ISSN 0012-9976

Ever since the first issue in 1966, EPW has been India's premier journal for comment on current affairs and research in the social sciences. It succeeded Economic Weekly (1949–1965), which was launched and shepherded by SACHIN CHAUDHURI, who was also the founder-editor of EPW. As editor for 35 years (1969–2004) KRISHNA RAJ gave EPW the reputation it now enjoys.

EDITOR

S MAHENDRA DEV

DEPUTY EDITOR

PYARALAL RAGHAVAN

SENIOR ASSISTANT EDITORS
INDU K

NACHIKET KULKARNI

ASSISTANT EDITOR SAHBA FATIMA

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
ANKIT KAWADE

EDITORIAL COORDINATOR

SHILPA SAWANT

COPY EDITOR

JYOTI SHETTY

PRODUCTION
SUNFETHI NAIR

CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCE OFFICER

J DENNIS RAJAKUMAR

ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER
KAMAL G FANIBANDA

GENERAL MANAGER & PUBLISHER

GAURAANG PRADHAN

EDITORIAL: edit@epw.in

CIRCULATION: circulation@epw.in

ADVERTISING: advertisement@epw.in

ECONOMIC & POLITICAL WEEKLY

320–322, A TO Z INDUSTRIAL ESTATE GANPATRAO KADAM MARG, LOWER PAREL MUMBAI 400 013 PHONE: (022) 4063 8282

EPW RESEARCH FOUNDATION

EPW Research Foundation, established in 1993, conducts research on financial and macro-economic issues in India.

DIRECTOR

J DENNIS RAJAKUMAR

C 212, AKURLI INDUSTRIAL ESTATE KANDIVALI (EAST), MUMBAI 400 101 PHONES: (022) 2887 3038/41 epwrf@epwrf.in

SAMEEKSHA TRUST

(Publishers of Economic & Political Weekly)

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

DEEPAK NAYYAR, CHAIRMAN
SHYAM MENON, MANAGING TRUSTEE
ANDRÉ BÉTEILLE, D N GHOSH,
DEEPAK PAREKH, ROMILA THAPAR,
DIPANKAR GUPTA, N JAYARAM,
SUDIPTO MUNDLE

Printed and published by Gauraang Pradhan, for and on behalf of Sameeksha Trust and printed at Modern Arts and Industries, 151, A–Z Industrial Estate, Ganpatrao Kadam Marg, Lower Parel, Mumbai–400013 and published at 320–322, A–Z Industrial Estate, Ganpatrao Kadam Marg, Lower Parel, Mumbai–400013 Editor: S Mahendra Dev (Editor responsible for selection of news under the PRB Act)

Cinema of Uttarakhand

7 hile Uttarakhand was originally founded with ecological considerations in mind, progress in this regard has been lacking. The recent floods serve as a stark reminder of the urgent need for sustainable development in the region. It is reported that in Joshimath, a town in Uttarakhand, residents have raised concerns about the sound of powerful water currents beneath their homes, shedding light on the potential consequences of large-scale projects that often disregard ecological issues. One significant cause of this situation is unsustainable tourism, which has resulted in environmental degradation, resource depletion, the commercialisation of hill areas, and community displacement in Uttarakhand. These factors have collectively put immense strain on the delicate ecological balance of the region.

Uttarakhand, a cherished tourist hotspot, has consistently been favoured as a cinematic backdrop, highlighting the role of film-induced tourism in the state's tourism sector. The connection between cinema and Uttarakhand dates back to the 1950s. Uttarakhand has been a favourite film location for many acclaimed film-makers, gracing the silver screen in at least over 50 films, including several blockbusters, owing to its breathtaking scenery. Key filming sites in Uttarakhand include the Forest Research Institute and the Military Academy in Dehradun, along with sites in Mussoorie and Nainital. Uttarakhand received recognition as the best film-friendly state at the National Awards in 2019, and it garnered a special mention for its film-friendly environment from the Government of India in 2017. Film tourism thrives in Uttarakhand, and the state government actively supports it as a significant revenue source. There are plans underway to establish a film city in Uttarakhand, further underscoring the government's commitment to this sector.

However, these cinematic representations frequently perpetuate stereotypical portrayals of the region's picturesque landscapes, mountain lifestyle, and Himalayan culture, often relegated to mere scenic backdrops. This can potentially lead to a growing influx of tourists primarily attracted to the area for its visual allure, lacking a profound appreciation for its ecological or cultural concerns.

