A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AN EMERGING CRISIS OF THE INDIAN AGRICULTURAL DOMAIN CITING THE EQUIVOCAL FARM BILLS (2020)

Harikumar Pallathadka, Laxmi Kirana Pallathadka*, Dolpriya Devi Manoharmayum

Manipur International University, Imphal, Manipur, India *laxmikirana@miu.edu.in

ABSTRACT

"Circumstantial research indicates that competitive market conditions are comparatively lesser than the prescribed minimum support prices (MSPs). Farmers scare that corporate production would result in lower prices."

- Kunal Kundu, an Indian Economist, Societe Generale.

Despite all bountiful income tax exemptions and government subsidies, farmers have been languishing over the years because of low yield costs, demonetization, ever-increasing expenses, and overall dearth. Many farmers have become indebted, which has brought about an expansion in farmer suicides as of late. Down to this, the Indian Government has passed confrontational laws such as "1. Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020; 2. Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Act 2020; and 3. Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act, 2020," which would disintegrate a portion of the statutes that have ensured India's farmers for quite a long time and subject them to unbound, unrestricted economic campaigns with high competition. The media reports also stipulated the bills, which did not specify anything about MSP. Subsequently, many farmers, generally from the northern provinces of Punjab and Haryana, have congregated in Delhi, claiming to withdraw these three farm acts. As reported by the news wire, the farmers who are protesting need support from every sphere of the country. For instance, MSPs are the Government's security net that prices fall for explicit yields, predominantly wheat and rice. Farmers would be guaranteed to pay a convinced rate notwithstanding economic situations, and government organizations would buy a portion of those yields at that cost. The trepidation is that if MSPs are dispensed with, big corporates may set costs that further disfavor farmers. However, the Indian Government has expressed that MSPs and government procurement would not return. Furthermore, protesting farmers need the Government to ensure MSPs for their harvests.



WHAT ARE THE FARM REFORM BILLS?

The three Farm Bills seek to :

Break the monopoly of government-regulated mandis and allow farmers to sell directly to private buyers

Provide a legal framework for farmers to enter into written contracts with companies and produce for them

Allow agri-businesses to stock food articles and remove the government's ability to impose restrictions arbitrarily

AN EMERGING CRISIS OF THE INDIAN AGRICULTURAL DOMAIN CITING THE EQUIVOCAL FARM BILLS (2020) - A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

"What is especially disturbing in India is that financial discrimination is being added to the public that is already broken along the track of rank, region, religion, and gender." — Professor Himanshu, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)

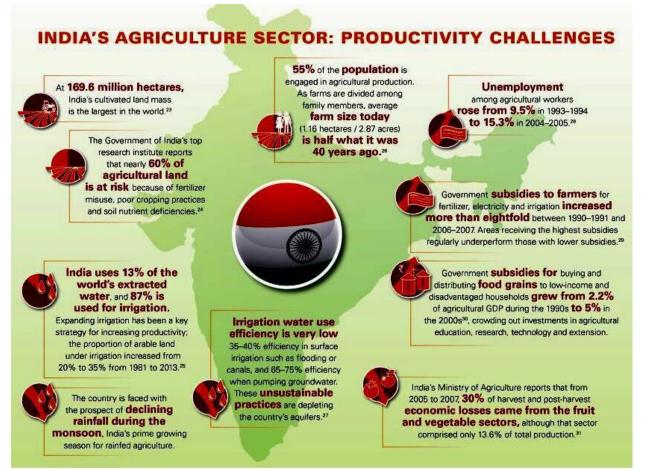
INTRODUCTION

Regardless of a cutback in economic contribution, agriculture utilizes 55% of the Indian population. The agricultural sector contributed 17% of India's Gross Value Added in 2019-20. Although India's financial development cannot be disregarded, neither can the sensational expansion of the country in financial imbalance. In 2017, the wealthiest 1% got 73% of the abundance created, while the least fortunate, half only saw simply 1% ascent in their abundance. To place it in context, the lowest wage worker will require 941 years to acquire equivalent to a top-paid Indian executive in the clothing industry. (*"India: Extreme Inequality in Numbers"*)

Amartya Sen, a Nobel Prize winner in the economic sector, contends that India's strategies should be more centered around human advancement than on unadulterated monetary development. Many people judge India and its partner countries in South and South-East Asia. "Nations in east Asia that figured out how to get away from destitution and become prosperous quite often did as such while remaining significantly more equivalent than India is in the current situation." (Subramanian, 2017) While such correspondences are pervasive in several circles, this article will jump further into the rural area.

