

MONDAY, MAY 28, 2001

## BLOWING THE FUSE

EVEN GOING BY the standards of the Dabhol Power Company's controversial innings so far, the current developments are truly frenetic. The starting point of this current phase which in all probability will be a denouement of the 2144 MW, 3 billion dollar project began less than a month ago. Dabhol Power, of which Enron is the chief promoter, seems ready to quit the project, unable to make the Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) or the State Government meet its contractual obligations and dues. The company first invoked the force majeure clause and then obtained overseas lenders' permission to serve a preliminary notice of termination on the MSEB, which it duly did 10 days ago. So unless some significant breakthrough is obtained within the next 6 months, the project in its present form will cease to exist.

Ironically, the termination moves come at a time when the 1,440 MW second phase of the project is about to be commissioned. That the country needs the power, albeit at a more competitive price, as well as the plant and machinery used in generation is beyond argument. No other power plant of similar size has even come up to the construction stage. Moreover, the investment that has made it possible is the single largest foreign direct investment till date. Yet the current debate is not over any of these vital matters: it is about more basic concerns over salvaging the project and remedying to the extent possible an obviously flawed commercial contract between a multinational and a State Government-owned electricity distributor. The ongoing turmoil has naturally drawn in the State and Central Governments, both of which having much more than mere financial stakes and lenders, Indian and foreign.

It is for that very reason that the latest episode marked by Mr. Madhav Godbole's resignation (and subsequent retraction) from the committee that is renegotiating the project assumes special significance. Quite simply, reworking the project and arriving at a mutually satisfactory solution

with Dabhol is the only honourable way to avoid the fallout of reneging on a commercial contract. Mr. Godbole had earlier presided over a committee whose initial findings made public on April 10 point to serious deficiencies in specific areas of project formulation. For instance, demand-supply estimates of power were miscalculated and a stupendously high return on equity was guaranteed. Moreover, facilities such as regasification and a port, both far in excess of the immediate requirements, were added to the fixed cost of the project, thereby taking the break-even point to an unacceptably high level. As suggested by the Godbole Committee, the only way is to renegotiate these parameters to bring down the cost of power and make Enron accept lower but still reasonable returns. In addition, more general and long-aired remedies such as restructuring the MSEB's tariff as well as selling the power to outside consumers can be considered.

Even as the company is stridently opposed to using the Godbole Committee report as the starting point for any renegotiation, a view gaining ground in India is to test the legal validity of the power purchase and other agreements, using the committee's observations to substantiate charges of negligence and perhaps even malfeasance in the Indian side. MSEB's legal posturing is in that game. However, a legal recourse of this nature will inevitably take a longer time than what the present circumstances will allow. Moreover, as the committee has pointed out, there has been an inexcusable failure of governance by successive State governments which coupled with their inexperience and incompetence in such negotiations made Enron drive an unfair bargain. Ideally, a long term solution is possible only if a buyer is found for Enron's stake and thereafter use the new promoter to restructure the debt, bring down the cost of power and sell it outside. Tough, unpredictable days are ahead but discussions are a must.

THE HINDU

28 MAY 2001

# Dabhol rejects Rs 136.8 cr payment by MSEB

By Baiju Kalesh

MUMBAI: The Dabhol Power Company (DPC) has rejected the Maharashtra State Electricity Board's most recent payment of Rs 136.8 crore for power bought in April and returned the cheque to MSEB on Thursday.

According to a letter sent to MSEB on Friday, DPC managing director K. Wade Cline has said that the cheque was returned to MSEB because DPC wanted to set out its position in writing so that there could be no possible misunderstanding. It also wanted clarity on several issues regarding the PPA before accepting the lat-

est payment, he stated.

DPC's refusal to accept MSEB's cheque for the April bill is being seen in financial and legal circles as a strategic move aimed at not

validating MSEB's claims against it. The move is significant since claims and counter-claims made by both parties will have to be validated by an arbitration panel. By

not accepting the payment, DPC has clearly underscored its intention of not recognising either MSEB's counter-claims related to the slow ramp-up of power generation from a cold start by the station nor MSEB's decision to rescind the PPA under the Indian Contracts Act.

If DPC had accepted the April payment which was made "under protest" and "without prejudice" to MSEB's notice of 'recission/avoidance', analysts say that it would have amounted to DPC accepting MSEB's claims against it.

► 'PPA valid, effective.' Page 7  
► Related reports on Page 13

## Centre may bail out state govt. on Dabhol II

By Ashley D'Mello and Pradipta Bagchi

MUMBAI: Amidst the escalating slugfest between U.S. energy major Enron and the Maharashtra State Electricity Board over phase I of the Dabhol power project, there are signs that the Centre may step in to bail out the Maharashtra government on phase II of the project.

According to well-placed Union power ministry sources, a separate company, owned by the power-deficient states, the Power Grid Corporation, the Power Trading Corporation and the National Thermal Power Corporation may be formed to buy power generated by the project's second phase since Maharashtra has already said it will not be able to buy any Phase II power. (Detailed report on Page 13)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

26 MAY 2001

# MSEB cancels PPA with Dabhol Co. as Enron admits default

Business Times Bureau

MUMBAI: The battle has been joined. The Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) on Wednesday fired its first legal salvo at the Dabhol Power Company by issuing a notice rescinding the power purchase agreement (PPA), citing the failure of the DPC to meet its contractual obligations.

Listing the material misrepresentations made by DPC's owners about the capacity and capability of the Dabhol power station, MSEB told DPC that it was constrained to avoid or rescind the power purchase agreement with immediate effect because it was convinced that the conduct of the DPC was not "bona fide".

In a statement issued late on Thursday evening, DPC maintained that MSEB did not have the right to rescind the PPA. The statement added that the PPA does not allow MSEB to shut down the plant except in emergencies and that the plant was designed as a baseload station. However, analysts countered this by stating that the PPA only restricted shutting down of both blocks of Phase I simultaneously.

DPC added that MSEB's decision was improper since the matter was pending for arbitration and the board should have waited until an outcome was reached before a drastic move such as this.

Explaining the board's move, A. Krishna Rao, Member (accounts), MSEB, said that

the notice was slapped as per the Indian Contract Act and this was necessary since the company had admitted that the plant did not conform to the standards and capacity enshrined in the PPA.

Explaining the significance of the notice, Mr Rao said, "Under the Indian Contract Act, if a business agreement is signed between two parties, and if a breach of the terms of contract occurs, the other party has the right to terminate the contract. We have exercised this option since Enron has admitted that there is a breach of contract."



However, MSEB has kept its options open for negotiations by telling DPC that is agreeable to continuing the present arrangement for purchase of power and payment until the disputes are resolved by an appropriate forum so as to minimise loss and inconvenience.

Analysts say that MSEB's move is aimed at pressuring DPC to come back to the negotiating table. MSEB is also setting the record straight for future arbitration or litigation by informing DPC that the problems have been created by a "DPC event of default" rather than MSEB's event of default. "The battle will become more intense now with the MSEB taking an aggressive stance as far as negotiations are concerned as well as any arbitration in the future," said an analyst.

► MSEB on firm legal ground, Page 7

THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 MAY 2001

# Centre in welfare mode, gives Rs 2,315 cr. for food subsidy

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: The Union cabinet and its committee on economic affairs (CCEA) on Tuesday approved a slew of welfare measures, topping which was the implementation of the Antyodaya Anna Yojna with a subsidy bill of Rs 2,315 crore.

The cabinet decided to amend Section 125 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, and four marriage laws to remove the present ceiling of Rs 500 of maintenance allowance to wives, children and ageing parents and to make it mandatory that any application for interim maintenance shall be disposed of within 60 days.

The amendments will ensure that the cases relating to maintenance of wives, children and parents are quickly disposed of, law and company affairs minister Arun Jaitley told reporters.

He said the marriage laws to be amended are: the Indian Divorce Act, the Special Marriage Act, the Hindu Marriage Act and the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act. He clarified that there is a separate 1986 legislation in the case of Muslims which provides for a 30-day timeframe for disposal of interim maintenance applications.

Mr Jaitley said the cabinet also decided to enact a central legislation for setting up advocates welfare funds at state level. Advocates in subordinate courts will be required to pay Rs 5 and in other courts Rs 10 while filing a case. Advocates will subscribe to the welfare fund in each state in this manner.

The Antyodaya Anna Yojna, launched on December 25, 2000, is already under implementation, but the CCEA cleared the expenditure on the

scheme on Tuesday. Under the scheme, one crore of the "poorest of the poor" families will be provided with foodgrains at 25 kg per family per month. The grains will be provided at a highly subsidised rate of Rs 2 a kg for wheat and Rs 3 a kg for rice. Annual requirement of foodgrains for this scheme will be 3 million tonnes — 1.3 million tonnes of wheat and 1.7 million tonnes of rice.

It is estimated that five per cent of India's population, numbering about 5 crore or one crore families, have such low purchasing power that they cannot even buy foodgrain round the year at BPL rates. The Antyodaya Anna Yojna targets 15.33 per cent of the 6.52 crore families below poverty line in the country.

Other decisions taken by the Cabinet and CCEA include:

\* The Navratna and the Miniratna status for individual public sector enterprises will not be in perpetuity. The performance of each will be reviewed every three years and they could be divested of their status and the attendant autonomy they enjoy.

\* The project cost of Petro Energy Products Company Limited stands revised to Rs 2,652 crore against Rs 500.25 crore approved in 1994. The company is, setting up a 100 per cent export-oriented refinery. The location has now been allowed to change from Karaikal in Pondicherry to Kakinada in Andhra Pradesh. The company has also been permitted to restructure the equity, which will now be 95 per cent foreign, NRI and OCB and five per cent domestic against earlier foreign equity of 40.5 per cent.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

23 MAR 2001

# Godbole quits, relents later

By Mahesh Vijapurkar

MUMBAI, MAY 23. Mr. Madhav Godbole, who heads the truncated renegotiation committee to re-work the deal with the Enron-sponsored Dabhol Power Company (DPC) today quit in protest against Mr. Sharad Pawar's remark that the panel should have a "positive approach" failing which "I wonder how results would be achieved" and, hours later, on persuasion by the entire Maharashtra Cabinet, decided not to press his resignation.

After being satisfied that the entire Government, despite some individual misgivings, was backing him, Mr. Godbole has decided to convene the meeting of the panel with DPC representatives here next week. "I am not pressing the resignation because of the unanimous view of the Cabinet that I have its support and confidence," Mr. Godbole told *The Hindu* within an hour of a letter from the Chief Minis-

ter, Mr. Vilasrao Deshmukh, conveying the Cabinet's request.

Had Mr. Godbole remained firm, all the efforts to have the independent power producer push towards lower tariffs would have suffered a major setback. Since Mr. Deepak Parekh, Mr. R.K. Pachauri, Mr. E.A.S. Sarma and Mr. Kirit Parikh are already as good as out of it for want of time, the one credible effort at renegotiation would have come apart, sources said.

A meeting of his panel with the DPC was due to be held today at 11 a.m. but had to be called off since Mr. Godbole dashed off a letter to Mr. Deshmukh expressing his unwillingness to continue with the efforts to rework the power purchase agreement since Mr. Pawar led at least one half of the Government as a constituent of the coalition and he disliked being termed, even if only tangentially, "negative."

There were serious misgivings about the developments "at a crucial and critical moment" because it had all the promise of derailing the renegotiations that had commenced ever so reluctantly. For long, the DPC had been asking for a credible platform with all parties with interests or ability to provide solutions to be a party to the efforts to bring the tariff down from the existing levels — it had reached even an unconscionable Rs. 21 per kwhr at one time — to something affordable.

Ironically, Mr. A.V. Gokak, the Centre's nominee on the panel, has arrived for the meeting with some proposals, like involving the Power Trading Corporation in picking up the power from the DPC plants, though without other elements being worked out, it can only be seen as a positive gesture from the Centre.

Counter-termination? Page 9

4 MAY 2001

## 'Taxing agriculture not worthwhile'

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MAY 21.** An expert committee on tax policy and tax administration for the Tenth Plan has concluded that it would not be worthwhile to tax agricultural income.

149-173  
Talking to presspersons after presenting the report to the Planning Commission, the Chairman of the committee, Dr. Parthasarathi Shome, said after discussions with State Governments, the committee came to the view that an agricultural income tax did not have much potential to generate revenue. Moreover, implementing such a tax would be very difficult.

According to Dr. Shome, agriculture contributed about 24 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and out of this about 60 to 70 per cent was subsistence agriculture and only about 30 per cent originated from large holdings. Hence, the revenue potential was not large, particularly since the contribution of agriculture to GDP was estimated to go down further to 18.8 per cent by the end of the Tenth Plan. Secondly, implementing such a tax with small revenue potential would be very difficult, he said. Alternatively, the expert committee had stressed on the services sector as one holding greater potential for revenue generation.

The report stresses on the need

to increase the tax to gross domestic product (GDP) ratio by 3.68 per cent over the Tenth Plan period to reach a level of 17.78 per cent by 2006-07, up from 14.09 per cent in 1999-2000. To achieve this, the committee has estimated that corporation tax would have to go up from the present 1.55 per cent to 2.35 per cent, income tax from 1.38 per cent to 1.88 per cent, Union excise duties from 3.16 per cent to 3.51 per cent while customs was expected to go down from 2.47 per cent to 2.44 per cent during this period.

The service tax is expected to contribute 0.57 per cent of the GDP by 2006-07 from the present contribution of 0.1 per cent. Consequently, the gross central taxes would increase from the level of 8.8 per cent to 10.88 per cent while the State taxes would increase from 5.29 per cent to 6.9 per cent, thus increasing the total from 14.09 per cent to 17.78 per cent by the end of the Tenth Plan period.

The committee has recommended a host of measures to achieve this, including scrapping of a number of concessions currently available in various taxes. In the case of direct taxes, the committee has recommended withdrawing tax incentives under Sections 10 (15) which pertain to interest premium on redemption or other payments of notified securities, bonds, certificates and

deposits, Section 80-CCC dealing with contributions to certain pension funds of LIC, Section 80L dealing with Government securities, interest on NSC VI and VII issues, interest on deposits in post office time deposit, etc. and Section 88 dealing with contributions to life insurance premiums.

The committee has recommended changes in the incentives under Section 80-D, 80-DD, 80-DDB and 80E from income-based deduction to tax credit at 10 per cent. Similarly, roll-over provisions under Section 54, 54B, 54D, 54EA and 54EB have been recommended.

On corporate tax, reduction in tax rate to 30 per cent for both domestic and foreign companies and abolition of dividend distribution tax has been suggested.

For expanding the tax base, the committee has suggested income of various funds other than mutual funds be taxed at 10 per cent, exemption for foreign income and remuneration under Sections 10(8), 10(8A), 10(8B) and 10(9) be deleted, exemption of income derived by industrial units situated in special economic zones, under Section 10A, should be deleted and exemption to 100 per cent export oriented units be withdrawn. It has also been suggested that exemption for income from new industrial units and projects, under Section 80-IA, should be withdrawn.

THE HINDU

H-10-15  
21/5

## Enron to face another penalty

MUMBAI, MAY 20. Undeterred by issuance of the preliminary termination notice (PTN) by the Enron-promoted Dabhol Power Company, the Maharashtra State Electricity Board has decided to slap another Rs. 400-crore penalty on the U.S. energy major.

"PTN or no PTN, in the first week of June, the MSEB will slap one more Rs. 400-crore penalty on the DPC for misdeclaration and default on the availability of power, a review for which will be taken next month," sources in the MSEB said today.

The proposed penalty follows the DPC's inability to produce power on February 12 and March 13 as per MSEB's demand in the stipulated time of three hours as per the power purchase agreement (PPA), they said. "In fact, we would pay the Rs. 139-crore April bill on May 23 and this will be the last payment from our side, rest of the due amount should be adjusted in the penalty," the sources added.

The MSEB follows a four-month cycle, the first instance of failure on January 28 fell in the first cycle, while the other two instances fell in February-May, a bill for which would be prepared and despatched to the DPC in June.

Earlier, the MSEB had slapped a Rs. 401-crore penalty on the DPC for "not generating" required power for January 28 demand.

The matter has been disputed since, as the DPC has refused to ascertain the validity of the MSEB's claim, the sources said adding the matter was now under arbitration, process for which would begin soon.

The sources said that contrary to the DPC's allegations, the despatch instructions were in line with the PPA provisions and there were no procedures previously agreed or followed about declaration of availability and delivery of the instructions during the start-up of the "cold plant".

"The instructions are revised for only those hours for which there were no instructions earlier," they said adding that in the past the DPC was able to achieve the instructed capacity at the specified hour.

### Pawar plea to Centre

The Nationalist Congress Party president, Mr. Sharad Pawar, today said the Centre should intervene and try to bail out the State from the crisis after Enron issued a preliminary termination notice to the MSEB. — PTI

THE HINDU

21 MAY 2001

# Enron sets out to switch off MSEB link

Business Times Bureau

MUMBAI: It's the beginning of the end of Enron's presence in the Indian power sector. Putting an end to speculation about its future, the Dabhol Power Company (DPC) on Saturday issued a preliminary termination notice to the Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB). The move has paved the way for Enron to claim termination penalties and quit the project by transferring its assets to MSEB.

"This (notice) initiates the process of terminating the power purchase agreement with MSEB. Even though it was necessary to issue the notice, we are still open to constructive discussion," a DPC statement said.

Vinay Bansal, chairman, MSEB, confirmed receipt of the notice and said that DPC had shown the bill payment default as the main reason for issuing the termination

notice. "They (Enron) have treated two aspects in the notice, the first part dealing with the defaults which have occurred in paying the monthly bills and the second indicating the company's intention to terminate the contract. We will be studying the emerging scenario and hope for a favourable outcome in another six months, when the notice expires. Meanwhile, all arbitration proceedings will continue," Mr Bansal said.

Enron has also categorically declined to participate in any renegotiations on the

basis of the Godbole Committee report. According to the company, a specific proposal from MSEB, the state government and the Centre should form the basis for any future discussions and not the Godbole Committee report. As per the procedure after the pre-termination notice is issued, a six-month suspension period will follow within which both parties can negotiate a compromise. If there is no solution, DPC will issue a final termination notice.

Before this, DPC will serve a transfer notice whereby all the operating assets, viz plant and machinery, will be transferred to MSEB. It is not clear whether Enron wants to transfer the LNG plant to MSEB as well, although it is up to the company to decide.

Thereafter a termination statement will be issued under Schedule 11 of the PPA, certified by chartered accountants, in which

the amount payable as penalties will be enclosed. The revenue compensation amount will be worked out involving discounted profits for another 20 years of Phase I and the equity contribution of Phase II (\$452 million) plus the \$ 2,049 million debt component.

However, experts maintain that the entire process will take no less than 18 months since several arbitration proceedings are currently on between both parties.

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- ▶ Foreign firms exit, Page 10

## Negotiations, not notices can solve problems, says CM

By Prakash Joshi

The Times of India News Service

MUMBAI: Maharashtra chief minister Vilasrao Deshmukh on Saturday hit back at the Dabhol Power Company for serving a preliminary termination notice (PTN) when the Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) had completed all its contractual obligations.

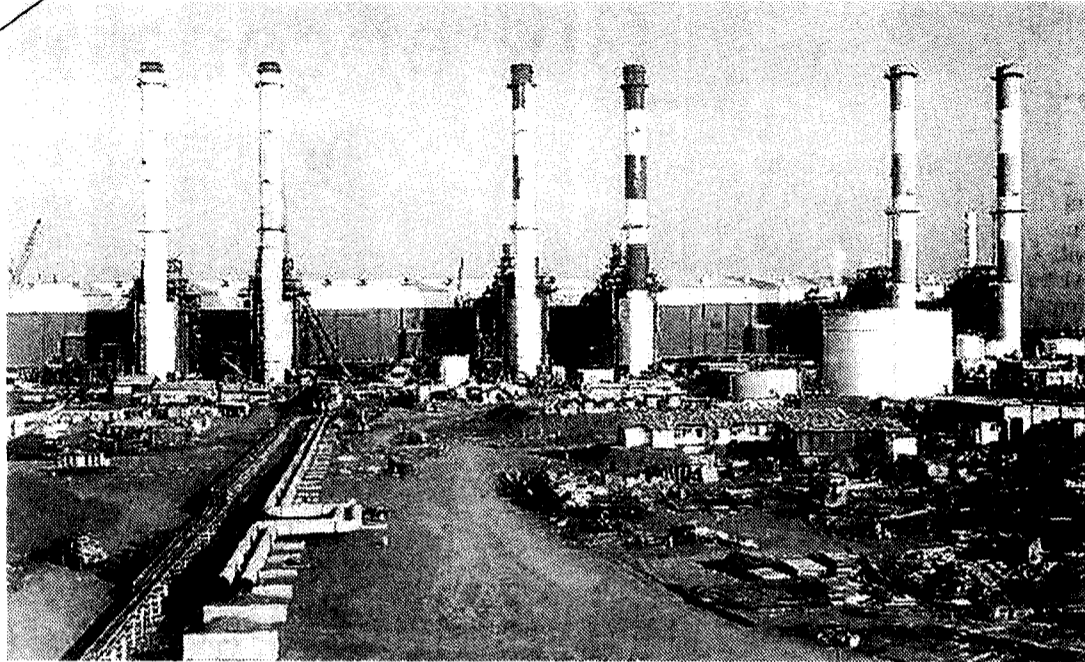
Reacting sharply to the notice, he said, "There are difficulties, but problems can be solved by negotiations and not by giving notices." Mr Deshmukh, who met NCP president Sharad Pawar on Saturday morning, said the government would seek legal opinion before sending a reply.

▶ 'MSEB not a defaulter', Page 7

THE TIMES OF INDIA

20 MAY 2001





Enron's power plant at Dhabol... controversial from the start.

HD-15  
20/5

## Wires crossed

**T**HE PRINCIPLE of 'errors and omissions excepted' is too simple to sort out the Enron imbroglio. Besides, it does not cover errors of commission. This is being increasingly felt by all concerned as the Maharashtra Government's renegotiations panel led by Dr. Madhavrao Godbole hopes to get the power major to make the power purchase agreement (PPA) less ruinous for the State.

The meeting between the two sides on May 11 was not very cordial. But the officials were thankful that there could be another meeting on May 23 even after Dr. Godbole did some tough talking.

In Mumbai, however, no one is placing bets on the May 23 meeting taking place. On Saturday, Enron issued a preliminary termination notice (PTN) to the MSEB. "This initiates the process of terminating the power purchase agreement with MSEB," it said. The power major, however, left the door at least partly open by adding "even though it was necessary to issue PTN, we are still open to constructive discussion on the solutions".

The MSEB had slapped three notices on Enron for not meeting its enhanced power needs as per the PPA and demanded a penalty of over Rs. 400 crores. But, according to an Enron spokesman, the MSEB has paid its February and March bills under protest though the earlier December and January bills of about Rs. 250 crore are "overdue".

Both Enron and the MSEB know that even the credit note for the penalty after deducting the outstanding bills would not take

them any further. The Godbole panel in its earlier avatar as the Energy Review Committee had pointed out that Enron had put in the PPA a number of ways to fleece the MSEB. Leave alone the PPA, many of its charges do not stand even a simple accounting test and are, arguably, bad in law.

For instance, the cost of shipping and harbour facilities is included in the capital recovery charge and yet Enron is charging the MSEB about Rs. 233 crores a year for these facilities. Excluding the reasonable cost of the shipping charter, Enron is charging over Rs. 100 crores more every year. The Godbole Committee al-

*The way out of the Enron tangle would be to make the deal a just one. Any attempt at short cuts could short-circuit the whole process, writes Arunkumar Bhatt.*

so found that Enron inflated the fuel consumption to claim Rs. 332 crores more.

Though the power plant uses 2.1 million tonnes of LNG a year, the expenditure on the 5 million-tonnes regassification plant has been added to the costs. Enron has set up another company, Metgas, to use the excess capacity. The LNG facility should be separated and its capital cost should not be included in the fuel charge.

Dr. Godbole, who once headed the MSEB, and the former Union Power Secretary, Dr. E.A.S. Sarma, have recommended a judicial inquiry into the messy deal under the Commission of Inquiries Act. The Left parties and NGOs such as Prayas are for the probe.

But such a probe would mean a lot of explanations for the former Chief Ministers, Mr. Sharad Pawar and Mr. Manohar Joshi, and the latter's deputy, Mr. Gopinath Munde. No one expects the Congress(I)-NCP led coalition Government in Maharashtra to order a judicial probe.

Mr. Joshi made an interesting observation in Mumbai some days ago. "The present Government is competent to take any decision," he said when asked about the stand of the Shiv Sena on the probe. His successor as Chief Minister, now Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Narayan Rane, said the anti-Enron proceedings meant a clash between Mr. Pawar and the present Chief Minister, Mr. Vilasrao Deshmukh.

Enron executives know that neither the parties in power nor those in the Opposition would want a judicial probe. The judicial inquiry can, however, be a heavy load on the power multinational. But experts such as Dr. Subodh Wagale of Prayas believe that if the State Government plays its cards well, Enron will not be left with many options.

Backroom boys on both sides believe that the way out would be to make the PPA a just one. Any attempt at short cuts could short-circuit the whole process.

# Countdown to Dhabol's end begins

11  
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**HT Correspondents**  
New Delhi/Mumbai, May 19

IN THE possible beginning of Enron's endgame in India, the US energy giant's Dabhol Power Company today served a Preliminary Termination Notice (PTN) on the Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB).

"This initiates the process of terminating the power purchase agreement (PPA) with the MSEB," a DPC statement said. The notice comes two days before the final decision on the PTN was expected.

The Maharashtra Government termed the PTN an "improper step". "It's not proper to issue a PTN when renegotiations to bring down the power tariff are on," said Maharashtra Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh, adding that legal opinion would be sought on the notice.

DPC dispatched the termination to MSEB at 11 am, two hours after former Maharashtra Chief Minister Sharad Pawar — who had initiated the project in 1992 — and the present incumbent held a closed-door meeting on Government strategy in the event of such a move.

In its statement, DPC said the failure of the MSEB, the State and Central Governments to meet their contractual obligations to Enon had left it with no choice "but to issue the PTN". It, however, said, "We are still open to constructive discussion on the solutions," but added, "a lasting solution is possible only if the parties contractually bound to purchase the power are willing to either buy it themselves or find

other creditworthy buyers".

At his meeting with Deshmukh, Pawar was updated on DPC's stand on PTN and that of the MSEB vis-à-vis the Rs 401-crore penalty that Enron has refused to even recognise, let alone pay, said an official present at the meeting.

He said MSEB chief Vinay Bansal briefed Pawar and Deshmukh that "the situation would further worsen after DPC commissions its Phase-II on June 6 as the loss-making board is in no position to pay the Rs 200 crore plus fixed charges henceforth".

The DPC project has been dogged by controversy since its inception, with critics charging that Dabhol was charging too much for the power it sold.

The notice begins the start of a six-month cooling period under the PPA, during which the parties are expected to try and resolve the dispute, failing which a formal termination will take effect. The termination will mean that the Central and the State Governments will have to pay an estimated Rs 2,850 crore as damages to Enron and the lenders to the project.

The 2,184 MW project has been the eye of a storm for over six months now. The first phase of 740 MW is already up and running, while the second, of 1,444 MW, is scheduled to start generating next month.

The loss-making MSEB, which originally agreed to buy the entire capacity, has reneged on its commitment forcing Dabhol to contemplate termination.

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 MAY 2001

# Reforms must go on to keep pace with global economy: PM

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee made it clear on Friday that India could not remain isolated in the fast-changing world economic scene and reiterated that disinvestment would continue. "There is no going back," he said, inaugurating the 37th Indian Labour Conference here in the morning.

While affirming that the second-generation reforms would continue, the Prime Minister assured the conference that the interests of workers would be taken care of while disinvesting sick industries. "The government doesn't enjoy closing sick units. We tried to revive IDPL. We haven't taken a single disinvestment decision in haste," he said.

In an indirect attack on the Congress and the Left parties for opposing the government's disinvestment policy, Mr Vajpayee said, "Those opposed to disinvestment at the Centre are adopting the same policies in their party-ruled states." Departing from his prepared text, he also made a call for a wide-ranging dialogue on disinvestment and issues like workers' interests. "Justice should be done to workers, but economic decisions should be in the wider context of

the nation," he added. In the same vein, he claimed that "no worker has been removed yet, and neither will anyone be in future".

He claimed that in the last one year, the country had made major economic progress. Quoting from figures given by a representative of the Council of Indian Employers who spoke before him, Mr Vajpayee said the poverty level had come down. "These figures are not mine. Governments change, but statistical agencies don't. It is an achievement for which we would like to take credit."

Without directly referring to the opening up of the defence sector to private and foreign companies, Mr Vajpayee allayed fears that the move would hurt the national interest. "No foreign money will come until a licence is given. We need foreign money. We need to compete."

Referring to the demands that India opt out of the WTO, Mr Vajpayee said, "We will be isolated. We need markets, investment and raw material. Even the labour laws need to be changed according to WTO guidelines." He said a chief ministers' meet would be convened soon to discuss the challenges emerging from the WTO regime. //

NO LOOKING BACK



THE TIMES OF INDIA

19 MAY 2001

# PM rejects BMS demand for reforms rethink

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, May 18

PRIME MINISTER A B Vajpayee today rejected the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh's demand for "rethinking" on economic reforms. There could be no going back on reforms, he said, since the country needs to reach globalisation goals.

Vajpayee inaugurated the 37th Indian Labour Conference, an event that left no one in any doubt that the Government and the trade unions are on a warpath over reforms. There could be some difficulties in the "transition" period. But India could not remain an "island" in today's fast changing world. The Government is ready for dialogue: a chief ministers' conference has been called on India's WTO commitments.

BMS general secretary Hasubhai Dave had no doubt that the economic reforms initiated in 1991 had gone against the interests of workers, small and big industries, and the nation itself. Dave said profit-making units should not be disinvested and labour law changes should await the second Labour Commission's report.

The Prime Minister disagreed, saying that statistics had shown that reforms had pushed up the GDP growth rate and reduced the number of people living below the poverty line. "No one has been thrown out of jobs, and no one will lose jobs," Vajpayee said. A Rs 150 crore social security scheme

will be launched on July 1 for the country's 12 crore agricultural workers.

He said there would be no unregulated entry of FDI, although India needed foreign exchange to import oil. FDI projects would require licences, and it would be ensured that they served national interests. India must be prepared to face competition. India was still debating benefits of joining WTO, while many countries waited to enter it. The unions should see the country's problems in a larger context. Labour and capital should realise they can do nothing without each other.

Vajpayee admitted industries went sick more often because of failures of the system and management, rather than labour trouble. The Government would see to it that workers got justice in the disinvestment process. But, Vajpayee said, the unions should not oppose disinvestment just for the sake of opposing it. Dave and Arvind Doshi, employers' representative, spoke before Vajpayee, who said their speeches left everybody confused whether "we are moving forward or backward". Doshi said the GDP growth rate had been six per cent since the reforms and less than 26 per cent people lived below the poverty line. Vajpayee endorsed his statistics, which he said should be accepted because they had been given by an independent organisation.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Enron signals beginning of DPC endgame

Soma Banerjee & Anto Joseph

NEW DELHI, MUMBAI 19 MAY

**T**HE LIGHTS at Dabhol Power Company (DPC) have been flickering for a long time now. On Saturday, the beleaguered company issued the pre-termination notice (PTN) on Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB), ending weeks of suspense over its possible course of action. The move, which has come without the consent of Indian lenders, has left Indian financial institutions, led by IDBI, dazed.

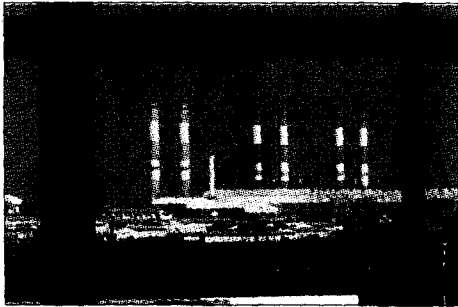
Strangely, Enron's pullout moves have come despite the Centre striking a conciliatory note despite talk of arbitration on the disputed penalty issue between MSEB and DPC.

Negotiations are on and there have been regular assurances from the Centre that it will honour the counter-guarantee it issued to the US utility. By no means was this the end of the road and even as late as mid-May, Enron bosses were reaffirming their commitment to the Indian project.

Analysts wonder, therefore, if

the pressure tactic will work, but for the moment it's lights out at Dabhol.

Having served the PTN, DPC will now have to give six months to MSEB and the Centre before it can serve the final termination notice. "Maharashtra will have to now either go ahead with the negotiation process already initiated and find an amicable solution



LIGHTS OUT — AP

within the given period or can also serve a termination notice," sources said.

The central counter-guarantee, which guarantees all energy payment obligations of MSEB and the debt serving obligations of Enron, will also come into effect only after six months.

■ **Arbitration may make notice invalid: Page 14**

**STATE HAS NOT COMMITTED ANY DEFAULT, SAYS CHIEF MINISTER**

# Enron's move unwarranted, but Maharashtra ready for truce

Our Mumbai Bureau

MUMBAI 19 MAY

THE MAHARASHTRA government, on Saturday, described Enron's action as "unwarranted" and said an amicable solution could still be found.

Reacting to the pre-termination notice (PTN) issued by Enron, Maharashtra chief minister Vilasrao Deshmukh refuted the allegations made by the US energy major and dubbed the company's action as an "unwarranted move that could complicate the issue."

"We have not committed any default. It's wrong on the part of Enron to say that we are not honouring our contractual obligations," said Mr Deshmukh while talking to ET. According to him, the issue of the December 2000 and January 2001 bills has already been referred to arbitration.

The CM said he still wants an amicable solution to the ongoing imbroglio and asked Enron to present its case before the Godbole panel on May 23. "There is no alternative to talk. We have to create an amicable atmosphere for a solution to emerge," he said.

However, he said the state government is also seeking legal opinion to tackle the situation. Meanwhile, Nationalist Congress Party chief Sharad Pawar discussed the issue with Mr Deshmukh.

"We have taken stock of the situation and also discussed the reports on Dabhol Power Corporation's (DPC's) lenders' meet at length. A strategy will be chalked out, as Enron officials are again meeting the Godbole Committee on May 23," Mr Deshmukh said after the two-and-half hour long meeting.

Mr Pawar, who was briefed for the second time on the current crisis, was updated on DPC's stand on the pre-termination notice and that of the Maharashtra State Electricity's Board's with reference to the Rs 401-crore penalty. The US energy major has refused to even recognise this penalty, let alone pay, a state government official who attended the meeting, said.

MSEB chief Vinay Bansal told Mr Pawar and Mr Deshmukh that the situation will further worsen after DPC commissions its phase-II and that the loss-making board was in no position to pay the fixed charges.

*The Economic Times*

19 MAY 2001



Vajpayee at the conference. (PTI)

# Atal stands up to reform attack

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, May 18: Staring down aggressive trade unions, including the Sangh parivar's Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee today declared that economic reforms were here to stay.

Vajpayee, who was inaugurating the two-day Indian Labour Conference this morning, said existing economic policies and laws had failed to respond to the changing needs and there was "no question of reverting to the old economic regime".

Totally at odds with the government, BMS general secretary Hansubhai Dave, the first speaker at the conference, slammed the reforms as "anti-worker and anti-

national". Dave said the reforms "had a terrible impact on workers and the government should seriously reconsider them". He reeled off a string of demands, most of which clashed with the government's policies.

The contradictions within the Sangh parivar were played out in full at the conference: the Prime Minister sticking to his stand, though he held out assurances on social security for unorganised workers, and the BMS bludgeoning the government, hoping to turn it around on some crucial policies. BMS leaders had yesterday said Vajpayee's speech would decide the union's next course of action.

Vajpayee later had an informal chat with labour leaders, but is believed to have "only listened and

not said anything". Dave, however, emerged from the meeting saying that the Prime Minister had agreed not to bring a Bill in the monsoon session of Parliament to amend the Industrial Disputes Act and the Contract Labour Act. But the other trade unions denied any such assurance.

Labour minister Satyanarain Jatiya said: "The Bill will be discussed by the Group of Ministers, approved by the Cabinet and then only will it be brought to Parliament. We may or may not be able to bring it in the next Parliament session." Neither his tone nor Vajpayee's was conciliatory, an indication of more trouble for the parivar.

Vajpayee challenged the trade unions to come out of their groove and fall in step with the changing

world. "There is simply no alternative to raising the efficiency of our production units, reducing costs and improving the quality of our goods and services," he said.

He described as absurd the demand of some trade unions that India should quit the World Trade Organisation — a demand the BMS general secretary raised in his speech. "How can India survive in isolation? It should try to get the best possible terms for the developing world from the WTO," Vajpayee said.

He said statistics proved that there had been a reduction in poverty and an increase in growth. But the labour leaders rejected the figures and furnished their own to show a decline in growth and industrial production between 1991 and 2001.

## Lost in a swirl of rumours, group attacks Maruti van driver

# Monkey-man turns Delhi into lynch mob

FROM AMBEREEN ALI SHAH

New Delhi, May 18: Mass hysteria and rumours are taking over the lives of Delhiites as the elusive "monkey-man" continues to attack and vanish without a trace.

Police said the paranoia was not just restricted to the east Delhi area bordering Ghaziabad and Gautam Buddha Nagar in Uttar Pradesh from where the attacks began, but has spread as far as the upmarket colonies of south Delhi.

In east Delhi, the driver of a Maruti van was severely beaten up last night by a mob because of a helmet lying inside his car.

This followed reports of the "monkey-man" being described by some of its victims as wearing a helmet. Overpowered by anger, hysteria and perhaps hallucination, the mob swooped down on the car and thrashed the driver, according to police sources.

Delhi Police, which have its hands full trying to track down the creature, is also having to deal with rumour-mongers. Over 80 distress calls, mostly fake, were received from all over the capital.

The police today arrested two persons in east Delhi for spreading rumours. One of them, Dr Narendra Sagar, was arrested in the Shakarpur area for frightening his neighbours by throwing an inflated doctor's glove — painted black — on the street.

The hysteria had led to a person jumping to death in northwest Delhi on Wednesday night following a false alarm raised by his neighbour.

"The current paranoia is in the minds of the people. It is a form of hallucination. People start perceiving things and objects out of obsessive compulsive behaviour," South Delhi deputy commissioner of police P. Kamraj explained.

D.L. Sheth, a sociologist at the Centre of Social Research, believes that the mass phobia is not class-specific, although all the incidents of attacks have been reported from jhuggi clusters and lower-end colonies.

"It transcends the parameter of class. In Western countries, people claimed to have had encounters with UFOs, while in Ireland people have seen Mother Mary in the clouds. This is collective hallucination, which appears in a wave," he said.

The Shiv Sena is urging people not to believe in rumours and superstitions. State executive member Abhimanyu Gulati said: "We are setting up vigilante groups armed with swords, tridents and lathis in the affected areas."

Gulati also blamed the Centre for its "inactivity" and alleged that the situation was the result of intelligence failure. "If the government cannot deal with the monkey mania, how will it look after the problems ravaging its borders?" he asked. Predictably, the Sena activist did not at the same time rule out the ISI's "involvement" in the affair.

# Spending plan to boost economy

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, May 16. - The NDA government plans to pump-prime the economy by unleashing a slew of high-spending schemes in the infrastructure sector to reverse the economic slowdown.

The plan, based on the Keynesian models, is being pushed by the finance minister.

In an exclusive interview with UNI, Mr Yashwant Sinha revealed his plans to inject a massive dose of expenditure to build roads, ports, irrigation and power projects in the near future.

"There will be quite a lot of action within the next few months on this front," he said.

New power projects, which the Centre till recently was hoping to be taken up by the private sector, will now be a thrust area for the government. Public sector power giants like the National Thermal Power Corporation and

National Hydro-electric Power Corporation have been asked to implement their Greenfield power projects at the earliest.

Mr Sinha has even promised Central funds for these projects with the government planning to add at least 8,000 MW power over the next two years.

He said contracts for a total of 6,000 kms of the golden quadrangle of express highways will be given out by end June. The government also plans to build a network of rural roads, linking up the hinterland, at a cost of Rs 2,500 crore. Again, Rs 1,000 crore has been earmarked for state highways, he added. The government will help the states with the irrigation projects, he said.

This bout of high dose public spending, apart from creating fresh capital assets, will increase spending power and create new jobs, Mr Sinha

said. Industrial growth in 2000-01 was 4.9 per cent as compared to over eight per cent in 1999-2000. A worried Central government consequently decided to put this "spend your way out of the morass" plan into action.

Lord JM Keynes first propounded the concept of massive spending as a way out of depression, or its less rigorous form of recession. Faced with the Great Depression of 1930s in the West, Keynes advocated a massive public works programme, which eventually was turned into the now famous "new deal" plan, which built a chain of dams, roadways and power projects in the USA.

Mr Sinha said slow agricultural production had also adversely affected the industrial growth.

Poor agricultural growth meant low rural purchasing power which led to the slower demand for industrial goods.

He expected better economic performance this year and seven to eight per cent GDP growth in the next three to four years. Part of this would accrue from the large government spending. The spending will create externalities and pep up private sector activity in these and allied areas. Mr Sinha said people are not spending money now which is leading to a demand shortage.

Satisfied with his meeting with the representatives of the automobile, cement and construction sectors, Mr Sinha plans to broaden the consultations and would soon invite people from other industrial fields.

He said while there would be no further tax sops, his ministry would go into specific difficulties the industrialists highlighted.

Their suggestions were being examined and whatever changes possible would be incorporated.



Yashwant Sinha tells Jayanta Roy Chowdhury he is in control of everything except weather

# 'We are ready to clear policy doubts'

**U**nder fire from Swadeshi hawks for pushing too hard with reforms and being too soft on multinationals, finance minister Yashwant Sinha says he is ready to remove misgivings.

"If our friends have any doubts about our policy, we are ready to discuss it," he said.

The remarks come after BMS chief and Swadeshi Jagran Manch ideologue Duttopant Thegadi tongue-lashed him as a 'criminal'.

Reacting to comments that he had allowed things to spin out of control, he said, "I am in control of the economy, except divine will and the vagaries of weather."

Sinha scoffed at fears that opening up the economy to foreign capital or imports, including the foreign direct investment limit announced last week, would give multinationals control of the economy. "FDI is just a trickle. The fear of MNCs is irrational. It is crazy to imagine that we will be reduced to traders while outsiders will take over the industry."

Instead, the minister saw China as a bigger threat. "When we talked of MNCs a few years back, we thought about US and European companies, not China." He said the government will prevent the flow of imports from turning into a deluge. "Have we been swamped by imported wheat, rice or any product produced locally?"

Reacting to calls from certain quarters that the government quit the World Trade Organisation, Sinha said there were more benefits in staying with it than in walking out. "To me, Swadeshi means a strong and self-reliant India, not a state of autarky where we trade with no one."

Sinha, facing flak for not doing enough to stem the post-budget stock slump, promised changes in laws governing the Securities and Exchange Board of India and bourses, but insisted the House panel probing it will be consulted.



Sinha: Reform warrior willing to give everyone a patient ear. (A Telegraph picture)

## Tainted firms face selloff bar

**T**he government is likely to debar scam-tainted companies like Sterlite Industries, Videcon and BPL from bidding for any future disinvestment in public sector units.

The decision has been taken by a group of ministers, including Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, home minister L. K. Advani, finance minister Yashwant Sinha and disinvestment minister Arun Shourie, which has held several rounds of meetings on the issue.

Sources said an in-principle decision on the issue has already been taken, which will later be for-

mally placed at a Cabinet meeting.

When asked, Sinha refused to comment on the outcome of the meetings, but confirmed "the government is considering the issue (of debarring scam tainted companies) for future disinvestments."

However, the government has yet to decide whether to disallow the Hinduja group, allegedly involved in the Bofors pay-off scam, to bid for any of the PSUs.

"A decision over the Hindujas is holding up the issue. If they are barred, the government will be accused of being politically motivated. If they are allowed to bid, the government will be accused of

double standards," sources said.

Fresh from the uproar over Balco, the government is keen to avoid any allegations of a scam, which may arise if Videcon, BPL and Sterlite, charged with ramping up their scripts in 1998, are allowed to bid for the PSUs.

A parallel move is also on to eliminate foreign merchant bankers—being investigated by Sebi for their alleged involvement in share price rigging—from advising the government on the disinvestment process. Significantly, Credit Suisse First Boston, an advisor in VSNL's divestment, is under Sebi's scanner.

## Back to basics in pro-people tilt

**S**tung by the electoral reverses starting in the face and mounting criticism of its reforms process, it's back to the basics for the BJP government, at least where the economy is concerned.

In other words, it will now be roads, electricity, water, health and education, issues closer to the common man's heart.

Facility admitting the government's changed priorities, finance minister Yashwant Sinha said: "The common man is not bothered about fiscal deficit and FDI, he wants the basics like water, roads, electricity, health and education to be addressed; we will work on this." Moreover, "development is not just growth, it is growth plus concern for the common man," he added.

