

# ***RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT***

## ***Bulletin***



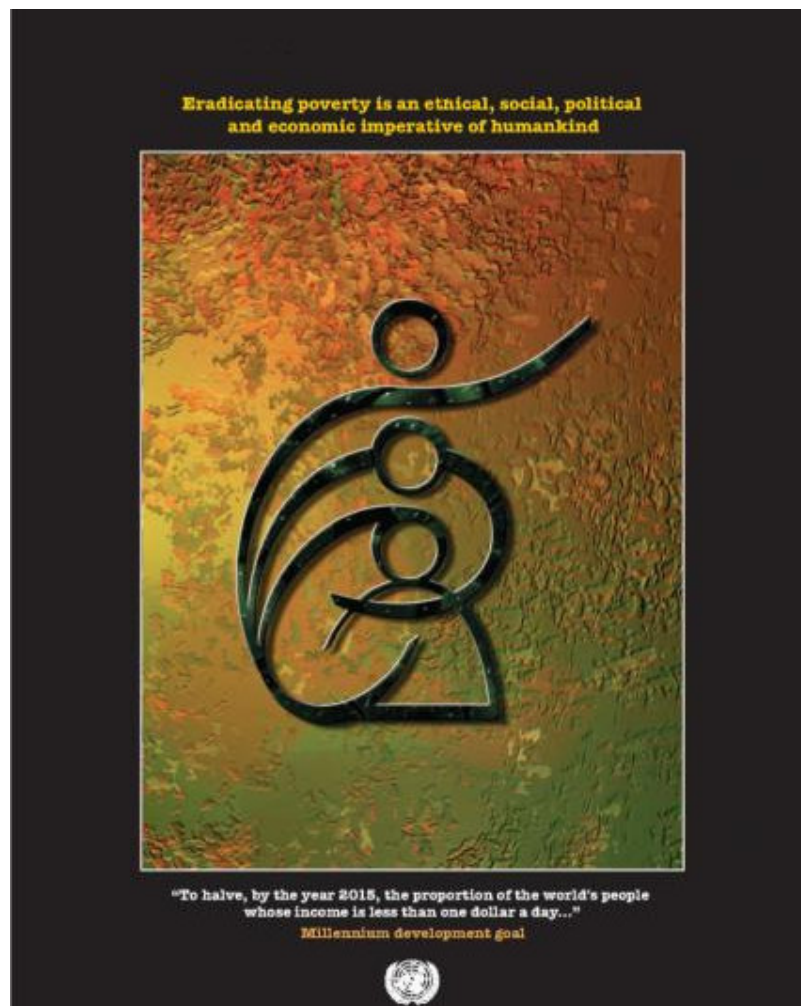
**Centre for Development  
and  
Human Rights**

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VOLUME 1, Special Issue

December, 2010

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The Centre for Development and Human Rights (CDHR) was founded by Dr. Arjun Sengupta in 2002, with the purpose of bringing theoretical clarity to the concept of the Right to Development by integrating the academic disciplines of law, economics, development co-operation and philosophy.

The following (special) issue of the CDHR Bulletin is a collection of tributes to Dr. Sengupta, who passed away on September 26, 2010, following a long battle with prostate cancer. The tributes, written by friends, family and professional associates, are of three kinds: one, those published in newspapers, such as *The Pioneer* and *The Hindustan Times*, and journals, such as *Seminar* and *Economic and Political Weekly*; two, those read out during official condolence meetings, and three, original submissions by researchers whom Dr. Sengupta worked with and mentored. In addition, the introductory article, “Celebrating Arjun Sengupta,” contains excerpts from condolence messages and letters conveyed to the family by prominent personalities. We hope to include further tributes to Dr. Sengupta in future issues of the CDHR Bulletin. If you wish to contribute a message or article, please contact the CDHR team, or Dr. Sengupta’s daughter, Mitu Sengupta ([msengupta@gmail.com](mailto:msengupta@gmail.com)).

The research team at CDHR will fondly remember Dr. Sengupta, and will strive to carry forward the idea of the Right to Development, which was so close to his heart, through this Bulletin.

The Bulletin is available on the website of the Centre for Development and Human Rights, [www.cdhr.org.in](http://www.cdhr.org.in)

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## Celebrating Arjun Sengupta



Photo: Mitu Sengupta

Dr. Arjun Sengupta was born in Calcutta on June 10, 1937. He held an M.A. in Economics from Calcutta University, Presidency College, and a Ph.D. in Economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. One of India's most eminent economists, he had an illustrious and multifaceted career as a scholar, policymaker, diplomat and parliamentarian.

Dr. Sengupta was Special Secretary to the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, from 1981 to 1984, Executive

Director and Special Advisor to the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund from 1985 to 1990, Ambassador of India to the European Union from 1990 to 1993, Member Secretary of the Indian Government's Planning Commission, with the rank of Minister of State, from 1993 to 1998, and a Member of the Parliament of India (Rajya Sabha-Independent) from 2006 until his death. He taught at numerous academic institutions, including the London School of Economics, Delhi School of Economics, Harvard University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and was the United Nations' Independent Expert on the Right to Development, Human Rights Commission, Geneva, from 2005 until his death.

In conveying her sympathies, the President of India, Shrimati Pratibha Patil, said that in Dr. Sengupta's passing away, "the nation had lost a well-known public figure". The Vice President of India, Shri Mohammed Hamid Ansari, noted that Dr. Sengupta's rich body of work had significantly influenced policy-making, particularly in the areas of poverty, food management and social security for unorganized sector workers. "The Sengupta Report is a guiding force to provide minimum social security for all unorganized workers," Ansari said.

In offering his condolences, the Prime Minister of India, Shri Manmohan Singh, said that "in the passing away of Dr. Sengupta, with whom I had a very long association and friendship, the country has lost the services of an exceptional human being whose contributions in different spheres will long be remembered. He was a man admired by thousands". Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, President of the Indian National Congress Party and Chairperson of the United Progressive Alliance, described Dr. Sengupta's "ability to explain ideas and issues in simple terms extremely valuable". "I shall miss his counsel", she said. Veteran politician and former speaker of the Lok Sabha, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, praised Dr. Sengupta for his "great depth of knowledge, his achievements in different fields of our national life, his contribution as a world renowned economist, his concern for the poor and common people of this country".

The UN Human Rights Council observed a moment of silence for Dr. Sengupta on September 27, 2010: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9nqdJYcSpOE>

Other memorable tributes include that of K. Rahman Khan, Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, who described Dr. Sengupta as "a visionary and a veteran leader" whose "the country has lost a visionary and a great patriot," he said. Legendary film-maker and Rajya Sabha M.P. Shyam Benegal remembered Dr. Sengupta as "a person of great erudition combined

with deep compassion". In his condolence letter to the family, Mr. Hari Shankar Singhania, who is among India's leading industrialists, wrote that "besides being an eminent intellectual and economist, [Dr. Sengupta] was down to earth, understanding the needs and aspirations of the common man. He was kind hearted and a man full of compassion. Above all, he was a true gentleman". The High Commissioner of Bangladesh, Mr. Tariq A. Karim, remembered Dr. Sengupta as "a great friend of Bangladesh... his feeling, passion, love and thoughts for Bangladesh have made him one of us... The people of Bangladesh shall always remember him with great affection and respect".

Dr. Sengupta's eminence in public life was matched by his success in personal relationships. Above all, Arjun was a loving husband, father, brother and son, a loyal friend and inspiring colleague. He will be remembered for his sense of humour, conciliatory nature, open laughter, zest for life, and love of food, song and literature. He shall be profoundly missed.

Dr. Sengupta was cremated at the Lodhi Road/Nizamuddin Crematorium, New Delhi, at 11:30 am on Monday, September 27, 2010. His mortal remains (Asthi) were immersed in the River Ganges at Varanasi on Wednesday, September 29, and a Shraadh ceremony was held for him on October 6, 2010. As an additional tribute, a memorial service was held at Dr. Sengupta's official residence on Saturday, October 23, 2010, from 4:30-6:00pm. He is survived by his wife, Jayshree, daughter, Madhura (Mitu), and brothers, Pinaki Sengupta and Arya Sengupta.

The family would like to extend a note of appreciation to all those who attended the October 23 memorial meeting, with special thanks to the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, his wife Mrs. Gursharan Kaur, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Prithviraj Chavan, Chief Minister of Delhi, Shrimati Shiela Dixit, Lieutenant Governor of Delhi, Shri Tejinder Khanna, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, Union Minister of Sports, Shri M.S. Gill, Shri Salman Khurshid and his wife, Louise, Shri Sitaram Yechury, and former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Shri Bimal Jalan. We would also like to extend special thanks to the speakers at this event (in order of appearance): our honoured guests, Dr. Rajeev Malhotra, Shri Upamanyu Chatterjee, Shri Paranjay Ghuathakurta, Dr. Montek Singh Ahulwalia, Shri M.S. Gill, Shri Tejinder Khanna, Dr. Bibek Debroy, Dr. K.P. Kannan, Dr. Ravi Srivastava, and Shri Hiranmoy Karlekar. We also wish to express gratitude to Shrimati Manisha Sridhar, IAS, for her flawless compering of the service, and to the staff of CDHR, RIS and the former NCEUS for assisting in the exemplary execution of the event (a special mention is due to Mr. K.M. Rao, Mr. Bantu Kalra, Mr. Chhabra, Colonel Pawar, Ms. Neha Mahal, Ms. Selina Thounaojam, and Mr. Amit Lodwal). Finally, we sincerely thank each and every person who was with us in our moment of loss. Your words of support, sympathy and courage will forever endure in our hearts.

