

इसलिए Himalayan ecosystem भी सुधारने की बात है। हम हर उद्योग की energy efficient efficiency check कर रहे हैं कि हर उद्योग में energy efficiency कैसे आएगी? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो विकसित देश हमें कह रहे थे - उन्होंने पहले कहा था कि वे 100 बिलियन डॉलर पर ईयर देंगे, लेकिन आज उन्होंने प्रत्यक्ष रूप से 10 बिलियन डॉलर भी नहीं दिए हैं। हमें, मतलब भारत को नहीं देने थे, पूरे विकासशील देशों को देने थे, सुधार के लिए, लेकिन उन्होंने पैसे नहीं दिए। दूसरा, उन्होंने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि technology transfer करेंगे, लेकिन वह भी नहीं हुआ है। इसलिए दुनिया में जो आने वाले सम्मेलन होंगे, उनमें भारत इसकी अगुवाई करेगा और इस technology transfer और finance के लिए दबाव बनाएगा। वह सभी विकासशील देशों को साथ लेकर ऐसा करेगा।

सर, इसमें लोगों की सहभागिता भी चाहिए। यह मेरा लास्ट मुद्दा है। जब तक यह जन-आंदोलन नहीं बनता, तब तक सफलता नहीं मिलेगी। जो वंदना जी ने कहा, वह महत्वपूर्ण है कि क्या कॉरपोरेट्स को मालूम है कि वह सहभागी हो रहा है। आज दुर्भाग्य से उत्तर बहुत ज्यादा हाँ नहीं है। इसलिए लोग पेड़ लगाएँ, पेड़ बढ़ाएँ और उनका संरक्षण करें। हमें अपनी जिन्दगी के लिए 10 पेड़ लगते हैं, जो हमें जिन्दगी भर की ऑक्सीजन दे सकते हैं। अनेक देशों ने अब यह कानून बनाया है कि ग्रेजुएट होने तक 10 पेड़ लगाने हैं और बढ़ाने हैं। इस तरह से पेड़ का एक काम है। साथ ही साथ, लोग साइकिल चलाएँ, जैसा आपने कहा कि चार किलोमीटर तक साइकिल चलानी चाहिए। फिर वाहनों की maintenance करना, PUC के बारे में आपने जैसा कहा, PUC किया जाए। इन सब उपायों में जनता को भी participate करना है, तभी पर्यावरण की रक्षा होगी, विकास भी होगा, गरीबी भी दूर होगी और देश की समृद्धि आगे बढ़ेगी। यही हम सबका कार्यक्रम है।

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**STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF THE SPECIAL  
ECONOMIC ZONES (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 2019 (NO. 12 OF 2019)**

**AND**

**GOVERNMENT BILL**

**The Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Statutory Resolution and the Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019 to be discussed together.

The Statutory Resolution is to be moved by Shri D. Raja, Shri Binoy Viswam and Shri Elamaram Kareem. Are you moving?

SHRID. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move:

"That this House disapproves the Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Ordinance, 2019 (No. 12 of 2019) promulgated by the President on the 2nd of March, 2019."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Resolution moved.

[Mr. Chairman]

Okay. Now, Shri Piyush Goyal, the Minister, to move a motion for consideration of the Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS; AND THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved. There is one amendment by Shri Sukhendu Sekhar Ray for reference of Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019 to a Select Committee of Rajya Sabha. Member may move. Because he is not there, I am going ahead to the next item.

The Statutory Resolution and the Motion for consideration of the Bill are now open for discussion. Any Member desiring to speak may do so after which the Mover of the Resolution and the Minister will reply.

Now, the first speaker, as per the list given to me is Shri Mahesh Poddar. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री महेश पोद्दार (झारखंड): सभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले तो मैं आपके प्रति अपना आभार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH (Karnataka): Sir, let the Minister explain. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He will explain. He met you personally and explained. But he will explain in the House also.

श्री महेश पोद्दार: सभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले तो मैं आपके प्रति अपना आभार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA (Assam): Sir, in the preliminary note, he has to explain the urgency of. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: Sir, he should explain the... ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. This is not the way. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: What is the urgency in the Bill? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will ask him. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Ramesh, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: The trust is going to benefit. He is trusting one trust. Who is that trust? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will ask. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. बिना अनुमति आप मत बोलिए। पर्यावरण का पर्यवेक्षण करना है और यहाँ वातावरण का भी पर्यवेक्षण करना है। ...*(व्यवधान)*... I have agreed. I will ask him. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: Let him explain. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Because I have already called that person. I can't stop him in between. I will definitely ask.

श्री महेश पोद्दार: 17वीं लोक सभा द्वारा पारित किया गया यह पहला विधेयक है। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Even before replying, Mr. Minister, in-between, when I will call you, please explain. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री महेश पोद्दार: महोदय, भारत में निवेश के लिए अंतर्राष्ट्रीय निवेशकों का विश्वास बढ़ाने की जरूरत महसूस की जा रही थी। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He will explain. Please. ...*(Interruptions)*... I will ask him to explain. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: I seek your protection. He has to explain ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He will explain. ...*(Interruptions)*... तीन लोग खड़े होकर ऐसा करेंगे, तो मैं क्या करूँ? You have to explain how can three people speak at one time. One can speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. ...*(Interruptions)*... मधुसूदन जी, बैठिए, मैं समझ गया। Mr. Minister, please explain. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI D. RAJA: We have given this Resolution, Sir. What is the fate of the Resolution?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That will be decided afterwards, after discussion. Yes, Mr. Minister.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Hon. Chairman, Sir, ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are not giving total reply.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Not a reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Discussion is yet to take place.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Hon. Deputy Chairman, Sir, just to give a little perspective, Special Economic Zones were earlier being operated through rules that were formulated, until 2004. Around 2002-03, rules were made, various policy initiatives taken and Special Economic Zones were run all across the country. However, sometime in 2005, the then Finance Minister and the Government of the day realised that it was extremely difficult to generate confidence in the international market until we made a law. Therefore, in 2005, the SEZ law was formulated. It was approved by both the Houses and, since then, SEZs have been governed by the SEZ law. When it was formulated, the SEZ law allowed various entities to invest in SEZs. It could be proprietorship, partnership, private limited or public

[Shri Piyush Goyal]

limited companies, and so on. So, various instrumentalities or entities were allowed to invest in the SEZs. At that point of time, in 2005, trusts, as an investment vehicle, did not exist. Trusts usually come in in the form of alternate investment funds, AIF, in which several people pool in their capital. The Trust invests in any business or any venture and the returns from that go to the various stakeholders in the proportion of their investment. There has been a thinking in the Government for several years. I am given to understand that even when the erstwhile Government was in place or our earlier Government was there, the thinking was that India should gradually promote International Financial Centres. We have IFCs in London, Hong Kong, Singapore and New York and, in International Financial Centres, largely investments are carried out through newer and newer investment vehicles one of which is an entity called trust, and that is the AIF model. The Reserve Bank of India defines the various entities that can invest in the International Financial Centres and, while defining it, the Foreign Exchange Department of RBI said, "financial institutions shall include... (i), (ii), (iii), (iv)" and in (iv) they have said, "Any artificial juridical person not falling within any of the preceding categories..." and in the Explanation, amongst various types of bodies they included the trusts also. Subsequently, the Securities and Exchange Board of India, SEBI, took out a circular on 26th November, 2018, where they brought out operating guidelines for these Alternative Investment Funds in International Financial Services Centres, and there they permitted the trust to come in in the AIF model. Now, we believe that that should have been enough, but just like in 2005, to generate confidence among the international investor community, all these rules had to be converted into law. The feedback that we got was that people would like to have a clarity and surety that the SEZ law also permitted the trust before they could consider investing in India through this AIF model. The SEBI guidelines came out somewhere in November, 2018. Thereafter we started preparing the law and, but vetting from the Legal Department took time. We had a very small Budget Session in which Vote-on-Account was done and largely Parliament was not able to function or approve any legislation or Bills. Therefore, at that point of time, it was not possible to get this approved by Parliament and get it converted into law. There is a sunset clause coming in for SEZs in 2020. Any delay in formulating and finalizing this Bill and allowing trusts or AIFs to come into India would have resulted in going back by another six-seven months. We would then not even be in a position to start accepting applications or give confidence to the international investor community that they can come to India through this mechanism also. Therefore, this Ordinance was promulgated. The hon. President was pleased to allow it and we brought it to Lok Sabha. Now we have brought it to the Rajya Sabha today and I can assure ....

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right. Mr. Minister, you may reply afterwards. Now, Shri Mahesh Poddar.

