



**Report**

**Action Week for a comprehensive National  
Food Security Act**

**(Delhi, 22-26 November 2010)**

## Acknowledgements

The Right to Food Campaign would like to thank all the people who participated in the Action Week and helped in its preparation. We would like to start by thanking our volunteers Sejal Parikh and Shreya Bhattacharya who contributed tremendously in organising the Action Week. Shreya pursued appointments with Members of the Parliament (MPs) and made herself available to the dharna participants. Sejal too helped in making the participants comfortable and preparing for the week. Thanks are due to Deepika Shokeen and Jitendra and volunteers of People's Union for Civic Liberties (PUCL), Rajasthan who worked very hard and added strength to the dharna. We would like to acknowledge Bhupendra Rawat and Madhuresh from National Alliance for People's Movements (NAPM) for helping us coordinate with NAPM and providing us with logistic support at Jantar Mantar. We would like to thank Mobile Crèches for providing us with first aid provisions on both the days. Thanks are due to Neelabh Mishra for allowing us to use his car like a truck and Arun Kumar, who drove the car, sometimes till late at night and very early in the morning. The campaign is grateful to Akhila Sivadas, Farah Zia and Padmini for ensuring that we got media coverage. We thank Sara Tower for taking photographs of the dharna which have been used in this report. We are grateful to members of the Steering Committee who gave priority to the Action Week and came along, especially Madhuri, Arundhati Dhuru, Annie Raja, Vandana Prasad, Mira Shiva, Dipa Sinha and Jean Drèze who helped plan and coordinate this exercise. We are thankful to Biraj Patnaik and Reetika Khera, for all their support and ideas. Unfortunately, Vishnu, a seven year child who came with members of the Jan Jagran Shakti Sangathan fell ill on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November and was admitted in Kalawati Saran Children's Hospital. We would like to thank everybody who helped in looking after Vishnu and his family which stayed back even after the dharna was over.

Kavita Srivastava

Ankita Aggarwal

(The Hindi translation of this report is done by Sachin Jain)

## 1. Lobbying and Discussion with MPs on the National Food Security Bill

From 22-25 November 2010, campaign members met six Lok Sabha and two Rajya Sabha members of the Parliament. The Lok Sabha members included Sushma Swaraj of the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) leader of the opposition in Parliament, Vilas Rao Muttemwar of the Indian National Congress (INC) and Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Food, Public Distribution and Consumer Affairs, Sanjay Raut of the Shiv Sena and Lalhming Liana of the Mizo National Front (MNF); both members of the Standing committee. Other MPs that we met included V Maitreyan of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) and Jayant Chaudhary of Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD). The Rajya Sabha members included MS Swaminathan and Mani Shankar Aiyar. All the MPs that were met were provided with a copy of the campaign's primer on the National Food Security Act, its demands vis-à-vis the Act and a fact sheet on hunger, agriculture, Public Distribution System (PDS) and budgetary allocations in India. The group that helped in lobbying with the MPs consisted of Annie Raja, Madhuri, Kavita Srivastava, Arundhati Dhuru, Dipa Sinha, Biraj Patnaik, Vandana Prasad, Sejal Parikh, Shreya Bhattacharya and Ankita Aggarwal

All the MPs we met were very positive. Many were of the opinion that such meetings would be more effective when the National Food Security bill would be placed in the Parliament. Nevertheless, they took the issue seriously and made the interactions very meaningful.

Sushma Swaraj gave our delegation 15 minutes and said that this was an important issue for her party and that she would organise a meeting with the six BJP members of the standing committee on Food, Public Distribution and Consumer Affairs. She wanted the delegation to read her speech that she gave in the Parliament on price rise in which she said that she had raised the same issues as the campaign's demands. She also said that if a Food Security Act was being made then it should provide a right to all, endorsing the principle.

The Chairperson and members of the Standing Committee on Food, Public Distribution and Consumer Affairs had a good understanding on the issue. The Chairperson, who had been elected seven times as a MP and was a former Energy Minister, was particularly critical of the members of the Planning Commission and he said that they took decisions without understanding what the people needed. Particularly in the context of the PDS, he said that the practice of dividing the poor in Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Above Poverty Line (APL) was highly problematic. He also felt that the issue of reforms in the system of food delivery was important as the system had several leakages. He suggested that we come and address the Committee, although the bill would not come into the Committee. Normally the Chair of the house constitutes a new committee to examine a draft bill. Lalhming Liana shared his concern about local production and procurement being promoted along with the promotion of millets. Sanjay Raut was extremely concerned about the diversion of grains for non-food purposes like making alcohol and other products. He was clear that in a country where millions are dying, it would only be fair that the first use of food grains be that for food.