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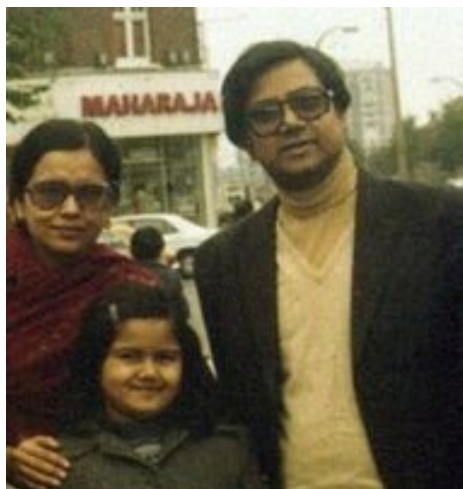
## TRIBUTES TO DR. SENGUPTA

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### Arjun Sengupta: A Daughter's Tribute

*The Asian Age, October 15, 2010*

#### Dr. Mitu Sengupta



My beloved father Arjun Sengupta passed away on Sunday, September 26, 2010. He was born in Kolkata, in 1937, into a fun-loving but erudite middle-class joint family. A brilliant student and star debater at the Presidency College, he went on to earn a Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at the age of 27.

His eclectic but uniformly impressive career included eminent posts such as special secretary to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1981-1984), executive director and special adviser to the managing director of the IMF (1985-1990), India's ambassador to the European Union (1990-1993), member secretary of the Planning Commission (1993-1998), and Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, from 2005 until his death.

He was most fulfilled, however, by his term as chairman of the National

Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (2005-2009), when his team produced a groundbreaking report which revealed that, despite many years of stellar economic growth, 77 per cent of India's population lives on less than `20 per day.

His intention was not to deny the value of markets and economic liberalisation, but to question our blind faith in them. Though he was among India's first market reformers — heading a landmark committee on public enterprise reform in the 1980s — he believed that in a country with as much deprivation as ours, the state must not withdraw from its obligation to help the poor and vulnerable.

In the last five years, my father also attained a major presence on the global stage, as the UN's independent expert on the right to development. In this forum, he framed poverty and the violation of human rights as global rather than purely national problems, and offered an empowering message to the world's downtrodden: that they are entitled, as a matter of justice, to a fair share of their societies' wealth.

Yet despite his firm views, my father was generous towards his adversaries, and a born contrarian. He loved playing devil's advocate, and genuinely admired anyone who could engage him in verbal battle. When knocked back in debate or life, he was discouraged for only moments. He couldn't wait to jump back in the ring, and have another go at persuading his opponents.

Indeed, my father was convinced that intellectual merit and our innate, human concern for justice would ultimately triumph over narrow political play. I often told him he would get much further were he more politically astute. To which he said, with a hearty laugh: "I have already come quite far. I have no regrets."

It is a testament to his buoyant spirit and ethical approach to living that he easily acquired admirers, from every ideological corner and walk of life. Here was a man who could be neither bullied nor bought. It was difficult to not notice him.

I shall remember my father as a strong, principled and self-made man, a visionary and true egalitarian. Though he indulged me with his love, he taught me the value of earned achievement, and forbade me, very categorically, from using his position and privilege for personal advantage. This was infuriating at times, like when he was at the Prime Minister's Office, and insisted that I ride the rickety bus to school like everyone else. It is only later that I understood the beauty and freedom of being confident in one's skin indebted to no one.

But what is most remarkable about my father is that his finest work is the outcome of a period of deep anxiety and affliction. His death was the result of a long struggle with prostate cancer, diagnosed in 2005. An eternal optimist but intensely private man, he fought his illness valiantly, but quietly, allowing only my mother and I a window into his suffering.

In what we saw, however, there was no bitterness. Towards the end, when pain had darkened his best hours, he would sit on our verandah, watching the rain. He said the unusually heavy Delhi monsoon reminded him of his youth in Kolkata, when, drenched by a sudden downpour, he would rush into the College Street coffee house, the day's thoroughly-read newspaper covering his head, for hot tea, mishti and adda.

"Life is so beautiful", he said, "I will miss it".

*Dr Mitu (Madhura) Sengupta is associate professor of politics at Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada*

## A Man Who Could Never Become a Minister

*The Hindustan Times, October 12, 2010*

### Rajesh Mahapatra

Oct. 13--The year was 1995. I was a beat reporter covering the Planning Commission and the finance ministry. The big story was the eighth five-year plan's mid-term appraisal, which was critical of the government's economic liberalisation programme. A tussle was on between the Commission and the ministry, the latter not wanting the report to be published without suitable amendments.

That's when I first met Arjun Sengupta -- a tall, dark-complexioned man in his late 50s, whose impeccable record as an economic administrator could be matched by few in India.



An MIT-trained economist, Sengupta was just 34 when Indira Gandhi picked him as an economic counsellor to Bangladesh. Sengupta's deft handling of this sensitive job won the Congress leader's confidence. His left-of-centre leanings had made him a perfect fit.

When Pranab Mukherjee took charge of the Commission in 1993, Sengupta became its member-secretary. Politically, Mukherjee had come to be seen as a rallying point for those in the Congress who were dissenting the market-opening policies of Finance Minister Manmohan

Singh. Sengupta's brief could hardly be different. He put together a group of somewhat left-leaning economists to prepare a critical mid-term appraisal to highlight the downside of liberalisation.

With that act, Sengupta ended up on the wrong side of history. The finance ministry prevailed over Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao to stop the mid-term appraisal from being printed in its original form.

I met Sengupta several times during that period. He never gave out news, but the interactions helped me gain valuable insights into policy making in India. He had an unmatched ability to break down complex things into simple modules. I always thought the man deserved more than he had received.

The United Front government appointed Bimal Jalan as member-secretary of the Commission in 1996. Sengupta was retained as a member. A year later, Sengupta became a hopeful for the job of Reserve Bank governor. The other contender was Montek Singh Ahluwalia. A last-minute phone call from V.P. Singh to Deve Gowda, we were told, changed everything. Jalan was picked for the job. Sengupta could not bring himself to working for a BJP-led government and returned to teaching.

When the UPA came to power in 2004, his nomination to the post of deputy chairman of Planning Commission was widely expected. But the job went to Montek. Sengupta became chairman of the National Commission for Unorganised Workers, working to highlight the widespread poverty in India. It brought Sengupta close to Sonia Gandhi and many believed he stood a good chance to become a minister in a Cabinet reshuffle.

But his health did not stand by him anymore. On September 26, Sengupta died of prostate cancer. He was 73.

*Rajesh Mahapatra is the Deputy Executive Editor, The Hindustan Times*

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## Eyes Open, He Lived

*Tehelka, October 9, 2010*

**Paranjoy Guha Thakurta**

**HE WAS** such a multi-faceted personality that it's impossible to cubby-hole him. He was an economic policy administrator for much of his professional life but it would be inaccurate to describe him as such — for he was also an academic, a politician, a diplomat, a bureaucrat and a researcher who provided a different perspective on the extent of poverty in India. As an economist, he was always firmly rooted in the left wing of the Congress, empathetic towards the Communists but never a part of them. More importantly, he was a critic of the neo-liberal school of economic thought that is subscribed to by PM Manmohan Singh.

Arjun Sengupta, who passed away at the age of 73 on 26 September after a brief illness, was an MP from West Bengal for the last five years of his life. He would never have been elected as an independent member of the Rajya Sabha had it not been for the support of the Communists (who were then supporting the first UPA government), besides the Congress. After an illustrious career in academics (MA in economics from Presidency College, Kolkata and a PhD from Massachusetts Institute of Technology), he had joined Indira Gandhi as her special adviser after her return to power in the wake of the disintegration of the Janata Party government.

As an educator, Sengupta traversed through many institutions, some of which were Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi

School of Economics, London School of Economics and Harvard University. As an administrator and a bureaucrat, he served as member secretary, Planning Commission and executive director to the International Monetary Fund, while as a diplomat he was India's ambassador to the European Union. He was also deeply interested in issues linking human rights to poverty — he served as an independent expert with the Human Rights Commission, Geneva.

In 2006, as head of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector, Sengupta presented a report to the PM pointing out that 77 percent of India's population survived on 20 or less a day and that as much as 86 percent of the country's workforce was in the unorganized sector. At a time when people were gloating about growth rates, this information was economic heresy of sorts, and was predictably sought to be pooh-poohed on methodological grounds. But Sengupta stood his ground and asserted that his conclusion was based on data from the National Sample Survey Organization. Two years later, in 2008, the government enacted the Unorganized Workers' Social Security Act — an extremely watered-down version of the kind of legislation he wanted.

He was no fire-breathing radical. But he was certain that the market did not have magical solutions to the problems of poverty, illiteracy, healthcare and the absence of a social security net for the disadvantaged sections. In this sense, he understood the limitations of gung-ho policies of economic liberalization in ensuring job creation and “inclusive” growth. He acknowledged that even if the incidence of poverty was on the decline in contemporary India, over three-fourths of

the population needed help that only the government could provide.

He counted among his friends, academics, netas and babus who professed different ideologies. Sengupta would have liked to influence policy much more than he did. Like the PM, he entered politics late in his life. But unlike him, he did not cultivate political godfathers despite his proximity to Indira Gandhi. He went suddenly — one of his colleagues wondered why he never once mentioned ill-health. He was one Finance Minister India never had. But he would have laughed heartily at such a suggestion.

*Paranjay Guha Thakurta is an independent journalist and educator*

## Last Salute to Arjun Sengupta

*The Pioneer, November 3, 2010*

### Hiranmay Karlekar

A warm, widely-read, generous man with an exceptional mind, Arjun Sengupta's career trajectory took him to governance, economic planning and diplomacy. Last Sunday, he left for hereafter.