**श्री महेश पोद्दार:** महोदय, इस बैकग्राउंड में श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी की सरकार ने कई कामों में पहल की और कई कामों को आगे बढ़ाया।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your party has three speakers and forty-eight minutes to speak, so please keep that in mind and go ahead.

**श्री महेश पोद्दार:** कई बार कई विधेयक, जो आवश्यक थे, लेकिन शोर-शराबे के कारण या अन्य व्यवधान के कारण पास नहीं हो पाये और राज्य सभा में लंबित रहे। महोदय, globalization यानी खुले बाजार की अर्थव्यवस्था के प्रचलन के बाद उद्योग, व्यापार, निवेश आदि का पूरा scenario, पूरा परिदृश्य बदल गया है। बहुत सारे परम्परागत तौर-तरीके से बदलाव की आवश्यकता महसूस होती है और परम्परागत तरीके से चल कर जिस तेज़ी से हम बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, उतनी तेज़ी से हम आगे बढ़ भी नहीं सकते। India was one of the firsts in Asia to recognize the effectiveness of the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) model in promoting exports, with Asia's first EPZ set up in Kandla in 1965. The SEZ Policy was announced in April, 2000 to make SEZs an engine for economic growth supported by quality infrastructure, trained manpower and huge investment, which was open for all. Sir, the SEZs in India functioned from 1.11.2000 to 9.02.2006 under the provisions of the Foreign Trade Policy. But, Sir, the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005 was passed by the Parliament in May, 2005. The main objectives of the SEZ Act are -generation of additional economic activity, promotion of exports of goods and services, promotion of investment from domestic and foreign sources. And, the Special Economic Zones have contributed significantly towards economic growth of the country over the years. There is a saying that the numbers don't lie. The fact is that in the last year, the investment—I will just read the investment till 31st March, 2019—is ₹5,07,000 crores, the employment is 20,61,000 and the exports in the year 2017-18 is ₹7,01,000 crores, and in the six months of the current fiscal year, ₹3,33,000 crores. The total investment of about five lakh crore is just the beginning. The potentials are huge. To tap these potentials and the unlimited amount of employment generation, we have to open our minds, open our policies and open the doors. Sir, I come from trade and industry background. I find that the Prime Minister has set up, the Government has set up a target of five trillion dollars economy from 2.8 trillion dollars at present, which was about two trillion dollars in 2014. And, if they could do from 2 trillion to 2.8 trillion in the last five years, there is a need to run faster to reach the objective of five trillion dollars in the next five years. For that, we have to change many things and we have to change it fast. सर, कुछ लोग शक कर सकते हैं कि यह सम्भव है या नहीं है, लेकिन महोदय, मुझे कुछ दिन पहले सौभाग्य से BRICS countries के political consultation में भाग लेने का मौका मिला था, जहाँ मैं अपनी पार्टी को represent कर रहा था। वहाँ

[श्री महेश पोद्दार]

पर जब मैंने बताया कि इस देश में करीब-करीब सारे घरों में शौचालय बन गए हैं, and, that is about 9 to 10 crores, everybody was shocked as to how it is possible to do it in five years. But, Sir, if we can do that, this five trillion dollars again is not an impossible task. And, very rightly said, "मोदी है, तो मुमकिन है।" For that, we need the support of everybody, every section of the society including all the political parties. सर, यह उस दिशा में प्रस्तावित बिल है, जिससे अधिक निवेश और अधिक प्रकार के निवेश, अधिक लोगों के द्वारा किये जा सकें। There are SEZs to provide hassle-free environment for export and to replicate China's success in using SEZs to boost the economy, manufacturing and employment. Sir, when we hear that China has become the factory of the world, we don't feel inferior. Rather, we feel that we can also do it and we can do it better. I think, with these kinds of changes, with these kinds of initiatives, we are opening our doors to make these major changes. Sir, SEZ benefit from the strong connections they have with the hinterland. These connections are essential for lowering logistic costs and increasing export competitiveness. The current policy of integrating existing coastal SEZ into overreaching plan of coastal development under Sagarmala can lead to a turnaround for SEZs. Sagarmala focuses on back-end connectivity with hinterland. That is what many of the zones need and they have expressed that this is what was lacking so far. जैसा कि पूरा सदन अवगत है कि भारत की वर्तमान विशेष आर्थिक क्षेत्र नीति अध्ययन रिपोर्ट तत्कालीन वाणिज्य और उद्योग मंत्री, श्री सुरेश प्रभु को सौंपी गई थी। इस नीति अध्ययन रिपोर्ट को तैयार करने के लिए देश के प्रसिद्ध उद्योगपति - भारत फोर्ज लिमिटेड - के चेयरमैन, श्री बाबा कल्याणी जी की अध्यक्षता में एक समिति गठित की गई थी। इस समिति को SEZ नीति का आकलन करने और इसे विश्व व्यापार संगठन, World Trade Organization - WTO, के मानकों के अनुस्तप बनाने के लिए सुझाव देने को कहा गया था। उन्होंने बहुत अच्छा काम किया और रिपोर्ट बनाकर प्रस्तुत कर दी।

इस रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि यदि भारत को वर्ष 2025 तक 5 लाख करोड़ डॉलर की अर्थव्यवस्था में तब्दील होना है तो manufacturing sector के साथ-साथ competitive ability के अलावा service sector से जुड़े मौजूदा परिवेश में भी बुनियादी बदलाव सुनिश्चित करने होंगे। साथ ही आई.टी. सेक्टर और इससे जुड़ी सेवाओं के क्षेत्र में मिली कामयाबी को स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं, वित्तीय सेवाओं में विस्तार करना होगा। महोदय, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि वित्तीय सेवाओं में हम अभी काफी पीछे हैं, इस क्षेत्र में काफी संभावनाएं हैं और दूसरे माननीय सदन में भी इस पर काफी विस्तार से चर्चा की जा चुकी है। इसी से जुड़ी कानूनी मरम्मत और डिजाइन सेवाओं जैसे अन्य सेवा क्षेत्रों/सेक्टरों में भी ऐसा प्रावधान करना होगा।

इसके अलावा रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि विनिर्माण क्षेत्र में विकास की गति तेज करने के लिए हमें आवश्यक कदम उठाने होंगे। जैसे यहां बताया गया कि देश में केवल 4-5 राज्य ऐसे हैं, जहां SEZ नहीं है और उनमें से झारखंड एक है। ऐसा पहली बार देश में हुआ है जब अपने पड़ोसी देश को बिजली देने

के लिए एक SEZ का निर्माण झारखंड में किया जा रहा है। इसके लिए 425 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में 14,000 करोड़ रुपए की विशेष आर्थिक क्षेत्र - SEZ परियोजना को मंजूरी दी गई है। उम्मीद की जाती है कि साल 2017-18 के बाद, अन्य क्षेत्रों के साथ-साथ, इस क्षेत्र में भी काफी प्रगति होगी।

महोदय, SEZ के जरिए कानून में व्यक्तियों की परिभाषा में Trust को भी जोड़ने का प्रावधान किया जा रहा है तथा अन्य entities को जोड़ने की भी व्यवस्था हो रही है, जो आवश्यक था और आवश्यक है, क्योंकि दुनिया में तरह-तरह के लोगों के द्वारा निवेश किए जाते हैं और उनकी कानूनी स्थिति अलग प्रकार की होती है। संभावना है कि इसमें वैकल्पिक निवेश का जो चलन आया है, उसका मौका भारत को भी लेना चाहिए। कुछ लोग इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध कर रहे हैं - पता नहीं क्यों? आज चीन अमेरिका को पछाड़कर दुनिया की नम्बर वन economy बनने जा रहा है। 20 वर्ष पहले कोई सोच भी नहीं सकता था कि ऐसा सम्भव हो सकता है। सोवियत रूस भी नहीं पछाड़ पाया, जबकि Second World War में उसके पास सभी प्रकार की technology उपलब्ध थी और वह भी एक साम्यवादी देश था। लेकिन अचानक चीन उछला और शिखर पर जा पहुँचा। ऐसा क्यों हुआ, जबकि वह भी एक साम्यवादी देश है। उसने अपनी उन्मुक्त आर्थिक व्यवस्था और उन्मुक्त नीतियों के माध्यम से खुले पूंजी निवेश के जरिए बड़े-बड़े SEZ से मिलते-जुलते औद्योगिक प्रांगण बनाए। लाखों छोटी-मोटी factories ने भी दुनिया भर से तकनीकी ज्ञान लाकर वही उत्पादन करना शुरू कर दिया। अपने श्रम को चीनी लोगों ने पसीने में बदला और उस पसीने को डॉलर में बदला। चाइनीज कम्युनिस्ट होते हुए भी इस चीज से नहीं बंधे कि कौन निवेश कर रहा है, कितना निवेश कर रहा है और उसका स्वामित्व क्या है?