The finance minister prescribed patience for those who have been pushing for a faster pace of reforms. "Second generation reforms do not mean a reform a day. I have always cautioned patience."

Sinha, who has been under severe attack from the Sangh Parishad and its associates for his economic policies, considered even by several hardliners within the Cabinet to be too right-wing, now promises quick implementation of projects, which the government hopes will help it get closer to the common man.

"You will see much action within the next few months on this front," he promised.

New power projects, which the Centre was keen till recently be taken up by the private sector,

will now be a thrust area for the government. State-run power utilities like the National Thermal Power Corporation and National Hydro-electric Power Corporation have been ordered to start work on power projects as soon as possible. Sinha has even promised central funds for these projects.

The government plans to add at least 8,000 megawatts of power within the next two years.

"Since the reform programme started in the early 1990s, the government's philosophy has been there would be no fresh investments from its side in industrial enterprise. PSUs who want to set up projects or expand operations, will have to fend for themselves by either raising internal resources or borrowing from the market," he said.

"Contracts for the remaining 3,000 kms of the golden quadrangle of express highways will be awarded by June-July. Besides, we will be spending some Rs 2,500 crore on rural roads. This is a well thought-out package where we want to deliver the goods and we took our time in starting with this one because we wanted to be sure the money actually produces results," Sinha said.

The finance minister added that another Rs 1,000 crore has been earmarked for state highways. "We will also extend liberal help to the states for irrigation projects," he said.

The rash of public spending is also expected to pump up the economy, create new jobs and increase spending power.

# Let Enron Exit

## Nothing to Lose, Crores to Gain

By ADITYA CHATTERJEE & POOJA KOTHARI

FOR years, Enron tried to woo Indian policy-makers, who couldn't seem to decide whether the Dabhol project was a good idea or not. Today, the boot is on the other foot, and it seems to be pinching. Enron's management is keen to stop investing in huge, capital-intensive plants around the world. In keeping with this strategy—and no doubt exhausted by its ceaseless crisis management in India—Enron is mulling a pullout. But both the Centre and Maharashtra government want to renegotiate the power purchase agreement and have entrusted this responsibility to the Madhav Godbole panel.

Is Enron really as indispensable as the authorities seem to think it is? Financially, no. Indeed, if the only way to continue the project is on the present terms, then it makes better sense to simply scrap it. After all, it's better to amputate a gangrenous limb than to let the problem spread further.

A little arithmetic will make this amply clear. If the Dabhol Power Company (DPC) does scrap its agreement with the Maharashtra State Electricity Board, the Centre will have to cough up a sum of Rs 2,910 crore—a penalty amount of Rs 1,500 crore for one year's electricity bill, and \$300 million as termination fees (which works out to Rs 1,410 crore at an assumed exchange rate of 47 rupees to one dollar). This is a one-time payment, and the figure of Rs 2,910 crore is corroborated by a recent statement by Union power secretary A K Basu.

Now, if India were to continue with the present arrangement, it would end up paying at least Rs 1,500 crore per year for the next 10 years to DPC. On the other hand, what would happen if the project were scrapped? Well, very simplistically, India would save Rs 15,000 crore (Rs 1,500 crore multiplied by 10 years). But things aren't quite that simple, because that money could earn interest, while inflation would mean that Rs 15,000 crore after 10 years would not have the same value it would have today. To get around this problem, financial experts use a concept called net present value, which discounts future earning streams as well as inflation, to evaluate the attractiveness of a project. If we use a discount rate of 10 per cent, then the value of the amount India would save by scrapping the

Dabhol project works out to Rs 9,217 crore, over three times the amount India would have to pay today if the agreement with DPC is terminated.

Indian financial institutions (FIs) and banks which have lent money to DPC are actively lobbying to prevent such an eventuality. But how badly would they be hit? Well, FIs led by Industrial Development Bank of India have provided loans of \$95 million and \$333 million in two phases. This brings their total exposure to \$428 million (Rs 2,012 crore at an exchange rate of 47/\$). Besides, State Bank of India also underwrote the maximum portion of a \$557 million cross-border loan, and has an exposure of about \$175 million (Rs 823 crore). Thus, the cumulative exposure of Indian banks and FIs in DPC works out to around Rs 2,835 crore.

However, since only 80 per cent

government. Who knows, the government may actually manage to sell the ownership of DPC at a premium to another private sector player!

Of course, fears have been raised that cancelling the project might cost us foreign direct investment since Enron is the biggest investor in India so far. After all, Brazil raised \$31 billion and China \$49 billion last year in comparison with India's measly \$4 billion. But there's another way of looking at the problem—what does India really have to lose? In short, it's a case of losing what you don't even have in the first place.

Many developing nations which were pushed into signing expensive power projects by multinationals have successfully renegotiated their contracts with no serious financial consequences. Many nations simply did not have the money to pay for the inflated bills, some refused to pay even after losing international arbitration awards, while others like Costa Rica declared that the 15 contracts signed with independent power producers (like Enron) have no legal status or are bad in law.

In July 1999, the Hungarian parliament declared that a PPA signed with multinational RWE was unconstitutional and void. In August 2000, the Croatian government tore up a PPA signed between Enron and a previous government. The contract was considered to be unaffordable, and was allegedly signed in suspicious circumstances. Enron subsequently abandoned the original agreement. In September 2000, the Philippines took a decision to not renew financially crippling contracts with IPPs.

Controversy has accompanied the Dabhol project from the start. In August 1994, the finance ministry had written to the power ministry that the size of "the potential liability for a 1,000 megawatt plant was around Rs 3,000 crore per year". The department of economic affairs had also warned that the "...risk of counter-guarantees being invoked was not unreal, given that state electricity bills had been defaulting in payments". Caution was thrown to the winds then. The least India can do now is ask for a renegotiation. But does the Indian government have the courage to go eyeball-to-eyeball with Enron and not blink first?

### IN BRIEF

- Scrapping the power purchase agreement involves a one-time payment of Rs 2,910 crore
- However, India would save over Rs 9,000 crore by doing so
- There would be a net saving even after writing off FI loans to Dabhol Power Company

of this amount has been disbursed so far, the net exposure of Indian lenders amounts to Rs 2,268 crore. Since the Indian lenders are not covered by any counter-guarantee, their bottomline would be hit if Enron backs out. The government, being a majority stakeholder in most of these institutions, would also be affected. But even if all these loans are taken into account and added to the one-time payment of Rs 2,910 crore, the total cost to the government would be Rs 5,178 crore—still lower than Rs 9,217 crore.

Thus, the termination option will prove less costly for the nation than proceeding on the present terms. What will happen to the assets and the plant, did we hear you ask? Well, the government can sell it to private players and re-negotiate the cost factor with them—this time hopefully after doing a cost-benefit analysis! A sale of assets would also lessen the load on the

## Balco workers defer decision on ending stir

UNION NEWS OF INDIA

KORBA, May 2. - The striking Balco employees have deferred till Friday any decision on whether to end their stir.

The meeting of the core committee of the Balco Bachao Sanyukt Abhiyan Samiti, spearheading the cause of the employees, today failed to decide on the future course of action.

Yesterday, the Supreme Court asked the employees if they were ready to resume work on payment of two months' advance salary (for the strike period) till the disposal of petitions pending before it.

The court asked them to inform it about their stand in this regard by 8 May.

The samiti convener, Mr Baleshwar Jha, said no decision could be taken today in the absence of a formal copy of the court's directions. Any such decision would be taken after receiving the copy, he added.

The core committee will meet again on Friday to discuss on the alternative to their demand.

■ Another report on page 8

THE STATESMAN

- 3 MAY 2001

## Court offers Balco workers incentive to return to work

*MC* *AA-1*  
**New Delhi, May 1:** The Supreme Court on Tuesday asked the Balco employees, who had challenged the disinvestment of 51 per cent of the company's equity to Sterlite Industries, if they could resume work on being paid two months salary in advance for the strike period. A three-judge bench comprising Justices B.N. Kirpal, U.C. Banerjee and Brijesh Kumar asked the counsel for the employees' unions to inform the court in this regard by May 8. The bench made it clear that the payment would be subject to adjustment in terms of the ultimate direction of the court.

The court also directed the Chhattisgarh government to state by next Tuesday which other companies were allocated tribal land. The directions came during the hearing of three petitions that came before it by way of transfer from the Chhattisgarh high court and the Delhi high court challenging the controversial disinvestment. The transfer of tribal land to Balco, in which Sterlite Industries bought a majority stake from the Union government, and some other companies was one of the issues raised by the state government. (PTI)

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THE HINDU

2 MAY 1991

# Godbole to lead Enron renegotiation

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

MUMBAI, April 30. — The Maharashtra government today formed a second renegotiation committee on the Enron project amid controversy over the possible termination of the project.

The nine-member panel will negotiate with the Dabhol Power Company to restructure the project, including separating the LNG facility, to bring down the power tariff. It will also talk about direct sale of surplus power, not needed by the MSEB, to third parties, including the Centre and central

agencies. The committee has been given a month's time to submit report.

The committee comprises all the six members of the Godbole Committee that recently reviewed the project and will be headed by the former Union home secretary, Mr Madhav Godbole. Others on the committee include a Centre's representative, yet to be named by the Union finance secretary, the state finance secretary, Mr S K Srivastava, and chairman of the Maharashtra State Electricity Board, Mr Vinay Bansal.

The Godbole panel included

Mr Deepak Parekh, HDFC chairman, Dr Rajendra Pachauri, director of the Tata Energy Research Institute, Dr EAS Sarma, former energy secretary and Union finance secretary, Dr Kirit Parikh, honorary professor, Indira Gandhi Institute of Developmental Research, and Mr VM Lal, energy secretary. An appointee from the Central Electricity Authority will be an invited member while secretarial assistance will be provided by the Industrial Development Finance Corporation.

The earlier Godbole commit-

tee submitted its report on 10 April and the state and Union governments decided on 23 April in New Delhi to renegotiate the PPA according to the panel's recommendation. Two days later, the DPC managing director, Mr K Wade Cline, was authorised to pull the plug on the project.

But the Maharashtra government decided to form the new committee. The decision has been conveyed to the DPC.

The renegotiating committee is expected to issue a formal invitation to the DPC to join them for talks.

1 MAY 2001

India concerned over falling development aid, non-trade barriers

# Sinha calls for ODA hike

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA



Yashwant Sinha

WASHINGTON, April 30. — Articulating developing nations' concern, India today cautioned against falling development assistance and urged the developed countries to increase their level of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) flows, while reacting strongly against denial of market access by the continued practice of non-trade barriers.

"A number of developing countries including India have removed all quantitative restrictions, but the developed countries continue to build non-trade barriers," the finance minister, Mr Yashwant Sinha told a joint meeting of International Monetary and Financial Committee and Development Committee.

Mr Sinha is the joint chairman of the committee along with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr Gordon Brown.

The finance minister listed textiles,

garments and agriculture as areas of concern, where non-trade barriers were being consistently maintained to create unfavourable trade conditions for developing countries.

## FM ALLAYS RUPEE FEARS

WASHINGTON, April 30. — The finance minister Mr Yashwant Sinha has said that he has no worries about the fall in rupee value, as it has depreciated less against the dollar than many other currencies in the floating regime. "Our currency is floating like many other currencies in the world, subject to the laws of supply and demand and market forces. So it is not really a matter of concern," Mr Sinha said at a joint press conference with Mr Gordon Brown and World Bank President Mr James Wolfensohn. — PTI

Regretting that development assistance had gone down drastically by 40 per cent in the nineties, Mr Sinha said there had to be much higher aid flow, particularly for poverty reduction programmes in

countries like India which had managed their economies well, including their debts.

**Plea to WB, IMF:** India today asked the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to work out an action programme to "rejuvenate" economic growth in developing countries in the face of global economic slowdown and set appropriate framework along with WTO, for "free and fair" global trade.

"To my mind, the primary task before this assembly, is to work out an action programme aimed at rejuvenation and renewal of hope for the future with massive thrust for economic growth and development," Mr Sinha told the joint meeting of International Monetary and Financial Committee and Development Committee.

Asking IMF and World Bank to set appropriate ground rules with WTO for free and fair trade, Mr Sinha said, "we have to ensure that multilateralism and movement towards global free trade is at the centre of trade negotiations." "The IMF should become a stronger voice in terms of promoting further trade liberalisation on multilateral basis," he said.

THE STATESMAN

1 MAY 2001

## PLOT THICKENS

M/S Balco as a test case for better policy

PREDICTABLY, the Balco controversy has taken a new turn — from the question of underselling public assets to usage of tribal land. Ajit Jogi, the Chattisgarh chief minister who has discovered a surefire way to keep appearing in the national media, has now discovered deep injustice in the fact that a private company will operate Balco's Korba unit, which is built on tribal land. His logic is that it is perfectly all right for public sector units to set up ventures in such areas, but allowing private entrepreneurs violates principles of egalitarianism and social policy. This is, of course, a non-starter. The issue is not of public or private capital but that of development versus displacement, and the complexities of the problem lie far beyond what Jogi, or indeed the Centre, which opposes him, are prepared to confront. The core problem is that of finding the extremely difficult balance between mainstream industrial expansion and the need to preserve non-mainstream lifestyles and cultures. Almost no government has found this balance. However, the more enlightened of them have recognised that grievous errors are more likely when communities concerned are not consulted. Such decisions were made by the haute administrateur, the Nehruvian creature who was axiomatically supposed to possess the knowledge what is good for the rest of us, including tribals, who had no effective means to counter impositions in the name of state-sponsored modernity. The Congress was in power in the years when tribal land was leased out for industrialisation. It was in power when such industrialisation, mostly public sector, demonstrably failed to make lives better for local communities. It was also in power when the first small scale, typically agro-based private businesses were set up on tribal land. It saw and ignored the thuggery and thievery some of these private businesses indulged in. Other parties would have probably done exactly the same.

Thus, if the issue raised by Balco is to lead to anything meaningful, it has to go beyond Balco. The current system of real estate allocation for industrial purposes needs to be scrapped in favour of one that takes affected local communities into confidence — ideally via public hearings where the government and the investor will make public commitments. That won't be enough, however, since the best laid plans, in this context, can be subverted by corrupt monitoring agencies and administrators. This has in fact happened in India. From the BDO upwards, Indian administration has usually treated local communities as fodder for salary supplementing enterprises. The only solution is to take away the power to intervene, by giving the onus of monitoring industrial projects to local communities. This itself will not be problem-free. But hardly any solution in public policy is. It will, however, have the great virtue of situating all outcomes in the matrix of local democracy, automatically improving accountability. For a start, Jogi can ask the communities around the Balco plant what they would like.

THE SUNDAY

14 MAY 2001

# Dabhol Phase II should be scrapped: Godbole panel

By Our Mantralaya Correspondent

MUMBAI: The Maharashtra government on Friday told Enron's top brass that it wanted the power company to continue its operations at Dabhol, albeit only the 750 MW Phase I project.

While the Madhav Godbole committee held talks with Enron officials at Hong Kong House in south Mumbai, Maharashtra's chief secretary V. Ranganathan called on governor P.C. Alexander to apprise him about the latest developments.

During talks with Enron, the Godbole panel is believed to have made it amply clear that Phase II, with a net capacity of 1,444 MW, which was "expensive", needed to be jettisoned. It insisted that the Liquefied Natural Gas facility be de-linked from the power plant in a bid to bring down the tariff for the power purchased by the

Maharashtra state electricity board (MSEB).

The committee also told Enron officials that the state was passing through a grave financial crisis and sought its assistance in hammering out an "honourable" settlement to the contentious issue.

"Presently, the government is struggling hard to come out of a financial crisis. Only last year, the Maharashtra government paid the MSEB a staggering Rs 3,000 crore to meet the latter's financial obligations to Enron. This has had an adverse impact on the development plan," a senior state official told this newspaper after participating in the talks with Enron. However, that much-hyped meeting could not come up with a concrete, time-bound policy to resolve the crisis for several reasons.

Firstly, talks were hampered

because of the absence of a majority of members of the Godbole panel. While finance secretary S.K. Srivastava, energy secretary Vinay Mohan Lal and MSEB chairman Vinay Bansal and Mr Godbole were present, two nominees appointed by the Union government—India's solicitor-general Harish Salve and former IAS officer A.V. Gokak—were not present.

Four other nominees—HDFC chairman Deepak Parekh, Dr E.A.S. Sarma, Dr Rajendra Pachauri and Kirit Parekh—were also absent at the meeting. The Enron team, on the other hand, attended in full force.

Secondly, the first meeting was, as a senior civil servant pointed out, a preliminary exercise aimed at exploring avenues for a sustained dialogue. "We didn't expect any wonders in the very first round of talks," said the official.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

12 MAY 2001



# PM meets ministers on divestment

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 10. - A day after the government decided to allow private sector entry and FDI in many sectors including defence production, banks and telecom, the Prime Minister held a meeting with the home, finance and disinvestment ministers today, triggering speculation of an imminent push on the disinvestment front.

The meeting is significant because it took place soon after the end of the Balco stir which had virtually held back the disinvestment drive.

There was no official word on the agenda or outcome of the meeting. Even Mr Arun Shourie remained tightlipped but for a remark that he had briefed the Prime Minister, scheduled to go abroad on Sunday, on the disinvestment front.

The meeting also assumes significance because of late, a section of the Sangh Parivar, notably its trade union wing BMS, has been trying to resist the Centre's disinvestment policy.

There is also considerable speculation on the likely fall-out of the poll outcome on the disinvestment front.

Also in the news was the recent blacklisting by Sebi of Sterlite, Videocon and BPL, which have stake in the divestment plans of Hindustan Copper, Hindustan Zinc, Indian Airlines and VSNL.

Mr Shourie might have briefed the Prime Minister about the advice he received from the law ministry on the question of the participation of the blacklisted firms in the divestment process.

The disinvestment ministry is expected to soon come out with guidelines in this regard and

## GOVT SLAMMED FOR OPENING UP DEFENCE

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 10. - The Opposition has criticised the government's decision to open up defence production to the private sector with 26% FDI. It has accused the Centre of "compromising national security and moving towards privatising the PSUs in the defence sector".

The Congress spokesman, Mr Jaipal Reddy, said the "carefully-worded government announcement", in effect, "is a ploy to back-door privatisation of the PSUs in defence production which employs thousands of workers". He said: "The government, which is trying to privatise diplomacy through Hindujas, is now trying to privatise the defence sector". Mr Reddy said the government's justifying the move on the ground that it was buying defence products from private firms abroad "was not justifiable or as easy as it sounds given the fact that India has many PSUs in the defence sector which employ thousands of employees".

The CPI-M politburo said the decision which "is fraught with serious consequences... will compromise national security". The politburo, citing the Enron project, opposed the decision to open up the pharmaceutical and airport sectors to 100% FDI. It demanded the "rescinding of these decisions", while calling for taking up these matters "for a through discussion in Parliament".

The CPI central secretariat said the AB Vajpayee government "is continuing its mad spree of opening up the Indian economy to the foreign capital with some obnoxious decisions that would have far reaching consequences for national economy and our defence preparedness". The party said the decision to raise the FDI limit to 49% in banks "is far more serious than the privatisation of the nationalised banks that the government has been threatening because the decision has left our national resources at the disposal of the foreign capitalist who can always manage to take over effective control of the banks with domestic front companies".

The Aituc general secretary, Mr KL Mahendra, said the decisions will "increase the security risk and endanger our country's defence". Condemning the ongoing efforts to privatise PSUs, Mr Mahendra pointed out that "rate of growth of GDP, which stood at 5.8 at the beginning of liberalisation, has managed to grow only up to 6.4 per cent during the 10 years of economic reforms". He added the 0.8% increase in GDP "could have been reached without the sacrifices made in the public sector".

therefore Mr Shourie might have sought the advice of Mr Vajpayee and his senior ministerial colleagues in this regard.

With an ambitious Rs 12,000 crore annual target to achieve, the disinvestment ministry is eager to make progress.

THE STATESMAN

11 MAY 2001

# Action plan to ride out slowdown

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, May 10: Finance minister Yashwant Sinha today promised a concrete action plan without "substantial tax sops" to crank up demand in the economy and ride out the hump because of the industrial slowdown.

"We will create a policy framework for the industries but we cannot provide substantial (tax) concessions. Nor is it necessary to provide free lunches", Sinha said after emerging from a series of meetings with top honchos from the world of automobiles, cement and construction — three of the sectors that have been roiled by the slowdown.

Officials said the cornerstones of the plan are likely to be the creation of cheaper consumer credit delivery systems and cheaper export finance and guarantees.

Industry barons like Ratan Tata of the Tata group, Rahul Bajaj of Bajaj Auto, Jagdish Khattar of Maruti Udyog, and ACC chief M.L. Gupta were huddled

## KICKSTARTING GROWTH

### CORNERSTONES OF THE PLAN

- Cheaper consumer credit delivery systems
- Cheaper export credit and guarantees systems
- Govt raises but any further tax concessions

### SECTORAL DEMANDS

- Automobile makers seek ban on all vehicles more than 12 years old in all metros
- Cement and construction sectors seek quick completion of expressway projects and tax sops for building houses



Sinha: No free lunches

with finance ministry officials for over three hours to decide the contours of the proposed plan.

Sinha said the government had deliberately chosen to talk to the auto, construction and the cement sectors because they had taken the biggest hits in growth rates last year. Even this year, the index for industrial production for the month of February rose by a piffling 0.6 per cent, compared

credit and tax sops to help people buy cars and build houses, so we need to work with bankers on this," a top finance ministry official said.

Tata told reporters that the meeting was "all about demand generation", adding the way out of the current impasse was the "need to have cheaper finance in the marketplace."

Ministry officials said they were willing to help by trying to persuade the banks to shovel out cash at cheaper rates but ruled out any further tax concessions since revenue collections have been way below expectations. As a result, the fiscal deficit has shot up to 5.3 per cent of the GDP.

Besides cheaper finance, the automobile industry representatives sought a ban on plying any vehicle, commercial or passenger, more than 12 years old in metropolitan cities, Rahul Bajaj told reporters.

The auto industry, which was also represented by Ford chief Philip Spender and Hyundai managing director Y.S. Kim, also sought help by way of cheaper and

more liberal export finance. Bajaj said he had made it clear that the government still needed to do far more to help Indian industry beat world competition abroad "the way the US does."

The government had promised in the budget a higher rate of depreciation for commercial vehicle purchases this financial year. Late tonight, it notified that the depreciation rate would be increased to 50 per cent from the current level of 40 per cent.

Bajaj also sought 25 per cent depreciation on two-wheelers for individual buyers so that, "consumers would be encouraged to buy new vehicles." But ministry officials said this might be difficult to concede.

Cement industry representatives who included heads of Birla Cement and ACC also sought greater tax sops for those building houses besides quicker implementation of the government's planned golden quadrilateral expressway project. "That should boost demand," Gupta said.

Learning from the BALCO misadventure

# Dialogue and divestment

**D**RIVING through Chhattisgarh some years back, I was struck by its lush landscape. My thoughts were interrupted only by the occasional mongoose that darted across the dirt road, the odd deer that peered from behind a eafy shrub, or a snake that slithered by. And the screeches of hawks dominated most other bird calls as they swooped down to pick up critters. While larger animals have been sighted in Chhattisgarh's forests, one mainly sees snakes and hawks there, much as they dominate the political landscape.

The dance between snakes, hawks, and sundry critters is similar to the one that has just played out by the cast of the BALCO privatisation adventure. The small critters had the weakest roles. The snakes and hawks dominated the scenes. Two sets of actors have a stake in BALCO: the workers employed at BALCO, and the people of India—all of whom own India's PSUs. It is these two actors who should have the title roles in the present privatisation imbroglio. Instead, these actors have been hounded off stage by a cast of snakes and hawks. Participation in decision-making at the local level is increasingly encouraged. In many parts of India, the transformation of the panchayat has paved the way. With local decisions increasingly more transparent, women and Dalits are able to participate more effectively than ever in these arenas.

In a very different arena, international labour and environmental organisations are making similar demands. The protests at the WTO meetings in Seattle, and at the meetings of the Americas in Canada, have really been demands by those 'outside the gates' to be heard. Whatever the merit of their specific proposals and protestations, few would argue that the fundamental impulse behind these protests is not worthwhile. We need to hear many more voices in our increasingly globalised world.

At the same time as the world is

shrinking, the voices in the political/policy arena are growing exponentially. And a very significant proportion of these voices have Indian accents. There is a real danger that lobby groups and special interest organisations, which are not internally democratic, will hijack the process. However, the glare of international media is our best protection here. And of course the energetic debate in Internet chat-rooms offers us additional, if occasionally uncivil security. But if inclusion and engagement is possible at the local level and is beginning to emerge at the international level, it has sadly been missing in India when we



VIBHA PINGLE

**The challenge is to find creative ways of engaging the worker and citizen in the privatisation process. The BALCO misadventure has highlighted what needs to be done**

start discussing divestment. The only voices heard are those of politicians driven by desires to build a mass base and trade unionists seeking to maintain their power. Together they brand the remaining voices as 'misguided', 'bourgeois', or 'anti-nationalist'. Why does protecting bricks and mortar at the expense of economic growth constitute patriotism? Is not protecting the interests of the workers at the plant and ensuring that the voices of the 'people' are heard what patriotism and democracy should be about? Where are the workers' and citizens' voices?

Who are our watchdogs when privatisation is the issue? For too long we have been encouraged to believe that trade unions are our watchdogs. Unfortunately these organisations seem to do little to protect the interests of the average worker. Their primary allegiance tends to be with

national federations and political parties.

To counter this, India needs to strengthen regulatory bodies at the sectoral level to monitor the divestment process. Economic reforms have been frequently regarded as largely rolling back the government. It does involve scaling back the government, but it also involves restructuring the government. It requires strengthening regulatory commissions and monitoring agencies. It would help if the regulatory agencies reviewing privatisation included businessmen (with an established track record), concerned NGOs, environmental groups and civil servants. This would ensure

The nature and structure of the sector of which the PSU is a part influences the specific form of privatisation appropriate to it. This is where having a sector-specific regulatory commission reviewing the privatisation process would help.

The process of BALCO's privatisation adventure was flawed in multiple ways. To begin with, the process was not transparent. There are sound arguments in favour of divestment. Secrecy only undermines the government's stated agenda. The lack of transparency with regard to BALCO encouraged sundry hawks and snakes to enter the arena. Their voices are now heard the loudest. But it is their voices that we have been hearing for the past half a century at the expense of those of the citizens and workers. Their voices are the ones that ought to be drowned out. But once the snakes and hawks dominate the stage it is that much harder to move the privatisation process forward.

Hopefully the government will not repeat the mistakes it made with BALCO. Whether or not the government learns from this misadventure, India's NGOs need to provide better platforms to average citizens and to the workers at PSUs to express themselves and make themselves heard above the din. While sector-specific regulatory commissions would provide concerned organisations and interests with an arena in which to engage in discussion and ultimately to help define the process of privatisation, civil society organisations need to get involved as well.

The local and international political landscapes are slowly but surely changing in the direction of more inclusion and participation. The challenge before us is to find creative ways of engaging the average worker and citizen in the privatisation process. The BALCO misadventure has helped highlight what needs to be done. Is the government up to this?

*The writer is an assistant professor of Sociology at the University of Notre Dame*

INDIAN EXPRESS

11 MAY 2001

## FINANCE MINISTRY TURNS DPC'S PLEA FOR APPOINTMENT OF A THIRD CONCILIATOR

# Centre rejects Enron's proposal

BY OUR CORRESPONDENTS  
IN MUMBAI AND NEW DELHI

May 10: The appointment of third conciliator may deepen the controversy over the Enron promoted Dabhol project with Centre turning down Dabhol Power Company's plea for appointment of the third conciliator by London Court of International Arbitration or International Chamber of Commerce to resolve the payment dispute with Maharashtra State Electricity Board.

The finance ministry rejected the DPC proposal and put the view that the third conciliator should be appointed by the two conciliators named by the Government of India and DPC.

Favouring appointment of an Indian for the job, Centre also rejected the DPC demand that the third conciliator should not be a national of India or of the US, officials said, adding that

such a stipulation (about nationality) is not absolutely necessary. Finance ministry conveyed to DPC that the appointment of the third arbitrator be left to the two conciliators or be selected by an institution based in India like the Indian council of arbitration or the International Centre for Alternate Dispute Resolution.

Maharashtra chief minister Vilasrao Deshmukh said the views held by DPC on re negotiating PPA with MSEB would be conveyed to the state government by Godbole committee, which is slated to meet US energy major representatives on Friday.

Mr Deshmukh said in Mumbai that the state government had empowered the Godbole committee to renegotiate the controversial power purchase agreement on its behalf with DPC.

Meanwhile, the Maharashtra government and state electricity board have refuted all charges levelled against them by the DPC in separate

replies to the four international arbitration notices slapped on them by Enron.

The replies, which were dispatched to DPC on May eight by the state and MSEB, categorically deny the allegations mooted by the company, official sources said. "Instead, it is DPC which has to adjust the amount from the Rs 401 crores penalty slapped on it by MSEB for its February 28 default," the sources said. The state government, which replied to three notices, including non-compliance of state support agreement and supplemental state support agreement, has said that "since MSEB had already denied DPC's charges over non-payment, the question of the state paying on its behalf did not arise".

Meanwhile, Swadeshi Jagran Manch convenor Ravindra Mahajan said the group will be holding a seminar in Delhi at the end of May, in which "we will take up the Enron issue with the Central government".

## 'Talks with Enron on tariff a fraud'

BY OLGA TELLIS

Mumbai, May 10: The discussion on tariff charged to the Maharashtra State Electricity Board by the Dabhol Power Company between the renegotiating committee and Enron will be based on flawed, fraudulent and inflated costs, Centre of Indian Trade Unions claimed on Thursday.

Enron's former managing director Rebecca Mark who negotiated the Dabhol power project in the early nineties had offered the 10,000 MW liquified natural gas-based power project with regassification at 4.9 cents per unit.

Dabhol has been charging seven cents, a clear difference of two and a half cents or an additional Rs 2,000 crores per year.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions which is in possession of a copy of this letter ques-

tions the very basis on which the renegotiation committee is going to discuss tariff and said it can only be vitiated and can have serious implications on any negotiations.

Mr Vivek Monteiro, secretary CITU, Maharashtra told *The Asian Age* that "fraudulent and flawed tariff calculations provide the base matrix for corruption on a scale unprecedented in our nation's history. A one paise increase in Dabhol Power Company Phase II tariff translates into a Rs 17 crores extra earnings. A rupee one difference in tariff translates into Rs 1,700 crores per year. It must be remembered that the power purchase agreement is a 20 year contract.

So if this renegotiating committee brings down the project say by Rs 500 crores per year it would still leave a difference between what Dabhol Power Company is

charging and what Ms Mark offered, a difference of more than Rs 2,000 per year, which leaves a lot of room for corruption." So the issue as the Centre of Indian Trade Unions posts it is "how can you negotiate on bogus figures? Therefore a judicial enquiry and proper financial audit is where the whole process should start. Something illegitimate cannot be negotiated upon," Mr Monteiro said.

Mr Monteiro said the cost of the project is as yet undetermined. The project does not have an approved financial package. As per Energy Review Committee documents in the possession of the renegotiating committee, the project does not have any approved financial package.

The implications on the power purchase agreement of an invalid tariff approval are extremely serious, said Mr Monteiro.

**REFORMS HIGHWAY: GOVERNMENT GIVES NEW DIRECTION TO OLD ECONOMY**

THE ASIAN AGE

11 MAY 2001

# Not quitting: Sinha

By Alok Mukherjee

NEW DELHI, MAY 9. There was wild speculation here today that the Union Finance Minister had resigned — till Mr. Yashwant Sinha himself clarified that he had not and had no intentions of doing so.

The speculation was triggered by a news report in a financial daily that Mr. Sinha was contemplating resignation because of the "barbs" he had received from the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh (the trade union affiliate of the BJP) chief, Mr. Dattopant Thengadi. The report also quoted sources close to Mr. Sinha as saying that he would like to make a graceful exit from the Ministry rather than fight the Sangh Parivar on each and every issue.

The talk about Mr. Sinha being divested of the Finance portfolio has been cropping up periodically and some people close to him say that "vested interests, including from within the Finance Ministry keep getting at him at intervals." Various instances are quoted to emphasise this point, including the latest "leak" from the Ministry that the fiscal deficit target had slipped drastically.

Though the final figures are not yet out, the slippage seems to be just a few decimal points from the target of 5.1 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Yet it is being made out that the management of the economy has gone haywire. What is being forgotten is that in the past it has happened that a 4.7 per cent fiscal deficit target has ended up at 7.4

per cent by the end of the year. Yet, no one demanded the then Finance Minister's scalp," said a confidante.

The sources also refer to other incidents when attempts were made to embarrass him, as was done last year when the tax treaty with Mauritius was brought up and his daughter-in-law was also dragged into the controversy.

This time, the ostensible reason for "departure" of Mr. Sinha from North Block is said to be the Sangh Parivar's ire against the policies being pursued by him. But his confidants point to the fact that the policies are those of the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and of the NDA Government. "No Finance Minister can run his independent economic agenda. It has to have the sanction and blessings of the Prime Minister and the approval of the entire Cabinet. Then why the ire against one individual?"

The Sinha camp followers also refer to stories about the likely replacements for the Finance Minister. The two names that have been mentioned are those of the Andhra Pradesh Governor, Dr. C. Rangarajan, and the former Director of the London School of Economics, Dr. I.G. Patel. These two names have been in circulation from the time of Dr. Manmohan Singh as Finance Minister, but what has intrigued the Sinha camp is that these two eminent economists are more pro-liberalisation than Mr. Sinha. Now, would that satisfy the Sangh Parivar, they ask.

THE HINDU

MAY 10 1998

Economic Times

AHMEDABAD | BANGALORE | KOLKATA | CHENNAI | HYDERABAD | MUMBAI | NEW DELHI



SHOCKS OFF GENNEXT REFORMS



Mr. Upto present the Budget for the year 2001-2002.

The Indian economy has continued to exhibit growth and resilience that have characterized its performance in the past few years.

While economic reforms have placed the country on a much more secure and sustained growth path, we still have some serious concerns and cannot afford to be complacent.

Private investment is constrained due to high real interest rates and inadequate infrastructure. The broad strategy of the budget, therefore, with this objective of growth in mind is to ensure:

Acceleration of the privatisation process and restructuring of public enterprises. Revenue enhancement through widening of the tax base and administration of a fair and equitable tax regime.

Provision of adequate credit flow is critical for agricultural production. Total credit flow to agriculture through institutional channels of commercial banks, cooperative banks and regional rural banks is estimated to have reached a level of Rs 51,500 crore this year.

Improving the quality of power supply in villages, augmentation of distribution networks in rural areas supported by REC under the Accelerated Power Development Programme.

growth of the agricultural sector. I propose the following:
1. The operation of the Rural Infrastructure Development Fund (RIDF), set up in 1993-94 with NABARD, has been very successful in upgrading rural infrastructure with about 10,000 projects sanctioned so far.

1. am also asking the banks to provide a personal insurance package to the KCC holders as it often done with other credit cards, to cover them against accidental death or permanent disability, upto maximum amount of Rs 50,000 and Rs 25,000 respectively.

NABARD and SIDBI were asked to link one lakh Grouped Households during the current year. NABARD by itself is well poised to exceed this target by the end of next month.

11. This scheme will enable small farmers to enhance their holding capacity in order to set up a package of soil and input testing facilities and other consultancy services. They will strengthen transfer of technology and extension services and also provide self-employment opportunities to technically trained persons.

12. With the diversification and modernisation of agricultural practices, there is a need to augment support and extension services for issue necessary directions in this regard after consultations with the State Governments.

13. There is a significant potential of improving crop productivity in the Eastern and North Eastern regions through crop diversification and adoption of improved technologies.

14. I am also happy to inform the House that I have provided Rs 38 crore for the Technology Mission for Integrated Development of Horticulture in the North-Eastern States.

15. In my last Budget, I had announced the launching of a new scheme, the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) with the objective of undertaking time bound programmes to fulfill the critical needs of the rural people.

ing it to float capital gains tax exemption bonds along with NABARD and NHAJ under Section 54 EC of the Income Tax Act.

17. Increased production and rising productivity makes the proper management of the food economy more critical than ever before.

18. The agricultural sector continues to be constrained by the existence of a number of inhibiting controls and regulations.

19. Government therefore proposes to review the operation of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955 and remove many of the restrictions that have been imposed on the free inter-State movement of foodgrains and agricultural produce.

20. I believe that this issue is now so important that it needs urgent discussion throughout the country.

21. Although all of these losses are borne by the State Governments, I have to express my concern on this issue since this is a massive national loss and affects Central Government undertakings also.

22. The most vital element of the reform process is the restoration of financial viability of the State Electricity Boards (SEBs).

23. Although all of these losses are borne by the State Governments, I have to express my concern on this issue since this is a massive national loss and affects Central Government undertakings also.



IS IT A GREAT LEAP INTO THE NEW MILLENNIUM?

100 per cent budgeting for installation of 100 per cent metering by December 2001.

Energy audit at all levels. Specific programme for reduction and even-elimination of power theft.

Tariff determination by SERCs and compliance thereof.

Commercialisation of distribution and SEB restructuring.

To demonstrate the importance of this task, the Prime Minister will hold a meeting of State Chief Ministers on March 3, 2001.

MOUs have already been entered into with 1500 crore next year from a level of Rs 1,000 crore this year.

Priority under APDP would be given to those states that undertake such reform. The key to restoration of financial viability is reform of distribution.

26. In order to help accelerate the reform process in the power sector and to unify all existing central legislations in the sector, my colleague the Minister for Power will introduce the Electricity Bill 2001 within this session.

27. The Plan outlay for central sector power utilities is being raised from Rs 9,194 crore this year to Rs 10,030 crore for 2001-02.

28. The National Highway Development Programme (NHDP) represents a new road vision for this country.

29. The cess has paved the way for integrated road development in the country.

30. Another area of success is in the telecommunications sector.

31. By March 2001, overall teledensity is expected to reach 3.5 per hundred.

32. Looking ahead, having recognised the imperatives of technological change in this area, the Government proposes to introduce the Convergence Bill to cover telecommunications, information technology, and information and broadcasting sectors in an integrated manner.

33. Coming to the port sector, I am glad to report that policy initiatives designed to increase private sector participation in ports have also been successfully implemented.

totaling 600 Kms. The balance portion is expected to be awarded by the middle of this year.

34. Ennore port has already been corporatised and Jawahar Lal Nehru Port in New Mumbai is next, and with experience, other major ports can also be corporatised.

35. A great deal of progress has been made over the last few years in pursuing reforms in the financial sector and capital markets.

36. The Indian equity market is the oldest in Asia. Since the creation of SEBI much greater transparency as well as automation has been introduced.

37. In order to further develop a transparent and active debt market in general, and the Government securities market in particular, I propose to take the following measures:

38. I propose to set up a small group comprising the Reserve Bank of India, SEBI, the stock exchanges and Ministry of Finance to monitor and implement these developments so that the debt market becomes active next year.

39. Banking sector reforms have proceeded ahead in a phased manner over the past decade.

40. I also propose to bring in a legislation that will facilitate foreclosure and enforcement of securities in cases of default in order to enable the institutions to realise their dues.

41. In the light of new competition in the banking sector, it is necessary to strengthen the management of the public sector banks.

42. Debt Recovery Tribunals (DRTs) and 5 Appellate Tribunals have been established.

43. More DRTs will be set up during 2001-02.

44. Progressive liberalization has taken place in the provisions relating to foreign investment.

45. I am convinced that some change is imperative in this legislation.

46. The Reserve Bank of India will be issuing these guidelines separately.

47. As Hon'ble Members are aware, Government had in November 1997, notified the details of dismantling of the Administered Pricing Mechanism (APM) in the petroleum sector.

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43. Investments in Registered partnership firms and companies providing professional services have not, so far, been permitted to make overseas investments.

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46. The Reserve Bank of India will be issuing these guidelines separately.

47. As Hon'ble Members are aware, Government had in November 1997, notified the details of dismantling of the Administered Pricing Mechanism (APM) in the petroleum sector.

48. Hon'ble Members will recall that I have in the past referred to the rationalisation of fertilizer pricing with objective of phasing out the existing retention price scheme (RPS) in the medium-term.

49. Government is committed to complete decontrol of sugar. But this must be irreversible.

50. The domestic drugs and pharmaceutical industry needs support in order to meet the challenges and to avail of the opportunities arising out of liberalisation of our economy.

51. Government had constituted a high level committee on law relating to revival, reconstruction and/or winding up of companies.

Section 10 of the existing Act envisages prohibition of contract labour in work/process/operation if the conditions set therein like perennial nature of job etc. are fulfilled.

52. Along with these changes, it is also necessary to address the contentious issue of rigidities in our labour legislations.

53. Similarly, rigidities inherent in the existing legislation regarding Contract Labour inhibit growth in employment in many service activities.

54. These measures will promote industrial investment in labour intensive, and export-oriented activities providing for renewed industrial growth, while, at the same time safeguarding the interest of workers.

55. I am conscious of the short-term impact on organized labour force of the on-going liberalization of the economy.

56. The new Credit Guarantee Scheme of August 2000 has been provided budgetary support of Rs 100 crore in the current year.

57. In order to encourage production and employment in this sector, the exemption limit has been doubled to Rs 1 crore from September 1, 2000.

58. The new Credit Guarantee Scheme of August 2000 has been provided budgetary support of Rs 100 crore in the current year.

59. Our small-scale entrepreneurs have proved their competitiveness in providing over 35 per cent of national exports.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST SINGLE FAMILY

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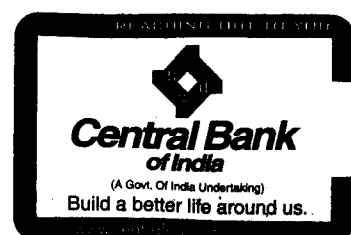








UNION BUDGET 2001-02 FINANCE BILL



Provided further that in case of persons mentioned in sub-item (B) of item (i) above having a total income exceeding one lakh fifty thousand rupees, the total amount payable as income-tax and surcharge on such income shall not exceed the total amount payable as income-tax and surcharge on a total income of one lakh fifty thousand rupees by more than the amount of income that exceeds one lakh fifty thousand rupees.

Paragraph B In the case of every co-operative society—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 10,000, Rs. 20,000, and Rs. 30,000.

The amount of income-tax computed in accordance with the preceding provisions of this Paragraph, or in section 112 or section 113, shall, in the case of every co-operative society, be increased by a surcharge for purposes of the Union calculated at the rate of twelve per cent. of such income-tax.

Paragraph C In the case of every firm,—

Table with 2 columns: Rate of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000.

Paragraph D In the case of every local authority,—

Table with 2 columns: Rate of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000.

Paragraph E In the case of a company,—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for domestic companies and companies with income exceeding Rs. 10,000.

The amount of income-tax computed in accordance with the preceding provisions of item I of this Paragraph, or in section 112 or section 113, shall, in the case of every domestic company, be increased by a surcharge calculated at the rate of thirteen per cent. of such income-tax.

RATES FOR DEDUCTION OF TAX AT SOURCE IN CERTAIN CASES

In every case in which under the provisions of sections 193, 194, 194A, 194B, 194BB, 194D and 195 of the Income-tax Act, tax is to be deducted at the rates in force, deduction shall be made from the income subject to the deduction at the following rates:—

Table with 2 columns: Rate of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Lists various income sources like interest, dividends, and royalties with their respective tax rates.

Table with 2 columns: Rate of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Lists various income sources like lottery winnings, horse races, and royalties with their respective tax rates.

RATES FOR CHARGING INCOME-TAX IN CERTAIN CASES, DEDUCTING INCOME-TAX FROM INCOME CHARGEABLE UNDER 'HEAD SALARIES' AND COMPUTING 'ADVANCE TAX'

In cases in which income-tax has to be charged under sub-section (4) of section 172 of the Income-tax Act or sub-section (2) of section 174 or section 175 or sub-section (2) of section 176 of the said Act or deducted under section 192 of the said Act from income chargeable under the head 'Salaries' or in which the 'advance tax' payable under Chapter XVII-C of the said Act has to be computed at the rate or rates in force, such income-tax or, as the case may be, advance tax [not being 'advance tax' in respect of any income chargeable to tax under Chapter XII or Chapter XII-A or section 115B or sub-section (1A) of section 161 or section 164 or section 164A or section 167B of the Income-tax Act] at the rates as specified in that Chapter or section or surcharge on such 'advance tax' in respect of any income chargeable to tax under section 115A or section 115AC or section 115ACA or section 115AD or section 115B or section 115B or section 115BB or section 115BA or section 115E or section 115JB] shall be charged, deducted or computed at the following rate or rates:—

Paragraph A In the case of every individual or Hindu undivided family or association of persons or body of individuals, whether incorporated or not, or every artificial juridical person referred to in sub-clause (vii) of clause (31) of section 2 of the Income-tax Act, not being a case to which any other Paragraph of this Part applies,—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 50,000, Rs. 60,000, Rs. 1,50,000, and Rs. 1,50,000.