However, serving as a film location provides limited tangible contributions to the overall development of Uttarakhand. Frequently, these locales assume a nondescript role in films, particularly during song sequences, where they serve primarily as aesthetic spectacles or artistic backgrounds. Furthermore, the concept of "sight" in cinema offers a malleable canvas for arbitrary interpretations and meanings, susceptible to manipulation or augmentation by both creators and viewers. For example, the movie Kashmir Files was predominantly filmed in Mussoorie and Dehradun, yet the narrative unfolds in Kashmir. It is important to recognise that the cultural essence and fundamental character of Uttarakhand transcend its geographical attributes.

Despite its scenic beauty and popularity as a film location, it is unfortunate that Uttarakhand has not established its own film industry. This is where the requirement of a regional industry is significant. The potential advantages of nurturing regional film-making are numerous, as it can give rise to a cinema of Uttarakhand that authentically addresses the state's unique cultural and ecological concerns. This approach transcends the mere portrayal of the landscape as a spectacle and enables the state to amplify its genuine identity. To realise this vision, the state should not only promote film tourism but also actively encourage regional filmmaking that authentically represents the people and culture of Uttarakhand.

Rahul Rawat, the director of the short film *Sunpat* (2021), emphasises the importance of cultivating a vibrant cinema culture within the state. He argues that cinema can contribute to cultural preservation, boost tourism, raise social awareness, foster community engagement, and promote overall economic development in Uttarakhand. Rawat calls upon the people of Uttarakhand and cinema enthusiasts to actively support and encourage the creative talents emerging from the state.

Thus, establishing an independent film industry that reflects Uttarakhand's culture, heritage, and values is advisable to genuinely support the state's sustainable growth. This initiative has the potential to not only foster sustainable development but also enrich the state's cultural and economic well-being, transcending its scenic beauty.

Vidya Sasikumar Bengaluru

An Incomplete Account of Russia's War on Ukraine

A nuradha M Chenoy's account of Russia's war on Ukraine (EPW, 9 September 2023) is a strikingly incomplete jumble of tendentious pro-Russian talking points masquerading as a representative overview of the position.

The central error Chenoy makes is to deny Russia and Ukraine political and ethical agency. Chenoy never asks what the Ukrainian people want. The author could claim that her wishes are irrelevant-to Chenoy, after Euromaidan, Ukraine became "a bastion of permanent hostility towards Moscow" (p 24). That elision is only tenable by ignoring the subsequent victory of Volodymyr Zelenskyy, a Russian-speaking moderate who advocated negotiations with Moscow, over the far more Europhile Petro Poroshenko-a proof of survival of competitive electoral democracy in Ukraine, in contrast to Russia. Similarly, Chenoy ignores earlier Russian freedom of action. Once, most Ukrainians probably were happy to live in a strategically neutral state, economically integrated both with Russia and the European Union (EU). The first polls indicating a wish to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization occur only after the Russian military intervention in February 2014. That intervention and earlier pressure on Viktor Yanukovych to halt economic integration with the EU were mistakes that the Kremlin need not have made.

That denial of Russian and Ukrainian agency also leads Chenoy to write of a "proxy war" (p 24) waged by "global elites" with "little concern" (p 25) for the Ukrainian people. Of course, Western assistance makes a difference. But Western powers in

early 2022 were offering evacuations and debating how to assist a government in exile. They were quite prepared to see Ukraine collapse, and would not sacrifice their own citizens in a war against Russia. The explanatory lacuna is filled by what Chenoy steadfastly refuses to acknowledge—the resolve of the Ukrainian people to defend their national sovereignty.

Chenoy's approach is also methodologically deficient; she baldly makes a number of misleading assertions without evidence or analysis. First, Vladimir Putin cannot seriously regard the use of depleted uranium shells as "bordering on using fissile material" (p 24) when Russia produces such munitions itself. Second, the direct attack on Kyiv in the early weeks of the war suggests that Russia did not merely

seek to "enforce" a neutral status on an unwilling Ukraine but to subordinate it as a colony—as we see in Russian-controlled Ukraine. Chenoy also never asks herself whether a nuclear-armed power really needs colonial "buffer states" for its own security, or what Western excesses such a principle would legitimise. Third, and perhaps the most bizarre, is the direct appeal to Putin's word, after studious attempts to appear neutral—the West, of course, was to blame for sabotaging peace negotiations, "as stated by Putin" (p 25). Well, as Putin also wrote (in 2021), when "some part of a people ... become[s] aware of itself as a separate nation," others should respond "only ... with respect!"