महोदय, यह मेरा सौभाग्य है कि चीन में मैंने कई SEZs देखे हैं। मैंने यह भी सुना है, यद्यपि देखा नहीं, कि कई SEZs ऐसे हैं, जिनके अपने airports हैं। कई SEZs ऐसे हैं जिनके अपने शहर हैं। वे सारे लोग विदेशों के लिए उत्पादन कर रहे हैं। वहां पूरे देश में विभिन्न चीजों के निर्माण के लिए अलग-अलग SEZ बने हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत में भी यह सम्भव है। महोदय, हमारे पास युवा शक्ति है और इस सरकार के प्रयास से हर वर्ष लाखों लोग कौशलता के कार्यक्रमों द्वारा कुशल कामगार बन रहे हैं। ये भी अपने श्रम को पसीने में और पसीने को डॉलर में बदलना चाहते हैं। बस, हमें इनको एक मौका देना है, रोजगार देना है और रोजगार के नए अवसर देने हैं।

महोदय, यह संभव है कि कुछ दुरुपयोग की संभावनाएं व्यक्त की जाए, लेकिन मैं मानता हूँ कि आज के दिन में यह सरकार दुरुपयोग होने नहीं देगी, नियंत्रण रखेगी।

I appreciate the measures taken by the Government to boost the economic powerhouse that an SEZ is. It is expected that this will trigger a large flow of domestic investment in SEZs, in infrastructure and productive capacity, leading to generation of additional economic activity and creation employment opportunities. I urge the Members of this House to support this Bill now and afterwards also.

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: Sir, I must start with a disclosure that I have never been a great proponent of SEZs. The SEZs in India are borrowed from Special Economic Zones of

[Shri Jairam Ramesh]

China. In China, they are restricted to maximum ten or twelve economic zones. But, by the time we introduced this concept of SEZs in India, we had hundreds of Special Economic Zones. In fact, if I remember right, at one point of time, we had over four hundred SEZs in our country. It made a mockery of the concept of SEZs. Secondly Sir, thousands of acres of land was acquired in the name of SEZs under the old Land Acquisition Law of 1894. Sir, the land was acquired without paying adequate compensation to land owners. I have been in the Commerce Ministry myself. Sir, I have myself seen how the land was acquired for SEZs and no economic activity was installed there for years together and the land was not even returned back to the owners. So, in town after town, in city after city, we have big boards for SEZs. Sir, if you land in Tirupati, you are greeted by a big board saying 'SEZ' which is in front of thousands of acres of vacant land. This land has been acquired under the old law. So, I must start by saying that I have never been a great supporter of this SEZ concept. However, I have a problem with the Minister's maiden attempt today at a Bill, in this Session, at least. If I remember right, national elections were announced on the 10th of March, 2019. Sir, one week in advance, the Prime Minister and the Government of the day know approximately when the elections are going to be announced. This Ordinance is issued on the 2nd March, 2019. It is issued only about a week in advance of the election, when it is pretty much clear, when the election is going to be announced. My first question to the hon. Minister and he is a very persuasive salesman. He can convince me that the black is white and the white is red. So, I am sure he must have an answer to this. My first question is what was the tearing hurry to issue an Ordinance on the 2nd March, 2019 knowing fully well that the elections are going to be announced after seven days. My second question to him is, from the day of issue of the Ordinance till today, how many trusts have actually applied for SEZs? What is the urgency in ramrodding this Ordinance first on the 2nd March, 2019 and now to convert the Ordinance into a Bill? Sir, I am sure the Bill will get passed, but the point is that these questions have to be addressed. My third question is the word "trust". Sir, nothing is more distrustful,—Sir, I am learning from you—you can mistrust the trust, you cannot trust a trust. This word 'trust' like a Shell company is a very dangerous word. So, when you are bringing up a law and saying that a trust will be allowed to set up a SEZ, who is this trust? What are their antecedents? Are you going to check who is behind these trusts? Who are these trusts? Are they paper trusts; are they trusts set up for some form of tax evasion or are they actually going to be investor trusts that are going to invest in the SEZs? I think, the hon. Minister should answer these questions before the Ordinance gets converted into the Bill. But I do want to reiterate once again that it was very, very improper to issue such a far-reaching Ordinance



one week before the announcement of elections. I don't know what the tearing hurry was. There is something that is not being disclosed, which will only come to light a few months from now. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Now, Shri Ram Gopal Yadav.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (West Bengal): Sir, can we take his time? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, you cannot. They are a different party and you are a separate entity.

**प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव** (उत्तर प्रदेश): सर, मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ, लेकिन एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें जो ट्रस्ट आएंगे, वे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट द्वारा अप्रूव्ड ही होंगे, इसके लिए उनकी conditions क्या होंगी? वे ट्रेस्ट कौन-सी conditions को fulfill करेंगे, जिससे वे आ पाएंगे और उन्हें SEZ के लिए land allot हो सकेगा?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Now, Shri S.R. Balasubramoniyam.

SHRI S.R. BALASUBRAMONIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on this Bill, which has been just now introduced by the Commerce and Industry Minister, Shri Piyush Goyal to allow the trusts to set up units in Special Economic Zones (SEZs).

Sir, in February, the Union Cabinet had approved the introduction of the Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019 to replace an Ordinance promulgated by the previous Government. The Ordinance seeks to amend the definition of a person under the SEZ Act 2005, which will enable a trust to be considered for grant of permission to set up a unit. The amendment seeks to provide flexibility to the Central Government to include 'trusts' in the definition of a 'person' in a bid to facilitate investments in these zones.

Exports from SEZs rose by 21 per cent and reached seven lakh crore of rupees in the 2019. As of March 31st, there were 232 SEZs, of which 25 are multiproduct, and the rest are sector specific, with 5,109 approved units. According to this Bill, after the amendment of sub-section (v) of Section 2 of the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005, a trust or any entity notified by the Central Government will be eligible to be considered for grant of permission to set up a unit in SEZs.

Sir, this Bill which seeks to allow trusts to set up units in Special Economic Zones by amending the SEZ law was passed by Lok Sabha on Wednesday. The Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019 became the first legislation to be passed by the newly-constituted 17th Lok Sabha. Now, it is being moved for passage in Rajya Sabha.

[Shri S.R. Balasubramoniyam]

Sir, the intention of the Government is that unless this amendment is passed, it would be very difficult to allow individuals or others to set up SEZs. So, they are bringing this amendment. This amendment may not cause much difficulty. I think, it is proper and the Act can be amended as per the Bill. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Now, Shri Derek O'Brien. He is going to speak in Bengali.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: No, Sir. I will speak in English first, and then, Bengali.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Have you given notice?

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Yes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Otherwise, only you and I can understand, and, others won't.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN Sir, before I get to the content of the Bill, I would like to make two observations on the way we are still doing legislation. There was a tradition here in Parliament that if ten Bills were passed, one was Ordinance. That was the score in the first thirty years of our country. In the next thirty years of our country, the new score was that out of every ten Bills passed, about two were Ordinances. But, Sir, in the last three or four years, out of every ten Bills passed, four are Ordinances. This quick fix ordinance is not good. It is not a good solution. So, through you, Sir, I appeal to this Government that don't keep using this ordinance route. Otherwise, you keep on crying wolf and you are going to pass everything like that.

Sir, second point is on the scrutiny of the Bills. It is not enough to say that this Bill is changing or adding only one word and that it is a simple Bill, so we don't need to scrutinize it. We used to scrutinize Bills. In the earlier Parliaments, the average in the first 65 years was 70-72 per cent. In the last five years, scrutiny of Bills by Parliamentary Committees is down to 25 per cent. Sir, you are the custodian of the House. You must help us to protect this. As it is, the Standing Committees, which came in 1993, are semi-toothless. Because unlike many established conventions in other countries, here, for whatever reason, we don't allow Ministers to be asked questions on the Standing Committees and the bureaucrats have to come. I am not now suggesting that the Ministers should start coming, but at least take the Standing Committees seriously. On the logic that it is a one-line Bill or one-word Bill, in that case, India that is Bharat is a Union of States. You change one word there and say that India that is Bharat is not a Union of States. Put one three-letter word there but then the context is changed. I don't want us to be discussing the content of the Bill as to the words. Let us come to the Bill itself.

