

# Swadeshi

OCTOBER 2019

PATRIKA



**Need to tax E-commerce  
and tech companies**



Swadeshi Activities

## Protest against China Goods & Services

Pictorial Glimpses



## Swadeshi Saptah

25 September-2 October 2019







Vol-24, No. 10  
Ashwin-Kartik 2076 October 2019

EDITOR  
**Ajeet Bharti**

ASSOCIATE-EDITOR  
**Dr. Phool Chand**

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY:  
Ishwardas Mahajan on behalf of **Swadeshi Jagaran Samiti**, 'Dharmakshetra', Sector-8, R.K. Puram, New Delhi-22,

COVER & PAGE DESIGNING  
**Sudama Dixit**

EDITORIAL OFFICE  
'Dharmakshetra' Sector-8, Babu Genu Marg, R.K. Puram, N. D.-22

E-MAIL : [swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com](mailto:swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com)  
WEBSITE : [www.swadeshionline.in](http://www.swadeshionline.in)

**LETTERS** 3

**NEWS** 35-38



## CONTENTS

### COVER STORY

6

## Need to tax E-commerce and tech companies

Dr. Ashwani Mahajan



- 1 Cover Page
- 2 Cover Inside Page

### 08 OPINION

Coherent set of immediate actions

Rathin Roy

### 10 FARMING

Free the land to save Earth

Inder Shekhar Singh

### 13 SCRUTINY

Power: Current Affairs

Anilesh S. Mahajan

### 14 FOCUS

Rs 16000 cr Jewar airport needs to be given up for saving water bodies

Shivaji Sarkar

### 16 ANALYSIS

Instead of piecemeal announcements, Govt needs a mid- to long-term approach

Sanjaya Baru

### 18 DISCUSSION

Narrowing window

Sandhya Jain

### 20 VIEWPOINTS

Give Education Vouchers to compete with the Computer

Dr. Bharat Jhunjhunwala

### 22 PERSPECTIVE

100 Days Of Modi's Term 2 are Thunderous

Dr. R. Balashankar

### 24 AGRICULTURE

Worsening agrarian crisis

Devinder Sharma

### 26 WATER CRISIS

Responding to the water emergency in India

Vandana Shiva

### 28 DISSECTION

Gandhian Concept of Swadeshi

Bharat Dogra

### 31 LANGUAGE

Hindi as the Uniting Language of India!

Ram Puniyani

### 33 HISTORY

Contributions of Ancient India in Art

Prof. Nandini Sinha Kapur

- 39 Back Inside Cover
- 40 Back Cover



## Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)

*In the recently concluded meeting of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), it was said that India has accepted suggestions of other countries regarding the rules on investments. Some of the provisions include removal of technology transfer agreement and also removing the cap on the quantum of royalties which domestic companies can pay to their foreign partners. Agreeing to remove technology transfer requirement and removal of cap on royalty payments are against interest of nation. We've been paying huge amounts on Royalty and technical fees for older technology in the name of investments.*

*Though the RCEP deal has not been completed. The governments intent on some of the issues have been widely criticised. The government is contemplating on removing the tariff on the milk products. This would mean increased imports from countries where there is surplus in dairy products such as Australia and New Zealand. This would be a death knell to millions of dairy farmers across India whose livelihood is dependent on dairy products.*

*Also, recently the steel industry has made a presentation to the government regarding how the RCEP deal will seriously affect the steel industry as it faces cheaper imports from China. Every sector from steel to dairy is seriously concerned of governments intent on RCEP. Each aspect of RCEP Trade deal including investments, tariffs, IPR is bad for India. The past experiences of FTA have not been great for India. In every FTA that India has signed, the trade deficit of India has kept on increasing. Similarly, RCEP will lead to increased trade deficit damaging both the domestic manufacturing and services industry.*

– Harsha Vardhan Pasumarthi, Hyderabad, Telangana

### EDITORIAL OFFICE

#### SWADESHI PATRIKA

'Dharmakshetra', Sector-8, Rama Krishna Puram, New Delhi-22

■ Tel. : 26184595, E-Mail: swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com

For subscription please send payment by A/c payee Cheque/Demand Draft/Money

Order in favour of 'Swadeshi Patrika' at New Delhi, or

Deposit the subscription amount in Bank of India A/C No. 602510110002740,

IFSC: BKID 0006025 (Ramakrishnapuram)

Annual Subscription : 150/-

Life Membership : 1500/-

Kindly write your full name and address in capital letters.

If you do not receive any issue of Swadeshi Patrika, kindly e-mail us immediately.

#### Disclaimer

The views expressed within are those of the writers and do not necessarily represent the views of Swadeshi Patrika. Swadeshi Patrika often present views that we do not entirely agree with, because they may still contain information which we think is valuable for our readers.

## Quote-Unquote



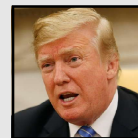
Today, many efforts going on in the interest of environment, not only in our country but all over the world, give Gandhiji's ideas a real perspective. Gandhi's urge for environment and water conservation underlines his foresight.

Ram Nath Kovind  
President, Bharat



India is ready to share best practices with other nations so that we can collectively work to improve global sanitation coverage.

Narendra Modi  
Prime Minister, Bharat



Will be in Houston to be with my friend. Will be a great day in Texas!

Donald Trump  
President, US



Article 370 was like a "Na-soor" which had allowed the State to bleed for nearly 70 years.

Rajnath Singh  
Defence Minister, Bharat



# RCEP: Death knell for Dairy in India

Government is contemplating to finalise RCEP-FTA (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership -Free Trade Agreement), a trade block which includes China, Australia and New Zealand, apart from 10 ASEAN countries, Japan and South Korea. New Zealand and Australia are negotiating very hard with India to reduce duty on dairy products so that they can get an access to India which is the world's largest market of dairy products. It's unfortunate that officials of Centre of Regional Trade (CRT) under Ministry of Commerce have been supporting the offer to reduce tariffs on milk and its products, by twisting the data of India's milk production and projecting a huge shortage of milk in India in coming 10 years. They are also projecting shortages of fodder, roughages and water for animal rearing and showing unrealistic export opportunity within RCEP countries despite huge non tariff barriers and low price of New Zealand dairy products. Milk producers and processors have been pleading with the Ministry of Commerce, presenting some hard facts, which are deliberately ignored by bureaucrats and consultants, pushing the deal.

Niti Aayog's Working Group Report (Feb 2018) on Demand and Supply Projections towards 2033 for Crops, livestock, Fisheries and Agricultural Inputs, the demand for milk will be 292 Million Metric Tonnes, against which India will produce 330 MMT milk. Thus, India will be surplus in milk products and the question of imports does not arise. NDDB and even international organisations like FAO and IFCN have confirmed and have projected a similar trend. The same NITI Aayog report further suggests very good agricultural production which will ensure availability of roughages and fodder for milch cattle even in 2033.

NZ with population of 48 Lac produces 24 MMT milk by employing 10,000 farmers and exports 93% of it. On the other hand, 10 crore families in India depend on dairy industry for their livelihood. Even if NZ exports only 5% of its produce, it will be equal to 30% of India's production of major dairy products like milk powder, butter, cheese etc. Same holds true for Australia where less than 6000 farmers produce 10 MMT milk and the export more than 60% of it. Then why should India include dairy products (HSN 0401 to 0406) in RCEP and allow import at lower duty? Is it to double income of farmers of Australia & NZ?

Interestingly, Indian consumers are getting milk at the cheapest rate globally and milk producers are getting highest share of consumer rupee (more than 80%). Our producer price of milk is comparable to Oceania's producer prices. It's beyond doubt that signing of RCEP would mean death knell if dairy in India, because: There will be reduction in procurement price of milk from farmers due to cheap imported milk powder from NZ. Today, farmer gets nearly rupees 28-30 per litre of milk, from milk processors from cooperative and even other private players. Procurement price for farmers would come down drastically, if imports are allowed through RCEP. This may result in approximately 50 million rural people losing their job as they will be forced to quit the unremunerative dairying. This will prove to be the most suicidal step by Government of India since independence. We must understand that once dairy industry is troubled, this step will result into the biggest food security threat as we will be permanently dependent on imports for dairy products like in case of edible oils Respected Prime Minister must know that doubling of farmers income will remain only in dreams, Indian dairy farmers' income will actually be halved, ultimately forcing to leave the milk production.

Further, we must know that dairy is mostly run and served by women folk. Impact on dairy would also shatter dream of women empowerment. India's dairy industry is worth US\$100 billion currently and is projected to double this size in next decade if Government policy remains supportive towards the rural milk producers. Milk, as the largest agricultural crop of India (150 million metric tonnes), certainly deserves better treatment at the hands of our Commerce Ministry negotiators. Signing of RCEP would cause a major unrest among our rural folk, as their livelihood will certainly get adversely affected. Government must understand that sacrificing the interests of the poor and vulnerable sections of the society, in the name of engaging in trade with rest of the world, is a bad politics. Honourable Prime Minister can ensure to avoid any unrest amongst our rural producers across the country and protect their future.

# Need to tax E-commerce and tech companies

**Finance Minister** Nirmala Sitharaman made a big announcement that the corporate tax rate on domestic companies will be reduced to 22 percent from the present 30 percent. This rate would be applicable from the current financial year itself. Not only this, the rate of corporate tax on new manufacturing companies would be 15 percent only. Though, with changes, India would be comparable with any low tax regime country, this decision would cost nearly rupees 1,45,000 crores to the exchequer.

According to the revised estimates for the year 2018-19 as compared to the budget estimates of the year 2018-19, there was a shortfall in central government's revenue by Rs 1 lakh 70 thousand crore. This reduction is equivalent to 11 percent of the budget estimates. When the revenue is not realised as per the budget estimates, it causes pressure on the government's expenditure, on the one hand, it inflates fiscal deficit, on the other. In other words we can say that revenue shortfall causes pressure on fiscal management. The government has very few options left in this kind of scenario, and the general public has to bear the brunt of the same, because the government has to cut expenditure on social sectors like education, health, drinking water, child and women development. Other victims of revenue shortfall is Infrastructure development.

In such a situation, government's desperation is understandable. In the budget, hurriedly a proposal was made to raise money through issue of sovereign foreign borrowing in external currency. Significantly, after independence, governments had never decided to take sovereign debt in foreign currency. Sovereign debt in foreign currency has its own disadvantages. Countries, who had bor-



*Like OECD countries and France, India should also initiate to tax e-commerce and tech companies.*

**Dr. Ashwani Mahajan**





rowed through foreign currency denominated bonds, had to suffer and they were subjected to conditionalities imposed by lenders, against sovereignty. There are many countries like Argentina, Ireland, Turkey which have suffered these tragedies. Most of the economists opposed this proposal, and warned against this policy, saying that it would be disastrous. The government seems to have put this proposal on hold, at least for now.

Another way to raise funds is to transfer the excess reserves held by them to the treasury from the Reserve Bank. In this regard, the government has succeeded in getting Rs 1.76 lakh crore immediately based on the recommendations of Bimal Jalan Committee. But experts believe that there is a need to increase government spending to avoid the slowdown in demand. However, at the same time, there is a demand from some quarters to give tax concessions and other stimulus to the industry especially the ones which are most affected by this slowdown. However, we need to understand that there is no matching revenue for the same and transfer from the Reserve Bank of rupees 1.72 lakh crores is not sufficient to meet demands of the industry.

### **Why is government's revenue not increasing?**

Most of the shortfall in revenue (rupees one lakh 70 thousand crores in fiscal year 2018-19), has been due to lower GST receipts and shortfall in corporate tax.

It is believed that GST, ie Goods and Service Tax receipts are less than expected because of the huge amount of tax evasion. This is also reported by the CAG.

According to a CAG report, the number of GST returns has actually come down. Tax credit is being taken on the basis of fake invoices and 7368 such cases were detected in the year 2018-19 involving a sum of Rs 38 thousand crore. Tax evasion was more than the cases actually detected. While the economy is already slowing down due to declining demand for automobiles, tax evasion and consequent reduction in government revenue are adding to the woes of the economy. Although GSTN is working efficiently, it may take some more time to GSTN become flawless. In the last financial year, there has been a major concern over GST collection falling short of monthly target of rupees one lakh crore of total revenue.

According to the revised estimates of the budget for the year 2018-19, there should have been receipts of Rs 12 lakh crore, whereas actual receipts were only Rs 11.18 lakh crore, i.e. a shortfall of Rs 82 thousand crore.

Further, it's notable that the receipts of corporate tax have also been much less than projected. The reason being stated is that the profits of small scale industries have decreased. It's unfortunate that everybody is silent about the shortfall in corporate tax collections.

