







## Development is fine, but not at the cost of lives

The staggering collapse of part of a glacier in Uttarakhand's Nanda Devi mountain and the ensuing floods that have claimed many lives come as a deadly reminder that this fragile, geologically dynamic region can never be taken for granted. A significant slice of the glacier, dislodged by a landslide, according to some satellite images, produced roaring torrents in the Rishiganga and Dhauliganga rivers in Chamoli district, trapping unsuspecting workers at two hydro power project sites. Scores of people are still missing in the wave of water, silt and debris that swamped the rivers and filled tunnels in the Tapovan power project, although the immediate rescue of nearly 15 people by the ITBP, the Army and other agencies brings some cheer. The rescuers face a challenging environment as they try to locate more survivors and bring relief supplies to paralysed communities. These immediate measures are important, along with speedy compensation to affected families. But the Centre and the Uttarakhand government cannot ignore the larger context of the State's increasing frailty in the face of environmental shocks. Once the crucible of environmentalism, epitomised by Sunderlal Bahuguna, Gaura Devi and the Chipko movement, the State's deep gorges and canyons have attracted many hydroelectric projects and dams, with little concern for quake risk. Red flags have been raised repeatedly, particularly after the 1991 quake in the region where the Tehri dam was built and the 2013 floods that devastated Kedarnath, pointing to the threat from seismicity, dam-induced micro-seismicity, landslides and floods from a variety of causes, including unstable glacial lakes and climate change. India has heavily invested in dam development and growth of hydropower, mainly in the Himalaya region. But environmental implications of these projects should not be overlooked.



**MUKUL SANWAL** EXPLORES HOW TWO ASIAN GIANTS CAN SHARE PROSPERITY AND BE INDEPENDENT OF EACH OTHER

## Taking the long view with China

In late January, External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar said that while both India and China remained committed to a multipolar world, they should recognise that a "multipolar Asia" was one of its essential constituents. As it moves to becoming the third largest economy in the world, India needs to have a clear-eyed world view and strategy as it makes hard choices. It needs to reject the developing country regional mindset that has hobbled national aims and foreign policy.

The Year End Review of the Ministry of Defence pertinently refers to the "sanctity of our claims in Eastern Ladakh" instead of the term "border" used since 1954, opening space for a settlement. We are now confidently moving out of the predicament that Jawaharlal Nehru placed us in Kashmir, fully integrating it into the Indian Union and consolidating our claim line.

The External Affairs Ministry is also now more forthright. We have a "special and privileged strategic partnership" with Russia, which provides more than three-quarter of India's military equipment, and a "comprehensive global strategic partnership" with the U.S. despite the United States Strategic Framework for the Indo-Pacific, 2018, wishing that India sees the U.S. as its preferred partner on security issues. India's relationship with the U.S.-led Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad), where the others are military allies, has rightly been cautious, as U.S. President Joe Biden sees China as a 'strategic competitor' rather than a 'strategic rival'. Realism dictates that India does not need to compromise on its strategic autonomy.

The foreign policy challenge for India is really two sides of the China conundrum: defining engagement with its neighbour which is consolidating an expanding Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) while remaining involved with the strategic, security and technological concerns of the U.S. located across the vast Pacific Ocean. The U.S. 'Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China' cautions that U.S. aircraft carriers, symbols of the country's military hegemony, may not enjoy unquestioned dominance for much longer. Former President Barack Obama's military pivot to Asia failed to overawe China in the South China Sea and the costs of former President Donald Trump's trade tariffs were borne by American consumers and companies.

In the financial sphere, there is the real possibility of the Chinese renminbi becoming a global reserve currency or e-yuan becoming the digital payments currency. China is the world's largest trading economy. It could soon become the world's largest economy — the Fortune Global 500 list of the world's largest companies by revenue for the first



time contains more companies based in China, including Hong Kong, than in the U.S. The BRI countries are using the renminbi in financial transactions with China, and can be expected to use it in transactions with each other. Even the European Union, smarting under Mr. Trump's sanctions, created its own cross-border clearing mechanism for trade. China has stitched together an investment agreement with the EU and with most of Asia. Relative attractiveness will determine when the dollar goes the way of the sterling and the guilder. China, facing technological sanctions from the U.S., may well put in the hard work to make this happen soon.

