#### **Law Making Process in India**

#### **Executive Summary**

The elements of RIA need to be incorporated in the law making process, and therefore, review of the law making process is imperative for the purpose of effectively undertaking RIA. The below paragraphs outline a brief analysis of the general law making process in India. Further, the same is compared with law making procedure adopted under the DRT Act and the SARFAESI Act, on the basis of literature review and stakeholder consultation, to identify any lacunae in the law making procedure of the select legislations vis-à-vis the general law making process in India.

#### 1. Legislative Process in India

In India, the law making bodies are Parliament at the central level and Legislative Assemblies and Councils (wherever applicable) at the state level. Parliament consists of two Houses: the Lok Sabha, or "House of the People," and the Rajya Sabha, or "Council of States." The process of law making, in relation to Parliament, may be defined as the process by which a legislative proposal brought before it, and then is translated into the law of the land. It can be broadly divided into three stages / phases – Pre-legislative phase, Legislative phase and Postlegislative phase.

Pre-legislative phase comprises identification of need for a new law or an amendment to an existing legislation, drafting of the proposed law, seeking inputs / comments from different ministries and public, revision of the draft bill to incorporate such inputs, and getting the same vetted by the Law Ministry. It is then presented to the Cabinet for approval.<sup>1</sup>

The Government has issued a Pre-legislative Consultation Policy to ensure efficient pre-legislative scrutiny of a legislative proposal, in consultation with the stakeholders. It includes publishing/ placing in public domain<sup>2</sup>:

- the draft legislation or at least the information that may *inter alia* include brief justification for such legislation, essential elements of the proposed legislation, its broad financial implications, and an estimated assessment of the impact of such legislation on environment, fundamental rights, lives and livelihoods of the concerned/affected people, etc;
- an explanatory note explaining key legal provisions of the draft legislation or rules, in a simple language;
- summary of feedback/comments received from the public/other stakeholders.

In addition, the Department/Ministry concerned is also required to include a brief summary of the feedback received from stakeholders (including Government Departments and the public) along with its response in the note for the Cabinet along with the draft legislation. The summary of pre-legislative process is also required to be placed before the Department Related Parliamentary Standing Committee by the Department/Ministry concerned when the proposed legislation is brought to the Parliament and is referred to the Standing Committee.

After the Cabinet approves the Bill, it is introduced in the Parliament. On introduction of the Bill, the Minister of the concerned Department may send notice demonstrating the intention that the Bill may be moved, considered and passed; be referred to the Select Committee of

the House/ Joint Committee of both Houses or for eliciting public opinion. Once the Bill is taken for consideration, perusal must be made on clause-to-clause basis and the same may be accepted, amended or rejected. Subsequently, the House votes on the Bill with amendments, if any. If the Bill is passed in one House, it is then sent to the other House. In case of a deadlock between the two houses or in a case where more than six months lapse in the other house, the President may summon, though is not bound to, a joint session of the two houses which is presided over by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the deadlock is resolved by simple majority. Once the Bill is passed by both the Houses, a copy of the Bill is sent to Legislative Department of Ministry of Law and Justice for scrutiny. Post scrutiny by the Ministry of Law and Justice, it is presented to the President for assent. The President has the right to seek information and clarification about the Bill, and may also return it to the Parliament for reconsideration.3

After the President gives assent, the Bill is notified as an Act. Subsequently, the Bill is brought into force, and rules and regulations to implement the Act are framed by the concerned ministry. The same are then tabled in Parliament.

#### 2. Challenges in relation to legislative process

The manner in which policy or legislations are drafted is often questioned by both the experts as well as those who practice. The legislative process is itself inherited with numerous challenges / lacunas. Some of them are outlined below:

## 2.1. Deficit of elements of impact assessment in Manual on Parliamentary Procedures in India (Manual)<sup>4</sup> and Pre-legislative Consultation Policy (PLCP)

As indicated earlier, the law making process in India in general includes certain aspects of impact assessment (IA) such as inviting public comments on the draft legislation, consultation with relevant stakeholders, and study of social and financial costs / benefits. However, it seems that the requirement is often not complied with as it is not mandatory and the process has led to certain ambiguities. While the Manual on Parliamentary Procedures in India (Manual) does not mandate any stakeholder consultation *per se*, but the PLCP requires undertaking stakeholder consultations. Yet neither the Manual nor the PLCP describes the process of conducting these stakeholder consultations and manner in which all interested parties would need to be represented. Lack of availability of information in public domain acted as one of the challenges in determination of quality of public consultation under the legislations under consideration.

#### 2.2. Dearth of interconnection between Manual and PLCP

The Manual is the principle document for ascertaining law making process in India that exhaustively explains the process. However, the PLCP has an over-ridding effect over the Manual (to the extent of pre-legislative process) and it is difficult to ascertain the junctures at which provisions under PLCP will be read along with the Manual.

#### 2.3. Lack of transparency in inviting and accepting Public Comments

The Manual and PLCP mandates the concerned department to invite public comments on draft legislations. But, there are no specific provisions that mandate the relevant department concerned for providing rationale as to acceptance or non-acceptance of any

recommendations. A mechanism of feedback to the stakeholders in terms of providing rationale is important to ensure transparency and to also ensure a sense of ownership on part of the stakeholders towards the draft legislations.

#### 2.4. Cabinet note in the Office Memorandum

Cabinet Note is part of the office memorandum that explains objective behind the draft legislation. However, it is not a public document, making it difficult for the stakeholders to ascertain rationale and objective behind the legislation.