**4.00 P.M.**

Firstly, I want to use this opportunity to wish the former Leader of the House, Mr. Arun Jaitley, a quick recovery because it was he who piloted this Bill as Commerce Minister and Vajpayee ji was in charge of the Government. The Trinamool Congress has a very clear view on this. We are opposed to the policy of SEZs. It has always been on our manifesto and Mamata di has fought for this for many, many years. Arun Jaitley ji brought it and one of the reasons to bring it, of course, was to compete with China. There were infrastructure issues, and then you had issues related to power. The current Power Minister says power is in surplus. These were the original reasons to bring the SEZs. That was not the argument which we bought into. You need infrastructure, and you need power surplus, in that first SEZ, which was in Mumbai, the number of jobs that it generated was —not even one job. It was nothing, but a flop show. Then came the Dr. Manmohan Singh's Government. And what happened then? From a flop show, three years later, it became a land scam show. Land was being acquired left, right and centre. Trinamool Congress said this in its manifesto and we repeatedly expressed our serious apprehensions and disagreement on SEZs. Our voices were not heard. And the mistake on this continues to be made. Today, most people agree that SEZs have failed the nation. They have become a tool in the hands of a few vested interests and the land mafia. That is the Trinamool manifesto. I am going to read three lines from another manifesto. There is the history of the NDA and then the UPA. Now, there is another manifesto from 2009. The country needs to know this, Sir. I quote, "The UPA Government has approved 572 Special Economic Zones that cover 50,000 acres, three times the size of Singapore. This is absurd. This spells disaster for the farm sector. We will not allow the conversion of fertile farmland for industrial, commercial projects or Special Economic Zones." That was a disaster in 2009. This was the BJP manifesto of 2009. So what they say depends on where they sit.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Derek, you know them better because you sat with both of them.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: We didn't sit, Sir. We stood and they always sat. \*Now I will speak in Bengali.

To speak about land acquisition - the person, who was always at the forefront of the movement against Land Acquisition, was Mamata Banerjee. You all know about the movement against land acquisition in Nandigram, Singur and other places. Mamata di sat on fast for 26 long days in 2006. Why did she do this? So that no one could take away agricultural land. This was the concept. And what happened afterwards? Singur Land

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\*English translation of original speech delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Derek O'Brien]

Rehabilitation Bill was passed in West Bengal Assembly". All this has happened. Finally, the Supreme Court of India termed the land acquisition agreement in Singur as illegal and unconstitutional. Sir, this is one party in India and she is one leader in India, who has had a consistent stand, from the time we started our party in 1998 up till now, that you cannot acquire land. For this, you might ask: Why are you so anti-industry? Sir, we are not anti-industry. Our belief is that industry and agriculture can co-exist and that has been the basis of our policies. Special Economic Zones have not worked. You can even look at the number of jobs besides all these land scams. In answer to a question of my colleague, Shri Sukhendu Sekhar Ray, in the Rajya Sabha, the numbers of the Special Economic Zones and the jobs lost were given. I am not going into the details of the jobs lost although only a few jobs were generated. The basic bottom line of the Special Economic Zones was to generate jobs. If you look at the numbers, they get worse after demonetization. At least, it was one lakh or two lakh before that. Those numbers have since dropped. Sir, now, let us come to another point. The number of non-functional SEZs is also available. There are so many CAG reports also which are available. It is all in the public domain that the SEZs have not worked.

Sir, there is a provision for 'trust'. Trust means who? I don't want to play on the words because my colleague from the Congress Party has done a great job on words. But, Sir, this is a serious issue. ...(*Interruptions*)... Are these also religious trusts? Which company or large corporation today runs on a trust? Nobody is under a trust. Here, all are companies, etc. Now, when you say 'trust', the only big brand I know, at least in my limited knowledge of trust, I don't know if there is any other, but Patanjali is a trust. It is one example. I am sure all of you may come up with different examples. What is this trust? Are we not talking about religious trusts? Big corporations do not need trusts.

Sir, there are two more points before I conclude. Sir, in February, in Jharkhand — Jharkhand is sadly in news sometimes and we get responses sometimes — the first stand-alone power project in India, an SEZ, was to Adani. The project will save the company ₹ 3.2 billion annually. Why was it chosen? What is the criteria? Sir, we need to look into that.

Sir, now, I want to conclude because this is not only an SEZ issue. This is a land issue. That is the core of this issue. Rabindranath Tagore has written this:

"Of my land only a little remained, the rest having been mortgaged away. The *zamindar* said one day, "Know what, Upen? This too should come my way."

SHRI P. BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): \*Hs' buy it.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: \* Yes, will buy it. Thank you, Pradipda.

"I said, "O Lord, countless are the plots of land you already own, But consider —I only have land enough to bury me when I'm gone!" Sir, it is important. This is the division of the class struggle written by Rabindranath. We may not have read this poem. In 1953, there was another great Bengali.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: What does it mean? I don't know Bengali.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: It should be translated on your headphone. ...*(Interruptions)*... I will just come to that. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is coming. It is being translated. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have to conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: The basic concept is this. He described the class divide and the forceful land-grabbing by a *zamindar* from a poor peasant in a poem. Bimol Roy, another great Bengali, in 1953, made this film 'Do Beegha Zameen' and this is the story. Sir, this is not the kind of legislation, this is opaque. The Trinamool Congress, even if we are the only people standing here, would oppose SEZ. We would oppose SEZ, we would oppose SEZ! Thank you, Sir.

श्री राम चन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार): सभापति महोदय, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद। मैं इस बिल के समर्थन में खड़ा हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please. ...*(Interruptions)*... This is the way - propose, oppose and then later dispose.

श्री राम चन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह: अभी जयराम रमेश जी बोल रहे थे और देरेक ओब्राइन जी बोल रहे थे। महोदय, बिहार में कोई SEZ नहीं है। अभी बात हो रही थी कि SEZ की परिकल्पना थी, वह पूरी की पूरी परिकल्पना एक्सपोर्ट ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please.

श्री राम चन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह: एक्सपोर्ट आधारित थी और परिकल्पना चाइना से आई थी। वहां जो शुरुआत हुई थी, उसमें जो SEZ की स्थापना की गई थी, वह जो non-agricultural land था, उस पर की गई थी। हम लोग हिंदुस्तान में बाहर से सब चीज़ ले आते हैं और यहां SEZ की स्थापना हुई, उसमें अगर आप गौर करेंगे, तो बहुत सारे स्टेट्स में, बहुत सारी ज़मीनों को जो *forcefully acquire* किया गया, उसमें agricultural land भी काफी था। जहां कहीं भी SEZ की स्थापना होती है, *baron land*, non-agricultural land, वहां पर यह होना चाहिए, उसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। जैसे ही आप agricultural land को *forcefully acquire* करते हैं, तो यह आपत्तिजनक है। आज पूरा का पूरा जो

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\*English translation of original speech delivered in Bengali.

[श्री राम चन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह]

यह Special Economic Zone का concept है, उस पर हम लोगों को rethink करना चाहिए और जितनी भी ज़मीनें हैं, जिनकी चर्चा हो रही थी, जितनी भी ज़मीन acquire की गई, जब कई बार उसकी study कराई गई, तो 50 per cent से ज्यादा land vacant है। वह उपयोगी नहीं है। वहां कृषि भी नहीं हो रही है, किसानों को भी लोटायी नहीं गई है और उसका alternate use क्या हो, इसके बारे में भी कोई scheme नहीं आई है। महोदय, मैं चाहता हूं कि इस पर भी विचार करना चाहिए और अभी महेश पोद्दार जी बता रहे थे कि पूरी चीज़ों को study करने के लिए बाबा कल्याणी की अध्यक्षता में एक कमेटी बनाई गई। उन लोगों ने रिपोर्ट दे दी है और रिपोर्ट देने के साथ ही बताया भी है कि जो Special Economic Zone है, उन्होंने उसका नाम चेंज करके Employment Economic Enclave किया है। इसमें यह है कि हमारा Employment भी हो, हमारी economic activity भी बढ़े और हमारे प्रावधान मंत्री जी ने जो लक्ष्य रखा है कि हमारी 5 trillion dollars की इकोनॉमी हो, जिसके लिए जरूरी है कि सिर्फ और सिर्फ हम export-oriented growth नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो सब चीज़ों का समावेश करके - manufacturing sector का, service sector का है और यह जरूरी है कि सब चीज़ों को करने के लिए हम जो भी Act बनाएं, उसमें जो भी definition लाएं, वह जो definition हो, वह internationally compliant हो, WTO compliant हो। ये कुछ बातें थीं, जिनके बारे में मैंने सोचा कि आपके सामने रख दूं। यह बहुत छोटा-सा Amendment है, जो include कर रहे हैं 'trust' को, उसे include किया जाना चाहिए। यह जरूर ध्यान रखा जाए कि पूरा का पूरा concept है, इसको फिर से rethink किया जाए और हम लोगों को सब चीज़ों पर विचार करके किसानों को इससे - यह उनकी ज़मीन है, बिल्कुल अलग रखा जाए और जहां अगर बहुत जरूरी हो और किसानों की ज़मीन ली जाती है - आप देखेंगे कि 10 हेक्टेयर में भी SEZ है, 1,000 हेक्टेयर में भी SEZ है और भी ज्यादा ज़मीन पर है, तो जहां कहीं भी लिया जाता है, तो उसमें उनको stakeholder बनाया जाए। यह न हो कि सिर्फ एक बार उनकी ज़मीन ले ली, उनको dispose कर दिया और उनकी ज़मीन चली गई और जो उनका livelihood का था, वह भी खत्म हो गया और जो वहां पर Special Economic Zone बनता है, वहां उनकी जो earning होती है, उसका उनको फायदा नहीं मिलता है। यदि हमें include करना भी पड़े, तो उसमें उनको stakeholder बना लें। इस observation के साथ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूं। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI PRASANNA ACHARYA (Odisha): Sir, my friend Mr. Derek dropped many powerful bombs on this Bill; so, I want to have a very soothing discussion. I agree with my other hon. colleagues in the House about the urgency. What was the urgency of promulgating this Ordinance? Sir, of late, this has been the practice with any Government this side or that side. When these people were in the Ruling Party they were also habituated with this. At that time, the people who are ruling today were opposing promulgation of ordinances. Now, they are coming out with ordinances after ordinances. None of us are opposing. I fail to understand, particularly in this case, as to what was the urgency of promulgating this Ordinance. Promulgating ordinances is not a new practice. If I am correct, it was prevalent in the pre-Independent days also during the British time. The Britishers