The amount of income-tax computed in accordance with the preceding provisions of this Paragraph or in section 112 or section 113 shall,— (i) in the case of every individual or Hindu undivided family, or association of persons or body of individuals having a total income exceeding sixty thousand rupees, be reduced by the amount of rebate of income-tax calculated under Chapter VIII-A, and the income-tax as so reduced, be increased by a surcharge for purposes of the Union calculated at the rate of two per cent. of such income-tax;

Paragraph B In the case of every co-operative society,—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 10,000, Rs. 20,000, and Rs. 30,000.

Paragraph C In the case of every firm,—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000.

Paragraph D In the case of every local authority,—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for total income up to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000.

Paragraph E In the case of a company,—

Table with 2 columns: Rates of income-tax and Surcharge on income-tax. Includes rows for domestic companies and companies with income exceeding Rs. 10,000.

RULES FOR COMPUTATION OF NET AGRICULTURAL INCOME

Rule 1.—Agricultural Income of the nature referred to in sub-clause (a) of clause (1A) of section 2 of the Income-tax Act shall be computed as if it were income chargeable to income-tax under that Act under the head 'Income from other sources' and the provisions of sections 57 to 59 of that Act shall, so far as may be, apply accordingly. Provided that sub-section (2) of section 58 shall apply subject to the modification that the reference to section 40A therein shall be construed as not including a reference to sub-sections (3) and (4) of section 40A.

Rule 2.—Agricultural income of the nature referred to in sub-clause (b) or sub-clause (c) of clause (1A) of section 2 of the Income-tax Act [other than income derived from any building required as a dwelling house by the receiver of the rent or revenue of the cultivator or the receiver of rent-in-kind referred to in the said sub-clause (c)] shall be computed as if it were income chargeable to income-tax under that Act under the head 'Profits and gains of business or profession' and the provisions of sections 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40, 40A [other than sub-sections (3) and (4) thereof], 41, 43, 43A, 43B and 43C of the Income-tax Act shall, so far as may be, apply accordingly.

of a period other than that previous year, in such other period, any agricultural income and the net result of the computation of the agricultural income of the assessee for any one or more of the previous years relevant to the assessment years commencing on the 1st day of April, 1994 or the 1st day of April, 1995 or the 1st day of April, 1996 or the 1st day of April, 1997 or the 1st day of April, 1998 or the 1st day of April, 1999 or the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001 is a loss, then, for the purposes of sub-section (9) of section 2 of this Act,—

- (i) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1994, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1995 or the 1st day of April, 1996 or the 1st day of April, 1997 or the 1st day of April, 1998 or the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001;
(ii) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1995, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1996 or the 1st day of April, 1997 or the 1st day of April, 1998 or the 1st day of April, 1999 or the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001;
(iii) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1996, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1997 or the 1st day of April, 1998 or the 1st day of April, 1999 or the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001;
(iv) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1997, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1998 or the 1st day of April, 1999 or the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001;
(v) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1998, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1999 or the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001;
(vi) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 1999, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 2000 or the 1st day of April, 2001;
(vii) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 2000, to the extent, if any, such loss has not been set off against the agricultural income for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 2001;
(viii) the loss so computed for the previous year relevant to the assessment year commencing on the 1st day of April, 2001.

Rule 10.—The provisions of the Income-tax Act relating to procedure for assessment (including the provisions of section 288A relating to rounding off of income) shall, with the necessary modifications, apply in relation to the computation of the net agricultural income of the assessee as they apply in relation to the assessment of the total income.

THE SECOND SCHEDULE

- (1) in Chapter 8, for the entries in column (4) and column (5) occurring against each of the sub-heading Nos. 0801.11 and 0801.19, the entries '70%' and '60%' shall respectively be substituted;
(2) in Chapter 9,—
(i) for the entries in column (4) and column (5) occurring against each of the sub-heading Nos. 0901.11, 0901.12, 0901.21, 0901.22 and 0901.90, the entries '70%' and '70% less 13 paise per kg.' shall respectively be substituted;
(ii) for the entries in column (4) and column (5) occurring against each of the sub-heading Nos. 0902.10, 0902.20, 0902.30 and 0902.40, the entries '70%' and '70% less 26 paise per kg.' shall respectively be substituted;
(iii) in Chapter 12, for the entries in column (4) and column (5) occurring against sub-heading No. 1203.00, the entries '70%' and '60%' shall respectively be substituted;
(iv) in Chapter 49, in sub-heading No. 4906.00, for the entry in column (4), the entry '25%' shall be substituted;
(v) in Chapter 50, in sub-heading Nos. 5003.10 and 5003.90, for the entry in column (4) occurring against each of them, the entry '15%' shall be substituted;
(vi) in Chapter 51,—
(i) in sub-heading No. 5111.11, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 135 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(ii) in sub-heading No. 5111.19, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 150 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(iii) in sub-heading No. 5111.20, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 80 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(iv) in sub-heading No. 5111.30, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 75 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(v) in sub-heading No. 5111.90, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 90 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vi) in sub-heading No. 5112.11, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 125 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vii) in sub-heading No. 5112.19, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 155 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(viii) in sub-heading No. 5112.20, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 85 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(ix) in sub-heading No. 5112.30, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 110 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(x) in sub-heading No. 5112.90, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 135 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vi) in Chapter 52,—
(i) in sub-heading Nos. 5202.10, 5202.91 and 5202.99, for the entry in column (4) occurring against each of them, the entry '15%' shall be substituted;
(ii) in sub-heading No. 5208.39, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 150 per kg., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(iii) in sub-heading No. 5208.42, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 37 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(iv) in sub-heading No. 5208.52, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 23 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(v) in sub-heading No. 5208.53, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 35 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vi) in sub-heading No. 5208.59, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 50 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vii) in sub-heading Nos. 5209.31, 5209.32 and 5209.39, for the entry in column (4) occurring against each of them, the entry '35% or Rs. 150 per kg., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(viii) in sub-heading No. 5209.41, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 32 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(ix) in sub-heading No. 5209.42, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 25 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(x) in sub-heading No. 5209.43, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 30 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xi) in sub-heading No. 5209.49, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 150 per kg., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xii) in sub-heading Nos. 5209.51 and 5209.52, for the entry in column (4) occurring against each of them, the entry '30% or Rs. 30 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xiii) in sub-heading No. 5209.59, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 38 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xiv) in sub-heading No. 5210.39, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 150 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xv) in sub-heading No. 5210.42, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 25 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xvi) in sub-heading No. 5210.51 for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 15 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xvii) in sub-heading No. 5210.59, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 15 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xviii) in sub-heading Nos. 5211.31, 5211.32 and 5211.39, for the entry in column (4) occurring against each of them, the entry '35% or Rs. 150 per kg., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xix) in sub-heading No. 5211.41, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 44 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xx) in sub-heading No. 5211.43, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 40 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xxi) in sub-heading No. 5211.49, for the entry in column (4), the entry '35% or Rs. 150 per kg., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xxii) in sub-heading Nos. 5211.51, 5211.52 and 5211.59, for the entry in column (4) occurring against each of them, the entry '30% or Rs. 18 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(8) in Chapter 54,—
(i) in sub-heading No. 5407.41, for the entry in column (4), the entry '25% or Rs. 30 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(ii) in sub-heading No. 5407.42, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 60 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(iii) in sub-heading No. 5407.43, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 67 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(iv) in sub-heading No. 5407.44, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 58 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(v) in sub-heading No. 5407.52, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 38 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vi) in sub-heading No. 5407.53, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 50 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(vii) in sub-heading No. 5407.54, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 20 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(viii) in sub-heading No. 5407.61, for the entry in column (4), the entry '25% or Rs. 150 per kg., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(ix) in sub-heading No. 5407.69, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 60 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(x) in sub-heading No. 5407.72, for the entry in column (4), the entry '25% or Rs. 24 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xi) in sub-heading No. 5407.73, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 60 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;
(xii) in sub-heading No. 5407.74, for the entry in column (4), the entry '30% or Rs. 38 per sq. mtr., whichever is higher' shall be substituted;

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# Enron: FM backs State's stance

AGENCIES  
MUMBAI, MAY 9

UNION Finance Ministry has upheld the Maharashtra Government's decision not to provide escrow cover and increase the limit under letter of credit to Enron-promoted Dabhol Power Company (DPC) as per the demand of the energy major's global and domestic lenders last week.

In the reply, sent to the lenders including IDBI yesterday, the Ministry has communicated the State Government's refusal to "tow the line" to an array of "diktats" put forward by them to Union Finance Secretary Ajit Kumar, State Government sources told PTI here today. A copy of the reply was faxed to the State Government this afternoon, they said. "We are pleased to note that the Centre has upheld our

view and let justice prevail," a senior bureaucrat said. In a letter dated May 1 to Kumar, the consortium of banks—ABN Amro, Credit Suisse First Boston, Citibank N A, ANZ Export Finance Ltd and Bank of America—and IDBI had asked for payment of the disputed Rs 213 crore December and January bills, an escrow cover, increase in the letter of credit amount and "henceforth" honour the counter-guarantees and its obligations in the power purchase agreement (PPA).

The Centre has also reiterated State Government's strong exception over the non-payment of December and January bills of Rs 213 crore as it had opted for resolving by way of arbitration, the process for which would be on soon in London. Meanwhile, the State yesterday appointed Singapore-based lawyer Quentin Loh as its representative

for the three arbitration cases and MSEB would be represented by former Bombay HC judge M L Pendse. Over Maharashtra Government's stand on the Escrow cover, the official justified its refusal to activate the same and said "given the circumstances presented by DPC for invoking the political forced majeure, how can we even think of even granting them such concessions like escrow and increased limit in LC."

Interestingly, the Centre has also made no specific changes in Maharashtra and its electricity board (MSEB) reply and forwarded it to the lenders, the official added. In May 6 reply, both the state and MSEB had expressed their surprise by the financial institutions' belief that the board's Rs 401 crore penalty on DPC was 'frivolous' and should be withdrawn.

INDIAN EXPRESS

# More import tariffs to protect farmers

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MAY 9.** The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today reassured farmers that import tariffs on agricultural products could be raised further to protect their interests. Though the markets had been opened to imports after lifting of the quantitative restrictions, customs duties had already been raised to a high level. "We can hike the customs duty further to provide a cushion to farmers," he said.

Addressing a rally after dedicating the Jamnagar-Loni LPG pipeline, longest of its kind in the world, to the nation, he said domestic markets were opened to foreign goods due to compulsions of an agreement signed by the previous Government. Even so, the high customs duties would make the imports costlier.

These include hike in the duties on tea, coffee, copra, coconut and desiccated coconut oil in the 2001-2 Budget from 35 to 70 per

cent. The duty on crude edible oils was also up from 35 to 55 per cent to 75 per cent while levies on refined oils were up from 45 to 65 per cent to 85 per cent.

The Government would move to protect farmers' interests whenever any threat was noticed due to imports. Referring to his recent trip to Iran, he said talks were under way to export surplus foodgrains while importing surplus Iranian oil. On the proposed Iran-India pipeline, he said discussions were on to resolve the problems

dogging it. Earlier, the Petroleum Minister, Mr. Ram Naik, said the pipeline, built at an estimated Rs. 1,250 crores, was completed in less than a year without any cost or time overruns.

Mr. Vajpayee said the economic reforms had created job opportunities adding that many people did not agree with this assessment. Reforms also brought prosperity and progress apart from improving employment avenues.

On development of a road programme to connect all parts of the country through quality roads with special emphasis on rural areas, had been launched. The Centre would take up rehabilitation and widening of the 9 km.-long Loni-Modinagar road.

The 1.7-million tonne capacity pipeline, equivalent to 3.5 lakh domestic cylinders, would be enhanced to 2.5 million tonnes by 2011-12. The pipeline passes through Kandla, Jamnagar, Okha, Hazira and Gandhar to Haryana, Palampur, Ajmer, Jaipur, Piyala, Madanpur-Khadar and on to Loni. The LPG is evacuated at Ajmer and Jaipur in Rajasthan, Piyala in Haryana, Madanpur-Khadar in Delhi and Loni. It is drawn from the Reliance refinery at Jamnagar and the Indian Oil Corporation's import unit at Kandla.



The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, dedicating to the nation the LPG pipeline at Loni, Uttar Pradesh on Wednesday. Others from left are Mr. Kairaj Mishra, Mr. Rajnath Singh, Chief Minister, and Mr. Vishnukant Shastri, Governor. — Photo: Anu Pushkarna

# India all set to transform commerce in developed world

Under a few months ago, Marc Volleweider was a partner in the Delhi office of McKinsey. Volleweider, who is Swiss, is still in Delhi, but in a line of business that sounds almost plebeian by comparison: back-office work. He and his partner (lured from running the Delhi arm of IBM's research centre) have set up Evalueserve, a firm that undertakes various business processes for clients in Europe and North America, offering cheaper, better and faster service than they can deliver themselves.

Volleweider and his partner, Alok Aggarwal, were seduced by an irresistible proposition. First-world companies do lots of things that are expensive and necessary, and yet peripheral to their "core competence". The main requirement for these tasks is an intelligent English-speaking workforce—which India has in abundance, at a small fraction of rich-country wages. So why not ship the work electronically to India, which missed out when the West sent much of its manufacturing to China and other points east? With admittedly suspicious precision, Volleweider has calculated that a typical western bank can outsource 17-24% of its cost base, reducing its cost-to-income ratio by 6-9 percentage points, and in many cases doubling its profits.

Such calculations have created a new industry in India that could, in theory, transform commerce in the developed world. The fuzziest forecasts have come from Michael Detouzos, director of MIT's Laboratory of Computer Science. He reckons that India has some 50m English-speakers who could each earn \$20,000 a year—making a total of \$1 trillion, twice India's current GDP—doing "office work" offered across space and time.

Other predictions are more restrained, but still heady. NASSCOM, thinks India will employ 1.1m people and earn \$17 billion from

what it calls IT-enabled services—what this article will term teleworking—by 2008. A report to the Electronics and Computer Software Export Promotion Council (ESCE), a government body, sees the industry's exports to America growing from \$264m in 2000 to over \$4 billion in 2005. Yet India has been doing white-collar work for the rest of the world long enough to know that reaching targets such as these will not be easy. The new-born industry is already old enough to have tasted failure.

Indian entrepreneurs look at riding the wave, says Sanjay Jain, a partner in Accenture, a consultancy. Earlier waves were the power industry, telecommunications and dotcoms. "Now the latest buzzword is IT-enabled services", he says.

The first riders of this particular wave have been of two types. One is captive operations of big western companies looking to reduce back-office costs without outsourcing. The other is more fleeting arrangements between western clients and subcontractors in India, often brokered by middlemen. The first sort, which provide the bulk of employment in the business, have prospered.

GE Capital Services opened India's first international call centre in the mid-1990s. It now employs more than 5,000 people, whose jobs range from such relatively simple tasks as collecting money from delinquent credit-card users to such complex ones as data-mining.

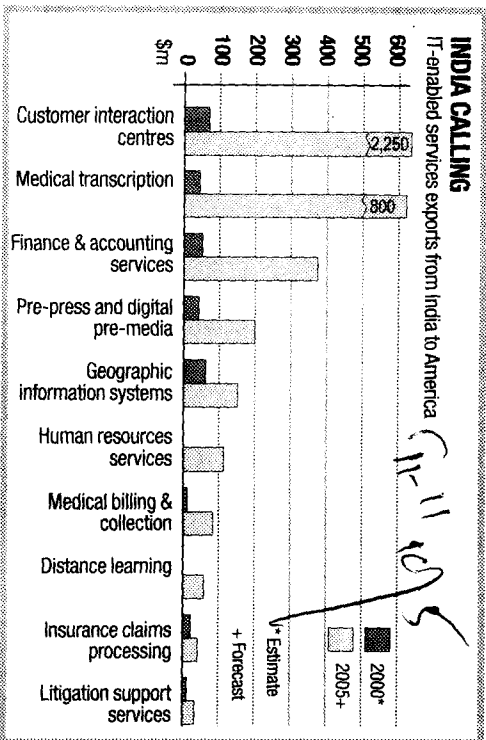
Such companies often save 40-50% by shifting work from their home base to India. The savings may grow, because India's telecoms costs, which are higher than in rich countries,

are falling thanks to liberalisation. Shipping out more sophisticated services could also produce higher savings because the salary gap between, say, an American or an Indian accountant is larger than that between an American high-school graduate and an Indian college graduate doing the same job. Money is not the only attraction. No company will direct white-collar work to India for

that Indian teleworkers outperform Americans in similar jobs because they treat them as serious careers, and also because they are better-educated than their American counterparts, who are often college drop-outs. Shifting office work to India can also provide an opportunity to upgrade technology and service. Citigroup, an American financial affiliate in Mumbai called e-Serve

for more, e-Serve is scouting avidly. British Airways and Swissair are selling services outside their groups. All are eyeing the \$200 billion of business-process outsourcing that Dun & Bradstreet, a research firm, says is farmed out by companies worldwide. They see no reason why India should not claim a big chunk of that. Indian animators are putting virtual flesh on the skeleton ideas of American film makers. Indian lawyers are doing research for British and American firms. Indian engineers are designing construction projects. At the most far-off end of the spectrum, Indian scientists are conducting basic research and development for western firms. In some cases the availability of low-cost, high-quality expertise in India could transform the economics of the industries that they serve.

Recession is less likely to hurt teleworkers, and may even help them. Cuts in IT investment by customers are leaving Indian software programmers idle. But teleworking firms are offering to reduce the cost of back-office processes that are indispensable. Thus, while the notoriously profitless Amazon.com has cut customer-service jobs in Seattle, it has added positions in Gurigaon through Dakash.com. White-collar work may shift to India even faster than some forecasters expect. Consider eService, a teleworking outfit started in 1999 by Gary Wendt, ex-head of GE Capital. Wendt later became boss of Conesco, a financial group in Indiana, and soon persuaded it to buy his Indian firm for \$53m. ExI is now doing a roaring business: Conesco plans to shift 2,000 jobs from Indiana to India, saving over \$30m a year. In America these jobs suffered from high turnover and quality problems over customer service. If moving to ExI solves these problems, as well as saving money, other American companies seem sure to join the stampede that is turning India into the world's back office. (The Economist)



long if it does not get standards of service at least as high as those it is used to at home. Many Indian teleworking bosses claim to raise service quality. eFunds International, part of a company spun off from Deluxe, the biggest American printer of cheques, says that in Gurigaon it has cut the number of errors in data processing for one client by 90%, and also cut the number of days taken to close the clients' monthly accounts from five to three. Rajeev Grover, eFunds head of shared services, says

even own stakes in it. He aspires to the professionalism of a GE or an American Express, but aims to serve many masters. Messrs Volleweider and Aggarwal belong to this breed. So does Sangeev Aggarwal, who set up Dakash.com, a contact centre that now employs 500 people. Yet another is Raman Roy, who left GE Capital Services to set up Spectramind.

Many of the charismatic captives are themselves joining the ranks of the independents. eFunds has landed a second client and is eager

# Doors opened wide for foreign capital

**HT Correspondent**  
New Delhi, May 9

THE VAJPAYEE Government on Wednesday began the second generation of economic reforms with a bang.

It opened up new sectors for foreign investment, raised sectoral caps in a large number of industries and allowed defence production by domestic private companies with up to 26 per cent foreign equity.

The foreign investment limit in the banking sector has also been increased to 49 per cent. This appears to have been done to give a push to economic growth, reverse the deceleration in FDI flows and achieve the avowed target of \$10

billion foreign investment annually.

The sweeping changes in the foreign investment policy is part of the mid-term fiscal strategy earlier suggested by the Prime Minister's Office to the Finance Ministry to achieve an annual GDP growth of 9 per cent.

Briefing newsmen after a marathon Cabinet meeting here, Information Technology and Parliamentary Affairs Minister Pramod Mahajan said the Government has decided to end the status of the defence industries sector as an exclusive domain of the public sector.

"The defence industries will now stand transferred to the licensable category. The Defence

Ministry will, from time to time, announce the areas where private participation will be allowed," he said.

The drug and pharmaceutical sector, airports, township development, hotels and tourism, courier service and mass rapid transport systems will be open to 100 per cent foreign direct investment.

In the telecom sector, FDI up to 74 per cent has been permitted for internet service providers with gateways, radio paging and end-to-end bandwidth.

The banking sector too will be a big beneficiary of the new-wave liberalisation. The FDI limit in banks has been put at 49 per cent from all sources.

Till now, non-resident Indians could invest up to 40 per cent, while FDI up to 20 per cent was permitted.

As a sop to NRI investors, the centre has made all investments made by them in foreign exchange fully repatriable. This is a departure from the past when NRI investments were not repatriable in foreign exchange.

In the drug and pharmaceutical sector, 100 per cent FDI has been allowed.

Besides, such investments will now be put on the automatic route. Also, the stipulation that 26 per cent of equity be offloaded within five years has been done away with.

But the raise in the sectoral cap is not applicable to licensed

drugs and bulk drugs manufactured with DNA technology. Right now, 76 drugs fall under this category.

Hundred per cent FDI funding will be allowed in airport projects, but this will be subject to clearance by the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB). But for FDI up to 74 per cent in airports, no FIPB approval is required and the investment can come in through the automatic route.

Development of townships has also been opened to 100 per cent foreign participation, up from 75 per cent now.

Foreign investors will have to get the FIPB nod and also adhere to land usage guidelines issued by the Urban Develop-

ment Ministry.

Foreign investors will be expected to undertake infrastructure development in their township projects.

Mass rapid transport systems have for the first time been thrown open to 100 per cent foreign investment on the automatic route in all metros. Investors are free to undertake commercial development.

Similarly, the hotel and tourism industry will be allowed to have 100 per cent FDI through the automatic route.

There will be no disinvestment stipulation. Courier services have been allowed to have 100 per cent FDI but they have been debarred from distributing letters.

## OPEN SF-AME

- Defence production opened to private companies
- 26 % foreign equity allowed in defence
- FDI limit raised to 49 per cent in banks
- NRI investors allowed to repatriate in foreign exchange
- 100 per cent foreign investment on automatic route allowed in pharmaceutical sector, airports townships
- 26 % divestment norm in pharmaceuticals removed
- Hotels, tourism, courier services, rapid mass transport system included in 100 % FDI list
- 74 % FDI permitted in ISPs with gateways, radio paging, end-to-end bandwidth

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 MAY 2001

# Balco stir ends, TU agrees to sign pact with management

Our Delhi Bureau  
NEW DELHI 9 MAY

**T**HE OVER two-month-old strike by the Balco workers ended on Tuesday night with the union agreeing to sign a pact offered by the management. The accord envisages two months wages as advance, adjustable against the salary later, no retrenchment, retention of existing service rules and conditions, no victimisation of workers, speedy wage revision and a VRS scheme covering the office staff and the working class.

Earlier in the day, the Supreme Court forced the Chhattisgarh government to go on the defensive on the issue of can-

celling Balco's land deed. The court asked the government to justify its stand in cancelling the land allotment to Balco while permitting such allotment to two other private companies — Daewoo Power and Essar Steel.

The state government told the apex court that similar notices would be issued to Daewoo Power and Essar Steel as well. They would be asked to show cause why their land deed could not be cancelled on the lines of notices given to Balco. While the state government has adopted this posture before the court, it would be a surprise if it actually goes around scrapping the biggest investments in the state.

When contacted, an Essar spokesperson said it has not received any notice so far and the company would respond only after receiving the notice. Earlier, the state government had issued notices to Balco asking it to show cause why its land deed could not be cancelled with the privatisation of the company as the scheduled land was acquired from the tribals for the government-owned company.

Attorney General of Chhattisgarh Ravindra Srivastava informed the three-judge Bench headed by Justice B.N. Kirpal that the state government would act most impartially and Daewoo Power and Essar would be dealt

with similarly. "We do not intend to discriminate. The principle will be uniform and the notices will be issued to Daewoo and Essar also," said Mr Srivastava.

The Bench then issued notices to Daewoo and Essar saying they needed to be impleaded as the outcome of the hearing would affect these two companies.

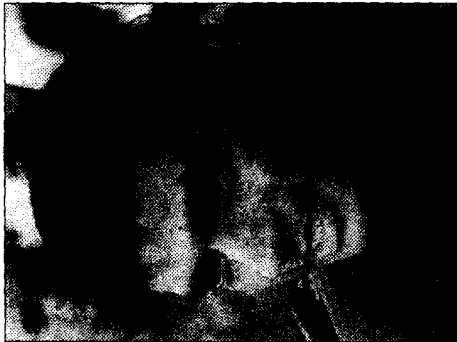
The court directed the Chhattisgarh government to furnish details of the tribal land falling in the scheduled area which were leased out to private parties. The matter would now come up for hearing on July 17.

Meanwhile, the court on Tuesday said its hope that the situation at Balco would improve had

been belied as the workers have rejected the new management's offer to take two months' salary advance and join work. It also said that it could not direct the employees to return to work.

For the Balco management, senior advocate Ashok Desai said the management was still ready to give the two months' salary advance and negotiate all industrial demands with the workers, but not the issue of disinvestment.

Supporting him, attorney general Soli Sorabjee said the workers could not demand that the Balco disinvestment deal be cancelled and a judicial inquiry be ordered into it.



Ajit Jogi: End of the road!



51-8 LF: 515  
(Continued from page 1)

has not been fully reflected. The news magazine said while releasing the results.

On the other hand, The Outlook-CMS poll predicted that the Congress was on the winning side in three of the states going to the polls next week.

In Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK-led front is likely to get 165-175 seats, leaving 60-65 seats to the DMK-led front.

Predicting a close finish in West Bengal, the magazine said the Left's tally is expected to be 145-155 seats, a loss of 47-57 seats from the 1996 poll. The Trinamul-Congress combine is projected to win 129-139 seats.

In Kerala, the UDF is expected to corner 78 to 83 of 140 seats while the LDF is projected to win in 54 to 59 constituencies.

THE STATESMAN

29 MAY 2001

# Railway budget passed without discussion

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, April 20. — For the first time in the history of the Indian Parliament, the Lok Sabha passed the railway budget today without any discussion or amendment to the original proposals tabled in the House on 26 February amidst pandemonium created by the Congress and the RJD whose members refused to participate in the proceedings.

It is a measure of the eroding credibility of the parliamentary system that the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr GMC Balayogi, had to issue a circular to all the Lok Sabha members saying, "Under the prevailing atmosphere in the House, it does not appear possible either to have a discussion on the demands for grants or to move cut motions".

"I am constrained to put straight away the demands for grants in respect to budget (Railways) for the year 2001-2002", the Speaker added in his note to the members before calling the railway minister, Mr Nitish Kumar, to seek approval of the House on the budget proposals of the Railways.

And it took less than 15 minutes for the House to approve the budget demands out one by one item-wise.

That the Congress and the RJD would not allow the House to transact its normal business was clear yesterday when the Leader of the Opposition, Mrs Sonia Gandhi, turned down an appeal by the Speaker to participate in the deliberations at least during the passage of the budgets.

The CPI-M members too joined the chorus of protests and entered the well of the House along with the Congress members albeit for a different reason. "We protest the railway budget being passed without any discussion", said the Left party MPs. The Congress members had different slogans. "We want JPC".

None of the Trinamul Congress members including former railway minister, Miss Mamata Banerjee, who had presented the railway budget in the Lok Sabha in February, was present when Mr Kumar sought the approval of the House on demands of grants for the budget.

When the Lok Sabha reassembled at 3 p.m. after adjournment during Zero Hour, Mr Madhavrao Scindia rose to remind the government that without a policy of "give and take" the ruling alliance should not expect cooperation from the main Opposition party.

As tempers began to soar,

the Speaker called the railway minister to put the demands. The Congress members rushed to the well of the House raising slogans and opposing the government's move to bulldoze the budget on the strength of its brute majority in the House.

The fallout outside the Lok Sabha was equally bitter as the Congress and the BJP accused each other of tarnishing the parliamentary history of the country. The Congress spokesman, Mr S Jaipal Reddy said, "The ruling party has set a bad precedent and I wonder if the BJP should go for treatment for its allergy to JPC".

The BJP on the other hand, while expressing "satisfaction" over passage of the railway budget, expressed regret that it was done in a manner unheard of in Parliament.

The BJP spokesman, Prof VK Malhotra said, "Such shameless demonstration of unruly behaviour of the Congress members inside the House was never witnessed earlier".

As the stand-off between the Congress and the government continues, there is every possibility of the general budget meeting the same fate in the Lok Sabha when demands for grants are placed for approval in the House on Wednesday.

THE STATESMAN

21 APR 2001

# Cong. divided over Enron probe

By Prakash Joshi

The Times of India News Service

MUMBAI: To be tough or not is the question before the Congress party. Faced with the Enron problem, the party seems divided over the state government's handling of the issue.

It may be recalled that the Madhav Godbole committee, which was appointed by the state government to study the deal signed between the state government and Dabhol Power Corporation, recently submitted its recommendations to the Democratic Front (DF) government.

While chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh seems to have adopted a wait-and-watch attitude, the cabinet -- despite a detailed discussion -- failed to reach a conclusion on the Godbole panel's recommendation to renegotiate the deal with Enron. With the curtailment of the seven-week budget session on Wednesday, even the legislative assembly could not discuss the report.

However, according to sources, hawks in the Congress want the government to adopt a tough stand on the issue.

A powerful faction in the Congress wants the government to order a judicial probe into the Enron deal even though this suggestion was not accepted by a majority of members of the Godbole panel. Industries minister Patangrao Kadam is reportedly among those in favour of such a probe.

However, the chief minister's camp does not approve of such an "adventurist" step. It apprehends serious trouble from within the DF combine if such a probe is ordered. However, the anti-Enron lobby within the Congress reasons that if a judicial probe is ordered, then three parties -- the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), the Shiv Sena and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) -- would be in trouble since

their leaders had approved the power project. NCP president Sharad Pawar was the main architect of the first phase of the project, while the more controversial second phase was approved by the Shiv Sena-BJP government.

Sharad Pawar's NCP, a DF partner, is clearly opposed to a judicial inquiry. Even before Mr Godbole submitted his report, Mr Pawar had openly opposed a judicial probe on

the grounds of it being a time-consuming exercise.

However, the Peasants and Workers Party (PWP), the Janata Dal (Secular), the Samajwadi Party -- other partners of the ruling DF -- want a probe. They point out that though there was a split in the Godbole committee on this vital point, the government should order a probe in the larger interest of the state.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

20 APR 2001

20 APR 2001

# PM promises integrity in public life

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 16 APRIL

PRIME MINISTER Atal Behari Vajpayee, on Monday, used a conference of the Comptroller & Auditor-General (CAG) of India to promise acceleration of the reforms process, transparent disinvestment process and better targeting of developmental funds.

"Corruption is the biggest enemy of development. I wish to emphasise our government's commitment to fighting corruption and ensuring probity in administration and in public life," Mr Vajpayee said inaugurating the 21st conference of CAG. His assertions assume significance in the light of charges against the banking sector, financial institutions, stock markets and the privatisation process.

The Prime Minister said CAG had an important role to play in maintaining transparency and accountability as people's expectations from the government were on the rise, necessitating proper use of scarce public resources to produce results. "With the onset of economic reforms, the need for accountability has increased and not decreased," he added. He also expressed government's commitment to greater fiscal responsibility and said it was determined to contain public debt and budgetary deficits.

On privatisation of public sector undertakings, Mr Vajpayee said this had brought about a new situation with regard to accounting.

"An issue that needs debate is the nature of accountability mechanism to be established for companies transferred to private management but where government continues to have a substantial financial stake," he said. Mr Vajpayee added while some control might be necessary in such cases, it should not act as deterrent to the entrepreneurial initiative of the management.



# BMS accuses govt of bowing to WTO will

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 16 APRIL

COMPARING THE government to "an elephant gone berserk," the RSS trade union affiliate Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), on Monday, slammed the country's economic policies as "anti-labour and anti-farmer" and accused the Vajpayee regime of "accelerating PSU selloff and phase-out of quantitative restrictions under pressure from the US and other multilateral agencies."

Addressing a massive rally of BMS workers at the Ramlika grounds here on Monday, Sangh ideologue and founder of the BMS and Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (SJM) Dattopant Thengadi targeted finance minister Yashwant Sinha for "overstepping his jurisdiction" by legalising the contract labour system through his Budget announcement of doing away with mandatory permission for companies to lay off workers if their total workforce was under 1,000.

"Mr Sinha encroached upon the legitimate jurisdiction of the labour ministry by reintroducing the contract labour system," alleged Mr Thengadi.

Attacking the liberalisation policies, Mr Thengadi questioned Mr Sinha if his accelerated reforms had given a major boost to FDI. "How much of the touted FDI has come? Have you reached the targeted growth rate?" he asked. Taking up the workers' pressing issue of disinvestment of PSUs, Mr Thengadi dismissed the Balco deal as "fraudulent and even called for an inquiry into what had led politicians and bureaucrats to "hurriedly" sign the Enron agreement during the Vajpayee government's 13-day rule in 1998.

Describing the selloff of profit-making PSUs as "killing the goose that lays golden eggs," the RSS leader alleged that "most of the bureaucrats are purchaseable and most have already been purchased. We should not allow such anti-nationals to thrive."

The Economic Times

17 APR 2001

# BALCO unions ready for six-month-long strike

The Times of India News Service

RAIPUR: With the tripartite talks on BALCO ending in a deadlock in New Delhi on Monday, the ongoing strike by the company's workers may continue for at least six more months, according to the trade unions.

The state government on Monday evening admitted that there was a deadlock and the talks could not succeed.

Industries minister Mahendra Karma, who represented the Chhattisgarh government in the first round of talks, is returning here on Tuesday. Sources close to Mr Karma said since the Centre was reluctant in revising its stand, the talks could not proceed.

At the same time, chief minister Ajit Jogi clarified that he was neither leading nor involved in the movement by the BALCO workers. He also claimed that it was purely a movement of the workers and they would decide the future course of action.

In the aborted talks, the Sterlite management, which now holds majority stake in BALCO, was not represented on the insistence of the CM and the workers. Though the chairman and managing director of the new management were present in New Delhi, they did not join the talks.

The trade unions representing different political parties met here in the morning and decided to contribute one day's wages to the workers. The labour leaders claimed they had collected one day's wages from all the labour unions throughout the country.

They hope the fund collected by the unions would help enable the strike at BALCO sustain for at least six more months. The Bhilai Steel Plant workers' contribution alone was over Rs 1 crore, the unions claimed.

A group of workers' leaders from New Delhi led by CPM leader Sitaram Yechuri is visiting Korba on April 19 to contribute money for the workers. The unions claim they can easily pay Rs 50 per day to the contract workers for six months.

In the tripartite talks, the seven union leaders representing the BALCO workers supported the state government's stand opposing the disinvestment and insisted that the Centre should either hand over the plant to the Chhattisgarh government for Rs 552 crores or change the share ratio of Sterlite to minority character so that the Centre could keep 51 per cent of the equity.

According to sources in New Delhi, the state government and the union representatives remained adamant on their stand resulting in the deadlock.

Though Union mines minister Sunderlal Patwa, who had initiated the talks on Sunday at the intervention of the CM, tried to persuade the parties to agree to arrive at an amicable settlement to the dispute, he failed in view of the state government's rigid stand on handing over the plant to it or to reduce the equity of the new management.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

17 APR 2001

# FREE TRADE-II

## Social Order Must Be Built From The Base

By AMLAN DATTA

REFERENCE must be made to certain consequences of "population explosion" in the less developed countries, particularly those which are already densely populated, of which India is an instance. With growth of population, the boundaries of human settlement extend, resulting in a strong tendency to cut down trees and reduce forest land, with little attention paid to its long-term damaging consequences. This is a matter for serious concern as it adversely affects rainfall, natural storage and distribution of water and reduces the productive powers of the soil, sometimes to such an extent as to afflict a whole region with the perils of desertification.

In India, the size of population has roughly trebled since Independence. Besides checking the rise in per capita income, this has been an important factor contributing to a steady increase in chronic unemployment and underemployment. This sets a problem which deserves to be deeply thought over afresh.

### TWO TRACKS

For our conventional economists, the most important objective is a higher rate of growth of national income, and the preferred strategy is further liberalisation along with fiscal discipline which would hopefully help achieve a substantial increase in both exports and foreign direct investment. Our imports would also climb up at the same time so that our balance of trade might well continue to remain adverse. A higher rate of growth will not only raise per capita income faster than before and very substantially improve the position of the top 20 per cent of our population, but also pull up the incomes of people lower down. This is the view of an important section of our established economists.

Now, there are elements of truth in the argument sketched above. Our earlier economic policy was based on an "export pessimism" which has turned out to be largely unrealistic. As far as the organised sector of our economy is concerned, there is a strong case for making it export-oriented. As regards the pull-up effect on incomes of people below the top ranks, this can be expected to work for employees who are in a position to organise themselves effectively and voice their demands sufficiently loudly. However, it is an error to believe that we can get rid of the problem of unemployment and underemployment by simply courting a policy of "globalisation", whatever the rate of growth it may produce.

Many of our establishments are overstuffed — a fact often concealed by a poor work culture — and an "exit policy" is imperative to enhance efficiency without which we cannot compete on the world market. Over the next 20 years, whatever the rate of industrial growth, we may hopefully achieve, the problem of unemployment and underemployment is going to stay with us unless we can at the same time carry through a reorganisation of the unorganised or "infor-

mal" sector of our economy, more profound than anything that has occupied the thought of our mainstream economists.

At this point, it will be useful to pause and ponder the consequences of a failure to solve the problem of unemployment and more particularly rural underemployment in India. Thanks

necessary reorientation of conventional economic thought. What we additionally need is an alternative conception of rural reconstruction where locally available surplus labour, depending mainly on locally available resources, can carry out well-coordinated activities aiming chiefly at the satisfaction of urgent local needs, material as well as cultural. To

quote Robertson again, "The 21st century economy must be systematically enabling. Instead of extending dependency, it must systematically foster self-reliance and the capacity for self-development". While the market and the state are the star performers of the formal sector, co-operation and self-reliance must be the hallmarks of the other sector.

Time is running out. People glibly talk of the next millennium. A

millennium is too long a period. We have to think of the next 20 or 30 years to reorganise our economy and society. Two sectors of the economy have to stay side by side.

### LOOMING CRISIS

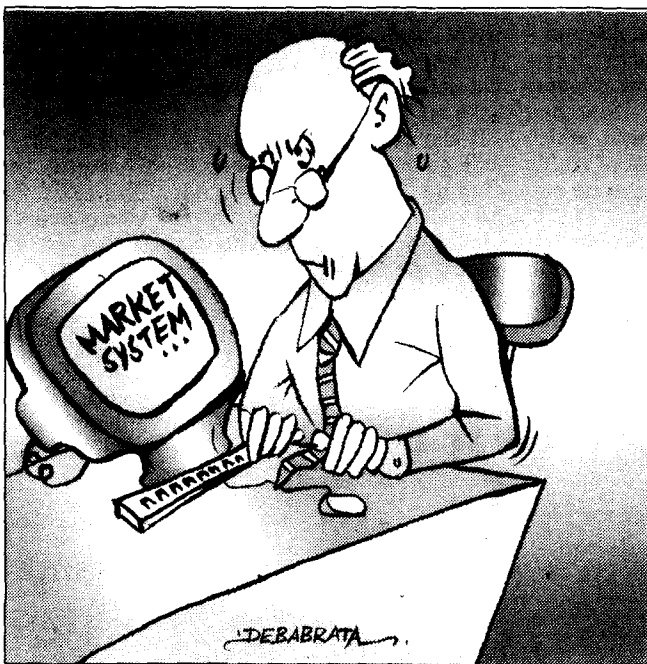
One of these will have to be oriented towards the world market, hospitable to foreign capital, strict in the enforcement of law as the basis of democracy, determined to improve work culture complete with an exit policy to be adopted wherever it is necessary for achieving greater efficiency and a better allocation of resources.

The other sector will have the character of a neighbourhood economy, aiming to provide as much productive work for the local people as possible, basically oriented towards the satisfaction of the needs of the local community rather than distant markets, bent on devising new technology suited to its chosen aims and striving to achieve a "communitarian" character which sweeps aside the barriers of caste and narrow sectarianism, inspired by a vision of positive freedom through wider fellowship. This is not a social order which can be imposed from above, it has to be built up from the base.

Fortunately there are people who have already started working in that direction, although they are still few in number and have not received as much attention from the press and other channels of mass communication as they deserve. Yet the fate of mankind in the 21st century will depend on how much they can achieve rather than on cynics who laugh them out as utopians. Vital to the success of this new experiment is a reorientation of education which puts the stress not simply on literacy, but on the fostering and nurturing of the skills and cultural attitudes required for the building up of this alternative social order.

What we face today is a civilisational crisis, including yet far transcending the question of the wealth of nations. Can political economy reorient itself so as to make its message relevant to the task of overcoming that crisis? Its status in the 21st century depends on the answer to that question.

(Concluded)



to the persistence of the problem, cities receive a larger influx of job-seeking people from rural areas than it can healthily accommodate. A social sickness spreads all over the land, including cities and villages, often taking monstrous forms as it gets entangled with politics and illegal trade. How can we stop this rot? Mainstream economists, preoccupied with the Western model, think in terms of one uniform policy based on the market system for the economy as a whole. But that model has become outmoded while ideas continue to lag behind changing reality.

The Indian economy, in fact the world economy, is a multi-level and multiform economic order. And a policy which is appropriate at one level may be inappropriate at another. This is an idea which needs to be incorporated in our new economic thinking.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Explaining "A New Economics for the 21st Century", James Robertson, whom we have already cited, observes: "The new economic order ... must treat the 21st-century economy as a multi-level one-world economy." He makes a distinction between "an economy for the sane, humane, ecological (SHE) future as opposed to the Hyper-Expansionist (HE) future." It is this HE outlook which provides the main motivation for the currently recognised economists framing recommendations for the future. This does not mean that the ecological or environmental factors are avowedly ignored by these economists, but growth and expansion stay as the overriding objective.

These economists are unable to bring themselves to accept the idea that there is no feasible rate of industrialisation along conventional lines which can remove the insufficiency of jobs for our growing labour force. They seem to have a compulsive need to stay wedded to the idea that the formal sector of which they are an integral part can take care of the problem of unemployment in the foreseeable future or some poverty-alleviation projects can cope with whatever is left over elsewhere.

It is this lingering illusion which stands in the way of the

STATESMAN

02 APR 2001

10 APR 2001

## SOLVING THE MARKET CRISIS <sup>11</sup> <sub>10-12</sub>

THE STOCK MARKET crisis has claimed its first significant victim. Last week the much touted merger between the Global Trust Bank (GTB) and the UTI Bank, two new generation private banks but with vastly different ethos, was called off. Announced in mid-January with a lot of fanfare the merger was intended to create the biggest private sector bank. The decision not to proceed with the merger was taken after the shareholders of the two banks had given their approvals. In normal course the RBI's approval to seal the merger would have been a mere formality. Meanwhile, there have been persistent allegations against the GTB and its top management. Unsavoury links with the now fallen "big bull", Mr. Ketan Parekh, and insider trading have been the two serious charges. The Bank has vigorously denied those and independent investigations by the RBI and the SEBI are still pending. However, by walking out of the merger, the two banks have merely bowed to the reality. The environment is so full of suspicion and innuendoes that there was no way a healthy alliance of the two was possible, even assuming that the GTB and its team comes out clean in the end.

Which brings into focus the central issues of the latest crisis which has its origins in the share market collapse days after the presentation of the Union budget. All of a sudden — and we need to be constantly reminded of the timing — there was a rude awakening that all was not well with the market mechanism and especially the country's best known stock exchange, the Bombay Stock Exchange. What were until that time acceptable — even desirable — practices became suspect with everyone in authority trying to distance themselves from the newly discovered shenanigans and their alleged perpetrators. A case in point of course is the working of the BSE: that its broker-members were occupying

the highest positions in its governing council was not considered odd all these years. Mr. Anand Rathi as president of the BSE could even host an American President and an Indian Prime Minister. Today he stands accused of using his position to tap privileged information for boosting his brokerage business.

Even more spectacular has been Mr. Ketan Parekh's fall. From being a bull who could not make any wrong calls and who could effortlessly access several hundred crores of rupees, he now faces serious charges including one of criminal conspiracy and collusion with an obscure Ahmedabad-based cooperative bank. Most certainly Mr. Ramesh Gelli, chief promoter of the GTB, is also a victim of the changed circumstances. Often referred to as the only entrepreneur among the new private bank promoters, he did take his bank far under most conventional parameters, of profitability, market capitalisation and so on. Today he has to bear the cross of a messed up merger deal, and of being over generous to brokers.