Pre-independence, India's industries, resources, and plants were depleted. The country's financial status was wrecked. Many endeavors were made to alleviate young India's perils, bringing about many triumphs and disappointments. Perhaps the central arrangement adding to food maintenance elevated productivity and increased pay was the Green Revolution. This coin is also similar to some other two-sided coins, with numerous disadvantages. Due to a lack of moderation and network, it was anticipated to be detrimental to small and insignificant farmers.

The green development is frequently thought to have done massive damage to the water tables and the soil, delivering it a brief accomplishment. With significantly more fizzled and deficient approaches, stale yields, limited credit availability, high farmer self-destruction (suicide) rates (28 per day), high daily wager suicide rates (88 per day), depleted water and soil resources, environmental change, dry spells, floods, a lack of infrastructure (stockpiling, transportation, and so forth), low productivity, masked joblessness, market failures, low haggling power, lack of information, lack of farming and mechanical education.

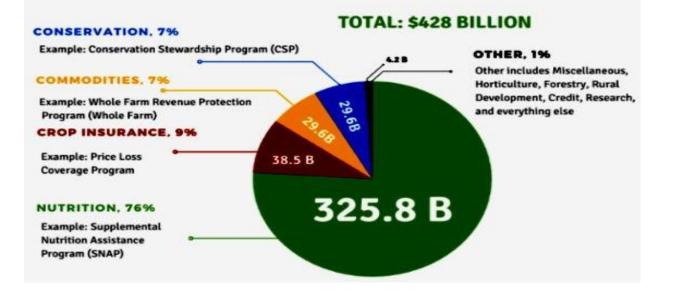


"https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-updates/daily-news-editorials/farmer-s-protest"

THE AGRICULTURAL ACTS 2020

Agricultural statutes such as the "Farmers Produce, Trade, and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, the Farmer's (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Act, and the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act have all been granted. These statutes ensure that "many years of failed methods" are addressed while purporting to "liberate" farmers. Despite widespread opposition, Bajwa, Partap Singh, a Congress Lok Sabha Member, maintains that this legislation is "the death warrant for farmers." These bills have started inescapable resistance, particularly in North India. Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh farmers have obstructed train and expressway courses. Farm haulers, combine harvesters, and trucks were utilized in demonstrations. Also, Politicians included. Un parliamentary discussion on these bills was trailed by a protest, with Shiromani Akali Dal, a BJP (administering party) partner, breaking their collusion. A few farmers' bodies reacted with solid dismissals from meeting demands from the department of Agricultural division, communicating questions about their purposes behind assembling the gathering: regardless of whether they would truly tune in to the worries or need to address the advantages. "We know that these legislations are negative to the local agrarian area," said Jagmohan Singh, General Secretary of Bhartiya Kisan Union.

FARM BILL PROJECTED FUNDING, IN BILLIONS 2019-2023



"https://sustainableagriculture.net/our-work/campaigns/fbcampaign/what-is-the-farm-bill/"

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE MARKETING COMMITTEES (APMC)

During this couple of weeks, the discourse has portrayed APMCs as a framework forcing farmers to offer authorized agents in government-advised business sectors (APMC Mandis). These are situated in the space of creation. These are additionally alluded to as 'public imposing business models. Most states have implemented this demonstration aside from Bihar and Kerala. Moreover, many states also have different exception arrangements that permit farmers to exchange outside the APMC ward. States like Punjab have revised the demonstration to permit uncommon private market yards for direct buys outside APMC. Despite how tough and tightened this may sound, just 36% of deals have occurred through APMC mandis, as indicated by India's National Sample Survey Office (NSSO). As per business analysts, APMC guidelines hurt farmers' pay since farmers in the mandi framework do not have a negotiating advantage and are hence cornered by purchasers. As Shoumitro Chatterjee, a Princeton University researcher, eliminating between state boundaries could build farmer costs by 11%. Liberating the APMC plot was one of the means of three bills. Farmers can now sell outside of APMC mandis without getting consent from the public authority. As per Prime Minister Narendra Modi, these changes are a "defensive safeguard" for farmers, as they presently do not permit brokers to eat into their pay. Farmers can, in any case, sell in mandis and outside of them, despite the APMC scheme being nullified. Defenders of these progressions guarantee that this gives them a negotiating concession to forestall selling at low costs in the mandi framework. As per the CEO of India's development policy strategy think tank-NITI Aayog, these changes would add to modernization and thriving for Indian farmers.

