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PATRIKA

SEPTEMBER 2020



Halt Bt Brinjal trials at earliest
as they are against national interest

VOICE OF SELF RELIANT INDIA

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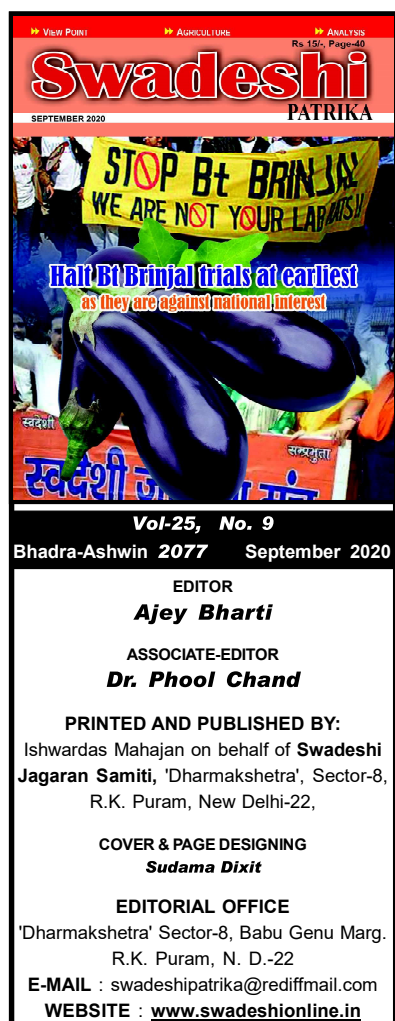
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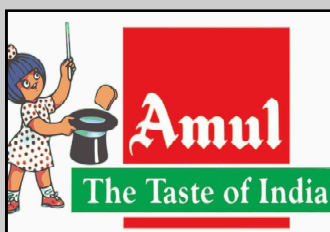
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Aatmanirbhar Bharat and Our Villages

To make India Aatmanirbhar, it is essential for us to look at the holistic development of our villages. We should look at villages contributing to all sectors of our economy and not just farming. The holistic development of villages means all basic infrastructures like schools, hospitals, shopping complexes, community places, transportation, etc. in every village or group of villages (based on population).

In the last 6 years, road connectivity in India has improved significantly, and travel time is reduced considerably, but we still see people working in cities shifting from villages due to a lack of good infrastructure in their villages and moving to cities appears to offer a better quality of life, which is even true to a certain extent. Quality of life here refers to having all the basic infrastructure/facilities required by a family. One of the key reasons for our villages not having developed at the same pace as cities are the migration of our talent from villages to these big cities; for Aatmanirbhar Bharat and all-round development, it is vital to control this migration. When India's villages will have their talent staying there, then we will see more drive of development.

Most of the places in Europe and the USA have implemented this model, which has controlled the overpopulation of cities and also led to the good development of villages. Movement of people is necessary but it shouldn't be forced; it should be for better opportunities but not due to missing basic infrastructure/facilities. I am sure we will find a solution to COVID soon and witness the growth journey of India to Aatmanirbhar Bharat with the integrated development model for our villages.

– Vikash Sharma, Swadeshi Warrior, @VikashSharmaIB, Maharashtra

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Quote-Unquote



New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 will help India to become education superpower

Ramnath Kovind
President, Bharat



Our farmers have proved their strength even in these difficult conditions of Corona. I congratulate the farmers of the country, salute their hard work.

Narendra Modi
Prime Minister, India



India is emerging as a big manufacturing centre and the global manufacturer ecosystem is realising that they must have other places apart from China.

Ravi Shankar Prasad
Union Telecom Minister, Bharat



We shouldn't forget that if a foreign company is registered in India, and has started making in India, its technology policy is not governed by Indian laws, they are governed by the laws of their country of origin.

Dr. Ashwani Mahajan
Co-convenor, SJM

Vaccine Nationalism

Intense efforts are being made in the country and the world to get rid of the present corona pandemic. It is believed that the corona vaccine is the only permanent solution to the pandemic. Significantly, an effective vaccine helps in building antibodies to fight disease in the body, to save humans.

Naturally, development of vaccine remains a challenge for medical scientists, for an infection that has never been seen or heard before, which spreads many times faster than other viruses. In such a situation, the 185 efforts are on in this regard and out of these trials for nearly 35 vaccines are also going on at different levels.

In his address to the nation on 15 August 2020, the Prime Minister said that three vaccine trials are going on at different levels in the country and the country may soon get a Corona vaccine. Meanwhile, the approval of the clinical trial of the vaccine developed by Oxford University, at the Post Graduate Institute of Medical and Research (PGIMER) in Chandigarh has been postponed as its safety clearance is still awaited.

In the meanwhile, Russia has also registered a vaccine and has approached India to commercially produce the same. Not only this, Oxford University has also approached India for the production of vaccine. It is worth noting that there is parallel of India in the field of vaccine production and many of India's well-known companies play a leading role in vaccine production. Seven Indian pharma companies are currently in the race for vaccine clearance.

Today, as the country and the world are struggling with the havoc of Corona, many companies are adopting numerous tactics to increase their sales. On the one hand, they are trying to advance the sale of their vaccine, on the other; they are also trying to discredit the vaccine developed by others. These companies are making lobbying efforts, to achieve their objectives. A cartel of companies, packaged as public private partnership to give it acceptability, known as Global Alliance for Vaccine and Immunisation (GAVI) is also supported by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF). It's notable that GAVI is making all our efforts to pursue countries to make advance commitments to purchase their vaccine. This alliance has the direct support of the World Health Organization (WHO).

On the other hand, nations are worried that the vaccine, about which the purchase commitment is being taken, will it be effective against Corona or not? They are also worried, whether the price of vaccine will be within their affordability. It is clear that the multinationals dominated GAVI is fully supported by BMGF and they are trying hard to profiteer even in this pandemic and they have the support of powerful BMGF and World Health Organization.

Indian Pharmaceutical company, Dr Reddy's Laboratories (DRL) announced on September 16 that it will distribute 100 million (10 crore) doses of Russia's Sputnik V Covid-19 vaccine in India after conducting final-stage human trials. Each dose of the vaccine includes two vials containing separate adenoviral vectors.

As Russia developed Corona vaccine and advances in vaccine manufacturing with India's help, companies globally and their supporter, the World Health Organization, are desperately vying for a profit by selling the vaccine globally. The World Health Organization has even said that this 'vaccine nationalism' will delay Corona vaccine. From this it is also being speculated that the World Health Organization may discourage the work of manufacturing vaccines by agencies, other than their supported companies. However, this is also a fact that WHO is fast losing its credibility during this corona period. America has already severed its relations with WHO and many other countries are showing their dissatisfaction with the activities of WHO.

Today, while India has risen to number two in the list of countries affected by corona infection, despite all the better measures to deal with corona, the vaccine is becoming an imperative to prevent corona. India will have to choose from the worldwide vaccine efforts. There will be three criteria in this selection. First, is the selected vaccine effective? It is believed that no vaccine will be 100 percent effective and cannot be expected to be so. We need to choose the vaccine that is most effective. The second criterion for this selection will be the side effect of the vaccine. The least side-effect and the least harmful vaccine have to be chosen. Developing countries of the world including India which are going through a severe economic crisis due to this pandemic, affordability is also a major issue. Therefore, third criterion is the cost of the vaccine. That is, the vaccine that is most affordable should be chosen.

This is actually vaccine nationalism, which the World Health Organization is advising the world to avoid. We need to end these lobbying efforts by vested interests, against national interests. Vaccine nationalism for India is the way forward, against blind support to corporate interests.

To

The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India
Government of India, New Delhi.

Subject: Request for halting Bt Brinjal trials at earliest, as they are against national interest

Respected Narendra Modi ji,
Namaskar!

We at Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) are writing this letter to bring to your notice recent disturbing news of Regulators in the Ministry of Environment, Forest & Climate Change in their last meeting of Genetic Engineering Appraisal Committee (GEAC) have allowed the penultimate stage of field trials called BRL II trials for Bt brinjal Event 142. They have asked six states to make way for trails of this controversial technology. We are seeking your personal intervention to halt these trials at earliest.

These clearances have been given mischievously to defeat the Atamnirbhar Abhiyan or Self Reliance campaign initiated by you to cut down dependence on the foreign players, but also to evolve world class ecosystem to develop cutting edge products, for domestic consumption and also for exports. This Bt brinjal also, like in the case of Mahyco's Bt brinjal on which an indefinite moratorium was imposed in February 2010, is a completely unneeded technology. Pest management in brinjal is possible without the use of Bt or synthetic pesticides and scientific evidence exists of the same. In fact, the yield and production of brinjal in India increased after the moratorium on Bt brinjal which clearly shows that this technology is not needed.

It is notable that Bt brinjal seems to have moved forward in the regulatory pipeline basically because of a deep conflict of interest that some regulators had. For instance, both the GM event developer and biosafety testing person, who used to head National Institute of Nutrition which did the toxicity testing of this Bt brinjal, who is also associated with industry lobby bodies, were regulators when all the initial permissions were given to this new Bt brinjal. There were concerns expressed by several other regulators about the results of the toxicity tests on this Bt brinjal, but these were brushed aside to push this Bt brinjal to the next stage. Now, it is standing very close to consideration of commercial cultivation approval. The biotech industry is at work again now.

We humbly submit that we are not in shortage of brinjal, neither in quality nor in quantity. Plus since brinjal is indigenous crop of the subcontinent, maximum variety is available in this part of the world. There is no point in taking this uncalculated risk. Moreover, the experience in 18 years of BT Cotton helps us understand that the MNCs dealing in the GM crops coax seed companies and farmers to buy their seed, instead of developing their own variant. With this, these MNCs not only monopolise the market, but dictate the price. Experience shows that Monsanto Company fleeced farmers to the extent of rupees 8000 crores, before your government decided to bring down the trait fee on Bt Cotton seed to zero and saving farmers from hardships. Apart from this, this also puts country's food security in a risk.

Continuing spread of illegal HTBT Cotton

We take this opportunity to bring it to your notice that despite your timely intervention to push the regulators and respective state governments to check the spread of herbicide tolerant cotton (HTBT), the spread is contouring unabated; and the corporate lobbyists are pushing bureaucrats to slow down the process.

On the one hand these interest groups have been trying to shield the corporates, responsible for illegal release of HTBT cotton; with their push to allow HTBT variety of cotton, they are contemplating to invite the culprit company responsible for illegal spread of HTBT cotton, knowing very well that the product is neither good for health of consumers, ecology or for the farmer. In 2002, the Bt cotton's approval is a perfect case that the regulators were inefficiently checking the crops and then the variant was hastily approved.

[Continued on page no. 19]

Why Introduction of Bt Brinjal should be opposed Firmly?

When the first ill-advised efforts were made to introduce Bt brinjal in India in 2009-10, there was strong opposition in the country resulting in a moratorium on this GM (genetically modified) food crop. Despite this now again such ill-advised efforts backed by some powerful forces are being made. It is time again for citizens of India to protect their food and farming system and environment from this GM food crop. Some vested interests involved with Bt brinjal have tried to divert attention from real issues by saying that this time there is indigenous variety, but much more important basic fact that GM food and farming crops are dominated by powerful multinational corporations who are just using this as a pretext to somehow force open the gates for introduction of GM food crops in India.

An eminent group of scientists from various countries who constitute the Independent Science Panel have said in their conclusion after examining all aspects of GM crops - "GM crops have failed to deliver the promised benefits and are posing escalating problems on the farm. Transgenic contamination is now widely acknowledged to be unavoidable, and hence **there can be no co-existence of GM and non-GM agriculture**. Most important of all, GM crops have not been proven safe. On the contrary, sufficient evidence has emerged to raise serious safety concerns, that if ignored could result in irreversible damage to health and the environment. **GM crops should be firmly rejected now.**"

According to a report by eminent scientists comprising the Independent Science Panel, "The consistent finding from independent research and on-farm surveys since 1999 is that genetically modified (GM) crops have failed to deliver the promised benefits of significantly increasing yields or reducing herbicide and pesticide use. GM crops have cost the United States (US) an estimated \$12 billion



GM crops have failed to deliver the promised benefits and are posing escalating problems on the farm. Transgenic contamination is now widely acknowledged to be unavoidable.

Bharat Dogra



in farm subsidies, lost sales and product recalls due to transgenic contamination.The instability of transgenic lines has plagued the industry from the beginning, and this may be responsible for a string of major crop failures.”

In his widely acclaimed book ‘Genetic Roulette’ Jeffrey M. Smith has summarised the results of a lot of research on the health hazards of GM crops/food, “Lab animals tested with GM foods had stunted growth, impaired immune systems, bleeding stomachs, abnormal and potentially precancerous cell growth in the intestines, impaired blood cell development, misshapen cell structures in the liver, pancreas, and testicles, altered gene expression and cell metabolism, liver and kidney lesions, partially atrophied livers, inflamed kidneys, less developed brains and testicles, enlarged livers, pancreases, and intestines, reduced digestive enzymes, higher blood sugar, inflamed lung tissue, increased death rates, and higher offspring mortality.”