were also promulgating ordinance misusing the provisions of Government of India Act of 1935. This provision was also misused. This has been the habit with all the Governments. That should stop. If we frequently issue ordinances, it helps growth of a legislative authority parallel to this Parliament. That should be discouraged. In this Bill, particularly, there is no urgency. Just on the eve of the elections, a couple of days before the notification of election by the Election Commission, the Government came out with this Ordinance. I fail to understand as to what was the urgency. Shri Jairam Ramesh was rightly asking that within this three-and-a-half months of time, how many trusts have come taking advantage of the ordinances? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please.

SHRI PRASANNAACHARYA: How many entities have come in taking advantage of the ordinance? No, if I am correct, it is zero. Nobody has come out. What was the urgency of promulgating this Ordinance? The law was enacted when hon. Dr. Manmohan Singh was the Prime Minister. If I am not mistaken, I stand corrected, during that time in Lok Sabha, there was turmoil. The then Opposition party, if I am not incorrect, boycotted it. It did not participate in the discussion. Now, for the same Bill they have come out with an amendment.

One of the concepts, I understand, of SEZ is to attract more Foreign Direct Investment. It is a good thing. But, Sir, report says that last year, the FDI had come down in comparison to previous year, 2017. What is the use of creating so much of this SEZ? Will the provision of adding trusts and entities bring in more FDI into our country? Is the Government sure that by making this provision and incorporating two trusts and new entities, do they hope that more FDI will come in? I have doubt about it. Has that happened in between these three months after promulgation of this ordinance? There is a gloom in the world trade today. We all know that there is a gloom in the world trade today and such a few cosmetic changes are not going to help us in improving our import. A lot many things need to be done.

I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what has happened to the Committee headed by Baba Kalyani in this regard. The Baba Kalyani Committee submitted the report long back. My question to the hon. Minister is, has the Government, in principle, accepted the recommendations of the Baba Kalyani Committee? Is this amendment a reflection of the recommendation of that Committee? Why is the Government sitting for so many years on the recommendations of this Committee? The hon. Minister must clear that.

Sir, another point which I would like to make is this. We are talking about China. In China, not a single agricultural land is acquired for SEZ; if I am correct. But, what are we

[Shri Prasanna Acharya]

doing in our country? Thousands and thousands acres of agricultural lands are being acquired and that is lying un-utilized for years together. For years together, those agricultural lands we snatched it from the farmers and we kept it un-utilized. That is what is happening in this country. So, that must stop.

Finally, Sir, trade union activities are banned in the SEZ areas. My point is, where will the poor labourer go for their grievance? We do not allow trade union activities in the SEZ areas. No trade union can be formed in that area. So, what will happen if there is exploitation? Where will the labourer go? What can we do in this? Therefore, I want the hon. Minister to clarify these few simple questions before I support this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri Elamaram Kareem. You have three minutes.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM (Kerala): Sir, I rise to oppose the Special Economic Zone Ordinance, 2019. Sir, it is a well-established principle that Article 123(1) can be invoked only in extraordinary circumstances. Here, in this case, what is the exigency, emergency or extraordinary compelling circumstance prevailing in this country before issuing this Ordinance? Hon. Minister's explanation is not satisfactory. For the Government, while bringing this Ordinance, there were demands from several corners to review the existing status of SEZs. The Special Economic Zones Act was passed by the Parliament in 2005. The intended purpose was to provide a stable policy framework for creating Special Economic Zones which would serve as engines for industrial growth and exports. However, following the drafting of these rules and the commencement of the process of granting approvals for the SEZs, a host of issues have surfaced which necessitates a relook at the entire SEZ policy framework. Agricultural land is being acquired for the setting up of SEZs in several cases resulting in displacement of farmers and other sections of people, which have serious implications. Moreover, several provisions made in the SEZ Rules have raised concerns of misuse of the SEZ Act for creating a speculative real estate bubble instead of building industrial infrastructure. The Reserve Bank of India has warned against the possibilities of uneven development between different regions owing to the SEZ Policy. There are also apprehensions regarding substantial revenue losses on account of the tax concessions provided under the SEZ Act. A major difference between the SEZ policy in India and that of China, which had pioneered in the creation of SEZ, is in the case of China, the State acquired the land and developed the required infrastructure where private enterprises were invited to set up units. The land continued to be owned by the State. In Indian case, private entities are being involved in developing the SEZ infrastructure. Land is being acquired by the State and handed over to private developers.



Some of the proposed SEZs involved huge tracts of land over 10,000 hectares in some cases which are owned by private players. Here, in the Ordinance and in the proposed Bill, a minor change is proposed. What is the intention of this Amendment?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kareemji, you have to conclude.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: Yes, Sir. I am concluding. Why is trust or entity being incorporated in the definition of the Ordinance? It may cause several confusions while implementing. Who is this trust? Who is this entity? How it may be defined? It may go to several speculations, and several allegations may arise out of its implementation. So I request for a relook of this Ordinance and make a complete thorough study of the present status of the SEZ and forward the new proposed Bill. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Prof. Manoj Kumar Jha.

PROF. MANOJ KUMAR JHA (Bihar): Sir, it is sheer irony and irony must have died a hundred deaths. Before this, we were discussing under climate change and I spoke about 'global treadmill of production', an expression used by Bellamy Foster. Let that be the case of irony. I can only request the hon. Minister, Sir, that you said 'minor changes, simply some words'. The amendment also reads 'words'. Sometimes, words change the world and I am reminded of what Ghalib said, the original couplet and not the Whatsapp one, which says,

"बे खुदी बे-सबब नहीं 'ग़ालिब'  
कुछ तो है जिस की पर्दा-दारी है।"

So I would request you to raise the curtain and tell us. Secondly, my important concern is, one of the Members from the Treasury Benches said that we should be happy that this is the first legislation to come out of the 17th Lok Sabha, the new Lok Sabha. I do not know why and how I should be so elated and happy that this is the first legislation. I believe there are hundreds of other important issues where we would have expected the Government to intervene and come out. You know, Sir, SEZ, what are they? Huge tax holidays, huge support base, and at the end of it, सर, मैं हरियाणा के एक इलाके का जिक्र करूंगा। वह एक बड़ा औद्योगिक घराना है, मैं उनका नाम नहीं लूंगा, उनकी बड़ी पकड़ है। सर, वे पालने से लेकर कब्र तक के सारे आइटम तैयार करते हैं और उस औद्योगिक घराने ने कोई गतिविधि नहीं की। आदरणीय मंत्री जी, सन सेट गरीबों का होता है, सन सेट कभी उद्योग और पूंजी का नहीं होता है। आप कर दोगे, तो कहीं और सन राइज़ हो जाएगा। हमें यह तय करना होगा कि कृषि योग्य जो उपजाऊ जमीन हम लेते हैं, क्या यह उचित है? कृषि योग्य उपजाऊ जमीन जो लेते हैं, क्या यह उपयोगी है? We must strive to make sure that the land which is allocated as part of SEZ, should be a barren land. Why should we allow this to continue? One more important fact

[Prof. Manoj Kumar Jha]

which scares me that there have been reports, the Department-related Parliamentary Committees have noted that the industrial houses have taken loan on the basis of SEZ land. There is no penal provision. We must revisit our priorities. As a Member of this House, if possible, because I am hugely worried that the way there is a consensus, there is no alternative to capitalism and this kind of global capital movement. Sir, not today, may be fifty years later, people will sit down and regret the economic policies we followed in the last fifty years. That is all I have to say as a matter of caution. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you Manoj Kumarji. Now, Dr. Narendra Jadhav.