V Maitreyan agreed that when the bill would come in the Parliament he would arrange an interaction with all the members of the AIADMK. He also said that they would raise this issue in Tamil Nadu if it affected their entitlements.

Jayant Chaudhry seemed extremely knowledgeable on the issue and also showed interest in following up on this. Being from a political party which kept farmers interest first, he was keen on examining the proposals relating to incentivising production, local procurement and storage.

Mani Shanker Aiyar appreciated the information shared with him by the delegation and promised to take it up by writing about the issue in the near future.

Due to heavy rains and lack of time we could not keep to three of our appointments, which included Seema Jayraj of the Communist Party of India – Marxist (CPI-M) and the standing committee, Brijesh Pathak of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and Digvijay Singh of INC, who was only available on the 26th evening, when most people had to leave.

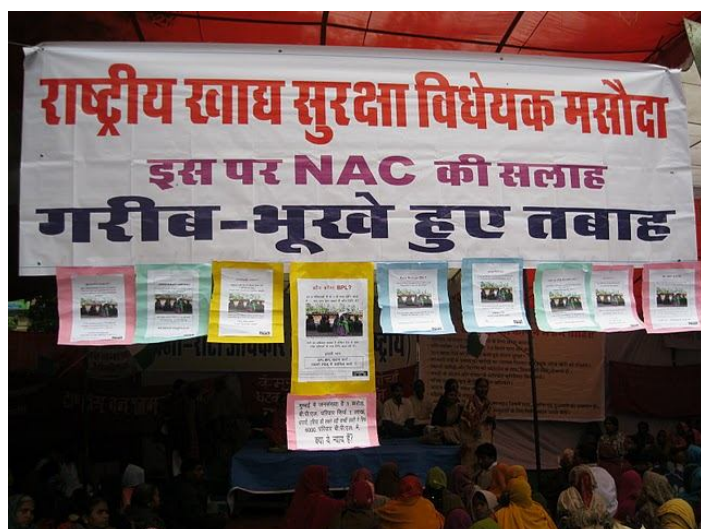
The group felt very strongly that this bill was of great interest to all MPs. However, our dialogue on the bill with them would be more effective and influential if we do this exercise after the bill is placed in the Parliament.

However, the work of apprising senior party leaders in Delhi and the rest of the country must continue systematically. The secretariat along with the help of the Steering Committee members must try getting appointments with party leaders and ensure that there are delegations to keep the appointments.

## 2. Dharna on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 2010

Amidst several songs on hunger and people's struggles to overcome oppression, including women singing Gorakh Pandey's rendition in Bhojpuri on "that people's power could shake the world", the dharna began with full gusto on the 25th morning.

That day saw a "house full" at Jantar Mantar with several groups, including mid-day meal workers sitting on Parliament Street, anganwadi workers from Uttar Pradesh who had come for a honorarium hike, the National Domestic Workers Forum which had come to protest against the Government's proposal of keeping them out of the proposed sexual harassment law and members of the BJP raising slogans against the atrocities on tribals in Assam. There were also members the Jat community who had come to demand for the Other Backward Class (OBC). It was a day of competition between mikes, speakers and issues. At times the mikes of some of the other protestors were so loud that for short periods we could not hear even ourselves at the dharna. We had to increase our lung power and number of speakers to assert ourselves at the dharna sthal. So it was a day when we were simultaneously fighting at several levels to get ourselves heard!



A huge back drop of our demands, nine posters in different Indian languages "Spot the BPL", spoke about the arbitrary APL-BPL division of the poor. A banner on the National Advisory Council not having done justice to the entitlements for the right to food also hung in the front part of the tent. On one side of the tent, tables from where the right to food campaign literature were doing brisk business, people were buying posters and primers. Everybody wanted to go back with a piece of paper and at least with

a copy of our demands. This was in itself a statement that this issue was close to people's hearts and we had to be more imaginative in order to build a people's movement around the issues.