The extent to which genetic engineering is playing havoc with nature is evident from this quote from ‘Genetic Roulette’, “Spider genes were inserted into goat DNA, in hopes that the goat milk would contain spider web protein for use in bullet-proof vests. Cow genes turned pig skin into cowhides. Jellyfish genes lit up pigs’ noses in the dark. Arctic fish genes gave tomatoes and strawberries tolerance to frost.”

In addition to all this there is the ethical dilemma faced by vegetarians who may find it difficult to select food when animal genes are introduced into plant genes. The choice becomes even more

difficult (and not just for vegetarians) when even human genes are introduced into food crops.

Examples of the opinion of eminent scientists about the serious risks and hazards of GM crops can be multiplied. The question that arises is - then why are some big multinational companies so eager to promote these hazardous and risky crops. The answer is that these companies are not interested in improving food security, they are only interested in tightening their grip over the world’s food and farming system so that they can squeeze huge profits out of it, regardless of any adverse impacts on farmers, consumers and environment. Hunger may worsen, fertile fields across vast areas may get contaminated, large number of unsuspecting people and animals may fall seriously ill-they are not seriously bothered about all this as long as they can tighten their control and increase their profits.

In fact if we look at the trends in world food and agriculture in recent decades then these have been dominated by the increasingly desperate efforts by huge multinational companies to increase their dominance of the world food and farming system.

In a review of recent trends titled ‘Food Without Choice’ (Tribune) Prof. Pushpa M. Bhargava (who was nominated by the Supreme Court of India in the Genetic Engineering Approval Committee to protect safety concerns), internationally acclaimed authority on this subject, drew pointed attention to the “attempt by a small but powerful minority to propagate genetically modified (GM) crops to serve their interests and those of multinational corpora-

tions (MNCs) (read the US), the bureaucracy, the political setup and a few unprincipled and unethical scientists and technologists who can be used as tools.”

Due to the threat of contamination, it is difficult for normal crops or organic crops to remain free from the impact of GM crops once these have been released. As worldwide concern for food safety grows, it is likely that there will be increasing demand for organically grown crops and crops which are not contaminated by GM crops. Therefore we will be surrendering premium world markets if we allow our crops to be contaminated by GMOs.

Some powerful forces allied to GM crops tried to spread a myth. According to this myth most scientific research supports GM crops. While demolishing this myth Dr. Bhargava wrote, “There are over 500 research publications by scientists of indisputable integrity, who have no conflict of interest, that establish harmful effects of GM crops on human, animal and plant health, and on the environment and biodiversity. For example, a recent paper by Indian scientists showed that the Bt gene in both cotton and brinjal leads to inhibition of growth and development of the plant. On the other hand, virtually every paper supporting GM crops is by scientists who have a declared conflict of interest or whose credibility and integrity can be doubted.”

Elsewhere in this article he commented, “The central government departments that have been acting as peddlers of GM technology-probably in collusion with MNCs marketing GM seeds- have shown little respect for law.” □□

Indian economy: Surviving after Covid-19



Aatmnirbhar Bharat is possible only when swadeshi is adopted by Indian population and made their lifestyle swadeshi oriented. The propagation of Swadeshi with the help of a large-scale mass movement is therefore a necessity.

Anil Javalekar

The current crisis faced by humanity in the form of pandemic Covid-19 is unique and first of its kind. Its impact on economy is severest of all. It is not that humanity has not seen financial or otherwise crisis earlier, but world survived and could use all crises to transform socio-economic life for better. Indian societies have seen its looting and socio-economic destruction for long time in its history, first by outsiders and then by foreign rulers- Muslim and British. Even after freedom in 1947, the loot contin-

ued by Indian rulers in this or that form. Indian tax regimes and financial systems were never friendly to Indian commons nor were the socio-economic policies beneficial to rural Indian sectors. Still, however, Indian society survived. And after a longtime, with stable socio-economic policies and stable government, Indian socio-economic systems can be said as well equipped to face all types of crisis, financial or otherwise. India will survive this covid-19 crisis as well and Indian economy will transform itself positively for better India. Time is to wait and have patience.

The pandemic covid-19 and its impact

The covid-19 crisis is different from all other crises faced by humanity so far. It has not remained a disease alone that has resulted in many deaths. It has created a fear psychosis among the major population and has restricted their socio-economic life. It has kept a major portion of population locked in the home. In the process, it has almost stopped society functioning in real sense. Large numbers of people were confined to their homes and most practically were not doing any activity-social or economic. The progress achieved so far seems nullified by inactive society. Entire society is seeing the activities of only health workers and police and to some extent the supply chain of essentials. The passenger trains were and are still not running, the buses meant to transport people were not moving, autos taxis were not plying, factories were not running, offices were not functioning, markets were not operating, shopping centers and stores were closed. In short entire economy was at standstill. What was functioning was only digital India. After four months, slowly things have started to become normal. Lockdown lifted and economy started functioning. Still, after five-six months, everything in the economy is not opened. The hotel industry and tourism are still not operative nor people are coming out of homes and doing their activities in normal ways.

Economic crisis is certain and severe

The impact of this closer on the Indian economy was expected and GDP was bound to decline as also the increase in unemployment was certain. When every sector and every factory and every store and every office is closed, economy cannot grow even if government pour money and liberalize every of its tax policy. Economy will not grow, and its growth rate will come down instead because of pandemic covid-19 and its persistent fear among the people. There is no need to collect huge data or do a great analysis to prove that. However, this does not help government to escape. The fundamentals of Indian society are strong and will help economy to boost with the normalization of socio-economic life. Government has now to act fast and positively rescue the vulnerable sectors of economy with all its possible resources so to bring normalcy everywhere.

Indian economy is coming to normalcy

Indian economy is opening and now coming to normalcy. Factories are opening and supply chain is improving. Indian government has also acted fast and helped economy with financial packages to all sectors of the economy as also supporting every poor family with the cash transfer and supply of essentials in kind. Measures that have been taken are mainly to continue agricultural activities, start manufacturing/production units, help protect interest of workers and maintain supply chain intact in its all forms apart from providing survival kit to poor. True, the sec-

tors affected are almost all and population dependent on hand to mouth have suffered most.

Government seems with the people

It is appreciable to note that the government has acted fast and immediately decided to reach to poor vulnerable groups. The poor were covered under the Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana (Food scheme) where everyone was provided with 5 kg of wheat and rice for free as also 1 kg of preferred pulse (based on regional preference) for free to each household; the farmers were covered under the PM-KISAN scheme (minimum income support scheme); woman who are Jan Dhan account holders were given ex-gratia amount of INR 500 per month apart from providing households under Ujwala scheme with free LPG cylinders. Medical insurance cover of Rs 5 million per healthcare worker is also provided to all health services and ancillary workers; another vulnerable group, street vendors, was given working capital loans of up to ₹ 10,000 to be paid back in one year. For employed workers also, government decided to share their PF contribution. Government understood the needs of entrepreneurs, Industrialists, and traders etc, who lost the business, and tried to help them to survive in their financial crisis. The total package announced was of more than Rs 20 lakh cr.

Financial support alone will not help

True, in any crisis, finance is an important aspect and financial support help people survive. Allowing delayed repayment of loans, reducing interest rates on

loans or subvention or even total waiver of loans and interest, allowing fresh loans on concessional terms and moratorium for repayment, guaranteeing the loan and interest repayment by government, providing subsidy in loan component, providing seed capital and giving concessions in taxes in various tax liabilities are important policy initiatives and do help economic activities to revive. However, financial support alone will not help economy to recover from the impact of pandemic covid-19 crisis. The response of industrial set ups, the labor market, banks/NBFCs, local administration and political parties is important. Lending institutions need to adopt easier norms on credit worthiness and repaying capacity and not tight its norms.

Need attention on demand and changed lifestyles

The crisis has impacted more on demand side and unless consumption reaches to normal level, improving only supply side may not help. The covid-19 has impacted the lifestyle of Indians and changed their demand pattern. This required attention and change in the attitude of supply chain holders. The concept of work from home and preferred attitude of automation of household work will have impact on employment. The fear psychosis may not allow many domestic help workers like maids, drivers, laundry and newspaper suppliers to resume their work for long time to come and this makes poor vulnerable. Similarly, online education will change the schooling system and its employment structure. Work from home, social

[Continued on page no. 29]

Economy in Abyss of Recession?

The global rating agency Fitch recently forecast a global GDP contraction of 4.4.% for 2020. Except for China, which is estimated to grow positively at 2.7%, all the major economies will be in negative zone. The agency has cut its GDP forecast for emerging markets, again excluding China, to -5.7%, mainly on account of a major degrowth in India (-10.5%). See Table -1.

India Ratings apprehends for India even a sharper contraction at -11.8%, Goldman Sachs, a decline of 14.8%. Indeed all major forecasters have dismal picture to paint about India's prospects in 2020 (See table 2). This is in background of India's real GDP contracting by a record 24% in Q1 of FY21. India imposed one of the most stringent lockdowns, domestic demand fell massively, there was limited fiscal support, the financial system showed fragility while the virus attack is not abating. All of this has put a spanner in rapid normalization path. Covid infections are still rising, forcing some states to reimpose restrictions. This has continued to depress sentiments and disrupt economic activities. The entire recovery path has shifted southward. Both industry and services activities have been seriously impacted, the only bright spot from the supply side being agriculture which has witnessed a reasonable growth.

The first lockdown imposed curbs on nearly 66% of GDP activities. This ratio declined subsequently; till the end of May 20% activities only were restricted. However, even now the economy is not fully freed, with about 10% of GDP still not operative due to both psychological barriers and remaining lockdown. The recessionary trends are breathing hard in the economy.

What is a recession? Well, in terms of Economics technology, a recession is typically defined as a phenomenon when there are two successive quarters with negative growth rate. For India in the Q1FY21 the growth has been negative; so will it be for Q2FY21. This recession is manmade since it was majorly caused by Covid crisis and the lockdown of the economy in its aftermath. There are both supply side and demand side factors impacting recession across all sectors barring agriculture which grew at 3.4% in the first quarter of FY21. In comparison the 2009 crisis was purely financial.

Of course lot of other nations are keeping company with India. Across the world nations are reeling under recessionary forces, barring China. Several supply chains have been disrupted, bringing industries down to their heels. Unemployment has risen phenomenally; in India it stood at 8.35% in August, while in the US it surged to 10.2% in

Table-1

Global Gloom: FITCH	
Country	Growth(%)
UK	-11.5
India	-10.5
Brazil	-5.8
US	-4.6
China	+2.7



That the economy is in deep pit is indisputable; what could be the alternative route maps to get out of the morass is the question.

KK Srivastava

Table-2

Mighty Indian Fail	
Agency Forecast	(%)
Goldman Sachs	-14.8
India Ratings	-11.8
Nomura	-10.8
Fitch	-10.5
HSBC	-7.2
Morgan Stanley	-5.0

Discussion

July, 2020. According to World Bank the pandemic induced recession is likely to lead to global per capita GDP shrinking by 6.2%, the deepest decline since 1946. In India the situation is severe since the economy was in slowdown mode already in prelockdown phase.

Analyzing sectorwise, agriculture, as mentioned earlier, has registered a positive growth. This is in contrast to earlier recessions of 1957-58, 1965-66 and 1979-80 when agriculture would be in the negative zone while non-agricultural activities registered a positive growth. In contrast, according to Crisil, during 2020-21 while agriculture may grow at 2.5% the de-growth in non-agricultural sector is likely to be -6.3%, pulling down the whole economy by 5%. The monsoon this year has been good, Covid relatively less affecting the rural areas, and if the virus does not spread further in rural areas, hindering harvest and sales, then there would be some redemption. Surely, however, with only 15% weightage, agriculture cannot be the savior of the economy overall.

The fact remains, however, that Covid will be tamed eventually and there will be revival of the economic growth at some point of time. For an economy, however, it is not merely revival which is the issue but also the question as to what shape is it likely to take. It could be sudden and steep, so called V shaped, or prolonged and



deep, in L shape, or prolonged but eventually recovered, the U- shape. The extent and shape of recovering curve depends on both the macro-economic and business environments within a country on one hand and successful implementation of policies and strategies on the other. What could be the possible paths to recovery?