It was the morning of July 16, 1955. A feeling of thrill welled up inside as I walked through the gate of one of India's fabled educational institutions as a student. “Welcome to Presidency College” a voice

boomed. A somewhat generously endowed person, bespectacled, slightly older than me, and wearing a pajama and a kurta (punjabi as we call it in Kolkata), came up, smiled broadly and said in Bengali what would read in rough English translation as, "I am Arjun Sengupta. I welcome you on behalf of the Students' Federation. As you know, it is an organisation of progressive students." He continued after a short pause, "Presidency College has been at the forefront of all revolutionary movements in India and we have a responsibility to perpetuate the tradition."

Being from a family with a political background, I knew that All-India Students' Federation, commonly referred to as SF, was a front organisation of the Communist Party of India, then undivided. Besides, I had cut my teeth in student politics while still in high school. I was wondering how to respond when Arjun was called away by one of his followers. He said before leaving, "We will keep in touch. We hope to see you active in the SF."

That hope was belied. I contested the college union election as an independent candidate and won, though the SF swept the polls. Gradually, the tide began to turn. The next year saw a hung union and our side, labelled 'Anti-SF', won a couple of key positions among the office-bearers. Other victories followed. The 'Anti-SF' became Presidency College Students' Organisation in 1959 and controlled the union until 1966 when the Naxalite tide began to surge.

Arjun and I, however, remained friends, not very close friends because he was three years' senior to me and belonged to a different political milieu, but friends nevertheless. In the 1950s, political opponents frequently remained personal

friends. My most vociferous supporter on the cricket field was my class friend and a college SF stalwart, Pallab Sengupta. Ties with Samik Banerjee, who later became one of India's most scholarly theatre gurus, have remained warm though he was seldom present on the cricket field.

What explained it? Perhaps our long sessions at the College Street Coffee House across the road, where we often shared the same table, was a factor, as was perhaps our common interests. All of us read Marx, Engels, Lenin, Camus, Sartre, Kafka, listened to Tagore songs, debated the relevance of Gandhi and the contributions of the French, Russian and Chinese revolutions. We talked about the freedom struggle, of Nehru's socialism, of the convulsions shaking the international Communist movement in the wake of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and de-Stalinisation. We condemned, while SFites supported, Soviet interventions in Hungary and Poland in 1956. We all condemned the Anglo-French invasion of Suez in the same year. We recited poems of Tagore, Jibanananda Das, Bishnu De and Sudhin Datta. We saw the same kind of films — those by directors like Satyajit Ray, Akira Kurosawa, Francois Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, Federico Fellini, *et al.*

Somewhere deep inside, all of us felt we belonged to a very special group, which included a whole galaxy of people from Henry Louis Vivian Derozio to Subhas Chandra Bose, who shaped the destiny of West Bengal and, to some extent, India.

There was mutual respect and the shared belief that we lived for causes beyond ourselves. Long after our college days, we were happy to run into one another and share memories that made us decades younger. It was the same with Arjun, a

warm, widely-read, generous man with an exceptional mind. My career trajectory took me to journalism, his to governance, economic planning and diplomacy. From Marxism, he moved to Nehruvian socialism.

Whenever we met, I teasingly greeted him by saying, “Comrade Arjun Sengupta *ke Lal Salam*” (Red salute to Comrade Arjun Sengupta).

He used to smile indulgently and say, “*Jao, jao! Jo ichha bole jao,*” (Go, go on! Say whatever you want to). I won’t be able to greet him anymore. He left for the hereafter on Sunday. I can only say with sadness welling up inside, “Comrade Arjun Sengupta *ke shesh salam*” (Last salute to Comrade Arjun Sengupta).

*Hiranmay Karlekar is the Consultant Editor, The Pioneer*

## The Humane Economist

*The Indian Express, September 28, 2010*

**Dr. Yoginder K. Alagh**



When Arjun Sengupta passed away unexpectedly, I lost a real and old friend. I knew him from a time when he was not the diplomatic, soft-spoken, somewhat saintly figure he had come to be, but a Delhi University firebrand. He was to join the government, and his first hour of glory

was to help P.N. Dhar and Sukhomoy Chakravarti build bridges with the nascent state of Bangladesh. In the mid-'70s, I went on deputation to the Planning Commission, heading its Perspective Planning Division. My office was the adda for university economists working with the government. Arjun was, by then, well on his way to being the strategist. He was working for the then commerce minister, Pranab Babu. N.K. Singh, then a deputy secretary, would also come. Arjun knew the tricks that modellers play. He was all for the basket of currencies to float the rupee and regularise excess capacity, and was building up the case for later reform including the matter of minimum scale. He was our industrial conscience in those days. He was also the first one among us to wear safari suits. When a member of the lunch adda nonchalantly asked why he was wearing a blouse, he got some choice abuse in return.

When I told him I was going back to my research job, he told me that most people don't leave the laddus in Delhi. I went anyway, and he went to the prime minister's office. I would say no when he wanted me back, until he arranged for me to chair the Agricultural Prices Commission and then worked on Raksha, my wife, to persuade me not to be a stick-in-the-mud. That stint was the best time we had together. We would lunch together once a week. He was not happy about the 1982 IMF loan and wanted much to be done for agriculture and small farmers. We plotted and worked out the small farmers and landless labourers programmes, which the then PM, Indira Gandhi, told us was her constituency.

Arjun was in full throttle by this time, and his forte was the foundation of the '80s reform. By now, the miasma of misinformation on the period is lifting. Arjun steered the two vital groups — the Narasimhan Committee, which developed the architecture of giving up quantitative

controls and replaced them with tariff and fiscal steps, and the Sengupta Committee on public sector reform. These were our own, not big bang IMF/ World Bank, reform initiatives. By now, his years of being a shadow to authority had given him the self-assurance and quiet, almost saintly tone he carried later. We were designing our own paths. Arjun was clear on the need for an arms-length relationship with the political authority in PSUs. K.V. Ramanathan, then planning secretary, went on a global tour and to formulate the idea of the MoU between the government company and the sarkar. In the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices, I worked on the details. Profit was not a dirty word but the public sector could work on other objectives. In the Narasimhan Committee, we worked in a different direction. Arjun was always clear that the strategic plan was not to be given up, but much else could, and should go. The long-range marginal cost was the principle that explained the long-term vision. Tariff and fiscal policy was to be tuned to that. Harmonisation was needed because if you were efficient and your input supplier was not, you would suffer with reform. So groups of related industries had to be reformed together. The BICP worked out examples, and the two committees found the path. Arjun Sengupta pushed it.

The prime minister was assassinated in October 1984, and that period took a toll on Arjun. Two years later at a breakfast in Boston, a well-known Indian psychiatrist was to say, “Dr Sengupta, you are not adjusting very well from being one of the more powerful men anywhere.” But Arjun did adjust and some of his best work was in the Planning Commission and later at JNU, where I invited him. The rest is recent history. When he walked down from giving a superb discourse on rights-based development and the rights of the

unorganised worker at an Amartya Sen valediction, I told him, “Saala, you can still be a brilliant economist.” He prodded me and said, “Saala, what else can one expect from a thug like you?”

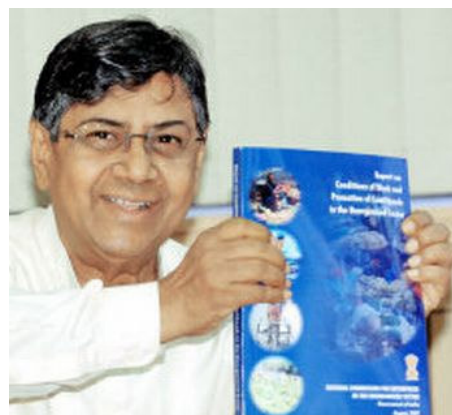
Farewell my friend — you will be in saintly authority wherever you are, but I will miss you.

*Dr. Yoginder k. Alagh, a former Union Minister, is the Chairman, Institute of Rural Management*

## Arjun Sengupta: A Tribute

*Economic & Political Weekly, October 16, 2010.*

### Dr. Prabhat Patnaik



Arjun Sengupta, the economist who held many positions in academics, government and international organisations, and was chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector died on 26 September. Two tributes, the first by a fellow economist who was Sengupta’s student in the mid-1960s and the second by a more recent younger colleague, who worked with him in the last decade of his life.

Arjun Sengupta led such a varied life, played so many different roles, that it is as if there was not one but several different Arjun Senguptas. Each person who knew him knew only one of the Arjun

Senguptas, but had little idea about the others.

I, for one, knew little about the Arjun Sengupta who was an economic adviser to Indira Gandhi, or the Arjun Sengupta who advised International Monetary Fund Managing Director Jacques de Larosiere, or the Arjun Sengupta who was a member secretary of the Planning Commission. But I did know the Arjun Sengupta who was my teacher at the Delhi School of Economics and who took upon himself the role of acting like a *bod-da* (elder brother) to me, invariably bantering, and often giving me gratuitous advice about what I should do with my life, which was generally infuriating but always affectionate. (On one occasion when I was a junior faculty member at Cambridge, and like others of my generation dreamt of the revolution, he visited me, and to my intense fury, advised me not to waste my life on “all this radical stuff’.) Whenever we met, after a lapse of months or years, he would pick up this role from where he had left it, no matter what he or I had been doing in the interim.

### **At the Delhi School**

It was in the mid-1960s that Arjun first appeared at the coffee house of the Delhi School of Economics, a handsome young Bengali economist with a fresh MIT PhD who had just joined the Institute of Economic Growth. Those were the days when all Bengali economists were of the Left, the only question being whether they were with the Left Communists (CPI(M)) or the Right Communists (CPI). Delhi School student gossip made Arjun out to be a Right Communist. Within a short time he joined the Delhi School faculty and started teaching us Growth Theory.

He was full of fun in the class, full of jokes, absolutely without any airs and highly approachable. Professors Sen, Chakravarty and Raj, despite their best

intentions, were quite forbidding; so we naturally warmed to Arjun, one of whose many stories in the class was about how in an examination hall, the entry of some pigeons had provided him and his classmates the opportunity to take recourse to means, not altogether “fair”, to answer a particularly difficult question paper.