DR. NARENDRA JADHAV (Nominated): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to wholeheartedly support the Bill. At the very outset, it may be noted that SEZ contribution to the world trade today is about two hundred billion US dollars, and they provide worldwide about 40 million high paying jobs. In order to appreciate this Amendment, Sir, one must look at why was it necessary, in the first place, to have the SEZ Act of 2005? That is clarified in the Preamble to the 2005 Act, and I quote from the Preamble.

"The present system does not lend enough confidence for investors to commit substantial funds for development of infrastructure and for setting up of the units in the Zones for export of goods and services. In order to give a long term and stable policy framework with minimum regulatory regime and to provide expeditious and single window clearance mechanism, a Central Act for Special Economic Zones has been found to be necessary in line with international practice."

Sir, when the Special Economic Zones came into being, several of them were established, one in Santacruz, Mumbai, Cochin in Kerala, Surat in Gujarat, Chennai in Tamil Nadu, Vaizag in Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere. Unfortunately, several States even today do not have SEZ. Now, when the original scheme was made operational, when Special Economic Zones came into being, at that time, while all entities were allowed to invest, at that time, the Trust as an alternate investment vehicle did not exist, and unlike Mr. Jairam Ramesh, I have no distrust in Trust. When we want to promote international financial centres, we can allow the Trust to invest provided that there is a sufficient diligence shown by the RBI as well as the SEBI. Now, the RBI has allowed inclusion of Trust as an alternate investment fund and the SEBI has also confirmed, all these changed rules should be generating trust among the foreign investors and that is why there was a need to go for an Amendment. Moreover, there is a sun set clause of 2020. So, taking all these factors into account, an Ordinance was issued, and it is now being translated into an Amendment of the Act. The question that was raised again and again here is that why

there is such a tearing hurry for this Amendment. One has to understand that China came up as an economic super power, aided greatly by the foreign direct investment. Right now, in last several months or nearly a year, there is a big the U.S.-China trade war going on. Because of the trade war that is going on, the international investors are looking for an alternative destination for directing their foreign direct investment. This is an opportunity that India must seize upon and that is why this tearing hurry.

Finally, Sir, I am convinced that this Bill, first, will remove the procedural irritants in establishing more SEZs; secondly, it will invite a boost for foreign direct investment into our country; thirdly, it will help create several international financial centres in our country; and, fourthly, it will create hundreds of well paying jobs for our people.

Keeping all these in mind, Sir, I wholeheartedly support this Amendment Bill.

SHRIANIL DESAI (Maharashtra): Sir, I rise in support of the Special Economic Zone (Amendment) Bill, 2019. The Special Economic Zone (Amendment) Ordinance, 2019 was promulgated on 2nd March, 2019. It amends the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005 which provides for establishment, development and management of Special Economic Zones for the promotion of exports.

Sir, under the Act, the definition of the 'person' includes an individual, a Hindu Undivided Family, a company, a cooperative society, a firm or association of persons. The Ordinance adds two more categories to this definition by including a trust or any other entity which may be notified by the Central Government. Sir, an SEZ is an area in which the business and trade laws are different from the rest of the country. SEZs are located within a country's national borders and their aims include increased trade balance, employment, increased investment, job creation and effective administration. To encourage businesses to set up in these SEZs, the financial policies are introduced. The policies, typically, encompass investing, taxation, trading, customs, quota and labour regulations. Additionally, companies may be offered tax holidays whereupon for establishing themselves in a zone, they are granted a period of lower 'taxation. Sir, the creation of an SEZ is largely aimed at attracting Foreign Direct Investment. The benefits the company gains by being in an SEZ may mean that it can produce and trade goods at a lower price aimed at being globally competitive. Sir, the basic aim is to generate employment, to have more production and to be very effective as far as exports are concerned. That is the aim for what this legislation will be intending by adding 'trust' into its fold.

Sir, Mumbai, and basically in Maharashtra, was once known as the Manchester of India. That many textile mills and textile production were there; large employments were there. But, unfortunately, mills were closed down and unemployment became rampant.

[Shri Anil Desai]

Similarly, there were some auto hubs; there were engineering companies. For some reason or the other, these got closed and unemployment became very rampant. In Maharashtra, we needed an SEZ, on one side, and the SEZ came at the right time, which really gave a boost to employment, production and the economy also started developing. It grew by leaps and bounds. But, at the same time, on the other side, large tracts of lands were acquired with the aim to set up SEZs in Maharashtra, particularly in Raigarh district, but were kept without any function. Without any function, it was kept for years together having no activity. Some malpractices were also in the offing with the industrialists, with the reason for which they bought the tracts of land for SEZ not coming through. They had ulterior motives. At the right time, the Government intervened and it was not allowed to happen. Otherwise, fertile lands are being acquired for no fault of farmers. The farmers are rendered completely frustrated, hopeless. They are left with no means to livelihood and on the other side, the crony capitalist or industrialist with some ulterior motives take it to their advantage. That should be deterred. That should be checked by the Government. Employment which will take place in a big way by introduction of SEZ activities will help us with production also and that will help us to really reach 5 trillion dollar economy. That is what the hon. Prime Minister is looking at. With this, I support the Bill. Thank you.

SHRI NARESH GUJRAL (Punjab): Sir, I would request you to give a little more time and BJP has kindly agreed to share their time with me. Sir, I rise to support the Bill and as explained by the Minister, this Bill will enable trust and other entities apart from companies, AoP, individuals, HUF to invest in India. Globalisation has led to the pooling of resources by various stakeholders and as businesses have evolved, newer entities are being created. I am surprised that my friend, Derek, who claims to be a quiz-master, says which company or which business does business through trusts. He has probably not heard of real estate investment trusts which invest all over the world. This is the new way businesses are being funded by those who have a lot of money be it pension funds, be it endowment funds. This is the route they take to enter a country and today, India desperately needs FDI if we have to create jobs for our teeming millions. On the one hand, they complaint that under Shri Modi's Government there has been joblessness and when steps are being taken to create new jobs, they want to create hurdles. I don't understand this logic. Sir, Jairam Ramesh was absolutely right and I agree with him that when a stage came in the UPA-I when land was being taken over in the name of giving to these entities, certain unscrupulous individuals in the Govt. had treated this as an ATM. Licences were being given for SEZs for three acres, four acres, ten acres and it only became a real estate play. Land was being taken away from poor farmers in the name of SEZs and these SEZs never

fructified. They never came into existence. Not only that, Sir, thereafter, SEZs which were functioning quite well, which had been promoted and given a lot of incentives by the Vajpayee Government, systematically were made to fail and Sir, I would like to give some figures here. Please understand one thing. These SEZs function if Government policies are consistent. Flip-flop policies means FDI will not come into our country and this is exactly what you people did at that time. Sir, first of all, income tax exemption on income derived from business of development of SEZs in a block of 10 years and 15 years under Section 80-IAB of the Income Tax Act was withdrawn. Exemption from minimum alternate tax under Section 115-JB of the Income Tax Act was also withdrawn. Exemption from dividend distribution tax under Section 115-O of the Income Tax Act was also withdrawn. If you do all these things, who is going to come to India? That is why the flow of FDI slowed down and it all went to China. Sir, today, please look, China is the power house in the world. Today it is competing with the U.S. Forty years ago, what was the situation in China. Our onp was higrw than China. Our per capita income was higher than China. But, I would say, myopic policies by the Government of that era has led to this situation. Sir, when blue-collar jobs were flying away from the West to the East, they first wanted to come to India. Why did they want to come to India? They wanted to come because we are a democracy, we have a functioning judiciary which the world respects and our people also speak English which help the Western world. Instead, they all flew over us and went to China! Why did they go to China? It is because our Government in those years saw CIA behind every curtain. So, we did not let them enter here. They went to China, although, they had very bad relations with China at that time. But, Sir, you would recall that Mr. Kissinger was sent there by Nixcon was there and that is when the growth of China started. Sir, America provided them with capital. The US provided them with technology and, above all, US provided them the market and the result is before us to see. Sir, I beseech them, let us not make the same mistake again. We have held back this country for so many years. We need to have FDI in our country. We need to attract investment, because our savings rate is not enough to convert it into investment. We have to provide jobs to millions of our youth. So, for that, I would urge the hon. Minister to make consistent policies. There should be no flip-flop. If you offer an incentive, there should be a sunset clause for 10 years or 15 years or 20 years or whatever. But, in between, it should never be changed as was done by the Congress regime.