Well, the worst possibility is an **Lshaped** recovery in which the economy dives deep never to resurface, the growth rate never returning to its secular trend. Greece, for example, is in this situation for last 12 years. India is very unlikely to be in this nightmarish predicament due to our huge untapped potential for growth. Then there could be a **Wshaped** recovery. This may happen when there is a double dip. If the growth following the unlock measures slips below again due to resurgences of the pandemic then the economy will take a second dive. Naturally the economy would take a very long time to recover. Third, there is the **Kshaped** recovery. Indeed some commentators already fear that this is the current scenario in India in

which the growth revival benefits the rich (via stock market, etc) while the poor hardly gain. While the new world economy may perform, the traditional businesses fail to revive. Fourth, there is this **hockey stick** recovery, wherein the initial recovery is very rapid, but soon it slows down so that the economy

takes a long time to return to old growth path. This may be due to consumers lacking confidence to spend, for example. Fifth, in the so called **U-shaped** recovery the economy, once at the bottom may prefer to spend a long time there before resuming normalcy. The loss of output is much bigger damaging the economy quite a bit. Sixth, there is a possibility of **V-shaped** recovery, the most probable scenario for India in current times. Here the economic output, having fallen drastically suddenly due to an external shock, may climb back to its old path quickly. The businesses have suffered a setback but not collapsed completely and workers come back to work. Finally, we may have a **Z shaped** recovery, the most desirable, when a recession is followed by boom, the growth rate exceeding the trend rate for a while at last. So the growth is not destroyed but delayed. This is the unachievable ideal in present circumstances.

Coming back to India, though economic activities have resumed in India gradually, the Covid threat is still alive, vaccine is far away in future, mass vaccination – no one knows! so one is not sure if the green shoots are likely to wilt away or grow into a tree. So what should be done to nurture the plant? Well, more on this in our next article. □□

Table 3:
GVA Year on Year (%)

	1957-58	1965-66	1979-80	2020-21
Agriculture	-4.5	-11	-13	+2.5
Non-Agriculture	+30.6	+4.4	+0.7	-6.3
Total	-1.2	-3.7	-5.2	-5.0

Checkmating China

Indian analysts seem indifferent to the threat of India losing the railway line from Iran's Chabahar port to Afghanistan and Central Asia and suggest that New Delhi should focus on ties with Arab countries that provide energy security and jobs to millions of Indians. The view that India must choose between the Sunni Arab world and Shia Iran is myopic and contrary to established Indian diplomacy. Certainly, lakhs of Indian Muslims annually visit Saudi Arabia for hajj/umra but the lockdown imposed in March revealed that thousands of citizens visit Karbala and Najaf that are sacred to the Shias. Many work in Iran. Indeed, Commander Kulbhushan Jadhav (ret'd) is believed to have been abducted from Chabahar and pushed across the border into Pakistan.

The stalemate in India-Iran ties is due to US sanctions that cover countries engaging with Tehran commercially. India secured an exemption for the Chabahar port, which may not cover the railway, and stopped buying the light Iranian crude suited to its refineries after the six-month grace period ended. The freeze on its oil revenues seriously hurt Iran's economy, forcing it to seek ways to end its economic and diplomatic trauma.

Tehran moved cautiously, leaking "news" about a \$400 billion deal with China, which seemed credible given Beijing's huge investments across the globe. An unverified 18-page document gave the details of a 25-year Iran-China agreement that Chinese President Xi Jinping had proposed during a visit to Iran in January 2016. It mentioned a \$280 billion investment in Iran's oil and gas industry and \$120 billion across various sectors. Beijing would receive crude oil and gas at discounted prices for 25 years.

New Delhi was alarmed at the possibility of China funding the railway and depriving India of its coveted alternate route to Afghanistan and Central Asia, bypassing Pakistan. Envoy Gaddam Dharmendra rushed to meet Iranian Speak-



If Trump can be persuaded to see the Baloch quest and Iran as potential allies that could take the Makran coast away from China, it would put a powerful brake on the latter's ambitions.

Sandhya Jain



er Bagher Ghalibaf and Vice Minister of Roads and President of the Railways, Mohsen Pourseyed Aghaei, to salvage the Chabahar-Zahedan (and possibly Zarang) line. Also at stake is a free trade zone to serve the landlocked Central Asian states. Further, the Farzad-B gas field was discovered by ONGC Videsh in 2012 but its development has been stuck in wrangling over Iran's desire for two pipelines as opposed to India's insistence on a single pipeline. This is purely a commercial dispute and Tehran needs to be reasonable.

But for Chabahar and related projects, India will have to pioneer some deft diplomacy to break the deadlock between Washington and Tehran or sacrifice its regional ambitions forever. It is no secret that Islamabad is now firmly in Beijing's sphere of influence; its deafening silence on the treatment of Uyghurs in Xinjiang and refusal to bring its citizens back from Wuhan after the pandemic in order to save China's face leave no scope for doubt on this score. India did not blame China but rushed to bring its students back from Wuhan; now, the Chinese aggression in Ladakh has dramatically altered the situation.

An independent Balochistan offers a way out. At the time of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, American scholar Selig Harrison had the prescience to realise that the turmoil in Kabul would bring Pakistan's Baloch problem to the forefront (In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations, 1980). Till his death in 2016, Harrison urged Washington to support Baloch independence in pursuit of its own interests in the region but successive administrations from

Nixon-Kissinger remained invested in Islamabad.

Now, the China-Pakistan axis has eroded Washington's relationship with its non-NATO ally. Baloch resistance to Islamabad's unceasing atrocities and resentment against the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that encroaches upon their land and resources give America an opening. For, Balochistan is the geostrategic region without which Pakistan is just a landlocked landmass, of no use even to the Army that controls it.

As Italian scholar Valeria F Piacentini observed in 1945, Balochistan is at the crossroads of two "axes", east-west and north-south, of three macro-regions: Asia, Africa and the Mediterranean basin. It forms the hinge between the Indian sub-continent, Central Asia and the Euro-Asiatic steppes and the Iranian plateau; as also the link between regions that gravitate towards the Indian Ocean and its western "sea routes", the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

This is why London wanted Balochistan to be part of Pakistan and nudged MA Jinnah after the Khan of Kalat proved obdurate. Balochistan was annexed in 1948. The CIA-MI6 operated from Balochistan to overthrow the then Iranian Prime Minister M Mosaddegh after he nationalised the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Washington used Balochistan for its proxy war against Soviet forces in Afghanistan and opened war against the Taliban.

Gwadar Port, China's big prize and *raison d'être* for the CPEC, belongs to Balochistan. Chabahar is part of the same Makran coastline. If US President Donald Trump can be persuaded

to see the Baloch quest and Iran as potential allies, that could take the entire Makran coast away from China (depriving it also of the military base it is building in Jiwani peninsula off Gwadar). It would put a powerful brake on China's relentless acquisition of ports and bases across the Indian Ocean littoral.

Iran is a catch for Beijing because like Pakistan, it can join the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) by land and sea, giving it access to staggering geostrategic space. Tehran could link Beijing with Ankara, which offers access to the Mediterranean Sea and the nations of North Africa, Central Europe and Europe that comprise its littoral. The Mediterranean Sea opens into the Atlantic Ocean via the Strait of Gibraltar; this could bring Beijing closer to Washington than ever envisaged by the State Department or Pentagon. Beijing in Chabahar would also have access to the Arabian Sea, Strait of Hormuz and Sea of Oman, besides a shortcut to its military base in Djibouti. A US-friendly Balochistan and Iran would end this dream run.

Interestingly, in June 2020, Moscow arrested Valery Mitko, president, Arctic Academy of Sciences, for allegedly giving China information about submarine detection, a reflection of Moscow's anger at Chinese ambitions in the Arctic region. Washington has also arrested citizens in prestigious institutions working covertly for China. It should investigate whether the tales of Russian interference in the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections originated from "friends" in institutions that received lavish Chinese funding. Perhaps Russian President Vladimir Putin has signalled as much. □

(The author is a senior journalist. Views are personal)

The makers of India

In the 1987 movie, Wall Street, the industrial worker and trade unionist father Carl Fox confronts his finance whiz kid son raking in his millions, making money out of money, with words that resonate across America even today: “You stop going for the easy buck and produce something with your life. Create instead of living off the buying and selling of others.” America paid little heed to those words for two decades thereafter till the money machine imploded in 2008. Donald Trump came to power promising to bring manufacturing jobs back home from China.

It was no coincidence that in 2006 India also woke up to the challenge of revitalising Indian manufacturing, having lived through a decade of fantasy that services sector growth would help it leapfrog into the 21st century. Manmohan Singh’s National Strategy on Manufacturing (2006) aimed to take the share of manufacturing in national income from 16 per cent in 2006 to 25 per cent by 2020. Prime Minister Narendra Modi took this strategy forward calling it ‘Make in India’. Six years later, manufacturing’s share remains stubbornly stuck at 16 per cent.

A key policy initiative aimed at facilitating Make in India has been to improve the Ease of Doing Business. Various incentives, including cuts in tax and interest rates, have been given to the mobilisers of capital. Acquiring land and employing labour have been made easier. There is a growing celebration of enterprise, especially of small and medium entrepreneurs, and being self-employed has been made into an act of great creativity and patriotism. All this is good.

However, rapid industrialisation requires increasingly productive labour. The working class are the soldiers in the war against poverty and in the drive for modernisation. It is, therefore, surprising that few political parties have focused on improving labour productivity and the social security of the working class. Prime ministers, from Lal Bahadur Shastri to Narendra Modi, have said ‘Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan’, rarely do they say Jai Mazdoor. China’s rise has been on the back of its “creators”, to use Fox’s term for workers, and not just its traders.

The unionised working class has often been damned as a labour aristocracy that has prevented the growth of industrial employment. While industrial labour unions may have their faults, they can hardly be blamed for policies that have encouraged capital-intensive manufacturing rather than labour-intensive manufacturing. Consider the fact that so much of India’s labour-intensive manufacturing activity is getting exported out, and workers in Bangladesh, no less organised or militant than their Indian counterparts, are getting the jobs that workers in Gujarat are losing.

Why is it that political leaders are so quick to say Jai Kisan and so slow to say Jai Mazdoor? Prime Minister Modi’s Independence Day speeches have hardly said much to enthuse the industrial working class even as he has spoken so often about Make in India and Ease of Doing Business. This, despite the fact that the largest trade union organisation today is the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), affiliated to the RSS and the BJP.

In the focus on the large deficit that India faces in its merchandise trade with China attention is often drawn, and correctly so, to China’s various unfair practices ranging from hidden subsidies to non-trade barriers. However, an important factor that has made China’s exports more competitive has been the rising and high productivity of Chinese labour. The average Chinese worker produces more per hour of work and unit of capital than the average Indian worker—thanks to being better skilled, better fed and in better health. Make in India requires investing in the capabilities, health and social security of the ‘makers of India’. □□

Baru is an economist and a writer. He was adviser to former prime minister Manmohan Singh.



India woke up in 2006 to the challenge of revitalizing Indian manufacturing. Prime Minister Narendra Modi took this strategy forward calling it 'Make India'.
Sanjaya Baru

Jaivik Bharat

(Continued from previous issue)

The 9 steps we need to take for a transition to an *Annanirbar* Jaivik Bharat, a Food Sovereign, livelihood Secure India include.

1. From Linear Extractive Economies to Circular Economies (economic sovereignty –Arthik Swaraj)

Put nature and people, and local circular economies at the heart of the Post Covid Renewal and recovery, instead of the linear, extractive globalized economy driven by greed and wasteful use of resources which destroys ecosystems and displaces and dispossess people, contributing to both non sustainability and injustice and inequality. Circular Economies heal broken ecological cycles by giving back to the Earth. They correct injustices and inequalities by giving back a fair share to farmers and producers.

We need to move from competition to co operation, from separation, fragmentation, and indifference to solidarity. From degeneration of the local economy, culture, ecosystems, health to regeneration of rural economies , diversity of our cultures , our biodiversity and our health .Farmers , artisans , street vendors and “consumers” joining hands are creating local circular economies. This is the foundation of true self reliance, *Atmanirbharta*.

2. From Corporate Control of Seed to Seed Sovereignty (BijaSwaraj)

Food begins as Seed. Healthy food grows from healthy seed. Indigenous Desi seeds and farmers varieties have much higher nutrition than the so called “High Yielding Varieties” which have been bred to adapt to chemicals, are nutritionally empty, contributing to diseases of deficiencies of micronutrients and trace elements, and loaded with disease causing toxics. Indigenous seeds need less water, are more pest and disease resistant and more climate resilient. GMO seeds are toxic, and GMO Bt cotton has failed to control pests, but trapped farmers in debt and drove hundreds of thousands of farmers to suicide. We need to create local seed banks to conserve indigenous seeds and farmers seed producer groups to multiply and distribute local seeds.



*Towards a Self
Reliant
(Atmanirbhar),
Seed Sovereign,
Food Sovereign
India Through
Regenerative
Agriculture (Jaivik
Kheti) and local,
circular, solidarity,
economies.*

Dr. Vandana Shiva



We need to defend Seed Sovereignty, and our laws that defend Seed Sovereignty such as Art 3j of the Indian Patent Act clearly states that plants, animals and seeds are not inventions, hence not patentable.

“Plants and animals in whole or in any part thereof other than microorganisms; but including seeds, varieties, and species, and essentially biological processes for production or propagation of plants and animals”.