### **Why the goals of corporate tax have not been realised?**

In the past years, corporate tax receipts have been booming, thanks to the encouragement given to corporates post new economic policy. It is not that the corporate business has decreased. The business of all the big corporate has been continuously growing rapidly. It's surprising that despite that corporate

tax is falling short of target. The reason for this is that a large number of 'emerging corporates' are not paying tax. These are tech companies, e-commerce companies or giant foreign software companies. It is well known that the retail business of the country is constantly going into the hands of big foreign e-commerce companies. Similarly, very large aggregators have emerged in the field of taxi services, travel services etc.

### **Imperative to tax E-commerce and tech companies**

There are many tech companies like Google etc. which did not pay any tax earlier. Some time back an effort was started to fetch tax from these companies. Government has been making effort that these tech companies like Facebook, Google etc, are forced to locate data in India. This may not only help in preserving important data of the citizens, it may pave way for fetching taxes from these digital firms. Till now, these companies keep all their data in foreign destinations, and report all their business from some foreign country, even if they are getting all their income from business within India. A significant portion of their revenue is the revenue generated by advertisements.

The Government of India in its 2016-17 budget decided to levy an equalisation levy of 6 percent on the B2B (business to business) sales of foreign tech companies, which are not considered as resident of India. But this equalization levy has a limitation that it is imposed on the B2B (business to business) sales only and not B2C (business to consumer) sales.

[Continued on page no. 30]

## Coherent set of immediate actions

I have been concerned about some macro-solutions proposed to address the slowdown. Calls for fiscal stimulus are misplaced and would, without much sustained benefit, jeopardise the hard-earned macroeconomic stability attained since 2014. Monetary and credit policy transmission needs fixing, not further rate cuts. Using speculative foreign money for sovereign spending would raise risk without ameliorating the credit and liquidity situation.

At the present moment, the need is for the government to respond to an immediate and exigent situation in which, (1) there are problems of sentiment; 2) the credit pipeline to NBFCs and the banking system is choked; 3) a few low-revenue generating tax measures are negatively impacting public sentiment; 4) the automobile industry which, for better or worse, is a “leading indicator” of economic performance, is being hurt by the misinterpretation of announcements intended to bring the sector in line with environmental best practice; and 5) the most important, structural demand deficiency needs to be addressed.

The package of measures announced by the Finance Minister on Friday has addressed all these concerns. It is a responsive, practical, presentation of a coherent set of immediate actions to ameliorate the structural slowdown without pointlessly expending fiscal firepower or throwing taxpayers’ money at special interest pleading.

The taxation measures are concrete and will take effect either immediately or from October 1, 2019. They withdraw contentious but low-revenue generating taxes and allay fears on corporate social responsibility violations. The upfront release of the budgetary allocation of Rs. 70,000 crore for bank recapitalisation executes the concomitant 2019-20 Budget commitment.



*The government must announce a calendar for implementation of Friday’s measures.*  
**Rathin Roy**





The institutional signal that rate cuts will be passed on to many borrowers in full measure, is necessary and welcome. But there are policy and operational issues that need to be addressed. For example, State Bank of India's current repo linked portfolio covers only 22 per cent of its deposits and 30 per cent of its loans. Banks' credit growth is currently faster than their deposit growth, so cutting deposit rates is not an option to improve transmission; but the bad loan problem still looms large. Banks will, therefore, continue to try and maintain margins, despite moral suasion.

Hence, effective implementation will not happen unless the actions of the government and the Reserve Bank of India are harmonised. There needs to be a joint road map that clarifies which rate (base rate, MCLR or Repo rate) will be linked to which product, and how the overall product portfolio will increasingly link to movements in rates without jeopardising the sustainability of the banking system. But this should not take more than three months to clarify if the authorities work together with this common purpose. There is enough analytical expertise available to them from previous efforts which can be efficiently utilised.

The additional liquidity support to housing finance corporations is also welcome. If there is a case for spending public money, it is most justifiable in the case of affordable housing without subsidy. The National Housing Bank's capitalisation could be further increased and its operational capacity, which is stretched to the limit, significantly bolstered. This, and

***If there is a case for spending public money, it is most justifiable in the case of affordable housing without subsidy.***

measures to improve and stabilise rural incomes, would be my ask from the next two tranches of announcements that the Finance Minister is to make. Also, ground feedback from housing finance companies is that the partial credit guarantee scheme is subject to severe delays in processing. Urgent and demonstrable action on this front would be very effective in ameliorating the slowdown.

The measures announced to deepen the bond markets are most welcome. As the Finance Minister said, in the absence of a development banking system, it is desirable that fixed/long-term capital is sourced from debt and equity finance, not bank finance. The measures announced, including those that enable Indian companies to access global financial markets are sound, and will have an immediate impact if implemented properly, as are actions to bring the off-shore rupee market to India (though further reforms will be necessary to achieve results). And it needs to be recognised that issuing sovereign bonds in foreign markets directly contradicts this policy action.

The automobile sector problems have been skilfully addressed.

Fears that current inventories would be stranded assets due to BS-VI vehicle norms or an immediate expansion in, and preferential treatment to, electric vehicles (which today means importing them from China) have been put to rest.

There is no timetable specified to implement many of the measures proposed. Administrative delays and hiccups in implementation have typically been the bane of good policy proposals in India. It is critical that the government announces a calendar for implementation of these measures, since their positive impact on the slowdown is crucially dependent on the speed and effectiveness of implementation. In particular, the inter-ministerial task force on infrastructure project pipelines needs to proceed to closure much faster than has historically been the case. The Department of Expenditure needs a concrete timeline to reduce payment delays and needs to be empowered by, and accountable to, the Finance Minister rather than the Cabinet Secretariat. Errant line departments must get a clear political, not bureaucratic, signal that turf wars and excuses that cause payment delays to persist will not be countenanced.

I recognise that this package will not be sufficient to address the structural problems that I have been highlighting, but these actions are a prior necessity to execute structural corrections. It is now up to the private sector to respond positively so that we can, collectively, focus on medium-term structural corrections. □□

*The author is director of National Institute of Public Finance and Policy  
[https://www.nipfp.org.in/media/medialibrary/2019/08/ratbin\\_my260819\\_j5zqr1.pdf](https://www.nipfp.org.in/media/medialibrary/2019/08/ratbin_my260819_j5zqr1.pdf)*

## Free the land to save Earth

The fire of humanity's end has started to burn the Amazon rainforests. Our hunger for destruction of forests is older than the Roman Empire's greed for wood or Amazonian farmers' need for more land. In India, we are victims of rampant logging and deforestation, too. The mighty Himalayas in Himachal Pradesh are stripped for lumber and in the plains trees are chopped to make way for real estate or farmland. Badland use means degraded land of 26 million hectares (ha) while excessive use of chemicals in industrial agriculture is resulting in more fertile tracts being destroyed each day. But time is up and, "any wrong step towards Earth's degradation by anyone, any government around the world affects each one of us." This was made clear at the recently-concluded United Nations' Convention to Combat Desertification Conference of Parties (UNCCD COP14) held in India.

India tops the charts as "the most climate-affected country of the world." This means that we may see temperatures hitting 55 °C, agriculture production failing and water wars in the next decade. We need to swerve towards healing the Earth and adopt realistic policies to address environmental degradation with a mass mitigation movement, otherwise climate change will destroy India. And city dwellers can't do it alone. India needs its farmers to save not just the country but perhaps, the world. And this time cultivators need help from our policy-makers too.

India is well stocked in cereals and is in fact heading towards over-production in rice and wheat, which is destabilising market prices and not allowing for farming of other crops. The culprit is the state policy of the limited scope of the



*Degraded tracts can be used for orchards and agro-forestry to help store more carbon in the soil.*

*This will help mitigate the effects of climate change.*

**Indra Shekhar Singh**





Minimum Support Price (MSP) scheme. The Government needs to extend MSP beyond wheat and rice, and given the newer challenges of water scarcity and climate chaos, we need to innovate to expand the scope of farmers' support system. A direct way is to include more crops under MSP, but the other can be to introduce relaxations to land ceilings as advised by the Economic Survey of India. This can be strictly done for growers who are willing to devote over 80 per cent of their land to orchards, agro-forestry using ecological practices like inter-cropping, natural composting and so on. The Government needs to come out in support of cultivators who can become the vanguard of India's climate mitigation campaign. We need a policy, which incentivises carbon sequestration by growers and Farmer Producers' Organisations (FPOs) using carbon credits matched by water efficiency scores. Carbon sequestration is the process by which carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) from the atmosphere is absorbed by trees, plants and crops through photosynthesis and stored as carbon in biomass such as tree trunks, branches, foliage, roots and soils.

We don't need all of the Indian farmland for cereal production and should promote orchards and agro-forestry, which are good for the cultivators and the Earth. As per a study conducted by the Environmental Defence Fund (EDF) in India, methane and nitrous oxide emissions from rice farms could have the same long-term warming impact as about 600 coal plants. Compare this to a research on mango orchards by ICAR-NICRA (Indian Council of

***Through breeding and introduction of newer varieties natural evolution among pests and pathogens can be obtained.***

Agricultural Research- National Initiative on Climate Resilient Agriculture) published in 2019. The study stated that the, "country as a whole has sequestered 285.005 million tonnes of carbon in its mango orchards. Andhra Pradesh (AP) and Telangana put together, having a maximum area under mango cultivation, sequestered 69.98 million tonnes of carbon. This is followed by Uttar Pradesh (35.58 million tonnes) Karnataka (29.57315 million tonnes), Odisha (21.07 million tonnes) and Bihar (20.09 million tonnes)."

This figure can grow if agro-ecological practices such as inter-cropping with pulses, other fruit trees, organic composting and fertilisers are used. Most degraded land can also be used for orchards, hence adding incomes for the farmers/FPOs and helping store more carbon in the soil.

In Ladakh, Nubra Valley produced about 4,650 metric tonnes (MT) of apricot, apple, walnut, mulberry, grape and plum and sequestered 22,300 MT of carbon. The cultivation of such temperate fruits can be used for carbon sequestration and rejuvenating degraded land, cold-arid regions by improving Soil Organic Carbon (SOC) contents and bringing more prosperity to farmers.

After achieving food sovereignty, we should diversify and not only meet climate targets, by planting trees and agro-forestry, we save water, clean the air and bring higher economic returns for farmers. To free the land to heal and repair the Earth, we have to address the issue of degraded areas. The burden of cereal production has been rapacious for bio-diversity. We need to rejuvenate bio-diversity of the hinterland, especially along the Gangetic plains and river plains of the south with trees. Let the bigger farmers grow forests, so the small and medium cultivators can grow cereals, lentils and oilseeds. Once the bigger farmers shift out of cereal production, small growers can get better prices for their produce through the Government and grain traders. FPOs can play a very big role in this.

Take for example Lucknow or Kanpur, both of which are high on the air pollution index. The State Government can identify clusters of degraded or wastelands and convert them exclusively into agro-forests or mixed orchards. If a cluster decides to use agro-ecological methods of farming, it should be incentivised by allowing each individual farmer to own more than the prescribed limit in the Land Ceiling Act of UP.

Instead of the Government bearing all burden of degraded land restoration, through policy decisions facilitate farmers/FPOs to buy it. The Government can assist by providing region-wise bio-diversity-based plans. Inter-cropping, natural composting, organic farming should be encouraged within the orchards and agro-forests.

Farmers/FPOs should be

exempted from the Land Ceiling Act if they purchase degraded land and bring 90 per cent of it under tree cover/orchards based on local biodiversity in the next two or three years. This should be over and above the land ceiling limits within State laws. This would ensure that the project is economically viable and reduces the pressure on the land and the Government. State laws can be amended to include this new category of farmlands and a limit should be imposed to ensure that they stay under tree cover for the next 60 years.

The next step would be to create a national kisan carbon credit programme, linking it to the global carbon credit system. Then FPOs/clusters can earn carbon credits for the country. This will also encourage developed nations and progressive states like California to make an investment into ru-

ral communities directly. Global companies too could buy carbon credits to reduce their emissions. The farmers will earn more and we clean the air of surrounding cities while earning investments straight into rural and semi-rural India.

If land ceilings are relaxed for renewable energy projects, why not for climate mitigation through biodiversity? Indian farmers, much like the solar industrialists, are fighting climate change; they only differ in their approach. One uses shiny solar panels while the cultivators are armed with their saplings and seeds. They should be given every opportunity to contribute to India's climate mitigation because the threat is very real and affects the farmers and rural India more. We need integration of old wisdom and new farming technologies.

