

Dockets the Supreme Court forgot

Judges are compelled to decide cases applying laws whose validity is under challenge



OUT OF COURT

M J ANTONY

We have all heard about obsolete laws that the government occasionally weeds out. Two gems: According to the Aircraft Act 1934, you need a licence to fly kites. The India Treasure Trove Act, 1878 defines treasure as “anything of any value hid-

den in the soil” and worth ₹10. Despite the government’s efforts, many such vintage laws still survive. However, as they remain only on paper, like several new laws, they are comparatively harmless in contrast to the constitutional questions waiting for final answers from the Supreme Court. These cases of yore contain serious issues. Keeping them in suspended animation tends to distort law, lead to wrong orders and sinned citizens.

One glaring revelation was made in a judgment of the Supreme Court delivered a few weeks ago. The validity of Article 31-C of the Constitution was vital to decide a large batch of appeals against a judgment of the Punjab and Haryana high court in land acquisition matters. However, the court has not decided whether the provision survives after it was struck down in 1981 (‘Minerva Mills case’). The question was hanging fire

since 1996. One bench referred the issue to a five-judge Constitution bench, which in turn sent it to a seven-judge bench and that bench again passed on the burden to a nine-judge bench. The issue involves the interplay of fundamental right to property and the directive principle of state policy (“material resources of the state”). It comes up in various courts, repeatedly.

In the present case, *Union of India vs Tarsem Singh*, when the court was confronted with the application of Article 31-C, it did not have any rule to go by as the validity of the provision had not been decided for decades. The judges wrote that “we will assume for the purpose of this case that Article 31-C, as originally enacted, continues to exist and that the ‘material resources of the community’ would include private property as well”. In how many more cases the judges extricated themselves from such predicaments through “assumptions” is anyone’s guess. But the plight of the litigants who lose their cases because of court’s indecision is much worse.

This is only about one provision. The number of such cases consigned to prolonged limbo would induce shock and awe. There are some 250 cases waiting to be decided by constitution benches of five judges. Some of them were ready for final hearing since 1992. There are 11 cases referred to benches of seven judges. More than 130 cases have to be decided by benches consisting of nine judges. Even if a constitution bench sits permanently to dispose of these cases, it would take years to clear the dockets.

The subjects of these cases cover almost every aspect of national life, especially finance and economics. The government is now readying a labour code, but the definition of ‘industry’ in

the Industrial Disputes Act is still to be decided. How many workers lost or won their cases and what the judges ‘assumed’ to be the law is beyond imagination. At present 520 labour cases are before the court. Similarly, there are more than 3,000 direct tax matters and 520 indirect tax appeals. Many of them will have to depend upon the interpretation of respective laws which are before constitution benches that never assemble. Chief justices in the past had given priority to politically sensitive matters and ignored economic cases, contributing to the general belief that judiciary is one of the obstacles to do business in this country. The inertia of the Supreme Court affects decisions of all the courts below.

The Supreme Court is happily at a comparatively calmer period in its history, at least on the surface. The past months saw turmoil of varied hues which have apparently subsided. There was also a shortage of judges. The new Chief Justice, who has a tenure of 17 months, can take up and dust the old constitution bench cases. If he sets the ball rolling, it will set a procedural precedent for many years to come.

CHINESE WHISPERS

Warrior of lost causes

Savitribai Phule, who had quit the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to join the Congress amid much fanfare in the run-up to the 2019 Lok Sabha polls, is disenchanted with the workings of her new party. The Congress had fielded Phule from the Bahraich parliamentary constituency in Uttar Pradesh, but she failed to retain her seat and lost to the BJP nominee. With the Congress in the process of overhauling the state unit, which has resulted in the expulsion of 10 senior leaders, there is precious little for the self-proclaimed Dalit leader in the moribund state unit. To keep herself politically relevant, Phule has decided to launch an agitation on issues that might have just passed their sell-by date — reservation and electronic voting machines.

Murmu joins; Jahan doesn't



The Bharatiya Janata Party's Khagen Murmu, a member of Parliament (MP), on Tuesday joined Opposition MPs by mistake. MPs of the Congress,

the Trinamool Congress, and other Opposition parties boycotted the function to mark the 70th Constitution Day in the Central Hall of Parliament on Tuesday. Instead, they protested the “murder of democracy” at the feet of the statue of B R Ambedkar, the architect of the Constitution, on the Parliament premises. As Congress President Sonia Gandhi (pictured) led the MPs in raising slogans and reading from the Constitution, Murmu joined the group. He thought the MPs had gathered there to pay their tribute to Ambedkar. He left when he realised it was a protest by the Opposition. Murmu had crossed over to the BJP weeks before the 2019 Lok Sabha polls and won a seat. Trinamool MP Nusrat Jahan sat in the Central Hall, attending the function, oblivious that the rest of her party MPs had boycotted it and were protesting.