J P Loo

Corrigendum

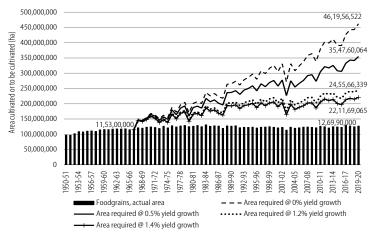
In the article "Meitei Majoritarian Politics of the BJP in Manipur" by Amom Malemnganba Singh (EPW, 7 January 2023), "in coalition with" on p 10 should have read as "is supported by." The error has been corrected on the EPW website.

Errata

In the paper "Decelerating Farmers' Incomes: New Evidence from sas Data and Ways Forward" by A Narayanamoorthy and Chandra S Nuthalapati (*EPW*, 21 October 2023), the following reference should have been removed: "Nuthalapati, Chandra S, A Narayanan, A Mulla, and R Sharma (2022): "Direct Procurement and Vegetable Growers Wellbeing in the Pandemic: Panel Data Evidence from India," Mimeo, Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi."

In the current paper "Public Agricultural Science and Yield Barriers in Foodgrains: A Long View on the Indian Experience" by R Ramakumar (*EPW*, 28 October 2023), Figure 2 should have been as follows:

Figure 2: Projections of Cultivated Area Required to Maintain Actual Levels of Foodgrain Production at Varying Growth Rates of Yield after 1965–66, India, 1950–51 to 2019–20



The errors have been corrected on the $\it EPW$ website.

The errors are regretted—Ed.

Note: Clearer and coloured figures in the paper "Public Agricultural Science and Yield Barriers in Foodgrains: A Long View on the Indian Experience" by R Ramakumar (*EPW*, 28 October 2023), are available in the online version.

Subscription Rates

(Revised rates effective 01 April 2023)

Category	Print	Digital Archives			Print + Digital Archives		
	Print Edition	Current Issues	Current Issues + Last 5 Years' Archives	Current Issues + Complete Archives (since 1966)	Print Edition + Current Issues	Print Edition + Current Issues + Last 5 Years' Archives	Print Edition + Current Issues + Complete Archives (since 1966
India (in Rupees)							
Students – 1 Year	2,240	875	2,750	4,870	3,165	5,125	7,250
Individuals							
1 Year	4,105	1,600	5,035	8,915	5,795	9,390	13,27
3 Years	11,200	4,360	13,740	24,335	15,820	25,635	36,23
Institutions – 1 Year							
Print Edition	6,840						
Up to 5 Concurrent Users		6,055	23,150	76,255	12,710	30,415	83,52
Unlimited Concurrent Users		10,090	38,580	1,27,095	16,340	45,845	1,34,35
Foreign (in US Dollar)							
Individuals – 1 Year	315	105	325	575	375	605	860
Institutions – 1 Year							
Print Edition	540						
Up to 5 Concurrent Users		405	1,545	5,090	850	2,030	5,57
Unlimited Concurrent Users		675	2,575	8,480	1,090	3,060	8,96

Concessional rates are restricted to students in India. To subscribe at concessional rates, please submit a proof of eligibility from an institution.

Print:

Subscribers will receive 50 issues of the print edition every year, which include all special and review issues.

Digital Archives:

- (i) Current Issues: Subscribers can access all issues published during the subscription period. For example, a 1-year subscription will provide access for the period of 1 year to the latest issue at the time of subscription and all subsequent issues for the period of 1 year.
- (ii) Current Issues + Last 5 Years' Digital Archives: Subscribers can access all issues published during the subscription period, plus all issues published in the last 5 years. For example, a 1-year subscription will provide access for the period of 1 year to the latest issue at the time of subscription and all subsequent issues for the period of 1 year; plus all issues published up to 5 years ago from the time of subscription.
- (iii) Current issues + Complete Digital Archives (since 1966):
 Subscribers can access all issues published during the subscription period, plus the complete archives going back to Volume 1 (1966). For example, a 1-year subscription will provide access for the period of 1 year to the latest issue at the time of subscription and all subsequent issues for the period of 1 year; plus all issues published since 1966.