And Art 39 of the Plant Variety Protection and Farmers Rights Act which states -

“A farmer shall be deemed to be entitled to save, use, sow, re-sow, exchange, share or sell his farm produce including seed of a variety protected under this Act in the same manner as he was entitled before the coming into force of this Act”

3. From Industrial Agriculture based on Toxic Chemicals to Biodiverse Organic/ Natural farming based on Agro-ecology (Anna Swaraj)

For *AtmaNirbhar* food and farming, we need to become free of corporate dependence for seeds and chemicals which are at the root of debt, dispossession and displacement of farmers from agriculture, a threat to our health, destruction of biodiversity and climate change. Agroecology and organic farming has spread in the world from India. Our indigenous agriculture is based on biodiversity and the law of return. Bio-diverse Organic food systems create local circular economies by regenerating ecological cycles and processes, and regenerating livelihood and food systems.

Protect, Regenerate and grow Biodiversity, not Monocultures of plantations or agriculture com-

We need to defend Seed Sovereignty, and our laws that defend Seed Sovereignty such as Art 3j of the Indian Patent Act clearly states that plants, animals and seeds are not inventions, hence not patentable.

modities which do not perform the ecological functions that bio-diverse ecosystems do in controlling pests and weeds, conserving soil and water, and bringing excess carbon and nitrogen from the atmosphere where it contributes to climate change, to the soil, where it improves soil fertility and provides healthy, nutritious food, including proteins through nitrogen fixing pulses and beans.

4. From Monocultures to Diversity: From “Yield Per Acre” to “Health Per Acre”, “Wealth Per Acre” and “Care Per Acre” “Hands Per Acre”

Monocultures of chemical intensive crops create the illusion of “feeding the world” by increasing production of commodities. The shift from biodiversity to monocultures, from food and nutrition to globally traded commodities is induced by the misleading measure of “yield per acre” which does not measure. “Yield” does not measure whether the farming method or technology leaves the land degraded or regenerates it. It does not measure whether the farmer was left impoverished and indebted, or the farmers wellbeing was improved. It does not assess

whether the food is nutritionally empty and toxic or nutritionally rich and dense. It does not tell you whether the commodity produced went for biofuel, animal feed, producing fake lab food, or went to feed people with real food.

Agriculture means “Care for the Land”. In India we say “Anna-data Sukhi Bhava” – May the providers of food be happy. In Ayurveda we recognize that Food is the best medicine – “Annam Sarvaushadhi” In the social, ecological and health context, yield per acre facilitated the expansion of commodity production which is destroying biodiversity, our farmers, our health. More appropriate measures include “health per acre” and “Nutrition per acre”, “Wealth per Acre” and “Care per Acre”.

Diversity produces more food and nutrition per acre and provides resilience to climate extremes and economic shocks. It is the answer to hunger and disease. Diversity brings higher returns to farmers by avoiding unnecessary expenditure on costly seeds and chemicals, and by preventing vulnerability of price collapse that goes hand in hand with monocultures.

As Navdanya’s work, synthesised in our report “Health per Acre” has shown, we can provide two times India’s population with full nutrition and healthy food if we grow biodiversity. As our book “Wealth per Acre” shows, farmers can earn ten times more by giving up dependence on costly seeds and chemicals. And regeneration of the soil needs care, which means more “hands per acre” instead of fossil fuel guzzling machines and toxic chemicals which destroy the earth and livelihoods. As a tribal farmer says “We

have to know the soil, the soil has to know us". This is the circular economy of living relationships between seed, soil and farmers.

We need to shift from a corporate model of an extractive economy which treats the living earth and hard working, creative, intelligent farmers as "inert inputs", and steals fertility from the soil and value from farmers, leaving both the land and people poorer, destroying local economies and livelihoods.

5. From Industrial Processing that destroys Work, Health and Self Reliance to Artisanal Processing that Regenerates Rural Livelihoods, Biodiversity and Healthy Food System

To address simultaneously the crises of unemployment and chronic diseases created by industrial food processing food, we need to regenerate artisanal processing of food, such as wheat, paddy, pulses, and edible oils made from indigenous oilseeds such as mustard, linseed, sesame, groundnut, coconut, of pulses, of flour, creating more work opportunities in rural areas through agroprocessing and food processing, producing healthier food, and a diversification of local agriculture by creating local circular economies and local food communities.

6. From Colonization of the Mind to Decolonization and Knowledge Sovereignty (GyanSwaraj)

An agriculture paradigm that has its roots in colonialism separated agriculture from food, and food from health and nutrition. It promoted monocultures of commodities, destroying biodiversity impoverishing the earth, farmers

and our health. India's gift to the world is the science of Agroecology based on care for Mother Earth, and the science of Ayurveda, which recognizes that food is health (Annam Sarvaashadhi). To regenerate food and agriculture we need to reclaim our knowledge sovereignty, connect food to the health so we can prevent the health emergency of chronic diseases.

Our book *Annam: Food and Health*, makes the link between what we eat and our health, from diversity of perspectives-ecological, public health, and Ayurveda.

FSSAI law and standards are written by the junk food industry to destroy our artisanal economies. Self Reliant, *Atma Nirbhar* food safety systems and need to evolve from the ground up. In circular economies, food safety becomes a participatory process as part of Anna Swaraj, Food Sovereignty linking those who produce and process the food and those who eat it through intimacy and knowledge sovereignty. Desi foods have been evolved by our ancestors and grandmothers for our health and well being. In a time where there are plans for a new food imperialism through fake food made in labs, knowing what we are eating, how it was produced, what its impact is on the earth, farmers, society and our health becomes central to Anna Swaraj, Food Sovereignty.

8. From Greed and Profit driven food and Agriculture Systems that Create Poverty, Hunger, Unemployment and an Ecological Emergency, to Systems that Respect the Rights of People to Food, Work and Health

The industrial globalized food system has given us poverty, hun-

ger and unemployment. Creating Local living economies based on solidarity, community, and well being of all, regeneration of the Earth and Regeneration of livelihoods and rural economies based on ecological agriculture, regeneration of natural resources and the commons, regeneration of crafts and ecologically friendly skills is an ecological, economic and social imperative. Globalised extractive economies are based on polluting fossil fuels, chemicals and plastic and lead to destruction of local economies and livelihoods while they contribute to green house gases and climate change, destruction of biodiversity, and pollution of our rivers, ponds and land. The rich and powerful are now planning economies where Artificial Intelligence and Robots replace people, where lab made Fake Food replaces food as nourishment and as the currency of life.

The Right to Food, Right to Health, Right to work in this context translates into actions and policies that ensure Real Food for All, Real Wealth and Well being for all, and meaningful cooperative work for all.

By regenerating biodiversity through local circular economies, we regenerate biodiversity based livelihoods in agriculture, crafts and agroprocessing.

We have to reduce the heavy ecological footprint of the industrial food economy patterns that are destroying the earth's biodiversity and destabilizing her climate systems, and increase the heart print, head print and handprint of the economy to regenerate the earth and society. Through our heads, hearts and hands we can create a Self Reliant Jaivik Bharat, an India free of hunger, disease and waste.

9. From Corporate Control over our Food System to Local Living Democracies (Anna Swaraj Circles and Jaiv Panchayat)

In a globalised world, what we eat and what we wear, or whether we eat or not is being decided by a handful of giant corporations and billionaires who are only looking at their profits. Profits are made by destroying regenerative local circular economies and imposing extractive economies which deepen hunger, poverty, unemployment, and diseases and undermine our democratic and constitutional rights. To regenerate our food and agriculture, our ecology and economy, our health and well being, we need to reclaim and regenerate our democracy. Real democracy grows from the bottom up. Hind Swaraj grows from Gram Swaraj and from sovereign Earth Citizens conscious of their duties to the earth and society, their rights to

food, health, work and freedom.

PremVarma has quoted Gandhi reminding us that Gram Swaraj is central to India's freedom as freedom from hunger & unemployment

"No one under it should suffer for want of food and clothing. We should be ashamed of resting or having a square meal so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman without work or food."

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan on a much later date than Gandhi echoed the same sentiments.

"The economy of the community should be as **self-sufficient** as possible....."

The primary concern of the community is to provide for satisfaction of the primary needs of its members. It is therefore natural for it to produce all it can to provide for them food, clothing, shelter and other necessities. It is also the community's responsibility to see that every able-bodied individual in the community finds useful

employment."

Healthy food as the currency of health and life can overcome the rift between the city and the country. When consumers make conscious choices for the earth, farmers and their health they become part of the earth community, a food community, an Anna Swaraj circle. Living democracy is cultivated through coproduction, coinvestment. To invest means to make beautiful. When we invest care and solidarity, we regenerate the earth, her biodiversity, our health and the well being of all. Each community can create local circular economies through creating Local living democracies (Jaiv-Panchayat) based on participation, care for the commons and the community, and protection and rights of the last person (sarvodaya). Living democracies support living economies so the well being of all is at the centre of concern – "Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah". □□

[Continued from page no. 6]

Request for halting Bt Brinjal trials at earliest, ...

Agricultural Exports in Danger

India cannot willingly jeopardise her trade security by opting for GM technology when an overwhelming majority of countries around the world shun GM crops. Non-GM produce is a niche, safe produce that the world prefers to even pay a premium for in global markets, and India right now has that advantage. This should not be lost by opting for GM crop production and not even open air field trials. The reality is that several countries which have initially adopted GM crops have actually subsequently abandoned the same. India would be unwise if it doesn't leverage the current strengths of its non-GM farming, and allow our exports to be jeopardised by losing non-GMO tag.

Post COVID, the narrative is changing globally. World is looking for healthier options, not the over-production or GM variants. We, at SJM, fully endorse your call for organic and natural farming. It is time for India to show the world that how we can strike balance with environment as well as with the requirement of our people for healthy living. The GM is ante-philosophy. It doesn't suit our narrative, neither have we needed it. We want to see India as world's food basket. But the GM crop, would impact here as well.

We are sure that you will stand with us, to make our farmer self-reliant and consumers free from the unhealthy food.

Dr Ashwani Mahajan
National Co Convenor

-23.9 percent crash

India needs humane policy, open biz, rule-based RBI for fresh start

It's a fall or new beginning. The nation is pondering over the minus 23.9 percent GDP crash. The figures are stark but the life goes on. Does the GDP really matter? The lockdown (LD) has plunged India into a never before crisis. The GDP slump now is likely to worsen to full-year economic contraction of 7 percent – or simply negative seven percent, massive for a country of 130 crore that wants to take a super leap. It is the result of routinely jettisoning financial stability for myopic adjustments in government expenditures, says Viral V Acharya, former RBI deputy governor.

Now the growth is prescribed on government spending by RBI. Good. Nobody has answered from where the government after squandering opportunities since the demonetization, accentuated by GST and devastating economy with LD would bring the precious money. The gold pawning by the Chandrashekhar government in 1990 caused similar concern. Then the growth clocked one percent.

Again the figures have meant not much for the nation. Post-1992 budget some companies did exceedingly well at the stock market. It led to exposure of billion-dollar Harshad Mehta scam. Banks and financial institutions were denuded. The corrective steps were taken, SEBI was formed but the banks continue to take the hit.

The RBI is eloquent. It says even in a year of crisis that began in August 2019, bank frauds jump 159 percent involving Rs 1.48 lakh crore for public sector banks and Rs 34211 crore for private ones.

During the last 30 years GDP swung up and down but the common man not only in India even in the US and Europe post-2008 sub-prime crisis lost several billions. The insurances and mutual funds emerged as more dishonest. Nations churn out big concerns; hopes and jingoism across the world keep people busy.

The US economy shrinks by -31.7 percent, the British by -20.4 percent and the fall guy China by -6.2 percent. Pakistan, with scant containment, is clocking at least 1.03 percent growth.



Whatever, the country needs soft policy, low taxes, no barriers like tolls, open business and humane approach to solve difficult problems. India with a new beginning can beat all.

Shivaji Sarkar



India many might say is in league with the big. May be it is in a better situation with free food grain doles to 80 crore people. That is indeed a silver lining. Many families are able to survive. Though now they are being harassed by demands of production of 'income' certificates. Many may cross the illusory poverty line and be forced to starve. They are people in need and not corrupt as some officials tend to paint them.

It is also true that since these 80 crore are not part of the market as they do not generate demand. The job losses, salary cuts or its non-payment, starvation, and rising number of suicides to four a minute has led to fall in industrial output to 38.1 percent, services 20.6 percent, and manufacturing to 39.3 may not theoretically have hit them.

India has notionally spent Rs 150,471 crore for free rice and wheat. The overflowing stocks in FCI silos were paid long back and do not entail financial burden. Actual hit to exchequer as of now is Rs 1930 crore for transportation and another Rs 5000 crore for pulses. The immediate cost is Rs 6930 crore. But as the stocks are depleting carrying out the operation beyond November or till West Bengal polls would burden critical finances.

The present figures are only first estimates. Informal sector numbers, which are likely to have suffered more, says India's former chief statistician Pranab Sen, will be announced later. Entire non-farm economy has been hit.

