

# एक दशक की बैलेंस शीट!



## कॉरपोरेट्स के लिए रेवड़ी

रिपोर्ट कार्ड

2014-24

लोकतंत्र का सार यह है कि हम सरकारों को उनके दावों और वादों के हिसाब से जवाबदेह बनाएं। लेकिन हाल के वर्षों की सबसे बड़ी क्षति जवाबदेही का विचार रही है। मीडिया में विभाजनकारी और अंधराष्ट्रवादी अतिशयोक्ति सामूहिक भूलने की बीमारी को बढ़ावा देती है। यह रिपोर्ट कार्ड (हालांकि निर्णायक नहीं) फाइनेंशियल अकाउंटेबिलिटी नेटवर्क इंडिया की एक श्रृंखला का हिस्सा है, जो वित्तीय और आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में सरकार के प्रदर्शन के कुछ दावों और वास्तविकता पर नज़र डालने और उजागर करने का प्रयास करता है।

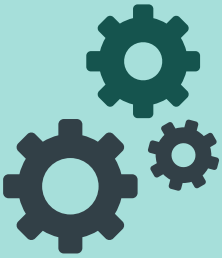
# दावे



कॉर्पोरेट्स के लिए **कर छूट** जैसे प्रोत्साहन या "रेवडी" आर्थिक विकास को बढ़ावा देंगे और सरकार के उद्देश्यों के अनुरूप निवेश को बढ़ावा देंगे।



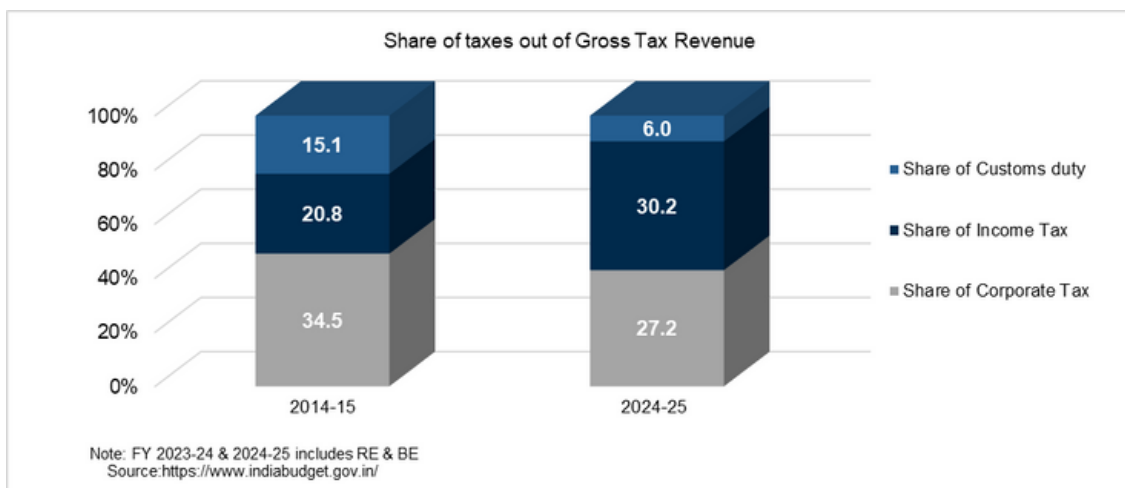
2018 में मोदी ने दावा किया कि उनकी सरकार ने उन पार्टियों को एक भी **ऋण** नहीं दिया, जिन्होंने बाद में भुगतान में चूक की। उन्होंने कहा कि जो भी कर्ज दिया गया था, उसे **वसूल** किया जाएगा।



**पीएलआई** योजना की शुरूआत का उद्देश्य कर राजस्व को बढ़ावा देने के अंतिम लक्ष्य के साथ सब्सिडी की पेशकश करके कॉर्पोरेट मुनाफे को बढ़ाना था। अमिताभ कांत ने छोटे खिलाड़ियों का समर्थन करने के बजाय वास्तव में बड़ा बनने के लिए कुछ "चैंपियंस" का समर्थन करने के पक्ष में तर्क दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि ये "चैंपियंस" एमएसएमई को आगे बढ़ाएंगे।