Kavita introduced the issues. She shared a little about the right to food campaign and why we had to keep coming back to Jantar Mantar to make the Government realise that if it wanted to address the issues of hunger and right to food then there could be no dishonesty on this issue. She connected it to the last three days of the anti displacement, Special Economic Zones and forest laws implementation dharna and also connected it to the rally of 26th November 2009 where more than six thousand people from all over the country had marched the streets of Delhi to the Parliament to give a memorandum to the Prime Minister with the demands on the kind of law that the campaign wanted made on food security.

She said that since the last twelve months, two committees had worked on the proposals for the food security bill, one the Empowered Group of Ministers consisting of Sharad Pawar, AK Anthony, P Chidambaram, Mamata Banerji, Dayanidhi Maran, Anand Sharma, and CP Joshi, chaired by Pranab Mukherjee with Montek Singh Ahluwalia as special invitee. In March 2010 this committee proposed food security as that being the provisioning of 25kg of grain at Rs 3/kg to the poor (BPL) in the country. What was shameful about that proposal was that the definition of food security was not connected to nutritional security.



It was shocking to see how in a country where more than 36 per cent of the people have a body mass index of below 18.5, where 70 per cent of women are anaemic and where 46 per cent of all children are born malnourished, a senior ministerial committee could come up with such a proposal in the name of eliminating hunger. This was rejected by the campaign and a five day dharna with more than two thousand people participating was staged at Jantar Mantar.

The second committee which had proposed a legal framework was the National Advisory Council (NAC) to the Prime Minister of India, chaired by Sonia Gandhi, the President of the Indian National Congress - the party which was leading the present coalition called the United Progressive Alliance. Although the process of the NAC was transparent and it tried to involve the people of the campaign, the NAC proposals for a law on food security were also far too limited. Again the issue of availability of funds had determined the framework of the law, built on principles of targeting, contrary to the demand of the campaign that a comprehensive food security act be provided. So we were here to express our displeasure and rejection of that framework.

Madhuri presented the vision and the framework of the law that we wanted, the thrust being on

- how the right to food with multiple entitlements had to be a universal right. A right for all the people of India without targeting, although special access and support had to be provided for the vulnerable sections.
- how the PDS can become a tool to also revive agriculture, if the minimum support price (MSP) is announced at the time of sowing and procurement and storage facilities are decentralised.
- how the procurement of millets, other local grains and pulses should also form a part of the PDS in order to address the issue of nutrition. She also presented the Indian Council of Medical Research norms on cereals, oils and pulses.

- how a system of redressal was needed which had powers of appeal and fixing culpability in case of denial of the right, and also punitive measures where both criminal and civil proceedings could be instituted.

Vandana added to this presentation issues relating to maternity and children entitlements and those demanded by the campaign relating to social security, in particular pensions, shelters and community kitchens for the street dwellers, single, old, those suffering from debilitating illnesses etc. She also stated that even though land reforms had taken place, the PDS we were demanding was in place but addressing children's needs of nutrition was an area which would still need to be addressed and therefore it was a central part of the framework and needed to be given priority. She also talked of the universal principle of public provisions of food for children and maternity entitlements for women. This was of particular importance as the government was planning to bring in the APL and BPL for this purpose. She talked at length about how the Integrated Child Development Services centres needed to be strengthened.

As the dharna was in continuation with issues related to the right to life and livelihood, the participants on the 25<sup>th</sup> came out strongly on their rights as food producers and their right to possess land without being displaced. This was emphasized by speaker after speaker. It was strongly felt that there could be no right to food if agriculture policy, change of land use, forest land rights, agriculture prices, procurement and MSP to farmers, decentralised storage etc were not at the centre stage of the discourse. Several speakers even urged the right to food campaign to take this issue centrally. Sharada behn of Kaimur Manch spoke very firmly and said that the question of food security was connected to farmers' rights and without that being discussed the entire debate was dishonest. Similarly, Raj Kumari of Sonbhadra lambasted the corruption of the ration dealer, the divisive system of different coloured cards which gets them nothing. They also agreed that a minimum of 50kg of grain, 8kg of dal and 4kg of oil should be provided to a family at cheap rates by the PDS. Issues relating to urban right to food and that of single women, physically challenged and children came out very strongly.