Agriculture with 3.4 percent is the silver line but it is also having problem in recovering costs. The wholesale price indices' contraction indicates producer prices are declining. Gross value added (GVA)

The remedy is in less govt and more free private sector open economy... The govt. has to have fiscal restraint and RBI has to put financial stability and resist fiscal dominance.

that is actual production value minus taxes contracts by 22.8 percent. Even the public administration, defence and other services sub-sectors record 10.3 percent fall in government spending. Gross fixed capital formation, in short investment, contracts 47.1 percent. However, government consumption expenses have grown by 16 percent, much due to inflation.

Even nominal GDP has contracted by 22.6 percent. It means base of tax collection, as the GST controversy depicts, will shrink.

More than the government, the central bank, RBI, is responsible for having dithered from achieving its long-term objectives of price and financial ability, opines Acharya. It is leading to a situation of stagnant growth and high inflation – stagflation. It is hitting bank depositors and market investors creating uncertainties.

The economy is getting more centralized. The government balance sheet gets larger and that of private sector shrinks. It hits all but the smaller players more like the MSME crisis and private educational institutions. As the economy shrinks government funding programmes become mainstay in relation to crashing domestic savings and irrational interest rates. It hits

the core of economy. It increases lobbying by the powerful.

The remedy is in less government and more free private sector open economy. It also does not mean selling the public sector jewels like railways, HAL and others. They set the quality standards. Simultaneously, private sector has to be allowed spaces without direct or indirect government support. For this the government has to have fiscal restraint and RBI has to put financial stability and resist fiscal dominance.

The GDP itself is not a big number but its ramifications are. It is a symptom. The disease is severe – not the covid19 but financial failures 2019. As a first the RBI has to assert itself and instead of suppressing interest rates on savings, it has to increase it to a minimum of 9 percent for bank deposits, else the banks would collapse.

It is not for rewarding the saver but to boost the culture of savings that has been taking care of government expenses, deficit, all through including of the Hindu rate of growth era. It has to reset policies and functions like the central bank adhering to rule-based decisions to save and bolster nation's finances. The life will go on but to become a global leader we need a minimum 8 percent continuous growth for \$ 5 trillion economy. The central bank has to delineate the path.

Disease or not the nation has to take a vow that it would not jeopardise normal functioning ever again. Whatever, the country needs soft policy, low taxes, no barriers like tolls, open business and humane approach to solve difficult problems. India with a new beginning can beat all. □□

Greening Delhi needs more will power than wallet power

What happens when the cars and emissions rise in our cities? When the silence of the trees is robbed and the radiance of the sun is fogged by flumes and honks? Would we readapt to sooty skies? Do we urban citizens have a moral imperative to save our environment? These were some thoughts that were floating as my mother and I were planting our 300th sapling this August in Delhi.

When she thought about the idea of celebrating her 50th birthday by planting trees (it was in June 2020), we had a little idea of where to plant or the money required. But we willed it and the universe did conspire to make it happen. Soon, we had some money in our tree fund but the Delhi government announced that it would be distributing free saplings to plant.

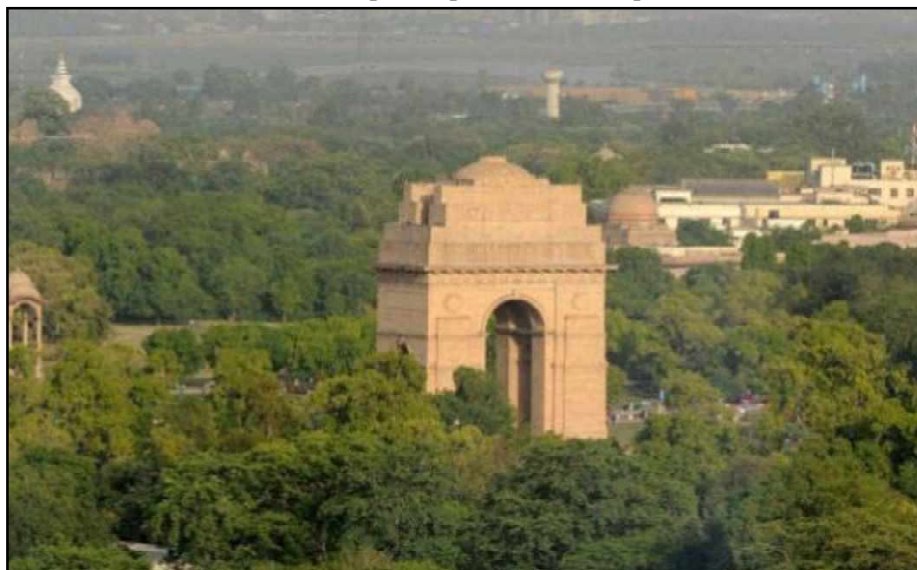
With the first problem dealt with, now where to plant? For this we chose a DDA park, took necessary permissions and began planting. Most of our saplings are alive and growing faster. What we did was a small measure to save our immediate environment and our city Delhi. This was also an act of healing and small gratitude for all the things nature gave us. How did it happen? God along with nature works in mysterious ways. If we are silent enough to hear her hums, she guides us. Our planet and our cities need human agents to heal her and support her. The Covid-19 crisis has given the world an opportunity to re-value our environment. Starting from the Big Bang, the trajectory of connected events has led to creation of the earth, and humans. Our purpose here is a simple one: To cohabit with the earth and all her beings, to nourish ourselves and them.

But can our government embrace this quest? Yes, and for starters, RWAs should be asked to intensify plantations of native varieties and urban food gardens in their areas. DDAs and public parks need to open doors for citizens to



As Haryana and Uttar Pradesh are proactively supporting plantation drives, the national capital should also encourage farmers to surround the city with green walls of trees.

Indra Shekhar Singh



plant trees in them. This will also decrease the budget restraints on horticulture departments. A certain time period may be notified each year for people to plant. RWAs need to set voluntary targets and be recognised by local city authorities for this work. As a block or sub-division within the city, officials need to remove non-native species and replace them with indigenous plants and trees. We need to create mini-forests in our parks, using the 'Miyawaki' method. This step can help increase carbon sequestration and develop mini-lungs throughout our cities. Urban gardens and rooftop gardens need to be encouraged through an urban food policy. But at city level, a lot more can be done. For example, let's take Delhi, a city surrounded by farms and an under-utilised budget for agriculture. We begin with a plan to surround Delhi with

a green-wall of trees or green buffer zones.

But how will this be made possible? The Covid-19 agri-stimulus package has already allotted budget and subsidies for plantation. For the state of Uttar Pradesh, farmers can get up to 60% subsidies, if they choose to start a plantation. In Haryana, the government is offering up to 75% subsidy in various plantation crops to the farmers. As Haryana and UP are already very proactively supporting plantation drive, Delhi should create a map of the buffer zone and encourage as many farmers as possible to surround Delhi with a green wall of trees. These can be fruit crops, etc. The Delhi government may chip in by giving farmers additional subsidies. This should be considered as assistance given by them for eco-services and not charity. This way they can phase out

paddy production from surrounding areas and decrease straw burning too.

The three state governments can work in tandem to create this zone around Delhi. The produce from these zones should be branded by the government and sold to marketing co-operatives like Mother Dairy, etc. With a contract farming model in the pipeline, various governments can enter into contracts with farmers or FPOs to produce food and fruits agro-ecologically, hence not only saving the environment but also the health of urban dwellers. This will help break the dust winds entering the city too. If during the lockdown a scheme can be developed and implemented, it will go a long way in ensuring that Delhi's and other cities' air, water and food supply are cleaner. □□

The author is director at Policy and Outreach, National Seed Association of India. The views expressed are personal.

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Save Environment, Increase GDP

The Union government has sought to dilute many provisions of the Environment Impact Assessment Notification (EIA Notification) in order to speed up the establishment of factories and mega cities, and making of highways. The requirement of Public Hearing is to be removed for certain projects, the Ministry is to be empowered to grant post-facto Environment Clearance (EC) to projects that are presently operating without EC, large numbers of projects such as irrigation and dredging of rivers are to be exempted from obtaining an EC, etc. The intention of the Government appears to be to help quickly establish mega cities and industries; and enable the making of highways promptly. A prompt EC is indeed necessary for securing an increase in our GDP.

However, the damage to the environment also pushes back our GDP. A large numbers of our High Net-worth Individuals (HNIs) have migrated from India and taken their money with them. One of their grouse has been that the air and water in India is polluted. Thus, establishment of polluting industries may increase GDP directly but can lead to an even greater reduction in GDP by fleeing of our money. We are also not able to attract tourists despite having the Taj Mahal, Himalaya, Ganga and beaches of Goa because of poor environment.

One of the reasons for this poor state of our environment is that a number of projects ostensibly for the increase in GDP are actually leading to the opposite result. Take for, example, the National Waterway No 1 (NW1) being made on the Ganga. The cost of transporting one ton material over a distance of one kilometer on NW1 said to be Rs 1.06 per ton against Rs 1.36 by rail. It is said that the NW1 would lead to a saving of 30 paise per ton kilometer. But we forget that the distance from Haldia to Varanasi by rail is about 800 kilometers against about 1300 kilometers by NW1 because the river meanders like a snake while the rail runs in a straight line. Thus, the cost of transporting one ton material from Haldia to Varanasi is about Rs 1370 by waterway and Rs 1080 by rail despite the NW1 having a lower per ton kilometer cost. This project clearly harms the GDP. More



Environment protection and GDP go hand-in-hand. The problem lies in the slow working of the Government officials and the Judges. We must strengthen the environmental laws along with speedy implementation to secure and increase in GDP.

Dr. Bharat Jhunjunwala



so if we add the loss of dolphins, Hilsa and other fishes, deterioration in water quality, etc. Yet the officials of the Inland Waterways Authority of India are pushing the project for obvious reasons that are best left unsaid. At their behest, moreover, Government has sought to allow dredging of the rivers saying that the environmental regulation was a hurdle in the growth of GDP. The truth is that GDP will increase if such ill-planned projects are stalled. The environmental regulations will do a yeoman's service to the GDP by stalling such projects. They should be strengthened to help grow the GDP.

One specific area that requires attention is that the costs and benefits of the projects must be assessed dispassionately. At present the environmental regulations do not require any assessment whether a project is beneficial for the GDP or not. Also, the Environment Impact Assessment (EIA), which is a precondition for the grant of an EC, should be made by an independent agency to be appointed by the Government. At present the project proponent appoints the EIA Agency. Needless to say, he who pays the piper calls the tune. Thus, EIAs suppress more environmental impacts than they disclose. For example, the environmental assessment of NWI got done by no less than the World Bank ignored the fact that the distance is more through the waterways. The third area requiring attention is that an EC remains should be made valid only for a specified number of years. Every project has a "commercial life" built into its financial assessment. The project is supposed to pay back the investment in this period.

The environmental regulations will do a yeoman's service to the GDP by stalling such projects. They should be strengthened to help grow the GDP.

The hydropower projects in the United States, for example, are given clearance for 30 years and the Project Proponents are required to obtain fresh EC at that time. The underlying idea is that the Project Proponent has already recovered its investment and it suffers no loss if the project is scrapped.

There is yet a need for reform of the EC process. It needs to be fast-tracked. The projects are hit by the long time taken in the grant of the Environment-, Forest-, Wildlife-, Coastal- and Pollution Clearances. The Government could make a unified clearance process which looks at all these laws in one go while, at the same time, strengthening these laws.

The other area calling for reform is the interference of the courts. The copper plant of Vedanta has, for example, been closed down by the courts due to the violation of environmental regulations. This has forced the country to import copper leading to a huge loss. There is a need to take a balanced view on this matter. I reckon that if the courts have stopped the operation of one beneficial project such as Vedanta; they allowed hundreds if not thousands of harmful projects to go on despite disastrous environmental impacts. I can say from my own ex-

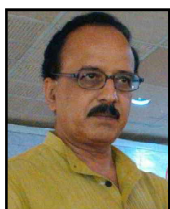
perience that the Srinagar Hydropower Project is wholly harmful for the GDP. It is producing electricity at Rs 9 per unit while the same is available on the India Energy Exchange at Rs 4 per unit. The GDP of the country falls by Rs 5 with every unit of electricity made by the project. Yet the Supreme Court allowed this project to continue only on the consideration that a lot of money had been invested. At the same time, I would like to say that the only institution that stands for the protection of the environment today is the courts.

That said, there is need for speedy disposal of cases in the courts. The Prime Minister should meet with the Chief Justice of India to fast track disposal of case involving economic activities. Secondly, the Government should increase the strength of judges in National Green Tribunal, High Courts the Supreme Court by 5 times so that projects that are truly beneficial for the GDP are decided speedily. Most courts today have a number of vacancies because of the lackadaisical attitude of the Government and the Supreme Court. Thirdly, the number of working days of our courts should be increased. According to one study, the Supreme Court works for 190 days in a year, the High Courts an average of 232 days and lower courts 244 days. They all should be made to work 280 days.