सरकार ने **विनिवेश** के अपने प्रयासों को उचित ठहराते हुए कहा है कि इसका उद्देश्य "विनिवेश आय का उपयोग विभिन्न सामाजिक क्षेत्र और विकासात्मक कार्यक्रमों के वित्तपोषण के लिए करना" है। सरकार ने कहा कि मुद्राकरण कोई बिक्री नहीं है, बल्कि एक निजी मालिक को केवल एक "पट्टा" है और यह हाथों का परिवर्तन नहीं है। इसमें कहा गया है कि प्राप्त आय से कोविड संबंधी खर्चों और बुनियादी ढांचे की जरूरतों को पूरा किया जाएगा।



# वास्तविकता

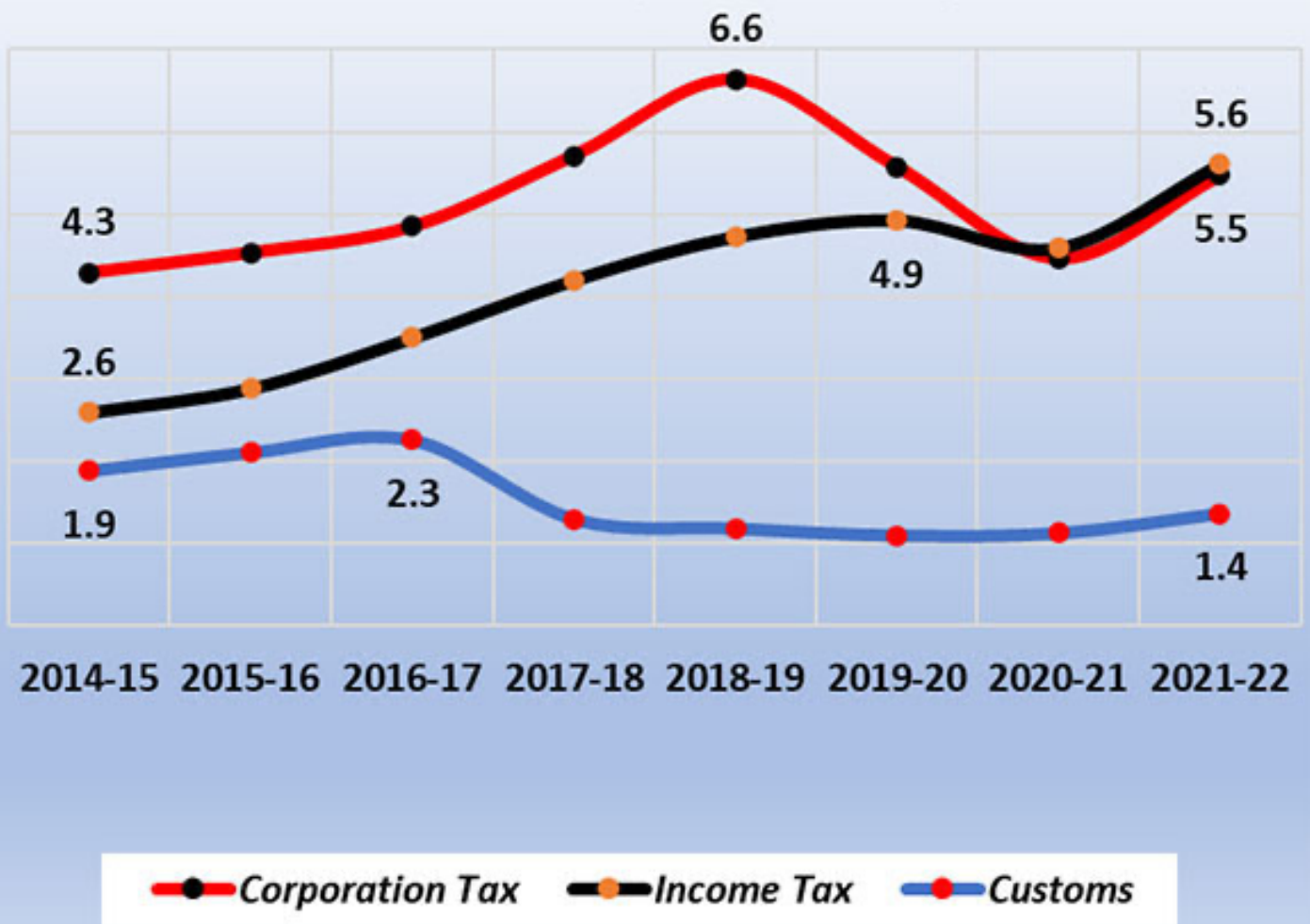


## कर में कटौती: कॉरपोरेट्स के लिए रेवड़ी

- 1 सरकारने 2019 में कॉर्पोरेट टैक्स दरों में कटौती लागू की और उन्हें 30% से घटाकर 22% कर दिया। इसके अलावा, नवगठित घरेलू कंपनियों को 15% की और भी कम दर से लाभ हुआ। टैक्स कटौती के बाद पहले दो वर्षों में देश को **1.84 लाख करोड़ रुपये का महत्वपूर्ण राजस्व नुकसान हुआ। यह राशि 2020-21 में मनरेगा और एनएफएसए दोनों के संयुक्त बजट से भी अधिक थी।** इससे कर राजस्व में वृद्धि या पर्याप्त आर्थिक वृद्धि नहीं हुई।
- 2 2019-20 में, कुल कॉर्पोरेट कर संग्रह में **16% की गिरावट** आई, जो 6.63 लाख करोड़ रु. से 5.57 लाख करोड़ रुपये कम हो गई।
- 3 FY21 में, कॉर्पोरेट कर संग्रह वास्तवमें FY20 के ₹5,56,876 करोड़ से घटकर ₹4,57,719 करोड़ हो गया। यह गिरावटतब हुई जब सूचीबद्ध और गैर-सूचीबद्ध दोनों कंपनियों ने पर्याप्त शुद्ध लाभ दर्ज किया।
