purposes of taking advantage of certain TRIPS flexibilities; regional arrangements for compulsory licensing (so that a license can be issued and used by countries within a region); regional technology, research and innovative cooperation arrangements, and the consideration of regional patent pools to expand access to medicines and regional cooperation to control anti-competitive practices. The WHO, UNDP and other agencies should assist the AU Commission where appropriate.

46. The best practices shared during the workshop demonstrated the critical need for establishing an active learning network among the participants of the workshop where issues and cutting edge precedents can be shared. Equally important is the establishment of active South-South cooperation among countries within the Africa region and between other regions as well to adapt emerging best practice for the importation or production of low cost, quality essential medicines. We request UNDP to increase support for South-South cooperation among groups of developing countries, to facilitate this exchange and transfer of best practices.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WORKING GROUPS OF THE WORKSHOP

47. Participants of the workshop also had extensive discussions in working groups which examined country reports as well as discussed general issues. The recommendations of the working groups are in Annex I and form an integral part of this Statement.

## Recommendations of Working Groups of the African Regional Workshop on Patents and Access to Medicines: Appropriate National Policy Responses, Addis Ababa (1-4 March 2005)

Working groups comprising representatives of various countries in each group met during the workshop and prepared reports of their discussion. Below is a summary of the recommendations of the working groups.

### **GROUP A: Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe**

● There is a need to make all stakeholders aware of the important issues regarding the TRIPS agreement, particularly the flexibilities in it.

● There is a need to build the capacity of intellectual property offices so that applications for patents are carefully scrutinized and necessary consultations done

● There is a need to urgently review all relevant legislations pertaining to patents so that they do not negatively impact on access to essential medicines.

● There is a need to strengthen the national drug regulatory authorities so that the pharmaceutical sector of the countries is properly regulated

● There is a need to ensure that negotiations for bilateral trade agreements are undertaken together with proper consultations with all relevant stakeholders to avoid jeopardizing the flexibilities in the TRIPS Agreement

● Member countries must carefully assess their technical assistance needs so that they are able to make appropriate and specific requests for technical assistance.

● National governments should make available adequate resources to enable timely procurement of medicines so that supply and access is not compromised

● All government policies that have an impact on access to essential medicines should be reviewed so that they are consistent with the TRIPS Agreements and incorporates the flexibilities that are available to im-

prove access to essential medicines.

○ National governments should consider the possibility of local or regional production of essential medicines so as to maximize available manufacturing potentials

● Each country should identify priority activities that will be undertaken to raise awareness about the use of safeguards in the TRIPS Agreement and to promote public health aspects in trade agreements.

● A learning network should be created to share information on the TRIPS Agreement, medicines prices and other relevant information that will assist Member countries to improve access to essential medicines.

● The recommendations from this workshop should be disseminated to the AU heads of governments and state, to all ministries responsible for trade, health and patents. The AU should take the lead in disseminating the information.

● There is a need to draft, disseminate and obtain consensus on a Program of Action for the implementation of recommendations that arise from this workshop.

### **GROUPS B AND C: Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic Of Congo, Democratic Republic Of Congo, Djibouti, Madagascar, Mali, Senegal, Tchad**

● Governments and the WHO should work towards strengthening the capacity of the national drug regulatory authorities

- Governments, the AU, sub-regional organizations, WHO and the UNDP should promote regional approaches for local production and group procurement of medicines including traditional medicine

- Governments, the AU, WHO and civil society organizations should sensitize the relevant authorities on how to effectively implement the obligations and safeguards in the TRIPS Agreement.

- Governments and the WHO should strengthen the systems of control of the quality of drugs

- The WHO, WIPO, OAPI, AU, WTO, ARIPO, UNDP and sub-regional organizations should update and build the capacity of the relevant stakeholders on access to medicine as well as develop suitable guides relevant to the issue.

- The AU, UNDP, WTO, WHO, TWN, OAPI and sub-regional organizations should organize more workshops for countries at national and sub-regional levels.

- The AU should make available on the AU website regular updated information on the TRIPS Agreement and all other relevant agreements, in particular that have effects on access to medicines.

- The AU, WHO and sub-regional organizations should analyze and emphasize the flexibilities in regional agreements on intellectual property, particularly in relation to access to medicine

#### **GROUP D: Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone**

- All national laws in relation to access to medicines need to be fine-tuned to incorporate and make maximum use of safeguards in the TRIPS Agreement and the Doha Declaration.

- There is a need for administrative guidelines for implementing these safeguards.

- Technical assistance in designing financial sustainability plan needs to be provided

- There is a need for an interactive website that covers issues raised at this workshop.

- Governments need to provide incentives to local manufacturers to encourage and assist them to produce affordable medicines

- The national patent offices should be automated.

- There is a need for a model patent law, that is consistent with the TRIPS Agreement and that incorporates all the flexibilities.

- Governments need to increase the budget for the procurement of medicines to deal with the increased disease burden.

- The AU should coordinate all the follow up activities arising from this workshop.

#### **GROUP E: Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Saharawi Republic**

- The creation of a network that facilitates exchange of information and experiences and raises awareness is recommended.

- There is a need to build the capacity of human resources to facilitate the use of safeguards in the TRIPS Agreement

- More national/regional workshops should be organized

- Implementation of all the decisions of the African Union concerning health policy in HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis (Sudan) is encouraged.

- Organizers and all international organizations should support the Saharawi people by building the capacity of their health system and by supporting financially the prevention policies especially on the HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis epidemics.

#### **GROUP F: Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Somalia**

- There is a need to create awareness among policy makers and the public by:

- i) Holding meetings with MPs, government officials and other stakeholders;

- ii) Publicizing the issues in media;

- iii) Updating stakeholders through the exchange of information, sharing of experiences and where possible, attending the relevant WTO/WIPO meetings.

- An assessment to identify the available and capable human resources should be conducted. There should be capacity building for existing resources.

- There is a need to develop laws where none exist and to review and amend existing inadequate legislation so that the laws and policies are consistent with the TRIPS Agreement and its flexibilities. For this, technical assistance is needed.
- A check list should be prepared to measure whether the relevant legislation allows access to medicines.
- Relevant officials need to be sensitized on matters affecting access to medicines and related issues
- Countries should develop common negotiating positions, for example in forthcoming meetings at the WTO TRIPS Council which will be attended by African countries present at the workshop and where the Africa Group proposal on the permanent solution to the problem faced by countries with insufficient or no manufacturing capacity (paragraph 6 of the Doha Declaration) will be discussed.
- There is a need to exchange and share experiences with other countries, to make use of contacts established in the workshop to consult and utilize information which each country has respectively
- There is a need to establish linkages between local, sub-regional and regional levels. Existing initiatives should be utilized.
- The use of alternative forms of medication such as traditional medicines should be encouraged.
- There is a need to ensure continued supply of affordable and quality generic medicines
- Local production should be encouraged. In this regard, Article 65(4) of the TRIPS Agreement should be amended to allow developing countries to delay for a further period of 10 years the application of the provisions

on patents to pharmaceutical products so that WTO members can strengthen the local capacity to produce generic versions of pharmaceutical drugs.

- A checklist to determine whether legislation / policy has been implemented and regular review of implementation through Monitoring and Evaluation teams should be developed to create awareness of the lack of implementation. (The involvement of the civil society may be needed)
- The TWN Manual on Good Practices in Public-Health-Sensitive Policy Measures and Patent Laws is a useful guide and as such the AU should recommend it as a tool for its Members to use
- The AU Commission should assist Somalia to set up the relevant regulatory infrastructure. Members should share their experiences with and give their support to Somalia.
- Support should be given to Ethiopia in its negotiations on accession to WTO especially as far as IP is concerned so that Ethiopia can make full use of the TRIPS flexibilities in its new IP law.
- Countries should take advantage of the technical assistance and funding available, for example from WHO and UNDP

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# Conclusions of the Asian Workshop on TRIPS and Access to Medicines: Appropriate National Responses

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 28-30 November 2004

## General

1. The Asian Regional Workshop on the WTO TRIPS Agreement and Access to Medicines: Appropriate National Policy Responses was held in Kuala Lumpur on 28-30 November 2004. It was co-organised by the Third World Network and Health Action International (Asia Pacific) with the cooperation of the UNDP, WHO, Medicine Sans Frontier and Consumer Project on Technology.

2. The workshop was attended by 90 participants who are policy makers, and representatives and experts from health movements, NGOs, and international agencies, from countries in the region: Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Myanmar, Pakistan, Philippines, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam. Other participants came from Ghana, Australia, France and Switzerland.

3. The workshop was organized in several plenary sessions, working groups to consider country reports, and panel discussions, on a wide range of topics. The following are some of the significant conclusions.

## Main Conclusions

4. Participants stressed that access to medicines and health services are vital for the Asian region, especially since this region has the largest share of the world's people. They also noted that the globalization process has had an impact on health care.

5. The workshop heard presentations and discussed the relationship between patents, prices and access to medicines. Data on prices of various products within and across Asian countries were presented by resource persons showing that prices of branded products are significantly (and

often greatly) higher than similar generic products, and also that the presence of generics brings down the prices of branded products in the same country. Countries that do not have access to generics pay much higher prices than those that do have such access for the same products. It is therefore essential that patented drugs do not enjoy monopoly and that competition from generics should be enabled, so that the patients have more choice and prices can be brought down. Many participants also called for price controls to be placed by governments on medicines since these are essential items.

6. The Workshop also discussed how the TRIPS Agreement by requiring patentability of medicines under certain minimum standards has constrained the ability of governments to institute pro-health policies, such as exclusion of medicines from patentability, which some Asian countries had done prior to the coming into force of TRIPS. The Doha Declaration has clarified that there are some flexibilities and safeguards such as the ability of governments to implement measures such as compulsory licensing, government use/rights and parallel importing, to offset the monopoly of patents.

7. Many participants asked that governments undertake a serious review process of TRIPS so as to expand the policy flexibilities in TRIPS, for example to consider that countries are enabled to exclude patents on medicines and food. Several speakers pointed out that before TRIPS, countries had excluded medicines from patentability, for example in the India patent law 1970.

8. In the immediate term, governments are urged to urgently review their patent laws and amending them to bring them in line with the best options and provisions possible, especially in light of the Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health. The patent laws should enable

the country to provide compulsory licences, government use orders and parallel importing in simple and effective ways. The governments in the region should then exercise their rights by taking these measures required to treat ailments. The workshop recommended that the Manual on Good Practices in Public Health Oriented Patent Policies and Laws and its supplement (published by TWN) be used as a key reference point for review of policies and laws.

9. The participants expressed concern and also anxiety whether there will be continued and expanded supply of medicines to countries that have no or inadequate manufacturing capacity. This arises from a constraint in TRIPS Article 31(f) that production under compulsory license have to supply predominantly for the domestic market, thus limiting export supply. The "interim solution" to this through the WTO's 30 August 2003 decision was found by participants to be impractical for dealing with this problem. Many participants pointed out that the measures required, such as notification of amounts of drugs and special labeling and packaging, on top of the issuing of compulsory licences, will most likely deter generic drug producers from making use of this mechanism. They called for a more appropriate permanent solution that revises TRIPS and that removes the Article 31(f) constraint without placing new constraints so that the export and import of generic drugs can be smoothly facilitated.