Environment protection and GDP go hand-in-hand. The problem lies in the slow working of the Government officials and the Judges. We must strengthen the environmental laws along with speedy implementation to secure and increase in GDP. □□

Formerly Professor of Economics at IIM Bengaluru

Farming can't be sacrificed at altar of trade



To fix the problem created by the swelling corporate milk output, India is under pressure to open its dairy sector to US imports. Just like accusing Canada of protectionist policies, Trump has called India 'tariff king'. The proposed US-India trade deal, too, has the US seeking an increased market access for its highly subsidised farm produce.
Devinder Sharma

For decades, American dairy farms have been hit by low prices. While the small dairy farms have increasingly pulled down shutters, the continued expansion of corporate farming has resulted in surplus milk production, leading to a fall in prices. In the past six years, milk prices have seen a 40 per cent drop on an average.

In 2016, more than 43 million gallons of milk was thrown away by the farmers. This huge milk waste could have filled 66 Olympic-sized swimming pools, says an estimate. Regardless, corporate milk production continued to soar while another 3,000 dairy farms closed down in 2019, says a report of the US Department of Agriculture (USDA). This necessitated US President Donald Trump to look for export markets.

President Trump blamed Canada for adopting protectionist policies. He was particularly harsh about the need for Canada to pull down the import tariffs on dairy products. This became a contentious issue while the US was renegotiating the NAFTA treaty with what is now called as the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). Canada relented, made a limited concession, allowing the US a small opening — 3.6 per cent access to its market. In addition, it also allowed the entry of infant formula, cheese, cream, butter and other products.

Mexico, too, allowed the import of certain US cheeses but otherwise remained firm on not opening up any further. Meanwhile, Kenya is under a lot of pressure to allow US dairy products under the proposed US-Kenya FTA under negotiation.

It is now the turn of India. To fix the problem created by the swelling corporate milk output, India too is under pressure to open its dairy sector to American imports. Just like accusing Canada of protectionist policies, President Trump has repeatedly called India 'tariff king' and often expressed his dissatisfac-



tion by saying, “We’re not treated very well by India.” He had been particularly harsh on the high import tariffs on Harley Davidson motorcycles. India had obliged, and Prime Minister Narendra Modi informed the US President of the duty cut offered.

Since then, America has upped the ante, which was quite evident when President Trump announced before departing for India in February: “We are doing a very big trade deal with India. We’ll have it. I don’t know if it will be done before the election, but we’ll have a very big deal with India.” He was referring to the US-India Free Trade Agreement (FTA) which has been under negotiation for quite some time. But, in the meanwhile, a ‘quick trade deal’ for an early harvest is almost ready. “We can do an early harvest in terms of 50 to 100 products and services,” Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal had told a virtual meeting of the US-India Business Council.

While a ‘quick deal’ or a bilateral trade agreement does not have to strictly conform to any World Trade Organisation (WTO) obligations, the attack on the Indian agriculture and dairy sectors appears to be on both the fronts. To meet the WTO commitments, India had in June allowed the import of five lakh tonnes of maize and 10,000 tonnes of milk and milk products at a lower import duty and that too when farmers cultivating maize and those producing milk were faced with depressed prices. The proposed US-India trade deal, too, has agriculture and dairy placed high on the agenda with America seeking an increased market access for its highly subsidised farm produce.

In India, there are 8-10 crore dairy farms. Even though a large number of dairy farmers have an average of two to five head of cattle, India is at present the world’s largest milk producer.

Although 93 per cent of the small dairy farms in America have closed down since the 1970s, the consolidation of big dairy farms in the US in tune with its policy of ‘get big or get out’ has turned it into the world’s second largest milk producer.

In India, there are 8-10 crore dairy farms. Even though a large number of dairy farmers have an average of two to five head of cattle, India is at present the world’s largest milk producer. Over the years, the number of families owning 15-30 cows has been steadily on the rise. Although between 2000 and 2016, as per a study, India has seen almost 52 lakh small farmers quitting dairy, the country can’t afford any more closure of dairy farms. Any further opening up should be a matter of concern given the extent of agrarian distress that prevails.

Further, the three ordinances that form a part of the marketing reforms in agriculture too are aimed at the commercialisation of Indian agriculture: bringing in corporate agriculture and consolidating production in the years to come. These autonomous reforms appear to be in sync with the WTO policy that restricts the product-spe-

cific support under minimum support price (MSP), keeping it within the agreeable limit of 10 per cent of the total value of production.

Already, the US, Canada, Australia and a host of other countries have questioned India for breaching the price support in wheat, rice, cotton, sugar and pulses. Although India has defended the higher MSP under a ‘peace clause’ exemption it enjoys till a permanent solution is arrived at, sooner or later, this will be under the chopping block.

In 2010, the then US Trade Representative (USTR) had said: “We are exploring every alternative and every enforcement tool available to us to get India to open up their markets on a number of agriculture issues.”

Four years later, 14 US agricultural commodity export organisations had written to the USTR expressing displeasure at the temporary safeguard accorded to India by way of ‘peace clause’ which would dampen the export possibilities. All eyes are, therefore, on getting more market access into India.

So far, India has also done remarkably well by refusing to open up to American farm commodity exports, especially soybean, poultry and dairy. Last June, in retaliation, India raised tariffs on 28 products, including walnuts, almonds, apples, Bengal gram and masur dal.

Later, in November, India walked out of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) treaty, realising that the country would be flooded by imports, mostly in agriculture. With Atmanirbhar Bharat being the new vision, agriculture cannot be sacrificed at the altar of trade. □□

The author is Food & Agriculture Specialist.
<https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/comment/farming-cant-be-sacrificed-at-altar-of-trade-129124/>

National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 - An Analysis

One of the major concerns in Indian education system remains, even after seven decades of independence is the right to equitable, accessible, affordable and quality education for all. The range of factors, which are both social and economical play their role in affecting one's right to access and participate in our education system.

In the Indian context, various factors like as caste, gender, poverty, geography, place of residence etc have played 'negative role' in access to provide education for all in last many decades. Moreover, the situation of 'inclusive higher education' has been impaired more seriously in these years given range of factors like as financing, infrastructure and lack of skill. The high drop out rates proves to this fact everywhere. The situation demands that these circumstances do not impede the educational potential of Indian citizens.

Recently, government unveiled the New Education Policy, 2020 with the objective of bringing in wide-ranging structural transformations in primary, secondary and higher education sectors in India. This aims to make India a vibrant knowledge society. The mandate of NEP is to make the current educational system more equitable and accessible for all. The NEP invokes for multi-faceted reforms in our education system, and making the education system more operational and effective given new demands. It also seeks to maintain global competitiveness of our educational institutes and system. There are certain outcomes on the new NEP 2020 and I wish to list out some of the key developments on the subject, as we look to the beginning of new era in our education system.

Firstly, the present policy NEP 2020 is the outcome of strong communication with all the stakeholders in the sector. Fortunately, to the credit of the persons behind NEP, there were large-scale consultations behind the groups and it was



NEP 2020 is a major policy reform to transform Bharat into a 'knowledge power' on the globe.

Abhishek Pratap Singh



opened up for the public as well to put forward their views and suggestions. Given the case, the new NEP is the conclusive document, which has come out of long deliberation and discussions with all the necessary groups.

Secondly, The new NEP is a major departure from the previous education policies. It seeks to address most critical limitations and fault lines in previous policies on education. From primary to higher education, it balanced its approach in aiming for new education reforms in the sector. It aims for universalization of education from pre-school to secondary level with 100 % Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in school education by 2030, which is fundamental requirement of present times. This will bring 2 crores school children's back into the mainstream through the open schooling system. (PIB, 2020)

Thirdly, in order to enhance the learning skills of young minds, the NEP 2020 ensures for teaching up to at least Grade 5 to be in mother tongue/ regional language. India is a multilingual and diverse country, and if a child gets an opportunity to learn a regional language other than her/his mother tongue, there is no harm in it. There are many reports like as one by UN (2019) that asserts that, 'languages play a crucial role in our daily lives' and it is necessary to impart education in ones local language.

Fourthly, the policy envisages broad-based, multi-disciplinary, holistic Under Graduate Program with flexible curricula, creative combinations of subjects, integration of vocational education and multiple entries and exit points with

appropriate certification. This is necessary to ensure flexibility in our education system and allows a person to opt for and draw a balance between education and employment in his life.

Lastly, the NEP envisages for some major institutional overhaul in our education system. The National Research Foundation will be created as an apex body for fostering a strong research culture and building research capacity across higher education. Higher Education Commission of India (HECI) will be set up as a single overarching umbrella body for entire higher education, excluding medical and legal education.

Meanwhile, the most important of all the objectives is that the

Centre and the States will work together to increase the public investment in the Education sector to reach 6% of GDP at the earliest. While there are some concerns on the issues like 'privatisation of education' and 'scope of liberal education' in India, but as the policy unfolds and that too in the times of social distress and economic stagnancy it will be a daunting task to set out reform scheme as envisaged in our NEP 2020.

If we can do it then certainly, Bharat will acquire its preeminent position as a 'knowledge power' in the global world based on imparting meaningful, assimilative and skill-centric education to our students. □□

Autho is Assistant Professor, Deshbandhu College, DU.

[Conitnued from page no. 10]

Indian economy: Surviving ...

distancing norms etc will make industries to reduce its employment. Online shopping has changed the shopping style and has reduced the need to go to stores for shopping and this will continue for some time more. This will reduce the earnings of large number of small petty shop keepers and vendors. However, this will create new opportunities also and government need to change its supportive policies for new start-ups and emerging sectors.

'Aatm Nirbhar' Bharat is the alternative

It is appreciable that government acted timely and announced to make India self-reliant and help domestic sectors to dominate the economy. It is good that government understood the need of us-

ing Indian rural potentials and thought of using the network of SHGs and NGOs to maintain supply chains during the crisis. India is geographically large country with varied skill and production capacities. When the idea of globalization has collapsed and international supply chains disrupted, the idea of Aatm Nirbharata is gaining importance. However, Aatmnirbhar Bharat is possible only when swadeshi is adopted by Indian population and made their lifestyle swadeshi oriented. The propagation of Swadeshi with the help of a large-scale mass movement is therefore a necessity. Government system should adopt more and more policies to support rural sectors and rural supply chains to serve India better. That alone will help India rebuild its future. □□

Education Import Bill of India and New Education Policy

The import bill is the value of money that flows out of the country to receive a service or goods. In the case of the education import bill, it is the value of money which is paid to other countries by us to receive the education-related services. The new education policy is about five hundred page document. This document is an independent approach to revitalize the whole education system of India. But no section or paragraph or sentence or word in the document explicitly discusses the need to curb education import bill. The interpretation of this policy document will become more serious if it is visualized with the foreseen challenge of the rising education bill. Education may become in the near future the biggest contributor to import bill, even surpassing the oil import bill. During the year 2000, about 67,000 Indian students studied abroad and during the year 2019 more than 750,000 Indian students studied abroad.

The incentive to domestic academics should be fair enough to compete with the incentives offered by the other top-ranking world universities. The incentive and the agility of the employment contracts of Indian higher education services should motivate the Indian origin academicians working for foreign universities abroad to come to India rather than sending an invitation to foreign universities to open campuses in India.

The education import bill is thriving on a green pasture provided by the policymakers and the prevailing current state of the Indian education system. Academic institutes have their own challenges and the students have their own constraints. A private Indian educational system that aims to be the rank holder in the world university ranking has a tough job as far as financial autonomy and sustainability are concerned. During the pandemic, the capability of the academics as well as of the industry has surprised many within and outside the country. The domestic academia-industry collaboration is yet to see its best. If these pri-



During the year 2000, about 67,000 Indian students studied abroad and during the year 2019 more than 750,000 Indian students studied abroad.

Alok Singh



vate institutions aim to match the standards of education delivery and retaining faculties of globally best as benchmarked internationally, then it has a financial cost to bear. If these private institutes increase the fee then it risks the opportunity to attract a student for admission in their institute. The student perceives foreign education to be a much much better choice vis-a-vis the domestic institutions if the expense of education is not a significant differentiating factor. If the domestic institute and the foreign institute are providing the same level of output at marginally different cost then the domestic institutes lose the student to its foreign competitors. The other factor is of time. The number of preparatory years spent to get admission in a domestic institute of repute is also a driver of the domestic students to study abroad. This happens because more and more students are competing for the limited number of admission offers available at a reputed institute. Every year the ratio of the number of admissions offers versus the number of applicants keeps declining. It means that getting into a reputed institute in India is highly competitive.

The policymakers should come up with a framework to incentivize the faculty as well as the students to work and study in domestic institutions. The disadvantages arising out of the education import bill can be countered by ways to generate an education export bill. The education export bill will rise if paths are created to incentivize and flourish the domestic academic institutions with a respectful global position in the ranking of the world university. During the initial years, the education

We have to prepare to bring our bright academicians home rather than the whole university owned by a foreigner.

import bill will be rising and the domestic institutions will be absorbing resources but in a decade or so the education import bill will be declining and the domestic institutions will become sustainable. How it is possible needs to be explored. It also means that the financial investments to incentivize the domestic academy now be seen as a checkmate to repercussions arising out of balance of trade due to the education import bill in the near future.