Around that time Arjun Sengupta produced a major paper on the impact of foreign aid, which was published, I think, in the *Oxford Economic Papers*. To the batch which immediately followed mine and which included Utsa (Mukherji, later Patnaik), Deepak (Nayyar) and Isher (Judge, later Ahluwalia), he taught the International Economics option. But shortly afterwards he left the Delhi School to join the faculty of the London School of Economics, which is when I lost touch with him, apart from his visit to Cambridge mentioned earlier.

### **Explaining the 1970s Crisis**

We met up again after I had returned to India to join the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, by which time he too had returned to a series of important positions in the Government of India, but our contacts were infrequent. It was in the late 1970s that he produced his excellent paper (written perhaps when he was at the IMF) on the world capitalist crisis of the mid-1970s. The argument of the paper was simple but incisive: since the oil-price hike transferred purchasing power primarily from the consumers in the advanced capitalist world to the oil-producing countries, which held a large portion of their increased oil revenue in the form of bank deposits, it entailed a reduction in world demand, in particular aggregate demand in the advanced capitalist countries. To counter this, it was necessary that the governments in the advanced capitalist countries should run increased fiscal deficits. But since the oil price hike had given rise to cost-push inflation in

these countries, and the governments, in a futile bid to counter this inflation had curtailed their fiscal deficits, they only compounded the contractionary impact of the oil-shock. This explained the mid-1970s crisis in the capitalist world, which, until then had been the worst since the 1930s.

I met him more frequently after he joined the School of International Studies of the JNU. We would meet regularly on evening walks in the JNU campus (on which he would often be accompanied by Jayshree and Mitu) and pause to have long chats. During our chats, bantering as ever, he would make comments, often unflattering, about things I had written, which to my surprise and gratification, he always made a point of reading. I remember writing an obituary on Paul Sweezy in which I had mentioned that Samuelson and Sweezy were Schumpeter's pet students at Harvard and that Schumpeter was perhaps responsible for the denial of tenure to Sweezy for ideological reasons. Arjun told me during one of our evening chats that Schumpeter had also been responsible for the denial of tenure to Samuelson on grounds having to do not with ideology but anti-Semitism. Samuelson himself however tended to play down Schumpeter's anti-Semitism, and would perhaps have absolved him of the charge of denying him tenure, though the fact of his leaving Harvard owing to anti-Semitism was never in doubt. But I assume that Arjun, having been in MIT as a PhD student of Robert Solow, would have known something which Samuelson's loyalty to his old teacher might have prevented him from admitting publicly.

Once he tantalisingly told me that he had some comments to make about a piece I had written in a volume, *A World to Win*, edited by Prakash Karat, on the *Communist Manifesto*, and that he was going to make them in a review of the

book he was writing for EPW. That review unfortunately never got written, so I never knew what he was going to say. My evening chats with Arjun were always chastening, stimulating and a source of great pleasure for me. And we talked of everything under the sun, from contemporary politics, to gossip about celebrity economists, to common friends. Even after he retired from JNU, the Sengupta family would still come to the JNU campus for its evening walks.

### **Provocative Arguments**

Around this time he started attending seminars organised by International Development Economics Associates (IDEAS), which provided further opportunities for us to meet and discuss things. He was passionately committed to the idea of providing a social safety net for the unorganised workers, which the National Commission for Employment in the Unorganised Sector headed by him had recommended. But being Arjun, provocative, infuriating and contrary as ever, he once argued in an IDEAS meeting for a combination of labour market flexibility and social safety nets before a group of Left economists, who were as passionately opposed to labour market flexibility as they were committed to a social safety net.

On one occasion when we were both returning from Kolkata to Delhi, Arjun surprised me by suggesting that in India we should settle down to a two-formation polity, a right-of-centre formation consisting of all political forces in favour of neoliberal policies, and a left-of-centre formation consisting of the left parties, progressive civil society organisations, dalit groups, tribal groups, and feminist organizations which would press for a progressive economic agenda. The moral of the story was that the Left political parties should make an effort to build a

coalition of the dispossessed to take on the new economic establishment. Since Arjun prided himself on being hard-headed and not given to wishful thinking, I was a little surprised by his prognostication and pointed out its obvious weakness. This lay, in my view, in the fact that the Bharatiya Janata Party would never tear itself away from the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh to either become or merge itself into a political formation with a mere right-of-centre economic agenda, which meant in turn that the Left would always have to fight on two fronts, anti-communalism and anti-neoliberalism.

But Arjun, I later realised, had in mind something much deeper: he was thinking not merely of political developments in the near future, but of a trajectory of transition from capitalism to socialism. He dwelt on this theme in his P C Joshi memorial lecture delivered at the JNU, and developed it further in a paper "United Front and the Communist Movement" which he posted to me at Thiruvananthapuram for comments on 10 August. Unfortunately the time-lags were such that he passed away before I could give him my comments, but I hope the paper will be published soon. His covering letter throws light on his project:

*My dear Prabhat,*

*The year before last I gave the P C Joshi Memorial Lecture at JNU. The subject matter of that lecture was confined to...the conditions of the Indian economy shortly after independence. On second reading of my lecture I thought I should bring it up to date incorporating the later development of capitalism in India. On that basis I tried to build a general theory of United Front in the modern capitalist economy. The result was this paper. The essential point of the paper is in a modern capitalist*

*economy with a large number of interest groups...you have a real chance of building (a) United Front with different groups of working class with their different world views. I have tried to show (that) even then, hegemony of the working class is crucial for (a) well-developed social movement... but that would also give us a better chance of building a United Front towards socialist development. Before I send it to anybody for publication, I thought I will request you at least to look at the points I made seriously and tell me whether my attempt to build a theory of United Front makes some sense. Please write to me giving your views this way or that, so that a public debate can be initiated.*

*Best regards,*

*Arjun Sengupta*

Arjun's views will now have to be presented directly to the public at large; the priority of my comments has become irrelevant. But the paper is typically Arjun, original, incisive, novel and not run-of-the-mill.

Meetings with Arjun were always fun because he was never intellectually stodgy, never pedestrian, never predictable, never dull, always sparkling, even if irritating, annoying and infuriating. It is sad to think that a person so full of life, so full of fun, so full of sparkle, so iconoclastic with a twinkle in his eye, has left us forever.

*Prabhat Patnaik is a Professor at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*

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## **Making the Case for a Rights-based Approach**

*Economic & Political Weekly, October 16, 2010*

### **Dr. Ravi Srivastava**

Arjun Sengupta, 73, passed away in Delhi on 26 September 2010. He never spoke about his illness and not even his closest associates were aware that the end was so near.

At the time of his death, Arjun Sengupta was a member of the Rajya Sabha, elected from West Bengal in 2005 as an independent with support of the Congress and the left parties. He was chairman of the Institute of Economic Growth (IEG), the Research and Information System (RIS), and the Centre for the Development and Human Rights (CDHR). He was also chairperson of the Inter-Governmental Working Group (IGWG) of the Human Rights Council on the Right to Development, a position to which he was elected in 2007 with support from all countries.

### **A Long Career in Public Policy**

After graduating from Calcutta University, Arjun Sengupta did his PhD from MIT and then taught as lecturer in the London School of Economics. He returned to India and joined as a Reader in the Delhi School of Economics (1969-71), where he met his economist wife, Jayshree.

He subsequently joined the government and became economic advisor to the Ministry of Commerce (1974-77) and the Minister (Economic) in the Indian High Commission in London. He served as Economic Advisor to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi from 1981 to 1984. He subsequently became executive director for India, Bangladesh and Bhutan in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (1985-88) and special advisor to the IMF

Managing Director during 1988-90. In 1990, he became India's ambassador to the European Union, and then went on to serve as member-secretary of Planning Commission from 1993-98.

Between 1998 and 2002, he served as Professor of International Economic Organisation in the School of International Studies in Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). During 1998-99, he was also a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council. From 1999 to 2004, he served as the Independent Expert for the Right to Development for the Human Rights Commission, Geneva, and then its Independent Expert for Human Rights and Extreme Poverty (2004-08). He was also Adjunct Professor of Development and Human Rights, Harvard School of Public Health, and chairman of the Legal Commission of the Poor.

During his career in public policy, Arjun Sengupta remained partisan to the Congress-Left and to a Left-of-Congress ideology. He was a member of the party's economic cell and a member of its manifesto committee in the run-up to the 2004 and 2009 elections. Even after the Congress-Left alliance broke up in 2009, he wrote an article in the *Asian Age* making a case for it.

While he was committed to reforms (both national and international) he also remained deeply committed to the role planning and public policy in developing countries, including India. He chaired two influential committees, the Committee on the Role of the Public Enterprises, 1984, and the Committee on Petroleum Products Pricing, for the Government of India, 1998. He wrote on a very wide variety of subjects. Leaving aside his writings in the last decade, many of his earlier major contributions were on the themes on international financial cooperation; north-south dialogue; reform of the IMF; and the problems of highly indebted countries.

(Several papers were published in this journal).

Since 1999, his major contribution and writings were on themes related to a rights-based approach to development, and this remained his dominant concern and passion till the time of his death.

### **Right to Development**

Arjun Sengupta became the Independent Expert on the Right to Development (RTD) in 1999 for the UN Commission on Human Rights and contributed six reports on RTD between 1999 and 2004. These reports elaborated on the “Declaration on the Right to Development” adopted overwhelmingly by the member states on the UN in 1986 (with the US casting the lone dissenting vote). He also wrote a number of academic papers on the subject and with the support of Harvard University on the Right to Development carried out two large projects in south Asia and India, respectively. These projects were the beginning of his re-engagement with India and Indian academics which increased when he later became chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector. I came into contact with Arjun Da first in 2000 when he asked me to write the country paper on the right to education for the RTD project.