10. The participants were concerned about the post-2005 situation since an important generic-producing country, India, has to start allowing drug product patent applications, under its TRIPS obligation. Participants urged that the proposed amendments to the India patents act 1970 should be made in ways that take full advantage of the rights and flexibilities of the TRIPS agreement and the Doha Declaration, and that obligations that are not required by TRIPS (that are, i.e., TRIPS-plus) need not be included. Many participants signed a joint letter drafted during the workshop to the President and Prime Minister of India to this effect. The participants also hope and expect that the relevant Indian authorities will establish systems that enable applications for compulsory licences to be rapidly processed and acted on. It was emphasized that it is critical that the supply of generic drugs from India should not be reduced or hampered, including to African countries, in the new post-2005 situation.

11. The workshop participants also heard presentations

from drug generic producers or their representatives from Thailand, India and China about their activities, problems and prospects. The participants expressed that it was important for generic producers to maintain and increase their capacity, and for countries in the region to develop local manufacturing capacity. Generic producers were urged to organize themselves better nationally as well as regionally and be able to meet the challenges as well as represent their case for compulsory licences, where needed and for expanded production to the governments.

12. The workshop heard presentations from several countries about the pro-health measures they have taken recently or are contemplating. The participants were greatly encouraged and very much welcomed the presentations of Malaysia and Indonesia which provided information on the recent government use orders they had each undertaken for the import (Malaysia) or local production (Indonesia) of HIV-AIDS anti-retroviral drugs. These measures were seen as milestones of progress in the region for the provision of more affordable medicines. The experiences of countries outside the region, such as Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe which have recently issued compulsory licences were also discussed, and also the experiences of the developed countries such as the UK and US.

13. The workshop heard presentations on the nature of the bilateral free trade agreements that have been concluded, for example between the US and many countries or regions around the world, and of similar agreements that are currently being negotiated, for example with Thailand. Participants were extremely concerned that many aspects of the IPR chapters of these agreements removed or eroded the flexibilities available in TRIPS and the Doha Declaration. The FTAs for example seek to extend the lifespan of drug patents, establish exclusive rights over test data (which would prevent generic products from being registered) and restrict the grounds for compulsory licences. These negative traits are likely to appear in FTAs that Asian countries are negotiating with the US, unless the governments are alert and reject such TRIPS-plus proposals. The participants expressed support for the Thai movements and NGOs that are working to ensure that the US-Thai FTA does not include such negative traits, and pledged to undertake activities to prevent such negative traits in other bilateral or regional FTAs.

14. The workshop discussed issues and processes related

to drug regulation and registration and good practices in procurement of drugs. It was stressed that all drugs distributed (whether by innovators or generic producers) should meet the requirements of quality, safety and efficacy. Presentations in the workshop clarified that the TRIPS agreement does not require that exclusive rights be granted over the test data submitted for the approval of the originator drugs. There was concern among participants that a major developed country is attempting to have Asian countries accept that exclusive rights over test data be granted to the originator drug company, through FTAs. Participants expressed the view that this would have extremely damaging effects on access to medicines, as this would block the implementation of supply (through import or production) of generic drugs to compete with originator drugs including those that are not patented in the country. Presentation was also made about good practices in negotiations with companies to reduce prices during the procurement exercise. The WHO's system of prequalification was recognized as an important mechanism for countries to choose medicines that meet the safety and efficacy tests; the system should be improved further to suit the needs of developing countries.

15. Some participants also brought up the problem posed by the patenting of life forms and the protection of intellectual property regarding plant varieties, which arose from Article 27.3(b) of the TRIPS agreement. They urged that patenting of life-forms should be prohibited and that the seeds and other genetic resources of farmers should not be subjected to patenting or IP protection having similar effects. As this affects food security and access to food, it is also a health issue.

16. Three working groups were convened to discuss the situation of individual countries with regard to their policy on access to medicines, patent law and patent law amendment, safeguard measures and generic production. A plenary session to receive reports from these groups heard the present status of the countries, and many suggestions on what can and should be done. A session was also held on "the way forward" for Asian countries on making progress on providing access to medicines.

### Further proposals

17. Besides the suggestions mentioned earlier, the workshop participants also made many other proposals. These include the following:

- Governments are urged to initiate or continue review of patent laws and amend these to take full advantage of flexibilities in TRIPS and the Doha Declaration
- A committee or group of experts should be made available to the governments and NGOs to assist in the law review and amendments.
- National patent laws should set appropriate scope and criteria for patentability and patents so that frivolous and ineligible applications are not entertained.
- The review of TRIPS should be taken seriously by Asian governments which should advocate reforms so that flexibilities can be expanded in relation to access to medicines, including consideration to allow exclusion of medicines from patentability.
- Policy makers should seriously consider taking safeguard measures such as compulsory license, government use and parallel importation, to facilitate access to affordable medicines to the public.
- Best practices in legislation and policies on safeguard measures should be shared among countries in the region.
- The TWN Manual on Good Practices in Public Health Sensitive Patent Policies and Laws are adopted by the workshop as a valuable resource and reference material.
- There should be closer collaboration among relevant departments and Ministries (health ministry, trade ministry, patent office, attorney general office, etc.) on the basis of protecting and promoting public health interests.
- Fast track registration mechanism should be established for generic drugs that are required to treat serious ailments.
- There should be priority to activities to sensitise policy makers so that there will be strong political will to establish health-sensitive laws and policies regarding patents and access to medicines and safeguard measures.
- Pool procurement for essential drugs in the region should be explored.
- It was also agreed that regional patent pools among groups of states should be explored, aimed at sharing patents and licenses through international agreements to provide essential medicines at affordable costs to citizens.
- National databases on patents and patent applications for pharmaceutical products should be set up and made available to the public to enable appropriate responses if needed.
- A regional centre or network for collection of information on drug patents should be set up, from where people can access the information.
- Guidelines for procurement of medicines should be drawn up.
- The organizers (TWN, HAI) and WHO, etc., should

set up a stronger system to assist developing countries to understand international IP regimes (e.g., TRIPS), and options for patent laws, so that countries can choose the appropriate options.

- Awareness for the public and policy makers on patents and access to medicines should be raised through national workshops and seminars which raise the problems and increase knowledge about options in patent laws and safeguard measures, etc.
- Information dissemination on these issues should be expanded.
- Technical support and technical assistance should be provided to policy makers and NGOs that would like to act on these issues.
- Policy makers in Asia should be on the alert and reject proposals in free trade agreements that introduce TRIPS-plus obligations such as data exclusivity, extension of patent term, linking drug registration to patents and limiting the grounds for compulsory license, etc. NGOs and health movements should strengthen their work to raise awareness and prevent these types of provisions. Regional cooperation among policy makers and NGOs/social movements on this issue is urgently required.
- Urgent measures must be taken to ensure that in the post 2005 situation, that there should not be a break or reduction or disruption to the supply of required drugs from generic producers in exporting countries to importing countries in Asia as well as Africa and other developing regions.

- International agencies especially WHO and UNDP should expand their capacity to assist countries in the region in a wide range of issues and activities, including information, analysis and assistance on issues relating to patents and access to medicines.

- The co-organisers, TWN and HAI (AP) are requested to review the proposals put forward in the workshop and to initiate work programme and activities to implement as many of them as possible.
- Similar regional workshops should be organized every one or two years so that policy makers and health movements can share information and experiences and improve laws, policies and practices.
- Participants agreed that: We reaffirm our commitment to provide essential medicines and health services so as to protect and promote public health. There is a crucial need to make medicines affordable and accessible to all the people. We call on policy makers, parliamentarians, international and regional organizations, and all other organizations to act urgently as lives and health of people in the region are at stake.

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## Patents and Access to Medicines: What Can be Done at National Level

by Martin Khoo

● Access to medicines, which is part of the human right to health services, has emerged as a major public health issue, especially with the impact of patents on the prices of drugs. The patenting of medicines has become more prevalent after the establishment of the Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement in the World Trade Organisation in 1995. That agreement made it compulsory for WTO members to include medicines in their regime for product and process patents.

A few years ago, there was a public outcry after public health and development organizations highlighted how the monopoly granted by patents enabled the maintenance of excessive prices of medicines for HIV-AIDS. The cost of treatment of patented drugs per patient per year was US\$10,000-15,000 in developed countries, whereas some generic producers in developing countries were able to provide them for as low as US\$300. ● If developing countries are able to make or import these generic drugs at cheaper cost, that would significantly increase access to medicines.

Whilst mandating that WTO members have to allow patenting for medicines, the TRIPS Agreement does contain flexibilities. For example, if patented drugs cost too much, the government authorities can take measures such as issuing a compulsory licence to an agency or company to manufacture or import a generic version of that patented drug, which can then be made more available to patients more cheaply.

At the WTO's Ministerial Conference in 2001, the Doha Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public

Health was adopted as a response to the public concerns. The Declaration reaffirmed and clarified the flexibilities available under TRIPS Agreement, and proclaimed: "We agree that the TRIPS Agreement does not and should not prevent Members from taking measures to protect public health.... We affirm that the Agreement can and should be interpreted in a manner supportive of WTO Members' right to protect public health and in particular, to promote access to medicines for all." It spells out several flexibilities that WTO members can use to the full, such as the right to grant compulsory licences and the freedom to determine the grounds for these.

If the Doha Declaration is to benefit patients of AIDS and other ailments in developing countries, these countries now have to establish appropriate provisions in their national patent legislation by using "to the full" the flexibilities in the TRIPS Agreement. They also need to formulate and implement national policies aimed at providing access to medicines for all. In doing so they would be operationalising, at national level, the aims of Doha Declaration. If such laws and policies are not introduced, the gains made at international level through the Declaration will not translate into actual benefits for patients.

In other words, whilst in recent years the goal for access to medicines had been significantly fought at the international level, action is now equally or even more important at the national level, where policy makers should focus on policy and practical measures to get medicines to poor patients.

**TWN** THIRD WORLD NETWORK is a network of groups and individuals involved in bringing about a greater articulation of the needs, aspirations and rights of the people in the Third World and in promoting a fair distribution of world resources and forms of development which are humane and are in harmony with nature.

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*CHC lib - TRIPS/patents resource file*  
*JK*

## The Manual

With this in view, the Third World Network (TWN) in 2002 and 2003 organized a series of international, regional and national meetings involving legal experts, NGOs and policy makers to discuss the options available to developing countries for policies and legal provisions that are oriented to meeting public health concerns. The outcome of these meetings is a "Manual on Good Practices in Public-Health-Sensitive Policy Measures and Patent Laws", recently published by TWN.