The opportunity to foreign universities to open a campus in India won't be off too much help to curb the education import bill. In fact, it may kill the domestic institutes which are struggling to have a foothold and are in the process of earning global credibility in their respective faculty. The foreign universities having campuses in India will also tamper the low budget students who will be their new customers.

New education policy is a good start and the goodness should be in favor of the domestic institutions and curbing the education import bill should always be a factor. It will be mistaken to believe that a foreign university operating from an Indian campus will help save the living expense of an Indian student who studies abroad. They will create a new target customer for whom tuition fee

to a foreign university and living expense in India is affordable but tuition and living expense both at the same time outside India to a foreign university is not affordable.

It will accelerate the education import bill as Indian students studying in India will also add to their income which they will send to their home country. Approximately 28 percent of the Indian population is below the age of 14 years while only 17 percent of China is below the age of 14. India is a new business generating land for foreign universities and their countries. One foreign company is sufficient to kill the whole traditional business.

The policy draft allows the top 200 universities to open a campus in India -200 is a big number- and it is risky for the education import bill. The multiplier effect of opening a campus can be in generating businesses for construction, generating local jobs for staff, and many more. The multiplier effect of opening a campus can be accelerated by new domestic institutions as well. Establishing an institution is different from installing a manufacturing plant or launching an e-commerce platform. The dismantling of a manufacturing plant or closing an e-commerce platform is also relatively easier. Education is about nation-building. We have seen how mobile phone services have reached the rural household even before the arrival of electricity in their houses. We expect such a transition in the education sector. We have to prepare to bring our bright academicians home rather than the whole university owned by a foreigner. Anyway, academics are an important service and we need to be self-reliant in this sector. □□

Water and Cattle Raids in Historic Jaisalmer — Part I

This essay highlights the essential components of the environment in shaping historic Jaisalmer and its neighbourhood in medieval times. The socio-economic profile of the Thar Desert in the historic times offers case studies in contrast to the environmental history of southern Rajasthan. In terms of water reservoirs and cattle raids. Water, cattle, and desert vegetation were the lifelines of the agro-pastoral economy of north-western Rajasthan. Aridity and trade routes through Jaisalmer also created favourable conditions for a flourishing trading community. Water, cattle raids and trade distinguished different groups in this desert society. The sources for this essay are drawn from inscriptional records from Jaisalmer area dated between Bhattika Samvat 577 and 850 (henceforth, BS). Bhattika era commenced on 16 November 624. Hence, these inscriptional records are dated between the early thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. These records throw light on construction of water tanks and occurrence of cattle raids. It is important that the inscriptional records under study belong not only to the members of the ruling elite but also to some local communities like Jogalias and to Jain monasteries. If the Bhati state of Jaisalmer survived frequent incursions in an essentially desert economy based on the conservation of water, cattle wealth and trade, the Rathaur states of Jodhpur and Bikaner founded in the fifteenth century benefited from the spread of the Bishnoi culture of conservation of natural resources in an extremely fragile ecology of the Thar.

The current historiography of early medieval and medieval Jaisalmer ranges from dynastic histories, detailed survey of history, political, social, economic, cultural and religious profile of Jaisalmer and geographical and ethnographical



Bhati inscriptions clearly indicate that water was a scarce commodity with differential access in the Thar desert of historic Jaisalmer. Cattle raids indicate contestation over limited livestock and vulnerability of the north-west frontiers.

Prof. Nandini Sinha Kapur



notes on historically important settlements like Pugal in view of the above historiography, this essay fills an important gap by highlighting the environmental components and their political importance in the process of Bhati state formation and in the historical interpretations of recurrent incursions into western Rajasthan.

Frequent cattle raids and external incursions do not as the conventional view holds, necessarily mean Central Asian onslaught on the Brahmanical religion. Cattle raids were an essential part of the desert economy and Jaisalmer, being on the main trade routes, afforded passage to Central Asians migrating into north-western and northern India. This essay briefly describes the landscape and climate of Jaisalmer region followed by a discussion on the historic, socio-economic and political significance of water tanks and cattle raids in the early phase of Bhati state formation in Jaisalmer.

A popular tradition in describing the landscape and natural environment of Rajasthan is to make a comparison between Jaisalmer and Godwar (south-central Rajasthan/southern Marwar). Sixteenth-century Caran poet Surdas Rhodium alias RangreloVithu (c. 1520/1608 in his composition, Jaisalmer Jas, speaks of Jaisalmer as follows:

The queen consent is like a beast of burden She has no company while fetching water from the pond. Peacocks are conspicuous by their absence throughout the country Jaisalmer). But there are creatures like rakh 'Meh' and 'poli in abundance.

In contrast, RangreloVithu describes the plenty of Godwar the

It is historically significant that Paliwal Brahmins have been a major source of revenue for the Jaisalmer state They have been known for their skill in growing a winter crop of wheat without irrigation after preparing the field following seepage of rain water.

land is full of rich and dense mango groves, rivers abound in sweet water, cuckoos greet one with their melodious notes, know you traveller, you have set foot on the land of Godwar.

Carol Henderson in her essay, *Famines and Droughts in Western Rajasthan: Desert Cultivators and Periodic Resources Stress* observes that

The socio cultural study of arid western Rajasthan is important because the high frequency and severity of drought presents an opportunity to examine interaction between external constraints and behaviour Monsoon failures occur during 40 per cent of years, and normal rainfall during the monsoon occurs only during 26 per cent of the weeks when it is expected Since drought leading to agricultural failures have occurred throughout the historical period of settlement, it is evident that the adaptive strategies of residents are adjustable to circumstances

The problem of drought in Localities bordering the Thar Desert is acute. Historically drought has been the main cause of famine in this area. If this has been the case with Jodhpur district. scarcity of water has been a permanent feature in Jaisalmer district. The only semi-permanent water course is the Luni River. which passes through the southern part of western Rajasthan.

Ground water is mostly saline, brackish and unfit for drinking or irrigation. Western Rajasthan is characterized by dunes and stretches of sandy plains interspersed with small rocky hills. Soil is not fertile. Sandstorms destroy newly-germinated crops and re-sowing is often necessary because of heavy dust and sand deposits that cover the plants. The plains are covered with widely spaced khejri-branches, stumps and thorns during the dry season and can survive with minimum water in severe drought conditions (we shall mention famous folklores about the conservation of khejri trees by the Bishnois in the next chapter).

A fall of rain brings new shoots, buds, rapid growth of branches and foliage. Local people have adapted to this water regime and carry out cultivation generating crop-research such as fodder for the livestock. Cattle tends to collect near water sources and destroys surrounding plant growth.

It is historically significant that Paliwal Brahmins have been a major source of revenue for the Jaisalmer state They have been known for their skill in growing a winter crop of wheat without irrigation after preparing the field following seepage of rain water." The agricultural activities in medieval Jaisalmer contributed to the royal exchequer for records mention divi-



sion of land between khalisa (crown land), jagir (estates granted to Rajput chiefs) and bhumi held by Bhomias/allodial proprietors who looked after villages, law and order, justice and punishment and sending revenue to the government). Wheat, chana, bajra, ril, moong and moth have been principal crops. Bajra is the most important crop occupying nearly 80 per cent of the crop area in the Kharif season Col James Tod mentions about the cultivation of cotton but Laxmi Chand informs about its discontinuation due to its unprofitability during drought.

The deens or small tanks provide water to hard soil, and wheat is usually grown in such areas. It is important to note that most of these Aliens were constructed by Paliwal Brahmins. Paliwal Brahmins have been significant part of the agricultural population in Jaisalmer region. There are no wells for irrigation as the water is brackish and available at depths of 250 to 450 ft." Charans and bhars (Brahmanas) were granted tax-free land while jagirdars, soldiers, Rajputs and Sindhi Muslims were exempted from land-tax during drought."

Sheep, goats and camels, who can live in the arid desert atmosphere form the major part of the

Cattle breeding is the mainstay of the economy in arid Jaisalmer while agriculture is practiced seasonally.

livestock of the area Fodder is grown plentifully during rains. Cattle breeding is the mainstay of the economy in arid Jaisalmer while agriculture is practiced seasonally. We have noted that certain social groups like the Paliwal Brahmanas specialized in agricultural operations. However, a large proportion of the local population depended mainly on their herds subsistence.

The cow served as a source of milk and ghee is exported The Three bullocks and the Rathi breed of camel were and are well known Camel was an important transport while sheep rearing was an important Occupation for a large part of the population Anthony Gordon O'Brien makes a significant observation that water must have been crucial to the early Bhattikas. Autumnal harvest followed the rains

and flooding of Wahind and Kak rivers, particularly near Derawar-Lodurva. Chatrail and nearby Aharins (seasonally inundated areas) By the early eighth century. The Bhatti Has migrated to the doab of middle Sindh from the north-west of Sindh at this point of time Sutlej abandoned Ghaggar for Beas in this period te is significant that one of the earliest record of the royal Bhatti family, the Asnikot inscription of Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramevar Vijayarajadeva commemorates (probably the building of the Vijadasar Tank in Rs 541 (AD 1164-5) Construction of water tanks was not only economically important in the Thar Desert but also politically significant. It is evident from the annals of Jaisalmer that the mandate of royal power was based on the provision of water for the local people. It is evident from the Bhatti-Varnsa Prasasti that Vijayaraja had to contain the locally entrenched Rajput chiefs such as the Varahas, Channas and Langhas, who laid claim to a part of their territory and founded the town of Bijnor (now in Pakistan)," However, the title of Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameshvara for Vijayaraja indicates that he was trying to integrate the non-Bhatti Rajput chiefs into his dominion The processes of military conquests and political integration ran simultaneously to the process of legitimization While Bhatt Via-Pra fast mentions the blessings of deity Sainath," contemporary records like Ashokan inscription indicate that construction of water tanks played no less a significant role in popularizing the political establishment of the Bhattis in and amund Jaisalmer. □□

Opinion of Swadeshi Jagran Manch on Agricultural Bills

The Swadeshi Jagran Manch clearly believes that the government's intention to introduce new agricultural bills is correct. The intention of 'The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020' is seemingly that farmers get the right price for their produce in the absence of intermediaries.

But there is a doubt in this regard that in the absence of 'mandi fee' buyers will be naturally encouraged to buy out of the APMC market. In such a situation, the Agriculture Produce Market Committee (APMC) Mandis will no longer be generally preferred by private players; and the farmer will also be forced to sell outside the APMC Mandis. In such a situation, big procurement companies can exploit the farmers. In such a situation, Swadeshi Jagran Manch believes that when laws are being made and purchases are being allowed outside the APMC markets, it is imperative that farmers are guaranteed minimum support price (MSP) and purchases below the MSP are declared illegal. Not only the government, private parties should also be barred to buy at less than MSP.

According to the new provisions, when any buyer can buy from the farmer by showing his PAN card, the payment should be made immediately as soon as the farmer's produce is lifted. Or the government should guarantee the payment.

Swadeshi Jagran Manch believes that farmers should have more options for selling their produce. If one large company or a few companies dominate, the bargaining power of the poor farmer will be badly affected. The government had earlier said that 22 thousand agriculture mandis would be established. This task should be completed on fast track basis. 'The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020 Bill' defines a farmer as a person "who engages in the production of farmers' produce by himself or by a hired labor." Swadeshi Jagran Manch believes that this definition of farmer in the Bill is such that companies will also be included in the definition of farmer. This will not be correct. The definition of farmer should include only the farmer who engages himself in farming, not companies.

There should be a judicious dispute resolution mechanism for the farmers engaged in contract farming. The 'Dispute Resolution Mechanism' proposed by the 'Farmers' (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Agricultural Services Bill, 2020', related to contract farming is very complex for the farmers. Already overburdened Sub-Divisional Magistrate has been placed in key role in dispute resolution. Due to this, it would be extremely difficult for the farmers to get justice in the event of a dispute.

— Swadeshi Samvad

SJM asks PM Modi to revisit definition of 'Indian vendor' in defence industry

Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) has asked Narendra Modi government to tighten the definition of 'Indian vendor' to permit only those companies that are majority owned and controlled by Indian resident citizens to avail the benefits of the 'Buy Indian' policy for defence purchases.

"Diluting the definition of 'Indian vendor' will be a deadly blow to Indian defence industry. It would cause a severe blow to the existence of the domestic defence industry, both big and small which have developed indigenously, as foreign companies would start getting same treatment, which domestic industry gets especially under 'Buy Indian (IDDM)' and 'Buy Indian' categories where special preferences are given to the 'Indian Vendor'," SJM says.

In a letter to Prime Minister Modi, SJM wanted the government to remember that "if a foreign company is registered in India, and has started making in India, its technology policy is not governed by Indian laws, they are governed by the laws of country of their origin". He warned that all the gains, which were expected by banning of imports of 101 defence items would be squandered away, as foreign companies establishing their units, would be covered as a domestic company.