The regulators, the SEBI and the RBI, are accused of inaction. Obviously they share with the rest of the policy machinery responsibility in persisting with the status quo in the market, even after its rotten parts were getting steadily exposed. Yet there is a danger in generalising — and sensationalising — what appear to be manageable problems. A comparison with the 1992 crisis is not justifiable on many counts. Principally there is no evidence now of a banker-broker nexus. Till date only one bank has been affected. Hopefully more incriminating material will not surface. The biggest worry now is the fear, suspicion and mutual recrimination. They can be best contained by a resolute action under existing laws and regulation. The case for a new JPC looks weak at this stage.

SEE HINDI

10 APR 2001

# Supreme Court to hear all Balco cases

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, April 9

THE SUPREME Court will decide the "validity" of the Centre's decision to sell 51 per cent shares in Bharat Aluminium Company (Balco) to Sterlite Industries for Rs 551.5 crore. Transferring to itself three writ petitions filed in different High Courts, the Supreme Court said the matter would be decided by a three-judge Bench.

The decision followed a petition by the Centre seeking transfer to the Supreme Court of all writ petitions on the issue. While moving the apex court, the Centre had also sought intervention for laying down the parameters of judicial review in such matters for avoiding litigation challenging the Government's disinvestment policies.

Allowing the Centre's plea, a

Bench comprising Justice B N Kirpal and Justice Ruma Pal summoned all related records from High Courts while directing the Centre to file its response to the petitions within two weeks.

The petitions the Supreme Court would now be hearing include those filed by the Balco Employees' Union and lawyer B L Wadhwa in the Delhi High Court besides a Balco worker, Suman Singh Kanwar's petition before the Chhattisgarh High Court.

All these petitions had challenged the Government's decision, saying that it was contrary to the Disinvestment Commission's report. It was also contended that the Balco deal did not protect the workers' interest.

Representing the Centre, Attorney General Soli Sorabjee said the Supreme Court would

be the best forum to decide the question of judicial review in view of the public importance of the matter.

He submitted that the Supreme Court could hear writ petitions pending before more than one High Court on the same issue.

Senior counsel Kapil Sibal, who represented the Chhattisgarh Government, however, contended that in many cases the Supreme Court had allowed the High Courts to deal with such issues to get the benefit of their decisions.

Sibal also questioned the Centre's locus standi in the matter as the High Courts concerned have not yet issued notices in response to the petitions before them.

For this reason alone, he maintained, the petitions cannot technically be treated as pending.

*P. B. to K. S. W.*  
*HT 9*  
*11/9*







# FREEL TRADE-I

## The Need For Social Reconstruction

By AMLAN DATTA

SINCE the 1970s two streams of economic thought have been flowing side by side. There is the mainstream, indisputably dominant in academic circles. There is also an alternative stream, regarded with scant respect and scarcely noticed by professional economists.

The mainstream has passed through several "epochs", classical and neo-classical, Keynesian and post-Keynesian. Yet when we look at it in a broad way, we notice that there has been surprisingly little change in its fundamentals. There is a well known French saying which, when rendered in English, reads, "the more it changes, the more it is the same thing." This aptly describes the course of the venerated mainstream of economic thought. It will be useful to dwell on this point a little longer.

The mainstream of political economy stems from Adam Smith, one of the truly most distinguished writers and thinkers that economics has produced. As an exponent of the market economy, his ideas have been accepted as basically valid for the last two hundred years and more.

### LABOUR

Growth of wealth depends on increasing division of labour, which facilitates mechanisation of methods of production, in other words, technological progress, and all these depend on the extent of the market. This is as true of the national economy as of the global economy. This simple argument fits very well with what we today call "globalisation" complete with free trade.

The case for strictly temporary protection for infant industry can be easily accommodated within the broad limits of the economic outlook indicated above. Furthermore it is worth mentioning that Adam Smith carefully noted "a great revolution in the art of war" and went to the extent of justifying certain departures from free trade in the interest of national defence because "defence is of more importance than opulence."

Modern economists pleading for free trade and the market economy yet admit the importance of the role of the government in respect of economic activities. For instance, the government has a special duty and responsibility to help provide the necessary infrastructure for comprehensive economic development. Here, again, Adam Smith stated the basic idea with remarkable clarity. Among the essential duties of the sovereign he included "that of erecting and maintaining those public institutions and those public works, which, though they may be in the highest degree advantageous to a great society, are, however, of such a nature that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals" and which, therefore, could not be left entirely to the care of private enterprise.

It is worth noting that both

*The author, a noted economist, is former Vice Chancellor, Viswa Bharati.*

"public works" and "public institutions" are explicitly mentioned in the statement quoted above. In other words, the sovereign, in modern parlance the government, should not only play a leading role in providing the material infrastructure for promoting trade and industry, but also take an active interest



in advancing such relatively non-material goods as public education and public health. Thus, special reference was made to the duty of the sovereign to maintain "institutions for instruction of two kinds: those for the education of the youth, and those for the instruction of people of all ages".

There are certain kinds of public expenditure which are justified mainly by considerations of social welfare irrespective of their effect on economic growth. Such, for instance, are old-age pensions. The case for investment on education and health, as part of a programme of social security, stands on a different foundation. While it is related to welfare, it also helps increase productivity of labour and so contributes to growth of the wealth of the nation. It is easy, therefore, to include it under the duty of the government to strengthen the infrastructure of economic activities.

### TREND

"Globalisation", as it is understood today, is new in the sense that it is surrounded and supported now by certain organisations for which there were no counterparts in earlier times. But the basic ideas about freedom of trade and a market economy not confined to any particular nation but linking all parts of the globe along with special duties assigned to the state to facilitate the working of this system have been part of the conventional wisdom among professional economists for a long time. India's new economic policy, which had been struggling unsteadily to take shape in the 1980s and was finally adopted in 1991, is in line with this dominant trend of thought which prevails in the East and the West.

The Stalinist challenge which attempted to indicate an alternative path of industrialisation was effectively overcome a generation ago. It has few takers in India today, despite criticism voiced here against the "conditionalities" prescribed by the international lending institutions. The comments of Jagdish Bhagwati, a very distinguished Indian economist, in his book *India in Transition* are worth quoting in this connection. "The reaction of some," writes Bhagwati, "that these (conditionalities) were alien

ideas being imposed by the World Bank and the IMF on India was ludicrous. These ideas had been evolved by some of us ... and had made their way into these institutions."

Does that mean that there is no real alternative to the conventional yet prevailing trend in economic thought? This would be surprising if true. In the last half a century there have been very significant changes in physical and social conditions the world over, bringing along with them new problems which cannot be ignored. These cannot fail to make an impact on the social sciences. Economics claims to be the best organised among the social sciences. Being the most weighty, it may be the hardest to move. But changing circumstances hardly leave it with any real choice: it has to move beyond the horizons set for it by earlier thinkers. The

material changes alluded to above are, in fact, so well known that it will be tiresome to state them at great length. It should be enough to make some brief and illustrative references.

### OIL CRISIS

Although Gandhiji was deeply concerned with the question of a sustainable economy, this received little attention among academic economists of his time. "Conventional economics treats the natural world as an infinite pool of resources and an infinite sink for wastes," so wrote James Robertson in a book significantly entitled *Future Wealth, A New Economics for the 21st Century*. It is only in the wake of the oil crisis of the 1970s that problems associated with non-renewable resources, such as fossil fuel, became a subject of wide interest. There are two problems involved here. In the first place, as the stock of non-renewable resources is strictly limited, economic growth cannot be indefinitely sustained by dependence on it.

There is also a second problem. Excessive burning of fossil fuels pollutes the environment as it releases into the atmosphere a number of toxic gases, such as carbon dioxide. It also leads to global warming of which the consequences have been widely discussed in recent years. These problems have been further aggravated by the process of deforestation which has been growing apace in many parts of the world. This upsets the balancing relationship between humans and plants because men absorb oxygen and exhale carbon while plants absorb carbon and release oxygen.

An obvious inference from the facts stated above is that we need a far-reaching change in the technological basis of our productive activities to keep the earth habitable for the human race. But technology and social institutions are so closely interrelated that a radical change in the first must also mean a radical reconstruction of society. An inquiry into the nature of this social reconstruction should be a matter of prime concern for all social scientists, including economists.

(To be concluded)

THE STATESMAN

9 APR 2001

# No end in sight to BALCO issue

By Our Principal Correspondent

**RAIPUR, APRIL 6.** Even as the Chattisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, today headed straight for Korba after briefing the Congress president, Ms. Sonia Gandhi, on the controversial Bharat Aluminium Corporation Ltd (BALCO) issue in New Delhi on Thursday, the possibility of any solution to the stand-off appeared grim.

Mr. Jogi, who had flown to the Capital from Bilaspur on Thursday, returned to Raipur via Korba this evening.

"I briefed 'madam' on the BALCO issue in New Delhi and attended a tribal sammelan at Korba," he told reporters here. Referring to a question on response from the Union Mines Minister, Mr. Sunder Lal Patwa, on his letter in which he had offered to participate in the negotiations, the Chief Minister said they had not received any reply from the Central Government so far. "The ball is now in their court," he said.

On the other hand, the striking trade unions seem to be in no mood to compromise. "There is no question of any trade union talking to Sterlite Industries. We do not recognise the new management and talks will be held only when the Government takes over the management," said Mr. M. Ansari, working president of the CITU. He also said talks would be held in the presence of Mr. Jogi and could be scheduled in Raipur or Bilaspur but certainly not New Delhi. Since the Sterlite management has refused to hold negotiations at Korba apprehending law and order problem, Raipur or Bilaspur were the two possible options, he added.

Regarding Mr. Patwa's reported statement that talks would be held to discuss the employees working conditions, Mr. Ansari pointed out that the issue was not only of the BALCO employees but disinvestment as a policy.

Within two hours of the BALCO sale, the Orissa Chief Minister announced the sale of two mines to the company as it would provide employment to 1,000 people from the State. Mr. Ansari said it showed that the intentions of the Sterlite Industries were not genuine right from the beginning.

Admitting that the condition of the striking employees, particularly the contract labourers, was deteriorating and the level of

## I did not speak to Jogi: Surjeet

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 6.** Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, general secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), today denied he had discussed the plight of workers at BALCO's Korba plant with the Chhattisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi.

Describing the report as "baseless", Mr. Surjeet, said as far as the party was concerned, it fully supported the struggle of BALCO workers against privatisation of the concern. In a statement, he said, the CPI(M) was confident that the united struggle of the workers would succeed in retaining BALCO in the public sector.

A report from Raipur had mentioned that Mr. Surjeet had impressed upon Mr. Jogi on the need to resolve the strike keeping in mind the fate of BALCO employees.

Frustration had gone up considerably, Mr. Ansari said the labourers and their families were being fed in the 'langar' run from donations by various trade unions. Mr. Ansari said trade unions have decided to organise a dharna outside Supreme Court on April 9 when the case would be taken up.

THE HINDU

27 APR 2001

# BALCO revisited

By Rahul P. Dave

HPD-12  
7/4

**A** PANELIST in a television programme recently expounded the view that the government of the day could, presumably by executive action, privatise any government company without taking any kind of approval or passing any legislation. Not only is this an erroneous approach, but it also appears that in the heat and dust of the BALCO controversy some important Constitutional and Company Law issues have been overlooked.

Privatisation is the process of denationalisation, which does not appear to fit comfortably within the four corners of our Constitution. The Constitution, as a whole, clearly supports the process of nationalisation. The introduction of the word "Socialist" in the Preamble to the Constitution initially posed somewhat of a problem in legal interpretation. This confusion was caused by the vagueness of the word which was ultimately found to mean an elimination of inequality of income, status and standards of life. Though it has been held that the Preamble cannot be regarded as a source of power, its role being limited to explain any ambiguity, it has also been held that the Preamble must be given a liberal interpretation as it embodies the philosophy behind the Constitution.

However, the Directive Principles of State Policy found in Part IV of the Constitution have, from its inception, charted a path to a welfare state. These DP's are not enforceable by any Court but are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country. Article 37 further provides that it is the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws. Article 39, found in this part, is the one with which we are concerned, and this calls upon the State to direct its policy, in particular, towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community be so distributed as best to subserve the common good, and further, to secure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

On the other hand, the Constitution is

almost silent when it comes to denationalisation. The only flicker of hope is contained in Article 298 which vests the Executive with the power to carry on any trade or business and acquire, hold and dispose of property and make contracts for any purpose. Even this power is subject to laws made by Parliament.

BALCO was set up as a Government Company in 1965 at Korba, M.P. A Government Company is defined in the Com-

pany of the audit report and any comments made thereon by the CAG.

Parliament is always closely concerned with the affairs and well-being of every Government Company, as it should be, since these are the assets of the people and it is the representatives of the people who must be involved in any major decision pertaining to such assets. In the process of denationalisation the question arises who shall divest the people of India

*In the process of denationalisation the question arises who shall divest the people of India of their assets, and the answer can only be that it is the representatives of the people who have such power and no one else.*

panies Act, 1956 as a company in which the Government holds not less than 51 per cent of the paid-up share capital. The Government is hence the majority shareholder in every such company. Since companies in this country are run in accordance with the majority principle, this means that it is the Government that holds the reins of management in every Government Company. The right of the shareholder holding a controlling interest in a company has been held to be a valuable right, which ought not to be compromised without receiving valuable consideration.

The shares of the Central Government are usually held in the name of the President for and on behalf of the people of India. The articles of association of a Government Company most usually contain a clause enabling the President to give directives to that company. The audit of the company is to be carried out by an auditor appointed by the Government on the advice of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG). The CAG has substantial powers to conduct supplementary audits and comment upon or supplement the audit report. The annual report on the working and affairs of a Government Company is laid before both Houses of Parliament together with a

copy of their assets, and the answer can only be that it is the representatives of the people who have such power and no one else. Divestment is not part of ordinary trade or business and cannot be carried out by the Executive on its own. In this view of the matter, any divestment by the Government in respect of any Government Company has therefore to receive prior approval of Parliament.

In the BALCO case, divestment faces an additional problem, which is by no means unique to BALCO, amongst Government Companies. In 1984, the undertaking of the Aluminum Corporation of India Limited at Bidhanbag, West Bengal, was acquired by an Act of Parliament (Act 43 of 1984) by the Central Government and by further notification issued thereunder, vested in BALCO. The Preamble to that Act of Parliament is itself a detailed policy statement as to why the acquisition was necessary. It was done specifically to give effect to the policy of the State towards securing the principles specified in Clause (b) of Article 39 that is to secure ownership and control of material resources of the community so that these are distributed as best to subserve the common good. Another reason stated therein is to secure the continued employment of the workmen employed in

that undertaking. Such an Act of Parliament is given special protection under Article 31C of the Constitution, since it is a law giving effect to the policy of the State towards securing one of the Directive Principles. It is a point worth noting that in this Act, BALCO is defined as a Government Company within the meaning of the Companies Act. In other words, Parliament has given statutory recognition to the fact that BALCO is a Government Company in which the shareholding of the Government cannot fall below 51 per cent, at least not without statutory amendment. BALCO's disinvestment, therefore, should have been preceded by an Act of Parliament amending the 1984 Act. What amendment, is a moot question. Obviously the acquisition cannot be revoked, but to hand over the acquired undertaking to a stranger, or to provide that BALCO need no longer be a Government Company would fly in the face of the Directive Principles. In any case, this would have meant taking Parliament into confidence prior to the disinvestment and having the law amendment by Parliament before the Government signed its contract with Sterlite. This, as we have seen, was not feasible, as the Government does not command a majority in the Rajya Sabha.

As things stand, it seems that the Government's contract with Sterlite is *ultra vires* the 1984 Act and is in serious jeopardy unless with legal ingenuity this contract can be covered under one of the more general legislation, such as a Finance Act. If not, then to make matters worse, it cannot even be argued that the Government is estopped from denying the contract and must go through with it, since there is no estoppel against statute.

Whatever the outcome, the BALCO case will serve as an example to other Government Companies in which the shareholding of the Government has fallen below 51 per cent and in which the Government has compromised its controlling interest without bringing the matter before Parliament and without receiving valuable consideration.

(The writer is a Supreme Court advocate.)

THE HINDU

27 APR 1985

# Jogi pledges Rs 552 cr for Balco shares

New Delhi, April 5

THE CHHATTISGARH Government has sworn before the Supreme Court that it is ready to pay Rs 552 crore to buy 51 per cent equity share in Balco, which was sold to Sterlite Industries Ltd for Rs 551.5 crore.

Filing its affidavit challenging the company's disinvestments, the State Government accused the Centre of taking the decision in an arbitrary manner.

"The manner in which the decision of disinvestment in relation to a profit-making company, which is engaged in production of alloys required for strategic defence purposes, has been made, is completely non-transparent, unfair and unreasonable," the Chhattisgarh Government said.

Accusing the Centre of "grossly undervaluing" the company's assets, the State Government said: "There is a captive power plant of 275mw worth about Rs 1,200 crore, 2000 acres of land, mining leases, 4,000 houses besides the valuable plant, machinery and scrap."

"Therefore, if the Centre government is committed to maintain transparency in the process, the State Government is prepared and hereby offers to pay Rs 552 crore and buy the 51 per cent equity share in the company which has been sold out to M/s Sterlite Industries in Rs 551.5 crore," the Secretary, Commerce and Industries, Rural Industries and PSUs, Government of Chhattisgarh, said in a sworn affidavit.

The State blamed the new management of Balco for not taking serious efforts to solve the workers' agitation in protest against the Centre's decision to privatise the company.

"From the conduct of the new management, it also seems that they are not interested in making serious efforts to solve the issue," he said.

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 6 APR 2001

# Punjab faces new challenges over farmer suicides

## New report shows alarming rise in number of deaths in Sangrur, Amritsar

BY ASIT JOLLY

**Chandigarh, April 2:** Last week two Punjab farmers — Nachhattar Singh and Amrik Singh — took the extreme step of ending their lives. Forty five-year-old Nachhattar of Ahmadgarh consumed some poison, possibly a farm pesticide, and Amrik of Borawal, who had just turned 32, hung himself to death.

Though little else is known about the circumstances that led to the two deaths, the local police is yet to register it as a suicide. There are whispers that the dead men — both marginal farmers — have left their respective families to contend with a considerable burden of debt. Villagers say Nachhattar had been depressed ever since he was forced to sell his five-acre plot of land to repay a loan he had taken some years ago. Amrik, who already owed the local cooperative banking society a sum of Rs 40,000, had recently mortgaged his two acres to marry off two younger sisters.

The deaths of Amrik Singh and Nach-

hattar Singh would, in normal times, have failed to evoke more than passing concern. But even as politicians and experts plan strategies to meet the new challenges of the emerging WTO regime, the twin suicides in Punjab's southwestern hinterland, signal the despondency that has already enveloped farmers across what was once India's most successful agricultural state.

Statistics generated by a Chandigarh-based human rights organisation — the Movement Against State Repression — based on data collected since early 1993, reveal that rural suicides, by farmers and agricultural labourers, have increased alarmingly in Punjab.

In a report submitted to chief minister Parkash Singh Badal some months back, the MASR listed as many as 40 deaths by suicide from June to August last year in 24 villages of the Lehra and Andana blocks of Sangrur district.

The MASR quoted equally shocking statistics from other independent surveys, which listed "300 suicides over a two-

and-a-half year period in Amritsar district."

Not all the suicides were related to poverty and debt, but MASR convenor Inderjit Singh Jajjee insists that "an overwhelming majority of the deaths, particularly those of men, can be linked to mounting debt amidst almost non-existent returns from farming." Debt due to conspicuous consumption and high levels of drug abuse are also important causes that

### SPOTLIGHT

lead to suicide in rural Punjab, but even in such cases the unviability of farming as an occupation is usually the basic reason.

And perhaps for the first time since the MASR's first report in 1997, the Punjab government, after years of trying to wish away the problem, has conceded that rural suicides are in fact a reality. In what many have described as a "belated and half-baked response," the Badal administration has allocated Rs two crores in the state

budget "to compensate the families of farmers who are driven to suicide as a consequence of debt." Each family will henceforth stand to get Rs 250,000 once various government agencies have satisfied themselves that the death was in fact a suicide.

However, the Badal government's compensation package, which some believe, "will prompt families to report all deaths as suicides," notwithstanding, little or no attention is even now being focused on the real root of the problem.

The rising cost of agricultural inputs, non-remunerative grain prices, negative farm subsidies, fragmented land holdings and the necessity of having to service a ~~continually mounting debt burden~~ has not only rendered farming economically unviable but a downright nightmare for most small and marginal farmers in Punjab.

An estimated 80 per cent of the state's farmers can be categorised as "small" or "marginal" and their collective debt accounts for more than an eighth of the staggering Rs 6,000 crores agricultural

debt facing the farming community. Of this, only a minuscule four per cent is owed to nationalised banks and 15 per cent belongs to cooperative credit societies. The major chunk of 81 per cent — for which the borrower is required to pay anything between 25 and 40 per cent annual interest — comes from private money-lender who may be the *arrhiya* or commission agent at the local grain market, or the village *baniya*.

Small farmers in Punjab are now economically worse off than a farm labourer. Studies have shown that while a labourer's earnings average about Rs 70 per day, a farmer owning five acres is barely able to get Rs 40 after he and his entire family work the land.

Perhaps an even more telling analogy is that which states that "a Punjab farmer in 1960 could sell one quintal of wheat to buy a thousand bricks, a bag of cement and ten grams of gold, whereas the same quintal of wheat will now get him only ten bricks, a teaspoon of cement and one gram of gold."

5/19 Planning Commission approves market access initiative

# Maran aims \$75 b exports

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, April 1. — Commerce minister Mr Murasoli Maran today asserted that market access initiative announced in the Exim policy would strengthen commercial intelligence, in a bid to push up exports to \$75 billion annually by 2004.

The initiative based on the US model, has already been cleared by the Planning Commission and "we are working out details," Mr Maran said. "The market access fund has been approved by the Planning Commission as a Plan programme and we are working out the scheme aimed at having enough funds, considering the magnitude of the success it has reached in USA," Mr Maran said in an interview.

Expressing confidence that the Exim policy would catapult exports to \$75 billion annually in the next three years, Mr Maran clarified that this was

different from the medium term strategy, aimed at raising India's share to one per cent of global trade by 2006-07.

Conceding that exporters were hit by high transactions costs in the country, the commerce and industry minister said, "a bold attempt would be made to rebate all indirect taxes affecting exports, besides a joint effort by the Centre, states and exporters to cut costs.

Elaborating on the market access initiative, Mr Maran said, "our strategy includes redefining the role of commercial attaches in our missions abroad."

Allaying fears of farmers that the Exim policy had opened the floodgates to cheap imports, Mr

Maran said, on the contrary, the thrust was to establish "regional rural motors," by boosting agri-exports through various measures enunciated in the policy.

If internationalisation of India's agriculture takes place, the terms of trade, which have for long been in favour of industry, would shift in favour of agriculture, he felt.

It is estimated, that every one per cent switch will divert

about Rs 8,500 crore additionally in favour of agriculture, and that about \$20 billion will be transferred to the agriculture sector from non-agriculture sector in the next few years, he said.

Also, this additional rural

purchasing power that will be created with the encouragement of agri-economic zone, will create a phenomenal effective demand in the country.

Mr Maran quoted statistics to say that the lifting of Quantitative Restrictions (QRs) of 714 items last year has not led to any surge in imports, and on the contrary, the non-oil imports has recorded a negative eight per cent growth "to our surprise".

He assured that the government would "jump into action," in the event of any unwarranted surge in imports of essential and farm products following total dismantling of QRs from today.

He said this was precisely for this reason that a "war room," comprising secretaries in the government has been set up, to monitor import levels of 300 sensitive items including poultry, milk, fruit and other edible items.



Mr Murasoli Maran

THE STATESMAN

2 APR 2001



MONDAY, APRIL 2, 2001

## FROM SHORT-TERMISM TO STRATEGY

THE EXPORT-IMPORT Policy for 2001-2002 announced by the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Murasoli Maran, on Saturday, is much more than an exercise in continuity in trade policy liberalisation, which is an integral process of the Economic Reforms Agenda. As a logical sequel to the proactive Exim policy which Mr. Maran unveiled last year, the new policy package rightly emphasises the export imperative which the country needs to address in order to leverage its untapped resources for effective participation in global markets. Gratifying as the export performance during 2000-2001 has been, with a 20 per cent estimated rate of growth, India has but a minuscule share in global trade at less than 0.7 per cent. The Government's target of an 18 per cent export growth for 2001-2002 is not too ambitious in terms of the achievement during 2000-2001, but the looming uncertainties about the global growth rate and particularly the creeping slowdown in the U.S. economy can render the target rather elusive.

Although the dismantling of Quantitative Restrictions (QRs) on the last remaining 715 tariff lines, as mandated by the WTO Appellate Authority, is bound to be politically questioned and even seen by sections of Indian industry as signalling a traumatic period ahead, the apprehensions of a deluge of imports seem quite unwarranted. The removal of QRs in recent years has certainly not led to any conspicuous surge in non-petroleum imports. The removal of QRs is after all followed up with tariffication of the imports in question and with the peak customs duty at 35 per cent with the option of countervailing duties in cases of dumping, the Government can certainly ensure that the interests of the domestic producers, both of agricultural commodities and of manufactured products, are adequately safeguarded. Mr. Maran has responded alertly to the fears of flooding of the domestic markets by items of imports now freed from QRs, by setting up an Early Warning System at the Commerce Ministry for the requisite vigilance. Even apart

from this, the question of any massive assault on the domestic markets by imports of merchandise (including second hand passenger cars) is not so much a matter of legal access as it is one of comparative landed costs, life-styles, logistics of moving imports into different markets and the comparative availability of locally manufactured products.

In the changing scenario of foreign trade where global openness (and two-way traffic of imports and exports) is the key element, there is a strong case for the Exim policy to move away from short-term balance-of-trade considerations to a medium-term perspective, for accelerating export growth as a platform for industrial development, employment generation and for foreign exchange earnings. This is precisely what the new policy initiatives seem to capture. As Mr. Maran has projected it, a one per cent share in total world export for India by the year 2004 would call for an export performance of the order of \$75 billions, up from the current level of \$43 billions. The achievement of this order (which is patently too modest in relation to what China has demonstrated over the years) will obviously call for a sustained, multi-pronged export strategy. A vital component of the strategy would be for Indian agriculture and industry to gear themselves for an active, if not aggressive, presence in global markets. Marketing initiatives which have hitherto remained fragmentary need to be brought up-front. That the new policy package is alive to this task is indeed a positive testimony. That Mr. Maran also looks at the involvement of the State Governments in the national export effort as a critical component, is another clear indication that the policy is shaped by strategic thinking. Beckoning to the Chinese-model Special Economic Zones as the winning strategy has its own merits but should not greater macro-economic attention be devoted to bringing down the transaction costs all-round before an export-led strategy can pay off?

THE HINDU

2 APR 2001

# Doors open for world of choice and threat

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, March 31: The Centre today removed barriers on import of 715 items ranging from meat products to automobiles and lifestyle goods, offering consumers unlimited choice and sparking concern among domestic manufacturers.

The government retained restrictions on 600 products on security, health and environment grounds. "Otherwise, we have opened up our markets totally," commerce minister Murasoli Maran said after unveiling the Export-Import (Exim) policy that takes effect from tomorrow.

India has now met the conditions of the World Trade Organisation treaty under which it has to lift the curbs on the products (see chart) by April 1, 2001.

The minister sought to allay the fears of domestic entrepreneurs by asserting that the removal of the import curbs "does not mean throwing the gates wide open". He indicated that a tariff shield

**BE INDIAN, BUY FOREIGN**

<p><b>For the kitchen</b> Mutton, ham, beef, poultry (chicken, ducks, turkey), eggs, spices, rice, cereals, coconut oil, cauliflowers, broccoli, cabbages, grapes, potatoes, nuts, utensils, toasters</p> <p><b>For the breakfast table</b> Milkfood, condensed milk, cheese butter, butter, ghee, dairy spread, coffee, tea</p> <p><b>For the bar</b> Beer, wine, whisky, sherry, rum, gin, vodka, liqueurs</p> <p><b>For the wardrobe</b> Overcoats, wind-cheaters, pullovers, suits, shirts, trousers, swimsuits, night-dresses, kidswear, shoes</p> <p><b>For women</b> Diamonds, precious stones</p>	<p><b>For children</b> Toys, videogames</p> <p><b>For the desk</b> Letter pads, notebooks, pens</p> <p><b>For the living room</b> Colour TVs, cassette players, radios, wallclocks, lamps, bulbs</p> <p><b>For the bedroom</b> Linen, pneumatic mattresses</p> <p><b>For the bathroom</b> Towels, sanitary wares</p> <p><b>Wheels</b> Motor cars, buses, jeeps, trucks, landrovers, motorcycles, autorickshaws, tractors</p> <p><i>No import of left-hand drive vehicles and those which are over three-years-old</i></p>
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will be built to protect farmers and small manufacturers. The government tonight imposed a 150 per cent duty on foreign liquor. Big industry gave a thumbs-up

to the policy. "They appreciate our role... the government has voted for industrialisation," said Hyundai India marketing chief B.V.R. Subu. But the lifting of the curbs has

triggered wails of anguish from domestic manufacturers. Colour television makers feel the import duty should be increased. Raghbir Singh Baweja, a Delhi-based small-scale toy-maker, said: "I have already been ruined by cheap Chinese toys coming in through Nepal. This opening-up will spell curtains for my factory."

Maran promised to plug the leak that has hurt manufacturers like Baweja and drawn sharp protests from both the Congress and hardliners in the BJP.

Maran promised a "war room" which will track, collate and analyse data on 300 sensitive products which are of interest to the public. Import of all products of plant and animal origin will have to be licensed by the agriculture ministry after a risk analysis based on health and environmental norms. Rice, petrol and urea will have to be imported through government agencies.

Maran said a state-sponsored global retail chain will be set up to market and sell made-in-India brands.

■ See Business Telegraph

THE TELEGRAPH

1 APR 2001

## FAILURE OF POLICY

THE HOLLOWNESS OF the Government's claim of dealing with the problems in Indian agriculture has been demonstrated once again by the decision to raise the minimum support price (MSP) for wheat by Rs. 30 a quintal, an increase of 5 per cent over last year's price. The Government is surely aware that a higher MSP will only add to stocks even as the Food Corporation of India's godowns are bursting at the seams with 25 million tonnes of wheat and, more ominously, make Indian wheat even higher priced than global market supplies, thereby opening the door for possible imports once wheat is removed from the negative list of imports at the end of the month. It does not require much to glean the reasons for the Government's decision. It has been pressured to do so by the two wheat surplus-producing States of Punjab and Haryana which for months have warned against the consequences of not raising the MSP of wheat. Since the two States are governed by constituents of the ruling National Democratic Alliance in New Delhi the Centre has had even less room for manoeuvre.

The reasons for the current mess in the food economy are obvious for all other than, it seems, the Government. A policy of consistently raising the MSP of wheat (and rice) by moderate to large amounts every year, combined with the occasional announcements of "bonuses" and a relaxation of standards for procurement, have led to FCI purchase prices ruling effectively higher than the market rates. This has resulted in bulging stocks (now at around 45 million tonnes of both cereals), a plummeting offtake and haphazard attempts to contain costs by self-defeating increases in issue prices. The Economic Survey of 2000-01 pointed out last month that since 1992 the MSPs of both wheat and rice have been rising at a substantially faster rate than either wholesale or consumer price inflation. The Commission on Agricultural Costs and Prices, which time and again has been over-ruled by the

Government, recommended this year that the MSP for wheat could be kept at the same level as last year. But the NDA Government, pushed by powerful State Governments and fearful of conveying an "anti-farmer" image, has taken the easy way out. The latest increase in the MSP of wheat takes the price at which the FCI will buy it to above the current market rate. And it makes the domestic price of wheat at least 50 per cent more expensive than the world price.

There are deep-rooted problems in agriculture, but these cannot be tackled by raising procurement prices year after year. The price incentive is a quick-fix which may help cultivators tide over from one year to the next. Besides leaving the basic problems of farmers untouched, this approach causes other problems as evidenced in the current phenomenon of warehouses overflowing with expensive grain that is not saleable in either the domestic or world markets. However, governments and political formations have now got so accustomed to using price as an instrument to prop up farm incomes that they appear unable to visualise any other option. The more lasting solution must be found in raising agricultural productivity so that farmers can earn more even if market and FCI prices remain unchanged. That requires carrying out the more difficult job of promoting and implementing cost-saving measures that raise farm yields. It is therefore not a surprise that successive governments have opted instead for a higher MSP and a relaxation of product standards as a way to increase farm incomes. Yet another example of the failure of government policy on the food economy is that with the Union Budget for 2001-02 announcing a proposal to modify procurement operations so that the deficit States directly make purchases to meet their requirements, the State Governments will now be left having to deal with the consequences of the Centre continuously raising support prices.

THE HINDU

3 0 MAR 2001

# Govt unlikely to lift import curbs on defence items

Jayanthi Iyengar & G Ganapathy Subramaniam

NEW DELHI 29 MARCH

IMPORT CURBS on over 100 items, primarily in defence, flora, fauna and hazardous chemicals will remain even after the modified Export-Import Policy is announced on March 31.

On the defence list are items like guns and night vision glasses, which could be classified both as consumer as well as defence items.

Items like bombs, grenades, swords and mines will continue to be on the banned list of imports.

According to sources in the Directorate General of Foreign Trade (DGFT), the commerce ministry is currently under immense pressure to retain quantitative restrictions (QRs) on handlooms and handicrafts, though this decision will be taken only at the political level.

The DGFT has worked out the

logic — threat to human life due to loss of livelihood — on the basis of which the QRs on textiles and handlooms could be retained, but the final decision will still be political.

The modified Exim Policy, scheduled to be announced by

**RUN-UP TO THE EXIM POLICY**  
2 0 0 1 - 0 2

More reports: Page 4

commerce minister Murasoli Maran on March 31, may also retain Special Import Licences (SIL) for another year and allow concessional import of capital goods to garner a premium for exporters.

The retention of SIL is being contemplated as leading exporters like the Adanis and Tatas have argued that they have already

entered into agreements with a margin for SIL and this calculation will go away if this export-promotion instrument is phased out immediately.

These players have sought a one-year extension, though SIL will have little meaning after QR phaseout.

Sources said the modified Exim Policy will create a new body for Trade Remedial Measures which will bring safeguards, anti-dumping and countervailing duties under a common regulatory framework.

This measure is likely to be part of the steps taken by the government to strengthen the anti-dumping/safeguard mechanism.

Currently, while the anti-dumping directorate is under the commerce ministry, the directorate of safeguards is under the finance ministry.

■ DGFT facelift: Page 4

■ The QRs List: Page 13

The Economic Times

# Dunlop can mortgage properties

Kolkata, March 28

THE BOARD for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR), in a significant move, has allowed the management of ailing Dunlop India Limited to mortgage some of the company's properties to raise working capital.

MD Shukla, the president of Dunlop, told PTL over phone from Delhi that the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction directive would help the company in meeting funds crisis, and the mortgaging of the properties would be arranged in a couple of days.

He said that BIFR, in its hear-

ing today, had asked the company to continue as a 'holding operation' till the draft revival scheme (DRS) was passed by the board after incorporating some changes.

Regarding the objections raised by the banks, Shukla said that the company had suggested that the dues to the banks, particularly the State Bank of India and United Bank of India, would be met from the reserves which were initially earmarked for expansion of the company in the DRS.

Shukla said that this change would have to be incorporated before placing the DRS for sanction by BIFR. Regarding sale of

properties, as envisaged in the DRS, Shukla said that BIFR has constituted a sales committee consisting of representatives from banks, the company, IDBI, the West Bengal Government, besides its own nominee.

As per the BIFR order, the money raised from sale of assets, considered to be the pivot for all revival schemes, would be put in an escrow account, Shukla said.

Hailing the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction decision, Shukla said that Dunlop's future looked positive and the changes would be incorporated soon for speedy sanctioning of the revival scheme.

Meanwhile, the company had been confronted with a serious working capital crisis and the salaries and wages of employees and workers were already running at a backlog.

When asked whether the company would retain the same consortium of bankers after meeting their dues, Shukla said that if they wanted so, then Dunlop would be happy to do that.

Earlier, the banks, particularly the SBI and UBI, wanted BIFR to amend the DRS in the apprehension that once the package was sanctioned, then their exposure to the company would become unsecured.

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

29 MAR 2001

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110-13

# BJP endorses economic policy 2873

By Neena Vyas

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 25.** Brushing aside its earlier reservations, the Bharatiya Janata Party today virtually sang an ode to the Vajpayee Government's economic policies, praising even those decisions it had earlier criticised.

The four-page resolution adopted by the executive today, virtually justified the cut in interest rates on the ground that since inflation was down depositors were still getting comfortable returns on their investments. Yesterday, the party president, Mr. Jana Krishnamurthi, had requested the Government to reconsider the 1.5 per cent cut in view of problems faced by the small depositors.

Earlier, the party had been wary of the agricultural policy, because its own feedback from the ground had confirmed restiveness among farmers, and its allies and supporting parties such as the Telugu Desam Party had expressed dissatisfaction. Farmers were simply not able to get the promised minimum support price for their produce, and fears were expressed over agricultural imports under the World Trade Organisation adversely affecting farmers.

But the resolution gave the Government full

marks for "promoting the agriculture sector," while it approvingly mentioned the recently announced increase in the minimum support price for wheat and oilseeds. It noted that the Government had announced "fiscal incentives" to food processing industries and encouraged increase of cold storage facilities, which in turn would help farmers save perishable vegetables and fruit. It mentioned extension of kisan credit card facilities, the budget announcement of increase in import duties on some edible oils, tea, coffee and coconut products and the "promise" by the Prime Minister that duties would be raised further if necessary.

Again, party leaders had been quite sceptical of the decision to virtually end the prime position of the Food Corporation of India in the carefully set up food security system. Many Chief Ministers, including those in BJP-ruled States were also reportedly not too happy at the prospect of this move towards decentralisation, but the resolution approved of the move. "The proposal to end the FCI monopoly in handling procurement and storage would lead to efficient and cost-effective handling of foodgrains to the benefit of consumers. In-

volving State Governments in handling the public distribution system would increase their accountability in implementation of the poor people oriented scheme."

Surprisingly, although party leaders had earlier not been too happy with the proposed amendment to labour laws making it easy for units employing less than 1,000 employees to sack workers, the resolution chose to describe it as a "healthy linkage between accountability and productivity" which would in the long run stimulate investment and increase job opportunities.

Finally, the party "requested" the Government to ensure continuance of second generation reforms, including changes in labour laws, and take "utmost care" to protect the poorer sections and workers."

The party resolved to take care of the "economic dimension" of government policy during the mass awareness campaign launched today at the Ramlila grounds in connection with the Tehelka episode. The party had emphasised that the political instability effort and economic disruption were the twin objectives of the Opposition's "political conspiracy".

327 111 120

# PF interest rate cut to 10.25%

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, March 23

IN A big blow to the middle class, the EPF interest has been slashed from 11 per cent to 10.25 per cent with effect from April 1.

The decision was taken today by the EPF board of trustees, comprising representatives of trade unions, employers and the Government. The EPF deposits fetched 12 per cent return till last June. The interest has been revised for the second time in less than a year because of the "general cut in interest rates".

The interest was reduced as the EPF money invested in the Government's Special Deposit Schemes now earn only 9.5 per cent interest. Therefore, the EPF organisation would have to pay an interest of 10.25 per cent to EPF subscribers and suffer a

"deficit" of Rs 177.6 crore in 2001-2002. The trustees asked the organisation to meet the deficit from the money kept in the interest suspense account which stood at Rs 274 crore on March 31, 2000.

The interest cut would affect nearly 2.36 crore employees of industrial and other establishments across the country. The Budget had cut the interest payable on Public Provident Funds (PPF) and General Provident Fund (GPF) deposits of Government employees from 11 per cent to 9.5 per cent.

If the EPF interest had remained unchanged, the EPF organisation would have paid a total interest of Rs 5,946 crore in 2001-2002. The cut in interest would bring the interest liability to Rs 5,541 crore, saving the organisation over Rs 405 crore

The EPF board was under pressure from the Finance Ministry to reduce the fund interest rate as the other interest rates had already been revised. The Labour Ministry wanted to refix the rate at 10 per cent, but the unions bargained for a slightly higher rate. It was suggested that the EPF interest be reduced to 9.5 per cent to level it with the GPF interest. But the unions rejected the suggestion because till 1988-89 the GPF interest was higher than EPF.

**Cong reaction:** The Congress today urged the Government to reconsider its decision to cut PF interest rate. Party spokesman Jaipal Reddy said: "A part of an employee's salary in the organised sector goes to the provident fund. The Government wants to punish the workers by reducing interest rates."

## IA and Lufthansa jets in airmiss

AN INCIDENT of a near airmiss involving an Indian Airlines Airbus and a Lufthansa cargo jet occurred 50 nautical miles east of Salem yesterday, directorate general of civil aviation (DGCA) sources said here today.

The incident occurred around 7 a.m. when IA Airbus A-320, which left Chennai for Kozhikode, was climbing to 31,000 ft, while the freighter jet of Lufthansa was ascending to 33,000 ft. The air traffic control at Bangalore reported a 'traffic resolutionary advise warning' because the separation between the two aircraft was only five nautical miles. The pilots of both the planes had informed the Bangalore ATC about the incident.

The Controller of Air Safety has commenced preliminary investigation into the incident.

PTI, Chennai

THE HINDUSTAN

24 MAR 2001

# Share brokers' offices raided, Sensex slides

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

MUMBAI, March 23. — Several Stock Exchange, Mumbai, offices, including that of its former president Mr Anand Rathi, were raided today, causing the sensitive index to fall for the fifth Friday in a row.

Among others whose offices were raided by Income-Tax, Revenue Intelligence Directorate and the Enforcement Directorate were Mr Ketan Parekh, Mr Nirmal Bang, Mr Radhakrishna Damani, Mr Rakesh Jhunjunwala, and Mr Shankar Sharma. All of them are suspected to be behind the 2 March bear hammering which plunged the sensitive index by 178 points.

Mr Sharma of First Global Securities is a stake-holder in *tehelka.com*. He is believed to have left the country.

Rumours about Mr Ketan Parekh's caused the fall in the sensitive index which closed at 3635.28 points, 78.69 points lower than Thursday's close. The intra-day fall was 174.40 points.

The raids come as a snub to the Securities and Exchange Board of India which had announced an inquiry into the

## SINGHANIA RESIGNS

KOLKATA, March 23. — Calcutta Stock Exchange announced this evening that the pay-out for settlement number 150 has been completed in time, even as Mr Dinesh Singhania, one of the three major defaulting brokers, resigned from the CSE board.

The CSE executive director, Mr Tapas Datta, said a decision on them would be taken at a meeting of the CSE defaulters sub-committee scheduled for Monday. — SNS

■ Details on page 10

bourse crash. Fourteen broking firms are reportedly shortlisted for the probe, but the suspects continue to operate freely.

The Sebi doesn't have an inspiring track record in probing market irregularities. It's yet to complete the inquiry into the May-June 1998 price-rigging of three scrips — BPL, Sterlite and Videocon International.

The raids were ordered reportedly to probe whether there is any nexus between brokers, film personalities and the underworld.

While interrogating film financier Bharat Shah, police had come across certain incriminating information about Mr Ketan Parekh. This had led to the suspicion that underworld money was being laundered in the capital markets.

In a parallel move, the HDFC Bank is facing assessment by an internal auditor as well as the RBI. The bank is believed to have a huge role in the capital markets.

The Global Trust Bank is learnt to have froze the accounts of a few brokers who had procured loans against shares that were heavily devalued.

The brokers have been asked to pay their outstanding dues or increase the margin money substantially as compensation.

The raids, conducted by about 250 officers from the three agencies, were well-coordinated. (It's learnt the Union finance minister had recently called a meeting of the chiefs of the three intelligence agencies) The I-T is likely to go into the gains made by the brokers, ED will look into the FII dealings and the DRI will probe charges of insider trading and shady deals.

THE STATESMAN

24 MAR 2001



# Tax swoop on big-gun brokers

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Mumbai, March 23: Tax sleuths today swooped down on the premises of Big Bull Ketan Parekh, former Bombay Stock Exchange president Anand Rathi and a cartel of bear operators whose shenanigans sent the sensex on a perilous roller-coaster since March 2, lopping over 18 per cent of the value of all stocks listed on the country's oldest bourse.

About 120 income-tax officers, accompanied by CBI officials participating as observers,

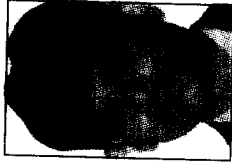
began their search operations at 3 pm. Besides Parekh and Rathi, the sleuths raided First Global's husband-and-wife duo of Shanker Sharma and Devina Mehra, the reclusive Nirmal Bang who has four broking cards on Dalal Street, a leading bear operator Rakesh Jhunjhunwala and R.S. Damani, the man who launched a hostile bid for VST Industries, thereby taking on global tobacco major BAT plc and its local affiliate, ITC Ltd.