The critique of the NAC was provided by Annie Raja, Dipa Sinha and several other speakers. It was felt that on many grounds the NAC framework was going back on even the Supreme Court orders. The two categories, APL and BPL had now become three - Priority, General and Excluded. It was felt that the framework presented by the NAC on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 2010 was very problematic. Not only was the principle of universality compromised for the PDS and children and maternity entitlements, but the arbitrary manner in which 28 per cent was fixed as urban poor (priority group) and the elimination of pension security for the old, single women and physically challenged came under serious criticism. The fact that the bill provides only for cereals and marginalizes pulses, oil and other entitlements shows that despite increasing malnutrition and hunger, fiscal prudence remained the determinant even for the NAC.

The Mumbai groups spoke about effectively there being no subsidised food in their city. They gave the figure that amongst a population of 2 crore in Mumbai, there were only 1 lac BPL cards and in Dharavi, the largest slum of Asia, there were only 6000 BPL cards. The Delhi groups raised slogans against Sheila Dikshit who was snatching away the skeletal PDS system by replacing it with cash transfers. They shouted " Sheila tere shasan mein, bartan bik gaye ration mein".

The Rajasthan groups shared issues relating to reduction in the BPL entitlements. Himachal Pradesh participants spoke of how the power plants along all the major rivers of the state were diverting the water into the hills and disturbing the fragile ecology of the region. They said that the way the Himalayas were being destroyed, they feared their entire region being subjected to risk. Gabriele Dietrich, a promising active supporters of the right to food campaign who attended the dharna on both the days said that women's rights had to be secured, not with just by cards being made in their names but also intra-household food distribution had to be an issue of the movement. She shared experiences of women in Tamil Nadu engaging with the PDS shops for their share of grain.

Roma strongly raised the issue that ultimately the right to food would only be realised if people mobilised and came out on the streets in their states and by not looking towards a committee or a group of people that it would get them their rights. She again appealed to the right to food campaign that in order to strengthen farmers, the issue of land distribution should be brought into the law.

Reetika Khara introduced the "Spot the BPL" poster created by the Students for Right to Food. She talked about half the people below poverty line not having BPL cards. Rejection of Unique Identification and its use in the PDS were also discussed.

Two MPs addressed the meeting as well. They were Mr. D Raja and Mr. Pasha, both from CPI who promised to fight the battle inside the Parliament. Other speakers included Prafulla Samantara, Ashok Choudhary, Jean Drèze, Sudheshna, Vimla and Shreya Bhattacharya.



The entire group of five-six hundred people decided to go and give a memorandum to the Food and Agriculture Minister. A Thali Bajao rally was taken out by the participants, symbolising empty stomachs and empty plates. Women banged the thalis with spoons and sticks. We were all stopped at the barricade. Everybody resolved to fight till the Parliament of India would legislate a comprehensive food security law for all in the country. A delegation led by Annie Raja with five

others went to the office of the Food and Agriculture minister and handed over the memorandum to his office and couriered the memorandum to the Prime Minister. With that the first day of the dharna came to an end.

### 3. Dharna on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 2010

The second day of the dharna saw the addition of many groups. These groups included members of the Jan Jagaran Shakti Sangathan from Bihar, Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan from Rajasthan, Rashtriya Viklang Manch, PUCL and people from Orissa and Tamil Nadu.

A protest by about 20 of us in front of the NAC took place on the 26<sup>th</sup>. We reached the NAC office at about 10:30am. The security personnel were taken aback to see so many of us. When we insisted on meeting Ms Sonia Gandhi, they told us that we would be allowed to meet anybody inside only after 4pm as the meeting was in progress. We then pulled out the banner "NAC ki salah se, garib bhukhe hue tabah". Then a senior security person came out and told us that one of the leaders - Oscar Fernandes, was coming to talk to us. When we tried to explain to Mr Fernandes that it was not the Congress President that we had come to meet but the NAC chairperson, he insisted that we come to the Congress party office and talk to him. We were outraged at this. And while we were still talking to him, we saw Sonia Gandhi come out of the office and leave through another gate. When she was walking towards the other gate we started banging the thalis loudly and shouting slogans that she return and talk to us about the inadequate nature of the bill. As a result of the commotion, Manisha Verma, director of the NAC came out and said that she would take our memorandum to the members who were inside.

Two members of the NAC, Ram Dayal Munda and Madhav Gadgil both came out. Mr. Munda tried telling us that the nature of the entitlements was still being discussed, and as nothing was final, we ought not to be fretting and fuming. He also sarcastically told us that we should come in larger numbers with all our cows and buffaloes and sit outside the NAC for a longer duration, if we wanted our demands met. We were also told that they would be releasing a press statement on our demands.