The size of the land-holding is too small and is ever-shrinking, while the degradation and depletion of land fertility are at an all-time high. We have to free the land and free the farmers to help restore the ecosystem. Days of bullock carts are long gone, we need to embrace technology and steer it for the protection of the Earth and our nation.

We need to embrace new science and the forest together, to save our civilisation from the negative effects of climate change. Reconnect with the Earth and act now unitedly for the benefit of our Vasudeva kutumbakam (global family) or else as best articulated by James Baldwin, "Instead of ending the world with water, God will end it with fire next time." □□

*(The writer is Programme Director for Policy and Outreach at the National Seed Association of India)*

# SWADESHI PATRIKA

## *Voice of Real Economy*

**Dedicated to Swadeshi Movement in all its dimensions;  
Battles threats to the economic sovereignty of the nation; and  
Gives Voice to all sections of Economy**

**SUBSCRIBE AND/OR RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION**

**FILL THE FORM AND SEND IT TO US : Medium : ..... (Hindi / English)**

**Name .....**

**Address.....**

**.....Contact No.....**

**City ..... Pin .....**

**YEARLY Rs. 150/-**

**LIFE Rs. 1500/-**

**Website: [www.swadeshionline.in](http://www.swadeshionline.in) Email: [swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com](mailto:swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com)**

For subscription please send payment by A/c payee Cheque/Demand Draft/Money Order in favour of  
**'Swadeshi Patrika'** at New Delhi, , or Deposit the subscription amount in **Bank of India A/C No. 602510110002740,**  
**IFSC: BKID 0006025 (Ramakrishnapuram)**

# Power: Current Affairs



## The Journey So Far

If Modi 1.0 was focused on supplying electricity to every home in the country, then Version 2 is all about making the supply 24x7 and affordable. Electricity generated from renewable sources will form a larger portion of the power basket than current levels. To achieve this, second-phase reforms are essential, including funding for distribution companies (discoms) to enhance infrastructure and more authority for bill collection. The power ministry is now pushing state governments to acquire and instal pre-paid smart meters. These should help enhance recoveries, though this will also be a fund-intensive exercise.

Officials at the power ministry have already begun detailing UDAY 2.0 (the Ujjwal DISCOM Assurance Yojana for the 'financial turnaround of power distribution companies'). This aims not only to provide funds for enhancing last-mile infrastructure, but also to find ways to cut losses. The first round of UDAY reforms involved a massive financial restructuring plan-as a result, the aggregate debt of discoms had fallen from Rs 2.7 lakh crore in September 2015 (when UDAY was launched) to Rs 1.5 lakh crore in 2016-17. But things have again taken a turn for the worse, with debt now at Rs 2.28 lakh crore (2018-19) UDAY 2.0 is targeted at solving these problems.

The power ministry has also decided to penalise discoms for wilful load-shedding. Regulatory commissions are making provisions for this, but it will be difficult to execute.

## Is It Enough?

India's per capita consumption of electricity has been stagnant at around 1,100 units for the past 3-4 years. This financial year, though, consumption of electricity has grown by 3.3 per cent. Although electricity has reached most homes countrywide, consumption at commercial centres and local bodies has not increased significantly. The focus on renewable energy is also pushing lesser utilisation of installed thermal capacity.

Despite the overcapacity, the country still faces, on average, 5 hours and 38 minutes of load-shedding per day. This underlines the need for augmenting intra-grid supplies and distribution reforms.

## The Unfinished Agenda

A carrot-and-stick approach to reform the discoms. More manufacturing capacities to meet the demand for smart meters and other equipment. States still not adhering to sanctity of power agreements. In June and July, the Andhra Pradesh government cancelled several agreements executed by the previous Chandrababu Naidu regime. A regulatory push is needed to help states bring power losses to below 15 per cent. Only 15 states have managed to do this so far. □□

<https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/nation/story/20190923-power-current-affairs-1598365-2019-09-13#ssologin=1#source=magazine>



*After power to every home, affordable round-the-clock electricity is the new focus.*  
**Anilesh S. Mahajan**



## Planned Desert in offing in NCR

# Rs 16000 cr Jewar airport needs to be given up for saving water bodies

India is host to UN conference against desertification. Less than 45 km away from the venue in Greater Noida, a massive step initiated to desertify the fertile horn of western UP by trying to set up an international airport – more a promotion to boost real estate. The project must be abandoned to protect farming, lakes, aquifers, swamps and the ecology of the critical northern plains.

The Rs 16,000 crore project, likely to rise to over Rs 24,000 crore, 70 km from Delhi's Indira Gandhi airport, has evoked severe protest by farmers and consequent increase in compensation. The land at the project site is primarily agricultural in nature, with over 6,000 big trees – mainly *arjun* and *babool* – and plenty of wetlands. Since townships and activity areas are to spring up all around many more thousand trees would be felled. About 1000 known water bodies may disappear.

The country does not need a second international airport so close to the Delhi airport. It is a massive economic waste at a time when the country is grappling with slowdown. The real estate all around this project in another 40 sq km area is gasping. Hundreds of projects remain incomplete and the Yamuna Expressway built through the stretch is itself in crisis. Its pro-pounder Jaypee group is going through problems amid heavy debt and NPA.

Hindon air force base airport that has been opened to civilian traffic, a stone's throw from Jewar, hardly finds an airline as host. Another 100 km to west is Agra airport with international facilities. Still under pressure of real estate and unscrupulous political parties a massive effort has started in acquiring 2000 hectare land for the airport.

But as larger areas would come up for development, the risk is higher to the ecology in almost 100 km area. So while climate change is a cyclic phenomenon, man is concerned as his activities heighten it. Aptly at the UN Conference of Parties



*The Jewar airport project needs reconsideration and restoration of land back to the farmers to save the bread basket from becoming arid.*

**Shivaji Sarkar**



(COP) 14, Minister for Environment and Climate Change Prakash Javedkar says, "If human actions have created the problems of climate change, land degradation and biodiversity loss, it is the strong intent, technology and intellect that make difference. It is human efforts that will undo the damage".

He has also announced 50 lakh hectare of barren land's reclamation by 2030. It is a good intention but fraught with risk.

The announcements and realities are different. More such announcements are made it is found that more land is getting degraded around the national capital as water uses increase. It is just not around Noida and Greater Noida, even Gurgaon is subject to large degradation by a hungry real estate. The boom around all these places has transformed thousands of hectares of arable land into plots for high rises, at least half of these incomplete and leading just not only to an environmental but also an economic disaster.

What is not discussed is that more the land for real estate more it dehydrates the country, writes HN Dixit, speaker of UP Assembly. Over the years, Delhi and its neighbourhood is getting devoid of natural water sources and larger water pollution despite Yamuna cleaning rituals. The area around Jewar is now being subjected to similar drying up of aqua sources. The region has also the highest number of brick kilns, in itself an ecological hazard in terms of heat, dust and smoke. By having an airport it is to worsen the ecology in about a 100 km periphery from Noida to Mathura. Unauthorized colonies are being planned out in an area which is the bread basket.

***According to an official study, land degradation has led to a roughly 2.5 percent loss of the country's economic output between 2014 and 2015.***

Close to the region in Aligarh-Kasganj, Alipur-Barwara and Kasganj-Farrukhabad, again due to the construction of Ganga expressway, and other human encroachment of aquifers, acute shortage of water for irrigation is being faced. The administration is trying to revive old river channels. Nobody knows it would succeed or not but it has become a money spinner.

Interestingly enough the UPA government was in a mood to keep the airport project off as in its view Samajwadi Party leaders were to reap the benefit. The then government had also sounded ecological concern and questioned the necessity of having an airport so close to Delhi airport on one side and Agra on the other, and upgradation of Aligarh air strip.

The airport project goes against the move to rejuvenate 281 ponds in Jewar itself. About 800 other ponds and water body rejuvenation in Noida, Dadri, Greater Noida, Dankaur and Bisrakh may also get affected. Adjoining Gautam Buddha Nagar district magistrate BN Singh has said that there are encroachments of ponds and other water bodies as construction activities are increasing. He says ponds in many places, including Bilaspur and Surajpur were encroached by the administration for

dumping the growing waste to increase in habitations.

Dadri, on way to Jewar, declared semi-critical for water scarcity, built its municipality office on 1140 square metre pond. In close by Tugalpur, a college was built on a water body.

Aquifers in Jewar have over-exploitation rate of 108.81 percent, according to the groundwater department. As the area is getting more populated with the impending airport, more ponds and aquifers despite efforts at conservation are becoming victims of "development".

The "development" includes construction of the airport, industries, large hotels, warehouses, roads and many other facilities. Each of these is to gobble up many water bodies. Consequently the critical region may end up dry. As vehicular traffic and industrial activities also to surge, it would increase air pollution.

According to an official study, land degradation has led to a roughly 2.5 percent loss of the country's economic output between 2014 and 2015.

The region around Jewar airport is fragile. Being close to Delhi, it is to degrade large tract and even heat up the national capital. The massive investment is to desertify National Capital Region (NCR) already hit by a chain of high and expressways. It signifies that massive finances involved are posing challenges to the world leadership between conserving or devastating environment

The Jewar airport project needs reconsideration and restoration of land back to the farmers to save the bread basket from becoming arid. □□

## Instead of piecemeal announcements, Govt needs a mid- to long-term approach

One of the puzzling things about PM Narendra Modi is that he has proved to be a master strategist on the domestic political and international relations fronts, but continues to make incremental tweaks on the economic front.

After reducing the government's first annual budget speech into a largely political speech, Modi is now getting various ministers, led by finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman, to make piecemeal announcements week after week in response to some bad news or the other about the economy. This is particularly odd given that the PM has, in fact, set a medium-term goal of increasing the country's national income to \$5 trillion. Such ambition requires a medium-to long-term approach to economic policy.

A beleaguered Sitharaman tries with visible sincerity to give the impression that her weekly television appearance with yet another set of policy announcements follows a preplanned strategy of economic growth promotion. However, on each occasion the good news appears as if it is a response to some bad news.

Even if the government had been contemplating the 'big bang' tax and market-oriented economic liberalisation measures announced last Friday, they seemed to be a response to news about a steep increase in capital outflows, with outward remittance of foreign exchange increasing from \$1.325 billion in 2014-15 to \$13.787 in 2018-19. In April-July 2019, it was already \$5.871 billion.

### Necessary Steps

Most policy announcements made over the past three weeks by the finance minister have been welcomed as necessary steps in the right direction. Many of



*Sitharaman now makes piecemeal announcements in response to bad news about the economy.*

**Sanjaya Baru**





these ideas have been around for some time. The question remains, however, as to why none of these major measures formed a part of the July 2019 budget? The argument that the government had little time to prepare the July budget, after the elections of May, would be okay to satisfy loyal twitterati, but would not convince anyone who understands how policy is made.

Senior officials formulating policy in the ministry of finance and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) could easily have kept a strategy ready for the government while politicians were busy electioneering. Sitharaman is clever enough to have understood very quickly why she would be announcing policies already thought through. It does not take more than a couple of weeks to, in fact, draft a full budget speech once the policy measures and the fiscal numbers are in place.

By choosing to ignore the bad news about the economy at that time, and pretending that India was well on its way to becoming a \$5 trillion economy, the government was fooling no one but itself. Denying an economic slowdown in the run-up to the Lok Sabha elections was perfectly understandable.

No political party would want to be on the defensive in an election. Prime Minister Modi successfully diverted attention away from the economy to national security issues and won a handsome victory.

But as PM, he ought to have known that the economy needed urgent attention. And the July budget was the opportunity that should not have been bypassed.



***It remains to be seen whether the higher deficit will stimulate demand and new investment or will get absorbed by badly run firms.***

### Deficit Financing

Looking back over the past couple of months, one gets the impression that in July, this government's economic policymakers were living in a world far removed from the one they have now entered. The only factor influencing policy that has changed in these three months, with more convincing data available on an economic slowdown, has been the attitude to deficit financing.

In July, the government made much of adhering to fiscal discipline responding to the pressure of opinion from financial institutions and analysts. The growing concern about growth slowdown has en-

couraged even a diehard fiscal conservative like former Reserve Bank of India (RBI) governor C Rangarajan, perhaps the wisest voice today on macro-economic policy, to give his imprimatur, in a recent column, to increase public spending, albeit in capital expenditure.

It remains to be seen whether the higher deficit will stimulate demand and new investment, or will get absorbed by badly run firms.

In arguing in favour of a more strategic approach to macro-economic policy, rather than piecemeal, knee-jerk tactical interventions, even if these are helpful, I am not making much of a muchness. Effective economic policy-making is not just about the content of policy as it is also about timing and articulation.