First Global, which has a 15 per cent stake in Teheika, has also been at the centre of an attempt by a pack of marauding bears who

hammered the value of stocks and thus trapped bulls like Parekh. Bears bet that a stock will go down, while bulls reckon they will surge.

The huge search operation targeted 16 firms covering 50 premises. One IT official said they had sought the help of the CBI "in case there were any violations of the law". The raids will continue through the night.

An official said the operation



Parekh and Rathi



could last another 24 to 30 hours.

Sources said they were instructed to hold off on the raids till 3 pm so as not to precipitate another bloodbath on Dalal Street. Nevertheless, as soon as news of the raids hit the market, there was an avalanche of selling that sent the sensex reeling to close at 3635.28, a fall of 78.69 points.

It was learnt that the tax sleuths were focusing on stock

transactions over the past six to eight weeks. The operation may cover a couple of more brokers, an official said. The director-general of income tax, G. Sharan, was not willing to talk to reporters.

At Parekh's residence, a senior tax official, who came on the line, told **The Telegraph**: "The six brokers are suspected to be responsible for several irregular deals on the market. While Ketan Parekh may not have been a member of the bear cartel, there are grounds to suspect that he was behind a price rigging operation and had used insider information."

Parekh has built up a reputa-

tion for being able to sniff out winners on the market and had built up a strong portfolio of telecom and infotech stocks. Last year, he was instrumental in sealing a three-way deal under which Australian magnate Kerry Packer picked up a 10 per cent stake in Himachal Futuristic Communications Ltd — one of the key stocks in Parekh's portfolio which has since been clobbered by the bears.

A member of Anand Rathi's family refused to talk about the raids. "We cannot talk to you now," he said.

■ See Page 6 and Business Telegraph

THE TELEGRAPH

24 MAR 2001

# The triumph of neo-liberalism

By Achin Vanak

**N**EO-LIBERALISM AS ideology has triumphed when it becomes impervious to refutation by empirical evidence. The hosannas for this year's budget are a measure of just how complete this victory is amongst the Indian elite. The budget simply consolidates and extends the neo-liberal project of the 1990s despite the fact that by all reasonable standards this project has been a comprehensive failure. Before assessing the scale of this failure let us look at the main, ideologically driven thrusts of this budget.

There are major tax giveaways to the corporate sector. But neo-liberalism demands as much — give more money to those in the private sector who already have the most because they are the true "heroes" of your economy, the ones whom you must rely upon to "lead" the economy by investing and producing more. Unfortunately, the ratio of tax revenues to GDP, which was 10.1 per cent in 1990-91 has come down to 8.8 per cent in 1999-2000 falsifying all prognostications about how lower tax rates would actually raise this ratio. But lowering direct taxes on the well off and making the tax structure even more regressive in its impact is still the right thing to do because "good" economics (i.e. neo-liberal orthodoxy) tells us so.

There is a real problem of the fiscal deficit, we are told. Actually the problem is not the fiscal deficit but the revenue deficit. But ideology demands that the former be made into the real "sinner" because you can reduce the fiscal deficit without reducing the latter. Simply raise capital receipts (disinvest in PSUs) and reduce public investment and social sector spending, i.e. progressively diminish the role of the state in the economy regardless of its human and other consequences because neo-liberal orthodoxy insists that public capital expenditure essentially "crowds out" private investment when all evidence in India has pointed to the opposite conclusion. Since the revenue deficit has not progressively declined, all claims by neo-

liberal economists that the reforms of the 1990s would result in a progressively declining fiscal deficit have been belied.

Instead, the fiscal deficit has simply hovered between a low of 4 per cent and a high of 7 per cent since 1992-93 with the revenue deficit hovering between 2.4 per cent and 3.7 per cent. But if you are going to keep on lowering direct taxes (and there is a limit to how much you can increase indirect taxes which already constitute such a huge proportion of total tax reve-

*This year's Union budget simply consolidates and extends the neo-liberal project of the 1990s despite the fact that by all reasonable standards this project has been a comprehensive failure.*

nues) and constantly increase defence expenditure then it is hardly surprising that with interest payments being what they are, the revenue deficit stubbornly refuses to fall as much as it should. But then defence expenditure is a "hard" item, not like "soft" and "unproductive" social sector spending.

Over the coming financial year, the budget proposes to privatise 27 PSUs with the BALCO privatisation providing something of a model. All evidence from South Korea to Europe shows that public sector firms can be as efficient as private ones and also meet their distinctive burden of fulfilling certain "social requirements" provided they have sufficient autonomy from Government interference, i.e. that ownership patterns in themselves have little effect on efficiency. However, neo-liberalism demands total privatisation of even profit-making PSUs. Public sector privatisation is an ideological imperative disguised as an economic necessity. According to a study by the Standing Conference of Public Enterprises (SCOPE) in conjunction with the Centre for Commercial and Industrial Research, the top 50 PSUs in 1997-98 earned a net return of 13 per cent as against 12 per cent for the top 50 private sector compa-

nies, and the ratio of net profit after tax of net worth for basic PSUs (excluding nationalised sick industries) at 5.4 is substantially higher than the 4.7 ratio of the domestic private sector.

The budget also traverses new ground in seeking to amend the Industrial Disputes Act and the existing laws on contract labour. The purpose is to make it easier for employers to 'hire and fire' workers because neo-liberal orthodoxy demands greater 'labour flexibility'. This simply

means that at the bottom organised workers, i.e. trade unions, and not anyone else are really to blame for unemployment or poorly paid employment in industry because their 'unreasonable' wage demands or equally 'unreasonable' demands for job security undermine the economy and prevent it from flourishing. So please give more powers to the 'suffering' (even if much richer) employers and capital-owners. So now enterprises with less than 1,000 employees no longer require Government approval before getting rid of workers provided they meet enhanced severance pay requirements.

Actually it is the firms which have between 100 and 300 workers that most want the freedom to fire. The budget proposal is really the first move in a bargaining process that is now in motion. Severance pay requirements will be reduced significantly to please employers and the limit for freedom to fire will be lowered from 1,000 but will definitely remain over 300 in an apparent gesture at pleasing the unions. The overall result, of course, will greatly favour capital and cause considerable suffering to workers in an economy where industrial employment in the organised sector is declining.

But then, these measures are great because they will maintain the supposedly higher growth trajectory of the 1990s. This neo-liberal obsession with high growth rates is, of course, ideologically motivated. It serves as justification for ever increasing inequalities of wealth and income under the false assumption that this is necessary for benefiting all. The average annual growth rate for the 1990s was 5.7 per cent which is not a statistically significant increase over the 5.6 per cent annual average growth rate of the 1980s.

As for the other indicators of economic progress such as poverty, employment and inequalities the evidence is there for all who are willing to see. The less said about the statistical-methodological mess up of the 55th National Sample Survey Round which gives the absurd (non-comparable) figure of a 26 per cent poverty rate, the better. The most honest and serious of economic journalists and commentators have already explained why this figure cannot be taken seriously, especially since even neo-liberal economists claim that the key determinants of poverty decline are agricultural growth rates (which have declined in the second half of the 1990s relative to the past) and food prices, which in real terms have not behaved so as to support those claiming a significant poverty decline. As for employment, the 1990s even more than the 1980s were the decade of jobless growth.

As for inequalities, whether these are measured across the rural-urban divide, classes or States, these have all grown. Rural per capita income as a ratio of urban per capita income which improved between 1970-71 and 1980-81 went down from 42 per cent in 1980-81 to 38 per cent in 1993-94 and has continued downwards. Between 1985-86 and 1996-97 the share of wages in value-added (current prices) fell from 35 per cent to 20 per cent while the profit share (before tax but after depreciation and interest) went up by 15 percentage points. But the hosannas for the budget and for India's general neo-liberal direction will continue.

# Reforms process will continue despite crisis

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Our Delhi Bureau

NEW DELHI 17 MARCH

**F**INANCE MINISTER Yashwant Sinha on Saturday said the reforms process in the country would continue despite the current political crisis. He expressed hope that the Finance Bill would be passed by the House soon.

Speaking to reporters here after the first complementary meeting of the reconstituted board of Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Mr Sinha said: "The reforms will not be toned down." He added that "bureaucratic bottlenecks will not be allowed to come in the process of reforms".

Speaking of the recent political development and its implication, he said: "I do not anticipate any derailment of the reforms attempted in the Budget in the face of the ongoing political crisis."

On likely difficulties to be faced in getting the Finance Bill passed, he said: "The Bill has to be passed. There is no way out." Speaking about the linkage of politics with the economy, he said: "In a democracy, politics will always

influence economy. We can, however, restrict it by being more professional and creating consensus."

When asked about the decline in revenue collection in the February, Mr Sinha said: "I am hopeful that we will have a good month in March." He added: "If there is any further shortfall in revenue figures than revised estimates, there would

be a matching savings in non-Plan expenditure."

The finance minister also indicated that the borrowings would not exceed target. Asked about the bank's exposure to the stock market, Mr Sinha said bank lending was well within norms and against a limit of five per cent of



Sinha: Billing & cooing

total credit, banks had parked less than two per cent.

"That is really not an area of concern," Mr Sinha added. Commenting on the deliberation of Saturday's customary meeting with the newly-constituted RBI board, Mr Sinha said the board had expressed satisfaction at the Budget. But the key issue now was implementation of policies outlined in the Budget and ongoing projects.

The Economic Times

18 MAR 2001

# Chhattisgarh bandh on Balco evokes mixed response

17/3  
Raipur, March 16

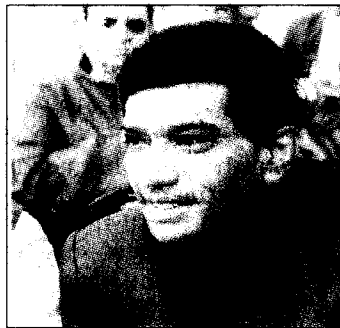
HF 7  
THE DAY-LONG Chhattisgarh bandh, called by the Congress and trade unions against disinvestment of Balco, evoked a mixed response in the State except Korba, where the plant is located.

The bandh was peaceful and no untoward incident was reported from any part of the State, the police said. Most of the shops were closed, but banks and kiosks remained open and buses plied in the morning.

Reports from tribal-dominated Bastar said the response to the bandh in the Naxalite-dominated Bastar, Kanker and Dantewada districts was near total. In the sensitive Korba district, all shops and business establishments remained. The Balco township was completely shut, but in the district headquarters almost all shops remained open till noon.

However, a few hundred workers from Balco Township came to the district headquarters and forcefully closed shops, leading to tension in some places.

Near Niharika cinema, shop owners objected to the forceful bandh by the employees leading to commotion, but prompt police



AJIT JOGI

intervention saved the situation from taking an ugly turn.

Supporting the bandh call, Chief Minister Ajit Jogi urged people to oppose the Balco disinvestment with full vigour, but maintain law and order during the bandh.

Elaborate security arrangements were made to protect key installations, Korba police said.

In pre-bandh violence at Korba, two Balco employees were reportedly assaulted. Last night, Congress workers attacked the State BJP office. The employees, who were going to the plant, were admitted to hospital after the attack. A case has been regis-

tered, but no arrests have been made so far.

Congress supporters attacked the BJP office with stones and burnt the signboard outside, party State unit general secretary Birendra Pandey said today.

Yogesh Tiwari, a Congress leader, led a mob of about 50 Congressmen and pulled down the huge signboard, Pandey claimed. They later set it ablaze after spraying kerosene and also threw stones, partially damaging property, he added. BJP supporters today sat in a day-long silent protest in front of Raj Bhawan.

Inspector-general of police Ramniwas said instructions had been issued to the police to take action against those involved in last night's violence.

He said elaborate security arrangements had been made to maintain law and order during the bandh. "No one will be allowed to take the law into their own hands," he said.

**Hearing adjourned:** A revenue court at Korba adjourned hearing in the Balco land acquisition cancellation case till April 19 following non-availability of copies of documents to the defendant Central Government and the Sterlite group. PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

17 MAR 2001

# Anti-dumping duty imposed on EU rubber import

5/12  
16/3  
PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, March 15. — The government has imposed a provisional anti-dumping duty on import of high styrene rubber from the European Union and Poland.

The directorate general of anti-dumping and allied duties has imposed a provisional anti-dumping duty of up to \$845.5 per ton on import of HSR from Poland and up to \$886.3 per ton on imports from European Union.

The designated authority, under the ministry of commerce, observed that the domestic industry had suffered material injury by way of decline in its market share and financial losses due to low landed prices of the dumped goods. Based on the preliminary findings of anti-dumping investiga-

tion against import of HSR from European Union and Poland, the designated authority imposed an additional duty of \$45.7 per ton on import of HSR from Firma Chemiczna Dwory SA of Poland and \$845.5 per ton on other exporters from the country.

It also imposed an anti-dumping duty \$799.25 per ton on Bayer International SA of Switzerland and \$886.3 per ton on other European exporters.

The anti-dumping duty imposed has come into effect from 13 March.

Though the selling price of the domestic industry has increased in the period of investigation (January -September 2000) as compared to 1998-99 and 1997-98, the same has been however, below the non-injurious price on account of dumped imports.

THE STATESMAN

## Jogi refuses to help new BALCO management

The Times of India News Service

RAIPUR: The new management of Bharat Aluminium Company Ltd (BALCO) has failed to get a positive response from chief minister Ajit Jogi. The CM is understood to have told the new managing director of the company, S.C. Krishnan, in categorical terms that the atmosphere might not be conducive for the Sterlite group to run the company as the workers were hostile. In any case, the state government was keen on running the company.

Mr Krishnan along with the chief executive officer of the London-based Dynastic Mines, Deb Bandhopadhyaya, had a meeting with Mr Jogi here.

According to the CM, the state would run the company as one of three options. He told Mr Krishnan that the Sterlite group would not get a positive response from the workers as they were against disinvestment. Besides, the raw material, bauxite, supplied from mines in Chhatisgarh, might not be available to the new management at concessional rates. Mr Jogi also made it clear that BALCO issue was a question of life and death for him. Speaking to reporters, Mr Jogi regretted the threat of the BALCO management to declare a lock-out in the plant and said the Union government

should intervene. He said the state government would intervene on behalf of the plant's workers.

According to a report from Korba, tension was mounting in the industrial town following the lock-out threat. The authorities had intensified security measures in view of the apprehension of a breach of the peace. The workers continued their strike and took out rallies in the town. At his press conference, the CM said that he had read about the letter written by chief vigilance commissioner N. Vittal seeking details about the recipients of the kickback in the BALCO deal, but added that he had not read the letter so far. He said Mr Vittal was supposed to investigate the corruption charges against the bureaucrats. He was obviously referring to his charge that kickbacks had been accepted at the highest office of power in the country, "*satta ke sarvoch shikhar per baithe log*".

Mr Jogi also ridiculed disinvestment minister Arun Shourie's announcement that the Centre had rejected the offer of the Chhatisgarh government to buy 51 per cent shares of BALCO for Rs 552 crores. "Shourie has not even read the offer. How can he reject it without reading it?"

THE TIMES OF INDIA

15 MAR 2001

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 2001

## REGULATING FOR MARKET STABILITY

THE SEBI'S DECISION to remove all broker-directors from the governing council of the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) appears drastic to some and desperate to others. Though contrary to popular perception, those views have merit. It is drastic because there have been medium range plans to corporatise the exchange and place it under sound professional managers. That goal could be better achieved through other means such as by setting up a time-table. In the event, a major decision such as this one has been construed as a desperate fire-fighting act, another in an increasingly long list of apparently *ad hoc* moves. Far from bringing about a modicum of stability to the bourses, it aggravated the negative sentiment alarmingly. On Tuesday morning stock prices were heading for a free fall and the benchmark index, the Sensex, fell by an unprecedented 300 points early on. That such spectacular losses are accompanied by extreme volatility is especially disconcerting.

The Finance Minister has announced in the Rajya Sabha a more comprehensive plan to restore investor confidence. Not surprising at all, none of his action points are original but given that past piece-meal measures have backfired it is hoped that they will be implemented in full. An overhaul of the supervisory structure of country's oldest stock exchange and arguably the most visible of all its financial institutions is necessary. Quite inexplicably — this has been common knowledge — the firewalls between the stock market professionals and influential broker-directors exist only on paper. For the second time in less than three years a BSE President had to go under a cloud. The allegation that Mr. Anand Rathi was privy to certain sensitive information which he manipulated may or may not stand legal scrutiny but the fact that such charges are occurring so frequently cries for a change at its top echelons. If price-rigging

continues to be the bane of our bourses, much of the blame ought to be placed on governmental inaction. For now there is one more strong reason to insulate the management of BSE from the supposedly ornamental role of its President and broker-directors. The National Stock Exchange (NSE) which was set up in the wake of previous crises in the BSE has clearly demonstrated what professional leadership can do to the stock market culture. On its part the BSE too has adapted well in key areas, for instance in technological absorption. Equally relevantly neither the market volatility of the recent past nor the controversy surrounding its high-profile President and some other office-bearers have led to a collapse of the payments system. Those impressive achievements notwithstanding, there has been no case whatsoever to persist with the *status quo*.

Leaving aside the specifics for the moment, the cause of investment would be better served by understanding the stock markets in their correct perspective. Only then can the exaggerated self-defeating responses to market behaviour be avoided. For instance, the present crisis has its origins in the wrong belief that the perverse market movements wiped out the gains of the latest Union budget. All the headline-grabbing news of the week — the notorious bear hug, the melting down of technology stocks following the Nasdaq's lead, price-rigging before the merger of two banks, the broker-banker nexus — all gained riveting attention only because of the disappointment over the post-budget price movements. Both investors and policy makers need to be educated to avoid the customary hype and understand the limitations of the markets. The Government and the SEBI will do well to convert the threat from the latest crisis into an opportunity by initiating proactive action.

# Market access in agriculture

*Liberalisation of agricultural trade would largely benefit countries that have major interests in the global agricultural trade, says Biswajit Dhar*

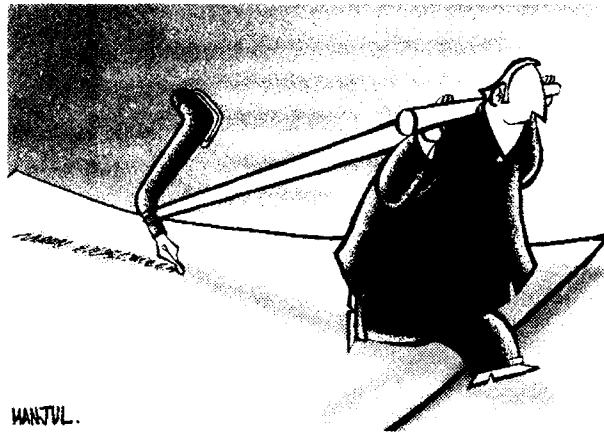
THE much-awaited proposals of India in the WTO for the forthcoming negotiations for the review of the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) have few surprises for those following the progress of the discussions that have taken place during the past few years. While the emphasis of the proposals are in line with the position that India has taken consistently over the past two years, which has been that the concerns of food security and livelihoods should be taken care of by the WTO discipline, there has been several other issues that the proposals have sought to include. These include the issues of market access and the reining in of subsidies, including those given for export promotion. The inclusion of the latter set of issues in the proposals is symptomatic of the pressures that the government is facing both from the exporters' lobbies at home and countries that are pushing for the trade liberalisation agenda in the area of agriculture. This has resulted in a diluting of the position that the country has taken thus far in Geneva.

Ever since the days of the Uruguay Round negotiations there has been a strong view in India that the country would stand to benefit from the trade liberalisation in the agricultural sector. These views were supported by several studies conducted by the World Bank and the erstwhile GATT, which had indicated that the results of the Uruguay Round in the agricultural sector would bring significant welfare gains for a number of developing countries. In various scenarios that were worked out by the analysts, developing countries as a whole were expected to witness major welfare gains. The broad conclusions drawn by these studies were that countries like India and China would gain substantially as a result of the introduction of the discipline under AoA.

The more recent years have, however, seen a degree of toning down of these projections. A recent study by the Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics (ABARE) is a case in point. The study, which argues for substantial liberalisation of agricultural trade, has found that while

there could be an increase in the real gross domestic product of some of the larger developing countries, including India and China as a result of agricultural trade liberalisation, this would not be without its costs. The estimates provided by the study indicate that in most of the developing countries included in the study the terms of trade and export price index would decline. In India's case, in addition to the above-mentioned negative effects, the real wage rates are also likely to decline.

Projections made by ABARE indicate that United States, European Union and Australia are some of the countries that would experience favourable terms of trade, albeit by small proportions. The biggest gain-



ers in terms of trade increases would be Australia, New Zealand and Argentina. In all these countries the real gross domestic product would also increase consequent upon agricultural trade liberalisation. The findings of the ABARE study bring home the point that liberalisation of agricultural trade would by and large benefit countries that have major interests in the global agricultural trade. It also needs to be pointed out that this study projects a favourable situation for the European Communities, the group of countries that was expected to face substantial problems of adjustment in the 'disciplined' world of agricultural trade ushered in by the AoA.

The findings of the ABARE study should be taken as a signal for the country to decide on its future strategy in the ensuing negotiations for the review of AoA. A key issue in this respect is whether the country should support the position of the agricultural exporting countries, the Cairns group, for a rapid dismantling of the border protection measures so as to promote the cause of market access. Support for this posi-

tion would naturally imply that India would also have to reduce the tariff protection that it is seeking to provide to the domestic producers after the import restrictions on agricultural products are removed from April 1, 2001.

The central issue that needs to be addressed in this context is whether or not Indian agriculture stands to benefit from supporting the position of the Cairns Group, which is seeking increased market access for agricultural products. This would require an objective assessment of India's export potential in these products by moving away from the highly polemical debates that have become commonplace lately.

It can be argued that Indian agriculture faces several fundamental problems at the present juncture, which could act as a major impediment in its participation in the global markets as a meaningful player. Most of these stem from the relative neglect of the agricultural sector during the past several decades. The most severe squeeze that this sector has faced has come during the past decade

and a half. Real investment in agriculture has declined and the share of the sector in the country's GDP has fallen to a fourth. And all this has happened when the share of the total work force dependent on the rural economy has remained pegged at two thirds. The decline in the real investment has meant that most of the major crops now face either stagnating or declining productivity and this has raised questions about their competitiveness in the global marketplace. In such circumstances, India's emergence as a major exporter of agricultural products, which some analysts do not seem to be tired of pointing out, would only be realised if the investment priorities of the government and the private sector can be completely altered from the present patterns. Besides the investment in physical infrastructure, huge resources would have to be invested towards making the production processes in India conform to the very high food safety standards that prevail in the markets of the developed countries.

*(The author works with RIS, Delhi. These are his personal views.)*



19/3 **Lessons from Balco** J. B. A. S.

**E**VEN AS the Balco affair remains embroiled in political and legal battles, the events of the last few weeks provide an idea of the kind of obstacles which the disinvestment process is expected to face. Apart from the two distinct ideological positions for and against market economy and socialism, what the proponents of the Balco handover encountered were doubts about the fairness of the deal followed by labour unrest. Arguably, misgivings about virtually all the sales of the 'family silver', the name given to public sector units by 'socialists', are bound to be expressed by the latter. Such doubts are only to be expected in India where no one expects that a transaction between the government and a private buyer will be a clean one. Balco was no exception. It is imperative, therefore, that transparency should be the key word in all cases of disinvestment.

Even if the Centre expected opposition to the sale, it was probably taken by surprise at Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Ajit Jogi's proactive role in preventing the physical handover of the Balco establishment to its new management. Mercifully, order has now been restored and the Supreme Court has been assured by the state government that it

will not only provide security to the workers but also restore water and power supply to the plant. There has been assurance from the union also that willing workers will be allowed to join their duties. The point to note in this context is that the Centre will have to remain prepared for the possibility of such unrest in future cases of disinvestment. Clearly, few of them will be simply a matter of signing a deal and handing over the company to a new management.

There is another, and more complicated, matter which concerns the sale of land in a scheduled area to a non-tribal. Where Balco is concerned, the issue is awaiting a judicial verdict. Whichever way it goes, the pronouncement will be a path-breaking one, for such 'protection' has been provided not only to tribals but also in areas like Kashmir and the north-east. Any decision in the context of one cannot but let the others remain unaffected. It is a sensitive topic which precludes an easy solution. It assumes importance, however, since a number of public sector units are located in the tribal areas. Clearly, the Centre has to evolve a consensus on this issue in consultation with other political parties, although that may be difficult in the present confrontationalist atmosphere.

# Jogi asks Sterlite to call off deal

By Aarti Dhar

**RAIPUR, MARCH 13.** The Chhatisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, has told Sterlite Industries that under no circumstances would it be allowed to run the Bharat Aluminium Company Limited plant (BALCO) at Korba. Virtually warning the management that the Government would make working conditions difficult for it, Mr. Jogi said the BALCO issue was a matter connected with the pride of the State and its people.

During his meeting with the managing director of BALCO, Mr. S.C. Krishnan, here on Monday, the Chief Minister advised Sterlite Industries to call off the deal and reveal the names of those who received kick-backs. Mr. Krishnan met Mr. Jogi on behalf of the owner of Sterlite Industries, Mr. Anil Agarwal, to seek his blessings. This was the first interaction between any Sterlite Industries official with the Government after the deal was signed on March 2.

Sources told *The Hindu* that Mr. Jogi did some tough talking at the meeting and clearly hinted at the

possible steps his Government could take to make it difficult for Sterlite Industries to run the plant profitably.

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister today said the BALCO issue was linked to the fate of the Central Government. It would play a role in deciding the future of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), he told reporters in an informal chat. Dismissing apprehensions that the controversy would have a negative impact on investments in the State, he said he had received offers from the Jindal group of industries and Daewoo last week regarding setting-up power plants here and a Japanese delegation was arriving here later in the week for another project.

Regarding his offer to buy the plant for Rs. 552 crores, Mr. Jogi said it was for the Centre to take a decision. "We are willing to accept any offer as long as the management remained with the Central or State Government, but the Centre is not responding now to their own suggestions," he said. The State

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would hire professionals to run the plant and modernise it. On the Central Vigilance Commissioner's (CVC) letter to the Central Bureau of Investigation to investigate the deal, Mr. Jogi said though he had not read the letter, the jurisdiction of the CVC was limited to Government officials only.

## PTI reports

The State will submit a written proposal to the Supreme Court for buying 51 per cent stake in BALCO, Mr. Jogi said while rejecting the Centre's claim that the apex court had not taken notice of the reference made to this effect by the State counsel on Monday. The Government's offer to purchase the stake was "serious and reasonable" he said and added the apex court had agreed to hear it when the case came up again before the Bench. "We will submit our written submission."

## Strike continues

With the strike by BALCO employees entering the eleventh day today, authorities tried to keep vital equipment in the plant in working condition.

# RS defeat for NDA over Balco

HT Correspondent and PTI  
New Delhi, March 12

THE NDA Government was today censured in the Rajya Sabha on the controversial Balco disinvestment with the passage of an Opposition-sponsored amendment to the motion of thanks to the President's address to Parliament.

The amendment moved by senior Congress member Pranab Mukherjee that the President's address did not mention the Government's decision to sell 51 per cent of its equity in the aluminium company to Sterlite Industries, was adopted by 103 votes to 64 votes.

This is the third time in India's parliamentary history that the Government suffered embarrassment with the passage of an Opposition-sponsored

amendment on the motion of thanks to the President's address. The previous two occasions were in 1980 and 1989.

Moving the amendment, Mukherjee said he questioned the sale of Balco to because of its "doubtful integrity".

Vajpayee and Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi locked horns in the Lok Sabha today over Balco sale and most other contentious national issues including security, the nuclear doctrine and Kashmir.

In the three-day marathon discussion on the motion of thanks, Atal Bihari Vajpayee announced that he would soon hold talks with all parties in Jammu and Kashmir and unveiled a five-point programme to reform the judiciary.

In replies to both Houses of

Parliament, Vajpayee asked Pakistan to change its "unfriendly attitude" towards India and asserted it would soon hold talks with all parties to carry forward the peace process in Jammu and Kashmir.

Admitting that there had been some delay in initiating talks, Vajpayee said: "We are soon going to hold talks. We will have talks with all the parties and make efforts to find a solution to the Kashmir problem."

"We want to hold it before the ceasefire extension ends in May," he said adding the talks would be "transparent" and cover all aspects that were within the framework of country's constitution."

In reply to a query from senior Congress leader Arjun Singh whether the Government was

committed to the resolution of declaring Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as part of India, Vajpayee said that "resolution stood" and there was no change in it.

Vajpayee also spoke of a change in international perspective on the Kashmir issue.

This was reflected in UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's remarks in Pakistan when he endorsed the Lahore peace initiative by India, the Prime Minister said.

Sonia said the contrast between the President's Republic Day Eve address to the nation and the inaugural speech prepared could not be missed. The former was deep and insightful while the latter was shallow and carried vainglorious boasts of the Government's performance.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

13 MAR 2001

# Congress accuses Shourie of misleading SC on BALCO issue

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: The Congress on Sunday accused disinvestment minister Arun Shourie of misleading the supreme court on the BALCO issue, and the company's new management, Sterlite, which assumed charge on March 8, of closing down the company on its own.

Party spokesperson Jaipal Reddy said here on Sunday that the minister's statement that the Chhattisgarh government had not responded to the disinvestment secretary's fax message was not strictly true. The fax had been sent late on March 6 night and before the Chhattisgarh chief secretary could get to his office the next morning, the Union government had moved the supreme court.

Mr Shourie only made a pretence of making a request to the Chhattisgarh government, Mr Reddy said, and had thereby misled both the supreme court and

both houses of Parliament.

The government's contention that since the state government was not cooperating, it had no recourse but to go to court was not correct, he said.

Mr Reddy also added that the Chhattisgarh government, too, had offered Rs 551 crore for 51 per cent of BALCO. Asked when it had done so, Mr Reddy said, "It was after the Sterlite deal was made public."

On Sterlite, he said, "The new management has not merely closed down the main unit but also the sensitive vital installation — the smelter plant."

"I recall Arun Shourie delivering sermon after sermon in both Houses on the incalculable harm that was being caused to certain vital installations because of the non-cooperation of the workers," Mr Reddy said, adding, "Although workers had gone on strike, they were attending to duties without punching their cards or taking

their salaries just to keep these installations going. But the new management has taken the stand that either everyone returns to work or no one need come, and then closed down every unit of BALCO. This closure is illegal as it is not a lockout."

Expressing surprise at the closure, Mr Reddy said, "The company could have closed down the plant for two reasons: One, it wants to intimidate the workers into total submission, or else it is not interested in running BALCO at all."

He alleged that perhaps Sterlite, which had paid Rs 551 crore for 51 per cent stake of a company whose reserves totalled Rs 225 crore — the net payment therefore being Rs 326 crore — might be planning to sell away the 275 MW power plant which was built in 1988 and whose current cost would not be less than Rs 1200 crore."

THE TIMES OF INDIA

13 MAR 2001

# Chattisgarh ready to buy BALCO for Rs. 552 cr., SC told

By Our Legal Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 12.** Notwithstanding the differences with the Centre on the BALCO disinvestment issue, the Chattisgarh Government today assured the Supreme Court that it would maintain law and order, provide protection to workers and the management and also supply water and electricity to the plant. The senior counsel for the State Government, Mr. Kapil Sibal, who gave this assurance to the court also made an offer to the Attorney General (AG), Mr. Soli Sorabjee (without addressing the court) that the Government was prepared to buy BALCO for Rs. 552 crores.

Mr. Sorabjee retorted, "some time back the State Government was making a valuation of Rs. 1,500 crores. What happened to that?"

When Mr. Sibal told the AG that there was no transparency in the deal, the latter said "all these things are nice to be said outside the court. Let these allegations be made on oath so that necessary consequences could follow."

At one stage during the arguments, when the counsel on both sides made allegations against one another, the Bench comprising Mr. Justice B.N. Kirpal and Mrs. Justice Ruma Pal said "it is very unfortunate that the Centre and the State were fighting against each other on such an issue."

Earlier, Mr. Sibal contended that the apex court's directions on March 7, at the instance of the Centre, had caused considerable damage and pleaded for vacating the order.

The AG intervened and said these orders were perfectly justified and there could be no objection to this. Mr. Sibal asserted that maintenance of law and order was the responsibility of the State and said the Chattisgarh Government had never abdicated its responsibility as projected by the Centre.

When the Bench asked Mr. Sibal whether he was prepared to give an undertaking on behalf of the State Government on the points contained in the interim order, he gave the undertaking. Thereupon, the Bench said in view of this undertaking "it is no longer necessary to continue with the March 7 order."

The Bench also recorded an undertaking from Mr. Rajeev Dhavan, senior counsel for the BALCO Em-

ployees Union that no worker who was willing to get back to work would be prevented from going in or coming out of the plant.

The Bench, in its order, directed the Chief Secretary and the DGP to ensure that "workers and the management are not in any way intimidated or prevented from willingly going to work in the plant." It also asked the State Government to look into the statement of BALCO's senior counsel, Mr. C.A. Sundaram, that 100 workers were still trapped inside the plant and take necessary steps in this regard.

During the course of arguments, Mr. Sibal brought to the notice of the court that the State Government had set up a high power committee comprising the Chief Secretary, the Director General of Police, the Principal Home Secretary and the Additional Director General of Police (Intelligence) to monitor the law and order situation.

Taking exception to the Centre's averments in the application, Mr. Sibal said "it is in the interest of the private entrepreneur and not in the interest of the Union Government."

Mr. Sibal also refuted the Centre's statement that the State Government was informed about filing of the application. He said a fax message was sent at 9 p.m. on March 6 when all the government offices were closed, that the application would be taken up by the Supreme Court on March 7.

When the AG sought stay of the proceedings initiated by the State Government as to why the lands allotted to the BALCO should not be cancelled, the Bench declined to do so.

The Bench, however, said Mr. Pradeep Baijal, Secretary, Disinvestment Department; Mr. S.C. Krishnan, Managing Director of BALCO and Mr. Anil Aggarwal, Chairman of Sterlite Industries, against whom notices were issued by the Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO) for their appearance at Korba on March 15, could represent through an authorised representative. It was made clear by the Bench that the SDO shall not pass orders on the proceedings.

The court asked the State Government to file its response to the Centre's application as well as to transfer the petition within two weeks and rejoinder within a week and posted the case for further hearing on April 9.

THE HINDU

13 MAR 2001

# Ajit goes Rs 1 crore up on Arun

FROM RASHEED KIDWAI

New Delhi, March 11: The battle over Balco turned into a race for one-upmanship with the Congress-ruled Chhattisgarh offering to buy the aluminium company at Rs 1 crore more than the Rs 551.5 crore paid by the auction-winner, Sterlite Industries.

The unusual offer came after disinvestment minister Arun Shourie dared Chhattisgarh chief minister Ajit Jogi to find a buyer who would match Jogi's valuation of Balco. Jogi had claimed that Balco was worth Rs 5,000-crore, prompting Shourie to throw down the gauntlet. Before the controversy had erupted, Jogi's government had offered over Rs 400 crore for a 51 per cent stake in Balco.

The disinvestment case is coming up for hearing in the Supreme Court tomorrow. In Bangalore, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said the Balco controversy would not affect the government's resolve to disinvest in other companies.

But the Congress indicated that it would keep the Balco row alive, charging Shourie with misleading the Supreme Court and Parliament. The party also accused the new company management of "il-

legally" closing down the Korba unit without declaring a lockout. However, the management has contested this. (See Page 8)

Jogi arrived in the capital and briefed Sonia Gandhi about the Balco situation. The Congress convened a press conference on the issue, but Jogi did not attend. Instead, AICC spokesman Jaipal Reddy led the offensive. Congress sources conceded that Jogi's offer to better Sterlite's price is more "symbolic" than practical. Jogi's detractors within the party, mainly from Madhya Pradesh, termed it a "political gimmick".

Reddy said Shourie misled Parliament when the minister said he took the Chhattisgarh government into confidence before the sell-off deal was struck. Reddy said Shourie was wrong in stating that he sought the state government's cooperation in maintaining law and order through a letter faxed on the night of March 6.

"That was Id holiday and the letter could be replied to only on March 7. Apparently, Shourie made a pretence of a request to the Chhattisgarh government so as to go to the Supreme Court with a grievance," Reddy said. The Supreme Court had ordered the state not to disrupt the flow of essential services to the Balco plant.

# Govt smarts under Balco setback in RS

FROM RADHIKA  
RAMASESHAN

*9-6 to After 11-6*

**New Delhi, March 12:** The Vajpayee government was left red-faced today when an Opposition-sponsored amendment to the motion of thanks on the President's joint address to Parliament was carried in the Rajya Sabha.

The Congress amendment, which disapproved of the absence of any mention of the Balco disinvestment in the speech, was carried 103:64 in the Upper House, where the NDA lacks majority. The main official motion was then adopted by voice vote.

This is the third time in parliamentary history that an Opposition-sponsored amendment has been adopted, the earlier occasions being 1980 and 1989.

The amendment was jointly moved by Pranab Mukherjee and Suresh Pachouri (Congress); Nilotpal Basu, Dipankar Mukherjee and S. Ramachandran Pillai (CPM); and B.S Ramoowalia (Independent).

The amendment said that at the end of the motion the following lines should be added: "but regret that the address does not contain the Government's decision to sell out Balco, a cent per cent owned central PSU having a track record of continuous profit earning and having a huge cash reserve, to a private company whose track record of managing and running an aluminium manufacturing company is not known and is of doubtful nature."

That the amendment was carried has no impact on the stability of the government. But it is significant because this is the first time that the Opposition has closed ranks in Parliament since the NDA government took charge in 1999. All earlier attempts to nail the government have failed because of the reluctance of the Samajwadi Party and Nationalist Congress Party to allow the Congress to take the upper hand.

Opposition sources said both the Samajwadi and the NCP "willingly" collaborated with the Con-

gress. Sources said the absence of Samajwadi MP Amar Singh, whose antipathy to Sonia Gandhi is well known, because of illness made the job easier.

Reacting to the victory, Congress spokesman Jaipal Reddy said it amounted to "moral disapprobation" of the Balco deal. His BJP counterpart, Jana Krishnamurthy, said: "It was expected but it does not count for anything because it is neither a constitutional nor a moral or legal defeat."

CPM MP Nilotpal Basu said it was an "expression of increasing unity across the Opposition both inside and outside Parliament,

## THE AMENDMENT

... but regret that the address does not contain the government's decision to sell out Balco... to a private company whose track record of managing and running an aluminium manufacturing company is not known and is of doubtful nature.

particularly on the Korba deal".

Opposition sources said the decision to move the amendment was taken a few days ago but kept under wraps for fear that the ruling coalition might split the ranks. "We did not want to go overboard but concentrated on ensuring that the government was defeated by a solid margin," a source said. He claimed there was "no problem" in bringing R.S. Kaushik of the Samajwadi and Praful Patel of the NCP around.

Kaushik said: "These are issues on which we cannot allow differences with the Congress to come in the way. Our party has always been against capitalism and the WTO."

Finishing touches to the strategy were given in a meeting held at 2 pm today. Only the ADMK and Asom Gana Parishad skipped the meet as their MPs were busy with Assembly poll preparations.

THE TELEGRAPH

13 MARCH 2001

# Balco closed down on 8 March: Cong

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE & AGENCIES

NEW DELHI, March 11. — The Congress today alleged that Sterlite illegally closed down Balco on 8 March. The party said "Chhattisgarh government will be ready to buy 51 per cent Balco shares for the same price Sterlite paid".

Congress spokesman Mr Jaipal Reddy accused disinvestment minister Mr Arun Shourie of "misleading" the Supreme Court and both Houses of Parliament.

Mr Reddy said the Sterlite management closed down Balco, including the sensitive smelter plant. "The closure is illegal as the management hadn't declared a lock-out," he said. The management had even closed down the sensitive smel-

ter plant, which workers, though on strike, had taken care to "keep it going".

Mr Reddy said the management either "intends to intimidate workers to total submission or isn't interested in running Balco at all".

(Mr AB Vajpayee today said the Balco controversy won't deter the Centre from going ahead with disinvestment in PSUs.)

Mr Reddy suspected that Sterlite lacked interest to run the company because "they got 51 per cent shares for just Rs 512 crore and, in the process, also got a huge cash reserve, 400 hectares of land, mines, colonies and even a power plant, built in 1988,

## 'CHHATTISGARH COULD BUY 51 % STAKE'

which if they give up will fetch them around Rs 1,200 crore".

Supporting Mr Ajit Jogi's demand that Sterlite resell two per cent shares to the government to help it retain majority stake, Mr Reddy said "the Chhattisgarh government will be ready to purchase 51 per cent Balco shares if it were given for the same Rs 512 crore".

The Congress spokesman challenged "Mr Shourie's complaint" to Supreme Court that the state government wasn't providing protection to workers.

Mr Reddy said, "Only at 9 p.m. of 6 March, a holiday, did Mr Shourie through the disinvestment department secretary

send a fax to Chhattisgarh chief secretary knowing fully well the letter only when he comes to office next day. They didn't even bother to ring him up at his residence. And the next morning, Mr Shourie moved Supreme Court. Mr Shourie was making a pretence of a request to go to Supreme Court. I charge Mr Shourie of misleading Supreme Court on this count."

Mr Reddy dismissed as untrue Mr Shourie's statement in both Houses of Parliament that the Centre has taken the state government into confidence before the deal was struck. "I charge Mr Shourie with misleading both Houses of Parliament".

The Balco workers' strike entered its ninth day today.

THE STATESMAN

T 2 MAR 2000



# CM extends deadline of review panel on Dabhol deal

By Our Mantralaya Correspondent

MUMBAI: After pulling off a successful political coup, chief minister Vilasrao Deshmukh has skilfully managed to put at bay the Enron controversy, at least for the time being.

On Friday, the CM extended the March 15 deadline of the Madhav Godbole committee which is reviewing the Power Purchase Agreement (PPA) of the Enron-promoted Dabhol Power Corporation (DPC).

The fresh deadline has not been announced. But it is unlikely it will be during the seven-week session of the legislature commencing here on March 12.

"The government has also decided to revise the earlier terms of reference of the review committee. As per the fresh changes, the Godbole committee has been armed with additional powers to hold negotiations with DPC officials on tariff and other issues," Mr Deshmukh said at a press conference held in Mantralaya on Friday after a meeting of the cabinet.

The state government's sudden change of heart in extending the review committee's deadline is not

without reason, claim observers. It is being described as a well-designed strategy to avoid any embarrassment to the Democratic Front government during the budget session.

"Had the committee delivered its report on March 15, the opposition would have demanded that the document be tabled in the house. It would have meant one more trouble for the Deshmukh ministry," a Mantralaya official said.

Mr Deshmukh reiterated the poor state of finances of the MSEB, but agreed that the board was liable to make payments to the DPC.

"We agree that payments have to be made to the DPC but since the MSEB and the state are facing a financial crisis we have requested the Union government to bail us out," he said.

Interestingly, the DPC on Thursday had invoked the Centre's counter guarantee after the failure of the state and the Union government to pay Rs 104 crore towards the power purchased by the MSEB in December.

Mr Deshmukh took potshots at the affairs of the MSEB stating that the board had to take measures to

scale down its transmission and distribution losses which account for 34 per cent. "It should be brought down to at least 18 per cent," he said.

Informing mediapersons of the MoU to be signed between the state and the Union government on reforms in the power sector, Mr Deshmukh said the agreement will be signed on March 31. "After we seal this agreement with the Centre, the state will get Rs 135 crore for its power programmes," the CM said.

Mr Deshmukh said budget session would pass off peacefully with the ruling coalition willing for debate and discussion with the opposition on all the crucial issues concerning the state.

Of the 20 new bills to be introduced in the house, the much-awaited bill on the slum policy, private coaching classes, cooperative societies and proposed changes to the municipal corporation Act will be tabled for discussion and passage.

Mr Deshmukh said.

"The bill on private coaching classes has been revised. The proposed law will not be applicable to single-teacher private tutorials where the student capacity is less than 10.

The earlier clause that each private coaching class should have a separate toilet for girls and boys and parking space for cycles have been done away with," he said.

In another significant decision, the cabinet on Friday decided to initiate the concept of 15 per cent popular participation for all state-sponsored schemes.

"In any rural schemes where the beneficiaries contribute 15 per cent of the capital cost of the development project, such projects will be taken up on a priority basis with the state financing the rest 85 per cent.

In cases where the locals do not contribute towards the schemes, programmes will continue to be implemented subject to availability of funds," Mr Deshmukh said.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

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# Balco deal: The real issues - II

This is the second and concluding part of the article published in these columns on March 9.

The decision on disinvestment in Balco marks a significant new broad vision on the positive possibilities of how the Government can distance itself from operational responsibilities in relation even to profit-making enterprises.