Some form of the EU's China policy of seeing the emerging superpower as a partner, competitor, and economic rival depending on the policy area in question is going to be the global norm. The EU's reaching out to China despite misgivings of the U.S. means the West has given up on containing the rise of China. This broad perspective is also reflected in India's participation in both the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, led by Beijing and Moscow and designed to resist the spread of Western interests, and in the U.S.-led Quad, with its anti-China stance. Within the United Nations, India's interests have greater congruence with China's interests rather than the U.S.'s and the EU's; sharing the COVID-19 vaccine with other countries distinguishes India, and China, from the rest.

The congruence between India and the U.S. lies in the U.S.'s declared strategic objective of promoting an integrated economic development model in the Indo-Pacific as a credible alternative to the BRI, but with a caveat. China opening new opportunities for countries in the Eurasian landmass means that ASEAN will not easily move out of the BRI infrastructure, digital, finance and trade linkages; Sri Lanka is a recent example. The China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank has increased its membership to 100 countries. China is now the second-biggest financial contributor to the UN and has published more high-impact research papers than the U.S. did in 23 out of 30 "hot" research fields and enhancing its 'soft power' nearly to levels achieved by the U.S. earlier.

Instead of an alternate development model, India should move the Quad towards supplementing the infrastructure push of the BRI in line with other strategic concerns in the region. For example, developing their scientific, technological capacity and digital economy, based on India's digital stack and financial resources of other Quad members, will resonate with Asia and Africa.

Another area where India can play a 'bridging role' is global governance whose principles, institutions and structures now have to accommodate other views for issue-based understandings. President Xi Jinping's "community with shared future for mankind", and Prime Minister Narendra Modi's "climate justice" and asking how long India will be excluded from the UN Security Council, challenge the frame of the liberal order without providing specific alternatives. With respect to digital data, the defining issue of the 21st century, India has recently expressed that there must be reciprocity in data sharing, and this is the kind of 'big idea' for sharing prosperity that will gain traction with other countries.

India's recent policies are gaining influence at the expense of China and the West, and both know this trend will accelerate. The steps to a \$5 trillion economy, shift to indigenous capital military equipment, and a new Science, Technology and Innovation Policy underline impact, capacity and interests. ASEAN remains keen India re-join its trade pact to balance China. It is being recognised that India's software development prowess could shape a sustainable post-industrial state different to the U.S. and China model. As in the historical past, Asia is big enough for both Asian giants to have complementary roles, share prosperity and be independent of each other and of the West.

*Mukul Sanwal is a former UN diplomat. Views expressed are his own.*



**RAVI CHELLAM** STRESSES ON THE NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BIODIVERSITY AND NATURAL ECOSYSTEMS

## Moving towards sustainable growth

The COVID-19 pandemic has taught us many lessons. It made us realise that we are a part of nature and emphasised the urgent need to protect the ecological functions of the biosphere we live in. It has unequivocally highlighted how vital the health of the planet is for our individual and collective well-being as well as the growth of our economies.

The pandemic has resulted in huge economic losses. Globally, the GDP is expected to contract 2.4% to 8% in 2020. The World Economic Forum (WEF) estimates that the global cost of dealing with the pandemic could be from \$8.1 trillion to \$15.8 trillion. Preventing such pandemics will cost only a fraction of this amount, estimated at \$22.2 billion to \$30.7 billion a year, and this is without factoring in the human suffering.

We have to recognise that there would not be an economy without the natural environment. Global studies documenting human ecological footprint, the decline in wildlife populations, and the conversion rates of natural ecosystems for other uses, place India among countries experiencing the highest rates of negative change. This increases our vulnerability towards catastrophes, including pandemics. Additionally, there is a strong correlation between human density, richness of biodiversity, and the emergence of zoonotic pathogens of wild origin, which renders India particularly vulnerable. With high human densities —



among the highest diversity of mammals in the world — and a saturated interface between humans and wildlife, India is considered to be among the hotspots for zoonotic emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases.