#### 3. Legislative Procedure of the select debt recovery laws (DRT Act / SARFAESI Act)

On the basis of available literature in public domain and stakeholder consultations, the SARFAESI Act and the DRT Act, seems to be subject to following gaps:

#### 3.1 Deviation from standard procedure of law making

The Manual mandates that a bill needs to be referred to a related Standing Committee. Deviation from the standard procedure was observed in adoption of DRT Act and Securitisation Act as instead of referring the relevant bills of the concerned legislations to Standing Committee on Finance, the Ordinance route<sup>6</sup> was taken to ensure their passage.<sup>7</sup>

#### 3.2. Non availability of reports

The Lok Sabha debates refer to formation of several Committees and their reports highlighting the problems faced by the economy, leading to requirement of the legislations. Unfortunately, these reports were not easily available in the public domain. For example, the Committee on Estimates (1998-1999) of the 12<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha worked on the issue of bad debts and accordingly made certain recommendations in a Report.

In addition, owing to availability of limited information in public domain, it is not clear if the primary legislations were subject to in-depth discussions or with all concerned stakeholders. However, research with respect to amendments of legislations revealed that text of certain amendments was changed after introduction and certain amendments were introduced in Rajya Sabha, and not in Lok Sabha, indicating to the practice of discussion of amendments in Parliament.

### Law Making Process for Recovery of Debts Due to Banks and Financial Institutions Act, 1993 (RDBFI Act, 1993)

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
		Pre Legislative Process	
1.	Legislation to be initiated in the	Pre-legislative and legislative process of the RDBFI	
	Department to which subject matter of	Act, 1993 and information relating to subsequent	
	legislation relates.	amendment in 1994 is not available.	
2.	Pre-drafting stage shall consist of four	Recovery of Debts Due to banks and Financial	• The manner in which policy or
	phases:	Institutions (Amendments) Act, 2000	legislations are drafted is often questioned by
	• Formulation of legislative	• The parent Act, passed in 1993 was held to be	both the experts of the field as well as those
	proposals in consultation with all	ultra vires by the Delhi High Court <sup>11</sup> . When the Parent	who practice. Intrinsic lacunae in drafting
	the interested and authorities	Bill was passed, there were apprehensions in the Lok	
	concerned essentially from	Sabha that the Bill was defective in many ways. The	meaning altogether from that which was
	administrative and financial	Bill was nonetheless passed and subsequently was	envisioned or intended by the legislatures.
	perspective.	contested in the Delhi High Court through a Writ	Such ambiguity surfaces also in the Manual of
	Consultation with the Ministry of	Petition.	Parliamentary Procedures. For instance,
	Law and Justice for advice as to its	• The Central government made an appeal before	Chapter 9 of the Manual states that, "The
	feasibility from legal and	the Supreme Court. 12 The tribunals were then	Department concerned will formulate the
	constitutional perspective	functioning under the stay order issued by the Apex	legislative proposals in consultation with all
	Preparation of a self-contained	Court. Nothing was done by the Central Government to	the interests and authorities concerned,
	note by the concerned Department	pass a law, the defects pointed by High Court remained	essentially from administrative and financial
	in consultation with the Ministry of	unattended to and no amendments were moved. The	points of view." The phrase "interests and
	Law and Justice	House was taken more or less like a rubber stamp and	authorities" given in the Manual must have been "interested and authorities" indicating
	Department concerned to send all	at any time they can come with an Ordinance and gets	interested parties and authorities involved in
	relevant papers to Ministry of Law	it passed. This of course is not considered as a good	the making of such a legislation. The
	and Justice (Legislative	Parliamentary practice. 13	ambiguity in the drafting lead to confusion in
	Department) with an Office	• In the Case of <u>Union of India &amp; Anr v. Delhi</u>	the law making procedure. The words in the
	Memorandum indicating the	High Court Bar Association & Ors, the constitutional	Manual leads to the confusion as to the nature
	rationale/ justification of the	validity of the RDBFI was challenged before the Delhi	
	proposed legislation. Office	High Court on the ground that the Act is unreasonable and violative of Art 14 of the Constitution of India and	players of the concerned sector/ business also
	Memorandum must contain: a	and violative of Art 14 of the Constitution of India and	players of the concerned sector, business also

details; draft Cabinet Note <sup>10</sup> .  The administrative Department will not attempt to draft the Bill  the impugned Act was unconstitutional since it erodes independency of judiciary and was unreasonable, arbitrary and discriminatory in nature hence hit Article  Office Mem	uments such as Office m, indicate rationale of the gislation and draft note for Cabinet.
details; draft Cabinet Note <sup>10</sup> .  The administrative Department will not attempt to draft the Bill  the impugned Act was unconstitutional since it erodes independency of judiciary and was unreasonable, arbitrary and discriminatory in nature hence hit Article  Office Mem	m, indicate rationale of the gislation and draft note for Cabinet.
The administrative Department will not attempt to draft the Bill independency of judiciary and was unreasonable, arbitrary and discriminatory in nature hence hit Article Office Mem	gislation and draft note for Cabinet.
attempt to draft the Bill arbitrary and discriminatory in nature hence hit Article Office Mem	
	norandum is made as per the format
	e Handbook on Writing Cabinet
	documents together reflect the
	ne objective of the legislature while
	particular bill. Therefore, the
	together are intrinsic part to assess ant effect of the effectuated
the legislature can provide for a mechanism for the legislation.	Therefore, the Office
	im should have ideally been a
	ment but in case of RDBFI, despite
	being crucial in nature is not made
	s in turn impedes transparency and
	of the legislation.
Entry 45. 14	
None of the documents such as draft note for the	
Cabinet, legislative proposal etc. that form the basis of	
drafting of Bill were found.	
The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2004	
The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of	
Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill amended RDBFI.	
The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2011	
The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011 amended further	
the RDBFI and SARFAESI Act	
	l requires assent of Department of