CONTRACT FARMING

For farmers, contract farming is not anything strange. They have been continuing for quite a while, both officially and casually. These bills debilitate casual agreements by building clear responsibilities that the two purchasers and merchants should follow. It is regularly utilized as a hindrance to cost gouging.

CHANGES TO ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES LIST AND STOCK LIMITATIONS

Grains, peas, oilseeds, edible oils, onions, and potatoes were prohibited from the rundown of essential items in the new law, which liberated their development, stockpiling, development, and dissemination. Exchanging the merchandise would, at this point do, not need a permit. It additionally permits accumulating as no stock cut-off points will be kept up except if retail costs expand more than half durable things and 100% for short-lived things. Currently, the Central Government can control the inventory of those food things in 'remarkable circumstances.' The changes spread out in three bills, building up neoliberal financial strategies and unrestricted economic powers through liberation, taking everything into account. The middle wishes to set up a 'one country, one market' strategy. The public authority and their supporting business analysts accept that while communist strategies are supplanted by industrialist arrangements, even though there will be harm in the short-run, the move will see various advantages and general development a long time ago. "Our farmers will be enabled," says PM Modi. Many have even blamed the resistance for circulating phony data to prompt worker discontent and insult the decision party with no customary premise. Regardless of the great praises given to demonetization, it did monstrous harm to the populace and economy of the country in 2016. Numerous private companies have been hurt or shut down because of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) presentation. In India, a few progression measures have brought about enduring mischief to the lower areas of the populace. Sadly, this harm was not endeavored to be turned around, particularly under the Modi system, which, alongside all that has been referenced, saw other financial neoliberal arrangements and eliminating of appropriations, further enlarging financial incongruities. The Chief Minister of Punjab, Amarinder Singh, described the new laws as "outrightly created to fill the pockets of industrialist buddies of the BJP at the expense of the helpless farmers."

The shortfall of counsel with partners is the most surprising element of presenting these bills. There were no farmers' unions counseled. It is begging to be proven wrong whether guidelines influencing India's most significant local area were authorized without their knowledge. The conversation was deliberately kept short and hurried. Previous PM Deve Gowda and others mentioned a clarification of the surging of these bills during a pandemic. He likewise brought back Modi's guarantee of the 'multiplying farmers' pay by 2022', which is not resembling a triumph for quite a long time to come. The Chairs of the discussion disregarded supplications for deferring banter or alluding the bills to an uncommon advisory group and hurried through a voice vote (which has lesser clearness than a polling form vote) into receiving them.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AREA

The Indian constitution isolates power between the state and the central in three ways: List I: things saved for the center, List II: things saved for individual states, and List III: cooperative federalism; things shared by the central and state. As per sections 14 and 28, farming and markets are viewed as state subjects (List II). Subsequently, these bills are viewed as unlawful. It is not the first run through this has been done, notwithstanding. Agricultural business sectors were proposed to be added to List III in 2015. It was turned down at that point and again in 2018. These two occasions show the differentiation between specific business sectors (exchange and trade), which fall under List III, and farming business sectors, which fall under List II. The current Government contends that the new bills are as per constitution through entry 33 of List III (exchange and business). Many contend that cultivating is not exchange, yet an occupation. The intricate posting of state powers in agribusiness further backs the previously mentioned qualification alongside 2015 and 2018.

The phrasing of these bills is likewise a troubling matter. As indicated by the Essentials Commodities (Amendment) Act,

- "The public authority 'may'...": Implies that the center has circumspection to act in instances of...
- There is no definition for "uncommon conditions." Famine, war, large catastrophic catastrophes, and anomalous cost increases have all been cited as examples of exceptional circumstances. As already stated, the use of "may" confers on the public authority unrestricted describing powers and a significant degree of discretionary control—concerns about the legislative procedures that are complicated by religious ambiguity and a lack of discussion.