The WEF's Global Risks report for 2021 states that environmental risks continue to threaten the global economy. The top five risks are extreme weather, climate action failure, human environmental damage, infectious diseases and biodiversity loss. In terms of impact, infectious diseases top the list, followed by climate action failure. The top two risk response blind spots are climate action failure and biodiversity loss.

Our models of development and our notions about them have to change. Destruction of environment should no

longer be justified in the name of development. Like all pandemics, COVID-19's emergence has been entirely driven by unchecked activities in the name of development. Rampant destruction of natural habitats, especially due to mining and infrastructure development, continued expansion and intensification of agriculture and animal husbandry as well as unrestrained consumption have disrupted nature, increased contact between wildlife, livestock, pathogens and people, setting the stage for the pandemic to take hold of our lives. Pandemic risk can be significantly lowered by reducing human activities that drive the loss of biodiversity as it will help prevent the spillover of new diseases.

A study by Swiss Re Institute published in 2020 introduces a new biodiversity and ecosystem services index. It found that globally, 20% of countries, including India, have fragile ecosystems. It also states that 55% of the global GDP depends on high-functioning biodiversity and ecosystem services.

It is evident that policymakers should factor biodiversity and ecosystems into their economic decision-making. This will accelerate the transition from a fossil fuel-based economy to sustainable, equitable, inclusive and just development models. The Economics of Biodiversity: The Dasgupta Review, commissioned by HM Treasury and released on February 2, 2021, highlights the grave risks faced by the world because of the failure of

economics to take into account the rapid degradation of nature. The review stresses the need to find new measures for growth and development to avoid a catastrophic breakdown. The world's governments need to come up with a form of national accounting that is different from the GDP model, and the new system has to account for the depletion of nature and natural resources.

The evidence is overwhelming. All budgets need to reduce investments, including subsidies, in activities that will further degrade our natural habitats. By orders of magnitude, we should enhance investment in research in sustainability science.

A National Mission on Biodiversity and Human Well-Being has been approved by the Prime Minister's Science Technology and Innovation Advisory Council. The overarching objectives are to restore and enhance biodiversity, strengthen its sustainable use, generate thousands of green jobs and encourage the Indian public to appreciate the natural and associated cultural treasures that we have collectively inherited. This initiative has the potential to enable India to play a global leadership role in linking conservation with tangible human well-being outcomes.

*Ravi Chellam is CEO, Metastrang Foundation and is associated with Biodiversity Collaborative, Bengaluru. Views expressed are his own.*

### FIVE OBSERVATIONS

ON THE SELF-REGULATION CODE FOR OVER-THE-TOP CHANNELS

**1 ALL ASPECTS MUST BE LOOKED INTO**  
The inexorable growth of OTT channels has infused creative talent into film-making, aided by absence of overbearing censors and vested interests. This development has both positive and negative aspects.

**2 A BALANCED CODE WILL BE HELPFUL**  
The urgency of this code arises not from any challenge to law and order or morality posed by films, but the gauntlet of police and court cases that film-makers and the channels are now having to run.

**3 POLICY SHOULDN'T BE OPPRESSIVE**  
Govts are lending support to the view that creative expression may be becoming too influential to be left free. The FIRs in UP against the Amazon Prime Video series, Tandav, is just an example.

**4 BAN MANUFACTURED OUTRAGE**  
It is high time the Centre took a firm stand against displays of manufactured outrage and let newer channels of creativity flourish. More delay will lead to more confusion and chaos.

**5 PRESENT LAWS MAY BE REVIEWED**  
A plethora of laws are available to assess based whether there has been an egregious violation of law, and this determination ought to be made by bodies representing a wide spectrum of civil society.

### LETTERBOX

Readers' feedback adds value to the newspaper. Please email comments on reports, features and columns to fwletters@gmail.com. We will publish them on this page.