Sir, I would like to share some figures with you again. They were the ones who distributed these licences freely. As I said, it was an ATM at that time. Sir, 67 SEZs asked to cancel their licences during their regime and 27 have done so after 2014. This is the plight today in the country that 94 SEZs have said, 'Please take back our licences. We

[Shri Naresh Gujral]

cannot flourish in this country.' So, it is imperative to pass whatever Minister is proposing unanimously, so that FDI can come back to this country and this country can flourish again and our youth can find jobs again. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He had only four minutes. But, BJP has given two minutes from its quota. Now, Shri T.K.S. Elangovan. I would request Members, please see to it that everybody strictly confines to the time allotted. An additional minute or two can be given to smaller parties, and see to it that the entire debate is completed before 5.30 p.m. then there will be reply and voting, if required.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN *in the Chair*)

SHRI T.K.S. ELANGO VAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the Special Economic Zone idea was first conceived by Mr. Murasoli Maran when he was Minister of Industries during the earlier BJP Government. Then, an Act was brought in during the UPA Government.

Sir, the question is not about the Act; it is the urgency with which this Amendment Bill has been brought in. Sir, an Ordinance, normally called Presidential legislation, has to be brought only when there is urgent requirement. Otherwise, what is the purpose? It says that if, in an SEZ, a Hindu Undivided Family, cooperative society, company, firm, property concern, association of persons, cooperative association could not do anything, then you can call a trust to do something. But, what is the urgency? The Ordinance was issued in March this year. The point is: What is the outcome of the present SEZs in the country? What is the profit they are making? What is the activity they are doing? Everybody is comparing China with India. Sir, there is one basic difference between China and India. China is concentrating more on manufacturing sector. Service industry may bring profits to the owner and may also bring taxes to the Government, but no employment is generated in the service industry. In the manufacturing industry, employment generation is there. In the past five years, this Government has helped in promoting service industry more than that of the manufacturing industry. In Tamil Nadu, we have a Special Economic Zone where we have brought in many motor vehicle industries. Samsung have come there, Motorola have come there. So many industries have come in the Special Economic Zone. The idea was mooted by Mr. Murasoli Maran. It was fully utilized by the DMK Government between 1996 and 2001. But, after that, there are no new manufacturing industries. If there are no manufacturing industries, there is no use of having Special Economic Zones. We have developed three or four Special Economic Zones, particularly, in Tirunelveli district of our State, but it is still a barren land without any activity. There is no Government support. If this Trust can bring in any investment in that part of the country, we will

welcome it. But it is not going to do that. The people who put up industries in Special Economic Zones enjoy certain concessions. They can import goods without duty. They also get income tax concessions. In fact, they get many concessions. The units which have been put up there are making use of those concessions but they are not giving anything in return to the country. That is the point. Now, before making an amendment to the Act, the Government must have made some study. There is also a report by a committee constituted especially to go into the affairs of the Special Economic Zone. What impact the Government has received in that, the Report has not been placed before the House. But, without considering all these things, just bringing forward a legislation or an ordinance, will not serve the purpose. Sir, particularly, during the period of this Government, many Ordinances have come. When a Bill is not passed by the Upper House, immediately, an Ordinance comes. It is some sort of an insult to the Parliament. That is what I feel. What is the need of issuing an Ordinance? You have a majority in one House. The Bill is passed there. There are discussions, there are Amendments to that same Bill. That should be accepted. Immediately, they will issue an Ordinance and bring forward a new Bill. That is what has happened in Triple talaq. That is what has happened in many of the Bills. The Government wants to subvert parliamentary system and do something on their own, which is highly condemnable. I oppose this Amendment Bill, Sir. Thank you.

SHRI SHWAIT MALIK (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019, is a very important Bill. सर, मैं डिस्कशन सुन रहा था, but, I found that conflict is between the positive approach mindset and the negative approach mindset. लेकिन जो conflict है, that is opposition just for the sake of opposition. यह तो सिर्फ एक simple amendment है और Special Economic Zones का existing Bill है। मैं समझता हूँ कि देश की ग्रोथ के लिए, देश का फ्यूचर के लिए यह बिल एक golden gate है।

जहां तक industrialization की बात है, तो देश की economy पर industrialization का भी अपना एक असर है। हमने देखा है कि जिन देशों ने भी आज तरक्की की है, चाहे वह चाइना हो, अमरीका हो, रशिया हो या यूरोपियन यूनियन हो, जिन्होंने भी ग्रो किया है, उसके पीछे industrialization का बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है। हमें आज ऐसे प्राइम मिनिस्टर मिले हैं, जो पॉज़िटिव सोच लेकर आए हैं। अब तक जो कुछ नहीं हुआ है, अब वह हमें करना है। हमें 2022 तक 'New India' बनाना है। यह time-bound है, visionary है। उन्होंने अगर 'सबका साथ' की बात कही है, तो 'सबका विकास' और 'सबका विश्वास' की बात भी कही है। ये वे प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं, जिन्होंने नारा दिया ' 'जय जवान, जय किसान, जय विज्ञान, जय अनुसंधान।' जब हमारे पास ऐसी लीडरशिप है, तो ऐसे में हम पुरानी बातों को क्यों सोच रहे हैं? अगर यह काम अभी तक नहीं हुआ, तो उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेवार हैं? किसकी सरकार थी, सन् 2000 में और 2005 में? जब 2005 में यह बिल पास हुआ, तो उसके बाद SEZ को successful करने की किनकी जिम्मेवारी थी? SEZ का जो concept है, उसको empower करने के लिए उसका मेन मकसद यह है कि Foreign Direct Investment आये, उसमें अधिक से अधिक हमें



[Shri Shwait Malik]

foreign reserves मिलें, foreign exchange मिले। हमारा जो उद्देश्य है, जो मोदी जी ने एक स्वप्न देखा है कि इस देश के 130 करोड़ नागरिकों का जीवन सर्वसुविधा सम्पन्न बनाना है, देश को परम वैभव पर लेकर जाना है, विश्व शक्ति बनाना है, विश्व गुरु बनाना है, तो यह कुछ करने से होगा या केवल बात करने से होगा? कोई भी अच्छा reform आता है, तो कुछ दोस्त उसको oppose करने के लिए oppose करते हैं। क्या GST हमारी सरकार लेकर आयी? हाँ, implement किया, तो implement नहीं हो सका था। अगर demonetization है, उससे एक चेंज आया है, वे उसको भी oppose कर रहे हैं। उसके जो असर हैं, वे इस समय नजर आ रहे हैं। ऐसे ही industrialization है। मोदी जी conceptually research करके, लेकर आये हैं - Make in India, Made in India, Skill Development, मुद्रा योजना। इसका मतलब क्या है? आज तक तो mindset था - केवल import और intake का, कि जो चाहिए, विदेशों से मंगवा लो। हर स्तर पर विदेशों के ऊपर निर्भर रहने की मानसिकता थी। ये मोदी जी हैं, जो यह लेकर आये हैं कि अब हम विदेशों से नहीं मंगवायेंगे, अब तो हम निर्यात करेंगे, हम विदेशी पूंजी को earn करेंगे और उस पूंजी से हम इस देश का विकास करेंगे। तो उसके लिए जहां एक बड़ी लम्बी category है, companies आ सकती हैं, prosperity, partnership... एक लम्बी लिस्ट है, उसमें हमने अगर एक 'trust' को introduce कर दिया, तो उसको oppose किया जा रहा है। जो legality है, उसके ऊपर monitoring तब भी थी, अब भी है, परन्तु जो trust है, जैसे अभी गुजराल जी ने कहा कि trust बहुत हो चुका है। जब उनका investment इस देश में आयेगा, तो रोज़गार किसको मिलेगा, इस देश को मिलेगा, financial stability किसको मिलेगी, इस देश को मिलेगी, industrial growth किसको मिलेगी, इस देश को मिलेगी और जो लाभ इस देश को मिलना है, हम उसको oppose कर रहे हैं कि आप clause को लेकर आ रहे हो, SEZ को बन्द कर दो, demonetization को बन्द कर दो, GST को बन्द कर दो, बेनामी प्रॉपर्टी को बन्द कर दो, यानी criticism for the sake of criticism.