Arjun Sengupta’s contributions to the right to development constitute, in my view, a very significant contribution to the ongoing debate in India on the rights-based approach which could be profitably studied by the community of scholars and activists engaged with rights. His reports and papers provide a formidable basis for arguing that positive rights and collective rights were possible. He argued that the enforceability of collective rights and implementation of programmes was possible even without their being converted into legal rights (introducing justiciability did remain a superior course

wherever possible). The right to development was linked to a path of development in which national governments were obliged to ensure that the human rights were progressively realized and this approach added value to existing approaches to development.

His rights-based approach to development ensured a large and definite role for public policy. In a paper published in this journal he argued that:

When development is seen as a human right, it obligates the authorities, both nationally and internationally, to fulfil their duties in delivering (or in human rights language, promoting, securing, and protecting) that right in a country. The adoption of appropriate policies follows from that obligation. Nationally, the government must do everything, or must be seen as doing everything to fulfil the claims of a human right. If the right to food, education, and health are regarded as components of a human right to development, the state has to accept the primary responsibility of delivering the right either on its own or in collaboration with others. It has to adopt the appropriate policies and provide for the required resources to facilitate such delivery because meeting the obligation of human rights would have a primary claim on all its resources – physical, financial, or institutional – that it can command (Sengupta 2001:2531).

In the same paper, he argued that the right to development approach implied certain key elements, including participation, equality of opportunity, and equity in outcomes.

In his subsequent role as independent expert on human rights and extreme poverty, he again wrote as many as six reports (including a mission report on extreme poverty in the United States), defining extreme poverty as a violation of

human rights and elaborating on the role of the state and the international community. Two papers on this theme were published in this journal in 2007 and 2010, respectively.

### **The NCEUS**

Arjun Sengupta became chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised/Informal Sector (NCEUS) set up by the United Progressive Alliance government as per its commitment in its Common Minimum Programme (later the term “informal” was dropped from the title of the commission). The NCEUS was to act as an advisory body and watchdog for the informal sector and recommend measures considered necessary for increasing employment and bringing about improvement in the productivity and competitiveness of these enterprises. The nine-point terms of reference of the commission were focused on unorganised enterprises although they also included labour and employment-related issues. That the government did not consider the welfare of labour as the centrepiece of the commission’s work was clearly demonstrated by low representation of workers’ organisations of its advisory body.

Initially, assisted by one full-time member (K Jayashankar, an MP from Andhra Pradesh), he was joined in March 2005 by another full-time member (K P Kannan of the Centre for Development Studies). There was a six-month interregnum in 2005 when Arjun Sengupta first resigned as chairman (due to the controversy over offices of profit) and rejoined in December 2005. By then, he had been diagnosed and operated for prostate cancer. Soon afterwards, I replaced Jayashankar when the latter resigned from the commission to take up the cause of Telangana state which was closer to his heart.

When I joined the NCEUS, its report on social security was in the final stages of

preparation and there was pressure to meet deadlines. Yet, Arjun-da would insist on going back to the drawing board, question each and every statement, evidence and conclusion in the draft. It was impossible to satisfy his appetite for questions, and to simultaneously meet his deadlines (as a former bureaucrat he loved to impose impossible deadlines). In every piece of work that the commission did, he would always play the role of the devil’s advocate, helping the others sharpen arguments (there were long, lengthy and sharp but very warm discussions within the commission), and also throw away whatever emerged as being weak or indefensible. He was always both provocative and willing to be provoked, and full of wit, and gave his colleagues full freedom to develop their own ideas. Later, when his daughter, Madhura (Mitu), a political scientist based in Canada told me of the freedom and the relationship that she enjoyed with him, I could easily recognize the same traits in his working relationship with us.

He believed in the role of markets but equally strongly that they did not work for the poor. He argued that public policy and intervention were needed for focused interventions to support the informal economy and the poor. Institutions such as the Planning Commission, he thought, spent an inordinate share of their time in supporting interventions and markets for the organised segment of the economy, for whom, in any case, markets worked best. He was not a critic of economic reforms per se, but the analysis of consumption patterns and trends, which he carried out jointly with K P Kannan and G S Raveendran provided a devastating critique of increasing inequality under reforms and the inordinately slow trickle down of the rate of aggregate growth. The analysis of growing consumption inequality and persistence of high poverty and vulnerability was not very methodologically sophisticated, but it

convincingly showed the highly unequal distribution of benefits of post-reform growth and the high band of the “poor and vulnerable” in India. Undoubtedly, the most quoted finding of the NCEUS was its description of 77% of Indians (called poor and vulnerable) living on an average of less than Rs. 20 per day per capita. The government’s unease with these findings probably increased in tandem with their being cited by the oppositional political spectrum and by civil society but the “official” rebuttal (using a methodology different from that of the NCEUS) came in the *Economic Survey of 2008-09* which stated that in 2004-05 “for the country as a whole the per capita consumption expenditure of 60.5% of population was less than Rs. 20 per day” and a cruder rebuttal of the commission’s findings as well as his own government’s came from P Chidambaram, who, upon being questioned on the NCEUS findings in a lecture on Naxalism in JNU, reportedly told a student: “how can India have 60 crore mobile phones? This is a simple parameter to negate the report. I am sure I can help you being a better economist.”

### Unfinished Agenda

The need to focus policy and intervention on the growing numbers of the “poor and vulnerable” (and hence use a targeted approach) was to be complemented, in his thinking, by a universalist *rights-based* approach. He drew heavily on the rights discourse from his own work for the UN and saw no contradiction between the universal language of rights and his own emphasis on the focused and targeted approach for the poor. His passion, in the last days of the NCEUS, and indeed his own last days, was to persuade his colleagues to work on the right to employment, by which he meant working on the contours of a rights-based policy regime which would ensure work with dignity for all Indians. This was also the theme of his presidential lecture to the

Indian Society of Labour Economics in December 2009, delivered in absentia. The last report of the NCEUS (“The Challenge of Employment: An Informal Economy Perspective”) provided a huge empirical and analytical edifice on which he felt further work could take place.

The report and the other contributions of the commission were discussed in an international conference organised by the International Labour Organisation and the Institute of Human Development in April 2010, where he both decried government apathy with regard to the key recommendations and identified the future agenda. Arjun-da started to lose his struggle with his disease within weeks of this conference, but still rallied occasionally to discuss future workplans with us. When he finally succumbed, he left behind a monumental legacy of work on improving, with dignity, the lives and livelihoods of India’s working poor, which no regime can hope to sidestep.

*Ravi Srivastava teaches economics at the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and was a member of the National Commission for Enterprise in the Unorganised Sector*

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### From the Office of the President Human Rights Council

*October, 2010*

As the President of the Human Rights Council, I would like to express my deepest and heartfelt condolence for the demise of Professor Arjun Sengupta, the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the Open-ended Working Group on the Right to Development.

As an ardent advocate and authority in the field of right to development, Professor Sengupta’s demise is truly a great loss not

only for the human rights community but the global community as whole. His profound expertise, tireless efforts and genuine commitment will always be remembered and greatly appreciated by all of us – government delegations, the secretariat, as well as non-governmental and civil society representatives that he so much enjoyed interacting with.

Yours sincerely

Sahasak Phuangketkeow

President of the Human Rights Council

### **From the Office of the United Nations Development Program**

*September 30, 2010*

All of us are very saddened by your husband's untimely demise. It is a great loss for all people committed to development and to giving poor people the opportunities they deserve. He was a firm believer in a principled human rights based approach to development and steered economic and social policies innovatively to engender progress. Arjun consistently strived to find solutions to development challenges at home in India, as well as globally, and was an untiring advocate for policies and programmes that focused on asserting human rights and improving the quality of life and opportunities for the poor and disadvantaged. Arjun, over the course of an impressive academic and political career, was a central contributor to many initiatives and programmes in India that have made a profound difference in the lives of millions.

As a member of the Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, his contributions in bringing people and complex ideas together and forging prudent solutions that underscored human rights while ensuring the ability of the poor to exercise such rights, was truly valuable. Arjun diligently persisted and

successfully persuaded the Commission that successful empowerment of the poor demands strong bottom-up coalitions that are supported by legal reforms around property, business and labour rights and centred on targeted social and economic policies. Any one of these approaches in isolation would not do, he argued. It is to his credit that this is a recurring theme in the report of the Commission "Making the Law Work for Everyone".

We, who were lucky to work with Arjun over the course of this Commission, including UNDP as its host organization are translating his inspiration to empower the poor people with rights into practice and building inclusive legal and policy environments.

Arjun's soft spoken and diplomatic style, his warmth and disarming laugh which put people at ease will be truly missed. We are thankful that we had the opportunity to work with him, and we convey our most heartfelt sympathies and prayers to you and Madhura.

Warm regards,

Madeleine Albright (Co-Chair)

Hernando de Soto (Co-Chair)

### **Arjun Sengupta: A Tribute**

*Seminar, November 2010*

#### **Dr. K P Kannan**

Arjun Sengupta, aged 73, academic, bureaucrat, diplomat and parliamentarian, passed away on Sunday the 26<sup>th</sup> of September 2010 in New Delhi. While he had many hats to wear - and he wore them with remarkable ease and grace - I knew him closely only during the last six to seven years since 2004. He had then just been appointed by the Prime Minister as the Chairman of the newly constituted National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector. Towards the end

of 2004, I joined him as a full time Member on being nominated to that post by the government. While working with him in the Commission, he once told me that he was taunted by some of his eminent friends when they referred to him as the head of a commission to look after 'prostitutes, beggars and peddlers of all sorts of things'. How true! Because we later found out that 92 percent of India's workforce of 457 million (in 2005) were informal workers without any employment or social security worth the salt. And 80 percent of them belonged to what we categorised as 'poor and vulnerable' households who did not have more than Rs.20 per capita per day to spend on their daily requirements. It is this single statistic which caught the imagination of the public and led to much debate, within and outside the Parliament, on the meaning of India's no doubt shining growth path.