## THE FINANCIAL WORLD

RNI NO. DELENG/2011/38860

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY SWINDER BAJWA  
ON BEHALF OF FW MEDIA

PRINTED AT JAGJIT PUBLISHING CO. PVT LTD  
D-12, INDUSTRIAL AREA, PHASE-1, MOHALI,  
PUNJAB 160059

PRINTER & PUBLISHER SWINDER BAJWA  
OWNER : FW MEDIA

PUBLISHED AT: BUILDING NO-23, NEHRU PLACE  
NEW DELHI 110019; PHONE: 9888040061

EDITOR\* ABDUL WASEY

(\*RESPONSIBLE FOR SELECTION OF NEWS UNDER THE PRB ACT)

## CM face may be an issue for BJP in Bengal

The BJP's major problem in West Bengal will be its chief ministerial face for the 2021 assembly elections, according to a new book which also claims the party does not have a leader who can match the mass appeal of Mamata Banerjee. In states like Uttar Pradesh, the BJP achieved success without projecting any chief ministerial candidate but will this be possible in West Bengal, journalist Sambit Pal asks in his book "The Bengal Conundrum: The Rise of the BJP and the Future of the TMC".

As West Bengal grapples with tumultuous times - from the controversy surrounding the National Register of Citizens (NRC) to the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic - on the cusp of this crucial election, the BJP and the TMC are rolling their dices to win the strategic battle. "The BJP's major problem in Bengal will be the chief

ministerial face for 2021 assembly election. There is already an internal feud on this issue," Pal argues.

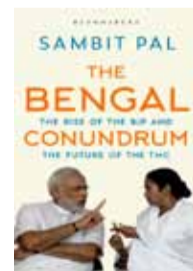
"The names of former Indian cricket captain Sourav Ganguly, Rajya Sabha member and journalist Swapan Dasgupta and even a monk of Ramakrishna Mission, Swami Kripakarananda, have already come up in media reports. Former governor of Tripura and Meghalaya and former BJP state president, Tathagata Roy, also openly threw his hat in the ring, expressing his desire to be the chief ministerial candidate," he writes. BJP leader Kailash Vijayvargya has, however, asserted that the party would not go to the assembly elections with any chief ministerial candidate.

"The Bengal BJP has no such leader who can match the mass leader that Mamata Banerjee is. The TMC also knows this will be an advantage for them," the author claims. "While the BJP is all set to

**The BJP's major problem in Bengal will be the chief ministerial face for 2021 election. There is already an internal feud on this issue, says the new book**

take up the issues of TMC's corruption, syndicate raj, bhatija-raj (targeting Abhishek Banerjee), Muslim appeasement and Mamata's opposition to NRC-CAA, Mamata Banerjee is depending on her fighter image and on rousing the Bengali sentiment," the book, published by Bloomsbury India, says.

In the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the BJP took its tally of seats from 2 to 18 and vote share of 17 to 40 per cent in just four years. A number of TMC leaders, including MPs and



*The Bengal Conundrum: The Rise of the BJP and the Future of the TMC*  
By Sambit Pal  
Bloomsbury India  
320 pages; Rs799

MLAs have joined the BJP recently. Banerjee has been asserting that only the TMC, being a Bengal-based political party, has the right to rule the state instead of the Narendra Modi-Amit Shah-led BJP.

In The Bengal Conundrum, senior journalist Sambit Pal attempts to explain why a state that was the citadel of Left politics for decades has turned Right in less than 10 years. Documenting the contemporary political history of Bengal, both through written and exclusive first-hand accounts, the author answers how Mamata Banerjee's politics and governance over the past few years set a fertile ground for the combined force of the BJP and the RSS to construct a compelling political narrative in Bengal.

As West Bengal grapples with tumultuous times-from the con-

trovery surrounding the National Register of Citizens (NRC) to the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic-on the cusp of a crucial election, the BJP and the TMC are rolling their dices to win the strategic battle. Whether Mamata Banerjee wins or loses the 2020 state elections, it remains clear that politics in eastern India has changed irrevocably, and will be experiencing the aftereffects for years to come. Pal says there has been a sharp shift from politics over economic policies and livelihood to identity politics in the last decade in West Bengal. "In 2007-11, people in Bengal were discussing about rights and livelihood. The discussion was on the creation of jobs, farmland acquisition for industries and SEZs and investment in the state. In 2019-20, the discussion revolves around religious and social polarisation and corruption in the ruling party," he says.

The author claims that even though poll strategist Prashant Kishor has been trying his best to revive Mamata's as well as the party's image, "corruption at the grassroots level could not be eradicated completely".