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
	draft Bill within 30 days after getting	,	Legal Affairs (Ministry of Law and Justice)
	clearance from Department of Legal		before the Ministry of Law and Justice -
	Affairs on the basis of the material		Legislative Department starts drafting the Bill.
	supplied to it by the concerned Department		The Manual, however, does not clearly word
			out as to how many days the Department of
			Legal Affairs must dedicate on a single Bill. In
			absence of any prescribed time, the costs on
			drafting the Bill increases substantially.
4.	If the Bill has more than 25 clauses then		
	include a table showing arrangement of		
	clauses; in case of an amending Bill		
	contain only relevant provision of the Act		
	that needs to be amended		
5.	The Cabinet Note shall states the object,		Note for the Cabinet is an important document
	need and scope of the proposed legislation;		that reflects the basic intention behind any Bill.
	reflect the views of other Departments (if		The fact that it is an intrinsic document
	so required by the procedure laid by the		designates it to be a public document and must
	Cabinet Secretariat; explain effect of		be therefore freely available.
	proposed legislation and include the draft		
	of the proposed Bill in Annexure. Once the		
	Note for the Cabinet is finalised and the		
	draft Bill is accepted after scrutiny by the		
	Department concerned, the Note shall be		
	sent to the Cabinet Secretariat and placed		
	before the Cabinet for its approval.		
6.	After approval of the Cabinet, the		
	concerned Department will examine the		
	decision of the Cabinet to assess whether		
	any changes need to be made in the Bill. If		
	yes, then the relevant papers and the		

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
	decision of the Cabinet will be sent back		
	to the Ministry of Law and Justice to make		
	necessary changes in the draft Bill in		
	consultation with the concerned		
	Department. If no changes are needed		
	then, the concerned Department will		
	prepare:		
	Statement of object for the Bill		
	Notes on clauses to be appended in		
	case the Bill is complex in nature		
	Financial Memorandum prepared in		
	consultation with the Ministry of		
	Finance, with respect to Bills		
	dealing with expenditure or giving		
	an estimate of recurring or non- recurring expenditure.		
	Memorandum dealing with any		
	Delegated Legislation explain the		
	ambit of the Bill		
	All documents need to be perused by		
	Ministry of Law and Justice (Legislative		
	Department) before finalisation.		
7.	Every Department / Ministry shall		• Though a practice of late, however,
	proactively publish the proposed		neither RDBFI nor its subsequent amendments
	legislations both on internet and on other		were subjected to public comments. This
	means.		should ideally be at place to understand and
	• Every draft legislation placed in		assess legislations from industry, market and
	public domain should be accompanied by		public perspective.
	an explanatory note explaining key		• Explanatory note stands as a key
	provisions		document that highlights the objective of the
	Summary of feedback received		legislation and at the same time focusses on

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	from public/ stakeholders should be placed		the intended practice change aimed through
	on the website of the Department/ Ministry		the legislation.
	concerned.		• Though ideally the Department/ Ministry concerned must reflect the comments accepted by them or incorporated in the legislation. However, in practice this is not followed. The bodies/ Departments/ ministries do not give an explanation as to why certain comment is or is not incorporated within the body of a proposed legislation.
8.	In addition to placing the legislation in		body of a proposed registation.
0.	public domain also hold consultation with		
	all stakeholders. However, the degree of		
	participation and mode of consultation		
	may be decided by the		
	Department/Ministry concerned and also		
	may change as per the nature of the subject		
	and potential impact.		
9.	Department / Ministry concerned should		This step is the essential aspect of RIA. The
	publish/place in public domain the draft		pre-legislative step states that RIA is intrinsic
	legislation or information that may include		part of the pre-legislative process and that the
	brief justification of such legislations. The		impact assessment of the relevant stakeholders
	essential elements of financial impact,		is to be done to weigh the cost incurred and the
	impact on environment, fundamental		benefits reaped due to enforcement of a
	rights, life and livelihood of the affected		proposed legislation.
	people must be assessed. Such information		
	must be kept in public domain for 30 days		
	for purposes of dissemination and		
10	awareness.		The marriage is confering in the section in
10.	The Bill should be referred to the Ministry		The provision is confusing in nature since
	of Law and Justice for vetting after the		according to the Parliamentary provision the

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	pre-legislative consultations as well as inter-ministerial consultations are over. The Ministry of Law and Justice shall ensure that the concerned Department/Ministry has adhered to the process of pre-legislative consultation.		administrative Department is prohibited from drafting the legislation – which is the prerogative of the Legislative Department of the Ministry of Law and Justice.
11.	The Department/ Ministry concerned should include a brief summary of the feedback received from various stakeholders along with its response in the Note for the cabinet along with the draft legislation.		The response so drafted by the Department / Ministry concerned must be published on a public domain for perusal. However, search for any invitation for comments on RDBFI reveals that no public or stakeholder consultation is done in the fashion prescribed.
12.	<ul> <li>Recommendation of the President for introduction of any Bill of strategic importance of affecting polity of the country or imposing or varying any tax or duty intra or among states</li> <li>Recommendation also required for consideration of a Bill if it involves expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of India.</li> </ul>	Recovery of Debts Due to banks and Financial Institutions (Amendments) Act, 2000 Recommendation of the President received	
13.	Chapter on Committees of Parliament in Manual <sup>15</sup> states the manner of coordination of action taken on recommendations of the Estimates Committee. This provides that the recommendations relating to a single Department will be dealt with by the Department concerned and if they raise	Recovery of Debts Due to banks and Financial Institutions (Amendments) Act, 2000  The Committee on Estimates (1998-1999) of the 12 <sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha found that the dubious role of the chief executives of the banks is a contributing factor for turning huge advances into bad loans.  In the Estimates Committee's Fifth Report for	Despite the fact that many recommendations of the Committee were not accepted such as:  1. Public Sector Banks to contain NPAs at around 3-4 per cent.  2. Failure to render diligent and dedicated service at discharge of responsibility to borrowers, inadequacy to assess