How investors and consumers respond to these policy initiatives will depend in part on whether they view them as hurried acts of desperation of an anxious government, or as the beginning of a new approach in the march towards the goal of a \$5 trillion economy. □□

*The writer is distinguished fellow, Institute for Defence Studies & Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi*  
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/view-instead-of-piecemeal-announcements-goi-needs-a-mid-to-long-term-approach/articleshow/71249064.cms>

## Narrowing window



**On August 1, 2019,** tonnes of melting water formed on an ice sheet in western Greenland and drained into a moulin — a hole within a glacier/ice sheet from which water from the surface enters the ocean or is contained within a crevasse. July's heat wave in Europe spread to Greenland and melted the island's ice sheet, causing massive ice loss in the Arctic. Greenland lies between the Atlantic and Arctic oceans; 82 per cent of its surface is covered in ice.

The melt has been increasing daily; the Danish Meteorological Institute said that in July, Greenland lost 197 billion tonnes of ice and the loss will increase due to the arrival of warm air from North Africa and Spain that



*The world can no longer afford the luxury of climate change denial.*

*Global temperatures cannot be controlled unless we change the way we produce food and manage our lands*

**Sandhya Jain**

caused heat waves in Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Britain. In Russia, forest fires have destroyed nearly 30,000 square kilometres of land in Siberia and the Russian Far East. Greenland also had a plethora of Arctic wildfires.

While melt can refreeze on the ice sheet, experts say man-made climate change can cause permanent loss of ice. The UN World Meteorological Organisation states that the rise of global temperatures has caused extreme heat waves to occur at least 10 times more frequently than a century ago. The world can no longer afford the luxury of climate change denial.

Given the urgency of the matter, the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) and six European think-tanks are asking transnational corporations to make investment decisions factoring the 1.5 degree Celsius window for global warming. In a policy paper on climate justice, prepared for the UN Climate Action Summit in New York (September 23, 2019), they suggest that the UN include fair transition plans while preparing Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). Parties to the Paris Agreement should commit to these transition plans to help foster a new global social-ecological contract, while phasing out fossil fuels and moving towards a de-carbonised society.

The FEPS moots climate-proof global investment, finance and trade. To stimulate systemic change for a planet — and people-centric approach to climate investment — it suggests that Governments at all levels implement measures, including tax justice, committing to climate and social-friendly procurement standards, incentivising sustainable modes of transport and introducing an interna-

tionally agreed levy on airline fuels. Countries and businesses should agree to carbon disclosure and facilitate direct support for small and medium sized enterprises (MS-MEs) to invest in green and social initiatives.

The paper suggests involving young people in decision-making through green youth councils and greater civic participation. An international framework for sustainability and environmental rights, including recognition for environmental defenders and climate-displaced persons, is an urgent imperative. Nationally Determined Contributions must include nature-based solutions as the most cost-effective way of mitigation and adaptation. Governments must guarantee the autonomy of indigenous people and traditional communities over their territories in order to better value nature.

Chaired by Teresa Ribera, Minister for Ecological Transition in Spain, the FEPS approached stakeholders from across the world, including policy experts, academics, political, civil society and business representatives, to formulate recommendations for rapid de-carbonisation and global economic equality. Political leaders and powerful corporations must acknowledge the current climate emergency. The target of 1.5 degree Celsius can no longer be deferred; the world must achieve net-zero emissions by 2050 for which Governments and transnational corporations must find the political will and funds.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report 2019 warns that global warming will impact food production, aggravate freshwater shortages and

loss of permanent vegetation, cause wildfires and permafrost thawing and declines in crop yields, thus making famines more widespread. Moreover, higher carbon dioxide levels in the atmosphere will change plant chemistry and make food less nutritious.

The IPCC report stresses the need to curb meat consumption to reduce methane emissions; nearly 70 per cent of methane comes from cattle, sheep and rice fields. This is aggravated by deforestation and loss of peat lands, even as intensive agriculture increases soil erosion and loss of organic material in soils. Hence, peat lands (critical for preserving global biodiversity, providing safe drinking water, minimising floods and sequestering carbon dioxide) must be restored on a war footing. The world must shift towards vegetarian and vegan diets (coarse grains, pulses and vegetables, nuts and seeds).

Global temperatures cannot be controlled unless the world changes the way it produces food and manages land. Far too much land is under agriculture and the use of artificial fertilisers like nitrous oxide intensifies the greenhouse effect. The destruction of tropical rainforests to grow palm oil is especially calamitous and over the past two decades has caused the death of almost one lakh orangutans, while posing serious risks to elephants, rhinos and tigers.

These problems are likely to worsen as “climate change exacerbates land degradation through increases in rainfall intensity, flooding, drought frequency and severity, heat stress, wind, sea-level rise and wave action.” Warning that mankind is close to the tipping point for climate destabilisation,

the IPCC insists that land will have to be managed more sustainably so that it releases less carbon than at present.

The United Kingdom’s Committee on Climate Change moots a net-zero emissions target via 20 per cent reduction in consumption of beef, lamb and dairy to release more land for forests and peat land restoration. Afforestation of 30,000 hectares a year, increasing woodland cover from 13 to 17 per cent, would capture 22 million tonnes of carbon dioxide in trees. The G7 declaration from Biarritz, France, also urged stricter curbs on beef, soy, minerals and other products from areas affected by deforestation.

US President Donald Trump skipped the Biarritz session on climate and biodiversity (August 26), though the summit pledged \$20 million to fight the Amazon wildfires and find new ways to cut carbon emissions. French President Emmanuel Macron, who put climate centre stage, called Amazon the “lungs” of the planet and said similar help is being considered for African rainforests. With Brazil President Jair Bolsonaro, a climate sceptic, resenting charges of encouraging deforestation as many fires were purposely set to clear the land, Chile President Sebastián Piñera stepped in to mollify him. It took enormous international pressure before Bolsonaro sent two C-130 Hercules aircraft to douse the Amazon fires, and if the rainforest is to be reforested, as the UN is likely to discuss in 2020, it would need the cooperation of Bolsonaro and the local communities. □□

(The writer is Senior Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; the views expressed are personal)

<https://www.dailypioneer.com/2019/columnists/narrowing-window.html>



# Give Education Vouchers to compete with the Computer

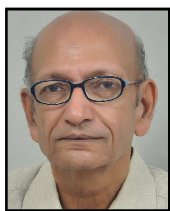


**Founder** of Ali Baba, Jack Ma, in his address at the World Economic Forum said that only by changing education can children compete with machines. This means that reform of our education system should be the top economic priority. Our educational system, in rural areas in particular, is dominated by the government schools. However, not one of the 21 students in the merit list of Class X of UP Education Board came from government schools. There was none among the 14 students in the merit list of Class XII either. The pass percentage of government schools are much behind private schools across the country. This is despite the salary

of the government teachers today being about 35,000 rupees while salary of private teachers being about Rs 8,000 per month. We are spending our scarce economic resources only to ensure that we do *not* give good education.

The UP Government was spending Rs 25,000 per student per year on primary and secondary education in 2016-17. This would be about Rs 30,000 per student in 2020. This expenditure includes fake enrollments. The government schools make these to access benefits such as mid-day meals and free uniforms. A survey of nine districts in Bihar found 4.3 lakh fake enrollments. A survey of Jharkhand found 7.6 lakh fake enrollments. The actual per student expenditure would be about Rs 40,000 rupees per student per year if we exclude the fake enrollments. Therefore, if we reduce the assured salaries of government teachers by one-half, and distribute that amount to all the students, it would provide Rs 20,000 per student per year and enable the students to pay the fees of a school of their choice.

The National Sample Survey indicates private elementary-schools' median fee was Rs 417 per month in 2014. The corresponding figures for 2020 would be Rs 600 for elementary schools or, say, Rs 1,000 for the primary and secondary education together. It will be possible for the students presently enrolled in government schools to migrate to above-median private schools and pay their fee of up to Rs 2,000 per month. The private schools will also get additional moneys to upgrade the quality. This will lead to competition between schools. It will become necessary for the government schools to improve their teaching so that they get the vouchers and use the money to compensate for the one-half reduction in their salaries. Famed economist Milton Friedman held that education is like any other service like say that of a barber or a taxi. The quality of schools and the educational status of our youth will improve by bringing in market-based competition. The



*There is a need to move fast and provide high quality education to our youth by introducing the voucher system as highlighted by Mr Jack Ma.*  
**Bharat Jhunjunwala**

Government will not have to bear any additional expenditure either.

International evidence is available for the positive impact of competition among schools. A study by the National Bureau of Economic Research of United States found that “Evidence on both small scale and large scale programs suggests that competition induced by vouchers leads public schools to improve.” A study of the voucher system in Colombia by the World Bank said that those benefitting from the vouchers “scored 0.2 standard deviations higher on standardized tests, controlling for age, gender, parents’ schooling, and residence.” The same study found that in New Zealand “schools started to compete for students... because they received more operating funds as enrollment increased, salary scales and prestige for principals were linked to school size, and schools gaining students were widely perceived to be successful, which motivated school boards to expand enrollments.” The voucher system was introduced in Andhra Pradesh on experimental basis. A study by the Center for Civil Society found that voucher students performed better than their counterparts in government schools in English and in Maths in Telugu medium private schools. The same study says that there was a positive and statistically significant impact on English, with voucher students scoring 2.2 points higher although there were no differences in performance in Hindi or Maths. The program was also particularly effective in improving girls’ performance, the study says. The conclusion is that the voucher system leads to increase in compe-

***As per NBER, US  
“Evidence on both  
small scale and large  
scale programs  
suggests that  
competition induced by  
vouchers leads public  
schools to improve.”***

tition and improvement in educational achievement.

The main negative impact of the voucher system discussed in academic literature is the impact on social inequality. A number of studies show that voucher system leads to the upper class students migrating to the better schools in Sweden, New Zealand, United States and other developed countries. This problem has to be understood in the context of the developed countries. The United States has a rule whereby all students—rich and poor—living in a designated area have to necessarily go to the same school. There is no choice. The introduction of voucher-led choice immediately leads to the migration of upper class students to the better schools. The situation in India is entirely different. There is no compulsion of attending a particular school. As a result, the upper class students already go to a better and more expensive school. The voucher system will only enable the poorer students to migrate to the better school in this circumstance. Perhaps for this reason a paper published in the Journal of Economic Literature said that vouchers delivered modest test-score gains in Andhra Pradesh “with no adverse distributional effects.”

An argument extended for the poor performance of the government schools is that the poorer students are enrolled there. This is correct. However, the solution does not lie in investing more in the government schools because anecdotal evidence suggests this does not lead to better education. The solution is to provide vouchers to the poorer students and help them migrate to the better schools.

Another argument against the voucher system is that the private schools often provide freedom of cheating in exams. This argument applies where the schools are autonomous and make their own final assessments. In our country the exams of Class X and XII are conducted by CBSE or State Boards where the private- and government school students have the same access to cheating.

We must immediately reduce the salaries of government teachers by 50 percent and distribute the saved amount of Rs 20,000 per student per year to all students so that they can take admission in a private- or government school of their choice. The government teachers will then have to garner only one-half of their salaries from the vouchers. They would also have the access to the school buildings already constructed from government funds. A caveat is that the value of the voucher can be increased for remote areas, say, to Rs 4,000 per month, so that both government and private the schools there can be run with smaller number of students. We need to move fast and provide high quality education to our youth by introducing the voucher system as highlighted by Mr Jack Ma. □□

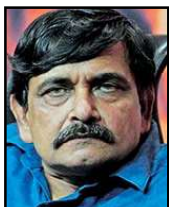
*Formerly Professor of Economics at IIM Bengaluru*

# 100 Days Of Modi's Term 2 are Thunderous

In the first hundred days of his second innings, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has accomplished so much that the party and the country will always remember him as the leader who changed the course of history. His government's actions in the last 100 days, unlike in the first tenure, have been more ideology driven and focus on taking the country to a new league both economically and politically. If his first term was remarkable for path-breaking welfare programmes and economic initiatives like demonetization, GST and realty sector reforms, plus the strategic air strike on Pakistan, the second phase has begun with the scrapping of Article 370, an amendment to anti-terrorism laws, making Triple *Talaq* unlawful, the mergers of banks and making the farmer-reward *yojana* universal.

In these hundred days, the Modi government has focused on: assuring the ideological family that the government is committed to implementing the core planks of the party manifesto; fixing the two problem areas of the economy, agriculture and the construction industry, which together account for almost 50 per cent of GDP; and job creation. The Modi Government has widened the scope of Kisan Samman Yojana to all farmers, stepped up the rural housing scheme and road and irrigation projects in the rural sector and delivered a plethora of tax concessions and incentives for the construction industry.