Behind this single statistic lay a great deal of detailed work that sought to unravel the world of India's informal economy that is so pervasive from the point of the *Aam Aadmi* and their livelihood struggles. Arjun Sengupta gave great intellectual and organisational leadership to this vast body of work which the Commission undertook resulting in the submission of ten major reports including the final synthesis titled *The Challenge of Employment in India: An Informal Economy Perspective*. Working closely with him on a daily basis, I could see the academic in him coming out sharply questioning every stage of our analysis before the conclusions were finally accepted. More often than not, he would play the 'Devil's Advocate' just to make sure we were on right track. Once the conclusions are finalized, he had no hesitation in going public and defending it with his characteristic persuasive style. But he was not content to play the role of an academic in the Commission. He was a policy maker par excellence. And he would push for specific policy prescriptions for incorporation in the

reports. But he was also keen to ensure that such policy prescriptions on a variety of issues given to us in the form of Terms of Reference are internally consistent. And thus we came up with a policy framework that we called a 'strategy of levelling up'. This addressed the foundational issue of creating a 'social floor' to the working poor constitutive of basic and contingent social security, a national minimum wage and minimum conditions of work. Secondly, it addressed the task of promoting micro and small industries with particular focus on upgrading and developing the vast numbers of existing clusters of industries and later converting them into 'growth pole's. Thirdly, the Commission addressed the plight of small and marginal farmers and was surprised to find that there is hardly any major programme or scheme focusing on this segment of the population constituting 84 percent of all farmers and close to half the operational land holdings. Fourthly, the enormous deficit in skill upgradation and development and access to technology for the small producers received special attention. Fifthly, access to credit was found to be one of the major constraints and the declining share of net aggregate bank credit to the small sector was a matter of great concern. All these led to specific proposals such as the need for a National Minimum Social Security with a dedicated and empowered body, the creation of a National Fund for the Unorganized Sector, an empowered body for skill development, to mention only a few major ones.

I mention all these things here to emphasize the contribution and the leadership of Arjun Sengupta. While some of the recommendations were taken up for partial or part implementation, he was disappointed – as many of us were – by the absence of an appreciation of the overall logic and the need for an integrated approach that we believed would lead to a

more equitable and broad-based growth process contributing to, among other things, much needed social cohesion and solidarity. This is because our work led us to an uncomfortable finding that there is a social dimension to the problems faced by the informal economy rooted in the hierarchical structure of our society.

While Arjun Sengupta had spent a good part of his career advising the government on matters relating to finance, trade and commerce and diplomacy, he later chose to work in the area of human rights. He made significant contributions as Rapporteur to the UN Commission on Human Rights that also led to a series of scholarly papers on the Right to Development on which he became a sort of champion during the last decade of his life. I see here an organic connection with his interest in right to development and the special interest he took in formulating a developmental strategy for the informal economy in our country.



At a personal level, his achievements were quite remarkable. Having earned a PhD in Economics from the renowned Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the early sixties, he proceeded to teach at the London School of Economics and Politics and later joined the Delhi School of Economics until 1971 when he was lured (as he once told me) by the late P.N. Haksar to work for the Government of India. He worked as an economic adviser

in the PMO under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and subsequently took up several assignments including India's Executive Director to the IMF, Ambassador of India to the European Union and Member Secretary of the Indian Planning Commission. But the 'academic bug' in him continued to be at work when he took breaks to teach at Oxford and later, after retirement from government service, as Professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Honorary Professor at the University of Harvard and the University of Oslo. In August 2005, he was elected to the Rajya Sabha and served in many parliamentary committees. At the time of his death, he was also chairman of three academic institutions namely, the Institute of Economic Growth, Institute for Studies in Industrial Development, and Research and Information System for Developing Countries, all located in New Delhi.

I feel a void in the passing away of Arjun Sengupta since he was one of the few who sought to address the concerns of India's working poor, otherwise known as *Aam Aadmi*, with specific policy proposals. He is survived by his wife Jayshree, and daughter, Mitu.

*K.P. Kannan is Professorial Fellow at Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram and former Member of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector*

### Condolence message

*From Condolence Meeting held at the Institute of Economic Growth on October 15, 2010*

#### **Dr. Bina Agarwal**

We are gathered here on a very sad occasion in memory of Prof. Arjun Sengupta who passed away on Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> September. On that day we lost the Chairman of our Board of Governors and

India lost an eminent economist, policy maker and public intellectual. He was 73 years old.

Prof. Sengupta had a very distinguished academic record. He wore many hats indicative of his diverse talents and interests. He completed his doctorate in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and taught at the London School of Economics before returning to India to teach at the Delhi School of Economics. In the mid -1960s, he also spent a year with the Institute of Economic Growth. At various points in his career, Sengupta held distinguished positions at several universities, including as Professor International Economic Organization at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi; as adjunct Professor of Development and Human Rights in the Faculty of Public Health, Harvard University; as a Visiting Fellow at Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford; and as Visiting Professor at The Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

As a policy maker and bureaucrat, he served as Special Secretary (Economic Advisor) to Prime Minister India Gandhi during 1981-84. He also worked with the International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C. as Executive Director for India, Bangladesh and Bhutan, and as Special Advisor to the Managing Director during 1985-90. In 1990-93, he was the Indian Ambassador to the European Union. And during 1993-98 he served as member and Member Secretary of the Planning Commission.

In recent years, Arjun Sengupta focused specially on issues of human rights, poverty and the situation of the most disadvantaged – concern he had held for a long time. He was an Independent Expert on the Right to Development and later on Human Rights and Extreme Poverty with the Human Rights Commission, Geneva.

In 2004, he was appointed Chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized and Informal Sector, Government of India. The Commission's voluminous report is one of the most comprehensive documents on the condition of unorganized workers in India. Its recommendations on social security led to the enactment of the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008.

In August 2005, Prof. Sengupta was elected to the Rajya Sabha. He served on several important committees, including the Committee on External Affairs, the Committee on Labour, and the Committee on Public Undertakings. Apart from being chairman of the IEG, he also served as Chairman/President of several academic institutions, including the Institute for Studies in Industrial Development and Research and Information Systems.

Although many are familiar with his political and administrative profile, fewer people know that he was also a prolific writer and authored several articles and books, including *Aid and Development Policy in the 1990s*; *Reflections on the Right to Development*; *Reforms, Equity and the IMF – An Economist's World*; and *International Financial Cooperation: Framework of Change* (co-authored with Frances Steward). His most recent paper, "Toward a campaign for the Right to Employment", has just been published in the *Journal of Labour Economics*.

I personally interacted with him in several capacities, both as Director of IEG and prior to that as a contributor to a volume he was co-editing with two others at Harvard on the economic aspects of human rights. At the workshop at Harvard where the papers for the book were first presented, I could not but note his appetite for two things: intellectual debate and chocolate chip cookies. In my interaction with him as Director, although he was

quite ill over the last year, he always appeared cheerful, and made rather little of his illness. It takes courage and inner strength to continue with life as usual. Prof. Sengupta came from a distinguished family of intellectuals and professionals, many of whom were present on the 26<sup>th</sup>.

We feel deeply for Mrs. Jayshree Sengupta and his daughter Madhura Sengupta who teaches in Canada. They are both present with us today. Our deepest condolences to them both on behalf of myself and the faculty and staff of the IEG.

*Dr. Bina Agarwal is the Director, IEG*

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### Condolence message

*From Condolence Meeting held at the Institute of Economic Growth on October 15, 2010*

**Dr. K.C. Seal**



We have gathered here to mourn the untimely death of Prof. Arjun K. Sengupta on September 26, 2010.

I was shocked to get this news from Director, IEG on 27<sup>th</sup> September morning. I was not aware of the fact that he had been critically ill just for a few days before 26<sup>th</sup> Sept.

I met Prof. Sengupta for the first time in Bangkok way back in the late 1960's. He

was then a bright young Economist working in the Delhi School of Economics. He had come to Bangkok to attend a Regional Conference of ECAFE (now ESCAP) as a part of the Indian Delegation attending to the ECAFE Conference. That was perhaps the only period when I had an opportunity to have some in-depth personal discussions on several economic and statistical matters which were of our common interest. After my return to India from my international assignment, I met him briefly on several occasions while attending important meetings and social gatherings held in Delhi. My closer contact with him started again when he took up the Chairmanship of the Board of Governors of IEG. It is very unfortunate that he has left us suddenly without completing the important tasks in hand.

I found him very open in discussions on any socio-economic matters with any person who met him either formally or informally in meeting. He listened intently to others' comments and suggestions, despite his own strong convictions on the concerned topic. He was amiable and very polite in his dealings with others. It will be quite difficult for IEG to find out a suitable replacement for him.

I offer my respectful homage to this eminent personality.

May his departed soul rest in peace!

*Dr. KC Seal is Member, Board of Governor, Institute of Economic Growth*

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## Condolence message

*From Condolence Meeting held at the Institute of Economic Growth on October 15, 2010*

### Dr. P. C. Joshi

It is difficult for me to believe that Arjun Sengupta is no more—he who until recently was very much alive, active and productive and capable of engaging one in a fruitful exchange on matters of common concern. It must be the same for his near and dear ones, his close colleagues and co-workers and his students from the Delhi School days with whom he kept contact.

From the day of our first encounter in 1964 when he joined the Institute of Economic Growth and occupied a room next to mine, I discerned in him a kindred soul sharing common ideals, dreams, concerns and interests. We struck a bond which survived the passage of time despite long silences and lack of contact due to his official preoccupations or foreign assignments.