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process other more general policy questions, be dealt with by the Department reported upon in consultation with the Cabinet Secretariat.	<ul> <li>13<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha, the action taken by the Government on the recommendations contained in Third Report of Estimates Committee for 12<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha was recorded. Herein the significance of the Non-Performing Assets was duly recorded and observed.</li> <li>The recommendations that were accepted by the Government were as follows:</li> <li>1. Considerable misclassification by banks of their NPAs. The Committee expected the RBI to ensure better adherence by the banks to the prudential norms to achieve the desired objectives of their introduction;</li> <li>2. In case of large divergence of assets by bank auditors and RBI Inspectors, the Committee recommended that a serious note should be taken and these auditors should be debarred from auditing for their blatant misclassification.</li> <li>3. The Banks do not pay heed to the repeated revelation of RBI relating to the imprudent policies being pursued by the management for corrective measures.</li> </ul>	Business risks and no fear of legal action initiated for recovery of problem loans from recalcitrant borrowers. This contributes to hike in NPAs.  3. Indian Banking Association had informed that there are no well-defined safe limits as far as NPAs of the banks are concerned.
		policies being pursued by the management for	

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
	· O	the guilty.	
		6. Regarding big loans sanctioned by top	
		functionaries of the Public Sector Banks that	
		turned into bad debts during their service period	
		that turned into bad debt after retirement of	
		those functionaries. Eg of Chief Executives of	
		Bank of Maharashtra, Vijaya Bank and Indian	
		Bank was given since they granted advances in	
		utter disregard of laid down system and	
		procedure has been the major contributing	
		factor for turning these huge advances into bad	
		loans.	
		7. Procedure and systems laid down for selection	
		of beneficiaries and sponsoring of loan	
		applications may be given a fresh look so that	
		the involvement of various intermediaries is	
		brought down considerably.	
		8. Issue of wilful defaulters was highlighted. In	
		case of wilful default recovery suits should be	
		filed or not should also be published for	
		guidance of other banks who should be	
		instructed to exercise utmost caution in	
		extending credit facilities to such borrowers.	
		9. An appropriate mechanism be evolved whereby	
		there should be adequate disclosure of	
		information among banks regarding defaulting	
		borrowers, enabling banks to tackle adequate	
		precautions while extending credit facilities to	
		such borrowers or otherwise dealing with them.	
		10. Performance of various recovery plans is being	
		looked into by the RBI during inspection of	

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
		banks carried out at regular intervals.	
		11. Setting up of Asset Reconstruction Companies	
		12. Pending proceedings should be expeditiously	
		finalised.	
		13. Public Sector Banks also share information on	
		loan sanction and loan write off/compromise	
		proposals in cases of borrowal accounts of Rs	
		10 lakh and above to caution the other banks	
		from lending to such defaulting borrowers.	
		14. Introduction of a system of obtaining an audit	
		certificate from borrowers to ensure proper end-	
		use of funds lent.	
		15. Place right people for awareness at operational	
		level for credit risk awareness, delay in	
		disbursement of loans by banks that contribute	
		to NPAs, not to post bank officers for credit	
		portfolio work during the three years preceding	
		their retirement (since it takes 2 years for bad	
		debts to surface) and a review of performance of	
		the officer belonging to credit portfolio	
		management should be made on regularly at	
		least 1 year before his retirement to assess	
		whether he had not acted prudently while	
		sanctioning of advances.	
		16. Public Sector banks to reduce their NPAs and	
		reduce their dues through upgradation of	
		accounts from sub-standard to standard category	
		comprise/ write off loans as per laid down	
		guidelines and cash recoveries.	
		17. Increase in the number of DRTs.	
18.	Chapter on Subordinate Legislation gives a	Rajya Sabha Committee on Subordinate	The Report of the Rajya Sabha Committee on

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S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
	detailed account as to the manner of	Legislation was also formed. The Report was	
	formation and nature of subordinate	presented in 1998, and focuses primarily on the manner	stakeholder consultation was duly taken up by
	Committee. Laws made by Parliament	in which the DRTs were functioning at that point of	the Committee.
	usually vest the power in the government	time. The Report acknowledged that suggestions	
	to make and notify in the Gazette of India	received from various banks and financial institutions,	
	rules, regulations etc. to subserve the	their Officers' Associations and Employees' Union.	
	objectives laid in the main legislation.	• Some of the recommendations of the Committee	
	Since these rules are statutory in nature	on Subordinate Legislation made certain significant	
	they come within the scope of what is	recommendations such as	
	termed as "Subordinate Legislation"	1. DRTs and DRATs should be restructured on	
		lines of Revenue Courts/ Special Courts with	
		codified rules and procedure like Civil	
		Procedure Code.	
		2. Make debt recovery mechanism effective.	
		Allow attachment and summary powers to each	
		Recovery Officers.	
		3. Geographical jurisdiction needs to be reduced.	
		Urgent need to have separate Tribunal for large	
		states so that the burden of cases in existing	
		tribunals is lessened.	
		4. Recovery officers and number of Tribunals	
		must be increased.	
		Legislative Process	
5.	Under the direction of the Speaker 7 days'	Recovery of Debts Due to banks and Financial	Wilful defaulters though being a crucial and
	notice is given for introducing an official	Institutions (Amendments) Act, 2000	often debated issue, nonetheless, the problem
	Bill in Lok Sabha. However, no Bill can	The Legislative process of the 1993 Act and subsequent	still persists. Meaning that the issue of wilful
	be introduced in the lower House until	1994 amendment is not available, however, the Lok	defaulters have not been addressed completely.
	after copies thereof have been provided to	Sabha debate over the 2000 amendment is found on the	The problem continues to persist since the
	all members for at least 2 days before the	Lok Sabha Website <sup>17</sup> .	issue was not exhaustively debated and
	day on which the Bill is proposed to be	The then Finance Minister pointed out that an	addressed in the Act as well as the subsequent
	introduced.	amendment was duly made to the Act of 1993	amendments