As the Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, has stated it, the Vajpayee Government now looks at disinvestment as a whole strategy of withdrawal from a range of industrial activities that are not strictly the domain of the government. The Economic Advisory Council (EAC) had, in fact, urged on such an approach.

The question why a profit-making enterprise such as Balco should at all be made over to a private sector such as Sterlite (to the extent of 51 per cent of the equity) is not difficult to answer in the new policy context.

That apart, the profitability of Balco had

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remained constricted for years with outdated smelter technology, inadequate supply of ore, dependence for power on the State electricity board in spite of having its captive generation plants and a sick Bidhanbag unit in West Bengal (which had been merged with Balco a few years ago).

Was the company's internal resource generation sufficient to help it modernise its operations? Few analysts would say that Balco with its market share of 21 per cent in primary aluminium in 1996-97 was exactly poised for a big leap.

The Disinvestment Commission, in fact, had concluded that in view of new capacities being built in the domestic market and import liberalisation, Balco should be categorised as a non-core PSE (rather than as a core PSE) for purposes of disinvestment.

In other words, the commission had held the view that the Government could disinvest a major part of its equity through a strategic sale to a partner followed by a public offer in the domestic market within two years.

### Defence orientation?

An objection to Balco disinvestment voiced in Parliament recently was on the

ground that the company had a "defence" significance about it.

The fact is that aluminium and extruded products have versatile applications in diverse areas of the economy including construction, transport and aviation. This is no reason for looking at the Sterlite induction in Balco as a security-related issue.

After all, there are hundreds of industrial units in the country including some SSI units that have defence contracts which do not automatically evoke security concerns.

Besides the woefully low per capita use of aluminium in India (at around 0.5 grams), the stark reality of a consumption pattern lagging far behind that in most developed countries, is what puts the prospects of the industry in positive light.

The Disinvestment Commission found that while at the global level, the electrical sector accounted for only 8 per cent of the total usage of aluminium, in India, it was as high as 34 per cent, (mainly because till 1989, the Aluminium Control Order had reserved 50 per cent of the production for the electrical sector).

Then again, packaging, building and construction are relatively high-aluminium usage sectors at the global level, but these had markedly low levels of consumption in India.

For companies such as Sterlite which can access vast capital resources from global markets, the scope for vertical integration of downstream projects with production of aluminium (supported by captive power projects) is indeed enormous.

### Against Constitutional mandate?

The Balco deal is objected to because, among other things, it is seen to be coming in conflict with the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) of the Constitution according to which the State should ensure that there is no concentration of economic power in the hands of a few persons.

It is often forgotten that the controlled economy and the system of planning evolved in this country with little or no Constitutional sanction and that many of the Directive Principles of State Policy including abolition of child labour and universalisation of primary education have remained dead-letters without the citizens having had any enforceable legal rights relating to them.

To say that the transfer of 51 per cent of the Government's equity in Balco to Sterlite will spell a new chapter of monopoly power in the aluminium industry is to ignore that in a highly capital-intensive industry such as aluminium, only a few big players can survive (unlike as in the downstream or application industries).

In an era of global competition, the concept of monopoly defined in terms of installed capacity or domestic market share is evidently anachronistic.

### The transparency buzzword

The debate in Parliament on the Balco share transfer has lighted up a new-fangled passion for transparency. While Mr. Arun Shourie, Minister for Disinvestment, has gone to great lengths explaining how the process of share valuation in Balco has been gone through with meticulous non-partisan professional expertise and how competitive bidding has been obtained without any loophole being left for tampering with the system, sections of the Opposition have maintained with more vehemence than credibility that the Government had not been above board.

What more can one expect from a Government than the willingness to let the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) audit the entire records regarding the Balco deal? Mr. Shourie may well claim that this is a "new high" in transparency for any Government in Independent India.

But the rub is that if CAG audit is going to be sought for every transaction of the Government, accountability will soon substitute for executive decisions and performance.

For all practical purposes, protecting government transactions zealously from unhealthy and unconstitutional influences would be a sufficient expression of transparency without each competitive bid in transactions relating to strategic sale of PSEs being opened, as recently suggested by Mr. C. V. Ramakrishna, former Chairman of the Disinvestment Commission, in the presence of a TV crew! If it became necessary at all, would not a group comprising the Chief Justice of India, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the Leader of the Opposition and the Minister concerned, serve the cause better than the paparazzi?

THE HINDU

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# BALCO, Congress and Parliament

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By V. Krishna Ananth

THE EVENTS leading to the Lok Sabha "approving" the Union Government's decision to transfer the Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) to a private bidder have revealed again absurdities in the contemporary political discourse. For example, the view that the outcome of the Lok Sabha debate on the issue (under Rule 184) meant an approval of the Executive's decision.

The procedure does not call for any such approval by Parliament and the Executive is well within its rights to effect such a transfer. The transfer of BALCO was not contingent upon any approval by the two Houses of Parliament. It is another matter that what was "achieved" in this case cannot be described as approval by Parliament; for the Rajya Sabha had only debated the issue. Hence, it will be factually incorrect to conclude that the transfer has been "approved" by Parliament.

This aspect, however, pales into insignificance, if one looks at the voting figures in the Lok Sabha and the contents of the debate. The motion was defeated with the Opposition managing only 119 votes "against" the administrative decision. In other words, the transfer would have had the "approval" of the Lok Sabha even if some of those in the ruling combine had opposed the motion. The floor leaders of the Opposition parties — the Congress in particular — did nothing to ensure that their were present even when they knew that the motion on the BALCO transfer, after it was admitted under Rule 184, was going to be put to vote that day. The high command (Ms. Sonia Gandhi) did not care to instruct Mr. P. R. Dasmunshi (the chief whip) to ensure that the party MPs were present in the House and voted against the motion. This indeed is a pointer to the seriousness with which the Congress had taken the sale of BALCO.

It makes sense to single out the Congress in this context for more than one reason. In the first place, the high command seemed to have decided to leave its vassal in Chhatisgarh to fight the battle

for BALCO alone. Second, it was the Congress that had insisted in the Lok Sabha that the discussion be under Rule 184. And, lastly, the fact that the idea of disinvestment of the Government's shares in public sector undertakings was initiated by the Congress.

And as for the "needle of suspicion" that the Congress' members in the two Houses were referring to and the charge by Mr. Ajit Jogi outside (of a few hundred crores changing hands), it is no different from similar charges against those in the Government when the 11-B mines in Madhya Pradesh's Bastar district, ex-

blamed for the building of such a perception.

Take for instance the present case, and the charges against the Congress in the past — of having "sold" the nation's assets in Bailadilla; of having played a role in letting Harshad Mehta rig the stock market; that Mr. Sukh Ram, then in the Congress Cabinet, made a lot of money while opening up of basic telecom services to private entrepreneurs. Or the Dabhol Power Project (Enron), where the negotiations were carried out by not just the leaders of the Congress but several others including Mr. Bal Thackeray's own

*The imperative for the Opposition, particularly the Congress, is to press for a debate on what Parliament's role should be in the disinvestment process.*

plored and developed by the National Mineral Development Corporation (NMDC), were transferred to Nippon-Denro, a Japanese corporation. The Congress was in power both in New Delhi and in Bhopal then. This happened in 1995. The Opposition, particularly the Left party MPs, had raised similar doubts even at that time; it is another matter that the BJP and its present allies had also joined the chorus.

The point here, to cut a long story short, is that transfer of the Government's stake in the industrial and mining sectors continues to be mired in controversies; and the focus has been on money changing hands. In other words, the same story as it was with the deal between the Union Government and Bofors. And such charges, even if they are made without any substantive evidence, tend to stick and contribute in a big way to the construction of a popular perception about the political class.

And, it is no longer one political party or any one formation against whom such charges are made. Instead, parties cutting across the spectrum are being placed in the same boat. After all, the people (and particularly the intelligentsia) cannot be

men. The outcome is there for all to see; this project, held out at one stage as the model for India's march into the new century, has now become an albatross around the people's neck.

What was striking in all these deals was that the state (and by extension the people) was taken for a ride by a set of political leaders and members of the civil administration. And in all these instances, the representative institutions — Parliament and the State Legislatures — were left to "discuss" the deals and stop with that. And even those who raised some valid doubts (based on technical facts) were derided as forces opposed to the nation's "development" not just by the organisations of employers but also by MPs of the ruling side; it is another matter that the rulers today are those who were on the other side a couple of years ago.

Looking at the BALCO affair in this larger context, one is led to conclude that Parliament as an institution is being reduced to a talking shop. It is this aspect of the sequence of events involving BALCO that strikes at the roots of the democratic set-up. Given that the Government is determined to transfer more and more PSUs to private entrepreneurs in the days to

come, the imperative for the Opposition, particularly the Congress, is to press for a debate on what Parliament's role should be in the disinvestment process. In other words, to formulate an alternative to the disinvestment mechanism where the representative institutions are allowed to play a substantive role rather than merely raise a din. Ms. Sonia Gandhi, not to blame for the Congress' omissions and commissions of the past, is better placed today to initiate a serious debate on such issues. Instead, she seems to have allowed herself to be persuaded by sections in the party that it is sufficient for the Opposition to merely raise a lot of dust over every move by the Executive and wait for the next elections.

The imperative for the Congress now is to reopen a debate within the party on what its position should be on disinvestment. The party's position on the issue, as it is, hardly provides any scope for meaningful debate. By putting off any serious debate within the party on this and other aspects of the economic policy, the Congress high command will only help push the party further to the margins of the political discourse. And this could further the distortion of the democratic set-up. But then, such concerns for the Congress have to compete with the desire of its leaders to somehow manage to remain in the reckoning; take for instance the developments in West Bengal where a number of the party's MLAs have crossed over to the Trinamool Congress or the common cause that Mr. Vilasrao Deshmukh is now seen making with Mr. Sharad Pawar and Mr. Bal Thackeray on the Enron affair in Maharashtra.

And this indeed is the tragedy. After all, the loser in this context is not merely one or other party. Instead, it is the very basis of the democratic set-up — Parliament as an institution — that is being exposed to ridicule. The manner in which the representatives of the various corporate groups reacted when the BALCO transfer was debated in Parliament — describing those who wanted a debate on the issue as disruptors — is only a pointer to what lies in store.

THE HINDU

30 MAR 2007

# Balco deal — sifting real issues from canards

By S. Swaminathan

The disinvestment of Central Government equity in Bharat Aluminium Company (Balco) Ltd. to the extent of 51 per cent is both a bold strategic stroke by the NDA Government and a sure recipe for political confrontation.

The transfer of Government equity to Sterlite Industries at a price of Rs. 551 crores has already become *fait accompli*. The questions and allegations that surfaced in the Lok Sabha on the Balco disinvestment have, in the main, related to polemics about the propriety of disinvestment although our

## POINT COUNTERPOINT

Parliamentarians seem to have feigned professional knowledge about "valuation accounting" — an area too dicey even for expert accountants.

This is a familiar game in political stonewalling of disinvestment. The Thatcherite blitzkrieg of privatisation in Britain was not totally immune from the accusations of the Labour Opposition of undervaluing "family silver" for making a success of an obstinate policy of Government withdrawal from industry and public utility services. "Pitch for unrealistic extortionate price bids for government enterprises and say that there are no takers." At whatever prices Government equity is sought to be transferred, blow the whistle and proclaim the suspicion of a sleaze. That is the art of sabotaging privatisation. There is ground for believing that it is this art which is now at work in New Delhi and Chattisgarh,

with the difference that in the new State, there is a brazen show of jingoism as well. All this is not to say that the Department of Disinvestment has not made its own contribution to the confusion surrounding the whole deal.

## Unseemly hurry?

The proposition that the Central Government could go for strategic sale of a large (though not dominant) part of its equity in Balco has been there for about five years now. In April 1997, the Disinvestment Commission made a comprehensive assessment of the strengths and debilities of Balco and summed up its views thus: "The Commission has evaluated various modes of disinvestment and has concluded that the sale of shares in a public offer may get a lower realisation than the sale to a strategic partner through a competitive bidding process from domestic and foreign partners." Of course, the United Front Government could not buy the proposition as it was besieged by internal contradictions on this and other areas of the reform agenda owing to Left obstinacy.

The truth is that only after Mr. Arun Jaitley was inducted as Law Minister into the NDA Government that the proposals regarding disinvestment came to be seriously examined. It is not difficult to believe that the modalities regarding competitive bidding for Government equity in Balco have been at work for months now. What is intriguing is why the Government seemed so keen on clinching the deal with Sterlite just on the eve of the

presentation of the annual budget. Was it a case of juvenile excitement about telling the world that the NDA Government had, at long last, cracked the hard nut of disinvestment? That sense of hurry perhaps put the Opposition in a fit of uncontrollable rage and a consequent flurry of disinformation.

## Why invite parliament hubbub?

Was it the NDA Government's extraordinary urge to show itself as an exemplar of transparency that led it to break the news about the Balco deal in Parliament and pave the way for voting on the issue? In strict terms of accountability to Parliament, perhaps, an executive decision regarding sale of equity in a public sector unit did not warrant discussion in Parliament much less a formal approval. To say that the Government won the day and thereby proved that the Lok Sabha had endorsed its policy of PSE disinvestment is at best a superfluous claim and at worst a bad precedent that would only shackle governments in the future.

The reality of it all is that the TINA (there is no alternative) factor came out in all its crudeness, putting to shame the Congress Party for its unabashed double-think on disinvestment and the Left parties for their comprehensive inability to see the writing on the wall. Or is this all an amateurish reading of the current phase of politics in New Delhi? Could it be that the BJP strategists deliberately stage-managed a stir in Parliament over the Balco deal to demonstrate that the NDA Government would stick together, rain or shine as

the case may be? Much as the Minister for Disinvestment, Mr. Arun Shourie, attempted to educate the worthy members of the Lok Sabha on internationally recognised methods of fixing a fair value on equity shares in a "going concern", the battle seemed to veer round the question as to who is the more credible valuer — the MPs themselves or the professionals? It is pertinent to note that in 1996, the tangible net worth of Balco was around Rs. 760 crores and with little capital infusion since then and with even minimum levels of depreciation, it could not have soared much higher. That the bid made by Sterlite was higher, in fact, than the best value put on the shares by the professional valuers, cannot be dismissed as an irrelevant afterthought.

## Enter enfant terrible

The queerest detour for the Balco deal has been provided by the irrepressible Chief Minister of Chattisgarh, Mr. Ajit Jogi. It is difficult to disentangle Mr. Jogi's frenzied loyalty to the Congress top-brass from his amazing unfamiliarity with the basics of Centre-State relations. His party has, after all, questioned the Vajpayee Government's zeal to hand over a profit-making PSE to a company in the private sector. He is not simply opposed to the Balco deal but as Chief Minister of Chattisgarh, he has virtually declared war against the Union of India! Whoever from Sterlite dare enter Korba to take over the management of the facilities there so long as Mr. Jogi as Chief Minister stands shoulder to shoulder with the 7,000 misguided

employees of Balco? Other chief ministers might worry about how to foster employment but Mr. Jogi would risk forced unemployment at Korba rather than allow the sovereign Government of India to share its equity with Sterlite

## The red-herring about tribal rights

Mr. Jogi has discovered that the lands on which the Balco facilities are sited constitute tribal lands in terms of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. According to him, the transfer of equity shares by the Central Government to Sterlite empowering the latter to assume managerial authority, amounts to the transfer or alienation of tribal lands in favour of Sterlite. This is not a tenable stand in law for the transfer of shares does not involve any change in the original lease of the lands by the Government of Madhya Pradesh in the early 1970s to Balco, a fully-owned public sector enterprise of the Central Government.

Mr. Jogi might have his political compulsions in over-reacting to a decision by the NDA Government on transferring 51 per cent of its equity holdings in Balco. But his repeated claim of knowledge about a party in the PMO in New Delhi having secured an illicit benefit amounting to Rs. 100 crores and his assertion that he would reveal his information only to a Joint Parliamentary Committee (if and when it is appointed) both belong to the theatre of the absurd! How is the Home Ministry going to deal with this new specimen on the Indian political firmament?

(To be concluded)

DANGER TO PLANT PROMPTED DECISION: SHOURIE

# Opposition slams Govt. for moving S.C. on BALCO

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI MARCH 8. The Government came in for sharp criticism in Parliament today for approaching the Supreme Court on the BALCO issue on the basis of "false premises" to "thwart the strike" at the company's main plant in Korba.

The Opposition questioned the Government's propriety in moving the apex court on an issue concerning Centre-State relations without taking the State Government into confidence.

While the Opposition, mainly the Left, was unrelenting in the attack on the Government for approaching the apex court on behalf of a private company, the Disinvestment Minister, Mr. Arun Shourie, defended the action when the issue cropped up soon after question hour in the Upper House.

In the Lok Sabha, the CPI(M) leader, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, said the Government was taking recourse to the judiciary to hustle through its disinvestment policy and destabilise the constitutional equilibrium.

In the Rajya Sabha, the Opposition's line of attack was encapsulated by the senior Congress leader, Mr. Arjun Singh, during a crisp intervention. While Mr. Shourie claimed that the BALCO plant was in danger, the workers had promised that no untoward incident would be allowed to take place, he said. "You don't deserve to be a Minister if you have gone to the Supreme Court on the basis of false premises," he told Mr. Shourie.

During the debate on the motion of thanks to the President's address on Wednesday, Mr. Singh had sought to know from the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, whether the spirit of the Constitution had been followed in the BALCO disinvestment. He asked whether the Government wished to amend Schedule 5 of the Constitution, which directs States to protect tribals against exploitation and preserve valuable endowments of their land since it was coming in the way of disinvestment.

## Financial burden

During several interventions interrupted by

the Opposition today, Mr. Shourie said the Government petitioned the Supreme Court late yesterday on four counts. The Centre had received "alarming information about imminent danger to the BALCO plant"; no reply was received to the Centre's missive to the Chhatisgarh Chief Secretary about the law and order situation; the Government would also have to bear the financial implication of a loss due to sabotage as it still held 49 per cent of the equity; the striking workers had not submitted any charter of demands; and, some State political leaders had made inflammatory statements at the plant gate.

Mr. Shourie's arguments were contested by the CPI(M)'s Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee who assailed the Government for giving a non-factual reply. All BALCO unions had promised that the smelter would be kept operational with no worker claiming wages and that the strike would be peacefully conducted until the deal with Sterlite was cancelled.

Mr. Shourie was asked by the Rajya Sabha Chairman, Mr. Krishan Kant, to recant his charges against the Chhatisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, as he had not given notice

before attacking the State Government. A short while later, Mr. Shourie was told not to read the apex court's order in the House and when he sought to reply to the CPI(M)'s Mr. Nilotpal Basu, who was the first to raise the issue, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee wanted to know whether the Minister's proclivity to reply to each observation would become a precedent.

## Unfortunate: BJP

Meanwhile, the BJP criticised the Opposition charge saying, "it was unfortunate that they chose to question the apex court judgment while taking a contrary stand when some Sangh Parivar outfits claim that in matter of religion, the courts cannot decide." The party spokesman, Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra, said the issue had turned contentious due to the ongoing leadership tussle between Mr. Jogi and the Congress leader, Mr. V. C. Shukla.

Mr. Malhotra said moving the Supreme Court was one of the constitutional remedies the Centre had in mind, and warned that Mr. Jogi could be hauled for contempt of court in case he did not follow the apex court order.

Uproar in Assembly: Page 9

## We had no other option: PM

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MARCH 8. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today declared that seeking legal remedy was the only solution to the crisis created by the strike at the Korba unit of the Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) in Chhatisgarh. Refuting suggestions that other methods to resolve the issue could have been explored, he said, "it would have been too late by then".

Responding to questions at a tea party organised on the occasion of International Women's Day, he said threats had been made to cut off water and electricity to the plant. Besides, there was a real danger to the plant which might have suffered

irreparable damage at the hands of the striking employees. There was no option but to immediately seek court intervention, he felt.

Mr. Vajpayee also criticised the statements of Mr. Ajit Jogi, on the issue saying "this is not the way for a Chief Minister to behave."

The Congress president, Ms. Sonia Gandhi, present on the occasion, said the Chief Minister was free to do what he liked in such a situation.

Meanwhile, five central trade unions — AITUC, BMS, CITU, HMS and INTUC — urged the Centre to "respect the feelings of the people and cancel the BALCO deal immediately".

THE HINDU

- 9 MAR 2001

# 95 Battle over Balco 3

The Supreme Court directive comes as a face-saver for Jogi

**E**VEN if the method the Centre found for disciplining the Chhattisgarh government over the Balco deal — approaching the Supreme Court with an urgent application — is questionable, the latter has only itself to blame for the denouement. It is one thing to take a position on disinvestment in a public sector company and quite another to disrupt the handing over of the company to the buyer. Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Ajit Jogi has been on a confrontationalist course ever since Sterlite emerged the winner in the bid for the public sector aluminium company. Though such a stance was surprising given the fact that the Congress concurs generally with the policy of disinvestment, it would have made sense if Jogi had relied on strong arguments and statistics to buttress his viewpoint. Far from that, he made allegations to the effect that Sterlite was favoured because of the bribe it paid to some influential person in the prime minister's Secretariat. Let alone naming the alleged recipient of the bribe, Jogi even failed to substantiate his charge that he was not consulted on the sale of Balco. But all this pales into insignificance when it is compared to what he did subsequently, when he allegedly incited the Balco workers to go on strike.

It was quite unusual for a chief minister, entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining law and order, to get involved in a strike in this manner. It is doubtful if the workers would have gone on strike in the light of the assurances given by the new management that there would be no retrenchment or anti-labour policies but for the encouragement given by the state government.

Failure of the state to provide protection to the workers who wanted to work amidst fears of a critical and costly component of the Balco factory getting irreparably damaged did not show the Jogi government in a good light. Naturally questions were raised whether the chief minister was using the unwary workers of Balco to settle a score with the Central government. However, the apex court's directive to the state government to refrain from cutting the supply of water and power to the company and to provide protection to the workers willing to join duty should be seen as a warning to Jogi to cease his theatrics. At the same time, whether the political leadership in the state and at the Centre realises it or not, the judicial intervention is a poor reflection of its commitment to administrative and political decorum.

It is significant that the court's order does not prevent the Chhattisgarh government from pursuing the notice it served on Balco to show cause why land allotted to the company should not be cancelled in view of its proprietorship falling into the hands of a private party. In other words, what the court seeks to prevent are only the 'illegal' actions of the government. It is a question of interpretation whether the sale of Balco infringes the safety clause against alienation of tribal land in scheduled areas as contended by Jogi or not. This will hopefully be settled once and for all by the apex court, which is seized of the matter. Till then, the chief minister will do well not to stoke the flames at Balco. In fact, he should consider the court's directive as a face-saver to withdraw from his confrontationalist stance.

10/10/2001

# Govt under attack in House over Balco

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, March 8

THE GOVERNMENT today came under attack in Parliament over its decision to move the Supreme Court on Balco disinvestment without taking the Chhattisgarh State into confidence.

The Left parties in particular put the blame on the government for going to the apex court without paying heed to the federal set-up as envisaged in the Constitution.

In Lok Sabha, CPI-M leader Somnath Chatterjee said he was not raising the matter of "Centre going to the Supreme Court" but the question of propriety. He accused the government of taking recourse to the judiciary for going ahead with its "sinister disinvestment policy" and destabilising the constitutional equilibrium.

Countering the Opposition charges during Zero Hour, Disinvestment Minister Arun Shourie told the Lok Sabha that the Centre had received alarming reports that water and electricity to the Balco plant would be cut and the managerial staff would not be allowed to enter the plant.

He added that the issue had turned into a law-and-order problem after an ambulance was burnt and a CISF van damaged by activists.

Mr Shourie dismissed the Opposition's charge that the State Government had not been consulted. He said the Disinvestment Secretary had written to the Chhattisgarh Chief Secretary about the disturbing reports and the possibility of damage to the plant. But there was no response, he said.

Mr Shourie told agitated Oppo-

sition members that experts were of the view that irretrievable harm could be caused to the plant if immediate action was not taken. The losses could amount to Rs 100 crore.

In the Rajya Sabha, Mr Nilotpal Basu of the CPI(M) raised the issue during zero hour. He said the Government was trying to "throttle" the legitimate rights of workers.

Mr Shourie told the Elders that political leaders of Chhattisgarh had said the plant would not be allowed to function till the Government reversed its decision. This, he said had been reported in the Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh Press.

Mr Shourie, however, withdrew his words in the Rajya Sabha when Chairman Krishan Kant said he could not make such a statement on a State without giving notice.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Uproar in Chhatisgarh House over BALCO

By Aarti Dhar

110-9 9/13  
**RAIPUR, MARCH 8.** The Chhatisgarh Assembly was today adjourned until March 13 without transacting any business, for the second consecutive day, following pandemonium over the controversial Bharat Aluminium Company Limited (BALCO) issue.

The House was adjourned twice this morning as the Opposition insisted on a debate on the matter even as the ruling party MLAs refused to concede. When all efforts to pacify the members failed, the Speaker, Mr. R. P. Shukla, adjourned the House until next week.

Trouble began when the Kathghora MLA, Mr. Banwari Lal Aggarwal (BJP), rose to read a statement on the deteriorating law and order situation at Balco Nagar after visiting the site on Wednesday evening, along with his colleagues. However, his request was turned down by the ruling party members, which led to a fierce argument resulting in an adjournment. When the House reassembled another argument ensued leading to a second adjournment. Things did not change even then and the House was adjourned till March 13.

## Workers enter plant

At Korba, the striking unions started sending workers inside the plant to prevent a total shutdown. The first batch of 35 workers was sent in early this morning, and by evening the necessary 73 men would report at the smelting plant, as demanded by the management. However, the staff going in did not punch their cards and said they would not take any wages

for this duty as the work was being done voluntarily to keep the plant running which was their first priority. The unions even appealed to the officers inside the plant to participate in the strike and also keep the plant running.

The decision to send in people was taken on the appeal made by Mr. C. W. Devas, general manager (works), saying irreparable damage would be caused if action was not taken within 12 hours. Though the men were to be sent in yesterday itself the arrival of the BJP MLAs from Raipur had delayed the process.

Meanwhile, a move by the BJP MLA, Mr. Nanki Ram Garg, to ensure the entry and exit of "willing workers" to resume duties under police protection failed to take off as he himself went off to Raipur to attend the House, and no one volunteered to take a vehicle, provided by the police, across the campus to transport the men. Mr. Garg had yesterday sought a written assurance from the Superintendent of Police that they would provide security to the workers wanting to resume work. Similar directions had been issued by the Supreme Court to the Chief Minister.

## Submit or quit, BJP tells Jogi

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 8.** The BJP today said the Chhatisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, should either submit to the rule of law on the BALCO disinvestment issue or step down from office.

Party spokesman, Mr. V.K. Malhotra, said

that it was highly improper for the Chief Minister to abet and encourage lawlessness, disregarding his Constitutional obligations.

He said Mr. Jogi knew the Centre's limitations in invoking Art. 356 of the Constitution as the NDA Government lacked majority in the Rajya Sabha and that was why he was encouraging activities which tend to disturb law and order. The Chief Minister, Mr. Malhotra said, should not forget that by doing so he could render himself liable to contempt of court as the Supreme Court has already expressed its views on the issue.

Mr. Malhotra also assailed the Opposition for criticising the Supreme Court's directions to Mr. Jogi to provide full security to workers and the management of the strike-hit aluminium plant and said this exposed their "duplication". The spokesman said "on Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid issue they insist that everybody should abide by the court verdict while in this case they are criticising the court instead of appreciating its directive".

Mr. Malhotra said his party was not in favour of interference by the judiciary in the domain of the executive, but in this case, the court was justified since the person who is encouraging lawlessness was none other than the Chief Minister of the State.

Referring to Budget proposals, he said some members had made certain suggestions with regard to reduction of excise duty on ready-made garments as also giving some relief to the salaried class. The members could meet the Finance Minister to discuss the matter, he said. — PTI

THE HINDU

- 9 MAR 2001



# BSE chief quits as SEBI orders investigation

**HT Correspondent**  
*Mumbai, March 8*

THE GOVERNING board of the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) met here today and accepted the resignation of its president, Anand Rathi.

While the board expressed complete confidence in his integrity, it appointed the BSE vice-president, Dina Mehta, who is the only woman broker director on the governing board, to officiate as its interim president. The next BSE chief would be appointed on April 1, 2001.

The board, which had called a press conference cancelled it and instead issued a statement stating that Rathi's resignation

which has already cost Rathi his job.

Amongst the technology stocks HFCL lost about 15 per cent to Rs 389. It may be mentioned here that big bull Ketan Parekh has large holdings of HFCL which sold its 10 per cent equity stake to Australian media mogul Kerry Packer last year at a price of over Rs 1,100 per share and raised Rs 1,400 crores.

Informed sources said it was essentially a fight between big bulls and even bigger bears. The later apparently got sensitive information relating to the tight liquidity position of leading bulls who in the recent months made a fortune in technology

stocks. One of the leading bulls was undoubtedly Ketan Parekh. The bears used the information to unload their stocks pushing values to a new low. Thus, while they made money the bulls lost heavily.

A CEO of a leading mutual fund said one leading bull could have lost as much as Rs 300 crore in the last two months. In a way he said the crisis of March 2 was a culmination of the fight certain bear quarters had egged on to its logical conclusion. The alleged leakage of market sensitive information played a crucial role in the bears calling it quits even as the bulls had more than doubled their wealth in the last one year.

round of investigations. Is the transcript containing the conversation between BSE president Anand Rathi and Surveillance chief S Gerela on the leak of sensitive market information being studied to establish a possible nexus between brokers and BSE officials?

"Sebi is a court. I, therefore, cannot tell you," Mr Mehta told Hindustan Times. "Neither have I got a magic wand, nor am I investigating this personally. Since we have to collect data and interpret it, I would not like to go

**HT Correspondent**  
*Mumbai, March 8*

THE SECURITIES and Exchange Board of India (Sebi) has initiated investigations into the activities of 17 broking firms allegedly involved in the bear hammering in Dalal Street two days after the Budget was presented.

Sebi chairman D R Mehta said the regulator has put together a team of 40 officials from NSE, BSE, CSE and Sebi, to investigate the bear run as part of the first

## 17 broking firms under scanner

into the details now."

However, independent investigations by *Hindustan Times* indicated that the audio detail in the hard disc of the computer kept in the BSE's stock watch room have been recorded in separate audio tapes and a transcript prepared.

Mehta is perplexed that markets should crash just after the Budget, which was generally perceived to be industry friendly.

The Sebi chairman did not seem to rule out manipulations.

# Give security to Balco staff: SC

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE & PTI

NEW DELHI, March 7. - The Supreme Court today ordered the Chhattisgarh government to provide security to the workers and the new management of Balco and not to disrupt supply of water, electricity and food to the Korba plant or the township.

A Division Bench, comprising Mr Justice BN Kirpal and Mr Justice VN Khare, issued the order on an interim application moved by the Centre.

The court asked the state's chief secretary and the DGP to ensure "full protection to the workers, their families and the management inside and outside the Balco plant at Korba", to ensure that "workers and the management are not in any way intimidated" or "prevented from willingly going to work in the plant".

The government is also "restrained from disrupting supply of water, electricity or food to the Balco plant or township."

The Chhattisgarh government tonight

said it would comply with the Supreme Court order, a report from Raipur adds. "The government respects the apex court order and assures protection to those who want to work in the Balco plant," an official said.

The Bench also issued directions that only the Supreme Court would deal with the cases related to the Balco disinvestment deal.

Shortly after the order was issued, a relieved disinvestment minister, Mr Arun Shourie, said he hoped the Chhattisgarh government "would now see reason". He said the Centre had moved the court as the matter had impinged on the Centre-state relations and this was best course open to resolve the controversy.

The "state-sponsored" strike at the Korba plant may cause "irreparable harm", necessitating the Centre's intervention, he said.

The state government had issued notices to the Centre asking it to show cause why the land acquired for the plant would not be cancelled after the disinvestment. The

Bench, which sat at the residence of Mr Justice Kirpal, said the state government could proceed with the notices but would not pass any order.

The Centre, on the other hand, said: "Since the land was leased to the company, the question of cancelling the lease could never arise." Giving details of the sale agreement, it said "all employees of the company on date shall continue in the employment of the company."

"The strategic partner shall not retrench any part of labour force of the company for a period of one year from the closing date other than by dismissal or termination of employees in accordance with law."

In Chhattisgarh Assembly, the chief minister, Mr Ajit Jogi, came under attack for supporting the Balco workers' strike. The Opposition alleged Mr Jogi's action had created a constitutional crisis.

But Mr Jogi claimed the strike would give a new direction to the country's economy and the disinvestment policy.

THE STATESMAN

8 MAR 2001

# Shourie seeks audit of BALCO deal

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 7.** Even as the Disinvestment Minister, Mr. Arun Shourie, has written to the Comptroller and Auditor-General seeking an audit of the BALCO sale transaction, an apex industry chamber has described the entire controversy as "embarrassing" in an open letter to the Chhatisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has pointed out that the developments have come in the midst of a dialogue with a U.S. investment team where Chhatisgarh has been identified as a prominent investment destination. "To talk of foreign investment when executives are put under 'arrest' by recalcitrant labour and functioning plants closed down is a travesty of the entire effort," it says.

With the strike by the BALCO employees at Korba continuing, Mr. Shourie has asked the CAG, Mr. V.K. Shunglu, to assign officials to see the records of BALCO's strategic sale to Sterlite Industries and "conduct the audit". He said the officers of the Department of Disinvestment and the Mines Ministry would assist the designated team to complete the audit and complete the report "at an early date".

While announcing the sale to Sterlite, Mr. Shourie had stressed that all documents would be handed over the CAG for audit to ensure complete transparency in

the transaction. The letter to the CAG is evidently meant to fulfil this commitment.

## FICCI concern

Simultaneously, the FICCI has entered the fray with its president, Mr. Chirayu R. Amin, in an open letter to Mr. Jogi, pointing out that it has included Chhatis-

## Protect workers, says SC

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 7.** The controversy over privatising the BALCO took a new turn today with the Supreme Court directing the Chhatisgarh Government to provide full protection to workers and the new management of the strike-bound aluminium plant.

On an urgent interim application moved by the Central Government, a two-member Bench directed that the State Government should not disconnect water, electricity and food supplies to the plant. It restrained other courts from giving any order on the issue as the matter rested with the apex court.

The Union Minister for Disinvestment, Mr. Arun Shourie, hoped that the Chhatisgarh Government would implement the order in letter and in spirit.

In Raipur, an official spokesperson, Mr. C.K. Khaitan, said "The Government respects the apex court order and assures all protection to those who want to work in the BALCO plant." — PTI

garh as a prominent investment destination for the mining and metals sector in today's presentation to U.S. investors.

The letter expresses concern at the Korba strike and the immobilisation of the plant resulting in national wastage of productive facilities set up with public money. The smelter and the pot at the Korba plant have been laid to rest and unless these are re-ignited immediately and taken to higher temperatures, these will be damaged beyond repair, it is pointed out.

"The implications are that fresh expenditure of over Rs. 100 crore will be required to put up new facilities," the letter states. This would also mean production loss for a long time and consequent loss to the company. According to the FICCI, the steps now being resorted to by the BALCO labour unions are "suicidal" and can make a viable, smoothly functioning, profitable unit slip into industrial sickness.

The FICCI has expressed the view that other legitimate statements could have been invoked in case there are valid reasons for opposing the privatisation deal. "After all, BALCO is a national property and the national exchequer must get the right price for the asset. There are no two opinions on that. However, we strongly believe that what is happening in Korba is certainly not the right approach," the letter says.

More reports on Page 13

THE HINDU

- 8 MAR 2001

# BJP warns Jogi over BALCO

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MARCH 7. The political fallout of the BALCO disinvestment threatens to sour relations between the Centre and Chhatisgarh with the BJP spokesperson, Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra, threatening today that the Centre could "recover the losses suffered by BALCO" from the "Central (monetary) assistance to the State."

Mr. Malhotra was referring to the continued 'covert and overt' support to the 7,000-strong striking BALCO employees who are protesting against the disinvestment.

He said 49 per cent of the BALCO equity was still with the Centre and the losses suffered by the company as a result of the strike "could be recovered" from funds due to the State from the Centre.

Virtually charging the Chhatisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, with "perpetuating gangsterism" in the name of the Government and tribals, Mr. Malhotra felt that the State's long-term interests would not be served by Mr. Jogi's belligerent attitude, even as reports from Chhatisgarh indicated that Mr. Jogi wanted the agitation to serve as a deterrent to

irresponsible disinvestment in profit-making concerns.

## Imam criticised

The BJP today criticised the Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Ahmed Bukhari, for comparing the 1992 Babri Masjid demolition to the ongoing destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

In a statement made on Tuesday during the Id prayers at the Jama Masjid, the Imam demanded that the Vajpayee Government remove the Ram idol placed at the site of the Babri Masjid. He could then use his good offices with the Taliban to stop the destruction of pre-Islamic idols. The Imam had suggested that the Taliban action was a reaction to the Babri demolition. Mr. Malhotra said, "what the Imam has said is highly condemnable and it is anti-national".

The Shiv Sena issued a statement demanding that the Imam be arrested. Clearly, by implication, Mr. Malhotra was sticking to the BJP view that the demolition of the mosque and the desire to build a Ram temple at the disputed site were a matter of 'nationalist feelings' and not an anti-national act. Mr. Malhotra stated in a matter-of-fact manner:

"there are 3,000 Muslim holy places in India and nobody has harboured any evil intention about these". It was not clear whether that was a warning.

## Imam's arrest demanded

PTI reports:

The Bajrang Dal today demanded arrest and prosecution of the Shahi Imam of the Jama Masjid, Syed Ahmed Bukhari, saying his statement likening the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha statues with the demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya was an attempt to cover up the "ugly face" of the so-called Islamic movement.

In a statement here, the outfit's national convenor, Mr. Surendra Jain, said the Imam should give a rational justification for his statement as "Hindus were performing worship at the disputed site for 50 years under a court order".

"If the destruction of the Buddha statues, eight years after the demolition of the disputed structure, is justified according to the Imam, should it be taken that he was inviting reaction to the demolition of thousands of temples in the country by invaders in the past," Mr. Jain asked. — PTI

THE HINDU

- 8 MAR 2001

# The BALCO deal

By Rajindar Sachar

40-12  
7/3

**T**HE SALE of BALCO by the Central Government continues to make headlines. There are too many dark (not even grey) areas which have not been illuminated. It is not disputed that BALCO is a profit-making PSU. There is no logic for the sale except that which apologists for globalisation put out — that the public sector has to be dismantled, even when it is doing fine. For persons like me, the sale of a PSU in a core sector such as aluminum is unthinkable irrespective of the question of profitability or otherwise, because I would consider this against the mandate of our Constitution which promises economic and social justice and is against concentration of economic power in a few individuals. Unfortunately, the Congress(I), the main Opposition, is also sold on privatisation. This reduces the whole controversy to a bargaining game of sorts — a far cry from the kind of Indian state we dream of.

The Government has not come out with all the facts. Responsible trade unions have alleged that BALCO made a profit of Rs. 55.89 crores and paid the Government Rs. 18 crores as dividend and Rs. 291.57 crores as taxes and duty last year. BALCO is said to have two captive power plants of about 250 MW and would be worth Rs. 500 crores even in the present condition. The Government justification that prices were on the decline is unconvincing considering that the country experienced a shortage of around 1,48,390 tonnes in 2000 itself. Even the Government has admitted that BALCO has a market share of 15 per cent.

Sterlite's Director is naturally in raptures at the deal and admits: "that BALCO acquisition is expected to complete the value chain from bauxite to high value added foils and provides Sterlite group with critical mass". He gloated "that Sterlite turnover from the aluminium business will now go up to over Rs. 1,600 crores from Rs. 800 crores in the Indian aluminium industry."

A serious consequence is that after acquiring BALCO, Sterlite will control 20 per cent of the market share in the aluminium industry. There is not even a remote explanation from the Government how it has entered into such a deal, which even

under the truncated Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, will amount to a monopoly. In such a situation, the Central Government is obliged under the Act to prohibit such a situation as being against the public interest and to even order the division of such undertaking. If the Government goes ahead with the sale of BALCO, it may run foul of challenge before the MRTP Commission. I am not sure that any prospective buyer would, normally like to take that risk, but of course, considering the dirt-cheap price at which Balco is being sold, he may nevertheless consider taking a gamble. Also a sale like this which creates such a large market share runs counter to the

Supreme Court stated the position thus: "Specifically, we think that a merger which produces a firm controlling an undue percentage share of the relevant market, and results in a significant increase in the concentration of firms in that market, is so inherently likely to lessen competition substantially that it must be enjoined in the absence of evidence clearly showing that the merger is not likely to have such anti-competitive effects. Furthermore, the test is fully consonant with economic theory." That "competition is likely to be greatest when there are many sellers, none of which has any significant market share" is common ground among most economists, and was undoubtedly a

a producer of 27.8 per cent of the market of a producer of 1.3 per cent of the market violates the Anti-Trust Act as amended, which prohibits corporate stock or assets acquisitions, the effect of which may be substantially to lessen competition or to tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce in any section of the country.

The Government cannot avoid this issue by saying that there is no definite proof that such a sale of BALCO will lessen competition — it only needs to be reminded that in law to prevent monopolisation, the test is of probabilities and not certainties.

A further serious matter that needs to be examined is the effect of Article 244 of the Constitution read with the Fifth Schedule which prohibits non-tribals holding land in scheduled areas from transferring their lands in favour of persons other than the tribals and any act contrary to this regulation will make the transfer null and void. Whatever immunity may have been enjoyed by BALCO being Government Company, will cease when 51 per cent of it is sold to non-tribals — the result may be that land which at present belongs to BALCO will have to be restored to the tribals because it is situated in a scheduled tribal area.

Another important constitutional aspect is the federal principle of our governance. BALCO is in the State of Chhatisgarh. The Chief Minister has publicly raised an objection to it. The Governor has described it as mindless disinvestment of a financially-sound PSU. Surely, a harmonious working of the Constitution requires the Centre to hold full and total consultations with the State? The Centre just cannot treat the State as a vassal. The State may as well feel that privatising an industry in a tribal area is to the detriment of that neglected section of the community. It may well feel that private management will not give a fair deal to these illiterate disadvantaged populace. Surely the Centre cannot act like a Viceroy of the British Empire. If it does it may run foul of the Constitution with its attendant complications. Sobriety is a worthwhile habit — the Central Government is not exempt from it.

(The writer is a former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court.)

## *The sale of a core sector PSU is against the mandate of our Constitution which is against the concentration of economic power in a few individuals.*

principle of free competition which is said to be the basis of globalisation. How ironic a gap between profession and practice.

Now, monopoly is checked by such unabashedly capitalist countries such as the U.S., Canada and Australia. The European community has even more stringent standards against such mergers which lead to a substantial market share for a company product, which would have the effect of lessening competition and operate to the detriment of the public. Such a monopoly of market share runs foul of Anti-Trust Legislation passed as far back as 1914 in the U.S. That mergers nevertheless continued to the detriment of the public by lessening competition led the U.S. to pass the Anti-Trust Improvement Act, 1996, which requires those planning acquisitions to file notifications with the Federal Trade Commission and to delay consummation for a prescribed period to give an opportunity to the Department of Justice to review the proposed transaction and prevent consummation of transactions that violate anti-trust laws. It is well settled that immunity from the anti-trust law is not lightly implied. This reflects the role of an anti-trust policy in the maintenance of free competition.

In the Philadelphia Book case, the U.S.

premise of congressional reasoning about the anti-merger statute. Though in that case the controlling interest was 30 per cent, the court was cautious enough to say that it was not attempting to specify the smallest market share which would still be considered to threaten undue concentration. The Court thus noticed a dominant view which favoured a finding that a much smaller market share in one corporation would tend to lessen competition and thus be against public interest. Thus it was mentioned that Kaysen and Turner suggest that 20 per cent should be the line of *prima facie* unlawfulness. Stigler suggests that any acquisition by a firm controlling 20 per cent of the market after the merger is presumptively unlawful. Markham mentions 25 per cent. Bok's principal test is increase in market concentration, and he suggests a figure of 7 per cent or 8 per cent. Needless to say, the fact that a merger results in a less than 30 per cent market share, or in a less substantial increase in concentration than in the instant case, does not raise an inference that the merger is not violative of the Anti-Trust Legislation.