IMPACT ON APMC AND MINIMUM SUPPORT PRICE (MSP)

One of the immediate effects - this change will have on state incomes. A massive piece of numerous states' incomes is procured through APMC mandis. State incomes are imperative to finance advancement uses in numerous other significant matters, particularly in a country that does not have appropriate streets associating every single provincial region and towns or even these very mandis. Punjab and Haryana alone can lose about Rs. 3500 crore (\$4.75 billion) and Rs 1600 crore (\$2.17 billion) yearly separately as a result of these changes (Subramanian, 2020).

In 2006, Bihar canceled the APMC altogether to empower open economy private exchange farming. Notwithstanding, the outcomes were in opposition to the objectives, and as per Himanshu (2020), this is what occurred:

- Private merchants dealt with agrarian items and started charging farmers commissions through their secretly settled business sectors.
- These merchants exploit the farmers' absence of capacity and choices by buying things at excessive costs (trouble deals) and selling them in different states for a benefit. Farmers were left helpless before merchants thus.
- In monetary terms, maize was sold in the preceding year between Rupees 1000 (\$13.63) and 1300 (\$17.71) per quintal, rather than at the authorized MSP of Rupees 1850 (\$25.21). Wheat costs additionally answered to be 10-15% beneath the authority MSP.
- Capacity turned into a considerably more significant undertaking for the little and peripheral Farmer as costs engaged with accumulating up, along these lines constraining them to keep making trouble deals.
- > Present cancellation situations drove on high unpredictability in costs of food grains.

One of the country's principal makers of maize, organic products, and vegetables, unmistakably, farming disappointments are not the explanation of the disappointments, yet instead the actual strategy. The case of Bihar shows that any progressions to the current arrangement without help, especially for small and negligible farmers, will fuel the dangers of Indian agriculture. Many people dread that the new bills destroy the MSP. They do not. There is no express notice about the evacuation of MSP or APMC in the bills.

Nonetheless, there is nothing but a written assurance over obtaining homestead produce at the MSP or that these frameworks will stay secured for any timeframe, which raises the dread that the current changes are just a pathway to facilitate the MSP's destruction of APMC frameworks. The Government dithering towards making written assurance is an indication that these bills clear the way to a more prominent monetary neoliberal arrangement. This agenda will be more straightforward if the private sector's association and liberation lessen the measure of data accessible to the public authority regarding business sectors and horticulture. In the long run, the public authority will utilize this as motivation to crush the MSP and APMC totally because of an apparent absence of fundamental data needed to work these frameworks.

Agreement farming is certainly not a new idea in India. Shockingly, research shows that individuals who participate in it acquire not precisely the individuals who do not. Before the entry of these bills, contract cultivating was generally standard in the chicken business. Shockingly, contract farmers get just Rs. 11.06 per grill, compared with Rs. 17.05 for non-contract farmers. Furthermore, whether the public authority would consider a purchaser responsible at a concurred cost that ends up being lower than the MSP is another inhibitor to contract cultivating. Further absence of detail in new bills is additionally stressing inquiries for farmers. While insurance for value misuse and agreement cultivating is referenced, value obsession strategies do not give much space to private area substances with shifty objectives.

It is additionally realized that the agricultural area in India is very sloppy. Delivering such an area to lawful commitments with massive corporate substances would not be valuable. The farmers would not have monetary assets to fight enormous firms in the court if clashes do emerge. Such laws of 'opportunity' might be compared to earning enough to pay the rent in Canada and India to show up in the United States, both with a vehicle. Equity does not suggest value. Farmers are unmistakably abused, and the laws intended to ensure them neglect to do as such. Misuse, then again, is consistent, regardless of whether gatherings execute the change. Despite their free opportunities, farmers will, in any case, be compelled to make trouble deals because of a lack of capacity and haggling strength. The size of landholdings is one of the primary drivers behind this. 86% of Indian farmers have land sizes of a few hectares (comparable to 3-6 football fields) (2015 Agricultural Census). Several sources confirm that the majority of landholdings are less than two hectares. Smaller landholdings mean lower yields, and reduced yields imply reduced revenue. Reduced salary has a detrimental effect on development, wealth, and security.