Pride and prejudice

A Lok Sabha MP of the YRS Congress Party (YSRCP) on Tuesday took a dig at former Andhra Pradesh chief minister Chandrababu Naidu, saying he called designers from Singapore to develop the master plan for state capital Amaravati. Participating in the discussion on the National Institute of Design (Amendment) Bill, 2019, Lavu S Krishna Devarayalu said “we have to take pride in our own designs and we want that to happen in India”, adding, “we do not want western people to come and show designs”. Objecting to Devarayalu’s comments, a TDP MP said the YSRCP had stopped all work for the state capital when projects worth almost ₹9,000 crore had been completed and those of another ₹50,000 crore were in different phases of completion. Another TDP MP wryly remarked Singapore was not in the “west”.

A question of trusts

With the income tax department cancelling Tata Trusts registration, the first of a two-part article examines the flaws in the laws governing charitable trusts



J N GUPTA

Headlines such as “Income Tax department cancels registration of Tata Trusts”, “How the Tax Department cancelled Tata Trusts Registration” make one wonder why form has overpowered substance in our tax system, despite a slew of fast-paced reforms to make it progressive and assessee-friendly. Is the law a servant of logic or its master?

The fundamental question that needs to be asked is whether the law should be enforced if it comes to contradict logic. Every law when enacted has a mother statement setting out the objective of law, which is the essence of law. The interpretation of provisions contained in the law must be in consonance with the object. Similarly, any interpretation against the object of the law must be struck down.

Changes in laws are made either as a result of the failed logic of the earlier laws or to address new developments in society. Hopefully, when the tax issue of Tata Trusts is decided by the judicial system, it will first seek an answer to the fundamental question: Why were the Tata trusts given tax exemption — or, for that matter, why is any charitable organisation given exemptions? Do the

trusts continue to follow their objective? If so, obviously substance must prevail over form.

Although one does not have benefit of perusing the Tata Trusts application and file notings based on which these trusts were given their tax-exempt status, the *prima facie* rationale appears to be this: As opposed to other entities where profit is appropriated by the owners or employees for their benefit, in case of such trusts, the profit is appropriated by the trust for the benefit of unrelated beneficiaries who do not have any ownership or pecuniary relationship with the trusts and are not involved in any decision-making.

The other reason is that such tax exemptions lead to higher disposable income in the hands of trusts, enhancing their philanthropic activities.

The two paramount factors that make any trust eligible for exemption is that the owners/trustees must not enrich themselves and employees are also not allowed to enrich themselves by drawing obnoxious remuneration, and the income must be used for charitable objectives. It is not and it cannot be the case that the law expects everyone to work *pro bono*.

The intent of this piece is to rationally examine the issues behind the present mess, which appears to be hurting the public good.

First, it is nobody’s case that tax exemption is the objective of the law. Therefore, as long as the prime objective is charity-oriented, tax exemption is a conscious decision of the authorities to boost the trusts’ disposable income. As a corollary, any change in law must keep up with the objective or intent behind the exemption and procedures should not and cannot