In a close parallel case of the Aluminum company of America, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the acquisition by

THE HINDU

7 MAR 2001

## Back to Balco <sup>11-90</sup>

The issue of the disinvestment of Bharat Aluminium Company (Balco) refuses to go away — even after the government won a vote in Parliament and formally transferred control of the public sector undertaking to the private sector metal major Sterlite. The company's Korba plant has been forced to shut down operations after the 7,000-odd workers went on a sudden strike. If the shutdown continues, it may take up to three months and Rs 200 crore to revive the continuous-process smelter. The illegality of the strike aside, a tense law and order situation has developed with the managerial staff confined inside the plant for over three days and the new management disallowed entry. More worryingly, Chattisgarh chief minister Ajit Jogi has himself taken a belligerent stand — inciting the workers to agitate, threatening to cut off power and water to the plant, and even to cancel the mining leases held by the company. As chief minister, Mr Jogi's first duty is to maintain law and order, and this done, he should cool the rhetoric and facilitate resumption of plant operations. It should help that the new management has categorically ruled out retrenchment. As for other issues, these are already before the courts. For his part, Mr Jogi should realise that the rich mineral resources of the newly formed Chattisgarh state require huge investments for development, which can in future come only from the private sector and transnational companies. It is in his own interest therefore that he deals with the strike so as to foster an investor-friendly industrial climate in the state.

However, some disturbing questions regarding Balco remain. These are not questions that would probably disturb either ideological extreme — both camps have already made up their minds and no amount of argument is going to convince them otherwise. But there is a large middle ground, consisting of people who support privatisation as a policy, but are increasingly worried by reports of rampant crony capitalism. This group does not wish to needlessly impugn anyone's integrity, but it would like to be sure that the government's dealings are completely above board. Disinvestment minister Arun Shourie has been largely cooperative with the media, so we hope he will not mind setting the following doubts at rest. According to some reports, the evaluation for 51 per cent of Balco worked out to Rs 320 crore using the balance sheet method, Rs 375 crore using comparative valuation, and about Rs 412 crore using the discounted cash flow method, to which a 25 per cent control premium was added, bringing the reserve price to about Rs 515 crore. Interestingly, the fixed asset valuation would have worked out to Rs 682 crore. The obvious retort would be that fixed asset valuation is meaningless for a going concern, but if it was never going to be considered, then why waste the time, effort — and money spent on the consultant's fees and expenses? And when the Balco deal was announced, why was the press told that four methods of evaluation were used, when, in fact, it was the best of three that was finally chosen? Perhaps it is time for the prime minister to take the initiative to depoliticise the issue of disinvestment — as he did with power sector reforms by convening a chief ministers' conference on March 3.

# BALCO stir becomes leadership battle between Jogi, Shukla

By Law Kumar Mishra

The Times of India News Service

**BALCONAGAR:** The four-day-old agitation against the disinvestment of the public sector Bharat Aluminium Company Ltd. (BALCO) has now turned into a full-scale show of strength between the two Congress stalwarts of Chhattisgarh: chief minister Ajit Jogi and Vidya Charan Shukla.

The rift over the leadership of the BALCO agitation has now become public with supporters of Mr Jogi and Mr Shukla clashing at a rally held on Saturday night at Patharbhatta, opposite the plant.

The supporters clashed on the dais itself when Mr Shukla was addressing the workers. Apprehending further tension, women members in the audience left the rally and the superintendent of police rushed to the venue with additional reinforcements.

Senior Congress leader, Murat Ram Shahu, who was one of the speakers, had said that the BALCO plant could be purchased by using the funds of Mr Shukla and local Congress MP Charandas Mahant, a former home minister in the undivided Madhya Pradesh govern-

ment. Mr Sahu was forced to cut short the speech when Mr Shukla's supporters asked him to shut up.

Mr Shukla said he had come to lead the agitation on the invitation of the BALCO workers. He said the agitation against the company should not be turned into a political battle, obviously referring to Mr Jogi's call to Congress workers to intensify the agitation. Mr Shukla said: "I came here only on the condition that it would be a non-political movement."

Mr Shukla, who is said to be not even on talking terms with the CM, had announced his decision to lead the movement and stay here for four days. He came here on Friday and met the trade union leaders. The CM, who was in Delhi, came to know of Mr Shukla's long programme and despite the assembly in session, suddenly planned his visit here on Monday. He too called a meeting of BALCO workers, the way Mr Shukla had done on Sunday night.

When Mr Shukla came to know of the CM's trip, he went to Korba as he did not wish to share the platform with Mr Jogi.

Jogi's supporters had even clashed with Union minister

## Advani accuses Pak of aiding militants

**PORT BLAIR:** Lashing out at Pakistan for its 'inadequate' response to India's peace initiative in Jammu and Kashmir, Union home minister L.K. Advani on Tuesday accused it of continuing to aid and abet militant outfits like Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad.

"Pakistan's response to this initiative has been inadequate", Mr Advani told a press conference here when asked whether there had been positive signals from across the border to New Delhi's declaration of unilateral ceasefire in J&K which has now been extended till May end.

"The only response Pakistan has given is to stop firing across the border. But it has not stopped aiding and abetting militant outfits like Lashkar-e-Toiba" he said. (PTI)

Ramesh Bais and BJP general secretary Maya Singh at Mana airport. Mr Jogi has also asked his party workers not to allow the entry of the new management.

The district administration of Korba appears to be passively supporting the agitation. So far, prohibitory orders have not been imposed, though according to the tradition here such orders are imposed even on the slightest apprehension of a breach of peace.

The government has also arranged for drinking water and power supply to the camps set up by the trade unions.

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

KORBA, March 6. — The crisis at the Balco plant deepened with the new management here today closing down three of the four power units for technical reasons even as the workers' indefinite strike against the disinvestment entered the fourth day.

The 7,000-strong workforce plant is facing Rs 2 crore loss each day as the strike began from Friday night and would incur an estimated total loss of about Rs 200 crore as it would take at least three to six months to normalise its functioning, the general manager (personnel and administration), Mr Shaheer Ahmed, said.

"Balco has a power plant with capacity of 270 mw but due to the closure of its main plant, we had to shut down three of its power units," he said.

# Three Balco power units shut

"Due to the indefinite strike, the aluminium plant, steam plant and the most important smelter plant were closed down resulting in having surplus power to Balco," Mr Ahmed added.

Considering the surplus power available without any use, the Balco management decided to shut down three of its four power units, he added.

Meanwhile, Chhattisgarh chief minister Mr Ajit Jogi expressed solidarity with the striking employees and said the Centre should have management of the company in its hands. He demanded setting up of a joint parliamentary committee to inquire into the deal.

At present, only 67.5 mw is being produced for domestic consumption and for minor CSEB official said.

plant work, Mr Ahmed said. Asked as to why surplus power is not being sold to other agencies including Chhattisgarh State Electricity Board, Mr Ahmed said they did have have a provision to sell it to CSEB.

"We purchase from CSEB at the time of crisis but never sold power to others due to some problems," he said refusing to divulge details.

But officials here said CSEB or its partner Madhya Pradesh State Electricity Board never pay for taking power.

"Balco hardly sold any power to CSEB during peak load hours. They want to supply when we have surplus, hence we were never interested in its purchase from them," a CSEB official said.

CSEB officials said the tussle between Balco and CSEB over the issue of surplus power is "a protracted one".

Due to surplus power production, Balco always lost money, plant officials said, adding that in the present crisis, Balco had no other option but to shut down its turbines to stop incurring further losses.

Also, why add and enhance Balco asset values after a bid by private firms had already been submitted was among the questions raised by various people here.

Even state government officials admit they'd agreed to lease out mines to Balco only after a central minister and some top central government officials asked them to expedite the matter in Balco's favour.

scandalous, Congress, Janata Dal (S), OGP and other Opposition parties said.

First, the state government never took anybody, including its own Cabinet ministers, into confidence while agreeing to lease valuable bauxite mines are to Balco. Second, it was done in haste without a proper detailed proposal. This was because of the fact that once disinvestment took place, restrictions on schedule areas would come into play.

Also, why add and enhance Balco asset values after a bid by private firms had already been submitted was among the questions raised by various people here.

Even state government officials admit they'd agreed to lease out mines to Balco only after a central minister and some top central government officials asked them to expedite the matter in Balco's favour.



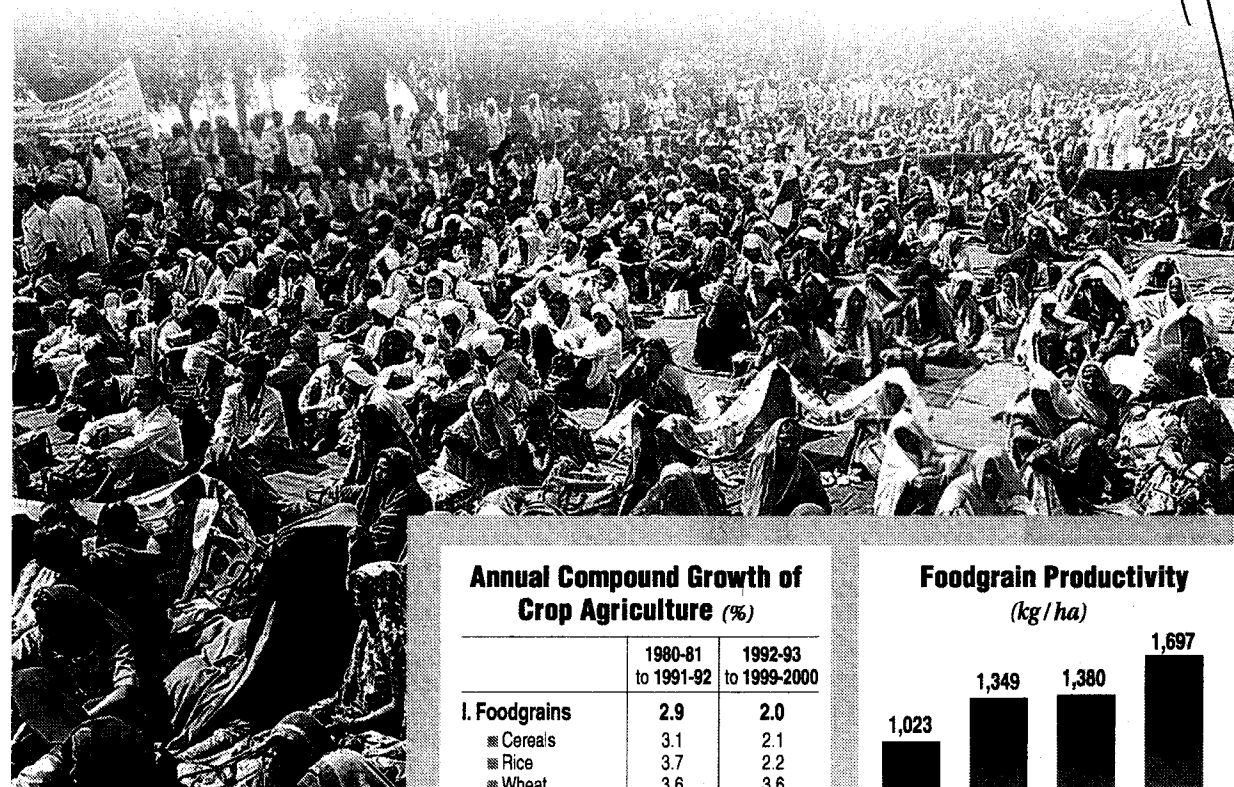
# Harvesting the follies of the past

**T**HE BIGGEST failure in the decade of economic reforms has been the abysmal performance of agriculture in spite of a string of normal monsoons. The growth rate of crop production has almost halved since the 1980s, farm productivity growth has declined, the expansion of agricultural employment has slowed... the list of failures is endless (as indicated in the accompanying graphs).

In response to criticism that successive Governments in the 1990s have done little for the farm sector, the new budget has announced a number of measures. A new scheme to establish "agriclinics" that will provide extension services, subsidised credit for construction of rural godowns, expansion of the Rural Infrastructure Development Fund and a removal of the restrictions on the inter-State movement of grain are some of them. Innovative as a couple of them may be, taken together they promise more than they will deliver. Most important, the budget proposals no more than skim the surface of a crisis that runs deep into the fields.

The challenges in agriculture have different faces in each region and in each crop. There is a common thread though. It is that the growth in crop productivity — the amount harvested from each hectare of land — has slowed across the country. Sluggish farm yields as the root cause of all the problems may seem like a paradox when the godowns are overflowing with cereals and farmers of many non-food crops are running into collapsing markets. But there is no paradox. It is the slowdown in the growth of wheat and rice yields that is forcing the State Governments of Punjab and Haryana to keep demanding a higher price for every quintal offered to the Food Corporation of India. They see a higher minimum support price as the only way to maintain farm incomes, but the result is the huge stocks built-up with very high prices that the FCI has to contend with. It is also a productivity slowdown in oilseeds, which has created a widening gap between domestic production and the demand for vegetable oil. This shortage has been bridged by large-scale imports but because the Government has not been very adept at fine-tuning import duties, a flood of imported oil has caused problems for diverse groups such as the coconut growers of Kerala and the cultivators of soyabean in Madhya Pradesh.

There are two important reasons for the failure on the yield front. One is the decline in both private and public investment in agriculture during the 1990s. Public capital outlays — in irrigation, agricultural research and land development — have fallen because the Central and State Governments cannot find the funds. Investment by the farmers themselves has increased in recent years but only in absolute and not relative terms. Farmers have not been able to invest more because credit investment



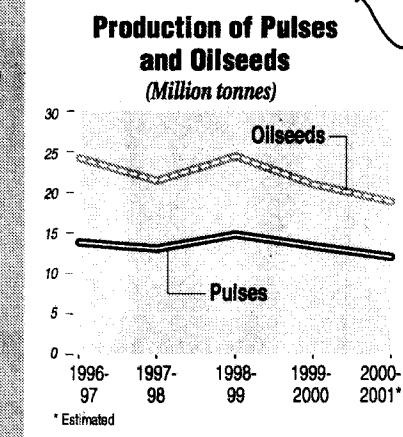
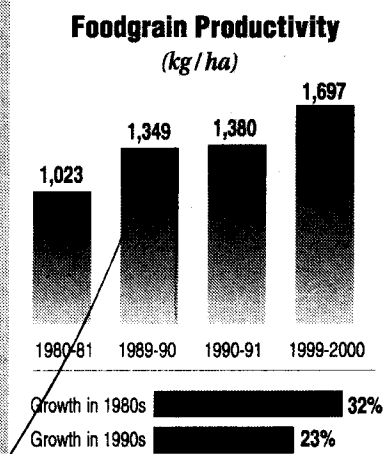
*The biggest failure in the decade of economic reforms has been in agriculture, in spite of a string of normal monsoons. C. RAMMANOHAR REDDY on the farm sector's problems and prospects.*

— not to mention working capital — has dried up. The banks report a growing volume of advances but all reports from the fields say that the agricultural credit system is yet to recover from the effects of the loan waiver of 1990. The official statistics of ever-increasing credit only reflect a roll-over of loans and a payment of interest.

The other reason for yields not increasing is that the quality of agricultural research and extension services which underlay the Green Revolution have deteriorated. Prof. Abhijit Sen, formerly Chairman of the Commission on Agricultural Costs and Prices, says inadequate Government funding is one reason for the deterioration. "The funds that are now provided are sufficient only for payment of salaries, there is little left for equipment or testing." Prof. Sen also suggests that the failure of yields to increase rapidly in crops other than rice and wheat reflects the continuation of the 1960s and 1970s bias in Indian re-

**Annual Compound Growth of Crop Agriculture (%)**

	1980-81 to 1991-92	1992-93 to 1999-2000
<b>I. Foodgrains</b>	2.9	2.0
Cereals	3.1	2.1
Rice	3.7	2.2
Wheat	3.6	3.6
Coarse Cereals	—	(-1.6)
<b>II. Pulses</b>	1.4	0.8
<b>III. Non-Foodgrains</b>	4.3	2.4
<b>IV. All Crops</b>	3.4	2.2



**Investment in Agriculture (As % of GDP)**

	Public	Private	Total
1990-91	0.6	1.6	2.2
1996-97	0.4	1.1	1.5
1997-98	0.3	1.1	1.4
1998-99	0.3	1.1	1.4
1999-2000	0.4	1.1	1.5

Source: Economic Survey and Ministry of Agriculture

search — in favour of the two main cereals and against other crops such as oilseeds and pulses.

The budget does not really deal with either investment or research. The RIDF, which the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, has claimed has been a success and therefore expanded, has sanctioned as much as Rs. 16,000 crores in the past five years but has disbursed only Rs. 7,000 crores. The agriclinics scheme will assist the establishment of private testing and extension

services, but the bigger challenge of revitalising research remains unaddressed.

The debate on reforms and the farm sector is always lopsided. The "other" and silent crisis of agricultural and rural labourers is completely ignored. In recent years, the daily wage rates in agriculture have risen very, very slowly and farm employment in the 1990s grew at the slowest pace in decades even as work opportunities in rural India outside agriculture also increased at a low-

er rate. An emphasis on raising crop yields faster will yield many benefits for rural labour. Productivity-growth of a certain kind will increase the demand for farm labour and raise their wage incomes. That would increase the demand for cereals which in turn should prevent a build-up in stocks of the kind the country now possesses. There is no other way of dealing with the peculiar phenomenon of the food mountain that keeps growing although production of cereals in the 1990s increased no faster than population. Mounting stocks and falling prices will continue to haunt the farm sector as long as domestic purchasing power does not expand faster.

As the farm crisis has spread, imports have become the focus of public and Government attention. But, as Prof. Sen has written elsewhere, the protection that agriculture now enjoys in the form of customs duties is perhaps the highest ever in recent years and more than what industry is now getting. This is likely to go up further with the hike in duties announced in the budget. But while the fear of imports — now and with the impending removal of quantitative restrictions — may be exaggerated, Prof. Sen points out that what imports have done is to increase "uncertainty" amongst farmers even as they contend with problems on many fronts.

## Annual Growth in Real Wage Rate of Agricultural Labour (%)

1994-95	(-) 0.39
1995-96	0.72
1996-97	6.37
1997-98	7.17
1998-99	(-) 1.56
1999-2000	1.15

It is naive to think that the many challenges in agriculture can be resolved with the reforms now on the table such as freeing inter-State movement from controls and removing restrictions on trade stocks along with abolition of excise duties on processed foods and construction of more godowns. Freedom of movement, more storage facilities and processing of agricultural products will only tinker with the fringes because the crisis is really rooted in low and slow-growing crop productivity.

# They pay the price

**D**ECLINING PRICES of agriculture commodities in the domestic and international markets, decelerating growth in the sector, concerns about the World Trade Organisation and now decentralised procurement of cereals for the Public Distribution System are the pressing problems the farmers are facing. Whether it is the paddy and cotton growers in Andhra Pradesh or the wheat cultivators in Punjab and Haryana or the sugarcane farmers in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra, their plight is more or less similar.

There is a surplus of grain and a glut in output of potatoes and tomatoes; the farmers, however, are not getting commensurate remuneration. The imbalance that has crept in points to poor management and lack of foresight. Frequent market interventions, for instance, to ensure a minimum support price has resulted in the subsidy to the National Agriculture Marketing Federation (NAFED) shooting up from Rs. 2 crores last year to Rs. 25 crores this year.

Expectations that these issues would be addressed fully in the budget proposals for 2001-02 have not really been fulfilled, leaving the farm sector as insecure as before, if not more. True, the Agriculture Ministry under Mr. Nitish Kumar presented a considered case for the farm sector in the Mandatory Review of the WTO at Geneva in January this year, but the Union Finance Min-

*Whether they grow paddy and cotton or wheat and sugarcane, the farmers' plight is lack of remunerative returns, says GARGI PARSAL.*

dination among the various arms of the Government has resulted in situations when the EXIM policy has been far removed from the immediate concerns of the agriculture and food sector.

It must be pointed out that it is not as though the 42 lakh tonnes of edible oil imported in 1999-2000 have helped consumers much. Although the prices in the open market were somewhat stable, the excessive imports helped most the manufacturers of edible oil-based goodies.

Says the new Agriculture Secretary, Mr. J.N.L. Srivastava, "The Government has already said that the tariff would be regulated if the internal situation so demands but at the end of the day, the per unit cost of cultivation should come down for farmers to become competitive in the international market."

As it is, the budget talks little of measures to enhance growth to 4 per cent. The incentives that are there are mostly for the post-harvest facilities

such as cold storages and godowns for small farmers who rarely have holding capacity. Dr. Krishnavir Choudhary of the Bharat Krishak Samaj feels incentives for research in technology, reduction in input costs, quality seeds, farm implements including tractors, power tillers and diesel pumpsets and integrated pest management would have gone a long way in helping out farmers at this stage.

Poor quality seeds and adulterated pesticides have been at the centre of the problems faced by cotton growers in Andhra Pradesh. Lack of proper extension services, training and education has again led to suicides by some farmers.

However, Prof. Uma Reddy Venkateshwarlu, Chairman of the Estimates Committee, does not put down all cases of suicides in Warangal district to farming distress. Some could have been personal, he says although he does point out that an overall glut in commercial crops in the State has not brought farmers remunerative prices leading to a situation of distress. A crop holiday to tobacco last year had enhanced the area under cotton which added to the problem of plenty.

On its part, by decentralising procurement of grain, the Centre has given a message to the States that they are on their own.

## Per Capita Net Availability of Cereals and Pulses (Grams/day)

1991	510.1
1992	468.8
1993	464.1
1994	471.2
1995	495.3
1996	476.2
1997	505.5
1998	450.4
1999	470.4
2000	466.0

Graphics by Varghese Kallada

# We will move SC on BALCO, says Jogi

By Sandeep Dikshit

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 3.** The Chattisgarh Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, today asserted his Government would explore all constitutional avenues, including petitioning the Supreme Court, to nullify the sale of Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) to Sterlite, a private company.

Claiming that the deal "stinks", Mr. Jogi said his Government shortly planned to move the Supreme Court because the deal had contravened an earlier verdict by the apex court which had held that adivasi land could not be allocated to a private entity. Raipur has already sent a legal notice to the Disinvestment Secretary, Mr. Pradeep Bajaj, and the State legislature on Friday recorded disapproval of the transaction through a resolution.

Taking time off from his schedule in the capital, Mr. Jogi reiterated allegations of corruption in the transaction and said he would

name the beneficiaries of a Rs. 100-crore payoff to push the deal. It is not clear how Mr. Jogi will do this because the BJP-led Government has rejected the demand for a Joint Parliamentary Committee probe while winning the vote on this issue in the Lok Sabha.

## 'JPC must'

On the other hand, Mr. Jogi is insistent that he would make a clean breast of connivance by people in high places before a parliamentary panel. "If they want the truth to come out then the JPC must be constituted. I would reveal all to the JPC."

"I will meet the Disinvestment Minister (Mr. Arun) Shourie's challenge," he said, referring to the gauntlet thrown by the Minister. Speaking in Parliament earlier this week, Mr. Shourie had asked Mr. Jogi to publicly name the alleged recipients of a kickback without seeking immunity from any legislative fora.

While Mr. Jogi was insistent on escalating

the controversy, the BJP hoped his dissent would be short-lived. The party spokesperson, Mr. J.P. Mathur, reminded Mr. Jogi of the need for maintaining cordial Centre-State relations and asked him to desist from quibbling on minor issues. "The State should cooperate with the Centre on the issue of industrialisation. It should not argue over small issues such as conditionalities for leasing the land and supply of electricity to BALCO."

The Sterlite owner, Mr. Anil Agarwal, too, sued for peace by assuring massive investments in the company and promising no reduction in the workforce. "I want to remove any fear from the minds of the BALCO employees regarding job security. We are against retrenchment," he said. He did not comment on the charges of kickbacks and irregularities, maintaining that Mr. Jogi backed the concept of privatising PSUs and was mainly objecting to BALCO's evaluation.

## Centre asks states to raise agriculture tariff

# PM power drive in shock zone

### FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**New Delhi, March 3:** Propelling power reforms to a high-risk terrain, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee today asked states to raise tariff for farmers.

Carrying forward the power policy thrust signalled in this week's general budget, the Centre said it would extend a one-time package to clear dues owed by state electricity boards, if the respective governments accepted a time-bound reforms programme (See **Business Telegraph**). The budget had linked allocation of Central power funds to the states' record on enforcing reforms.

The Prime Minister told a conference of state ministers on power reforms that the tariff should be increased in three years to ensure that farms bear half the average cost of production of the units they consume.

He also appealed to the states to enforce a five-year-old decision to raise the common minimum farm power tariff to 50 paise from the current 29 paise per unit. Bengal already charges 50 paise for metered agriculture consumers.

As the sensitive issue could trigger an outcry, the conference agreed to convene an all-party meeting to work out a consensus on the tariff increase. Bengal and Kerala, both ruled by the Left, initially had reservations on power reforms but they gave "in-principle" commitment to the reforms package.

Bengal struck a cordial note

after the Centre agreed to consider a proposal to give incentives for non-conventional energy projects in the Sunderbans, where the state government is finding it hard to lay transmission lines because of high costs.

Successive governments at the Centre as well in the states had fought shy of tapping agriculture, fearing a backlash from pressure groups that claim to have a stranglehold on the voting preferences of farmers.

The conference passed a resolution to set up a group of some chief ministers and the Union power minister to coordinate, monitor and review the implementation of reforms.

A comprehensive Electricity Bill is also likely to be introduced in Parliament this session. The legislation will provide state governments with a legal framework to enforce reforms.

Vajpayee regretted that some states are yet to charge 50 paise per unit for power used for agriculture though chief ministers had agreed to do so in 1996.

He stressed the need for an appropriate pricing policy in the power sector. "Inability of implementing the principle of 'he who uses electricity pays for it' has allowed many other categories of users to get electricity either free or at highly subsidised rates in the name of agriculture," Vajpayee said. "I would urge all states to make electricity regulatory commissions functional in six months and abide by their tariff."

15 3/11/96

# Balco unit opposes Sterlite move

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

BIDHANBAG (Burdwan), March 5. — Inspired by their Korba counterparts, the Bharat Aluminium Company staffers froze production and despatch in company's Bengal unit at Bidhanbag, formerly known as JK Nagar, near Raniganj today.

They opposed entry of Sterlite-sponsored auditor's team into the factory premise, which, according to Balco officials had come two days back to reexamine the local unit's stock position and balance sheet.

Under the banners of Intuc-affiliated JK Nagar Aluminium Workers Union, and Citu-backed Aluminium Mazdoor Union, the remaining 455 Balco workers organised blockade and protest rallies against the much-debated transfer of 51

## PATNAIK CHARGE

BHUBANESWAR, March 5. — The decision of Orissa government to lease out mines to Balco is a post-bid enrichment of the assets transferred to a private company, charged OPCC president, Mr JB Patnaik. — SNS

per cent equity to Sterlite today.

Since 1 March, Citu has been continuously protesting in front of the local head office. Citu has threatened to go militant against any Sterlite bid to enter the factory.

Citu's assistant secretary, Mr Ramsingar Singh said, "We will teach them in our own way, and this is the need of the hour. We came to know through the recent shyness by

the Parliament that we have to do on our own, no one is with us."

The trade unions criticised the state government's role, and said, "Bidhanbag is under the Assembly segment of state industry minister, Mr Bansa Gopal Chowdhury. He, too, did nothing for us."

The move by the Chattisgarh chief minister, Mr Ajit Jogi, has instigated the Bengal unit workers. Mr Jogi has planned to appeal to the Supreme Court against the equity transfer, alleging at least Rs 100 crore of cut money had a pivotal role to ease out the deal.

**Strike enters third day:** Operations in Balco's plant came to a complete halt as the indefinite strike by 7,500 employees protesting the sale of government equity in the company, entered the third day today, adds PTI.

THE STATESMAN

- 6 MAR 2001

# Good or bad, all PSUs will go: Yashwant

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, March 1

EXUDING CONFIDENCE after a widely hailed Budget, Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha today asserted at a meeting with industrialists that the Government would not retrace its steps on privatisation of PSUs —loss-making or profit-making.

Making his first post-Budget appearance today at a seminar held by FICCI, Sinha said: "The policy of the Government is to privatise PSUs. We are prepared to take any risk whatsoever. We will go ahead with this exercise barring only those PSUs which cater to strategic national interest. We have looked at all aspects carefully and have decided to go ahead with privatisation. Let there be no doubt on this count."

"Time has come to address forthright the privatisation issue and meet the challenges of vested interests," he said. "Political criticism on this score is due to the fact that the parties are ill-informed and misinformed," Sinha added in an obvious reference to the furore over Balco.

The Finance Minister said the disinvestment target of Rs 12,000 crore in the Budget for the next fiscal was "credible". He also defended the decision of the Centre to aggressively pursue labour reforms by amending the Industrial Disputes Act and the introduction of contract labour, apart from allowing managements to outsource services.

The Finance Minister said the new norms would multiply job opportunities and not harm



YASHWANT SINHA

workers' interest. "It's very important that the working class doesn't become suspicious of the industry and the Government on this count."

To a query from Wockhardt chief H F Khorakiwala, he said a suitable mechanism would shortly be put in place by which a special fund on research and development could be utilised.

Navin Jindal sought a reduction in taxes and duties on steel to make it more affordable. Without conceding this demand, Sinha emphasised the need to make the Indian steel industry globally competitive.

In response to another question from Britannia chief Sunil Alagh, he politely declined to bring down duties on packaged biscuits. He said even LPG, cotton yarn, kerosene, diesel pumpsets up to 10 hp would have to be brought to the Cenvat rate of 16 per cent.

Ficci chief Chirayu R Amin expressed concern over the continuation of the minimum alternative tax.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

5 MAR 2001

MONDAY, MARCH 5, 2001

## AN INCONGRUOUS PROTEST

THE PRIVATISATION OF the Centre-controlled Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO), effected following a favourable parliamentary vote won by the Government after the few discordant voices in the ruling coalition had been silenced through some subtle manoeuvres, is sought to be given a 'Centre-versus-State' dimension by the Congress(I) regime in Chhatisgarh. On the face of it, the official resolution passed by the Assembly, 'rejecting' the transfer of majority stake and management control of BALCO to a private company, seems legally and constitutionally unsustainable and is manifestly driven by the narrow political agenda of the party in power. Apart from making the as-yet-unsubstantiated charge of payoffs in the deal, the Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, has contended that the takeover by the private firm would lead to unemployment and be detrimental to the interests of the Adivasi population. Neither of these appears credible. While the tribals-related concern is a larger issue that pertains to mining in general, and not specific to BALCO privatisation, the Disinvestment Minister, Mr. Arun Shourie's assurance in Parliament on the various safeguards built into the deal should allay much of the fears about the workers' interests being jeopardised.

Aside from Mr. Jogi's rather far-fetched theory that the privatisation of BALCO was part of the Centre's plan to "weaken" the Congress(I) regime in the nascent State, the various kinds of threat he has held out — such as revoking the mining lease and cutting off water supply — have serious long-term implications for the numerous public sector undertakings which the Centre has been running across the country. After all, as an integral part of the national plan for industrial and economic development, the Centre has over the decades invested money and set up public enterprises in various spheres, and the States, for their part, have understandably competed with one another in getting such projects for themselves by pledging back-up services and logistics support, as for instance by making available the required land free or at a nominal

cost and by guaranteeing supply of water and other facilities. Surely, such contractual obligations entered into with the Central undertaking concerned, an entity by itself, cannot be abrogated arbitrarily, impelled by extraneous and narrowly partisan considerations. The point that, in a federal set-up, the Centre should take into confidence the State Government on any proposal to divest its stakes and managerial interests can well be appreciated. Whether or not Mr. Jogi's administration was consulted and, if 'yes', to what extent and at what level is not clear. No lapse or failure on this count can however provide any justification for the type of response the Chief Minister has held forth.

The ironical part of the whole controversy is that the disinvestment process in BALCO has been the most transparent of all cases where it has been attempted, and this came out clearly from the cogent and convincing presentation of the official position in Parliament by Mr. Arun Shourie and the Law Minister, Mr. Arun Jaitley, explaining the whys and wherefores of the Government's decision to accept the Sterlite Industries' offer. The Congress(I), for its part, stood thoroughly exposed for its lack of credibility on the question of disinvestment. Having initiated the reforms process in the early 1990s and committed itself to a calibrated privatisation of PSUs as a critical component of that policy, the Congress(I) can ill-afford to be seen as putting up roadblocks to such initiatives in an irresponsible fashion. Moreover, any blind opposition by the party at the Central Government level might well recoil on it in States where its Governments are going in for privatisation. On a different plane, while privatisation of a PSU — within a broad policy framework — is an executive decision that does not require to be subjected to parliamentary approval as a matter of course, the importance of a close scrutiny by the people's representatives cannot be discounted. The very prospect of Parliament playing the watchdog should compel the Government to be transparent in all its transactions.

THE HINDU

MARCH 2001

# Balco highlights chinks in NDA

Hemendra Singh Bartwal  
New Delhi, March 4

THE BALCO disinvestment figured prominently in the Upper House during the last week as an aggressive Opposition launched an onslaught on the Vajpayee Government that had a tough time defending itself on the score.

Faced with a barrage of charges and embarrassing queries, Disinvestment Minister Arun Shourie fought with his back against the wall but failed to convince the sceptical opposition members about his Government's bonafide intentions in the matter. The Government's woes were further compounded by the fact that some of its allies, notably the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and the Shiv Sena were equally strident in their criticism of the deal alleging a "foul smell". They teamed up with the opposition demanding a probe by a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC).

The chinks in the NDA armour were visible on other issues as well, like the Government's economic policies and

handling of the Gujarat earthquake disaster, which again attracted sharp criticism from some of its allies.

Perhaps, the only consolation for the Government was that the Opposition did not press for a discussion on vote on the Balco issue. This would have proved a major embarrassment, as it could have easily been defeated in the voting by the Opposition that is in a majority in the Rajya Sabha.

Though such a motion in the Rajya Sabha does not entail the Government to step down, unlike the Lok Sabha, the Government would nevertheless have been seen as having suffered a moral defeat on the issue. A significant feature of the Balco debate was that it saw the Congress do an about-turn on its position on disinvestment. While it had called for strategic sale in Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) in its manifesto in the last two elections, the party abandoned the stand during the discussion and turned out as its critic instead.

Initiating the discussion under a calling attention motion, senior Congress leader Pranab

Mukherjee demanded that the Government clarify its own stand on disinvestment and its basic objectives for doing so.

Pointing out that Shourie was justifying the sale of 51 per cent equity in Balco on the ground that the Disinvestment Commission had recommended it, he said if that was the only reason they were rushing to "undersell" it, the Congress was opposed to the transaction.

Lashing out at the Government in a detailed argument touching on various aspects of the issue, Congress member Kapil Sibal said the BJP was trying to project their disinvestment policy as merely a continuation of the Congress policy. What the Government was actually doing was not disinvestment but a "private sale", he charged.

Questioning the method of evaluating Balco's worth and the individuals involved in the evaluation, Sibal claimed an independent private valuation carried out by chartered accountants at his instance had valued the company's total worth between Rs 2,500 and Rs 3,000 crore.

# BALCO land transfer needs state govt's consent: legal expert

By Akshaya Mukul  
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: When Chhattisgarh chief minister Ajit Jogi said recently that his government would cancel the land lease of BALCO if the Centre went ahead with its sale to Sterlite Industries, BJP leaders had reacted sharply, saying such a move would be unconstitutional.

However, a legal expert specially commissioned by BALCO in 1999 told the company in clear terms that land transfer was not possible without the state government's consent. Though its privatisation has only just been completed, BALCO had sought the legal opinion in order to see how its land could be transferred to a private concern once a deal was finalised. A former CMD of BALCO confirmed that this opinion was indeed sought.

Three years back, BALCO officials met P. Sadasivan Nair, a senior advocate of the MP high court, with the papers of the Korba plant—which is now in the newly-formed state of Chhattisgarh—and wanted to know what could be done with the land. In his detailed opinion, a copy of which is with *The Times of India*, Mr Nair had said that the land was given to BALCO in 1972 under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, by the Madhya Pradesh government which had also awarded compensation. According to Mr Nair, the state government had acquired and transferred land to the company under the provisions of chapter VII of the Act. Therefore, he said, "Though lease deed and other agreement between the company and state government are not on record but from the award passed and the notification issued by the state government it seems that all the formalities as required under the Act have been fulfilled

and ultimately the state government has transferred the land to the company, as the acquisition was for a public purpose..."

Mr Nair highlighted the provisions of section 44-A of the Act, according to which "no company for which any land is acquired under this Act shall be entitled to transfer the said land or any part thereof by sale, mortgage, gift, lease or otherwise except with the previous sanction of the appropriate government." Mr Nair also explained that "previous sanction of the government" could be granted only if the government was satisfied that the purpose for which the acquisition of land took place was no more in existence, or that the company had acted in a bona fide manner in the matter and acquisition was done for a bona fide need in the public interest and that on the date of sale, this need no longer existed.

In his note, Mr Nair then explained the expression "appropriate government", which is defined in section 3 of the Act. According to the aforesaid definition in relation to acquisition for the purpose of the Union, the Central government is the appropriate government and for all other purposes it would be the state government.

After dealing with all angles, Mr Nair's verdict was that even though BALCO is a PSU owned fully by the Central government, it is the state government which was the "appropriate government". He said: "(Since) in this case, the entire (land acquisition) proceedings have been done by the state government... the appropriate government would be the state government. As such, the company should move the... concerned department of the state government through the collector and seek his sanction for transfer of the property."

THE TIMES OF INDIA

3 MAR 2001



## SC STAYS PROCEEDINGS IN TWO HIGH COURTS

# Centre hands over BALCO to Sterlite

By Our Legal Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MARCH 2. Even as the Centre today transferred the management control of the Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) to the Sterlite Industries, the Supreme Court stayed all proceedings in the Delhi and Chhattisgarh High Courts challenging the disinvestment proposal with a view to getting the petitions transferred to itself.

A Bench, comprising Mr. Justice B.N. Kirpal, Mr. Justice Doraiswamy Raju and Mrs. Justice Ruma Pal, granted the stay after hearing the Attorney-General, Mr. Soli J. Sorabjee, who filed a plea saying it was necessary to transfer the petitions to the apex court to avoid multiplicity of proceedings and also to avoid delay.

The Bench ordered notices to the BALCO Employees Union, the Government-appointed valuers and global consultants for the disinvestment and Sterlite Industries.

Earlier in the day, 51 per cent of the government holding in the BALCO was handed over to Sterlite after the signing of shareholders and share purchase agreements. Sterlite handed over a cheque for Rs. 551.50 crores in the presence of the Mines Secretary, Mr. Dipak Chatterjee, the Disinvestment Secretary, Mr. Pradip Baijal, and other senior officers.

On behalf of the Government, Dr. (Mrs.) Aruna Bagchee, Joint-Secretary in the Ministry of Mines, signed the documents and on behalf of the BALCO, Mr. S.C. Tripathi, Additional-Secretary and CMD, signed the deal. Mr. Tarun Jain, Director (Finance), Sterlite, signed on behalf of the company.

In its petition before the court, the Centre said the evaluation of assets was done by technical experts under four methods and the value of 51 per cent shares ranged between Rs. 300 and Rs. 507 crores. Sterlite quoted the highest bid. The decision was not taken by any individual or authority and the Government only accepted the recommendations of the Disinvestment Commission made as early as 1997 on the ground that it was necessary to meet challenges of the emerging aluminium scenario.

The petition said that in December 1999, the leaders of the employees unions were informed of the rationale and process of disinvestment. All their representations were considered by the Government before the matter was finalised. Another meeting

was held on February 14 this year and the salient features of the disinvestment were explained to them. Allaying their fears, the Centre made it clear that all employees would continue in service and that the strategic partner would not retrench any part of the labour force for one year from the closing date other than by dismissal or termination in accordance with the law.

The Centre said the disinvestment was part of the reforms process, and investors both in India and abroad were keenly watching the finalisation of the agreement. Any delay in would affect the investor confidence, the petition said, adding a judicial review should not result in substituting the judgment of the experts with that of the courts.

**Sterlite upbeat: Page 13**

## Assembly rejects deal, Jogi steps up offensive

RAIPUR, MARCH 2. The Chhattisgarh Assembly today rejected the Union Government's decision to privatise the BALCO, a day after Parliament gave its nod.

The State Government's resolution was adopted by 41 votes against 19. The Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi, vowed to stake everything in his command to stop the transfer of the company into private hands and the employees union threatened to go on an indefinite strike. Mr. Jogi said he was ready to quit politics and even his post if the

Centre proved that it had consulted him on the privatisation move. The profit-making company, having its production facility at Korba, had been sold as part of the efforts to weaken the Congress Government of the nascent State and was violative of the federal structure, he alleged.

He sought a joint parliamentary committee probe into the disinvestment process, stating circumstantial evidence indicated a major scandal in the "non-transparent" deal. — UNI

THE HINDU

• 3 MAR 2001

Chhattisgarh House rejects privatisation

# Balco goes to Sterlite

571  
37/2  
UNited NEWS OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, March. 2. -The government today transferred management control of Bharat Aluminium Company Limited to Sterlite Ltd for Rs 551.5 crore.

But in Congress-ruled Chhattisgarh, the Assembly debated a motion and passed a resolution rejecting the privatisation of the company by 41 votes to 19.

Sterlite industries presented the cheque for Rs 551.5 crore to the government immediately after signing the documents today. The agreement was signed by additional secretary, ministry of mines and Balco CMD Mr SC Tripathi and Sterlite finance director Mr Tarun Jain.

The Balco privatisation issue had the Congress (which ushered in the liberalisation process in the country) and the BJP on either sides of the political divide once again today. The business chambers welcomed the finalisation of the deal, saying it sent the right message to the capital market.

In the Chhattisgarh Assembly, the BJP defended the deal while the ruling Congress termed it a sellout. Chief minister Mr Ajit Jogi said he was ready to quit politics and his post if the Centre could prove it had consulted him on the privatisation of Balco. The Balco employees' union has threatened to go on an indefinite strike against the deal.

**SC stays proceedings:** The Supreme Court today stayed further proceedings in petitions pending before the Chhattisgarh and Delhi High Courts regarding the controversial sale of Balco.

A three-judge Bench of Mr Justice BN Kirpal, Mr Justice Doraiswamy Raju and Mrs Justice Ruma Pal granted an interim stay on a petition by the Indian government seeking the transfer of the two petitions to the court for disposal together and avoid conflicting verdicts on the issue. (Another report on page 8)

THE STRATEGIAN

# Balco runs into missile production role hurdle

FROM JAYANTA ROY  
CHOWDHURY

New Delhi, March 1: The opponents of the sale of Bharat Aluminium Company (Balco) have found more fodder. The public sector unit possesses technology that was used in the country's nuclear and defence projects — its sale would thus go against the nation's "strategic interests".

Through the 1990s, Balco's research metallurgists worked on a top secret project along with scientists from the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and the Indian Space Research Organisation (Isro) to develop special lightweight aluminium alloys.

These were used in India's nuclear armaments, the *Prithvi* and *Agni* series of intermediate missiles and for rocket components.

When India tested nuclear bombs in 1998, Balco supplied the casings. It also makes and supplies the fuel tanks for *Agni* and *Prithvi* missiles as well as an alloy codenamed Afnor 7020 used by Isro in its rockets.

Documents show that Balco is bound by a supply and production agreement with the Department of Defence Supplies to keep this

technology secret. Sale of majority stake in Balco to a private sector company would violate this agreement.

As part of the agreement — S.No 1(3)/90/T(S1)/CPO(VG)-1645 — Balco is bound to keep secret the alloy knowhow. Also, the agreement swears to secrecy not only the metallurgists who helped develop the alloys but also all scientists, engineers, other officers and technical hands who came to know about the technology, its use or manufacture.

It is argued that selling Balco to the private sector could result in the technology being leaked to outsiders. The corollary being that Balco has to remain in the public sector.

The clauses were inserted in the pact as the technology Balco has jointly developed makes India one of the few nations and possibly the only Asian country besides China to possess such knowhow.

The work on these alloys did not fetch much money but was done because the defence ministry had picked Balco as its strategic partner. There were two reasons why Balco was selected and not Nalco, the other public sector aluminium major.

First, Balco has a hot roll alu-

minium mill, needed to cast these alloys. Second, the location of Balco's plant — at Korba in Chhattisgarh — makes it safe from possible missile attack by Pakistan and China, the plant being some thousand miles distant from both the countries. It is also far from the coast, which rules out a surface-to-surface missile attack from an enemy ship.

The technology that Balco developed is considered complex and difficult to replicate. None of the countries that India approached to buy it from — France and Russia among them — was willing to sell either the technology or the product.

The fact that Balco is privy to such a technology makes it a strategic company, argue many. The BJP government's stated policy is to sell only non-strategic PSUs, not strategic ones.

Trinamul Congress chief Mamata Banerjee is believed to have raised this point in a letter to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee after the Union Cabinet cleared a proposal last year to sell 51 per cent in Balco to a private partner. Vajpayee had reportedly fought shy of a direct answer.

■ Opp. motion defeated, Page 6

THE TELEGRAPH

2 MAR 2002

# Govt faces Rajya Sabha heat on economic policy

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, March 1

HT-9

THE OPPOSITION today sharply criticised the Government's economic policies in the Rajya Sabha and demanded a White Paper on the subject during the motion of thanks to the President's address. The Balco issue also came up and the demand for a Joint Parliamentary Committee probe into the deal renewed.