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
		establishing Debt Recovery Tribunals, which were	
		declared unconstitutional by the High Court. The order	
		was stayed by the Supreme Court, through a Special	
		Leave Petition filed by the Government. On direction of	
		the Supreme Court an amendment was introduced in	
		the Parliament in March 1999, however, it lapsed	
		owing to dissolution of the Lok Sabha itself.	
		The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
		of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2004	
		The debate of the Lok Sabha generally revolved around	
		the issues related to DRTs and Wilful Defaulters.	
		The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
		of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2011	
		While discussing the Enforcement of Security Interest	
		and Recovery of Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011	
		it was pointed out that the Bill enabled the DRTs to	
		pass orders too. It was questioned as to how these	
		DRTs would be structured and placed, especially since	
		body such as Board for Industrial and Financial	
		Reconstruction (BIFR) was already in place. The	
		discussion also stressed upon the provision of caveat	
		within the proposed amendment that provided a wilful	
		defaulter a time span of 14 days instead of 7 days to	
		respond.	
6.	• In case the Bill is referred to the	Recovery of Debts Due to banks and Financial	• In case of the RDBFI Act as well as the
	Standing Committees for examination, the	Institutions (Amendments) Act, 2000	subsequent amendments, the proposed
	Department concerned may examine the	One of the most significant discussions in the Lok	legislations were never referred to the
	report of the Committee when it is	Sabha Debate was as to why the Bill was not referred to	Standing Committee. It is dubious as to why
	presented to either the House or to the	the Standing Committee. It was alleged that the	the standard procedure was never followed
	Presiding Officer. Where the Department	Government resorted to the route of Ordinance in order	repeatedly. The discussions of 2000 and 2011
	decides to affect changes in any provision	to bifurcate the standard procedure of referring a Bill to	Amendments revolved around why the

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ertheless, adherence to the
bious since there is lack of
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S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
	procuring public comments, necessary		
	actions must be taken by the Lok/Rajya		
	Sabha to ensure that such Bill is circulated		
	to the State Governments for their		
	comments.		
10.	When the Bill is taken for consideration,	The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
	such perusal must be made on clause-to-	of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2004	
	clause basis. At this stage too members	Clause to clause consideration of the Bill took place in	
	can move amendments to the Bill.	the debate. Though the text of the debate on the Lok	
		Sabha web page had corrupt file however, it could be	
		deciphered that the Bill was perused on significant	
1.1	XX/'.1	clauses.	
11.	With respect to amendments, copies of		
	such notice are sent by Lok/Rajya Sabha		
	Secretariat to Department concerned. On		
	receipt of notice the branch officer will put them up with briefs for use of the Minister		
	for determining Government's attitude.		
	Government amendments too are moved at		
	this stage. Amendments falling in the		
	ambit of strategic, polity and finance are		
	subject to same restrictions as in case of		
	strategic, polity and finance Bills.		
12.	After a Bill is passed by a House a copy of		
	the Bill is sent by the Secretariat to the		
	Ministry of Law and Justice for scrutiny.		
13.			
	House, the concerned Minister will give		
	notice of a motion in a prescribed form to		
	the Secretary-General of the House and		
	also communicate the recommendation of		

S.No.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>9</sup>	RDBFI Act, 1993	Remarks
	the President.		
14.	In case of a Bill passed by one House with		
	amendments the concerned Department		
	will determine whether any consequential		
	changes are required in the Financial		
	Memorandum or Memorandum regarding		
	Delegated Legislation.		
15.	Once the Bill is passed by both the		
	Houses, a copy of the Bill is sent to		
	Legislative Department of Ministry of Law		
	and Justice for scrutiny. After which it is		
	sent to the President.		
		Post Legislative Process	
16.	Ministry of Law and Justice will publish	The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
	the Act in the Gazette of India	of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2011	
	Extraordinary	Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha has moved a	
		petition imploring to take immediate steps to control	
		the increasing Non Performing Assets in the Banking	
		Sector in 2013. <sup>18</sup> The Petition is directed towards the	
		concern to take steps to correct increasing NPAs,	
		channelize proper mechanism that would ensure that	
		bank's do not resort to covering bad debts, study	
		performance of DRTs and also to check the instances	
		wherein NPAs are settled in connivance with Bank	
		Management – since it is a violation of RBI regulations	
		too.	