The Manual contains three parts. Part I describes options for countries to establish policy measures to import, produce and export affordable medicines through measures that are consistent with the TRIPS Agreement. These measures include such as compulsory licensing, "government use" procedures, and parallel importation of drugs that are patented in these countries, thus enabling the use of cheaper generic versions of the patented branded drugs, and also cheaper versions of the same branded products. The advantages and disadvantages of each of the policy options are discussed, as well as the legal requirements for their implementation under the TRIPS Agreement.

Part II provides model legal provisions for national patent laws, that are sensitive to public health concerns, and at the same time consistent with the TRIPS Agreement. The model provisions are accompanied by explanatory notes that describe and explain the provisions, including how they comply with the TRIPS Agreement, with examples of "good practices" in national laws from around the world.

Part III contains proposals for an appropriate institutional and administrative framework to implement the proposed patent laws and policy measures. The framework should incorporate an administrative system for implementing compulsory licensing and government use of patents, based on fair and transparent decision-making processes and clear and easy-to-apply guidelines, including for compensation to the patent holder.

As the Manual points out, governments can take a range of policy measures to facilitate access to affordable medicines, including the following:

### Importing the Drug

A country can import a generic version of the patented product by issuing a compulsory licence to a company or agency to import the drug, and the government has the freedom to determine the grounds upon which such licences are given. The imported drug can be from a country in which the drug is not patented, or in which the drug is patented (in which case the exporting country has also to issue a compulsory licence). The applicant has to firstly negotiate to obtain a voluntary licence from the patent holder, and if that fails, then a compulsory licence can be granted.

Adequate compensation has to be paid to the patent holder.

Import of a generic version of the patented drug can also be imported for "public, non-commercial use" by the government. Under this "government use" procedure, the prior consent of or negotiations with the patent holder is not required, but adequate compensation has to be paid. This method is suitable if the imported drug is to be used by the government.

There can also be "parallel importation" of a patented product (i.e. not the generic version) from another country, where the same patented product is being sold at a lower price than in the importing country. This is allowed under Article 6 of the TRIPS Agreement on exhaustion of rights, and the Doha Declaration affirms this by stating that each WTO member is "free to establish its own regime for such exhaustion without challenge." There is no need for an importer to obtain a compulsory licence, nor to pay compensation to the patent holder.

### Local Manufacture

If a drug is patented in a country, generic versions of the drug can be locally manufactured by a local company or agency that has been granted a compulsory licence. The applicant has to negotiate with the patent holder for a voluntary licence and failed to obtain such a licence, before applying for a compulsory licence. This requirement however does not apply if the compulsory licence is issued on grounds of public non-commercial use, for national emergency or situations of extreme urgency and to remedy anti-competitive practices. Compensation has to be paid.

The government can also assign to a public or private agency the right to locally manufacture a patented product without the patent holder's permission, provided it is used for a public non-commercial purpose. Compensation has to be paid.

### Export, Including to Countries with Inadequate Manufacturing Capacity

A local producer of generic versions of patented products under a compulsory licence or government-use provision may export a portion of its output. However Article 31(f) of the TRIPS Agreement requires that this production shall be "predominantly for the supply of the domestic market" and thus there is a limit to the amount that can be exported. This restriction does not apply when the compulsory licence is granted to correct anti-competitive practices.

The restriction on export quantity has posed a problem for developing countries with insufficient or no drug manufacturing capacities, as they may find it difficult to import the required medicines since there is a limit to the amount the potential exporting countries can supply to them.

The Doha Declaration recognized this problem could also affect access to medicines, and mandated the WTO to find a “expeditious solution”. After a lengthy negotiation, the WTO General Council in August 2003 adopted a decision on a “temporary solution” in the form of an interim waiver to the Article 31(f) restriction, such that countries producing generic versions of patented products under compulsory licences would be allowed to export the products to eligible importing countries, without having to limit the exported amount.

However, the Decision also obliges importing and exporting countries that wish to make use of the waiver to undertake several measures and fulfill several conditions. It has been pointed out by some experts and NGOs that these measures and conditions are difficult for the relevant companies and governments to comply with.

The importing country wishing to import from a country which requires the waiver has to notify the WTO by specifying the names and quantities of the drug required, confirm it has insufficient or no manufacturing capacities and that it intends to grant a compulsory licence. It also has to take measures to prevent re-exportation of the products imported under the system.

The generic manufacturer in the exporting country will require a compulsory licence if the medicine is under patent protection on its country. The exporting country has to notify the WTO of the grant of the CL and its conditions, including the product, the quantities for which it has been granted, and the importing countries. Only the amount needed by the importing Member may be manufactured under the licence, and all of this output must be exported to the importing country. The products must be clearly labeled or marked through special packaging and shaping of the products, provided it does not significantly impact on price and adequate compensation should be paid.

There are additional requirements under a “Chairperson’s Statement” linked to the decision, such as that the system should be used in good faith and not pursue a commercial policy objective, and members concerned about how the decision is implemented can bring matters for review in the TRIPS Council.

As the waiver and the conditions for its use are an “interim solution”, the WTO has mandated that a “permanent solution” to this problem be found by the middle of 2004, but this deadline was not met. A new deadline was fixed for March 2005.

## Other Measures

The policy options available to developing countries have to be backed up with the appropriate provisions in the national patent laws. Whilst the policy measures oriented to public health needs are allowed under

certain conditions by the WTO rules, they must also be consistent with the national laws. The Manual provides model provisions for parallel importation, compulsory licensing and government use, as well as exceptions to patent rights. These model provisions are accompanied by detailed explanatory notes and examples of the relevant legal provisions in various countries, developed and developing.

Finally, the Manual has a section discussing the establishment and operation of an institution (or competent authority) to process compulsory licences, which should ensure the decision-making process has considered that the conditions and criteria in reviewing and awarding such licences have been met and are also consistent with the TRIPS Agreement.

Also discussed in the Manual is the question of how “adequate remuneration” or compensation to the patent holder can be fixed. The experience of various countries is examined, and the rates suggested by various organizations, including in the UNDP’s Human Development Report, are looked at. The Manual then provides guidelines for determining compensation.

## Conclusion

Patents can and often do affect the access of patients (especially the poor) to medicines, and the TRIPS Agreement also does affect the space available to developing country Members of WTO to formulate the drug patent policies of their choice.

However, despite these problems, developing countries can and should take full advantage of the measures that are permitted by the TRIPS Agreement in pursuit of the goal of promoting access to medicines for all.

In order to exercise their right to “use to the full” these flexibilities in the TRIPS Agreement (in the words of the Doha Declaration), developing countries can study the policy options available to them, and introduce the appropriate laws and concrete measures. In the longer term, revisions to the TRIPS Agreement may also be desirable, in order that the existing flexibilities be expanded to meet the needs of patients and consumers. As millions of lives are at stake, both the shorter and longer term tasks are urgent.

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**MARTIN KHOR** is the director of the Third World Network and the author of several books and articles on trade, development and environment issues. He was formerly a Vice Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights Expert Group on the Right to Development and is a consultant to the United Nations in several research studies.

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(The Manual on Good Practices in Public-Health-Sensitive Policy Measures and Patent Laws is available through TWN at [twnet@po.jaring.my](mailto:twnet@po.jaring.my))

# Policy Measures to Facilitate Better Access to Medicines

## POLICY MEASURE

## REQUIREMENTS

### IMPORTING THE DRUG

Compulsory licensing	A country can import a generic version of the patented product by issuing a compulsory licence to a company or agency to import the drug, and the government has the freedom to determine the grounds upon which such licences are given. The imported drug can be from a country in which the drug is not patented, or in which the drug is patented (in which case the exporting country has also to issue a compulsory licence).	The applicant has to firstly negotiate to obtain a voluntary licence from the patent holder, and if that fails, then a compulsory licence can be granted. Adequate compensation has to be paid to the patent holder.
'Government use' procedure	A generic version of the patented drug can also be imported for 'public, non-commercial use' by the government. This method is suitable if the imported drug is to be used by the government.	Under this 'government use' procedure, the prior consent of or negotiations with the patent holder are not required, but adequate compensation has to be paid.
Parallel importation	There can also be 'parallel importation' of a patented product (i.e. not the generic version) from another country where the same patented product is being sold at a lower price than in the importing country. This is allowed under Article 6 of the TRIPS Agreement on exhaustion of rights, and the Doha Declaration affirms this by stating that each WTO member is 'free to establish its own regime for such exhaustion without challenge.'	There is no need for an importer to obtain a compulsory licence, nor to pay compensation to the patent holder.

### LOCAL MANUFACTURE OF GENERICS

Compulsory licensing	If a drug is patented in a country, generic versions of the drug can be locally manufactured by a local company or an agency (including government agency) that has been granted a compulsory licence by the government.	The applicant has to have negotiated with the patent holder for a voluntary licence and to have failed to obtain such a licence, before applying for a compulsory licence. This requirement however does not apply if the compulsory licence is issued on grounds of public non-commercial use, for national emergency or situations of extreme urgency, or to remedy anti-competitive practices. Compensation has also to be paid to the patent holder.
'Government use' procedure	The government can also assign to a public or private agency the right to locally manufacture a patented product without the patent holder's permission, provided it is used for a public non-commercial purpose.	Under the 'government use' procedure, the prior consent of or negotiations with the patent holder are not required. Compensation has to be paid.

### EXPORT, INCLUDING TO COUNTRIES WITH INADEQUATE MANUFACTURING CAPACITY

Exporting	A local producer of generic versions of patented products under a compulsory licence or government-use provision may export a portion of its output. However, Article 31(f) of the TRIPS Agreement requires that this production shall be 'predominantly for the supply of the domestic market' and thus there is a limit to the amount that can be exported. This limitation may cause supply to be restricted to countries with inadequate manufacturing capacity of their own. Recognising this problem, the WTO in August 2003 decided to give an interim waiver to an exporting country from having to adhere to this Article 31(f) restriction, if it is exporting to countries with no or inadequate manufacturing capacity.	The Article 31(f) restriction does not apply when the compulsory licence is granted to correct anti-competitive practices. Adequate compensation should be paid. To obtain the waiver, several conditions must be met. The importing country has to notify the WTO of the quantities of the drug required, confirm it has insufficient or no manufacturing capacities and that it intends to grant a compulsory licence. It also has to prevent re-exportation of the products. The generic manufacturer in the exporting country will require a compulsory licence. The exporting country has to notify the WTO of the grant of the compulsory licence and its conditions, the quantities for which it has been granted, and the importing countries. Only the amount needed by the importing country may be manufactured under the licence, and all of this output must be exported to the importing country. The products must be clearly labelled or marked through special packaging and shaping of the products, provided it does not significantly impact on price. And adequate compensation should be paid.
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**Community Health Cell**

**From:** "Aidslaw Delhi" <aidslaw1@lawyerscollective.org>  
**To:** <pha-ncc@yahoo.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 30, 2006 2:55 PM  
**Subject:** [pha-ncc] AIDS Drug Patent opposition filed by Indian groups

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**INDIAN GROUPS FILE FIRST OPPOSITION AGAINST PATENT APPLICATION FOR AIDS DRUG**  
**Patents in India Endanger Global Availability of Affordable Medicines**

*Imphal, Thursday, March 30, 2006* - Today, the Indian Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS (INP+), the Manipur Network of Positive People (MNP+), represented by the Lawyers' Collective HIV/AIDS Unit officially submitted their opposition to a patent application filed in the Kolkata patent office by GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) for Combivir, a fixed-dose combination of two essential AIDS drugs zidovudine/lamivudine. The opposition is based on technical and health grounds.