The construction industry, which was languishing for many years after demonetization, RERA and GST, is the second-largest employer in India. The present slowdown and job crunch are directly a consequence of this distress. The construction industry directly impacts more than 150 other sectors and hence the



*In the first hundred days of his second innings, PM Narendra Modi has accomplished so much that the party and the country will always remember him as the leader who changed the course of history.*

**Dr. R.  
Balashankar**



government has been bent on infusing more funds into affordable housing, cheaper loan facilities and streamlining the construction industry. The government has asked all public sector entities to fill up vacancies on a war footing. This has immediately created 2.5 lakh job opportunities.

It is just by chance that Modi Government's completion of its hundred days coincided with India's Moon Mission Two which was only a partial success. But it arguably established the country as the fourth space power on earth. This is a scientific achievement for India, and signalled that under Modi, India is emerging as a world power. Modi wants to take man to the moon in the next three years and also make the Indian GDP worth five trillion dollars. Both are possible but face major impediments. The failure of the soft landing on moon is bound to slow down the ISRO project. The economy needs more efficient handling to unleash the animal spirit, which is absent, at least on the investment front.

Infrastructure building is a major growth area. It is in the safe hands of Nitin Gadkari and Piyush Goel. But the one trillion investment needed in the sector has to come also from private sector. Public sector spending has to grow. The government has to become more appreciative and encouraging of wealth creators. A general feeling is that the policies are harsh on people who generate wealth. The economy cannot grow to double digits if the tax regime gets a tag of being hostile to the neo-rich.

In the past hundred days, the drive against corruption has sprinted. Though the government is not



***Containing inflation and keeping it below four per cent has been a major achievement of the Modi Government.***

directly involved, actions against swindlers and corrupt politicians have large mass appeal. The absence of action on this front in the last five years had raised questions about Modi's sincerity in fighting corruption. The corrupt have to be booked and punished if at all the rhetoric has to gain credibility. Or it will be seen as poll propaganda.

Under Modi, India has emerged a major FDI destination. The trade war between US and China has affected us only marginally.

Containing inflation and keeping it below four per cent has been a major achievement of the Modi Government. But of late, the demand crunch has come to affect growth. A pre-condition for good economics is that people enjoy spending rather than concealing their income. It is the government's duty to create a conducive atmosphere for making life easier. The curbs on currency circulation have adversely affected demand and growth.

With some momentous decisions during his first term as Prime Minister, Modi set the foundation for India's enhanced image in ease of doing business, transparency, freedom from graft and greater compliance to tax. All this and fi-

nance sector reforms have put economic fundamentals on a stronger footing. The war on NPA and banking reforms have increased faith in financial institutions. But this has a long way to go. Bankers are equally guilty and corrupt as the NPA story reveals. They too have to come under legal scrutiny.

In the first hundred days, Modi has visited 12 countries. India's sterling performance on the diplomatic front became visible in the aftermath of the strategic air strike on Balakot and the abrogation of Article 370. Pakistan was isolated, India received universal support. This is another feather in Modi's cap.

The improved situation in large parts of Jammu and Kashmir after the removal of Article 370 has further established Modi's image as a mega super-star with the party cadre. Electorally, too, the move has further cemented Modi's position. He was able to gain support even from a large and diverse segment of the opposition including many Congressmen. The beginning thus far has been thunderous on all aspects. □□

(Dr R. Balashankar is Member, BJP Central Committee on Training, and Committee on Publications and former Convener BJP National Intellectual Cell and former Editor Organiser.)  
<https://www.ndtv.com/opinion/100-days-of-modi-2-0-prove-he-is-super-star-for-cadre-2097501>



## Worsening agrarian crisis

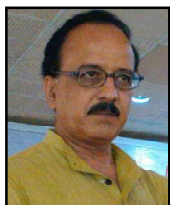
Lovepreet Singh was a young farmer with a lot of dreams. Knowing well that he inherited an outstanding loan of Rs 8 lakh, he still wanted to give farming a try. But unable to pay back the loan, he finally ended his life. He was only 22.

The suicide of Lovepreet Singh of Barnala district sent shockwaves in Punjab. In three generations, the family had lost five members to farm distress. A year and a half ago, his father, Kulwant Singh, had ended his life by hanging himself just a day before the state government launched the first phase of the farm loan waiver. His grandfather too had earlier committed suicide. "We had taken around eight acres of land on lease at the rate of Rs 50,000 per acre annual rent but due to the hail storm in 2017, our wheat crop got damaged. We could never recover from that," his mother Harnail Kaur told the media.

This is probably the first instance when members of three generations of a farm family had borne the brunt of continuing indebtedness. Earlier, there were cases when a father or mother and his or her son had committed suicide but the fact that the economic crisis is being passed on from a farmer to his next two generations clearly shows how deep-rooted the malaise is.

This reminds me of yet another tragedy when a farmer Jaswant Singh had tied his five-year-old son to his waist and jumped into the canal. He left behind a note saying that he knew it was unfair to take his son along to the grave but he also knew that his son wouldn't be able to pay back the Rs 10 lakh outstanding loan.

Despite the farm loan waiver launched by Amarinder Singh's government, under which Rs 2 lakh outstanding loan of a farmer availed from a cooperative bank is written off, the spate of suicides continues unabated. This year alone,



*Series of farmers' suicide in Punjab due to private money lenders, banks, agents of micro-finance institutes and non-banking financial companies warrant waiving all outstanding farm loans.*  
**Devinder Sharma**



between January and July, 645 farmers took the fatal route to escape the humiliation that comes along with debts.

With private money lenders, banks and agents of micro-finance institutes (MFIs) as well as the Non-Banking Financial Companies (NBFC) breathing down their necks, farmers are increasingly being driven to commit suicide. According to data compiled by the Bhartiya Kisan Union (Ugrahan), between April 1, 2017, and August 31, 2019, a total of 1,280 farmers and farm workers had committed suicide.

The fact that Punjab, the breadbasket of the country, has turned into a hotbed of farmer suicides over the years, is certainly not without reasons that are unknown. With Rs 4,609 crore of farmers, bad loans having been written-off since the Congress government launched the loan waiver scheme, a total of 5,61,886 indebted farmers have benefitted so far.

The possibility of more bad loans being waived off in the future is bleak and there is little possibility of the benefit being extended to more farmers.

At the same time, the government has in fact gone back on its electoral promise of waiving all outstanding farm loans taken from cooperative, nationalised, private banks as well as from private money lenders. This would have entailed an expenditure of close to Rs 90,000 crore, which the state government said it didn't have.

If the death toll so far in 2019 is any pointer, on an average, three farmers are ending lives every day. This is happening at a time when Punjab has been bestowed with Krishi Karman award for being the

***The rigid dichotomy between increased crop productivity and worsening agrarian distress remains unexplained.***

best-performing state in rice production in 2017-18.

Punjab has been the top contributor of rice to the central pool since 2009-10 except for 2010-11 when Andhra Pradesh had left Punjab behind. In case of wheat, Punjab has retained the top position in contributions to the national pool since 2008-09, providing on an average 37.83% of the total contribution to the food reserves.

With such a high contribution of wheat and rice to the central pool, and with 98% cultivable area under assured irrigation, the rigid dichotomy between increased crop productivity and worsening agrarian distress remains rather unexplained.

Now take a look at the three criteria specified for Krishi Karman award – first is for achieving high production for which 55 marks are kept; secondly, 30 marks are assigned for the special initiatives taken for achieving record output; and finally, 15 marks are reserved for expenditure under foodgrain development schemes—and the reasons for the continuing crisis in agriculture are crystal clear.

### **Sustainable livelihood**

If only the package was re-designed keeping at least 50%

marks for the welfare of the farmers growing these crops, the policy planning focus would have shifted to ensuring a decent and sustainable livelihood for the farming community in distress.

The state policies have so far focussed on increasing foodgrain production at whatever cost, without caring for the farmer who toils endlessly to produce the record harvest. According to studies, Punjab tops the global productivity in cereal crops – wheat, rice and maize, and yet has turned into a graveyard for farmers.

Take another example. To fight the menace of stubble burning, Punjab has formed 6,400 farmer groups to provide them with machines as well as to educate them problems of burning paddy stubble after the harvest. Teams of experts comprising scientists from the Punjab Agricultural University and the state department of agriculture will be interacting with these farmer groups.

To sell the highly subsidised machines, 6,400 farmers groups have been formed. I don't understand why similar groups cannot be created to address the worsening agrarian crisis?

Why regular camps and interactive sessions cannot be held with farmers in small groups, learning from them the reasons which lead to farm suicides? Why can't these suggestions be collated and then action taken reports is filed? Why should the state government only swing into action when farm machinery has to be sold and keep quiet to address the bigger humanitarian task? □□

(The writer is a farm economy expert)  
<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/main-article/worsening-agrarian-crisis-763727.html>

# Responding to the water emergency in India: **Jaivik Kranti as India's Food and Water Revolution**

India is a land of Diversity – of climates, plants, food and agriculture systems, languages and dress. We have every climate of the world – the desert in Rajasthan, the semiarid tracts of the Deccan, the rich coastal ecosystems, the rainforests of the Western Ghats, and the temperate zone and the Third Pole in the Himalaya.

Each region has evolved agriculture systems, crops and food adapted to the diversity of nature and diverse local cultures that co evolved with nature.

In Rajasthan and the Deccan we had the millets, pulses, oilseeds. Orissa and Chattisgarh are the Vavilov centres of rice where indigenous communities evolved more than 200,000 varieties of rice. The Western Ghats gave us the spices. And the Himalaya gave us amaranth, buckwheat and a diversity of other nutritious crops.

Today India is facing a Water Emergency and a Nutrition Emergency. The two emergencies are interconnected. Agriculture systems that rob us of nutrition also rob us of water. Agriculture systems that disrupt the nutrient cycle contribute to malnutrition, Climate Change and desertification. The nutrient cycle which replenishes soil organic matter is the basis of maintaining the water cycle. Both cycles get broken by the same ecological processes. The seeds for today's emergency were sowed 40-50 years ago with World Bank advice and the Green Revolution.

The Green Revolution has destroyed our water, our soil, our biodiversity. Green revolution varieties of Rice and wheat were forced on Punjab, destroying the fertile land with chemical monocultures, and creating neglect for the regions rich in biodiversity of rice like Orissa and Chattisgarh.



*Although India is rich in diversity of eco-systems, we are facing a water emergency and a nutrition emergency.*  
**Vandana Shiva**





There are three ways in which the dwarf varieties of rice and wheat contribute to the water emergency.

Firstly, Green Revolution varieties are thirsty varieties requiring ten times more water to produce the same amount of food.

Secondly, Green Revolution Varieties are bred as dwarf varieties to take up more chemicals, and avoid the problem of lodging when chemicals are applied to indigenous varieties. As dwarf varieties grown as monoculture, Green revolution varieties violate the law of return on which sustainability is based. They give no organic matter back to the soil, depleting the capacity of soil to hold water. 1% organic matter in soil can hold 160,000 litres per ha.

Thirdly, Chemical fertilisers used in chemical farming kill the soil organisms that create living soil. The soil starts to get decertified, needing more frequently irrigations, leading to a deeper water crisis.

The solution to the water crisis begins by growing water prudent tall indigenous varieties of seeds which produce more biomass in their straw, which we can return to the soil, allowing us to obey nature's law of return. Indigenous farming systems based on indigenous seeds are water conservation systems because they maintain and renew both the nutrient cycle and water cycle.

Instead of recognising that growing water intensive monoculture rice in Punjab has broken nature's two vital ecological cycles, and instead of recognising that crops should be planted in ecosystems to which they are ecologically adapted, instead to



***Water crisis can be handled through indigenous farming systems which is intricably linked to the deficiency of nutrition.***

promoting biodiversity of indigenous seeds of crops where they have evolved, instead of giving up chemical farming and shifting to organic, there is now an attempt now to criminalise rice itself and destroy our biodiversity and culture. We call rice *Akshat* (which means whole, not broken) and *Prana* (*breath considered as the life giving force and universal energy which gives us life*). This assault on rice is an assault on our civilisation and ecological heritage.

Like rice, sugarcane, called *IkSuka* in Sanskrit, evolved in India in the Gangetic plain where there is abundant water.

The World Bank imposed sugarcane cultivation in the semi arid Deccan region of Maharashtra in place of the millet jowar. The Deccan region is in the rain shadow of the Western Ghats and receives an average rainfall is 600 mm. Because of the Deccan Trap, only 10% of the rain fall goes to recharge the ground water annually. Jowar uses only 250 mm, and also gives back large quantities of organic matter to the soil, increasing soil moisture. Sugarcane requires 2500 mm, and has led to water mining and the dry wells we see

on TV is a direct result of the ill advised World Bank Policy of growing sugarcane in a water scare area.