- 4 Under Modi, the **tax burden has shifted from corporates to common people**. Personal income tax collections increased by **117%** while corporate tax collections increased only by **28%** in the 10 years they have been in power.
- 5 Recent estimates of the Budget show that the share of Corporate tax in Gross tax revenue has **decreased** from 34.5% in 2014-15 to 27.2% in 2024-25, on the other hand, the share of Income tax has increased from 20.8% to 30.2%.

- 6 Effective tax rates for corporates are even **lower than 22%**. Reliance Industries paid only an effective tax rate of 16.5% in 2021-22. Similarly, UltraTech Cement paid only 14.8%.

*Some Taxes Under Modi Govt (Rs. lakh crore)*







# Loan Write-Off: Freebies from the Banks



- 1** Banks have written off a cumulative of **14.56 lakhs cr** during the **BJP-led NDA govt from 2014-2023**, where write-off values saw an upsurge of about more than 3 times since Modi came to power. The write-off figure is 2.5 times higher than the total spending of the Uttar Pradesh government in 2023-24.
- 

- 2** Banks have recovered only 2,04,668 crore in written-off loans, including corporate loans, since April 2014 and up to March 2023. **Banks have recovered only 14.07% of written off loans.** According to RBI data, **90% of the loans that were written off by banks are never recovered.**
- 