"We are objecting to the patenting of Combivir because it is not a new invention but simply the combination of two existing drugs. More importantly, the granting of such a patent risks increasing the cost of anti-retroviral treatment for many people living with HIV/AIDS thereby further increasing the burden on developing countries already struggling to treat patients," said K.K. Abraham, President of INP+.

Combivir is a widely used fixed dose combination and is used extensively in projects run by international aid organization Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF). Almost all the Combivir used by MSF is generic. India, Burkina Faso, Mongolia, Central African Republic, Malawi, Peru, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Cambodia, Ukraine and Swaziland are other countries also identified by the Global Fund as using generic Combivir.

Patents create monopolies on drug manufacture and prevent the production of such affordable generic alternatives.

The availability of affordable quality generic versions of Combivir and other anti-retroviral medicines has allowed developing country governments to put more people on treatment and thus extend their lives. In India alone there are 5.1 million people living with HIV/AIDS many of whom receive generic drugs under the national HIV/AIDS treatment program.

"Decisions made by Indian patent offices are a question of life or death for people living with HIV/AIDS who rely on the availability of affordable AIDS drugs and other essential medicines made by Indian generic manufacturers," explains Anand Grover, Director of Lawyers Collective HIV/AIDS Unit.

Last year, India changed its patent law to comply with the World Trade Organization's TRIPS Agreement that governs trade agreements and intellectual property rights. Three weeks ago, India granted its first ever patent on a drug to a hepatitis C treatment produced by Roche. Public interest groups are deeply concerned this will set a precedent leading to the patenting of other essential medicines including anti-retrovirals.

"Besides Combivir there are other patent applications of essential medicines waiting to be approved or rejected, including other anti-retrovirals and drugs for treating mental illness, tuberculosis and opportunistic infections," said Tahir Amin, an intellectual property lawyer with the Bangalore based Alternative Law Forum.

However, the new Indian Patent law allows oppositions to a patent application before it is granted. Indian cancer patients and generic drug manufacturers recently opposed a Novartis patent application for Gleevec, an anti-cancer drug, on the grounds that the application claimed a new form of an old drug. The patent was subsequently rejected by the patent office. Petitioners are now demanding that the Combivir patent application be rejected on similar grounds.

Ends.

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3/31/2006

# GATT -- Its ABC & Background

Fr E Varghese svd, PhD

The recent changes in the global economic situation have had a lasting impact on India, too. Changes have been rapid since India signed the GATT: setting itself on an irrevocable course of economic pursuit. What is the net result? One has to wait and see.

## 1. What is GATT?

GATT is a multilateral (between many members) institution that provides the rules and guidelines for international trade. It functions as a forum for discussions and negotiations among the member-countries on trade policy issues.

## 2. GATT and its development

In the early 1930s, there was a great depression (general economic depression caused by over-production and less demand for goods). It caused severe unemployment and high inflation in the developed countries.

Subsequently, each of them resorted to protectionism (restricting entry of goods from other countries) to protect the domestic industry. In fact, this caused complete chaos in the industrial trade in the world necessitating the advent of a monitoring body.

## 3. GATT (1947)

After the World War II, the Western countries felt that a common universal economic platform was necessary to prevent another global recession (economic stagnation). This led to the formation of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947.

The Bretton Wood Conference (by the victors of the World War II in July 1944) decided to set up three institutions — the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Popularly called the World Bank - WB), The International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International (World) Trade Organization. (ITO/WTO).

### 3.1. The World Bank

The WB was the first to begin its operations on June 25 (1946). The main objective was to facilitate

investment of capital, to promote international trade and foreign investment and to supplement private investment by providing loans. The war-torn economies were greatly helped by the WB to reconstruct their economy.

## 3.2. The International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The IMF operations started on March 1, 1947. Its role was to help maintain stability of national currencies in relation to other major world currencies to avoid competitive exchange depreciations. It was supposed to safeguard and monitor the norms guiding the conduct of exchange and monetary transactions among member-countries.

This responsibility included jurisdiction over the exchange arrangements of members, and lending of conditional financial support, to countries in actual or potential balance of payments difficulties.

## 3.3. The International Trade Organisation (ITO)

The ITO never became a reality for want of American cooperation. In its place the World Trade Organisation (WTO), a transformation of GATT (1994), came into force on January 1, 1995.

## 4. The Developing Countries and GATT (1947)

As far as the developing countries were concerned, only recently, in the post-independent period, they initiated development in infrastructure that is essential for trade.

Due to colonization and consequent draining out of resources most of these countries were in real BOP (balance of payment : need for foreign currency for making payments for goods and services acquired from abroad) crisis. Whereas by now, the Western countries were far ahead in development.

So, both developed and developing countries could not be treated as equal partners in relation to developmental needs to international trade. GATT (1947) gave due consideration to

this fact initially. But, it gradually deviated from the original objectives and became a "rich nations club".

**Both developed and developing countries could not be treated as equal partners in relation to developmental needs and to international trade. GATT (1947) gave due consideration to this fact initially. But, it gradually deviated from the original objectives and became a "rich nations club".**

To be continued...

# GATT / WTO : Mixed Prospects For India

Fr. E. Varghese SVD, Ph.D

## Uruguay Round of GATT

At the Uruguay Round (UR) of GATT negotiations (1986-1993), the developing countries fought hard to make the GATT provisions more favourable to them.

These discussions were aimed at

- more liberalization and reduction of tariffs in respect of industrial and farm products;

- removal and or reduction of quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff barriers;

- improving the mechanism for settlement of disputes;

- identifying Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMs) which can restrict and distort trade and suggesting a time-frame for their elimination;

- negotiating and finally agreeing on a multilateral framework of principles, rules, and disciplines of Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs); and
- setting up a new institution (WTO) which will also include the GATT.

**GATT Agreement - The Final Act (FA)**  
The UR succeeded to upgrade the GATT to WTO.

The WTO became operative by July 1995.

Replacing GATT, WTO will oversee a comprehensive set of rules and disciplines covering every aspect of world trade including trade in services and intellectual property rights. This is of serious consequence for the developing countries.

They feel that the WTO may undermine the sovereignty of their countries, as it is empowered to impose restrictions and cross sanctions.

Further together with the IMF and the WB, it will monitor and enforce a market-based growth strategy (free market system) for those countries (like India) which are

yet to open up the market and economy.

The three agencies, according to Arthur Dunkel, former Director General of GATT, will take charge of national economic policies for domestic development. Which means we cannot plan and execute policies beneficial to the country, if it hinders the ambitious projects of developed countries and the Transnational Corporations (TNCs).

The WTO will control the separate councils for goods, services, and TRIPs.

## Structure of WTO

The WTO has a two-tier administration composed of Ministerial Conference (of

the Commerce Ministers of each country) and a General Council (of administrative members sent by each country).

The General Council shall establish a Dispute Settlement Body, a Trade Policy Review Mechanism and subsidiary bodies such as goods, budget, finance, and administration, a committee on Trade and Development and a Balance of Payments Committee.

The General Council shall establish its own rules and procedures and shall approve the rules and procedures of its subsidiary bodies.

The General Council appoints a Director General as head of the Secretariat of the WTO.

The Agreement enjoins a legal personality (like the trusts and societies which have an independent legal status before a court of law) to WTO, as well as requires each member to accord such legal capacity to it, so that it may function unhindered.

The representatives of the members and the officials of WTO are to enjoy such privileges and considerations necessary for unquestioned, independent exercise of their functions in connection with WTO.

That means they will have limitless power which cannot be challenged in any court of law of the member countries.

**The developed countries have, particularly the U.S, been flouting these norms and threatening countries like India of listing it on the US Super 301 list (a list of countries whose activities are against the trade interests of the US!).**

**Again, cross-retaliation is a provision the developed countries can use on the pretext of any slightest provocation, endangering prosperity, development and peace in the Third World.**

## Functions of WTO

It has to facilitate the implementation, administration and the operation of, and further the objectives of GATT agreement (Art. III).

It has three functions, viz. 1. It has to provide the framework for the implementation of the agreement. 2. It has to review Trade Policy Review as outlined in Annex III. 3. It will cooperate with the IMF, WB, and affiliated agencies.

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**GATT / WTO**

It has to interpret and enforce the various trade agreements which make up the signed agreement, the Final Act.

When there is a dispute between trading partners, the WTO's subsidiary body—the Dispute Settlement Body—will enforce the trade agreements by establishing a panel, when requested by the disputing countries after consultations and mediations have failed.

The ruling of this panel may be appealed against the Appellate Body (Final authority) to authorize it to suspend concessions granted to the defending party even in an area of trade or under an agreement other than that involved in the dispute known as cross-retaliation.

The developed countries, particularly the U.S. have been flouting these norms and threatening countries like India of hitting it on the US Super 301 list (a list of countries whose activities are against the trade interest of the US!).

Again, cross-retaliation is a provision the developed countries can use on the pretext of any slightest provocation, endan-

gering prosperity, development and peace in the Third World.

**Unlimited power of retaliation**

Rajeev Dhavan, a specialist in GATT Law, says that the WTO's power to authorize cross-retaliation gives it tremendous coercive power over nations; because although a dispute may have arisen over trade in an area of minor importance, the major export earning sector of trade or vital sectors of the economy may become the subject of retaliation in any trade dispute.

This unlimited power of retaliation enjoyed by the WTO constitutes a complete surrender of executive power by the Union and the States. Thus the Indian federalism will collapse into the unitary power of the WTO, accompanied by India's loss of sovereignty.

**A mirage for the common man**

So the promise of prosperity after GATT (1994) is only a mirage for the common man in India and other Third World

countries.

With the constant increase of prices and decline of value of national currencies, the business people have begun to think, calculate and talk in terms of dollars! Meaning—the rupee has no value any more!

Consequently, people who could manage to live with Rs.30/- a day, now need to earn two to three times the amount, if they have to maintain the same living standard. The net result being constant and rapid impoverization of the poor and the lower middle class while the economically upper strata become richer steadily. The message is clear.

In the coming years, only the rich have the possibility to thrive. And GATT, obviously, is only for the rich.

What about the rest about 70 per cent of the people? It is a question with no satisfactory answer!

MA

*In the next issue*

**"Prospects of Liberalization— who benefits from liberalization?"**

Contd from page 19  
**Beeding Making...**

cular and circulatory problems.