The agricultural policy was criticised by several Opposition members who cautioned that imprudent handling of the minimum support prices would adversely affect the country's self-sufficiency in food grains and hit farmers.

Over 50 amendments to the President's address, a few of them by NDA allies, were moved in the House. Congress leader Pranab Mukherjee said an economic stagnation had set in and the Government's economic policies, which depended on foreign borrowings, were anti-people.

Opposing the motion, he said the Government had not outlined in the Budget its policy for administrative and judicial reforms without which its eco-



Pranab Mukherjee

conomic reforms could not succeed.

CPI-M member S Ramachandran Pillai, who also demanded a White Paper on the economic policy, said the Opposition should be taken into confidence on major policy decisions and tore into the privatisation drive.

Congress member K Rahman Khan expressed concern over the plight of farmers. Even after 50 years of Independence, there were starvation deaths in the country, he said. Opposing the decision to sell Balco, he said the

valuation of the company's worth was not transparent and demanded a JPC probe.

Initiating the motion of thanks, BJP member T N Chaturvedi said the President's address had set the agenda for the Government to pursue its policies for the benefit of the people.

On Kashmir, Mukherjee stressed that the government should begin talks with Pakistan and should ask it to stop cross-border terrorism. While complimenting the Government for extending the ceasefire in Kashmir despite continuing terrorist violence, he said it should go beyond this. He said talks had become a necessity as both India and Pakistan had become nuclearised, posing a risk of third-party intervention.

National Conference member Sharifuddin Shariq warned the Government against undermining and ignoring elected representatives and nationalist parties while opening a dialogue in Jammu and Kashmir. He also opposed the idea of trifurcation of the state and criticised the organisations and leaders who were floating it.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 2 MAR 2001

# Oppn-sponsored motion on BALCO deal defeated

NEW DELHI: The opposition-sponsored motion against the proposed disinvestment of BALCO was defeated in the Lok Sabha on Thursday night.

Of the 361 members present in the house, 119 voted for and 239 against the motion under Rule 184. Three members abstained.

With the opposition rejecting the voice vote, speaker G.M.C. Balayogi ordered division.

Earlier, the opposition in the Lok Sabha mounted a scathing attack on the government over the BALCO disinvestment deal, alleging the "strategic" public sector unit (PSU) was being sold out at a highly undervalued amount and at the cost of national security.

Participating in a discussion on the proposed disinvestment of BALCO, opposition members questioned the move to sell off 51 per cent of government equity in the profit-making aluminium giant with an impeccable track record to Sterlite Industries for Rs 551.5 crore.

Initiating the debate under Rule 184 which entails voting, Rupchand Pal (CPM) said the disinvestment in the company could jeopardise national security as

aluminium and its alloys were being used by the defence sector as also for space programme.

"Is the government privatising the defence sector and jeopardising national security by this move," Mr Pal asked.

Stating that BALCO had contributed steadily to the national exchequer for the last 13 years, the CPM member alleged that all major decisions from the budget to BALCO disinvestment were being finalised in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO).

At one point, several opposition members, including Somnath Chatterjee (CPM) and P.R. Dasmunshi (Cong), expressed their readiness to withdraw the discussion under Rule 184 if the government agreed for a JPC probe, saying "important constituents of the NDA" had expressed reservations in the matter.

Disinvestment minister Arun Shourie, however, rejected the suggestion by asserting that since "you have asked for a vote, we want a vote."

Congress leader P.R. Dasmunshi demanded setting up of a JPC to probe the "fraudulent" deal arrived at in a "clandes-

tine" manner. He charged the government with having gone against constitutional provisions on tribal rights over land, undervaluing BALCO and selling it off on a "pre-determined price".

TDP member M.V.V.S. Murthy said his party was not pressing for setting up of a JPC on the BALCO issue as it had sought in the Rajya Sabha, saying "there was no need for it" as the deal "seemed to be transparent".

Akhilesh Singh (Samajwadi) said the deal smacked of a scandal and wanted to know on what basis the company's assets were valued by the government-appointed agency.

Ananth Geete of the Shiv Sena, another ally of the BJP, was apprehensive of the disinvestment but said it would support the government and not succumb to the opposition "intention to split the NDA". Referring to the opposition allegation of corruption in the BALCO deal, he asked the government to clarify any "misunderstanding" on the issue in national interest. He demanded "total transparency" in the deal and said the government should take into consideration all "fears and concerns".

THE TIMES OF INDIA

2 MAR 2001

# Lok Sabha okays Balco divestment

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, March 1. — The government today secured the Lok Sabha's nod to sell 51 per cent stake in Balco to Sterlite after the CPI-M's motion against disinvestment was defeated by 239-118 votes with three members abstaining.

The BJP allies, including the TDP, Trinamul and the Shiv Sena which had reservations over the deal with Sterlite, voted with the government.

The Opposition demand for a Joint Parliamentary Committee to probe the deal before handing over the Balco management to the private company was rejected by the Speaker, Mr GMC Balayogi.

The disinvestment minister, Mr Arun Shourie, didn't clarify a point raised by Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi (Congress). He quoted the solicitor-general, Mr Harish Salve, as having said that it was recommended that Sterlite owner, Mr Anil Agarwal, be blacklisted for flouting rules in bidding for the telecom department shares.

Mr Das Munshi said: "Mr Harish Salve stated that the decision not to blacklist Sterlite and to further award the contract by DoT was taken on misunderstanding of the legal and factual position. He (Mr Salve) said there was no question of awarding any contract of the cable work to this unit and the decision to blacklist 'his unit was just..."

In the case of Hindustan Zinc, the BJP-led government decided that a company or enterprise that had come under a cloud of corruption and questionable integrity should not be encouraged in any bidding process, Mr Das Munshi said.

He alleged Sterlite was under a cloud in the stock scam involving Harshad Mehta.

Mr Das Munshi drew the attention of the House to a CAG report stating that Balco had developed alloys for fuel tanks of Prithvi and Agni. He wondered how the government could choose Sterlite as Balco's strategic partner though its record is questionable.

Mr Shourie said both private and public sectors were contributing to defence production. He said the defence sector won't be vulnerable because of the deal with Sterlite.

There was another charge, again by Mr Das Munshi who said the Orissa chief minister reached Delhi on 7 February to sign documents handing over two Bauxite mines to Balco without knowing that the company was being sold to Sterlite.

The law minister, Mr Arun Jaitley, reeled out facts and figures showing how the previous Congress and the United Front governments had supported disinvestment and carried out selling of blue chips between 1991 and 1998. Balco was on the approved list of disinvestment of the Congress and UF governments.

THE STATESMAN

- 2 MAR 2001

# PSU privatisation will continue: Sinha

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 1.** The Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, today said the Government was determined to go ahead with large-scale privatisation of public sector enterprises despite opposition. At the same time, he warned the industry not to adopt a partisan approach towards labour sector reforms, saying it would make the labour suspicious of the Government and the industry.

Speaking to industrialists in the aftermath of a feel-good budget, the Minister was forceful in asserting that the Government had no intention of going back on its decision to sell all state-run companies, regardless of whether they were making profits or not. The only exceptions would be the PSUs considered strategic from the national security perspective, or those needed to prevent the emergence of monopolies.

"Political parties might alter

their stance but we in the Government are going ahead with the disinvestment process. We are prepared to take any risk for what we believe is economically correct," he said at a meeting organised by the FICCI. Mr. Sinha affirmed the Government's intentions barely hours before the Lok Sabha began discussing the sale of the Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) to Sterlite, a private company. He gave ample indications of the Government's defiant stand on disinvestment, and even said the challenge of "vested interests and ill-informed and unwarranted political criticism" would be met directly.

The Minister sought the industry's support to explain the rationale behind selling the Government's shareholding in PSUs saying, "we are in it together. So, don't leave me alone to bear the cross." Mr. Sinha's admonishment of the critics of PSU disinvestment and the strong de-

fence of the process came after he admitted that the Government's failure to reach the disinvestment target in this fiscal had raised doubts about its credibility. Its ability to reach an even higher target next fiscal was being questioned especially due to its failure to come near the target for the current fiscal. North Block was alive to this quandary, Mr. Sinha said adding it would do its best to meet the target.

He did not take kindly to the FICCI president's contention that the increase in the retrenchment compensation from 15 days wages for each completed year of service to 45 days would hamper restructuring efforts. "Reforms will succeed only if you take a constructive approach. If the public sector can pay a separation package of 60 days wages in case of a profit-making company and 45 days in case of a non-profit making unit, why can't the private sector do the same? In a country

where job opportunities are limited, labour sector reforms are a serious issue on which protests will definitely crop up. So show your magnanimity so that labour does not become suspicious of the Government or industry."

Mr. Sinha also rejected as "unwarranted and ill-informed the criticism that he was under the influence of FICCI and multinational corporations. "I reject this criticism, but we have to convince the people that what industry's seeks and the way in which Government responds is in the larger interests of the nation." Despite the Government's resolve to tackle the harder options of the second generation reforms, the road ahead was a "slippery slope," he warned the industry.

The Minister said interest rates on small savings had been reduced as an element of subsidy had crept into it.

See also Page 15

*"I am happy that the dividend tax has been reduced"*



**Raghu Mody,**  
President,  
Assocham

It seems to me that the second-generation reforms have been initiated with this Budget. It is an extremely growth-oriented Budget. Considering the situation the finance minister and the economy is in, he has shown immense courage to take constructive steps.

The emphasis on infrastructure with a major thrust towards disciplining the SEBs and the announcement of a 10-year tax holiday for the core sectors are very good steps. I am also happy that the dividend tax has been reduced. The customs duty reduction to 15 per cent on telecom finished goods is also good.

Labour reforms initiation, especially that permission need not be required for units with up to 1,000 workers for effecting lay-offs, is a very bold step. Only, taking the compensation period from 15 to 45 days will make it a tough choice. Various capital market announcements and the decision to allow FII investment in a company from 40 per cent to 49 per cent will give the markets a boost. The removal of surcharges on taxes, except that for Gujarat, is a positive step. Only, I feel that announcement of some large capital investment projects by the government would have helped.

*"It outlines a definite roadmap for downsizing the Govt"*

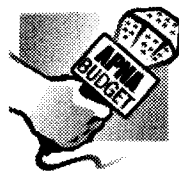


**Chirayu Amin**  
President, Ficci

This is an investment driven Budget which has kicked off several fundamental reforms. The Budget has outlined a definite roadmap for downsizing the government, proposed radical changes in labour laws and has reiterated the government's commitment to disinvestment.

We welcome the reduction of dividend distribution tax to 10 per cent from 20 per cent, removal of all surcharges except the 2 per cent quake surcharge and exemption of long-term capital gains in case of investment in primary issues. These measures will not only help boost the capital market but also attract greater investment.

I'm confident this Budget will definitely bring back the feel-good factor in the economy. What is,

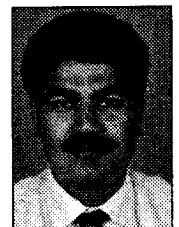


# Budget 2001: The rough road to reforms

though internal reforms have not kept pace with the reduction in duty. This is detrimental to the domestic industry. The reduction in the interest rates on provident fund and small savings close on the heels of the RBI's announcement of a half per cent cut in bank rate, has created conditions for at least a full 1 per cent reduction in lending rates. We also welcome the finance minister's move to include a detailed statement tracking implementation of the proposals made in the Budget.

Reforms in State Electricity Boards, removal of restrictions on movement and stocking of food grains, amendment of the Essential Commodities Act and changes in labour laws will give Indian industry some flexibility. This Budget revolves around economic logic in sharp contrast to political exigency which has been the case in many previous Budgets.

*"The budget is not sufficient for real estate development"*



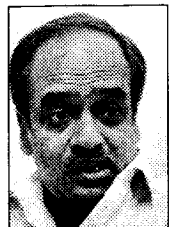
**Anshuman Magazine**  
MD of CB  
Richard Ellis

Although increase of tax exemption limit against interest payment on housing loan to Rs 1.5 lakh is a welcome step, Budget 2001 has not addressed a lot of other issues like lowering interest on housing loan, increase supply of funds for loan disbursement. Without these, a stand-alone measure of tax exemption would not do much towards making housing affordable.

Also, the Budget should have made an attempt to rope in a small portion of fund of financial institutions like UTI, LIC and savings scheme like pension and provident fund for offering housing loan. Larger availability of funds will lead to lowering of interest rate. Since, housing loan has least default rate, this fund could have been used without much risk.

Considering real estate development, the Budget was far below expectation. It also has not reduced the high rate of stamp duty on property transaction cost and not rationalised house tax norms, which would boost investment and taken out black money in the system. Also, a foreclosure law for real estate and housing was desired as a security measure for investors.

*"It will provide a major fillip to industry, the services sector"*



**Arun Bharat Ram,**  
President, CII

Budget 2001 is an outstanding one. It wins a nine out of ten. This year's budget is powerful in terms of what it will do to revive the economy. It is a growth oriented budget that will provide a major fillip to both industry and the services sector. Furthermore, there is an emphasis to the agricultural sector. Enhancements of investments in the infrastructure sector — particularly relating to the power sector where benefits are given to those states that go ahead with reforms in the power sector is a welcome step.

The focus on expenditure reforms, downsizing and reducing the government size is a good beginning. Two per cent reduction per annum for the next five years on the government workforce as well as abolition of many senior level government posts is good. We can see better days ahead for the domestic industry with the initiation of labour reforms.

The excise cut on cars will give a boost in the automobile sector which drives the engine of any economy particularly the Indian economy whether it is trucks, cars or scooters.

Also the fact that trucks have been given an accelerated depreciation of 50 per cent will again bring about new interest in purchase of vehicles. We are pleased that the surcharge has been reduced to 2 per cent and specifically for the Gujarat calamity. It will provide cash flows to companies and will provide the possibility of reinvesting and in a sense reinforce industrial growth. We expect a revival in the stock markets with the reduction in dividend tax from 20 to 10 per cent.

For the first time, we are seeing a real movement on account of capital account liberalisation. It's good that Indian companies have been permitted to invest up to \$ 50 million through an automatic route.

*"The uncertainty prevailing in the markets has ended"*

**By Vivek Reddy, CEO**  
Kothari Pioneer Mutual Fund

A decent Budget with a lot of positive features. The uncertainty that was prevailing in the

markets has ended. The markets should react positively to the announcements made in the Budget.

The withdrawal of surcharge and reduction of dividend tax should be viewed very positively. The ELSS reduction to 30 per cent is a good move.

On a scale of 1 to 10 (10 being the best), I would award 8 to the Budget.

*"The Budget shows no awareness for a balanced approach"*



**Madhu Dandavate**  
Ex-finance minister

The Budget is a short-run piece reflecting a long-term economic perspective. For the present government, its perspective seems to be "mindless globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation" regardless of its socio-economic impact on a poor, developing country like India.

To fulfil social obligations, an efficient Public Sector — not merely a bureaucratic state sector — is needed; to cater to the ethos of egalitarianism an incorruptible co-operative sector; to ensure people's participation in economic activities at the grassroots level, properly conceived decentralised sector run with the cooperation of Panchayati Raj institutions is a must; and to meet the inadequacy of capital, private sector too has to coexist. As regards foreign capital, it may be used only selectively in sectors, where large technological gaps exist.

Unfortunately the Budget for 2001-2002 shows no awareness of such a balanced approach. As a result, the interest payments projected are Rs 1,12,300 crore, which are 48.45 per cent of the revenue receipts. The fiscal deficit is Rs 1,16,314 crore. Thus, the inflationary pressure on the economy will continue to be high.

The budget has tried to give emphasis on the traditional method of concentrating on resource mobilisation, which has acquired great urgency after the tragedy of the earthquake in Gujarat. Merely, putting a surcharge on income-tax collections won't produce adequate resources because the income-tax base itself is quite narrow. A comparative picture of the number of income-tax payers in other countries indicates that from among the income earners, the percentage of persons who were

obliged to pay taxes was 85 per cent in Denmark, 85 per cent in Sweden, 81 per cent in Finland, 54 per cent in Australia and only 0.9 per cent in India. Recent research on unaccounted black money conducted by experts shows that about 45 per cent of GDP is accounted for by black money. Therefore, determined efforts must be made using a 'Carrot and Stick' policy to unearth substantial portions of black money and utilise it for relief and rehabilitation of the uprooted by the Gujarat earthquake and also for developmental activities in backward regions.

The framers of the Budget may have the temptation to attribute the failure of the economy to the earthquake in Gujarat. However, we must realise that crisis of our economy and its slowing down began long before January 26, 2001. To those who suffered the ignominy of the worst consequences of the economic crisis, the 2001-2002 budget presented by the finance minister will undoubtedly appear merely as a "damsel in distress".

*"The fiscal deficit should not concern us much"*



**Dewang Mehta**  
President,  
Nasscom

Yashwant Sinha, while presenting his Budget was sounding like Zubin Mehta, playing his number, *Software Philharmonic*. It is an excellent Budget for the software industry. The finance minister's sops to the software companies of not taxing their export earnings from on-site services was like music to the ear as 60 per cent of the total earnings come from this only.

The enhancement of FII's portfolio investment limit in a company from 40 per cent to 49 per cent will also help improving the market sentiment. The two-way fungibility where corporates can reconvert their converted share into American Depository and global depository receipts will increase the confidence of foreign investors in the Indian market.

The announcement of a tax holiday of five years to internet service providers will go a long way in creating internet infrastructure in the country. The government's measure to give tax exemption

for investment made in engineering college will also help IT companies in forming a partnership with educational institutions.

However, there are some small disappointments as well. Bringing online information and database retrieval services in the service tax net will have some negative impact. Similarly, the measure to bring the service provided to lease circuit line holders in the service tax net will not go very well in otherwise such a positive Budget. These measures should have been put after five years.

*"FM has gone into the core issue of tariffs"*



**Rajeev Chandrasekhar**  
Chairman & CEO,  
BPL Innovision  
Business Group

Rajeev Chandrasekhar, chairman & CEO, BPL Innovision Business Group, MUMBAI: The budget is fairly solid and has gone into the fundamentals of tariffs, rationalised Cenvat and VAT.

The finance minister, Yashwant Sinha, has conveyed a strong message as regards to curtailing government expenditure on the fiscal side. The root cause of interest rates have been addressed to by lowering the small savings rate. The budget has made investments attractive and also aimed at rationalisation of government offices and reducing costs. Another five-year extension of a tax-holiday to the telecom sector makes sense as in the first five years nothing much was achieved by this sector. Besides, this is a sector that has long gestation periods of 7-8 years before they actually start making profits. So there is little impact on companies from this sector. Companies don't pay taxes till they square-off accumulated losses which takes 7-10 years on an average. The determining factor is, however, not the budget but the telecom policy.

If all these measures are followed by sectoral policies that encourage investments, the government would achieve its objective of making the country an attractive investment destination. Overall I would say, the budget has scored eight out of ten.

*"Can the government implement the budgetary steps?"*

**R K Pachaur**

Director, TERI, New Delhi

Overall, Yashwant Sinha has presented a good and forward-looking budget. The major question is whether the Government would be able to implement all the provisions and measures outlined. For instance, would the Central Government be able to downsize its workforce by two per cent annually? Would the Central Government, given its limited role in the power sector, be able to persuade the states to carry out urgent reforms in the power supply industry? Would some of the socially-oriented schemes be implemented faithfully or would there be the usual leakages of resources and funds? Such schemes include those related to people's participation in water harvesting and water management in rural areas as well as measures mentioned for women's empowerment and income benefits for those below the poverty line connected with completion of education of children.

The speech omits certain important subjects with respect to sustainable development, which it is hoped will be taken up by Parliament before the Finance Bill is passed. Measures for environmental protection or extension of forestry activities were not mentioned. Yet, if poverty removal is an important objective of the Government, it is these resources that provide vital services to the poor, whose livelihood depends on them. The joint forest management programme, for instance, is a unique way of involving local communities in the management and conservation of forests, should have received attention.

The Finance Minister has also dwelt on plans for bringing about 100 per cent rural electrification in the country in six years. Perhaps rural energisation instead of electrification should have been highlighted. Extending the electricity grid to all parts of the country would be expensive and unviable. Renewable energy technologies can be utilised and implemented at the village level with much higher technical reliability and, in several cases, economic benefits beyond the extension of grid-based power. Subsidies on kerosene can gradually be shifted to solar lanterns, for which a market is already developing in sever-

al parts of the country. However, a subsidy on the initial investment on these would be far less costly over the life of these devices than perennial subsidies on kerosene.

*"Poverty cannot be covered up by economic jugglery"*

In the pursuit of economic marksmanship, the Budget loses sight of the pressing concerns of the poor and the rising insecurity of the unemployed.



**A K Shiva Kumar,**  
Special Advisor,  
UNICEF

Sinha must be commended for the single-minded pursuit of economic reforms and higher growth — undoubtedly vital for accelerating India's progress. But in the process, what he has failed to take note of is disconcerting.

The face of India's poverty cannot be covered up by economic jugglery. The FM talked about the reduction in poverty levels - from 36% in 1993-94 to 26% in 2001. The Economic Survey itself points out that the new estimate may not be strictly comparable to the earlier estimate of poverty. Even with the new estimate, there are 260 million people living below the income poverty line. But we need to look at human poverty. Close to 380 million Indians cannot read and write, nearly 100,000 women die every year, due to pregnancy-related causes, and over 90% of the rural population does not have proper sanitation facilities. Moreover, employment rates appear to be falling in recent years. This is the real face of poverty unemployment, illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, and lack of access to a decent standard of living that the Budget fails to address adequately. India's children 380 million of them - have little reason to smile. The infant mortality rate has been stagnant at around 70 deaths per 1000 live births. Will the Budget give a boost to child survival? Routine immunisation coverage has begun to fall. Will the Budget extend the reach of immunisation services and primary health care to all? India's rates of child malnutrition are almost twice the levels reported in Sub-Saharan Africa. What is in the Budget to ensure adequate nutrition? Almost 60% of deliveries are not attended to by a trained birth attendant. Does the budget provide enough resources for ensuring safe delivery?



# Sinha cranks up feel-good factor

By Alok Mukherjee

NEW DELHI, FEB. 28. Against the backdrop of five State Assembly elections this year, the Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, has managed to present a "responsive" budget addressing the cross-sectional concerns of the taxpayers, the industry and the farmers. With emphasis on second generation reforms, recreation of the feel good factor and renewed thrust on agriculture, the immediate impact of the budget has been such that talks about a "second dream budget" are already doing the corporate rounds.

In a nutshell, the budget for 2001-2002 presented to Parliament today, includes a "middle-class package" of lower income tax, lower prices for cars, scooters and motorcycles and novel schemes such as easy loans for higher education at home and abroad. There is sufficient emphasis on agriculture with safeguards against imports and on infrastructural development.

Mr. Sinha also introduced an insurance cover for farmers and out-of-job workers, and a scheme for the neglected widows of Vrindavan, Kashi and other places. The lower income group was given an additional tax rebate for specified investments.

He, however, pinched those with investments in small savings by reducing the interest rates by one to 1.5 per cent on almost all such savings instruments, raised the cost of Central Government accommodation provided to its employees, and put a freeze on their leave travel concession (LTC) for two years. A comprehensive downsizing programme was outlined for Government employees with the provision of a voluntary retirement scheme (VRS) for "surplus" staff. Mass recruitment by banks would be abolished with individual banks free to take specialised talent. A surcharge on cigarettes and tobacco products was also been introduced.

For income tax payers, while there are no changes in rates, the 10 and 15 per cent Kargil surcharge stands withdrawn and only the two per cent Gujarat surcharge remains. Those with incomes up to Rs. 1 lakh a year have now been allowed a higher tax rebate of 30 per cent against 20 per cent on investments specified in Section 88 of the Income Tax Act, but the tax deductible interest income limit of Rs. 15,000 stands reduced to Rs. 9,000 per annum. A move has also been initiated to tax some of the perquisites granted by companies to their employees. Similarly, the corporate tax rate remains unchanged and the 10 per cent Kargil

surcharge goes. Only the two per cent Gujarat and one per cent natural calamity surcharge remains. There has also been a reduction in the dividends distribution tax from 20 to 10 per cent, and a host of measures to boost industry and investor sentiment.

Apart from Central Government employees, another segment which could be unhappy with the Minister is the labour, though the industry has welcomed the attempt to introduce some flexibility in retrenchment rules. While dismantling the rigidities involved in retrenchment, a compensatory insurance scheme has been introduced for those who might lose their jobs.

The expected increase in the coverage of service tax also figures in the budget as well as the extension to all urban areas the one-by-six criteria for compulsory filing of income tax returns. The service tax rate has, however, not

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been raised. Tax deduction at source (TDS) norms have also been changed, with the inclusion of brokerage and commissions, except in shares and securities, under the scheme and lowering of the limit to Rs. 2,500 or interest on time deposits for TDS purposes.

The budget responds to the fears of the agricultural sector that the lifting of the Quantitative Restrictions (QRs) will result in increased import competition. Tea, coffee, copra, coconut and desiccated coconut will now attract a 70 per cent import duty against the present 35 per cent. Similarly, duties on crude edible oils ranging from 35 to 55 per cent have been raised uniformly to 75 per cent, and on refined oils from 45 and 65 per cent to 85 per cent. Duty on imported crude palm oil used by sick vanaspati units have also been hiked from 25 to 55 per cent, while others would pay a duty of 75 per cent on this item.

The Minister has, however, withdrawn the 10 per cent customs surcharge imposed earlier, and has given notice that he intends bringing down the minimum peak tariff level to 20 per cent within three years. On the excise front too, he has brought about some more rationalisation by having one Central value added tax (Cenvat) rate of 16 per cent for all products, and introduced another single special excise duty (SED) of 16 per cent. This means items would be subjected to excise at either 16

per cent or 32 per cent (16 Cenvat plus 16 SED). The immediate impact would be on items such as scooters and motorcycles and taxis, which would be charged 16 per cent against the earlier 24 per cent while motor cars would attract an excise of 32 per cent against the earlier 40 per cent.

To protect the domestic automobile industry from the onslaught of second-hand car imports, Mr. Sinha has proposed extra duty on such cars, taking the total duty component to 180 per cent. On liquor imports after the lifting of QRs, he proposed a countervailing duty on the basis of the State excise duty on such products. The small-scale sector has been marginally touched with dereservation of 14 items related to leather goods, shoes and toys, but the excise exemption limit for this sector has been doubled to Rs. 1 crore, and a credit and loan package promised for small units involving Rs. 5,000 crores over five years.

The corporate sector has been granted further liberalisation in terms of investments abroad, while foreign institutional investors (FIIs) will be permitted to invest about 49 per cent in Indian companies through the portfolio route, up from the present 40 per cent.

## FCI role limited

In pushing ahead with the reforms process, the Minister has given notice that privatisation of the public sector will be accelerated to fetch Rs. 12,000 crores in the coming fiscal, while price controls on drugs, fertilizers and sugar will go. The management pattern of the food economy has been altered with the Food Corporation of India (FCI) now having the limited role of managing strategic reserves while the State Governments also undertake procurement and distribution of foodgrains. Some concessions were announced for the development and advancement of food processing industries and creation of agricultural storage capacity.

Mr. Sinha's overall exercise will result in higher excise collection by Rs. 4,677 crores, but he will lose Rs. 2,128 crores in customs duty changes and another Rs. 5,500 crores on the direct tax account, which he hopes to make up through higher buoyancy. He claimed a "good fiscal performance" by keeping the fiscal deficit for 2000-2001 to the 5.1 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) target — mainly because of inability to spend in some cases and with the help of higher accruals on non-tax receipt account. For the next year, the fiscal deficit has been pegged at 4.7 per cent of the GDP.

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## LABOUR LAWS / FLEXIBILITY FOR EMPLOYERS

# Foundation for exit policy?

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By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, FEB. 28.** In a bold move, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, has for a change sought to break the shackles of labour law rigidities by giving a further push to the reform process and proposing much demanded flexibility for the employers.

The proposed changes in the labour laws could be seen as the possible laying of foundation for an "exit policy" for which the trade and industry had been clamouring for long.

Appearing to be addressing what he called "contentious issues of rigidities in our labour legislation", Mr. Sinha in his budget speech proposed far-reaching changes, which would make it simpler for industrial firms to retrench or lay off workers or go in for closure if the employees strength was less than 1,000 against the stipulated 100.

At the same time, he also proposed legitimisation of engaging contract labour by modifying the law.

Pointing out that the Government was convinced some changes were necessary in the Industrial Dispute Act, which made it impossible for industrial firms to exercise any labour flexibility, he proposed modification of in Chapter VB of the Act to dispense with the requirement of the managements of certain specified industrial establishments securing prior approval of the Government concerned before effecting lay-off, retrenchment, or closure.

In terms of the Government's proposal, such prior approval would be necessary only in cases where the employee strength was 1,000 or above.

Obviously, the ceiling in relation to the employees' strength was being raised by 10 times

from 100 to attract the "safeguard" in prior permission before taking any such action detrimental to the workers' interests.

### A balancing act

However, aware of the criticism that these moves could attract, Mr. Sinha tried to do an balancing act. While relaxing the norms relating to prior permission from the Government in case of a lay-off, retrenchment or closure, he proposed a separation compensation, three times the amount an employee is entitled currently.

## Babus' perks cut

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, FEB. 28.** Mr. Yashwant Sinha seems to have taken the first step towards ending the freebie regime the babus have enacted for themselves all these years.

Central Government officials will now have to contend with cuts in perks ranging from higher rent on Government accommodation to suspension of LTC for two years for the remaining part of the four-year block. An exception has been made for employees entitled to the last LTC before retirement. Besides, the comfortable retirement cushion due to high interest rates provided in savings schemes such as PF and GPF will no longer be that secure with the proposing a cut in interest rates.

While most officials will have to contend with a cut in perks, some might face the prospect of retrenchment if Mr. Sinha carries out his threat of creating a surplus pool. The employees in the pool have been promised an "attractive" VRS package.

The enhanced compensation, 45 days for every completed year of service as against 15 days now, would act as a deterrent to employers, he claimed.

He also proposed changes in the contract labour law which prohibits engagement labour on contract basis if the nature of work was of perennial nature and other conditions stipulated by it existed. Section 10 of the Contract Labour Act, which entitles a contract labourer to become a direct employee, would be modified.

"To overcome the difficulty and at the same time to provide protection of labour" the Minister said it was proposed to bring an amendment to facilitate outsourcing of activities without any restrictions and to offer contract appointments.

### Insurance cover

Mr. Sinha, who attracted the wrath of most people, particularly the working class, by proposing to lower the interest rates on PF and small savings and changes in labour laws, tied to humour them with a new group insurance scheme, "Ashraya Bima Yojana". It was aimed at extending security cover to the organised labour force, which would be affected by the short-term impact of the on-going liberalisation process.

The policy would provide compensation of up to 30 per cent of last drawn annual pay for a period of one year to workers who lose their jobs. It would also cover, initially, all employees drawing salaries of up to Rs. 10,000 a month. The policy would be administered by the four Government-owned insurance companies, which would announce the details including premium rates of the proposed policy by June.

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# Behind the fiscal figures

By C. Rammanohar Reddy

CHENNAI, FEB. 28. While this is one budget that does not depend on a jugglery of figures for its legitimacy, it is still important to note that coincidences, unintended consequences and fiscal compression underlie the fact that 2000-01 has turned out to be the first time that the broad fiscal targets would have been met. Further, much as the Union Budget for 2001-02 hopes that economic growth will accelerate on the back of the many tax concessions and liberalisation measures that it contains, there is a fair amount of excessive optimism underlying the budgetary figures for the coming fiscal year as well.

First, the fiscal trends in the year 2000-01, which the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, says will end with the fiscal and revenue deficit ratios much as he projected when he presented his budget on February 29, 2000. True, in spite of the fact that economic growth in 2000-01 is expected to be a good percentage point less than what was predicted last year, the fiscal deficit according to the revised estimates for 2000-01 will be on target (5.1 per cent of GDP) and so too the revenue deficit (3.6 per cent). Yet all has not gone well on the ground. First and most important, capital expenditure on the Plan account — of the kind that goes into creation of infrastructure and other assets — has been a good 7 per cent less (even in nominal terms) than that budgeted for in the current financial year — a shortfall of Rs. 2,636 crores.

It is accepted that even as the private sector steps into infrastructure, the larger responsibility will remain that of the Centre. There has been a small excess in Plan revenue expenditure but total Plan outlays are still 2 per cent less than the budgeted amount. Second, Mr. Sinha has also been aided by the inability of the Defence Ministry to make full use of the large allocations provided for in 2000-01. The shortfall in defence spending — not on account of any deliberate economy — is of the order of some Rs. 4,000 crores. Third, on the receipts side the shortfall in excise, customs and disinvestment is well-known. (But a mystery must be why suddenly and in spite of revenue from the two surcharges of a total 2...

on corporate taxes that were introduced towards the end of the year, 2000-01 will see total corporate tax collections at only 97 per cent of the original target.)

What is not highlighted is that non-tax revenue has surpassed the budgeted amount by more than 7 per cent. This is almost entirely on account of a 40 per cent plus increase over budgeted levels of dividends and profits paid by the RBI, nationalised banks and the financial institutions. It should be worrying that the Plan outlays have fallen short of the budgeted amount in important areas like agriculture (decline of Rs. 680 crores), rural development (Rs. 1,200 crores) and social services (Rs. 600 crores).

One should not be surprised if much the same trend is repeated in 2001-02. Naturally, assuming a buoyancy of revenue on the basis of an economic acceleration, income tax and customs duty collections are expected to post 10-15 per cent increases in spite of the reductions that have been announced. But to make up for the slow pace of defence procurement in 2000-01, Mr. Sinha has made provision for a 13.8 per cent growth in defence expenditure in the next financial year. And as always there are large allocations for total Plan expenditure — but the growth budgeted for in 2001-02 is only 10 per cent over the revised estimates for 2000-01. This is not much more than inflation and does not compensate for the shortfall this year. The situation will by far be the worse in Plan investment where outlays are slated to increase by only 5 per cent — lower than the expected inflation rate and at Rs. 34,875 crores the 2001-02 allocation will be less than even the Rs. 35,770 crores that was budgeted for but not realised in the previous year!

Besides, it is good to remember that when Mr. Sinha presented his budget last year, he said that total Plan expenditure would grow by 11 per cent and capital outlay by 14 per cent. The opposite happened because Plan expenditure as always became the lamb to be sacrificed at the altar of fiscal consolidation. One will have to wait to see if the situation will be repeated in 2001-02 on the road to the next fiscal deficit target of 4.7 per cent of GDP.

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## WHERE POSITIVES DOMINATE

IT WAS NOT exactly a facile exercise in balancing the books. What the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, had on hand was a constellation of challenges in framing his fourth budget. A creeping sense of disquiet about the slowing down of the momentum of growth was only part of the problem. The angst of the farming community, exposed increasingly to the spectre of crashing prices for agricultural commodities, was crying for attention even if policymakers have been largely clueless about how the budget could help resolve a crisis brought on by a combination of injudicious crop planning, glut in production and virtual absence of market intelligence for the farmers combining with perceptions of inundation of domestic markets by imports. Then there has been the adverse impact of demand ennui both for industrial products and for capital goods. The persisting investment inertia in infrastructure has equally clamoured for attention. The question in the public domain for months now was how Mr. Sinha would cope with all these pressures without betraying all his commitment to an ever-elusive fiscal discipline.

The ghastly devastation in Gujarat last month seemed almost to jeopardise all the possibilities of a sensible fiscal strategy needed to accelerate economic growth and make for an investor-friendly policy environment. Against an estimated cost of reconstruction in that State of Rs. 30,000 crores, it looked as if the Centre would be forced to embark upon a massive tax drive or sizeable public borrowing in order to meet the contingency.

Mr. Sinha's budget, in the event, has turned out to be a salutary package addressing multiple concerns in a reasonably coherent manner even if some of the budget initiatives are bound to meet with legitimate scepticism if not political hostility. In particular, his optimistic projection of the proceeds from disinvestment at Rs. 12,000 crores and the acceptance of the untested paradigm of "flexible" labour laws making for larger employment generation could provoke a great deal of justified consternation among the working class. On another plane, keeping the defence expenditure, at Rs. 62,000 crores, almost at the same level of the GDP as in 2000-01 would serve to reassure the international community that India is not a belligerent nation.

As a configuration of reform-minded thinking, Mr. Sinha's budget is bound to send positive signals to investors, both in India and in global capital markets, that the process of economic reforms, with all its vacillations, is most likely to proceed, on requisite lines. Three aspects of the approach indicated in the budget, towards accelerated reforms, need to be underscored. First, the belief fostered by the reformists in the past, that agriculture, the backbone of the Indian economy, would, for long, remain outside the pale of economic restructuring is now sought to be dispelled. In fact, Mr. Sinha's budget puts the spotlight on agriculture and rural development. Mr. Sinha has rightly chosen to strengthen the institutional structure of delivery of bank finance, insurance and micro-credit while paving the way for expansion of cold storage facilities for improving the marketability of perishable commodities. There is nothing sensationally new, however, in the proposition that the much-needed movement towards modernisation and diversification of agricultural practices will critically hinge on extension services provided by the proposed Agri-clinics and Agribusiness centres. After all, Dr. Manmohan Singh, in the earlier years of liberalisation (1992-95), consistently spoke about Agribusiness Consortia though with nothing much to show in terms of performance.

The second evidence that the budget focusses clearly on the imperatives of economic reforms is the thrust it reveals towards infrastructure development. To a certain extent, the sectoral Plan allocation indicated in the budget for infrastructure represents a substantial step-up. Plan outlay for power for 2001-2002, is set at Rs. 11,066 crores against the revised estimate of Rs. 8,345 crores during the current year. The outlay for road trans-

port (with all the attention on the quadrilateral and corridor projects) has been raised from Rs. 5,248 crores to Rs. 8,727 crores in the new budget. All this lends credence to the realisation that the flow of private sector investments in infrastructure continues to be disappointing despite all the "heroics" of the "reform lingo". Even apart from the customary hassles of implementation, including the lack of adequate coordination between the Central Ministries and the State Governments, and the vague reference made by Mr. Sinha to zero-base budgeting, larger Plan allocations, by themselves, may not produce a miracle.

Mr. Sinha is certainly on the right track when he attributes much of the problem of infrastructure development to the ingrained political culture of non-merit subsidisation, particularly in the power sector. Unless user charges meet the full costs of operations in the State Electricity Boards (assuming that theft of power can be combated), the financial viability of the SEBs cannot be ensured and private sector funding for new generation will continue to elude the policy regime.

The third frontal area of the reform process to which the budget relates is the vexed issue of high interest costs in the economy. Excepting a few Latin American economies, the real interest rate in most developing countries rarely exceeds 5 per cent while it has been hovering around 10 per cent in India. That the borrowing operations of the Government are conditioned by high interest rates and that the contagious effects are spread through the entire economy are well-known. There can be no disagreement over the need to reduce the interest cost in the economy in favour of larger investments and strengthened competitiveness of Indian industry. But then should Mr. Sinha have rushed to slash interest rates on Provident Funds and small savings by 1.5 per cent in a single stroke?

Granted that unsustainable levels of fiscal deficits in the past have bedevilled the Government and have created a situation in which total debt servicing in 2000-2001, at Rs. 2,28,955 crores, represented 68 per cent of the total receipts including borrowings, fiscal correction is certainly overdue. While Mr. Sinha can take pride in the fact that he has contained the fiscal deficit at 5.1 per cent in terms of the GDP during the current fiscal, it needs to be noted that capital expenditure has suffered some erosion — from Rs. 57,389 crores proposed in the budget to Rs. 51,987 crores and that the disinvestment proposed at Rs. 10,000 crores fetched only Rs. 2,500 crores. That he proposes to bring down the revenue deficit in 2001-2002 to 3.2 per cent of the GDP from the current level of 3.6 per cent and the fiscal deficit to 4.7 per cent will obviously cheer like-minded "fiscal fundamentalists" that at long last the country has emerged into a new era of fiscal rectitude.

Even if Mr. Sinha cannot be accused of political populism, his direct tax measures — the removal of the Kargil surcharge, the reduction of dividend tax to 10 per cent and an enhanced tax rebate at 30 per cent under Section 88 of the Income Tax Act as well as a liberal extension of tax holiday for infrastructure investments — have come as unusual morale-boosters for industry and investors. His continuing efforts to streamline the customs duties structure and the excise duty regime have broadly confirmed a clear appreciation of the needs of Indian industry in a climate of unequal global competition without losing sight of the revenue potential inherent in a faster rate of economic growth. Predictably, he has widened the ambit of Service taxation even though the problematics of efficient collection will endure.

Undoubtedly a pro-growth budget to be doubly commended for its larger devolution of funds to the States, a lingering doubt is bound to persist in the minds of objective citizens on whether some opportunities have been missed, as, for instance, some programme to link mountainous stocks of foodgrains with employment generation.

## WELL DONE, FM!

11/3 Finally, a budget to cheer

FOURTH time lucky. When Yashwant Sinha rose today to present his fourth budget, the backdrop included such unpropitious signs as a slowing economy, stalling reforms, quake devastation and election-induced populist bingeing across the political class. Sinha's record did not inspire any confidence that he would take on all or any of these problems. By the time he sat down, the finance minister had proved that apprehension to be wonderfully wrong. The moment could be said to have found the man, and bar nasty surprises upon detailed perusal of the fine print — as always, a possibility — Yashwant Sinha can claim to have bettered the prospects of both his personal standing and the economy. Even better, the principal reason for both assessments are the same — that is, after a long time a finance minister has preferred courage to cautious incrementalism. The two best demonstrations of that are in what are arguably the budget's two most important planks. His short term and medium term growth strategy. The Economic Survey and countless independent assessments had predicted a grim near future in the absence of some radical correctives. Wisely, Sinha has chosen to provide some immediate impetus to growth, while initiating some hitherto unattempted efforts to loosen constraints which should have a positive impact in the medium term. The short term strategy is essentially to boost private spending and certain kinds of investment, especially in infrastructure. Hence the removal of direct tax surcharges, hence the lowering on excise duties on key products including autos and two wheelers, hence the tax holidays for infrastructure projects and the customs duty cut on IT and telecom equipment. All this plus the feel good factor that has, undoubtedly been generated, especially among corporates and capital market agents including the FIIs, should lead to a revival of economic activity well before the next budget is presented. Such a short term boost was sorely required for an economy that seemed over the last year to have lost confidence in itself, and Sinha would have deserved praise if he corrected nothing else. But he did more.

Strikingly for an Indian finance minister of an unruly and populist-dominated coalition, and in an election season, Sinha has targeted vested interests long considered out of bounds for boosting the prospects of medium term growth. The most important example is the proposed legislation to simplify hiring and firing of labour. Manmohan Singh talked of it but was talked out of it by Narasimha Rao. Chidambaram didn't even bother. Neither did Sinha in the last three years. But this time, probably encouraged by the full support of the Prime Minister, Sinha has bitten the bullet. The Bill for reforming labour law is to be presented this session. And it is up to the political managers of NDA to ensure it passes legislative muster. The sooner it does, the faster will Indian business be able to cut costs, improve productivity, and be bolder in investment plans. The three other medium term growth strategies are a slew of incentives for the agriculture sector (that, of course, is also good politics, given the farmers' restiveness about WTO), initiating a process of economic user charges for government services, power being the prime example, and what looks like — one must be more sceptical here, given past experience — the beginning of a long-delayed fiscal consolidation.

The fiscal deficit target for 2000-2001, at 5.1 per cent, has been met. The target for the next financial year, at 4.7 per cent, is as per the phased programme in the Fiscal Responsibility Bill. The cut in interest rates, which was preceded by pre-budget cuts by RBI, will bring down lending costs. Government babus have been targeted for the first time, not only in their posts but also their pockets. And the innovation of adding to the budget documents a record of last year's programme implementation lends some credibility to Sinha's long and quite unsparing analysis of the fiscal situation in his budget speech. Of course, the numbers, both for the revised estimates of the last budget and the budget estimates of this one, will have to be looked at carefully to see where the minister has fudged. But even with the standard amount of fiscal legerdemain, the fiscal programme chalked out carries more weight than any comparable exercise in the last seven to eight years. Sinha could and should be given the benefit of doubt.

The downsides? Despite rationalisation, indirect taxes remain too cluttered to be called even halfway progressive. Protectionists, both agricultural and industrial, have succeeded in raising some customs duties to near panic levels. That was unnecessary and gives encouragement to many others to aim for mid-year changes. Most services will continue to effectively pay no taxes. The disinvestment target, up by Rs 2,000 crores from 2000-2001 BE, should have been more ambitious, many more than eight PSUs should have been put up for sale. Then there is the wholly unnecessary provision of a crore for benefits for journalists operated by the I&B Ministry. Half jokingly but half seriously Sinha is under the erroneous notion that reporters determine editorial policy or content.

The negatives do not however detract from the challenge Sinha has set for future finance ministers, including himself — present a budget better than this one.