High cost drip irrigation which costs Rs 45000 to Rs 75000 per ha will increase the financial stress on the farmers, and not repair the broken water cycle. We need to bring back jowar to address the water emergency in Maharashtra.

The Green Revolution was neither Green, not Revolutionary. It was a project for colonising India's food and agriculture. It has left us with a severe water crisis. With the ecological and social emergency we face, we need a real food and water revolution based on indigenous seeds of water prudent nutrition crops like desi, wheat, desi rice, desi dal, desi tilhan, and millets, the forgotten foods. An agriculture based on regenerating soil fertility and soil moisture through organic farming can address both the nutrition and water emergency. It also addresses Climate Change.

This is our *Jarvik Kranti*. Our Revolution for Life. □□

<https://www.nardanya.org/bija-reflections/2019/07/02/responding-to-the-water-emergency-in-india-jarvik-kranti-as-indias-food-and-water-revolution/>



# Gandhian Concept of Swadeshi

Gandhiji was very closely involved in the conceptualization and spread of khadi. Closely linked to this is the concept of 'Swadeshi'. Literally this means 'my country' but Gandhi used the word in a much broader sense. Explaining this concept he wrote in 1916 : "Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. In the domain of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting."

Interpreted in this way Swadeshi will take India to a stage where every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages as are not locally producible."

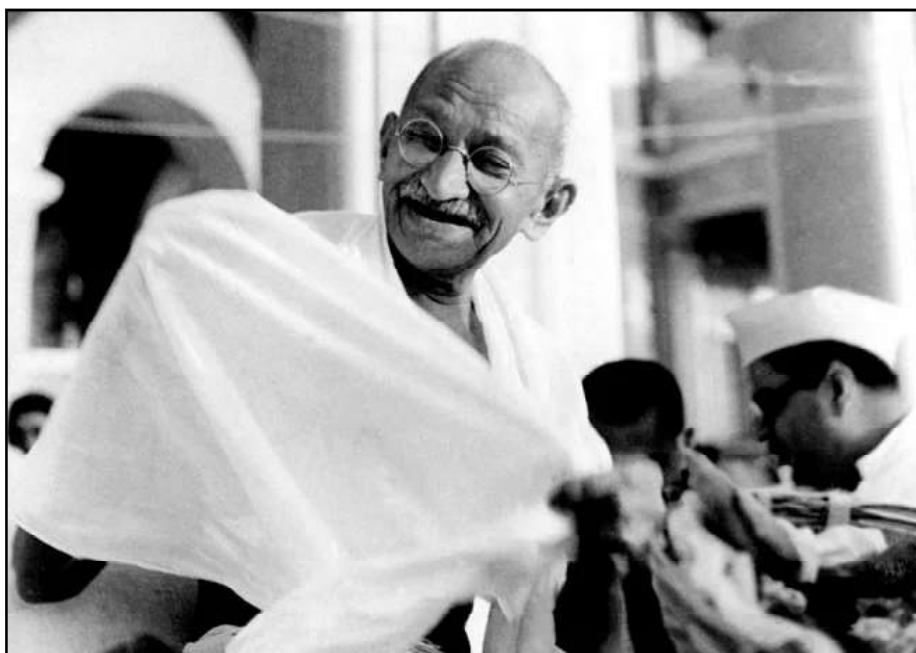
In 1931 he declared : "A votary of Swadeshi will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbours wherever possible by giving preference to local manufactures even if they are of an inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere. He will try to remedy their defects, but will not give them up, because of their defects and take to foreign manufactures."

Gandhi explained that the concept of Swadeshi did not involve any ill feeling towards foreigners or other related narrow feelings. He wrote in 1923 : "My definition of Swadeshi is well known. I must not serve my distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest. It is never vindictive or punitive. It is in no sense narrow, for I buy from every part of the world what is needed for my growth. I refuse to buy from anybody anything however nice or beautiful, if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom nature has made my first care. I buy



*Gandhiji was very closely involved in the conceptuality and spread of khadi. He popularised Khadi to place man above the machine, rather than allow the machinery driven by electricity or steam, to be the master.*

**Bharat Dogra**



useful healthy literature from every part of the world. I buy surgical instruments from England, pins and pencils from Austria, and watches from Switzerland. But I will not buy an inch of the finest cotton fabric from England or Japan, or any other part of the world, because it has injured and increasingly injures millions of inhabitants of India. I hold it to be sinful for me to refuse to buy the cloth spun and woven by the needy millions of India's paupers and to buy foreign cloth although it may be superior in quality to the Indian hand-spun."

In 1931 he warned : "But even Swadeshi like any other good thing can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. That is a danger that must be guarded against. To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited, would be criminal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit. A true votary of Swadeshi will never harbour ill-will towards the foreigner; he will not be moved by antagonism towards anybody on earth. Swadeshimism is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of self-less service that has its roots in the purest ahimsa, i.e. love."

Swadeshi should be used to support not the products of local mills but that of village industry. In 1926 Gandhi said clearly : "The test of Swadeshi is not the universality of the use of an article which goes under the name of Swadeshi, but the universality of participation in the production or manufacture of such an article. Thus considered mill-made cloth is Swadeshi only in a restricted sense. For in its man-

***As per Gandhi ji, the progress of Swadeshi and Khadi should continue after the end of foreign rule, as these are equally relevant to post-independent India.***

ufacture only an infinitesimal number of India's millions can take part. But in the manufacture of Khaddar, millions can take part."

He also emphasised the voluntary aspect of Swadeshi : "It is believed by some that Swadeshi could be affected by an embargo on foreign imports after the attainment of Swaraj. But that Swadeshi will be no Swadeshi. It will be a virtue practised under compulsion. True Swadeshi is the invulnerable bulwark of the nation and it can only be said to be accomplished if it is practised as a national duty."

Gandhi was very clear that the progress of Swadeshi and Khadi should continue after the end of foreign rule, as these are equally relevant to post-independent India. He wrote in 1947, the year of India's independence : "We were trying through khadi to place man above the machine, rather than allow the machinery driven by electricity or steam, to be the master. We were endeavouring through khadi to establish equality between man and man in place of the enormous inequality now existing between the poor and the rich, between the high and the low, be-

tween the man and the woman. We also endeavoured to make the labourer independent of the capitalist instead of the capitalist exploiting labour and assuming undue prestige. If, therefore, what we did in India during the last thirty years was not wrong, we should now carry on the programme of the spinning wheel, with all its allied activities with more understanding of all the implications and with greater vigour."

As cloth is the most important industrial product, particularly in villages, village level self-reliant production would have established a firm basis for other village-based cottage-scale industries such as leather and footwear, but this path of development was by and large neglected in post-independence India. Although the government continued to give some support to khadi and village industries, an effort supported by several Gandhian organisations, nevertheless the production of most of the cloth has remained with the powerlooms and mills or powerlooms linked to mills. As a rough estimate it may be said that nearly 72 percent of the cloth is produced by powerlooms and mills, 19 percent by handlooms and 9 percent consists of hosiery products. Handlooms manufacture only a small share of the total cloth and most of the handlooms also depend on mill-manufactured yarn. The share of hand-spun hand-woven khadi in the overall cloth production is very small.

While handloom weavers suffer from many-sided problems, their most frequently voiced grievance is that of the non-availability of yarn at a fair price. The reason is that most handlooms get their yarn

not from numerous charkha spinners, as Gandhi desired, but from mills. Hence the handloom as it exists today remains dependent on mills to a large extent. In order to increase their profits, mills frequently re-reel hank yarn (meant for handlooms and free of excise duty) into cones and divert it to powerlooms.

Due to shortage of yarn and other factors, mass distress among weavers has been reported from several places. Even in such situations the government, in its all out effort to increase exports, has made the situation worse for weavers by resorting to large scale export of cotton yarn.

An expert on textiles industry L. C. Jain estimated (in 1983) that during the last decade 5.5 million handloom workers were rendered unemployed or their employment had been reduced due to the displacement of 1386 thousand handlooms (each handloom providing part or full employment to 4 person) by 231 thousand powerlooms (each powerloom displaced six handlooms).

Similar massive loss of employment was seen in other areas of the textile industry such as the hand-printing industry. According to L. C. Jain, because machines were employed for 942 million meters of clothes over and above the 500 million meters at which their output would have been frozen, as recommended by the Research Advisory Panel (textile printing industry) an estimated 2,50,000 jobs opportunities have been lost in the economy."

Thus ignoring the potential for village-based cottage-scale production has brought unemployment, under-employment and poverty to several million families,

a tragedy that could have been avoided by making adequate use of existing skills of weaving, spinning and related works in villages.

As recently as 1993, Nandini Joshi, who has a doctorate in Economics, from Harvard, wrote a book in Gujarati (which has also been translated in Hindi) titled 'Our Distress and Alternatives' which argued that khadi and the spinning wheel are still practical and economically viable if only we give them a fair chance. An additional argument she advances is

that khadi can help us to recover several hundred thousand hectares of land as badly needed fertile land for growing food. The mills require long and medium staple cotton which need more fertile land, irrigation and chemicals. On the other hand short-staple cotton needed for the charkha can be obtained on less fertile land some of which is not under cultivation at present and there is no need for agri-chemicals. □□

*The writer is a freelance journalist who has been involved with several social movements and initiatives. He is Convener of Save the Earth Now Campaign and its 20-30 SED Demand.*

[Continued from page no. 7]

## Need to tax E-commerce and tech companies ...

Only businesses who receive services from these companies for a payment will have to withhold 6 percent amount as tax. This type of tax is being named 'Google tax'.

But this Google tax effort is incomplete. This attempt to tax tech companies is half-hearted. In fact, these companies provide a huge amount of products and services to consumers. All types of equipment and software are sold to consumers and no tax is paid on that income.

On the other hand, e-commerce companies are incurring huge losses, due to their financial muscles, however, they do not pay tax as per Indian income tax provisions. In fact these companies are increasingly controlling the market and capturing data, take undue advantage of their financial power. Their valuation has been continuously rising, despite the fact that their accumulative losses are run-

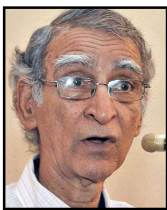
ning into thousands of crores of rupees. It is worth noting that in April last year, a home grown e Commerce company was sold with a total valuation of nearly \$20 billion. That means, the promoters are making windfall profits, but these companies are avoiding giving taxes. Experts are constantly suggesting that such companies could be taxed with a minimum alternate tax (MAT) or presumptive tax based on their sales. We have to understand that income has been increasing in these business for a long time, however, the state exchequer is not benefiting from the same. Such concern is being expressed not only in India but in the whole world. Efforts have already started in OECD countries and France has made an Initiative in this regard. India will also have to think about the same. Then only the shortfall in government revenue could be compensated. □□

# Hindi as the Uniting Language of India!

**Modi.2** has emerged as a very powerful Government. It has not only the numerical majority; it is also facing a weak and divided opposition. That is one of the reasons for it stream rolling over people's opinions and imposing the agenda of RSS-BJP of Hindu nationalism in a blatant way. On one side it has brought in a law banning triple talaq, on the other it has revoked article 370. Encouraged by these easy successes, now it seems to be unfolding its other agendas one by one.

Speaking on occasion of Hindi day, the BJP President and Union Home minister Amit Shah went on to speak his party mind on the subject Hindi as the national language. Mr. Shah said, it was necessary to have one language which could represent India in the world...and that Hindi was widely spoken and could be the language to keep India 'united'..."To preserve our ancient philosophy, our culture and the memory of our freedom struggle,...there is at least one language, Hindi, that the nation knows. If Hindi is taken out of our freedom struggle, the entire soul of the struggle is lost." He tweeted this to emphasize his point: "I want to appeal to people to promote their native languages but also use Hindi to make the dream of Bapu and Sardar Patel of one language come true."

The intentions behind this statement were not so hidden though the language is very clever. The idea is to relegate English and regional languages to the margins and to give more prominence to Hindi all through. Sensing the intentions of Mr. Shah, many a leaders from South India, M K Stalin, Shashi Tharoor, Pinrayi Vijayan and Kamal Haasan have openly come against his statement. All of them see this as an attempt to impose Hindi on these states. Vijayan put it bluntly through his tweet, "That language (Hindi) is not the mother tongue of majority of Indi-



*Respecting diverse culture, India's aspirations of becoming a single nation got expressed in all the Indian languages.*

**Ram Punyani**





ans. The move to inflict Hindi upon them amounts to enslaving them.” While Kamal Haasasn, in a video uploaded with him standing next to the Ashoka pillar and the Preamble, says India became a republic in 1950 with a promise to the people that their language and culture will be protected. “No Shah, Sultan or Samrat can suddenly break that promise. We respect all languages but our mother language will always be Tamil... The battle for our language will be exponentially bigger...”