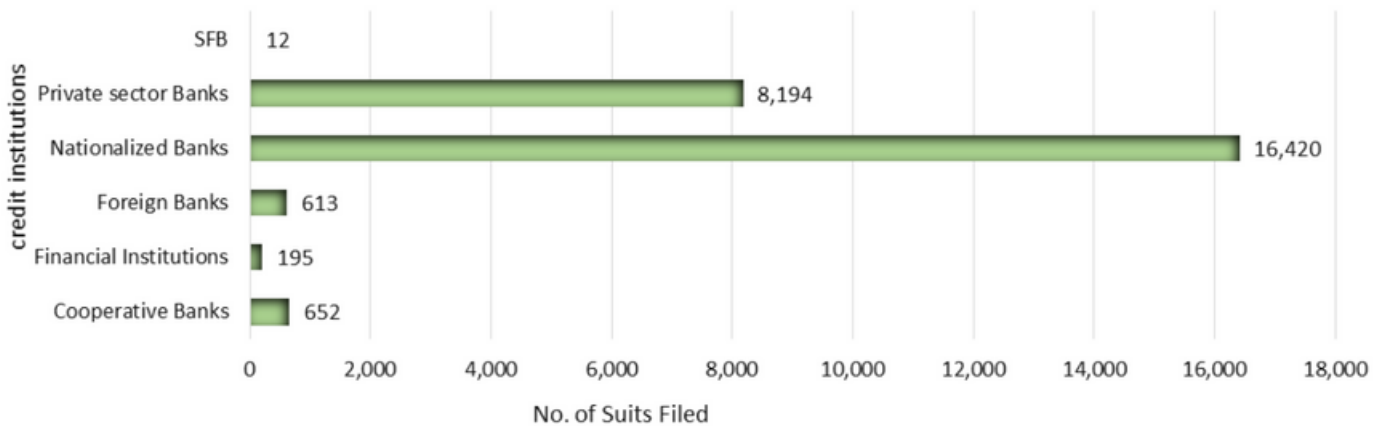
- 3** The number of **Cases of willful defaulters increased to about 1.6 times that in 2014**, with 9,249 cases of accounts defaulting wilfully 25 lakhs and above is 1,96,930 cr as of November 2023.
- 

- 4** **The NCLT process which was supposed to help with the recoveries have in fact become another means of handovers to the corporates.** For instance, Electrosteel was sold off after a **60% haircut** and was bought by Vedanta at 40% of its price. Again, Alok Industries got an **83% haircut**. Reliance bought it at 17% of its original value!  
Recently, for instance, the NCLT approved a resolution plan in respect of Reliance Communications Infrastructure Limited (RCIL) wholly owned subsidiary of RCom owned by Anil Ambani in which against the claims made from the debtors totalling Rs.49668 Cr, the NCLT settlement was Rs. 455.92 Cr which was 0.92% of the debt!
- 

- 5** The trend is apparent in **bank fraud**. They rose from Rs 34,993 crore in the 2005-'14 period to Rs 5.89 lakh crore in the 2015-'23 period. **That is nearly a 17-fold increase.**
-

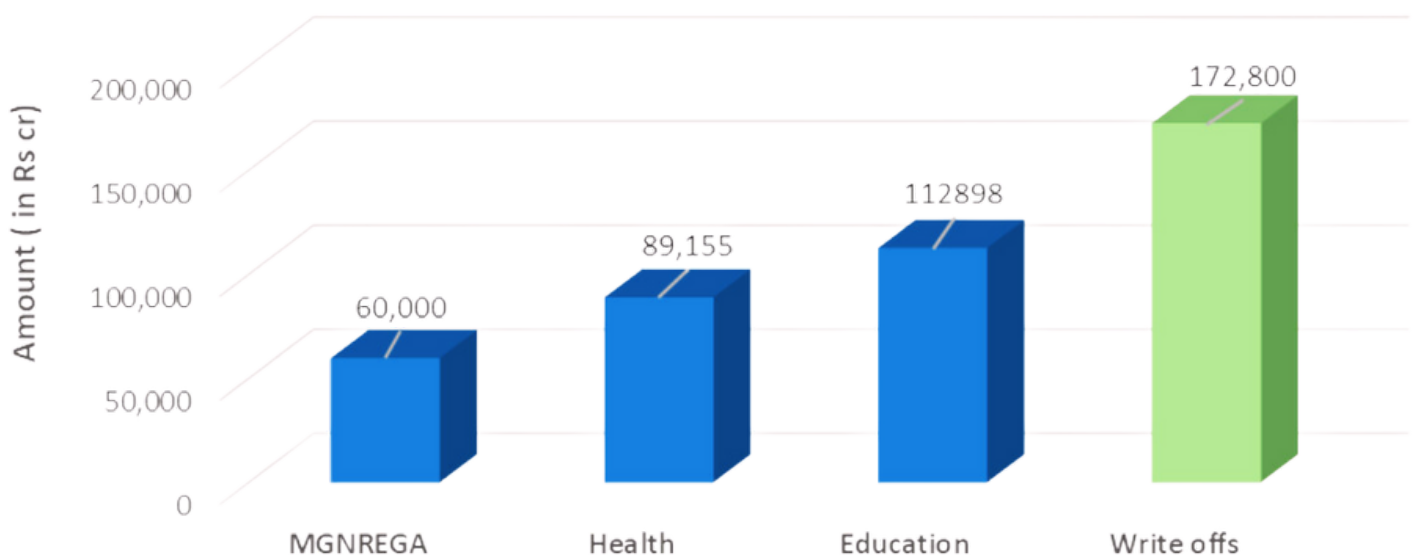
- 6 The total number of cases filed by March 31, 2023 for parties who have defaulted on loans of Rs 1 crore and above is **26,086**. Their total loan amount is **Rs 6,01,834 crore**. Public sector banks filed 16,420 cases for loans amounting to Rs 4,10,758 crore.