**They suffer silently**

Women are aware of the hazards and suffer silently but do not take measures. To them each minute is precious and means money and cannot be spared. Household chores and child care activities are done fast in order to start making beedies. Health is neglected except in dire necessity. Women go to seek health care services only when the problem becomes intolerable because taking time off to go to the doctor means less beedies and less income.

**What can be done?**

Though it would be ideal to work for the cessation of beed-making and smoking, it is not a realistic measure as long as there are people who smoke and people who promote smoking.

But measures can be taken to reduce

the strain on the beedi-making women and limiting the health hazards.

Beedi-making women are a potential group for providing health care information and services.

They are a captive audience since large numbers of them are available in one place regularly.

Health care can be arranged within the work centre with coordination from the manufacturers.

Assessment of the women's health needs and problems can be taken up in a systematic manner.

Large scale surveys can be done to identify and list the problems due to exposure to tobacco or the work situation.

**Alternate methods**

Alternate methods of handling the tobacco could be designed with the help of the women themselves.

Using a small scoop for the tobacco in-

stead of the fingers could reduce intra dermal absorption.

Manufacturers could be motivated to implement simple measures for sitting and working. Recreation activities could be devised to reduce boredom and strain due to the monotonous activity. Songs, videos and discussions could be arranged while women are engaged in work.

The beedi-making women also provide an ideal situation for education in women's development, gender sensitization training, group formation and mobilization. Thrift groups, literacy groups, health groups, cultural groups can be formed within the workers. As it is, they are a rich source of folk songs and other cultural activities. In most places, women are found to sing as they make beedies.

MA

*(Dr M Prakashamma, Indian Institute of Health and Family Welfare, Hyderabad 500 038)*



## Who Benefits From Trade Liberalization?

Fr. E. Varghese SVD, Ph.D

No country can ignore trade, even if the terms of trade are against it.

Countries can decide against borrowing from the IMF or WB under negative benefit.

But a trading system backed by retaliative provisions can compel countries into submission.

Thus, trade has become a global compulsion.

### Differing motives

When India initiated the process of liberalization in 1991, it hoped to bring in foreign investments in key infrastructural areas like power, petroleum and telecommunications.

But, the transnational corporations (TNCs) wanted liberalization for quite another reason.

India's consumer class exceeds the total population of the USA and Europe.

TNCs from the recession-ridden West have been vying with one another to capture this vast market at any cost, to sell their consumer products.

### Positive effects

On the positive side, in India, the industrial structure has diversified, capital markets have expanded, and a new professionally-oriented entrepreneurial class has emerged.

Indian Industry is doing well, compared to the previous three years, registering an 8 per cent growth in 1994.

Indian companies are more competitive now than before, buckling themselves up to take on the foreign companies.

They are introducing new products, mastering new technologies, focusing more on quality and looking at export markets.

**India still has to improve its global trade prospects and competitiveness.**

**In-house R&D has to improve to make the Indian Industry competitive.**

**The liberalization has been very partial, favouring the foreigners and leaving the Indian entrepreneurs disadvantaged.**

The trade deficit has shrunk; industry is getting more broad-based; and new arrivals on the scene are challenging the old ones in even such capital-intensive sectors as steel and petrochemicals.

"Who would have thought five years ago that after Reliance, the bigger producers of polyester would be Indo-Rama and DCL?"

Or, that, at least, three new steel companies promise to become as big as Tisco," asks T.N. Ninan, an economist, supporting liberalization.

### Negative implications

India still has to improve its global trade prospects and competitiveness.

In-house R&D has to improve to make the Indian Industry competitive.

The liberalization has been very partial, favouring the foreigners and leaving the Indian entrepreneurs disadvantaged.

### Emerging global trends

On the economic front, large trading blocks are emerging like NAFTA (North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement - formed

**In the wake of the continuing recession in the global market, there has been a growing tendency of protectionism in the industrialized countries restricting the flow of cheaper imports from developing ones. Against such developments, India should ponder joining any of the trade blocs to counter the growing menace of regionalism.**

by U.S, Canada and Mexico), APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Council), besides of course, the ASEAN and the EC.

China has emerged as a great economic power and switched over to capital market with a communist political system. Chinese economy is booming.

In the wake of continuing recession in the global market, there has been a growing tendency of protectionism in the industrialized countries restricting the flow of cheaper imports from developing ones.

Against such developments, India should ponder joining any of the trade blocs to counter the growing menace of regionalism.

Efforts should be made to make the proposed SAARC Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) a reality.

If EC would evolve a single tariff area, why cannot there be one for South Asian markets, too?

India, being the biggest economy, should initiate this process.

#### Conclusion

Globalization, as it is seen now, is the product of recession engineered by opportunistic market forces.

Though optimists view it as a closer move towards international understanding and cooperation, the real intentions are suspect.

Globalization means there has to be sufficient movement of goods, flow of services, funds, people, and ideas.

But, the tendency has been like that of a semi-permeable absorption, flowing from the West to the Third World.

Will the developed countries dilute the stringent visa restrictions and facilitate movement of skilled labour from the developing to the developed countries? Will they share their know-how and technol-

ogy to promote growth and well-being?

They would not.

That is the lesson the US intervention in the Indo-Soviet (Russian) cryogenic rocket deal in 1991; and the US displeasure leading to suspension of the Indian missile project teaches us!

#### The poor

Ordinary people will not directly benefit from the convertibility of rupee, or export-import liberalization.

But everything that affects the trade, affects them; because, it is they who have to suffer the brunt of inflation and price-hike at the bottom level.

#### In the next issue

GATT Agreement on Agriculture  
- Impoverishing the Third World

## Message from St. Martha's

*On the occasion of the 200th Birth Anniversary (31-07-1996) of their foundress, St. Mary Euphrasia, the Good Shepherd Sisters of St. Martha's Hospital, Bangalore, wish the readers of Health Action, fullness of life.*

*May the following words of the foundress inspire them :*

*"The Good Shepherd does not want even one of God's children to be lost in the chaos of the times"*

*St. Martha's Hospital, Nrupathunga Road, Bangalore - 560 009 re-dedicates itself to a health care system reaching every man, woman and child in need of healing and wholeness, irrespective of caste or creed.*

# Instrument To Impoverish Third World

— Notes on Agreement on Agriculture —

Agriculture, mostly kept outside the General Agreement of Trade and Tariff (GATT) regulated trading system until the Uruguay Round (UR), was brought on to the UR agenda, because the agri-business firms have their eyes on the Third World markets. Besides, in a bid to capture greater shares for themselves, the US had been resorting to price-cutting in the export markets. Now, they found the subsidies given by the EC as 'trade distorting'. What other solution than to include agriculture in the UR.

## Important aspects of the agreement

The Agreement deals with conditions and restrictions in annual ag

ricultural support (Article 1), subsidy (Article 2), market access (Article 4-5), domestic agricultural support (Article 6), export subsidy (Article 9) and it also envisages a review of performance (Article 17). Article 4 & 5 speak of market access for imports to be provided by the countries which do not import foodgrains.

India imports foodgrains only occasionally; yet, it would have to allow imports, at 3.5 percentage of national requirement based on the 1986-88 level of consumption. Such compulsory imports of the highly subsidized foodgrains from the West would put domestic production on a stiff competition from the cheap imports. And it would hinder our attempts to achieve


self-sufficiency in food. This would gradually make us dependent on imports. In Burkina Faso and many other African countries, for example, such imports wiped out the local production and competition.

## Positive implications

Bhattacharya, a leading economist, feels that agriculture would be the fastest growing sector in the liberalized world, opening up opportunity for exports of wheat and sugar at a competitive price from India. As these are labour-intensive products it will benefit the social sector as well.

According to Dr. Bahram Jhakkari, former Union Cabinet Minister for Agriculture, agriculture is the mainstay of the Indian economy with about 69.7 per cent of the people being farmers. And it will have an estimated 941 million people to feed by 1997.

The government estimates a foodgrain production of about 208 million tonnes by 1997. He argues that India has a natural comparable advantage in agricultural exports because of our lower import needs of inputs, reasonable labour costs and diverse agro-climatic conditions. Added to that, the government has decided to introduce a single window clearance system for export certification, so that India will be able to export more in the enlarged global market.



*Agriculture would be the fastest growing sector in the liberalized world, opening up opportunity for exports of wheat and sugar at a competitive price from India. As these are labour-intensive products, it will benefit the social sector as well...*

Dr. Jhakkur also assured that the farmers would not have to pay for their seeds as they would be able to retain a part of their seeds for further use, though commercial exchange of patented seed is not permitted. Above all, in a bid to encourage the Trans-National Corporations (TNC) into agri-business he said that the government would create a positive trade investment climate for agriculture. On par with other industries.

#### Negative implications

As a result of the green revolution, India became nearly self-sufficient in foodgrain production in the 1980s. But the present actual growth in production is only 3.9 million tonnes per year as against the required 7.5 million tonnes per annum to feed a 1000 million population by the end of this century.

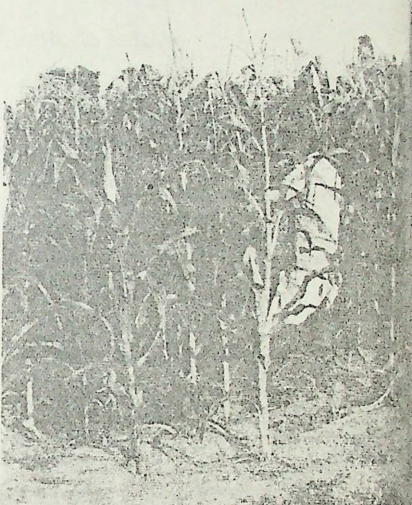
Bhattacharya says, except in the live-stock sector, India will suffer negative terms of trade: Though price of the agricultural commodities will fall in the West, because of devaluation, prices will increase for the imported commodities. But as there is no substantial subsidy, the Indian products will not have a competitive price advantage.

India is expected to import wheat,

coarse grain and vegetable oils. In turn, it can export surplus in rice and sugar. The live-stock sector looks more promising because India has significant surplus particularly in dairy products and the overall terms of trade is positive. Indian farming has taken a diversion from food crop cultivation to cash crop production. Farmers in Punjab, for instance, are growing tomatoes and potatoes for Pepsi; in Karnataka, they have shifted to maize and sunflower cultivation for Cargill. In Andhra Pradesh, they have taken to farming prawn and shrimp, and in Kerala they had shifted to rubber, coconut, and spices years ago. This has disastrous consequences. It will deplete the food reserve in the country.

The ill-effects of such export-oriented shift in agriculture will be further aggravated under the GATT clauses prohibiting countries to impose bans on food exports in times of food crisis. The Bengal famine of 1942, when nearly 2 million people died, occurred at the time when the country's market was highly liberalized, and farmers were cultivating cash crops for export. It was precisely in the geographical areas devoted to such crops that the famine was severe. Thousands died in Ethiopia in the 1970s and 80s while Ethiopian lentils, coffee, cotton and beef continued to be exported to the North.