The frail idea of the Indian Farmer and the expanded force given to the corporate area prompts fears that corporate agreements will oppress the Indian farmers. Furthermore, the progressions add more danger to an all-around high danger industry. It carries us to another factor about the MSP: few out of every odd item has the MSP. Indian farmers will stay away from chances due to subjective and factual reasons that have been discussed. Subsequently, enhancement in the rural area will stay restricted, as farmers will depend on developing yields, which the MSP upholds a safety net, which is also in danger. Accumulating is made simpler by the liberation of food stockpiling. The number of data states has regarding provisions will diminish, making it harder to evaluate food security. Governments will not know where, with whom, or how much stock is accessible on account of starvation or the danger of starvation. A cognizant endeavor to store will be made. Exporters and purchasers will store items at low costs during the reaping season and sell them later at more exorbitant costs.

It has numerous ramifications, the most chief of which are:

- Increased odds of underground market deals,
- Retail food item costs rise, harming the generally weak homegrown buying power.

Shoppers endure an assortment of side effects. They would prefer to save money. In any case, expecting that these guidelines are executed precisely as the public authority means and that all farmers bargain in a cutthroat way, costs proposed by Indian customers will be lower than the farmers' benefits from sending out. Massive firms have not had the option to catch over 10% of India's essential food item industry so far. 90% of leafy foods deals are led casually through organizations of voyaging stores, Kirana stores (little family-claimed stores), and house-to-house sellers. Monetary and social variables uphold it. Expenses are more significant in huge general stores and retail plazas. Given transportation costs, it has been less challenging to get to Kirana stores and house-to-house vendors than shopping centers.

The absence of a practice of making 'staple runs' a couple of times each month other hoses interest to store immensely. (Jain and Alavi, 2020). Despite our expectations, the boundary of culture is no more. The monetary state stays a block. Most businesspersons willing to begin economies of scale in India would distinguish the expenses of land, power, and labor as higher than the obstacles these new bills so guarantee to address. If businesses were forced to spend on these high-value aspects, in any case, the things supplied would have increased prices to cover the operating costs, which would affect Indian buyers, resulting in low demand for economies of scale. "The main challenge facing India is not that collaboration is too expensive, but rather a lack of enthusiasm," according to a Financial Times article published a year ago. The Indian Government declared the most significant company tax reduction in 28 years on September 24, 2019, determined to grease up the pinion wheels of financial development through homegrown and unfamiliar speculation. The engaging methodology, in any case, was considered insufficient. Speculations are made to upgrade supply. Just when there is a requirement for more inventory, it is essential to expand it. The Indian economy, then again, needed interest. Since the populace had low buying power, the extra venture reserves were pointless because there was no impetus to spend to grow supply. The new bills are a repeat of past enactment. The public authority is

endeavoring to make the ground for expanding speculation and supply without guaranteeing that the significant part that supports venture (request and family buying power) is available.

There are a lot of unanswered inquiries. One of the primary undiscussed factors is the part of micro-credit among the farmers. A significant number of go-betweens and commission specialists flourish due to their job of giving credit to farmers. This is not beneficial as their manipulative nature prompts high loan costs. However, they probably make some credit accessible to farmers, which is superior to none by any stretch of the imagination. Suppose the public authority needs to lessen this abuse and carry all-around improvement to farmers. In that case, it needs to give more significance in making moderate, simple, and fast credit accessible to farmers.

In India's agriculture, innovative work -Research and Development (R&D) is likewise deficient. Research and development interest in agribusiness has stayed stable at about 0.5 percent of farming GDP since 2001, with simply 0.1 percent accessible for actual use after adapting to everyday working expenses and wages. As per Nobel winners -Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, "The prevailing fashion existing apart from everything else (be it dams, shoeless specialists, microcredit, or whatever) are transformed into an approach with no consideration regarding the truth inside which it should work," (Agrawal, 2020). The absence of discussion in the parliament and conference with partners combined with poor R&D clear route for ensuring to-bomb strategies. The expanding financial neoliberal approaches are frequently practical over the long haul by models from different nations, like the United States. Many differences, then again, are not recognized. Albeit the normal landholding in India is somewhere in the range of 1 and 3 hectares, the average size in the United States is around 180 hectares.