We came back to the dharna sthal and shared about this. Soon after we learnt that the Prime Minister had sent NAC's proposals of 23rd October 2010 to a committee consisting of his economic council chair Mr Rangarajan, economist Kaushik Basu and Deputy Chairperson of the Planning Commission Montek Singh Ahluwalia along with three secretaries. It was obvious that even the minimal proposal of the NAC was being subjected to scrutiny, by those who were promoting cash transfers and food stamps and who believed in quotas and targeting of benefits.

By the time the dharna was lifted it became clear that if we really wanted to ensure that we get anything from the Government, we had to mobilise people in large numbers and plan diverse ways of putting public pressure on the Government. It also became evident that we had to seriously plan the next step of public action and also had to work in a quick time frame.

The entire assembly at the dharna once again rose to march up to the Prime Minister's office and the NAC office to give its demand charter, but it was stopped at the barricade and the dharna dispersed from there.

Following the dharna at Jantar Mantar and the protest meeting held outside the NAC office, a meeting was held in the afternoon that day in the lawns of the VP House (see list of participants). A brief reflection of the dharna and a brainstorming on what could be undertaken in the near future was carried out. The group arrived at the following decisions:

- Calling a Steering Committee meeting on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 2010, a day after the PAEG meeting. It was decided that it was important that the secretariat urgently inform the various members of the national networks, state campaign representatives as well as active groups in the state regarding this meeting over the phone and also send emails to members.
- It was also felt that the meeting with MPs should happen once the bill is presented in the Parliament. However, party leaders of all the political parties should be met systematically and these meetings should continue to take place in the coming weeks, on the basis of whoever is available. The secretariat must continue to coordinate this and take appointments as was done from 22<sup>nd</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> November 2010.
- A plan for lobbying in the states with MPs, political party leaders, chief ministers and members of the legislative assembly should be worked out by the various state constituents and shared with the national campaign.
- It was felt that once the bill is presented in the Parliament, a "Bus Yatra" should be undertaken to build public opinion in favour of a comprehensive food security act. There could also be yatras coming from all over India and congregating in Delhi. It was also strongly felt that this Yatra would mobilise people as they are aware of the PDS, Anganwadis and Mid-day meals.
- Carry out a postcard campaign in the states with the BPL poster created by Students for RTF.
- Follow up with the Research and Media Coordination cell of the Constitution Club, the coordinator of this cell Mr. Santosh Joy agreed to hold a discussion in the 2<sup>nd</sup> week of December with MPs on the right to food.
- Accounts of the dharna should be completed and presented by the end of next week.

What did we achieve through this two day dharna? Firstly, this time, we worked with many new groups. It can be said that at least we have begun a dialogue with groups of the Kaimur region in UP, Arariya in Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and with the urban right to food groups in Mumbai. This dialogue now needs to be taken forward.

Secondly, it was an opportunity to once again come to Delhi and reiterate our demands and vision on the kind of food security law that we need. The protest outside the NAC was timely as the proposals needed to be questioned publically. However, it also became obvious that we

have to plan our strategy afresh on how to overcome the Government's cussedness on this issue.

Thirdly, the dharna also exposed our own weaknesses as a campaign, particularly regarding mobilisation of groups. It is important that we take this aspect seriously and not postpone the decision of strengthening the dialogue with our constituents, particularly groups working with masses on issues of livelihood, food, social security and labour.

## Appendix 1 List of participants at the preparatory meeting for the action week on 16 November 2010 at Gandhi Peace Foundation