Our interaction became quite frequent in the last phase of his life not only because of our common anxiety about the national situation but also because of the serious ailment from which we both suffered. But before his ailment became life-threatening and sapped his vitality, we found in our discussions about national affairs and social concerns, the best way of affirming our will to live, and live productively. His efforts to remain productively engaged till the last, gave me immense spiritual strength to do the same. The body may fail but the spirit must not yield - that seemed to be the unspoken motto. Even when he is no more, his exemplary courage continues to inspire me and helps me to carry on.

I also wish to share three episodes from his

life which are of personal significance.

In 1964, Jawaharlal Nehru passed into history. What after Nehru? What happens to the Nehruite project of “crossing the barrier of poverty”? What happens to Nehru’s dream of building a “Just Society through Just Means”? Arjun and I had animated discussions about these questions at the IEG, in office, at my residence and at his staff quarters. This resulted in a public discourse. Arjun wrote a piece on “Nehru and Indian Socialism” for *Mainstream* in 1965 expressing his concerns, his assessment of the positive and negative aspects of Nehru’s legacy, and the task facing progressive sections in the post-Nehru era. I wrote a comment on it entitled “Nehru Legacy for Socialism”. I think Arjun’s later life, and work, first as a part of Indira Gandhi’s team at the PMO, and in the post-Nehru era in other positions, including as Chairman of the Commission for the Unorganized Sector, bear the impact of his outlook. The concern for an Indian path of development with social justice expressed in this *Mainstream* paper provides a key to his basic approach and thinking.

Arjun was also trying to draw others in to this grand strategy. During the 1980’s when Indira Gandhi was exploring how to harness the vast potential of the new Communication Revolution for a new strategy for mass economic uplift, mass education and information dissemination, her advisers proposed the setting up of a Commission for this task. My name was suggested as the Chairman of this Commission. Sensing my reluctance to accept this assignment, Arjun made me aware of the important role that social scientists and educationists could play in meeting this challenge. Arjun insisted that Communication must not be left only to communicators. Otherwise the gains will be appropriated by a privileged few. I

accepted the task of mobilizing enlightened public opinion for a new communication system favourable to the needs of the masses.

Arjun's initiatives acquired a new significance in the post-Nehru and post-Indira Gandhi era when the balance of the development process had shifted decisively against the have-nots.

I would also like to remind the IEG faculty members that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Address as Chief Guest to the Silver Jubilee Inaugural Session of the IEG was drafted by Arjun Sen Gupta. He was then a member of Indira's team at the PMO. The address was certainly revised by Indira Gandhi and given a political thrust, but the core pertaining to economic strategy for the upliftment of the downtrodden in a plan of rapid economic growth remained intact. That core was Arjun's contribution.

Arjun needs to be remembered today for both the 'courage of conviction' and the 'courage of dissent' that he displayed silently, but very firmly.

*Dr. PC Joshi was a professor at Institute of Economic Growth*

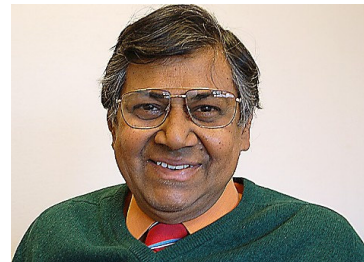
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## SUM CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

*Published on SUM website, October 4, 2010*

**Dr. Dan Banik, Dr. Bård Anders Andreassen and Maren Aase**

*Professor Arjun K. Sengupta, a core member of HUREP and a Visiting Professor at SUM, passed away recently in New Delhi. He was 73. Arjun was a pioneer in the field of human rights and development and we have fond memories of our long collaboration with him*



**Photo: Geir Ove Fonn**

Arjun Sengupta was a renowned development economist, a noteworthy development thinker, a dynamic politician and a warm human being. He served, among numerous other appointments, as a

special secretary to former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, ambassador of India to the EU, member of the Planning Commission, member of the Indian Parliament, Director at the International Monetary Fund, UN Independent Expert on the Right to Development, UN Independent Expert on Human Rights and Extreme Poverty, Director of the Centre for Development and Human Rights in New Delhi, member of the UNDP Commission on Legal

Empowerment of the Poor and chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector in India.

Arjun Sengupta possessed a rare combination of strong intellect, infectious

enthusiasm and humour and genuine concern for the wellbeing of people living in poverty. In Norway, Arjun has been a towering source of inspiration to researchers and students at the University of Oslo and to practitioners in Norwegian development cooperation. At SUM, we especially treasure our memories of him in connection with his visiting professor position in the period 2007-2009, where he worked closely with the [Human Rights and Extreme Poverty \(HUREP\) project](#). During his numerous visits together with his wife Jayshree, Arjun enlightened our work through interesting public lectures and sharp research guidance. Our thoughts are with Jayshree, their daughter Mitu and all who worked closely with him. We miss him.

**Tags:** [HUREP](#), [Poverty and Development](#), [Frontpage](#)

*Dr. Dan Banik, Dr. Bård Anders Andreassen and Maren Aase are respectively Associate Professor and Research Director at SUM; Research Fellow, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights and Research Fellow at SUM*

## **The Informal Economy and the Legacy of Arjun Sengupta**

**Dr. Gerry Rodgers and Dr. Alakh N. Sharma**

In April 2009, the National Commission on Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector presented its final report, concluding a series of nine substantive reports. The National Commission was the brainchild of Professor Arjun Sengupta, who sadly passed away on September 26, 2010. He and the members of the Commission have made a major contribution to thinking about the nature of India's development path and how to make sure that it benefits all.

The vast majority of work in India is *informal* – carried out by the self-employed and wage workers in small, unorganized firms, farms and household enterprises; and by unprotected and casual workers in the organized sector. The former is by far the largest category – 86% of all employment in India. But informal work in the organized sector also accounts for 29 million workers, or about 46% of the total employment of organised sector. For many years to come, the majority of Indian workers will make their living in the informal economy. So the informal economy needs to be addressed directly in any national development strategy.

Under Arjun Sengupta's chairmanship, the Commission did several things which were distinctive.

- First of all, it looked in unusual depth at the nature of work and livelihoods among different groups of workers, men and women, the types of enterprise where they
- work, their security and protection, whether they are self-employed, in regular wage employment or in casual work.
- Second, it considered not only the volume of employment but also the conditions under which it is done. In India, employment levels are high, but much employment is in reality underemployment and the quality and the productivity of most jobs are low, while the majority of workers are insecure and vulnerable to discrimination and poverty. The Commission looked for ways to address these problems.
- Third, it developed a wide-ranging, integrated approach which cut across some of the usual policy divides. In particular, it connected employment promotion with growth strategy. Employment creation, the Commission argued,

should not be an add-on but should be embedded in the growth model itself.

In a workshop organized earlier this year by the Institute for Human Development (IHD) in collaboration with ICSSR and ILO, the work of the NCEUS was scrutinized by participants from academia, civil society and government. There was a widespread view among participants that the Commission had produced many valuable ideas and recommendations, and that its influence on policy debate and implementation needed to be strengthened. Some of the Commission's recommendations had been adopted by the government ministries concerned, in the spheres of credit, social security and promotion of livelihoods. But, much remained to be done.

The Commission's approach was to gradually formalize the informal economy by building a realistic legislative and institutional framework, and putting in place policies to upgrade skills, technology and market capability. This was to be integrated into a rights-based strategy to promote decent employment, an approach which was at the heart of Arjun Sengupta's vision. The Commission put considerable emphasis on improving working conditions and delivering social protection for vulnerable and poor workers, summed up as the creation of a social floor, below which no-one should fall. And while better organization of both informal enterprises and workers would help achieve this goal (and trade unions and business associations could make important contributions), the state had to play a central role.

In creating and guiding the National Commission, Arjun Sengupta changed the terms of debate on development policy, by giving a more concrete and operational form to inclusive development. He has left us, but the work of the NCEUS remains as

an important part of his legacy, for which policy makers, researchers and the poor of India must be grateful.

*Dr. Gerry Rodgers and Dr. Alakh N. Sharma are respectively Visiting Professor and Director, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi*

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## **A tribute to My Dear Friend, Colleague and Mentor, Arjun Sengupta**

**Dr. Margot Salomon**

It is not for me to speculate on why Arjun saw fit to bestow upon me the wealth of his intellect, dedication and friendship, but I am immeasurably richer for having had my time with him. We spent several years together engaging in common pursuits, and through our shared endeavours he taught me so much.

As a PhD student he helped bring my early ideas on human rights and economic justice to fruition. He loved to discuss, debate and tirelessly evaluate all that mattered in our world of theories and in our search for solutions to injustice. I learned so much from him about my subject but perhaps more importantly, about my potential. He was among the first to instil in me an appreciation that my ideas had merit, that I had something to say worth sharing, and that those contributions were so valuable that I should pursue them at all cost. He eliminated the self-doubt of a young academic and replaced that human emotion with a sense of endless possibility.

As the sophistication of my thinking and arguments grew, he would encourage me to give them voice where they might have impact – in publications, at the UN, among diplomats, scholars and policy-makers. And he would watch from his vantage point on podiums reserved for high-level appointees, ready to defend them

alongside me if need be and against their detractors. In short, he facilitated my courage and then ensured I had a reliable ally when the going got tough among those with vested interests who would have preferred to see progressive ideals stifled.

To mark his life, there are many who will rightly write and speak of his varied professional contributions at home and abroad, but today, in my sadness, I would prefer to write of a smaller but no less significant achievement: that which comes from human connection. Years of exchange, collaboration and friendship cemented a fondness and love that can only make his passing a deeply personal and heart-breaking event. My circle of people has narrowed; my world has become less safe. Life and its opportunities led to us seeing less of each other in recent years, but it was enough to know that he was around and that I would see him again sometime. It was just good to know that he was there, wherever there was. I will always be grateful for having known Arjun and for the mere fact that he cared enough to know me as he did.