The National Dairy Development Board Chairman, Dr. Varghese Kurien, strongly decries those who favour the free market. Addressing the Seventh World Conference on Animal Production at Alberta, Canada, he said "Changes in favour of a free market economy the world over were based on misconception and were cause for grave concern." Free



markets, Dr. Kurien points out, do not set optimal prices for things like quality and justice.

Increase in trade volume by the year 2000, according to an Organisation For Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) study is about 270 billion dollars. Besides a statistical evaluation shows that in 1966 the developing countries accounted for only 11.2% of manufactured exports.

Two decades later, in 1986, their share had increased to only 13.8%. This suggests that GATT has enabled the richer nations to dominate world trade, while relegating developing countries to their pre-colonial role as importers and markets.

#### Effect On The Public Distribution System (PDS)

GATT demands slashing down the subsidies to PDS (Article 21, Annex 2.3-4). According to the provisions,

“India is expected to import wheat, coarse grain and vegetable oils. In turn, it can export surplus in rice and sugar. The live-stock sector looks more promising because India has significant surplus particularly in dairy products and the overall terms of trade is positive...”

erty in India have shown that rising food prices and decelerating growth is a sure prescription for increased poverty.

#### Need more food

"Even if the public distribution system were to cater only to the very poor, it requires large-scale expansion and restructuring" says M. Swaminathan, quoting a recent study (by S. Geetha and M.H. Suryanarayana).

They calculated the quantity of food grain and associated expenditure required if the PDS were to provide a minimum amount of food to all persons below the official poverty line. To satisfy a foodgrain requirement of 370 gms per person per day, the intake level recommended by the ICMR, they estimated that an additional 32.4 million tonnes of foodgrain needed to be distributed. Assuming

that the level of subsidy prevalent in 1993 was to continue, the additional cost was estimated to be Rs. 58.590 million. These calculations show that even to reach the poor, the PDS needs to be expanded.

The government on the contrary is reducing the size and scope of the PDS as desired by the TNCs. The economic survey 92-93 stated that while the PDS has to be continued to help the poor the burden of subsidy on the central budget has also to be restrained. The same document suggested that a "phased withdrawal of food subsidies by targeting PDS" would help to control inflation.

#### Conclusion

Though famine has been avoided so far in India, yet chronic hunger persists. With the shift from foodgrain production to export-oriented farming, famine is also going to be a reality soon. If hunger is eliminated from India alone,

“As the prices of essential commodities go up, they would be accessible only to the middle class and the rich in the open market, driving the needy and the poor to penury and poverty.”

as much as one third of the world's hungry would be taken care of.

But, with GATT setting policies for governments, the country will only witness a collapse of the agricultural research system and the scrapping of the PDS, the very foundation of India's food security, warns Devinder Sharma, a specialist on agriculture.

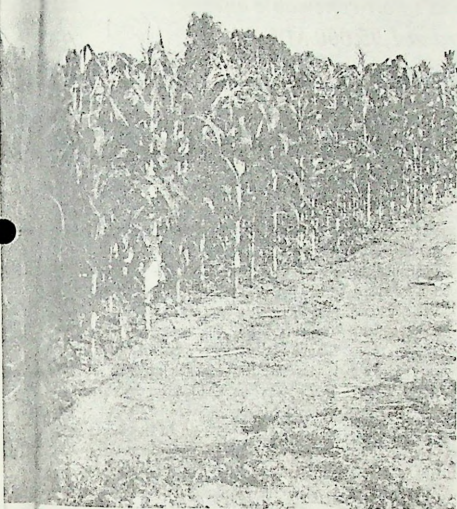
Agenda 21 of Earth Summit In June 1992 States " While managing resources sustainably, an environmental policy that focuses mainly on the conservation and protection of resources must take due account of those who depend on the resources for their livelihoods". All this is easier said than done.

In effect, Agenda 21 is counter to what GATT envisages. Agenda 21 aims at building national food security systems; but GATT aims at opening up farm trade with the primary objective of making developing countries increasingly dependent upon food imports. And once this is achieved, the food security system in developing countries will collapse.

Fr. E. Varghese SVD, Ph. D.

#### Next issue

GATT Agreement on Textiles and Investment measures  
— Surrendering National Sovereignty



subsidized rations may be given only to those under specified category. GATT denies support price subsidy for accumulation and holding of foodgrain stocks related solely to food security.

It stipulates procurement and sales from the PDS be on par with the prevailing market prices. The government has been keeping up with these regulations.

Accordingly, there was a subsidy cut of 22 per cent in 1992-93. Ration rice was available in Bombay at Rs.5/- a kg in January 1995, in March 95 it has become Rs.8/- a kg; a 60 per cent increase price in three months! As the prices of essential commodities go up, they would be accessible only to the middle class and the rich in the open market, driving the needy and the poor to penury and poverty.

Experts are of the opinion that poverty is growing in India, now at a ratio of 42 per cent. Most of the studies on pov-

# Agreement On Textiles

## — Protectionism Institutionalized

Fr. E. Varghese SVD, Ph.D.

Agreements on Textiles, Investment Measures and Services are not of much direct consequence to ordinary people. Yet to comprehensively understand GATT, we need to have a glimpse of the provisions under these agreements, too.

India had a substantial edge in textiles and clothing exports to the US and to Europe. But, the developed countries deprived us of this advantage by making GATT rules on free trade not applicable to the textile sector.

They are keen on protecting their domestic industries. So they adopted a framework by which a quota system was introduced.

It was devised as a short-term arrangement in 1961, extended in 1964 as a long-term arrangement and further extended under Multifibre Agreement (MFA) in 1974.

### 1. Provisions Of The Agreement

The Agreement on Textiles and Clothing contains the following elements:

a) The MFA will be phased out during a 10-year-period (1993-2002). On January 1, 2003, textiles in the clothing sector shall be integrated with GATT, with all restrictions under this agreement having been eliminated (Art. 2.6).

b) The intervening 10-year-period will be divided into three stages.

At the commencement of the first stage, 16 per cent of the total volume of imports for 1990 shall be integrated into GATT.

The percentage of integration at the commencement of the second and third stages would be 17 and 18 respectively.

Thus, 51 per cent of the total imports shall be integrated with GATT on 1st January, 2000, leaving the remaining 49 per cent to be integrated on 1st January, 2003 (Art. 2.8, a, b, c).

### 2. Conclusion

Considering the restrictions, in the first phase, instead of a 16 percent liberalization, the effective opening up of the textile trade would be less than 3 percent.

Likewise, in the second phase, the growth of restrictions would increase by 25 per cent.

This implies that by the end of the second phase, just more than 26 per cent of textiles can be freely traded.

In the third phase, the restrictions would be up by 27 per cent and this would allow integration of only about 34 per cent of the total textile trade.

Besides these restrictions, the developed countries can impose the so-called quality control measures to block the Indian export.

Take, for example, the US ban on Indian 'Garha' skirts imposed in October 1994 for being 'inflammable' and so hazardous to health.

Even after the agreed phasing out of MFA, the danger of such arbitrary restrictions still exists.

**Next issue : Agreement on Gatt : Who is being served ?**

# Agreement On Trims

## — A Sell-out of national sovereignty

The Agreement on the Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMs) has contributed significantly towards liberalization of investment regulations in India. But, many critics fear that the implications of TRIMs for national development are serious.

### TRIMs : Provisions

TRIMs applies to investment measures related to trade in goods only (Art.1).

It seeks extension of the principles of national treatment and elimination of quantitative restrictions in the GATT.

National treatment means that a country may not regulate foreign investment so as to confer an advantage on locally produced goods or to disadvantage imports.

For example, the requirement that an enterprise use locally made inputs in production or restriction on imports related to the value or quantity of exports of locally produced goods are prohibited.

### TRIMs : Implications

TRIMs agreement, in principle, requires only equal treatment. But the Indian government has gone far beyond it in according to foreign companies far more preferential terms than the Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) or the Indian ones. For example, the short-term capital gains tax. While the foreigners have to pay only 20 per cent, it is 30 and 44 per cent for the NRIs and the Indians, respectively.

The TRIMs agreement effectively prevents the national governments from ensuring that foreign investment promotes national objectives or encourages domestic industry.

India can no longer regulate the TNCs on extraction resources from India and dumping imported goods in the domestic market by requiring them to use locally produced goods as production input or limiting imports of an enterprise to an amount are related to its exports.

### Conclusion

The dangerous portents are obvious. Though many of our leaders pledge by the national growth and integrity of the country they have other considerations while negotiating trade and investment details. India has been arm-twisted to accept these conditions that are detrimental to the national interest.

*Who is being served ?*

## Agreement On GATS

**G**eneral Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has three major sections:

- general obligations (Art. II-XV),
- specific commitments (Art. XVI-XVIII), and
- commitments in specific sectors (Art. XXIX) such as financial services, telecommunications, air transport and also has provisions applicable to labour standards.

### GATS Provisions

GATS stipulates immediate and unconditional "most favored nation treatment", or a very favorable approach to all trading partners. It requires transparent decision-making with respect to trade in services (Art. III), and also disclosure of confidential documents (Art. III.bis). It demands domestic regulation of services to be based on objective criteria.

GATS provides national treatment and market access. That is, it allows foreign banks, insurers, lawyers, doctors, accountants and other service-providers to operate in India on the same terms as domestic companies.

Gradually, the monopoly in the services-sector will be 'eliminated'. This means, the banking and insurance sector in India will be privatised. Furthermore, government must accord national treatment and most 'favoured-nation-treatment' to foreign financial services suppliers with respect to their purchases of financial services. That means, anyone should be allowed to purchase financial services in the territory of another country, and each country must allow temporary entry of personnel of a foreign service supplier. Each country must allow foreign service suppliers access to payment and clearing systems operated by public entities and to official funding and refunding facilities.

### In effect

This sets the stage for big-players to completely take over the Indian services sector. In the telecommunications net-

work, to cite, these giants are to be allowed to use operating codes of their choice and they should be allowed to attach terminals and equipment which interface with the network (Art. XXIX. Annex.3). In the air traffic sector, GATS does not specify traffic rights governing the routes flown by different air carriers, the type of cargo, and rates charged (Annex.6). Instead, it applies to airline maintenances and the marketing of air transport services.

When GATS ensures the en-masse proliferation of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) to fertile Third World markets, it seals emigration of natural persons into the developed

countries by allowing countries to apply for emigration laws and visa requirements. It specifically allows countries to impose visa requirements on persons from some countries and not on those from the others. And, conveniently, excludes from its purview measures regarding citizenship, residence or employment on a permanent basis. Essentially the liberalization under GATS applies only to the movement of capital in service sectors and not to labour.

When GATS ensures the en masse proliferation of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) to fertile Third World markets, it seals emigration of natural persons into the developed countries by allowing countries to apply for emigration laws and visa requirements.

It specifically allows countries to impose visa requirements on persons from some countries and not on those from the others.

And, conveniently, excludes from its purview measures regarding citizenship, residence or employment on a permanent basis.