SJM said it considers that procurement from companies registered in India, where majority shareholding is that of foreigners, is no different from imports, as they would be either importing their components from foreign destinations or would be contracting with companies of their choice, with little chance of developing domestic capabilities. "We understand that the intent of the Government, so far has been that first preference be given to Indian IDDM (Indige-

nously Designed Developed and Manufactured) products. Therefore, by any chance, companies registered in India but owned by foreigners, shouldn't be included in this category. Second preference in government procurement should be to Indian companies, namely companies having Indian shareholding of 51 percent or above," SJM states.

What prompted SJM to shoot off a letter was a clarification given by the defence ministry that any foreign company registered in India will be considered as an 'Indian Vendor'. The government has also changed India's FDI Policy to allow FDI up to 74 percent under automatic route in the defence sector. SJM is not comfortable with the fact that the definition of 'Indian vendor' has been diluted significantly to such an extent that any foreign company can register itself in India and can acquire 74% equity and still continue to be called 'Indian Vendor'. "If 'clarification' is to be believed, in both these categories, foreigners will gain dominance and 'Self Reliance' in defence will be a distant dream," SJM says.

SJM wants Defence Ministry to revise the definition of 'Indian Vendor' in the Defence Acquisition Procedure (DAP), 2020 in very clear terms so that under 'BUY' and 'BUY and MAKE' categories, foreign entities do not get any advantage over entities owned and promoted by Indian resident citizens.

<https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/rss-affiliated-traders-body-tells-pm-modi-to-revisit-definition-of-indian-vendor-in-defence-industry/story/414914.html>

SJM joins Chemist body in criticising Amazon's online pharma business

It seems like local organisers are joining forces to oppose e-commerce giant Amazon's online pharmaceutical business called, Amazon Pharmacy. After the All India Organisation of Chemists and Druggists (AIOCD) opposed the concept of bringing drug business to an online platform last week, the Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM)- has joined the conversation to criticise the initiative. Amazon last week announced the start of a trial of the service, Amazon Pharmacy, in Bengaluru. The service will allow customers to order prescription-based medication, over-the-counter medicines, basic health devices and Ayurveda medication from certified sellers.

The All India Organisation of Chemists and Druggists (AIOCD), which claims to represent more than 850,000 members across the country has de-

manded that the government should immediately stop these "illegal online pharmacies".

On a similar note, the Swadeshi Jagran Manch tweeted saying, "we at @swadeshimanch have long been saying that foreign funded e-pharmacies are illegal. Now #Amazon is trying to barge into this, which again is illegal. Despite HC court orders, govts have failed to act..."

The Amazon Pharmacy offers both over-the-counter medicines and prescription-based drugs. Some Ayurvedic medicines and several healthcare devices like oximeter and digital blood pressure monitors are also available at the store. Following the launch of the online store, AIOCD had drafted a letter to Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos and Amit Agarwal, Senior Vice President and Country Manager, Amazon India.

"We are writing to you as we came to know that www.amazon.com has decided to enter online Pharmacy space, probably oblivious to the fact that the E-Pharmacies are illegal and not recognised by the laws under Drug & Cosmetic Act & Rules there under," reads the letter dated August 14. "This space has been marred by extreme controversies, court cases and legal issues in the last few years." Amazon is not the first to launch an online drug store in India. There are already a few companies doing business in this space, but many players have struggled due to lack of clear regulations, according to a CNBC report.

<https://www.thestatesman.com/business/swadeshi-jagran-manch-joins-chemist-body-criticising-amazon-online-pharmaceutical-business-1502917964.html>

SJM demands 'complete ban' on Glyphosate

The Swadeshi Jagran Manch, for the second time in less than 15 days, has demanded a complete ban on Glyphosate, which it holds largely responsible for causing cancer. SJM cited findings of pesticide expert Chuck Benbrook to reiterate that demand on Saturday. Benbrook claims that the wide usage of Glyphosate has even contaminated dust particles that one breathes. SJM's Ashwani Mahajan urged Agriculture and farmer welfare minister Narendra Singh Tomar to impose a complete ban on it. "Right now Cancer cases are now on the rise across india. In the US, companies that used Glyphosate had to face legal consequences and settle matters at hundreds of millions of dollars. Next, SJM will write to the Prime Minister about it, if our demands are not met with," SJM told IANS.

This is the second time in the last 15 days alone that the Singh backed organization has championed the cause. Earlier on August 7, the SJM had urged

Tomar's ministry to withdraw its notification on a restricted use of the herbicide. There are already more than 1 lakh 93 thousand signatories who have signed a petition drafted by Mahajan and addressed to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, demanding the same.

SJM blamed it on the 'corporate greed' which allows glyphosate to contaminate the soil and water and cause Cancer. However, he added, it is incumbent upon the government to act, if the companies fail to self restrict.

<https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay.aspx?newsID=743612>

Varanasi pearl beads, Tumkur cookies — SJM has a plan to make local products global

In a bid to promote locally made products as part of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's call for 'Vocal for Local', Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) has formed dedicated committees across the country to chalk out plans for the purpose. These committees have been tasked with promoting indigenous products manufactured in both rural and urban areas, specially those unique to some regions, for example Varanasi's pearl beads, spices and carpet, the nutritious ragi biscuits of Karnataka's Tumkur and Bengaluru's scented organic soaps, among others. The organisation plans to promote such products both at the national and global levels, pushing for a complete boycott of Chinese goods.

SJM told ThePrint, "As part of the 'Vocal for Local' campaign, SJM has started forming committees in all districts of the 29 states. All state-level committees are now ready. The work of forming the committees at the district level is also progressing at a fast pace."

The state-level committees have been formed in the last one month, while 325 district-level committees, constituted so far, have already started functioning.

"As the first step towards encouraging local entrepreneurs, the state-level committees have organised 'UdyamitaSammanSamaroh' (Entrepreneurship Honour Award programme)," SJM added.

"Under the programme, entrepreneurs, who have provided employment to several people by setting up start-ups and also ensured availability of local products to the people, have been felicitated," SJM said. One such company recently felicitated online by the SJM was Ayur, which manufactures herbal products.

The company's owner, Manminder Singh Narang, told ThePrint: "The government should promote cottage and medium scale industries. With this,

several more items could be manufactured in India. Our dependence on imported goods will also be reduced. All of this will lead to further improvement of our economic condition."

<https://theprint.in/india/varanasi-pearl-beads-tumkur-cookies-rss-affiliate-has-a-plan-to-make-local-products-global/493591/>

'Need to Make in India to make for the world'

Prime Minister Narendra Modi urged Indians to work towards a 'Atmanirbhar' Bharat or self-reliant India, and said the country should strive towards bringing down its import bill and consume more locally manufactured products. Reiterating his call for India to 'Make for the world' in his Independence Day speech, Modi said the slew of reforms and legal changes initiated by India over the last few years is seeing many global firms look to India to invest and set up their manufacturing units.

"We need to become self reliant to contribute more to the world ... We need to increase value addition in the country," the Prime Minister said from the ramparts of Red Fort. "For how long, will the country export raw materials and then import finished products? I admit that there are challenges towards making India a self-reliant nation, but 130 crore Indians can rise up to meet these challenges," he added.

Global mobile manufacturing firms like Samsung and Apple phone component manufactures like Foxconn, Wistron and Pegatron have evinced interest in stepping up investments in India.

<https://theprint.in/economy/need-to-make-in-india-to-make-for-the-world-modi-i-day-call-for-atmanirbhar-bharat/482191/>

Major blow to China; Japan adds India, Bangladesh to relocation subsidiary

In another blow to China, Japan has added India, Bangladesh to its relocation subsidiary, resulting which Japanese manufacturers will now be eligible for subsidies if they shift production out of China to India or Bangladesh. Japan, through this expansion program aims to diversifying the country's supply chains.

The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) also provides subsidies to Japanese manufacturers that shift their manufacturing units from China to the other ASEAN countries. It has been learnt that Japan's supplementary budget for 2020 fiscal has earmarked 23.5 billion yen for companies that move production to the Southeast Asian countries.

By expanding the scope of the subsidy program, Japan aims to reduce its dependence on a particular region. It wants to build a system which is able to provide a stable supply of medical materials and electronic components even during emergency situations.

Supply chain of Japanese companies heavily relies on China however, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the supply was cut off.

The first round of application closed in June, during which Japanese government approved 30 manufacturing-related projects, including HOYA's manufacturing of electronic components project in Vietnam and Laos. It has provided subsidies overall total of 10 billion yen.

It may be recalled that Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal had in August said that India and Japan are looking to have trusted partners from authentic investors.

Speaking at the third Edition of the Invest India Exclusive Investment Forum - Japan Edition, through video conference. (Digital Roadshow) for Japanese companies, he said that it is important that Japan and India expand trade and business relationships.

At the summit, Secretary, Department of Industry and Internal trade Guruprasad Mahapatra said India is planning to set up the 13th Japanese industrial township in Assam, a move aimed at promoting domestic manufacturing and strengthening economic ties between the two countries. He said that they are working on GIS enabled data base of industrial areas and clusters across the country.

<https://zeenews.india.com/economy/major-blow-to-china-japan-adds-india-bangladesh-to-relocation-subsidiary-2307469.html>

Chinese Ran Online Betting, Crores Sent Via Paytm Gateway: Probe Agency

The Enforcement Directorate has frozen Rs. 46.96 crore in four bank accounts after raiding 15 locations across Delhi, Gurgaon, Mumbai and Pune after some companies were allegedly found running illegal online betting apps linked to China. The chartered accountants of these firms were also raided, the ED said in a statement. "Searches were conducted on the registered offices of the companies, their directors and chartered accountants involved in illegally running online betting apps from websites which are hosted from outside India," the ED said.

"During the course of search, ED has identified

multiple bank accounts mostly held with HSBC Bank. Analysis of 2 Bank Accounts of Dokypay Technology Pvt Ltd revealed that in the last year, the account has seen collection of Rs. 1,268 crore out of which Rs. 300 crore came via Paytm payment gateway and around Rs. 600 crore was transferred out via Paytm payment gateway," the Enforcement Directorate said.

The ED had launched a probe under the Prevention of Money Laundering Act on First Information Reports (FIRs) filed by the cybercrime division of Hyderabad Police against Dokypay Technology Pvt Ltd, Linkyun Technology Pvt Ltd and others.

Three accused have been identified as Yan Hao, 24, manager of Beijing Tomorrow Power Company; Dhiraj Sarkar and Ankit Kapoor.

"During investigation, it is revealed that with the help of some Indian chartered accountants, some Chinese nationals floated multiple Indian companies. Initially, dummy Indian directors were used to incorporate the companies and, after some time, Chinese nationals travelled to India and took directorship in these companies," the ED said in the statement.

"Some locals were hired and used to open bank accounts with HSBC Bank and open trade accounts with online wallets, namely Paytm, Cashfree, Razorpay, etc. These online wallets had lax due diligence mechanisms and their non-reporting of suspicious transactions to the regulatory authorities helped the accused companies to launch pan-India operations," the Enforcement Directorate said in the statement.

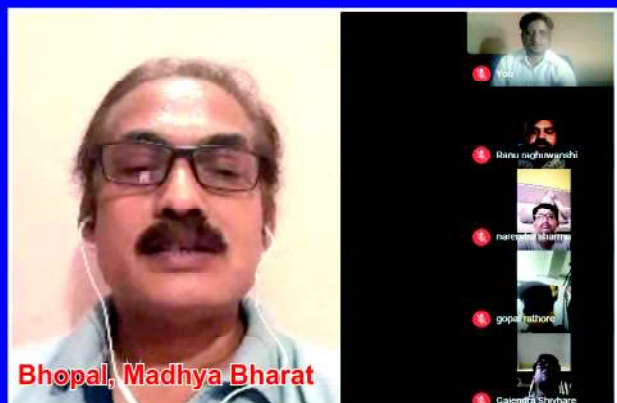
"Once bank accounts were opened, internet access credentials were couriered by the Indian employees to China and major payment instructions came from the beneficial owners who were safely ensconced in China. Accused companies floated large number of similar looking websites which were hosted through Cloudflare, USA. These websites attracted gullible persons to become members and to place bets on various online apps, which promised attractive rewards on simple games of chance," the probe agency said.

"Paytm and Cashfree were used to collect money and pay commission to agent members. Hundreds of websites were created to promote online betting under the garb of e-commerce. All websites were not activated daily. Some were activated for placing bets and the information on daily active websites was shared to members using Telegram groups," the ED said. □□

<https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/enforcement-directorate-freezes-bank-accounts-after-firms-found-running-chinese-betting-apps-2287408>

Wealth and Employment Generation Felicitation Program

Pictorial Glimpses



Swadeshi Activities

Wealth and Employment Generation Felicitation Program

Pictorial Glimpses



Delhi



Mihiravali District, Delhi



Ayodha, UP



Bikaner, Rajasthan



Kalaburagi, Karnataka



Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh



Tamil Nadu



Jodhpur, Rajasthan