# Law Making Process for Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 (SARFAESI Act, 2002)

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
		Pre Legislative Process	
14	Legislation to be initiated in the	Like RDBFI, pre-legislative process of SARFAESI can	
	Department to which subject matter of	be traced from the Lok Sabha Debates and also from the	
	legislation relates.	reports of various Committees under both the Houses.	
15	Pre-drafting stage shall consist of four	Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial	• The manner in which policy or
	phases:	Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Bill,	legislations are drafted is often questioned by
	• Formulation of legislative	2002	both the experts of the field as well as those
	proposals in consultation with all	The Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial	who practice. Intrinsic lacunae in drafting leads
	the interested and authorities	Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest (Second)	to legislations that led to a different meaning
	concerned essentially from	Ordinance, 2002 was disapproved and the Securitisation	altogether from that which was envisioned or
	administrative and financial	and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and	intended by the legislatures. Such ambiguity
	perspective.	Enforcement of Security Interest Bill, 2002 was moved.	surfaces also in the Manual of Parliamentary
	<ul> <li>Consultation with the Ministry of</li> </ul>		Procedures. For instance, Chapter 9 of the
	Law and Justice for advice as to its	<b>Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of</b>	Manual states that, "The Department concerned
	feasibility from legal and	Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2004	will formulate the legislative proposals in
	constitutional perspective	The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of	consultation with all the interests and
	<ul> <li>Preparation of a self–contained</li> </ul>	Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2004 amended	authorities concerned, essentially from
	note by the concerned Department	SARFAESI. Like SARFAESI, the amendment too	administrative and financial points of view."
	in consultation with the Ministry of	sought the route of an Ordinance.	The phrase "interests and authorities" given in
	Law and Justice		the Manual must have been "interested and
	<ul> <li>Department concerned to send all</li> </ul>	<b>Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of</b>	authorities" indicating interested parties and
	relevant papers to Ministry of Law	Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011	authorities involved in the making of such a
	and Justice (Legislative	The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of	legislation. The ambiguity in the drafting lead
	Department) with an Office	Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011 amended further	to confusion in the law making procedure. The
	Memorandum indicating the	the RDBFI and SARFAESI Act. The amendment	words in the Manual leads to the confusion as
	rationale/ justification of the	seemed to aim at streamlining the process under the	to the nature of "interests" whether non-

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
	proposed legislation. Office	SARFAESI Act as well as RDBFI Act by making	government and players of the concerned
	Memorandum must contain: a	provisions for transferring proceedings in the name of	sector/ business also are consulted.
	detail of legislative proposal;	ARC.	• Documents such as Office
	background material; other relevant		memorandum, indicating rationale of the
	details; draft Cabinet Note <sup>20</sup> .		proposed legislation and draft note for Cabinet.
	The administrative Department will not		Office Memorandum is made as per the format
	attempt to draft the Bill		given in the Handbook on Writing Cabinet Notes. The documents together reflect the
			intent and the objective of the legislature while
			drafting a particular bill. Therefore, the
			documents together are intrinsic part to assess
			the resultant effect of the effectuated
			legislation.
			• In case of SARFAESI or its subsequent
			amendments, none of the documents are
			available therefore it is difficult to assess and
16	Ministry of Law and Justice will prepare a		The Manual requires assent of Department of
	draft Bill within 30 days after getting		Legal Affairs (Ministry of Law and Justice)
	clearance from Department of Legal		before the Ministry of Law and Justice –
	Affairs on the basis of the material		Legislative Department starts drafting the Bill.
	supplied to it by the concerned Department		The Manual, however, does not clearly word out as to how many days the Department of
			Legal Affairs must dedicate on a single Bill. In
			absence of any prescribed time, the costs on
			drafting the Bill increases substantially.
17	If the Bill has more than 25 clauses then		,
	include a table showing arrangement of		
	clauses; in case of an amending Bill		
	contain only relevant provision of the Act		
	that needs to be amended		

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
18		,	Note for the Cabinet is an important document
	need and scope of the proposed legislation;		that reflects the basic intention behind any Bill.
	reflect the views of other Departments (if		The fact that it is an intrinsic document
	so required by the procedure laid by the		designates it to be a public document and must
	Cabinet Secretariat; explain effect of		be therefore freely available.
	proposed legislation and include the draft		
	of the proposed Bill in Annexure. Once the		
	Note for the Cabinet is finalised and the		
	draft Bill is accepted after scrutiny by the		
	Department concerned, the Note shall be		
	sent to the Cabinet Secretariat and placed		
	before the Cabinet for its approval.		
19	After approval of the Cabinet, the		
	concerned Department will examine the		
	decision of the Cabinet to assess whether		
	any changes need to be made in the Bill. If		
	yes, then the relevant papers and the		
	decision of the Cabinet will be sent back		
	to the Ministry of Law and Justice to make		
	necessary changes in the draft Bill in		
	consultation with the concerned		
	Department. If no changes are needed		
	then, the concerned Department will		
	prepare:		
	<ul> <li>Statement of object for the Bill</li> </ul>		
	<ul> <li>Notes on clauses to be appended in</li> </ul>		
	case the Bill is complex in nature		
	<ul> <li>Financial Memorandum prepared in</li> </ul>		
	consultation with the Ministry of		
	Finance, with respect to Bills		
	dealing with expenditure or giving		

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
	an estimate of recurring or non-recurring expenditure.  • Memorandum dealing with any Delegated Legislation explain the ambit of the Bill All documents need to be perused by Ministry of Law and Justice (Legislative Department) before finalisation.		
20	1		<ul> <li>Though a practice of late, however, neither SARFAESI nor its subsequent amendments were subjected to public comments. This should ideally be at place to understand and assess legislations from industry, market and public perspective.</li> <li>Explanatory note stands as a key document that highlights the objective of the legislation and at the same time focusses on the intended practice change aimed through the legislation.</li> <li>Though ideally the Department/ Ministry concerned must reflect the comments accepted by them or incorporated in the legislation. However, in practice this is not followed. The bodies/ Departments/ ministries do not give an explanation as to why certain comment is or is not incorporated within the body of a proposed legislation.</li> </ul>
21	In addition to placing the proposal in public domain also hold consultation with all stakeholders. However, the degree of participation and mode of consultation		