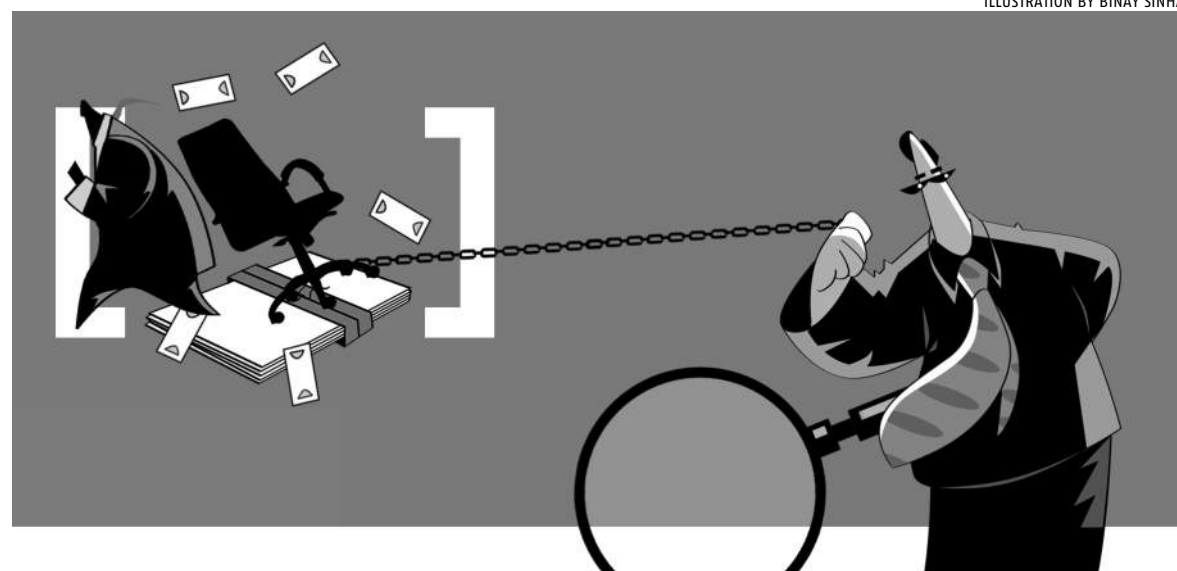


ILLUSTRATION BY BINAY SINHA

become the master and result in nullifying intent.

With this clarity, the first premise is that any change in law must ensure that the trusts and their activities must remain agnostic to changes in taxation laws; otherwise, one is hurting the original intent, which appears to be sacrosanct, given the public interest and public good element of charitable activities.

Issues or questions that trusts face largely relate to their investments, tax exemption, tax law changes and voluntary withdrawal by trusts of registration with tax authorities.

Investments by trust: Various restrictions are placed on trusts on where they can invest their surpluses. There is, however, no clarity as to why trusts are not free to invest their surplus in any manner trustees deem fit in the best interest of trust, as long as the

trustees are in compliance with provisions of trust deed. The only plausible reason appears to be that lawmakers feel that the prescribed investment avenues are less risky compared to investment in shares. It reflects the mindset of an era in which shares were treated as speculative investment. There is no logic to continue with such restrictions any more when trustees of the National Pension System are allowed to invest in shares, as do the provident fund authorities and the government itself. The intent of law may be good but such restrictions have outlived their utility. In fact, some permitted investment avenues are probably riskier. For instance, the law allows trusts to deposit money with cooperative banks. Given the serial failures of such institutions, should one still bat for such prescriptions? And why are

shares of only public sector companies and depositories allowed? Is this a quid pro quo for tax exemption that trusts should fund government companies? And in what way are private sector companies untouchables? With deposit insurance of ₹1 lakh should trusts having thousands of crores in bank fixed deposits risk its money? Who will bear the loss?

Therefore, there appears to be no logic for such restrictions. Ironically, while trusts can’t invest directly in shares, they are permitted to invest in mutual funds and units that have investments in shares? Can anyone explain this rationale? (**Tomorrow:** Why trust laws need a makeover)

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INNOCOLUMN

Debates about entrepreneurship & growth



R GOPALAKRISHNAN

Like persistent bacteria which linger in the gut, debates about facilitating business linger in the alimentary canal of the economy. Last week, I participated in two different panel discussions, one in Mumbai and another in Bengaluru. Several issues came up for discussion, though I have selected only five for this column.

First issue: There is a strong view among some promoters that independent directors should have skin in the game through ESOPs so that they are better aligned to value creation. “Skin in the game” is an expression that is attributed to Warren Buffet. The role of boards and independent directors (IDs) is explicit in Indian regulations. To ensure that directors provide disinterested oversight of management on behalf of shareholders, their independence from management is a sine qua non. Yet some business leaders and lawyers argue that IDs should have “a closer alignment with management” for value creation (*Skin in the game*, Nithya Narayanan and Manali Gogate, Journal on Governance, vol I, no 6, 2012). To others, this sounds a bit like Ms Gandhi’s committed judiciary. Anglo-Saxon countries like the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and Hong Kong count among countries that do not prohibit IDs receiving stock grants, but India does not have to adopt this

American practice. ESOPs for IDs is less prevalent in European countries because if IDs watch stock prices through self-interest, then their independence will be challenged and they will defeat their cardinal role as watchdogs. This is a crucial issue at a time when global business leaders are committing themselves to stakeholder interests rather than only shareholder interest.

Second issue: India Inc is over-regulated to the point that entrepreneurs are more preoccupied with compliances than running their business. My friends from pre-2000 Sebi say that has been a persistent complaint. If it is persistent, we should not ignore it and maybe we should ask what is over-regulation? Over-regulation occurs when the laws are not fit for purpose and when there is a capability asymmetry that is, when the capability to write new laws exceeds the capabilities to enforce. An example is while driving, Indian motorists do not stop at a pedestrian crossing because there is weak enforcement. GST returns — frequency and detail every month, then every quarter, then annually — is a mendacious expectation from small business with income of ₹1-2 crore. Regulators often do not distinguish between serious, impactful errors and harmless, minor errors in matters such as a director’s inadvertent insider-trading by a portfolio manager or technical breaches in pharma or food manufacturing.