Indian subscription rates, except for print edition, are all inclusive of 18% GST. **How to Subscribe:**

Payment can be made by either sending a demand draft/ cheque in favour of Economic and Political Weekly or by payment at www.epw.in/subscribe

Address for communication:

Economic & Political Weekly

320-322, A to Z Industrial Estate, Ganpatrao Kadam Marg, Lower Parel, Mumbai 400013, India. Email:circulation@epw.in Phone: (022) 4063 8282 Mobile/WhatsApp: +91 91365 18824



Submission Guidelines

EPW welcomes original contributions that have not been submitted, published, or accepted for publication elsewhere. Contributors must specify the same in the article submission email. Contributors are urged to follow EPWs stylesheet (https://www.epw.in/style-sheet. html). All contributions must be accompanied by:

An abstract of 150-200 words

Six to eight keywords

Author name, email address and contact number for correspondence, one-line author note for each author stating current designation and affiliation, and author photographs (optional). We include the provided email address in the author note.

Contributors are cautioned against plagiarism and excessive self-referencing. Figures, graphs and tables must be used sparingly to avoid repetition of content. All supplementary files such as figures, tables, maps, etc, must be provided in MS Office (Word/Excel) or other editable formats, wherever possible.

The *EPW* editorial team reserves the right to slot an article in a specific section, as deemed fit.

Receipt of articles is immediately acknowledged by email. If contributors have not received an acknowledgement and reference number within a week of submission, they are requested to check their spam folders for the mail and write to us at edit@epw.in.

Every effort is taken to complete early processing of the articles we receive. Given the high volume of articles received daily, it can take up to six months for a final decision on whether an article is accepted for publication. Articles accepted for publication can take up to 12 months from the date of acceptance to appear in print.

Notes for Contributors

Letters (Word limit: 500-800)

Readers are encouraged to comment on current affairs and/orrespond to published articles in EPW. Letters must contain the author's full name and postal address.

Commentary (Word limit: 2,000-3,000)

Short, analytical articles on topical and contemporary social, economic and political developments will be considered for this section.

Book Reviews (Word limit: 1,500-2,000)

EPW commissions book reviews. However, on occasion, unsolicited reviews may be considered for publication.

Insight (Word limit: 4,000-5,000)

Innovative and focused analyses of social, economic, and political phenomena would be considered for this section.

Perspectives (Word limit: 4,000-5,000)

Articles presenting unique viewpoints and standpoints on existing scholarship and contemporary phenomena are welcome for this section.

Special Articles (Word limit: Up to 7,000)

Original, unpublished research papers in any of the humanities and social sciences are welcome.

Notes (Word limit: 4,000-5,000)

Short, original articles covering preliminary research in any of the humanities and social sciences would be considered for this section.

Discussion (Word limit: 1,500-2,000)

In order to foster debate and discussion, responses to articles published in *EPW* are encouraged.

Postscript (Word limit: 800-1,200)

Short non-fiction/fiction accounts or reflections, including poems, on different aspects of culture (travel, literature, dance, music and film) will be considered under this section.

Engage

Contributions to this section may be in the form of articles (2,500–3,000 words), photo essays, podcasts and videos on topical social, cultural, economic and political developments. For more details, visit: https://www.epw.in/notes-contributors-epw-engage.

Copyright

EPW posts all published articles on its website as well as on select databases. Published articles may be considered for translation into Indian languages under our ongoing project.

The copyright of all articles published in *EPW* belongs to the author or to the organisation where the author is employed, as determined by the author's terms of employment.

Permission for Reproduction

- EPW has no objection to authors republishing or revising their articles for other publications. However, the republished article must mention prominently that a version of the article first appeared in Economic & Political Weekly. It must also include the publication details along with the URL of the original EPW article.
- No published article or part thereof should be reproduced in any form without prior permission of the author(s). A soft/hard copy of the author(s)'s approval should be sent to EPW.

Please refer to the detailed Notes for Contributors (https://www.epw.in/notes-contributors.html) and Frequently Asked Questions (https://www.epw.in/frequently-asked-questions) section on the *FPW* website. Send us your submissions on edit@epw.in.