As such our country has been very diverse in all the matters related to language, culture, religion and ethnicity. The freedom movement was the real reflector of this diversity. People cutting across all these considerations stood as a single fraternity, respecting the diversity and the rich heritage coming from different religions and languages in particular. In all the languages, India's aspirations of becoming a single nation got expressed. Hindi along with other regional languages have inherited rich lineage of becoming the mirror of Indian society. Though English was introduced primarily as administrative language, it soon became part of Indian culture, and all these also became a mirror of Indian society and aspirations.

In contrast to national movement for freedom from British slavery, which stood to reflect all the languages, the communal forces had different ideas. Muslim communalism came up with the slogan, ‘Urdu, Muslim, Pakistan’, and on parallel lines Hindu nationalism threw up the slogan, ‘Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan’. When Pakistan was formed in the Muslim majority areas (East Pakistan and West Pa-

***Country has been running well with English, Hindi and regional languages used in different proportions at different levels.***

kistan) their languages were very diverse. Muslim League's insistence that Urdu should become the national language of Pakistan did precipitate the feeling of separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan leading to formation Bangla Desh with Bengali as the major language.

Interestingly the Constitution makers concluded that “Hindustani, written either in Devanagari or the Persian script at the option of the citizen, shall, as the national language, be the first official language of the Union. English shall be the second official language for such period as the Union may, by law, determine.” The three language formula envisaged English, Hindi and regional language as the fulcrum of education. During sixties there was an attempt to introduce Hindi in Southern states, and this led to massive protests all over, with the result the policy was put on hold. Again with new Education Policy under consideration wanted to make Hindi as mandatory. The argument continues that Hindi is language of the majority of Indians. The latest data shows that it is mother tongue of 25% of Indians and 44% people say they know Hindi. The massive opposition to this language part of

New Education Policy yet again led to holding back of Hindi as mandatory. One recalls that even during 1940s when Congress Government came to power in Tamilnadu (Madras at that time.), attempt was made to introduce Hindi there. The resistance to this was articulated by Periyar Ramasamy Naicker, who raised the slogan ‘Tamil Nadu for Tamilians’ and accused Hindi of being a tool of the Aryans for infiltrating Dravidian culture.

How does one deal with the complex language issue. Country has been running well with English, Hindi and regional languages being used in different proportions at different levels. While there have been conscious efforts to spread Hindi to Southern states, there are no parallel steps to popularize regional languages in Hindi speaking states. One must say Hindi has definitely made long strides in spreading into southern and other states all over the country but this task has been achieved not by impositions from top but by the spread of Hindi films, and popular Hindi serials apart from the efforts of organizations promoting Hindi.

Issue of Urdu as national language contributed to split of Pakistan. In contrast India has done a remarkable balancing act in matters of languages so far. The reorganization of states on linguistic lines has given a unique strength to us. With Amit Shah unfolding their agenda of imposing homogeneity all over, including in matters of language, one hopes this present sanity will prevail and sentiments and aspirations of all non Hindi speaking states will be given due weight age in deciding the national language policy. □□

(By mail: editor.swadeshonline@gmail.com)

# Contributions of Ancient India in Art



Very few people yet realize how great a debt the art of the world- especially that of the Eastern World- already owes to great a debt the art of the world-especially the example of Indian forms and ideas the arts of the whole of South-East Asia. It is true to say that without Asia, of China, Korea, Mongolia, Tibet, and Japan radically different, and would have lost by that difference. So, too, would modern western art, especially architecture and painting. Buddhism, a no chants religion par excellence was the chief vehicle for this artistic influence, though Hinduism did penetrate South-East

Asia and the islands; and Buddhist art, at home in India, owed a good deal to the Hindu art that flourished alongside it.

Most important of all is the fact that certain symbols and images which appear in later historical art first showed themselves in the miniature sculptures, in the seals and the ceilings of the Indus valley. Examples are the ithyphallic deity seated with knees akimbo as 'lord of the beasts', the naked girl, the dancing figure with one leg lifted diagonally across the other, the sacred bull, the stout masculine torso, the 'tree of life', and innumerable modest types of monkeys, females, cattle, and carts modelled in terracotta. After the end of the Indus valley civilization there is the first of many gaps in our knowledge of Indian art history. We have always to remember that what has come down to us of early Indian art consists only of scattered fragments of what must have been a widespread and flourishing artistic activity in many media. Almost everything made from ivory or wood-including an advanced architecture-everything painted on palm-leaf or cloth, of which huge quantities must once have existed, has been destroyed by India's devastating climate. A few ivories have survived by chance, and on the walls of a handful of caves some scraps of painting. Even the stone carvings and larger modelled terracotta's represent only a tiny proportion of the art produced by each successive period in these durable materials. Such items were, however, often important ones, meant to decorate major dynastic shrines; that is why they were made, say, in stone rather than something more perishable. But it is impossible to write an art history for India in the same terms as one can for medieval Europe, or even for ancient Greece. Our knowledge of historical Indian art begins with the ceramic wares and figurative terracotta made in the cities of the broad Ganga basin during the last centuries B.C. We also know something of the building techniques and fortification of these cities. For example at Rājgir, south of Patna, there are some superb



*Contributions of ancient India to art is stupendous in form of idea, concepts and execution.*

**Prof. Nandini Sinha Kapur**

Cyclopean fortification walls (sixth century B.C.), and at Kauçambi there was a palace with a substantial tunnel-vault (c. third century B.C.). But the representational terracottas give the best insight into the visual imagery with which the inhabitants brightened their lives. From about 200 B.C. onwards large numbers of miniature reliefs, mostly either hand-modelled or pressed in moulds, illustrate all sorts of aspects of good fortune, including women loaded with jewels, pleasure parties, and animals. In the Ganga delta at Chandraketurah, for example, there was a factory for such works; and at Patna have been excavated some superb terracottas of dancing girls, modelled in the full round.

During the third century B.C. the first major works of architecture and stone-carving which we know were made. There are reminiscences in them of the dynastic works of Iranian Achaemenid Persopolis, and they thus reflect the dynastic pretensions of the conquering Mauryan emperors, chief of whom was Asoka (c. 272-232 B.C.). Among them are tall footless pillars of polished sandstone, whose capitals are carved with symbolic animal figures. Some bear inscriptions by Asoka, enjoining on his subjects a morality with a Buddhist flavour. Similar inscriptions appear elsewhere on rocks, one of which, at Dhauri, is carved with the three-dimensional forepart of an elephant.

Sarnath, site of the Buddha's first preaching, was adopted as dynastic shrine by the Mauryas, who commissioned a polished sandstone railing and dedicatory figures. Buddhist stûpas, which may have been constructed a cen-

***Some bear  
inscriptions by  
Asoka, enjoining  
on his subjects a  
morality with a  
Buddhist flavour.***

tury or so earlier in the kingdoms of northern India to contain and honour the bodily relics of the Buddha, were enlarged and refurbished—a process often repeated later. A dynastic guild of sculptors seems to have grown up, able to carve colossal polished stone dedicatory figures, of which several survive, sometimes misnamed yakshas and yakshis'.

The two best known are the male from Parkham and the female from Didarganj, the latter dating from c. A.D. 50. A number of caves in the Barabar hills were also cut to accommodate members of religious orders in the rainy season, and some were decorated with simple sculpture of guardian figures and inscriptions.

It was, in fact, in the decoration of major religious monuments that the next developments in Indian art showed themselves. At a number of sites, notably Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, and Bodhi Gaya in the north, and Amara vati in the Krishna delta, decorative and figural relief-carving was evolved to ornament Buddhist stûpas and their railings. At first the style was in low and flat relief, the figures being carefully outlined and isolated against their backgrounds; often they were angular and primitive, a fresh start seeming to nothing to

the Mauryan dynastic style. But this low-relief style was capable of its own kind of sophistication, as at Bharhut, where the pillars of the railing carried half-life-size figures of country godlings, pressed into service at the Buddhist shrine; its coping carries a continuous creeper-design, framing small reliefs, which suggests that the whole structure was interpreted as an image of the mythical 'wish-granting tree'. Then, by the early years of the Christian era, at Sanchi, on the gateways of Stûpa I the sculptural style evolved a characteristic softly rounded deep relief, which could also be developed to present virtually three-dimensional figures, as on the brackets and capitals. These works succeed in converting into stone what must have been a strongly developing style of two-dimensional narrative expression.

The scrolled ends to the Sanchi lintels suggest that the Buddhist stories the lintels bear are transcriptions into a more permanent medium of the illustrations to the pictorial story-scrolls so popular in India throughout the ages. We know that there was indeed a related pictorial style; for much-damaged fragments of wall-painting survive in Caves IX and X at Ajanta in the Deccan, contemporary with the earlier of the Sanchi gates. They, too, illustrate Buddhist legend and piety, perhaps more freely than the stone-cut reliefs could, in their own softly stereotyped convention. But it is abundantly clear that these, along with all the later and more famous Buddhist paintings at Ajanta, were instances of a widespread tradition of Indian painting, now vanished, which essentially secular readily adapted to the religious needs. □□

## Check surge pricing by cab aggregators, Swadeshi Jagran Manch urges Nitin Gadkari

"As per media reports, Ministry of Road Transport and Highways (MoRTH) is considering allowing surge pricing to the extent of three times of normal fare, which has also been permitted in the guidelines issued by MoRTH in Dec 2016," the letter states.

Calling current surge pricing techniques by Uber and Ola "outrageous and plain profiteering," Swadeshi Jagran Manch urged Union Minister of Road Transport and Highways Nitin Gadkari to regulate surge pricing under the Motor Vehicles Act, 2019.

"As per media reports, Ministry of Road Transport and Highways (MoRTH) is considering allowing surge pricing to the extent of three times of normal fare, which has also been permitted in the guidelines issued by MoRTH in Dec 2016," the letter states.

The letter states that Indian consumers don't want surge pricing above 25 per cent, according to a survey by LocalCircles. It refers to screen shots of a Rs 2,000 ride in Mumbai that was six minutes long. It adds that the company should pay a penalty to the customer for canceled rides.

"It is our request that the taxi aggregator rules under Motor Vehicles Act 2019 are made keeping the above public interest in mind. If that is not done, it would be an unpopular move and we may risk the states coming up with their own rules and setting lower limits of surge pricing for taxi aggregators," the letter said. Uber and Ola did not respond to questions. On September 10, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said that one of the reasons for a slowing automobile market was the "mindset of millennials" that prefer to travel by Uber and Ola.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/business/check-surge-pricing-by-cab-aggregators-swadeshi-jagran-manch-urges-nitin-gadkari-6004580/>

## Current economic crisis is momentary, say SJM

Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (SJM) has termed the present economic situation as "momentary" and hoped that the country would overcome it within two-three months as the government was "sensitive" and taking all necessary steps to deal with it.

"The GDP growth rate coming down to 5 per cent was not so surprising in the wake of reduced demand in the automobile sector. The main problem

is in the manufacturing sector, which is witnessing absolute decline due to lack of working capital. Rest of the sectors were doing well," SJM co-convenor told ANI. As per SJM the three sectors registered a growth rate of more than 7 per cent with electricity, groundwater supply, and other services registering growth with 8.6 per cent.

"Trade, hotel, transport, telecom, and broadcast registered a growth rate of 7.1 per cent while public administration, defence, and others registered a growth of over 8.5 per cent." Just due to problems in automobile sector, the entire economy can't be called to be in crisis. SJM co-convenor said the slowdown in the global economy has some impacts on the Indian economy as the entire world today is connected economically. "The growth rate of the US came down from 3.1 per cent to 2.1 per cent. The European Union growth rate came down from 0.4 to 0.2 per cent while China's GDP growth dipped from 6.4 to 6.2 per cent. So the entire world is today connected through each other's economy and they affect each other too,".

Moreover, "The present situation of the economy is momentary. It will return on tracks within two-three months. The government is sensitive and responsive. It is talking to all stakeholders to bring the economy on track,". SJM co-convenor said the situation is not as worrying as being described by some quarters of politicians. "Steps being taken by the government are enough to bring the economy back on track".

<https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/current-economic-crisis-is-momentary-says-swadeshi-jagran-manch20190903173439/>

## Saudi Arabia to invest \$100 billion in India

Saudi Arabia, the world's biggest oil exporter, is looking at investing \$100 billion in India in areas of petrochemicals, infrastructure and mining among others, considering the country's growth potential.