S. No.	Name	Organization
1	Kavita Srivastava	PUCL/ Right to food campaign
2	Sachin Jain	Right to food campaign
3	Ankita Aggrawal	Right to food campaign, secretariat
4	Sejal Parikh	Right to food campaign
5	Dipa Sinha	Right to food campaign
6	Kavarindhana (Rendhu)	Mobile Crèches
7	Vimla	(Delhi forces, neehr)CFAR
8	Shreya	PBKMS/NTUI
9	Anil tharayath Varghese	PSA
10	Arunbala Pahal	A.V Baliga Memorial Trust
11	Rajkale Marsal	A.V Baliga Memorial Trust
12	Ashok Bharti	NACDOR/WNTA
13	Pushpa	Bhalaswa Lok Shakti Manch
14	Sajida Muzaffar	Institute for Social Upliftment
15	Sunita	NDWUD
16	Ashu Chauhan	National Alliance of People's Movements, New Delhi
17	Pary Mukhapaghany	
18	Nanhu Parsad Gupta	Jan Sangras Vahni
19	Bhupendera Singh Ravat	National Alliance of People's Movements
20	Bipin chaner	Delhi forum
21	Seela M	Peace
22	Vijayan MJ	Delhi Solidarity Group/ Delhi Forum
23	Dharam Pal	CFAR
24	Pramod Chauhan	CFAR
25	Madhuresh	National Alliance of People's Movements
26	Bipin Kumar Rai	(IGSSS) Shahri Adhikar Manch
27	SM Zaki Ahmad	Hazard Centre
28	Jean Drèze	Allahabad University
29	Mira Shiva	Jan Swasthya Abhiyan
30	Vandana Prasad	Jan Swasthya Abhiyan
31	Hansraj Ghevra	Bhumi Andolan
32	Karan Singh	Bhumi Bachao Movement Kanghawala Delhi
33	Rajni Kant Mudgal	Saded/Koi bhookha na soye
34	Rita Kumari	Saded/Koi bhookha na soye
35	Kash Bano	EFRAH NGO,Mandan pur khadar
36	Biraj Patnaik	Right to Food Campaign

## Appendix 2 List of Dharna Participants

S. No.	Name	Organisation	Place
1	Dayashankar Prasad Choudhary	Ghar Bachao Ghar Banao Andolan	Mumbai, Maharashtra
2	Sunder	People Action for People in Need	Himachal Pradesh
3		Astha	Udaipur, Rajasthan
4	Shankar Lal	Urmul Jyoti Sansthan Nokha	Bikaner, Rajasthan
5	Sara Tower	SIT World Learning	Jaipur, Rajasthan
6	Sumitra Thakkar	Anna Suraksha Abhiyan	Gujarat
7	Sejal Parikh	Right to Food Campaign, Secretariat	Delhi
8	Ankita	Right to Food Campaign, Secretariat	Delhi
9	Kavita Srivastava	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
10	Madhuri	JADS/New Trade Union Initiative	Badwani, Madhya Pradesh
11	Hemant Singh Kushwaha	Rashtriya Viklang Manch	Morena, Madhya Pradesh
12	Jitendra Chahar	PEACE	Delhi
13	Sudama	Kaimur Mukti Morcha Ghatak Jan Bhumi Andolan	Bihar
14	Aditya Pratap Singh Deo	Seha Jagat	Kalahandi, Orissa
15	Narayan Jena	Orissa Khadya Adhikar Abhiyan	Orissa
16	Rajaram		Kota
17	Ram Nayak		Sonbhadra
18	Aditi Menon	Jindal Global Law School	Sonipat, Haryana
19	Noday Pai		Chandauli, UP
20	Yashaswini Mittal	Jindal Global Law School	Sonipat, Haryana
21	Nidhi Khanna	Jindal Global Law School	Sonipat, Haryana
22	Aiman Singh Kler	Jindal Global Law School	Sonipat, Haryana
23	Sachin Bangalore	Jindal Global Law School	Sonipat, Haryana
24	Fawaz	Delhi University	Delhi
25	Thanzeel Nazer	Delhi University	Delhi
26	Lakshmi Viswanathan	Delhi University	Delhi
27	Meera	Mahila Pragati Manch	Delhi
28	Snehlata	CFAR	Delhi
29	Chanchal	CFAR Jaipur	Jaipur, Rajasthan
30	Santosh	Jagriti Mahila Manch	
31	Shephali	JNU/Bharat Jan Andolan	Delhi
32	Sumit Chowdhary	Bhagat Singh Foundation	Delhi
33	Azeem Pasha	MPJ	