Number of suits filed for wilful defaulters for amount 1cr & above among category wise credit institutions



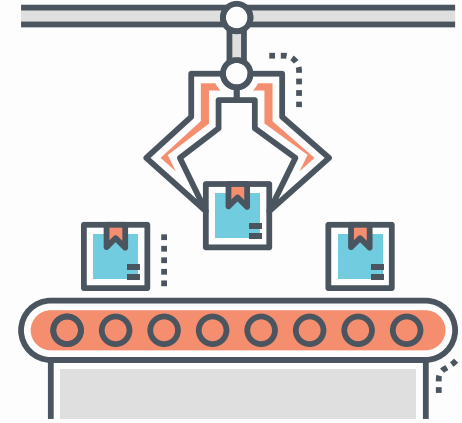
- 7 The total **write-offs** by banks in 2021-22 was Rs. 1,72,800 crore, which is much higher than the amount allocated to any of the three key social sectors shown below in 2023-'24 .

Comparison of Allocated funds to key sectors with the amount of Write-offs done by Public sector & Private sector Banks





# Production Linked Freebies



- 1 **PLI Land Acquisition:** The government has also been awarding PLI (Production-Linked Incentives) freebies to companies.

- 
- 2 The **Vedanta-Foxconn** semiconductor manufacturing hub in Gujarat is expected to be one of the first beneficiaries of the Indian government's policy, offering a **50% subsidy** on the project cost. Foxconn-Vedanta will corner the entire Rs 76,000 crore subsidy allotted for the semiconductor sector. In essence, the government is giving a **free handout** of Rs 76,000 crore to the corporate and enabling it to become a [monopoly](#).

- 
- 3 In March 2022, the Centre awarded PLIs of **Rs 18,000 crore to four companies** to make EV batteries, one of which was **Hyundai Global Motors Company Limited**. It was later repealed after the Hyundai automobile brand issued a public statement saying that they had no relation to the company the [PLIs](#) were given to.
- 



# Handing over Public Assets: Monetisation



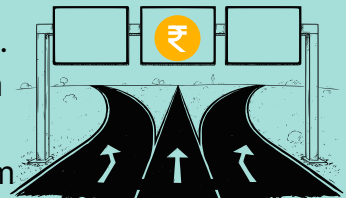
Between 2014 and 2022, the government **sold off** public enterprises and its assets to the tune of Rs. 4.86 lakh crore to corporates and private parties.



**Monetisation is just a hoax:** Through the National Monetisation Pipeline, the government is leasing out Rs.6 lakh crore worth of physical assets like **railway lines and stations, telecom systems, power transmission lines, oil and gas pipelines, roads, bridges, ports etc** to private entities. These so-called 'leases' that will run for up to 40 years are in effect, this is an **outright sale disguised as a lease.**



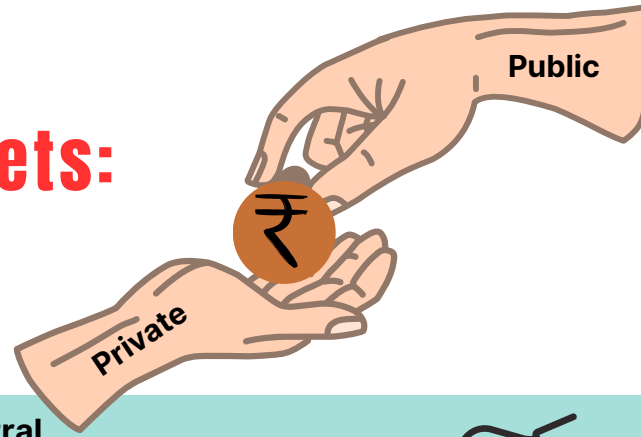
There is the danger of **immense undervaluation** in such monetisation schemes. For instance, the 26,700 km of national highway roads (22% of total NHAI roads) are going to be monetised. The government estimates that it would earn **Rs 1.6 lakh crore** from it. Whereas based on the estimate made by the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways in 2019, the construction cost of 26,700 km of four-lane national highways is more than **Rs 8 lakh crore.**