Saudi Ambassador Dr Saud bin Mohammed Al Sati has said India is an attractive investment destination for Saudi Arabia and it is eyeing long-term partnerships with New Delhi in key sectors such as oil, gas and mining. "Saudi Arabia is looking at making investments in India potentially worth \$100 billion in the areas of energy, refining, petrochemicals, infrastructure, agriculture, minerals and mining," Al Sati told PTI in an interview.

He said Saudi Arabia's biggest oil giant Aramco's proposed partnership with Reliance Industries Ltd



reflected the strategic nature of the growing energy ties between the two countries. The envoy said investing in India's value chain from oil supply, marketing, refining to petrochemicals and lubricants is a key part of Aramco's global downstream strategy.

"In this backdrop, Saudi Aramco's proposed investments in India's energy sector such as the \$44 billion West Coast refinery and petrochemical project in Maharashtra and long term partnership with Reliance represent strategic milestones in our bilateral relationship," he said. The envoy said the vision 2030 of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman will also result in significant expansion of trade and business between India and Saudi Arabia in diverse sectors.

Under vision 2030, Saudi Arabia plans to diversify the Saudi economy while reducing its economic dependence on petroleum products.

Saudi Arabia is a key pillar of India's energy security, being a source of 17 per cent or more of crude oil and 32 per cent of LPG requirements of India.

The envoy said more than 40 opportunities for joint collaboration and investments across various sectors have been identified between India and Saudi Arabia in 2019, adding the current bilateral trade of \$34 billion will undoubtedly continue to increase.

"There is huge untapped potential available in merchandise trade, particularly in non-oil trade and we are enhancing cooperation in economic, commercial, investment, cultural and technological fields," the envoy said. Asked about Saudi Arabia's plan to issue initial public offering of Aramco's stock, being seen as world's largest IPO, he said it will open up the company to the wider world.

"Consistent with the vision 2030 goals, Saudi Aramco is pursuing new opportunities toward creating a world leading downstream sector in Saudi Arabia," he said. On future energy ties with India, he said the bilateral energy ties have grown beyond the supply of crude oil, refined products and LPG to a more comprehensive partnership that focuses on investments and joint ventures in petrochemical complexes and cooperation in exploration.

[https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/saudi-arabia-to-invest-100-billion-in-india/articleshow/71358951.cms?utm\\_medium=referral&utm\\_campaign=iOSapp&utm\\_source=twitter.com](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/saudi-arabia-to-invest-100-billion-in-india/articleshow/71358951.cms?utm_medium=referral&utm_campaign=iOSapp&utm_source=twitter.com)

### India may cut duties on 80% of Chinese imports under RCEP

India may cut or eliminate tariffs on 80% of products imported from China under a 16-country

free trade agreement, the last round of negotiations for which is underway in Vietnam.

The concessions will, however, be less than what it has offered to other countries that are part of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) as India tries to avoid cheap Chinese goods flooding the country once the agreement is signed. The RCEP is a proposed FTA between the 10 member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean) and its six FTA partners – China, India, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand. RCEP negotiations began in November 2012.

India plans to cut duties on 86% of imports from Australia and New Zealand, and 90% for products coming in from Asean, Japan and South Korea, officials said. There is a possibility that the negotiations would extend into the night. "Discussions with China are on and it is a work in progress. We have still not finalised the offer," an official said, indicating the offer India was likely to push. As per the plan, India would immediately eliminate customs duties on 28% of goods, while tariffs on other imports from China would be reduced or eliminated over a period of 5, 10, 15 and 20 years. This will give India time to strengthen its domestic manufacturing. Last week, the government cut taxes on new manufacturing plants to 15% to attract investments.

India has also managed to keep the controversial investor-state dispute settlement out of the trade agreement for now. But, whether that would be permanently removed from the pact was still being deliberated, officials said.

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/foreign-trade/india-may-cut-duties-on-80-of-chinese-imports-under-rcep/articleshow/71344526.cms?from=mdr>

### SJM welcomes ASEAN-India FTA review

Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) welcomed the outcome of India's consultations with ten-member ASEAN which agreed to initiate a review of the bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) in goods to make it "more user-friendly, simple and trade facilitative". "We understand that the ASEAN-India FTA reached during the previous UPA regime was extremely unequal trade agreement. It is never a case in an International Trade Agreement, that there exists no exit clause or a review clause and ASEAN-India FTA was exactly of that type of agreement. There was no review clause or exit clause in this FTA," said Ashwani Ma-

hajan, the national Co-convenor of SJM.

Calling the previous arrangements as "unfortunate", he said: "Today's agreement does away with this unfortunate scenario." His remarks came soon after economic Ministers of ten-member ASEAN states and India's Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal agreed to initiate the review of the ASEAN-India Trade in Goods Agreement (AITIGA) to make the AIFTA more user-friendly, simple, and trade facilitative for businesses.

The Ministers tasked officials to work on the details of the review and submit an update at the 17th AEM-India Consultations. Mahajan said since ASEAN-India FTA, the trade deficit with ASEAN countries has increased by more than two and half times.

"As a general principle, no trade agreement is good if it leads to an unequal and imbalanced trade. After ASEAN-India FTA, various sectors including agriculture and industry were badly hit. Within industry steel, glass, telecom, and various other industries were the worst sufferers. Review of this agreement would definitely help in going towards a more equitable and balanced trade and revival these sectors," he said in a statement.

The SJM leader said the review will help bring back manufacturing and it will also go a long way towards Make in India, helping our agriculture and bring more manufacturing and jobs to India.

"We welcome this Joint Media Statement of 16th AEM-India Consultations and congratulate Goyal for making ASEAN member countries to agree on review of ASEAN-India FTA, having long term positive implications for Indian Industries and Agriculture," he stated. (ANI)

<https://www.bignewsnetwork.com/news/262370465/rss-affiliate-sjm-welcomes-asean-india-fta-review>

## India's cyber security chief highlights security risks of 5G, IoT

Security is a big issue in 5G and the decision around participation of Chinese telecom gear major Huawei should be taken after proper consideration, the country's top cyber security officer said on Friday.

National Cyber Security Coordinator Lt General (Dr) Rajesh Pant also said that 5G will not be limited to telecom networks but will have an impact across all sectors. Meanwhile, Huawei said security and privacy are its highest priority and the company strictly adheres to all local laws and regulations.

"Government has to decide on it (participation

of Huawei). We can tell you from technology aspect. Thereafter, its economics and political part will be seen. Security is an issue, there is no doubt in it. 5G is not just a pure telecom network. It has many things that are connected to our lifestyle," Pant told reporters on the sidelines of CII Telecom Convergence Summit. He was responding to a question on the views of his office over the participation of Huawei in 5G trials in India. Pant said that 5G technology will be connected to the internet of things (IoT) that will be installed in homes and industrial IoT will be operational in electric vehicles, healthcare systems, agriculture and drones, among others.

"If someone wants to add malware in system, it will not only disturb telecom network but it can also disrupt health system, agriculture, industry. It is a big security issue. In this, we will have to take decision only after proper consideration. There has been no decision on it as of now," Pant said.

<https://www.theweek.in/news/biz-tech/2019/09/06/indias-cyber-security-chief-highlights-security-risks-of-5g-iot.html>

## SJM delegation concludes US tour, holds meetings with overseas citizens, corporations

Delegation of Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) on their tour to the USA engaged with Overseas Citizens of India (OCIs) and explored the possibility of their contribution to development and building of new India. SJM delegation concluded one week tour of USA in Washington DC and New York in last week of September.

"Delegation of Swadeshi Jagran Manch engaged with Overseas Citizens of India (OCIs) and explored the possibility of their contribution to the development and building of new India. The delegation received overwhelming response and reception from the Indian Diaspora, which is waiting to wholeheartedly work towards the development of India, aspiring to be a global economic powerhouse," said the release. The delegation also had a series of meetings with American think-tanks, corporations, funds along with senior officials of World Bank. The delegation was led by SJM's National co-Convener, Dr Ashwani Mahajan and other official members.

Dr Mahajan further emphasised that such corporations are required to change their business model to maintain their presence in India's market place. He assured this is first such tour and SJM leaders will travel across the globe to express, present and famil-

iarise the stakeholders with SJM's worldview and will continue doing so in near future too.

The delegation met with corporations at special sessions organised by Business Council for International Understanding (BICU) and US India Strategic Partnership Forum (USISPF). The corporations with interests in data, banking, defence production, e-commerce, technology, HR and labour and agriculture participated in these freewheeling conversations. This was for the first time that SJM engaged foreign corporations in conversations. The idea behind this is to let the corporations, lawmakers, think tanks know of SJM's world view. It was made clear to these corporations that SJM firmly believes in the concept of 'Vasudhev Kutumbakam' or 'world as one family'. (ANI) □□

<https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/sjm-delegation-concludes-us-tour-holds-meetings-with-overseas-citizens-corporations20191001095031/#.XZLxxc7DSrOI.twitter>

### **India's position on RCEP a 'meek surrender', concessions offered are 'disturbing': SJM**

Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) raised concerns over reports suggesting that India has accepted suggestions of other countries regarding rules on investments at Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) meet. It even said that the move was contrary to the stated position of the NDA government.

Calling the move as "disturbing", SJM Co-convenor Ashwani Mahajan said that the details coming in public domain suggest that the provisions are not only "detrimental" to the interests of the economy, but are also contrary to the stated position of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) regime.

"These provisions are a meek surrender of the sovereign rights of any country to seek the transfer of technology from the investing companies, training to their domestic partners, and removing the cap on the quantum of royalties which domestic companies can pay to their foreign partners," he said in a statement. He stated that the conglomerates from South Korea, Japan and even China will gain, while India is bound to lose in this. "This is ante to the spirit of NDA regime's ambitious Make in India plan, and for the integration of domestic industry with the global supply chain," he said.

Mahajan further stated that India can't afford foreign investments in its economy, without any real benefit for the domestic players. "If MNCs are not

helping their partners to improve their know-how and want to repatriate a large part of their revenue to their global coffers, the FDI will become more detrimental for the society," he added.

He said the issues were flagged by the commerce ministry in Modi 1.0 regime and the Commerce and Industries Ministry had prepared a cabinet note, seeking provisions to curb the outflow of the transfer of royalty and other technical fees by multinational conglomerates. The 2009 annual outflow of nearly \$5 billion swelled to \$20 billion in the last fiscal, the statement said adding that capping the outflow was actually needed. "The provisions, negotiators agreed --if they did-- will accelerate the outflow of foreign exchange and would also exert pressure on the balance sheets of the Indian entities of these MNCs as well; along with robbing the shareholders of their fair share of the dividends," he said.

He stated that it will widen the current account deficit and create more pressure on the forex exchange rates. "And the history tells us, this will never accelerate the investments in the country," he added.

Mahajan further asserted that any such move by the government will be a meek surrender to the country's legal provisions of pushing the investing companies to adhere to these requirements.

"The experience with the other bilateral investment agreements is, the foreign investors pushed the Indian government to litigation in the name of non-fulfilment of the conditions of these investment agreements and sought hefty compensation. As the investment grew, so did the litigation," he said.

He sought a national debate before agreeing to any provisions and urged the ruling dispensation to take stakeholders in confidence about the safeguard mechanism. "The present structure and provisions are very difficult to accept; would do more damage than resolving any existing challenge," he said.

India has not yet signed the RCEP agreement but has agreed to several provisions that bring it in line with the investment rules applicable in most comparable countries, including banning host countries from mandating that the investing companies transfer technology and training to their domestic partners, and removing the cap on the quantum of royalties domestic companies can pay their foreign partners. India and the other RCEP countries are currently in the final phase of negotiations in Vietnam. (ANI) □□

<https://www.sify.com/news/india-s-position-on-rcep-a-meek-surrender-concessions-offered-are-disturbing-rss-affiliate-sjm-news-national-90oreagbjib.html>



**Swadeshi Activities**  
**Vichar Goshthi, Odisha**

**Pictorial Glimpses**



**Swadeshi Sangoshthi, Aligarh (UP)**



**Swadeshi Sangoshthi, Prayagraj (UP)**



**Program on the Birthday of Pt- Deendayal Upadhyaya**





**Swadeshi Activities**

# Central Working Committee Meeting

21-22 September 2019, Delhi

**Pictorial Glimpses**



## Swadeshi Saptah

25 September – 2 October 2019

**Pictorial Glimpses**



Jodhpur, Rajasthan



Satna, MP



Nagpur, Maharashtra



Gwalior, MP



Bikaner, Rajasthan



Jharkhand



Muradabad, UP



Batala, Punjab



Ujjain, MP



Sabarkantha, Gujarat



Shahjahanpur, UP



Sirsa, Haryana