Farmers in the United States acquire more appropriations and direct installments multiple times than farmers in India. In the United States, the aggregate sum spent on a farmer is \$61,286 each year, while in India, it is simply \$282 each year. Many may contend that these correlations are out of the line given the distinction in the two countries' populations, assets, and history. Also, that is the point attempting to be made here. The execution of neoliberal monetary strategies through the case of different countries is what might be compared to a specialist attempting to recommend similar medication to the entirety of their patients.

CONCLUSION

Indian financial strategies have been restricted and centered around unadulterated monetary development, prompting augmenting monetary differences and the absence of government assistance approaches. The rural area stays loaded with concerns, and there is a critical requirement for changes. The three rural bills of 2020 have been discussed without legitimate ground or meeting with partners executed swiftly, and the results are erroneous and lamentable. Strategies, joined by an absence of Research and Development, put numerous individuals in danger. The phrasing and results of the bills' substance are frequently seen as encroaching on state sway. A popular government should work through a conference, discussion, and conversation. These bills' rushed and void nature does not mirror the Republic of India's standards. While unregulated economy financial aspects may work, as a rule, an in-your-face unregulated economy approach will demolish the situation for a country with constantly expanding monetary aberration and numerous financial difficulties. It demonstrates the idea of the public authority turning out just for the rich corporates and not individuals. Social Government assistance should not be disregarded. The new approaches will subjugate the rural area under corporate monsters and damage farmers if other supporting arrangements are not executed. There is a solid exertion to urge the private area to use farming products. However, it is muddled if this would succeed or whether the private area needs to do so. The repercussions of the country's present way will bring about a critical expansion in farmer suicides, and if the rate at any point drops, it will be because there are no more farmers left.



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WHAT'S IN THE BILLS AND WHY THE OPPOSITION

States will lose revenue as they won't be able

outside registered APMC markets

procurement system

12 46

-

to collect 'mandi fees' if farmers sell their produce

What happens to 'commission agents' in states

Electronic trading like in e-NAM

uses physical 'mandi' structure.

What will happen to e-NAM if 'mandis' are destroyed in absence

if entire farm trade moves out of 'mandis'?

of trading?

It may eventually end the MSP-based

BILL ON AGRI MARKET

Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020
Provisions
Opposition

► To create an ecosystem where farmers and traders enjoy the freedom to sell and purchase farm produce outside registered 'mandis' under states' APMCs

 To promote barrier-free inter-state and intra-state trade of farmers' produce

► To reduce marketing/transportation costs and help farmers in getting better prices

 To provide a facilitative framework for electronic trading

ANNEXURE

BILL RELATING TO COMMODITIES The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 2020

 Provisions To remove commodities like cereals, pulses, oilseeds, onion and potatoes from the list of essential commodities. It will do away with the imposition of stockholding limits on such items except under "extraordinary circumstances" like war This provision will attract private sector/FDI into farm sector as it will remove fears 		of pvt investors of excessive regulatory interference in business operations > To bring investment for farm infrastructure like cold storages, and modernising food supply chain > To help both farmers and consumers while bringing in price stability > To create competitive market environment and cut wastage of farm produce		Price limits set for xtraordinary circumstances" e so high that they are likely be never triggered Big cos will have freedom to ock commodities — it means ey will dictate terms to rmers, which may lead to less ices for the cultivators Recent decision on export in on onion creates doubt on implementation
BILL ON CONTRACT FARMING The Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement of Price Assurance and Farm Services Bill, 2020	 Provisions Farmers can enter into a contract with agri-business firms, processors, wholesalers, exporters or large retailers for sale of future farming produce at a pre-agreed price Marginal and small farmers, with land less than five hectares, to gain via aggregation and contract (Marginal and small farmers account for 86% of total farmers in India) To transfer the risk of market unpredictability from farmers to sponsors To enable farmers to access modern tech and get better inputs To reduce cost of 		 marketing and boost farmers' incom Farmers can engage in direct marketing by eliminating intermediaries for full price realisation Effective dispute resolution mechanism with redressal timelines Opposition Farmers in contract farming arrangements will be the weaker players in terms of their ability to negotiate what they need The 'sponsors' may not like to deal with a multitude of small and marginal farmers Being big pvt cos, exporters, wholesalers and processors, the sponsors will have edge in disputes 	

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