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
	may be decided by the Department/Ministry concerned and also may change as per the nature of the subject and potential impact.  Department / Ministry concerned should publish/place in public domain the draft legislation or information that may include brief justification of such legislations. The essential elements of financial impact, impact on environment, fundamental rights, life and livelihood of the affected people must be assessed. Such information must be kept in public domain for 30 days for purposes of dissemination and awareness.	Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Bill, 2002 The debate reflects that a passing reference was made to the Andhyarujina Committee and Narasimham Committee.  Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011 Reference was made to the operational efficiency of the banks, deployment of funds for credit disbursement to	<ul> <li>This step is the essential aspect of RIA. The pre-legislative step states that RIA is intrinsic part of the pre-legislative process and that the impact assessment of the relevant stakeholders is to be done to weigh the cost incurred and the benefits reaped due to enforcement of a proposed legislation.</li> <li>In case of the SARFAESI Act, though a direct stakeholder consultation was not held, nonetheless opinion of the industry was taken into account by referring to the Andhyarujina</li> </ul>
23	The Bill should be referred to the Ministry of Law and Justice for vetting after the prelegislative consultations as well as interministerial consultations are over. The	retail investors, home loan borrowers without fear of recovery, thereby allowing equity.	Committee and Narasimham Committee reports. In case of the Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill 2011, the Hon. Finance Minister stated about the concerns of the banks and other players with respect to bad debts.  The provision is confusing in nature since according to the Parliamentary provision the administrative Department is prohibited from drafting the legislation – which is the
24	Ministry of Law and Justice shall ensure that the concerned Department/Ministry has adhered to the process of prelegislative consultation.  The Department/ Ministry concerned should include a brief summary of the		registation – which is the prerogative of the Legislative Department of the Ministry of Law and Justice.  The response so drafted by the Department / Ministry concerned must have been published

n a public domain for perusal.

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
	usually vest the power in the government		
	to make and notify in the Gazette of India		
	rules, regulations etc. to subserve the		
	objectives laid in the main legislation.		
	Since these rules are statutory in nature		
	they come within the scope of what is		
	termed as "Subordinate Legislation"		
		Legislative Process	
28	1 3		
	notice is given for introducing an official		
	Bill in Lok Sabha. However, no Bill can be		
	introduced in the lower House until after		
	copies thereof have been provided to all		
	members for at least 2 days before the day		
	on which the Bill is proposed to be		
	introduced.		
29		Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial	• Though sending a summary of pre-
	Standing Committees for examination, the	Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Bill,	legislative consultation seems like a logical
	Department concerned may examine the	2002	precursor to referring a Bill to the Standing
	report of the Committee when it is	One of the allegations made against the SARFAESI Bill	Committee, nevertheless, adherence to the
	presented to either the House or to the	was that the fact that an Ordinance was made and then	procedure is dubious since there is lack of
	Presiding Officer. Where the Department	converted to a Bill was with the intention of evading	transparency as to how the summary is sent or
	decides to affect changes in any provision	Standing Committee. The debate of the Lok Sabha	perused.
	of the Bill, on the basis of the	emphasised greatly on the requirement of the Bill to be	
	recommendations from the Committee, it	first presented to the Standing Committee and then to	
	may obtain the approval of the Cabinet to	the Lower House.	
	the amendments proposed in the Bill. Once		
	Cabinet approves the notice of motion of	<b>Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of</b>	
	amendments is moved by the Minister of	Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011	
	concerned Department.	One of the prominent issues was that the Parliamentary	
	• As per the Pre-consultation Policy,	procedure was not followed. While the Manual dictates	

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
21231	the concerned Department/ Ministry must	that the Bill be sent to the Related Department Standing	
	place before the Department related	Committee, however, this was not done and the Bill	
	Standing Committee, a summary of the	bifurcated the regular procedure. It was highlighted that	
	pre-legislative process.	the while the Standing Committee under the	
		Chairmanship of Yashwant Sinha was about to submit	
		its report on Banking Companies (Amendment) Bill,	
		then why the Bill was not directed to the said Standing	
		Committee.	
30	After introduction of the Bill, the Minister	Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of	
	of the concerned Department may send	Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011	
	notice indicating intention that the Bill	It was presented before the Parliament that the Bill was	
	may be moved, considered and passed; be	bifurcating the requirement to be referred to either the	
	referred to the Select Committee of the	Select Committee or be circulated for the purpose of	
	House; be referred to a Joint Committee of	eliciting public opinion.	
	both Houses with the concurrence of the		
	other House and also for eliciting public		
	opinion.		
31	1		
	submission of report of the Select/Joint		
	Committee will be indicated by the		
	concerned Department along with the		
	names of members of Committee to be		
	appointed will be suggested by the		
	Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs. Once		
	the Committee is constituted, its chairman		
20	is nominated by the Speaker/ Chairman.		
32			
	procuring public comments, necessary		
	actions must be taken by the Lok/Rajya Sabha to ensure that such Bill is circulated		
	to the State Governments for their		

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
	comments.		
33	When the Bill is taken for consideration,	The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
	such perusal must be made on clause-to-	of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2004	
	clause basis. At this stage too members can	Clause to clause consideration of the Bill took place in	
	move amendments to the Bill.	the debate. Though the text of the debate on the Lok	
		Sabha web page had corrupt file however, it could be	
		deciphered that the Bill was perused on significant	
		clauses.	
		<b>Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of</b>	
		Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2011	
		The Bill was to a certain point discussed on clause to	
		clause basis and such parts of the Bill do throw	
		immense light on the intended practice change.	
34	With respect to amendments, copies of		
	such notice are sent by Lok/Rajya Sabha		
	Secretariat to Department concerned. On		
	receipt of notice the branch officer will put		
	them up with briefs for use of the Minister		
	for determining Government's attitude.		
	Government amendments too are moved at		
	this stage. Amendments falling in the		
	ambit of strategic, polity and finance are		
	subject to same restrictions as in case of		
	strategic, polity and finance Bills.		
35	1 3 13		
	the Bill is sent by the Secretariat to the		
	Ministry of Law and Justice for scrutiny.		
36			
	House, the concerned Minister will give		
	notice of a motion in a prescribed form to		
	the Secretary-General of the House and		