34	Reetika Khera		Delhi
35	Dipa Sinha	Jawaharlal Nehru University	Delhi
36	Jean Dreze	Allahabad University	Allahbad, Uttar Pradesh
37	Sanjay Kumar	16 Ashok Road	Delhi
38	Vandana Prasad	Jan Swasthya Abhiyan	Delhi
39	Dipika Jain	Jindal Global Law School, Centre for Health Law and Ethics	Delhi
40	Soibam Haripriya	Public Health Resource Network	Delhi
41	Madhurima Nundy	Public Health Resource Network	Delhi
42	Ashutosh Swami		Delhi
43	Harshita	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
44	Ayesha	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
45	Abhijeet	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
46	Pulkesh	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
47	Pallavi	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
48	Ishan	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
49	Shubham Joshi	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
50	Divyam Sharma	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
51	Caitlin Kelly	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
52	Katie Fries	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
53	Nisha Choudhary	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
54	Tushar Chouhan	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
55	Vinod Raina	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh
56	Ajay Kumar Chawariya	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Delhi
57	Ganapathy. M.	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Delhi
58	Shaweta A.	Social Medicine Centre, JNU	Delhi
59	Aditya		Chandigarh
60	Sibi Sebastian		Delhi
61	Bhanwar Lal Kumawat	People's Union for Civic Liberties	Jaipur, Rajasthan
62	V K Jai Somana	Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti	Delhi
63	Aiswarya K	Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti	Delhi
64	Pramod Mishra	Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti	Delhi
65	Rajkumari	Sombhadra	Uttar Pradesh
66	Girsant	Lokchetna Samiti	Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh
67	Ashok	Satark Nagarik Sangathan	Delhi
68	Ashmeet	AID Delhi	Delhi
69	Lakshman Ji Garasia	Adivasi Vikas Manch	Udaipur, Rajasthan
70	Shashi B Pandit	AIKMM	Delhi
71	Rajeev Kumar		Delhi
72	Vipul Bhupesh	GTBIT	Delhi
73	R Leelavath	Unorganised Workers Federation	Chennai, Tamil Nadu
74	Y Aruldoss / TN Forces	National Alliance of People's	Chennai, Tamil Nadu

		Movements	
75	Madhuresh	National Alliance of People's Movements	Delhi
76	Arundhati Dhuru	National Alliance of People's Movements	Uttar Pradesh
77	Kapil	Nirman	Delhi
78	Kamayani	Jan Jagaran Shakti Sangathan	Bihar
79	Saikat Ghosh	Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan	Devdungri, Rajasthan
80	Mangilal	SWRC	Tilonia
81	Seema Singh	Basti Vikas Samiti	Delhi
82	Simi Chacko	Students for Right to Food	Delhi
83	Pratiksha		Delhi
84	Santosh	Parivartan	Delhi
85	Mira Shiva	Jan Swasthya Abhiyan	Delhi
86	Roma		
87	Ashok Choudhary		
88	Shreya Bhattacharya	Paschim Banga Khet Majoor Samity	West Bengal
89	Nikhil Dey	Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan	Devdungri, Rajasthan
90	Gabriele Dietrich		

## Media

S. No.	Name	Organisation	Place
1	Lakshman Anand	Civil Society Magazine	Delhi
2	Gargi Parsai	The Hindu	Delhi
3	S. Z. Mallick	Azad Hind Samachar	Delhi
4	Amit Agnihotri	Asian Age	Delhi
5	Samir Xalxo	International Media Institute of India	NOIDA
6	Mr Kumar	NDTV	Delhi
7	Rupashree Nanda	CNN IBN	Delhi
8	Pradeep Singh	CNEB	Delhi
9	Anil Sinha	Deccan Herald	Bangalore

### Appendix 3 List of participants at the review meeting on 26 November 2010

S. No.	Name	Organisation
1	Kavita Srivastava	People's Union for Civic Liberties
2	Zaki Ahmad	Hazard Centre
3	Arundhati Dhuru	National Alliance for People's Movements
4	Dipa Sinha	
5	Shreya Bhattacharya	Paschim Banga Khet Majoor Samity
6	Rolly Shivhare	Right to Food Campaign, Madhya Pradesh
7	Annie Raja	National Federation of Indian Women
8	Sejal Parikh	Right to Food Campaign, Secretariat
9	Madhuri	JADS/ New Trade Union Initiative
10	Saraswati Devi	Jan Jagran Shakti Sangathan
11	Sumitra Devi	
12	Niriya Devi	
13	Tila Devi	
14	Sanjeet Moorm	
15	Tirthanand Mandal	
16	Dukha Mandal	
17	Moth Arvantar	
18	Moth Vajeer	
19	Akilesh	
20	Ashok K Paswar	
21	Ganesh Kumar	
22	Durga Nand Mandal	
23	Moth Tufani	

24	Varti Paridhar	
25	Lakshman	
26	Kalanand Mandal	
27	Amar Mehta	
28	Jitendra Paswan	
29	Munna Yadav	
30	Vindeshwari Paswan	
31	Jean Dreze	Allahabad University
32	Reetika Khera	