### Benefits for India

In some services sectors like construction, engineering and design services, business and professional services, India stands to gain. As more investment flows in, and more projects come up, there is a need to expand engineering and design services to be followed by construction service, extensively. Timely action taken would ensure considerable business for Indian consultants and builders.

### Negative implications

The World Bank (WB) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) forced India to allow foreign institutional investors (FIIs) to invest in exploiting oil reserves already proven by the ONGC.

This implies that when FIIs spend only the extraction cost (around \$ 5 per barrel), the oil would be sold to India, in foreign exchange, at the international rate.

The FIs, on the other hand, would get a return of hundred per cent or more, while India would have to buy its own oil and shell out foreign exchange for the same, even though India has proven expertise for recovering the hydrocarbon resources. Similarly when NTPC, SEBs, and BHEL can produce and supply electricity at less than half the rate of what Enron is supposed to spend on Dhabol Power Project, the Maharashtra government has signed a deal with Enron's Dhabol Power Company, guaranteeing 16 per cent tax-free return and a commitment to buy power at a minimum of 68.5 per cent of Plant Load Factor. This can lead to a colossal loss (Rs. 2000 - 3000 crores per annum). Though the new Shiva Sena (SS) - BJP government unilaterally disowned this agreement, there is a concerted effort to make it a reality.

In the telecommunications sector, the foreign companies are neither interested in increasing the geographic coverage of communication facilities nor in setting up rural exchanges. They want to take over only the highly profitable metropolitan telecommunications, as it is already clear from the government offering MTNL (Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Ltd) and VSNL (Vishakh Sanchar Nigam Ltd) shares to FIs.

#### Conclusion

The above cases clearly show that the FIs are interested only in high returns and that foreign investment in these infrastructure facilities is not likely to be in the best interests of India.

In fact, such investment is unlikely to help us develop the infrastructure to the extent necessary for the proper development of the economy.

On the other hand, our foreign exchange remittance liabilities would increase enormously, and consequently the costs, too, would increase significantly. The government will have no control over these FIs, let alone regulate the services-sector expansion in favour of rural areas and the poor.

To sum up, the liberalization of service industries desired by GATS will enable foreign companies to take over Indian market services due to their superior financial and technical resources and experience doing business in these areas.

Indian multinationals have already tied up with big MNCs. But without government intervention in their favour, smaller Indian companies will not have a fair opportunity to compete against the largest banks, insurance, airlines and telecommunications companies in the world.

The GATS agreement will invariably force Indian companies to close or operation or push them to the peripheries of the service sector.

And for the rural poor, what little loan facilities and developmental aids available so far will not be forthcoming any more.

**Reason: As the banking services are privatised, the loss-making and less-profit-making rural branches, would be closed and through their urban branches the banks would reap more profits.**

Fr. E. Varghese svd, Ph. D.

the next issue

TRIPS & India  
—Strangling development in India

## Respecting Human Needs

**A**n important principle of *macrobiotics* is to eat according to our distinctive needs as a species. Our teeth reveal the ideal proportion of foods in the human diet. We have 32 adult teeth. There are 20 molars and pre-molars.

*Molar* is a Latin word for millstone, or the stone used to crush wheat and other grains into flour. These teeth are not suited for animal food, but for crushing or grinding grains, beans, seeds, and other tough-fibre plant foods.

There are eight front incisors (from the Latin, *to cut*) and these are well-suited for cutting vegetables.

#### 7:1 ratio

We also have four canine teeth. The canines can be used for

*Wherever you look, no matter what your tradition is, if you go back far enough, you find that your ancestors were eating grains as their principal foods.*

*They used local vegetables and beans as secondary foods. They were eating much less animal food than at present.*

animal food, not necessarily meat, but foods such as white-meat fish.

The ideal proportion of foods as reflected in the teeth is five parts grain and other tough fibrous foods, two parts vegetables, and one part animal food.

The ideal ratio between plant and animal food is 7:1.

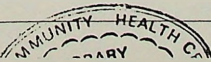
The modern diet does not reflect this pattern.

Rather than whole grains, meat or other types of animal food are the primary foods.

Vegetables are used only as garnish to the main course of animal food.

Cereal grains are eaten almost as an afterthought, and are eaten in the form of white bread, white rolls and other highly refined products.

Refined bread or rolls are used simply as a vehicle to carry a





# TRIPS and INDIA

## — Strangling Development In India

The agreement on Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) mainly concerns patents. It is meant

● to protect intellectual property rights (IPR), and

● to reduce distortions and impediments to international trade. TRIPS consider patents as antecedent (like some kind of birth rights) rights of private parties. In an effort to protect the plant breeder's right and new innovations in bio-technology, eight European countries signed in Paris what is known as the Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV) in 1961.

### 1 Patents

There are two types of patents, i.e. product patents and process patents.

#### Product Patents

A product patent grants the holder the exclusive right to make use of the offer for sale sell or import the patented invention for a specified period of time. GATT allows a product patent for 20 years from the day of filing the patent application.

#### Process Patents

A process patent, in turn, grants the holder the exclusive rights to use the process and use, offer for sale, sell or import the product obtained directly by that process.

Indian Patents Act (IPA - 1970) recognized only process patents. Unlike IPA, which sets forth the principle that a patent should not be used as an import

monopoly, the TRIPS agreement not only confers the exclusive right to import but also does not require commercial production of the patented invention in India.

### 2. TRIPS' Provisions

Under the TRIPS agreement, inventions in all fields of technology including drugs, chemicals, foods, agricultural products, animals, plants and micro-organisms are entitled to product or process patents provided they are new, involve an inventive step and are capable of industrial application (Art. 27)

India gives relatively shorter patents' protection, i.e. 14 years from the date of filing, while most industrialized countries give 17-20 years.

A patent for the process of manufacturing substances used or capable of being used as food, medicine or drugs has a duration of seven years from the date of filing, or five years from the date of sealing of the patent, whichever is shorter.

But GATT agent on TRIPS requires a 20-year patent protection for almost all inventions in all fields of technology, 17-20 years for pharmaceuticals, which can be further increased as process patents when the product patents expire. Protection is provided to industrial designs for a period of ten years.

### 2.1. Rights and Duties

Along with the guaranteed protection

of rights (Art. 16,29) the patent-system also imposes some obligations on the patent-holder. The most important of which is that the patent had to be used for commercial production in the country that grants patent rights.

But Article 29 dilutes this provision. It has been suggested that instead of setting up production facilities, the patentee should be allowed to import the product in the countries granting them a patent. And this is to be treated on par with their obligations to use the patent for production in the country that grants patents. If this is granted the Third world countries will become virtual markets for Transnational Corporations (TNCs) with no obligations to keep.

Further, it makes sure that the local firms keep out from the patented product by shifting the burden of proof in case of infringement of the patent rights to the accused (Art.34). (That means if a company files a suit against another of violation of copyright, the accused will have to prove his/her innocence. Otherwise they are guilty). The present law in India holds the accused as not guilty till the accuser proves the former to be so before a court of law. GATT provisions have given unbridled rights to the patent holders and relaxed the obligations altogether.

□

Fr E. Varghese SVD. Ph.D.

To be contd

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**Improper use**

The improper use of antibiotics seriously affects both the patient and the community.

Improper use makes healing difficult, too.

This causes the bacteria concerned to develop immunity or resistance to the particular antibiotic. This results in their becoming more widespread and difficult to control and eliminate.

Thus, it turns out to be a public health problem.

A little care while prescribing and administering of antibiotics can avoid complications.

**The cost-factor**

What are the costs involved in the use of antibiotics? These can be discussed in two ways.

◦ Antibiotics, in general, are expensive. But due to the problem of resistance, we may need to use latest generation antibiotics and they become more expensive. And, since, they need to be taken as a whole course, the expense becomes staggering, leading to inconsistencies in their use.

◦ Can the common man afford these expensive drugs?

◦ Are they really necessary for him?

These are also some questions to be answered by prescribers.

It is rightly said that there is no drug without some side-effect or the other. Being powerful killers of the bacteria, antibiotics also have a range of side-effects which include:-

◦ Anaphylactic shock or reactions which are severe and can be fatal (For e.g. Penicillin anaphylaxis.)

◦ Nausea, vomiting, sore mouth, skin rashes, decrease in blood cell counts, dizziness, ringing in the ear, kidney and urine related problems, diarrhoea and fatigue.

**We need to ensure**

We, as concerned and catalytic health activists and health-change-agents, need to ensure two things: *firstly*, the proper use of antibiotics and *secondly*, elimination of all irrationality and illogicality in the use of antibiotics.



\* Dr M. Anthony David, Community Health Department, CHAI, Secunderabad

# Trips and India

## Strangling Development In India

**2.2. Patenting plant varieties - A disastrous patent**

In the past, there was no patenting for advances made in agriculture.

UPOV (1978) nevertheless allowed the TNCs monopolies over the new varieties they made/make through genetic manipulation on the germplasms collected from the Third World free of cost.

When genetic resources are taken from tropical countries to the North, they are treated as free and common, and knowledge of their characteristics is seen as belonging to all.

However, when the same is processed by mixing traits, they are treated as private intellectual property attached to them.

This has serious portents, because whole of the world seed markets and plant genetic resources are controlled by a few companies — about 8 of them.

Article 65 specifies the time-frame for implementation, to all countries as one year. Developing countries have been granted an additional four years. Those who do not have a product-patent-system have been given a further concession of five years, making for a 10-year grace period.

However, this time-frame could get reduced as Article 27 calls for a review of patentable subjects after four years.

But, by introducing the draft-plant-variety-legislation, the Government has effectively deprived India of this grace transition period.

Further, despite the Government assurance that only UPOV 1978 would apply to India, it has already proposed protection of plant breeders right equivalent to UPOV 1991 which is not yet ratified.

**2.3. Indian Draft Plant Variety Legislation**

In February 1994, the Union Government circulated draft plant Variety-Legislation which gives the same extent of breeders rights as UPOV (1991). It applies to the entire plant kingdom and grants monopoly rights for production which extends to the essentially derived varieties.

**4. Patenting schedule**

TRIPS provisions came into effect on July 1, 1995. Accordingly, India will have to provide a means for filing applications for product patent protection of pharmaceutical and agricultural chemical products.

India has also to provide either patent rights or effective *sui generis* (by itself - i.e. if India doesn't want to follow UPOV 1991 it has to make a law concerning protection of Patent right by itself.) protection of plant varieties.

By 2000, all the provisions of the TRIPS agreement come into force other than the requirement of product patent protection of pharmaceutical and agricultural chemical products.

In 2005, India must provide patent protection to pharmaceutical and agricultural chemical products. The patent term will run for 20 years from the date of filing the application.

That means there is no implementation period at all for patenting drugs, medicines and agricultural chemicals. Exclusive marketing rights are to be provided as of 1995. And the fact that a patent application is pending from 1995, and the criteria have been applied in 2000, will dissuade others from investing in such an invention.