S.no.	Mandatory Law Making Process <sup>19</sup>	SARFAESI Act, 2002	Remarks
	also communicate the recommendation of		
	the President.		
37	In case of a Bill passed by one House with		
	amendments the concerned Department		
	will determine whether any consequential		
	changes are required in the Financial		
	Memorandum or Memorandum regarding		
	Delegated Legislation.		
38	Once the Bill is passed by both the Houses,		
	a copy of the Bill is sent to Legislative		
	Department of Ministry of Law and Justice		
	for scrutiny. After which it is sent to the		
	President.		
		Post Legislative Process	
39	Ministry of Law and Justice will publish	The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery	
	the Act in the Gazette of India	of Debts Laws (Amendment) Act, 2011	
	Extraordinary	Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha has moved a	
		petition imploring to take immediate steps to control the	
		increasing Non Performing Assets in the Banking Sector	
		in 2013. <sup>22</sup> The Petition is directed towards the concern	
		to take steps to correct increasing NPAs, channelize	
		proper mechanism that would ensure that banks do not	
		resort to covering bad debts, study performance of	
		DRTs and also to check the instances wherein NPAs are	
		settled in connivance with Bank Management – since it	
		is a violation of RBI regulations too.	

#### **Endnotes**

Procedure drawn from the Manual of Parliamentary Procedures in the Government of India Chapter on Legislations, accessed from <a href="http://mpa.nic.in/mpa/Manual/Manual/Manual/Manual/Manual-English/Chapter-09.htm">http://mpa.nic.in/mpa/Manual/Manual/Manual English/Chapter-09.htm</a> and also from Decisions taken in the meeting of the Committee of Secretaries (CoS) held on 10<sup>th</sup> January, 2014 under the Chairmanship of Cabinet Secretary on the Pre-legislative Consultation Policy (PLCP) accessed from <a href="https://lawmvin.nic.in/ld/plcp.pdf">https://lawmvin.nic.in/ld/plcp.pdf</a>.

<sup>2</sup> Pre-Legislation Consultation Policy, 05 February 2014

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On Parliamentary Procedures of Government of India, Lok Sabha Rules

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See, the Pre-legislative consultation policy (PLCP) (issued in the year 2014)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Such as the Recovery of Debts Due to Banks and Financial Institutions Ordinance, 1993, the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest (Second) Ordinance, 2002, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> On expiration of both the ordinances, the bills were subsequently introduced and passed in the parliament.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In 2012, amendments to sections 5(1)(5), 9(g) and 13(9) of Securitisation Act, and amendments to sections 15 (proviso), 19(3A), 19(5), 19(5A), 36(2)(cc) to the DRT Act were introduced in Rajya Sabha and not in Lok Sabha

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra Note 1

The Draft Note to the Cabinet is made in accordance with the Government of India Cabinet Secretariat Handbook on Writing Cabinet Notes, accessed from <a href="http://cabsec.nic.in/files/preperationofnotes/preperationofnotes.pdf">http://cabsec.nic.in/files/preperationofnotes/preperationofnotes.pdf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Delhi High Court Bar Association v. Union of India, AIR 1995 Del 323

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Union of India and anr. v. Delhi High Court Bar Association and ors, (2002) 4 SCC 275

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Collected from the Legislative debate (Lok Sabha) accessed from <a href="http://164.100.47.132/LssNew/psearch/Result13.aspx?dbsl=652">http://164.100.47.132/LssNew/psearch/Result13.aspx?dbsl=652</a>

Joseph Raj, "Recent Judgements Relevant to Bankers", RBI Legal News and Views (Part 2 of 2), Judgement Section, July (2002) accessed from <a href="http://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/PublicationsView.aspx?Id=4408">http://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/PublicationsView.aspx?Id=4408</a>

Procedure drawn from the Manual of Parliamentary Procedures in the Government of India Chapter on Committee of Parliament, <a href="http://mpa.nic.in/mpa/Manual/Manual\_English/Chapter/chapter-12.htm">http://mpa.nic.in/mpa/Manual/Manual\_English/Chapter/chapter-12.htm</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Committee on Subordinate Legislations, Rajya Sabha, Hundred and Eighteenth Report on Recovery of Debts due to Banks and Financial Institutions Act, 1993 (Presented on June 12, 1998), <a href="http://164.100.47.5/newcommittee/reports/EnglishCommittees/Committees/Committees/20on%20Subordinate%20Legislation/118.pdf">http://164.100.47.5/newcommittee/reports/EnglishCommittees/Committees/Committee%20on%20Subordinate%20Legislation/118.pdf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lok Sabha Debate, Statutory Resolution Re: Disapproval of Recovery of Debts Due to Banks and Financial Institutions (Amendment) Ordinance and Recovery of Debts Due to Banks and Financial Institutions (Amendment) Bill, <a href="http://164.100.47.132/LssNew/psearch/Result13.aspx?dbsl=652">http://164.100.47.132/LssNew/psearch/Result13.aspx?dbsl=652</a>

Committee on Petitions, Petition Praying to take immediate steps to control the increasing Non Performing Assets in the Banking Sector (2013), <a href="http://164.100.47.5/newcommittee/press/committee/200n%20Petitions/Press%20Eng.pdf">http://164.100.47.5/newcommittee/press/committee/200n%20Petitions/Press%20Eng.pdf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Supra Note 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Supra Note 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Supra Note 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Supra Note 18