The establishment of the **National Land Monetization Corporation** (NLMC) in 2022 aimed to sell unused land owned by public entities to generate revenue. However, significant portion of these assets belonged to Central Public Sector Enterprises governed by the 5th Schedule, prohibiting their transfer to private entities. These monetization efforts were driven by the government's desperate response to a fiscal crisis created by its own policies like GST, demonetization & corporate tax cuts. By 2020, the fiscal deficit surged to 9.4% of GDP, and government debt reached 90% of GDP by 2021.



# Handing over Public Assets: Privatisation



In 2023, the government planned the **sale of Central Electronics Limited (CEL)** and **Pawan Hans Limited (PHL)** at cheap prices. It was forced to cancel them after the employees of the prized PSUs protested against cheap valuations. Further investigation also revealed that the **CEL was being sold to a furniture and furnishing firm run by BJP leaders** and the **PHL to a defaulting tax haven (Cayman Islands) based finance [company](#)**.



Despite repeated appeals made by **Rashtriya Ishpat Nigam Limited** to the Ministry of Mines, the latter has not chosen to allot the company a captive [mine](#), though the same Ministry continues to shower largesse on private companies by allotting them captive mines without any hesitation. Instead, the decision to sell off Rashtriya Ishpat Nigam Ltd's 6.3 MTPA capacity steel plant at Visakhapatnam is a brazen attempt to sell off Navratnas.

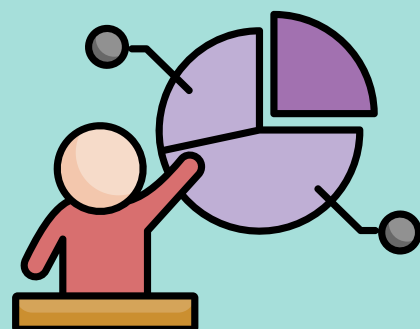
The **Life Insurance Corporation IPO** was yet another instance of changing the fundamental character of a government entity to benefit the private players.

- The IPO, it is apprehended, will enhance the role of private investors in deciding the fate and character of LIC.
- Being largely profit-driven, the private investors can change the fundamental objectives of LIC including its outreach in rural areas and among marginalized sections.
- Also, the composition of policyholders may also shift from being smaller policyholders to large depositors.
- While this will take away the competitive edge of [LIC](#), the ones who will benefit are the other private players in the insurance sector who so far are unable to gain any substantial footprint given LIC's looming presence.
- This is unimaginable for those who conceived of LIC as a "social security provider for the disadvantaged people".





The government has justified its attempts at disinvestments saying that it aims at "**making use of disinvestment proceeds to finance various social sector and developmental programmes**". This makes no sense as there is no difference at all whether the government borrows directly from the banking system to finance its additional expenditure or whether it raises it through the sale of PSEs to the corporate sector. As the corporates after all borrow from the same banking system to finance its acquisition of such PSEs.



The government has approved private exploration agencies to bid for blocks, aiming to boost mineral exploration for resources like lithium, gold, cobalt, and silver. This move is facilitated by **The Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act 2023, which allows private agencies to mine critical minerals**. This is alarming as historically profit-driven private loot of resources has come at the cost of community rights and ecology.



The recent **Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Indian Council of Agricultural Research and Bayer, a multinational corporation** has raised concerns among farmers about increased **corporate influence in Indian agriculture** and the potential revival of pro-corporate farm laws. While the ICAR has been witnessing budget cuts, such an agreement with a profit-driven MNC allowing it to exploit the Council's unique brand value, its public credibility and its vast infrastructure to pursue its own commercial plans in the country is alarming.