In fact, the patent protection under TRIPS is immediate and has become effective

since July 1995, affirms Rajiv Dhavan, a GATT law specialist. Only the implementation of it is gradual for political (and electoral) reasons.

#### 5. Patenting of life-forms

The subject of patenting life forms started in the US with an expatriate Indian scientist, Anand Chakrabarty, who won the famous case of *Diamond vs Chakrabarty* in the US Supreme Court.

The Court allowed him to patent a micro-organism that he had altered by a recombinant DNA. It held that a live, human-made micro-organism was patentable subject matter under the American patent law as a "manufacture" or "composition of matter".

In India, any improvement brought about in the plant varieties is not considered as an exclusive private property of the individual or organization undertaking this activity.

Developed countries, on the other hand, give exclusive rights to anyone developing new varieties of plants or seeds for a definite period of time, during which one has the monopoly over it. TRIPS demands this system to be applied to micro-organisms and bio-technological inventions.

This will make them completely dependent on the TNCs and also destroy the diversity in germplasm. The pressure on developing countries like India to patent bio-technological innovations has given rise to the danger that domestic agriculture will be facing dependency syndrome. Some say that biotechnology has the potential to bring about rapid increases in productivity.

But adoption of this technology would lead to permanent strings of dependency on the TNCs; because all major seed companies in the world today are TNCs,

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The Organization of Pharmaceutical Producers of India (OPPI), feel that without patent protection newer and better medicines will not enter the market. On the other hand, the Indian Drug Manufacturers' Association (IDMA) want the process patents to continue. Product patents and allowing import of drugs instead of producing locally, as provided in the agreement, will deny access for the bulk of Indian population to new patented drugs, including life-saving and essential drugs, argues IDMA.

who also trade in the patented chemicals that need to be used to obtain best results.

#### 5. TRIPS And Pharmaceuticals

Article 70.8 allows pharmaceutical and agro-chemical firms to file applications for products within one year of signing GATT accord.

The applicants will be given monopoly marketing rights for five years from the date of application. Drug prices in India were among the highest in the world before the IPA (1970) came into force. IPA (1970) reversed the trend and enabled the Indian companies to prosper.

Indian companies have now turned major bulk drug producers. More than 9,000 units are engaged in the production of bulk drugs and formulations, manufacturing life-saving drugs for the local and international market.

There is no doubt that it is the TNCs that benefit from all these. Take, for example, the case of azidothymidine (AZT), the drug used in the management of AIDS and presently manufactured only by Burroughs Wellcome. Knowing that its prohibitive cost (\$ 3 for a capsule) keeps it away from the millions of AIDS patients who desperately need it, the Indian Institute of Chemical Technology (IICT), Hyderabad, began research into an indigenous process to produce the drug and succeeded in producing AZT locally. This would have been impossible had the TRIPS provisions been in force.

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#### Conclusion

Formerly, the farmers' exemption allowed them to keep seeds from the harvest for the next sowing. But in the revised system the farmers' exemption has been removed.

Article 29 gives unlimited Breeders' Right. This means a product patented in the US, need not be produced in India. It can be imported and sold; but the government will not have any control over its price.

As the burden of proof has also been shifted onto the user, if a farmer is found using a patented variety of seeds which he does not buy, all that the agent of the patent holder has to do is to file a complaint with the authority concerned.

Once plant varieties are protected either by patents or under the UPOV Convention, not only will farmers be forced to buy new seeds for every sowing, but also the local plant breeders will have to pay royalty for using the protected varieties.

India needs to develop a philosophy of progress. Leaving everything to market forces for long is not justifiable. There is the risk of a monopoly of power in the hands of a few companies, threatening a loss of diversity as small operators are eased out. This is causing worry to the Third World.

Fr. Varghese SVD  
In the Next Issue  
(Implications of GATT for India)

# Threats For India

Especially For India, GATT comes with disastrous portents

Fr E Varghese svd, Ph

## Shift in thinking

We have been seeing a considerable shift in the Indian world-view in terms of economy, use of things and even personal value system.

With the country going in for a mixed economy, the country broke away with the Gandhian rural-based economy. Gradually by depending on the WB and IMF for developmental aids and BOP support it allowed itself to be manipulated and brainwashed. Signing of GATT marked the shift from Nehruvian economy to the free market adventure.

Concurrently though Swadeshi is apparently still valuable for political reasons to the so called 'deshbhaktas', most of the middle class have fallen prey to the rich-sponsored consumerism.

Why only the middle class? Even the 'messiahs' of the poor and the lower class, for that matter, think 'phoren' is good; and they promote it!

The globalization fever has caught the

neo-intelligentsia, too. Scientists feel great when they are invited to attend a sponsored conference abroad; where there is indoctrination of the new Western mantra in subtle ways. In return the invitees are supposed to collaborate with the sponsors in supplying data and local materials through collaborated research programmes.

Back home, they become promoters of the modern paradigm - Research in the West. And publishing in foreign journals means that one is an internationally-accepted scholar; while all along they discourage local research and publication, terming them 'substandard'.

## Leading to eco-crisis

Our modern developmental philosophy has another threatening implication: utilitarian approach to environment by leading to degradation and destruction of the ecological balance. Patenting of plant varieties and life-forms raise, particularly, an important question: Are natural resources the wealth of all or private property of some?

Accepting GATT agreement underlines a basic outlook — that all species are only for human use and exploitation; and their value is defined by how much a few humans can profit from that.

It also condemns all people to accept that the living diversity of this planet can be reduced to be a patented private

Dirty industries? Better dump them in developing countries



property. Dr. Vandana Shiva this notion goes against the principle of environmental ethics.

## Impending ecological disaster

The capitalist, market-oriented development has scant respect for environmental protection, particularly in the Third World. The profit-at-any-cost mantra of free market economy is a real threat to the already depleting ecosystem.

The free trade, with self-interested and unprincipled politicians at the helm of affairs, would enable relocation of hazardous industries to the Third World Countries.

It is an open agenda, as it is clear from the statement of the Chief Economist of WB, Mr Lawrence Summers, asking a senior bank staff ".... Should not the WB be encouraging more migration of the dirty industries to the developing countries?"

It is this thinking, says Dr Shiva, which supports the emergence of an environmental apartheid in which the resources of the poor are taken over by the rich and the lives of the poor are considered dispensable through poison-



ing and pollution.

♦ The World Bank project in Bastar, where natural forests were converted into commercial monoculture plantations, destroyed the bio-diversity, on which the locals depended largely for their livelihood. Again the commercialization of forests caused large scale and rapid deforestation, in Andamans and the Himalayas. Similarly, the social forestry projects, big dams, power generation projects, and mining, too, cause massive deforestation.

### Hazards of bio-technology

Bio-technology and agricultural research help in producing bumper crops. But there are also hidden dangers in bio-technology. For instance, in the use of herbicides and pesticides.

Genetically engineered herbicide-tolerance can be gene-transferred to related wild varieties through cross-pollination.

Similarly the bio-pesticide bacterium *Bacillus thuringiensis* (Bt) was very effective initially. But many pests developed resistance to Bt. Yet, the TNCs deny this fact and promote Bt aggressively.

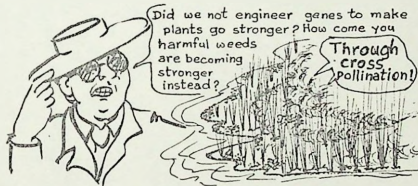
Extensive use of Bt can disrupt the balance in ecosystems by altering insect dynamics. It can change the composition of species and even threaten the extinction of various species. The Bt gene can even be transferred to microbes.

### growing unemployment and pov-

erty

As the organized industrial sector grew by 8-9 per cent per annum for the last five years the unemployment growth fell by about 0.6 per cent per annum during the same period. But according to Sudipto Mundle, an economist, the extra unemployment created by structural adjustment is likely to be four million persons a year between 1992 and 1994.

Industrial growth stagnated over the last three years; the growth of rural non-agricultural employment is also affected adversely by recession and overall slowdown in the growth of economy.



Thus Ghosh concludes that increasing unemployment and a reduction in real earnings are likely to increase poverty in both rural and urban areas in the 1990s in India.

At the same time government spends less on special programmes that provide income support to the poor. There was a steep reduction in central government outlays on programmes for 'poverty alleviation' in the last few years.

### Effect on tribals

Big trans-national seed companies are already looking for markets in Bihar, specially in Bihar. Help of local NGOs and the scientists of Birsa Agricultural University has been sought by them to promote new seed varieties among the cultivators of the Bihar Plateau.

A new development in the tribal agricultural front is taking place



there. The farmers are persuaded to use the new seeds marketed by the TNCs. They promise higher yield, shorter maturation period, and if need be concessional rates initially. Little do the farmers know that these new varieties of seeds require abundant water, plenty of fertilizers, pesticides, and other agricultural inputs.

To ensure that the farmers use their seeds, other accessories, and follow their directives they will employ local youth. Anyone who flouts the TRIPS rules or holds on to the traditional germplasms (variety of seeds) and methods of cultivation will be sued against. If pressure tactics fail to tune them in, the TNCs will enlist the services of the local law-enforcing agencies, who are only too happy to appease the TNCs for meagre returns.

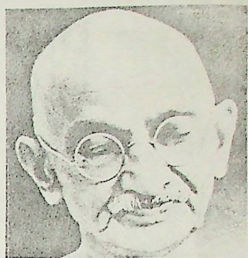
Our staple food based agriculture will be replaced by export-oriented cultivation. As it is, 49% of the Bihar Plateau Development Project (BPDP) funds are earmarked for construction of roads to ensure smooth delivery of agricultural products and livestock to newly developing markets and townships in this plateau.

A recent study of land alienation in Ranchi shows that the tribals have been dispossessed of land on a large scale by outsiders. Gradually the BPDP will force the remaining tribals to transfer their land to big corporations and TNCs in the name of national development. They will be forced to sell their land to these TNCs for a song and migrate to cities in search of a livelihood.

Next issue : A Gandhian Alternative



# A Gandhian Alternative



Unemployment is growing rapidly. At the present rate of growth in unemployment, and under-employment in the unorganized sector, which covers over 88 per cent of the labour force the consequences are not known. Gandhiji was gravely concerned about it and warned us against such a portent long ago.

## 1. The Gandhian Economics

Gandhiji felt that if we take America as our model and follow their philosophy, we will have 18 crores happy, contented and prosperous Indians, with 74 crores of creatures struggling to exist, at the service of this 18 crores. India must not industrialize after the model of the west, he argued.

A big nation with a large population and with an ancient rural tradition which has so far answered its purpose must not copy the western model. It has got to have its own economics, its own policy of developments, its own pace of industrialization and everything else.

He envisioned a 'Natural Economy' consisting of large scale industries in harmonious integration with village handicrafts. Here, the key industries will be centralized, leaving everything that can be organized and produced at the rural level to villages.

Gandhiji emphasized the role of cottage industries as the only way of tackling unemployment and poverty. A vast country like India with about 80 per cent

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