Third issue: Business growth implies that disputes will occur. Our judicial system is so hopelessly inadequate to deal with business growth that it could undermine the confidence of a large investor to do business in India. So far, this aspect has not been called out as a retardant of economic growth. It will surely be so in the future. In ease-of-doing-business rankings, India is hopelessly lagging but who talks about it? I

have written about this in my recent book (*Doodles on Leadership*), so I will not repeat my points here.

Fourth issue: Getting a Deming quality award is very tough. After Japan, India has the largest number of Deming awardees. Winning is a miraculous accomplishment but greatly amplified when one considers the infrastructure around our factories and employees’ ways of living and travel. Changing employee mindsets in such an environment as we have is a huge challenge. Kudos to India Inc for attempting to create world-class companies in infrastructure-deficient environments.

Fifth issue: Our upcoming entrepreneurs play an important role in growing jobs and the economy. We must celebrate their accomplishments, but in a calibrated manner, must denounce their transgressions and find the right way to do both constructively. I worry about celebrating start-up founders excessively and too soon, well before they have earned any profit. We don’t want to replicate the likes of Adam Neumann (WeWork) and Baba Ramdev (Patanjali). If the media hype about valuation-based start-ups continues, many founders will go the way of pop artists. Just during the last week, we have read about the tragic consequences for ABCD actress, Lauren Gottlieb (aka Rhea), American Idol star Antonella Barba and K-pop star, Koo Hara.

These points of view need debate within chambers of commerce in the face of public assertions like “less government, more governance” and imagined leaps in “ease of doing business” rankings.

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LETTERS

Not as simple as it looks

This refers to “Who’s afraid of bank trade unions” (November 25). While I agree in principle that public sector banks (PSBs) must pay wages of its employees according to their individual financial positions but in reality the problem is not that simple. The PSBs are government-owned entities, have similar governance structures and are more or less managed along the same lines by finance ministry babus. They have recruitment, HR and IT policies that resemble each other. The way they treat their customers is the same. There operational costs are high and productivity is low as compared to their private counterparts. The position they find themselves in is a result of politically induced, management neglected, reckless lending in the last few years.

The bank employees had very little to do with this type of lending. So the question is how can one only separate the wage agreements and attempt to pay according to their individual ability to pay. The failure to comprehensively reform their governance and other structures makes them more or less resemble each other. You can’t rationally segregate one aspect of their existence and functioning to professionalise it and lead all other systems/structures unchanged. Also performance-linked incentives work well in organisations that have clear systems and standards to judge performance.

Arun Pasricha New Delhi

Address telcos’ concerns

This refers to “Telcos file review plea against AGR verdict” (November 23). As expected most of the incumbent telecom service providers (TSPs) barring Reliance Jio have submitted review petition against the AGR verdict pronounced by the Supreme Court. Though one can’t be sure of the



outcome, the success of the review petition depends on TSPs presenting new facts not presented during hearing of the case, which is quite unlikely. The Supreme Court must have taken all relevant points into account during the course of hearing of the case spread over many years. Any inclination of the apex court in giving some concessions over interest and penalty depends on the government’s willingness to accommodate the concerns of telcos in this regard.

TSPs have a legitimate point in seeking the concession on interest and penalty, primarily on two grounds — first, it took almost a decade and a half for the dispute to attain finality, and second, the tele-

com sector has significantly changed over the years with a few TSPs now facing existential crisis. However, the differing opinion of Reliance Jio on the issue would only complicate the matter. It would ultimately come down to the government — how far it is willing to go to accommodate the concerns expressed by TSPs.

Sanjeev Kumar Singh Jabalpur

Risking passenger safety

This refers to “Ground old A320neos for new ones: DGCA to Indigo” (November 25). It appears there is dilly-dallying on both sides: Indigo and Directorate General of Civil Aviation (DGCA). By asking Indigo to ground the faulty A320neos one by one, DGCA is giving a long rope to Indigo risking passenger safety in the sky and a potential disruption in domestic civil aviation. The writing on the wall is unambiguous. How can DGCA predict that the risk is not likely to materialise soon and can be leisurely dealt with? Unfortunately, there is near monopoly in this restricted market and the common citizen is happy to risk her life and disapprove disruptive regulatory action.

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