BJP raised the coal scams of the UPA era. The Reporters' Collective finds that the **present government received early warnings from two of its own current union ministers that its own new coal regime was compromised** and "will lead to scams". They cautioned that it would allow private companies to rig auctions and corner huge benefits at a cost to the public. But to no avail.





# Revis through Reforms



1 **The Commerce and Industry Minister boasted of having “eliminated or simplified” over 40,000 different compliances across the country to facilitate ease of doing business.** The number seems to be rising every year. In 2021 the government boasted of eliminating 22,000 compliances. In 2022 the PM claimed to have removed 32,000 compliances. And now 40,000. According to environmentalists and rights activists, however, such an approach has basically meant **dilution of land acquisition or pollution norms, watering down of rules that govern the development of coastal areas or opening up of rich forest areas to mining, [labour law](#) revisions and so on.**

---

2 Under Modi, both houses of parliament approved the **new labour codes** in 2020. Trade unions have said that the codes dilute whatever remains in terms of rights and protections for labour. The **pro-industry and anti-labour code** are yet to be implemented following resistance from worker unions who oppose the easier hiring and firing provisions as well as restrictions on trade unions.

---





# The Modani Factor

- ₹ When the Modi govt approved the **privatisation of six airports** in 2018, it **relaxed the rules** to widen the pool of competition, allowing companies without any experience in the sector to bid. The one who overnight became one of India's biggest private airports was Adani. With no history of running airports, **Adani scooped up all six airports**.
- ₹ There is an **Adani port/terminal every 500 km of our coastline**. Adani has gone from **10% to 24% of total port traffic** in the past decade, and today controls a huge **57% of cargo volumes** outside of India's government-owned 'major ports'. There are growing concerns at the highest level of government about the strategic implications of this market concentration that is being allowed under Modi.
- ₹ The Reporter's Collective found that even after the PMO had ascertained that a particular regulation **handing over coal blocks** to the private sector was 'inappropriate' and lacked transparency, but it made an **exception**. It **allowed Adani Enterprises Limited** to mine from a block holding more than 450 million tonnes of coal in one of India's densest forest patches.
- ₹ The explosive Hindenburg Report laid out evidence of brazen accounting fraud, stock manipulation and money laundering at Adani making for probably the **"most egregious example of corporate fraud in history"**. The Supreme Court panel said that while it has been a long-standing suspicion of **SEBI** that some of the public shareholders are not truly public shareholders and could be fronts for the promoters of these companies, it had failed to determine the ultimate ownership of these entities because in 2018 the provision for such disclosure was **done away with** by SEBI itself.

# Favours for Friends?

**Coal blocks in Pelma and Gare Pelma** (Chattisgarh): owned by Adani is have detrimental livelihood and ecological impact



**Parsa East Kete Basan Coal Mine in Hasdeo Arand forest** (Chattisgarh): In a pristine forest in central India, the multibillion-dollar mining giant Adani has razed trees – and homes – to dig more coal



**Coal blocks in Dhirauli, Gondbahera Ujheni East, Gondbahera Ujheni** in MP: the Adani Group won ownership of the Gondbahera Ujheni East coal block, despite there being no other bidders in this so-called 'auction'. Huge swathes of pristine forest lands have been cleared or are due to be cleared.



**Adani Pench Power Limited**, a subsidiary of Adani Power Limited, is setting up a 1,320 megawatt supercritical thermal power plant in Chhindwara district. The construction of the plant will affect 31 villages and submerge over 5,607 hectares of land, including the full submergence of six villages.





**Mundra Port and Special Economic Zone (Gujarat):** MPSEZ by Adani has been under fire since then for violation of environmental regulations. The SEZ has reportedly violated the Coastal Regulation Zone Notification of 1991 and the Forest (Conservation) Act, of 1980. The environmental costs incurred by this SEZ are deforestation of mangrove forests and other trees, loss of migratory birds and deterioration of creeks and scrubs. The farmers of Dhrub village have lost their agricultural lands due to the SEZ operations.



Find the other report cards here or scan the QR code above:  
<https://bit.ly/BSofadecade>



@\_FANIndia



Financial Accountability Network India - FAN India



fanindia.info@gmail.com



<https://www.fanindia.net>



Financial Accountability Network