To my dear and irreplaceable friend and colleague Arjun, I thank you. May your soul rest in peace.

With love and friendship, always,

Margot Salomon

*Margot E Salomon, PhD  
Centre for the Study of Human Rights  
London School of Economics*

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## **Farewell, Dear Friend**

### **Professor Rehman Sobham**

Arjun's departure is a deep personal loss for me and my family. We have been friends for over forty years. We

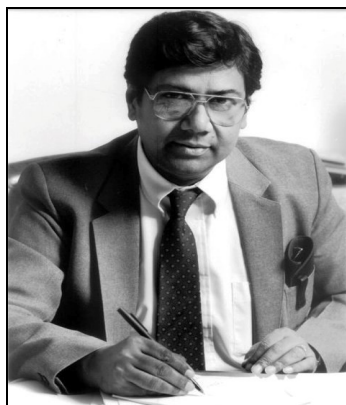
shared a belief in progressive ideas designed to build a more just world. As an academic who graduated from the academic to the real world, Arjun was compelled to be more pragmatic and sceptical about ideologically inspired positions but he remained to the end committed to the concerns of the exploited and excluded as evidenced by his epic work on the unorganized sector.

A less known part of Arjun's professional life was his connections with Bangladesh, his ancestral home. His close friendship with some of us including the late Prof. Razaq and Prof. Mosharraf Hussain, evolved into a deep commitment to the emergence and sustainability of an independent Bangladesh. He and Jayshree briefly hosted me in 1971 when I was campaigning for Bangladesh across the world wearing Arjun's tweed coat which still hangs in my closet in Dhaka as a memento of our shared enterprise. After our liberation, I persuaded P.N.Haksar to send Arjun who was then teaching at the Delhi School of Economics as an Economic Minister in the newly established Indian High Commission in Dhaka. There, Arjun served as a genuine friend of Bangladesh and worked closely with us in the Planning Commission to lay the foundations of a more equitable and balanced economic relationship between India and Bangladesh. The incapacity of subsequent governments to build on this strong foundation cost us dearly. The long term outcome of Arjun's move from Delhi to Dhaka was his lifelong engagement with the world of policy and government. His political intelligence and strong sense of the possible held promise that India may have lost not just a loyal and skilled servant but a person

who could have served the nation at a higher level in giving substance to the rhetoric of inclusive growth.

*Professor Rehman Sobham is the Chairman, Centre for Policy Dialogue, Dhaka*

### Our Tribute



The Centre for Development and Human Rights (CDHR), which Prof. Sengupta set up during his tenure as an Independent Expert to the United Nations on the *right to development*, was a project that he held very close to his heart – a sapling that he fondly nurtured till his last days. The central mandate of CDHR was to promote research on aspects relating to the *right to development*, a concept albeit in a state of definitional fluidity internationally, has incontrovertibly acquired substantial clarity from the reports which Prof. Sengupta wrote in his capacity as an Independent Expert.

In fact when we decided to join CDHR, some of us were a bit nervous thinking whether we would be able to fit into an institution which we hardly knew about, except that the Chairperson was a brilliant scholar, academician, and policymaker but in no time he put us at ease and endeared us with his warm embrace. Quite intriguingly, the first task that Prof. Sengupta used to assign to any researcher who expressed his or her willingness to join CDHR was to review his first three reports as independent expert. However,

before even glancing through those reviews, the foremost question that he often asked was- ‘Are you sufficiently excited about *right to development*?’ His intention was crystal clear. It was not just to acclimatise us with *development* as a notion largely digressed from what we have read in our college or university text books, but to gauge our true interests and readiness to foray into a vastly untapped domain.

The thriving researchers from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, who were brought together by Prof. Sengupta at CDHR, will readily vouch for the fact that ‘democracy’ was the central governing principle of the organization. We cherish especially the Saturday 3.00 pm which was the usual allotted slot for discussion and exchange of thoughts, official or otherwise. While he would formally preside over Saturday afternoon meetings, he never let this or his experiences overshadow the ground rules of open discussions and debates. In fact he quickly realised that some of us were argumentative and a bit head-strong when it came to pursuing our individual research agenda. But he could easily manage to placate those traits by providing constant encouragement for independent thoughts. He was always game to hear views contrary to his own, often egging on a debate or fanning a controversy with an indulgent smile on his lips in the hope of exploring new ideas and thoughts. To outsiders – visiting academics and scholars from across the world – he would present with visible pride his ‘young team’ of researchers. His relaxed and simple manner coupled with a ready sense of humour made it all the more easy to bridge the age-gap between the ‘young-at-heart’ Chairperson and his ‘young team’.

The three workshops on *right to development* that we organised along with FXB Center, University of Harvard, gave us a plethora of opportunities to observe

him more closely as a mentor, a true leader and a wonderful human being. As outcomes of these workshops, CDHR brought out two pioneering studies – *A Primer on the Right to Development*, which was the first of its kind, and an edited volume entitled *Reflections on Right to Development*. These were later followed up with a regular bulletin entitled *Rights and Development*.

We, the members of initial core team of thriving researchers in CDHR, subsequently moved on to other institutions of academics and research. But the deeply entrenched academic inclinations in the area of development and human rights that most of us carry in our respective work areas is entirely attributable to his vision, his profound knowledge of and infectious enthusiasm for the subject. We would only be successful in our endeavour to offer our best tribute to him if we continue to carry the flame of his unconventional thoughts and ideas in a sustained manner and ensure that his vision of development as a human right takes the centre stage of international discourse on human development.

*Kaushik Ranjan Bandyopadhyay, Archana Negi, Moushumi Basu, Anit Mukherjee and Reji K Joseph were Research Associates at Centre for Development and Human Rights*

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You may also visit the following links to see video clips from Arjun Sengupta's interviews and talks:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QBZirQPNzDU> (as 'Truth Commissioner' travelling the US)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gVgIt-KIUwo> (on Extreme Poverty: UN Webcast)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cvy1hqWvAD0> (Report to Human Rights Council).

*Memorial Service of Dr. Arjun Sengupta held on 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 2010*



## Obituary from The Hindu

September 28, 2010

The body of Arjun K. Sengupta, a developmental economist of repute and Rajya Sabha member from West Bengal, was cremated at the Lodhi Crematorium here on Monday. He was 73.

Dr. Sengupta, who died on Sunday evening at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences after a brief illness, is survived by his wife Jayshree and daughter Madhura.

Born in Kolkata on June 10, 1937, Dr. Sengupta finished high school at the Mitra Institution, Bhowanipur, graduated from the Presidency College, did his master's in economics in the University of Calcutta, and obtained a doctorate in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He went on to have a distinguished and multifaceted career as academician, economic policy administrator, bureaucrat, diplomat and parliamentarian.

After teaching stints at the London School of Economics and the Delhi School of Economics, Dr. Sengupta served as Special Secretary (Economic Advisor) to Prime Minister India Gandhi (1981-84), as Executive Director and Special Advisor to the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (1985-90), as India's Ambassador to the European Union (1990-93). He was a Member and Member-Secretary of the Planning Commission (with Minister of State rank) from 1993 to 1998. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in August 2005.

As Chairman of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector in 2004, Dr. Sengupta's most important contribution was the initiation of the government's ongoing struggle for more

inclusive development and welfare of the downtrodden and the marginalised.

Analysing National Sample Survey data in its voluminous report, the commission highlighted that 836 million Indians still remained marginalised, and Dr. Sengupta argued that maximisation of profits should not be the sole objective of economic growth.

The report pointed out that though enormous funds had been allocated and spent on social development programmes, the benefits largely bypassed the poorest of poor. It suggested designing special schemes for these vulnerable sections through better targeting and social engineering.

The commission's recommendations on social security resulted in the enactment of the Unorganised Workers Social Security Act, 2008.

Recalling Dr. Sengupta's contribution to identifying the cross-linkages between extreme poverty and the downtrodden, C. Rangarajan, Chairman of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, said: "He had a good understanding of social problems and was deeply involved in finding solutions for people at the bottom of the population pile."

*Obituaries for Dr. Arjun Sengupta appeared in dozens of papers across India, including the Hindustan Times, the Indian Express, Business Standard and the Hindu. The CDHR team and Dr. Sengupta's family would like to thank the editors of all of these papers for their spontaneous, unsolicited and well-worded tributes. Since space did not permit the inclusion of all of these tributes in this special issue, the CDHR team randomly selected the obituary from the Hindu for publication.*



The Centre for Development and Human Rights (CDHR) is, a research organisation based in New Delhi and is dedicated to bringing theoretical clarity to the concept of Right to Development by integrating the academic disciplines of law, economics, international co-operation and philosophy.

The Centre is involved in:

- Raising national and international awareness that the Right to Development is a human right.
- Networking with NGOs working on various aspects of development and human rights.
- Examining implications of integrating a human rights perspective into existing development programmes.
- Undertaking research both independently and in collaboration with other institutions.
- Publishing monographs, reports and papers on development, public policy and human rights.
- Organising seminars and workshops on aspects of development, public policy and human rights.

### Members

**Rohit Sarkar**  
Special Consultant, Planning Commission

**Pronab Sen**  
Chief Statistician of India and Secretary  
Ministry of Statistics and Programme  
Implementation  
and Vice- Chairman, CDHR

**Pulin Nayak**  
Professor, Delhi School of Economics

**Amitabh Mattoo**  
Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University

**Kanti Bajpai**  
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**N.J. Kurian**  
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**S.P. Pal**  
Former Adviser, Planning Commission

**Jayshree Sengupta**  
Visiting Research Fellow, Observer Research  
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University

**Professor Stephen Marks**  
Harvard School of Public Health,  
Harvard University

**Professor George Waardenburg**  
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Rotterdam

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