अब आज यह जो industrialization की सोच लेकर आये हैं कि जब इन SEZs में इतने लोग invest करेंगे, तो उसके बाद employment कितना मिलेगा, उसके बाद कितने लोग जो agriculture sector से और दूसरे sectors से हैं, उनको हम इसके माध्यम से self sufficient करेंगे, उस पर रिसर्च हुई है। जैसे कि बाबा कल्याणी जी का आया। वे 'भारत फोर्ज' के चेयरमैन थे। उनके साथ बड़े eminent सदस्य बने और उन्होंने जब चिन्तन किया, तो उस चिन्तन में से निकल कर यह आया कि अब इसके लिए trust को involve करना पड़ेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत सराहनीय कदम है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को और पीयूष गोयल जी को इसके लिए बधाई दूंगा। हमें निर्भीक होकर अभी और भी ऐसे अमेंडमेंट्स लाने हैं, क्योंकि लक्ष्य अभी तक दूर है। ऐसे अमेंडमेंट्स आने चाहिए, क्योंकि जो हर क्षण है, वह learning stage है, हर क्षण में हम सुधार कर सकते हैं। अगर हमने जो लक्ष्य रखा है कि इस देश को हमें सबसे अग्रिम पंक्ति में, सबसे अग्रिम स्थान पर लाना है, तो हमें mindset बदलना पड़ेगा। मैं विपक्ष के दोस्तों से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि जो nationalism के मुद्दे हैं, उनको oppose करने के बजाय साधन बनें और साधक बनें और आओ, हम सब मोदी जी के साथ मिल कर 'नव भारत' का निर्माण करने का साधन बनें, धन्यवाद।



SHRI P. BHATTACHARYA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am very glad that you have given me the opportunity to explain a few things. I know that the hon. Minister is a very intelligent person. He would explain things and easily manage to get the Bill passed one way or the other. But I have certain things to say and wish to seek some clarifications. The Bill says that after the words 'local authority' the words 'trust or any entity as may be notified by the Central Government' may be added. What do you mean by the word 'entity'? It is a big word. Do you think that the Government of India has a very long hand and whomsoever they want they can support or bless without having any scrutiny? If so, then you may write it this way, 'The Government of India has the right and it is the Government of India's property. Whatever action they wish to take they may take.'! It has been made clear that for the words 'authority or a company' the words 'trust or an entity' shall be substituted. What is the use, Sir? इसे insert करने की क्या जरूरत है? कोई जरूरत नहीं थी। You could have used just one word, 'trust' and that the trust would be formed by judicial, non-judicial and official people. Then it would have been easily understood. Unfortunately, you have not done that.

Sir, it has been clearly said here that the Special Economic Zone (Amendment) Bill, 2019, which seeks to replace the Special Economic Zone (Amendment) Ordinance, 2019, provides for amendment of clause 5 of the said Section of the Act so as to include the expression 'trust or entity' in the definition of a person. May I know from the hon. Minister what he means by the word 'person'? You have already said very clearly 'trust or entity'. Then you also use it in the definition of 'person'. Why? What do you mean to say by using this word 'person' in particular? Is there something hidden somewhere? I would like to know from the hon. Minister what the word 'person' means. Do you or the Government have anybody in your mind? If so, kindly clarify.

Sir, I have a few more points to make. I would be extremely happy if you give clarifications. SEZs are major export hubs. It says here, 'Units set up in SEZs enjoy fiscal and non-fiscal incentives such as 'no licence' —underline the words 'no licence' — requirement for imports, freedom for sub-contracting and no routine examination by the Customs authorities'. Kindly underline these words, 'no requirement' for an 'entity' to set up a unit. Entity is a large word. It could be anybody; it could be me or you. Then, why is it without having any examinations by the Customs authorities? I would request the hon. Commerce Minister to kindly drop these words. There should be routine examination by the Customs. Give full authority to the Customs for investigation. Otherwise, what is the meaning of saying 'routine examination by Customs'? What is the use? The Government could potentially use its powers to allow any entity to set up a unit in SEZ and provide undue advantage to its units. A Board of Approval headed by the Commerce Secretary

[Shri P. Bhattacharya]

scrutinizes and approves the setting up of these units. Given that the Secretary is a part of the Executive, the independence of the Board comes into question too. Sir, lastly, I would say, as my other colleagues very clearly explained, SEZ requires huge areas of land. In our State, not only our State but in other States too, these are mostly the agricultural land. Why all this agricultural land will be destroyed? If the Government wanted to set up SEZ, why are they not searching for the barren land? Sir, through you, I would request the hon. Minister to kindly find out the barren land and say very clearly, not to use the agricultural land, but non-cultivable land. Use that word. Don't use the land which is very, very useful for the farmers. My esteemed colleague said very clearly 'that thousands of people will be unemployed. Sir, in our country, there is no protection for agricultural labourers. The Government of India, though they have increased the minimum wages for agricultural labour but when you are going to set up the SEZ, hundred, thousands, even the lakhs of agricultural labour will be unemployed. How will they be provided employment? Can they provide employment to them in the SEZ? If so, then where is the provision? When all these amendments came, why not this Amendment come? Those who will be ousted from their land, will they be provided employment in the SEZ after giving the proper training? Why not? So, all these things are coming. I think the hon. Minister will be able to give clarification on all these things. Thank you, Sir.

**श्री संजय सिंह** (राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र, दिल्ली): मान्यवर, आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण संशोधन बिल पर अपनी बात कहने के लिए अवसर दिया, इसके लिए धन्यवाद। जो बातें अभी माननीय सदस्यों ने कहीं, एक रिपोर्ट है, अभी यहां पर देरेक जी कह रहे थे कि 2009 तक पूरे देश में 50 हजार एकड़ जमीन SEZ के नाम पर अधिगृहीत की गई थी। यह जो रिपोर्ट है, यह सरकार की रिपोर्ट है और इसमें लिखा हुआ है कि 47,803 हेक्टेयर जमीन मानी देश भर में करीब-करीब 1,20,000 एकड़ जमीन SEZ के नाम पर अधिगृहीत की गई, जिसमें किसानों की जमीन थी तथा और भी बहुत सारी जमीन थी। लेकिन जब पूछा गया कि आपने इसमें से कितनी जमीन का इस्तेमाल किया, इस संबंध में सरकार का जवाब है कि 37 प्रतिशत जमीन का इस्तेमाल हुआ है, 60 प्रतिशत जमीन का इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ यानी करीब-करीब 17,689 हेक्टेयर जमीन का इस्तेमाल हुआ है, बाकी जमीनों का इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ है। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि 60 प्रतिशत जमीन, जो अभी तक SEZ के नाम पर अधिगृहीत ही नहीं की गई, तो क्या उन जमीनों को किसानों को लौटाने की कोई योजना है?

दूसरा, 17 दिसम्बर, 2018 को लोक सभा में एक प्रश्न पूछा गया था, जिसका उत्तर कुछ इस प्रकार है। इसमें पूछा गया कि खाली पड़ी भूमि के अधिकतम उपयोग के लिए सरकार द्वारा क्या कदम उठाए गए या उठाए जा रहे हैं? उस समय के कार्मर्स एवं इंडस्ट्री मिनिस्टर, सी. आर. चौधरी जी, जो स्टेट मिनिस्टर थे, उनका जवाब है कि ये सारी जमीनें डेवलपर्स के पास हैं। वे जमीनें, जो इस्तेमाल नहीं हो रही हैं, वे जमीनें, जो किसी काम की नहीं हैं, वे जमीनें, जो सिर्फ इकट्ठा कर ली गईं, ले ली गईं और

**5.00 P.M.**

किस लिए ले ली गई, इस पर संसदीय समिति की एक रिपोर्ट है। उस पर जनसत्ता की रिपोर्टिंग है, उसमें यह है कि SEZ की जमीन गिरवी रख कर कर्ज लेने पर संसदीय समिति चिंतित। यह पार्लियामेंट की स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है। इसमें लिखा गया है कि पश्चिमी बंगाल, महाराष्ट्र, कर्णाटक, आन्ध्र प्रदेश के 11 डेवलपर्स ने SEZ भूमि को गिरवी रख कर 6,309 करोड़ फपए का ऋण इकट्ठा किया, जोकि नियमों के विरुद्ध है।

अधिनियमों या नियमों में SEZ की भूमि को गिरवी रखने या नहीं रखने के बारे में कोई स्पष्ट निर्देश नहीं है। आप SEZ की जमीन को गिरवी रखकर उसके ऊपर हजारों करोड़ रुपए का कर्ज इकट्ठा कर रहे हैं, इससे फायदा क्या मिल रहा है?

तीसरी बात, जिन एरियाज़ में आप SEZ बना रहे हैं, उन एरियाज़ के लोगों के लिए आपकी क्या चिंता है? वहाँ के स्थानीय लोगों को आप जमीन से हटाते हैं। मैंने बताया कि पूरे देश में 1 लाख 20 हजार एकड़ जमीन SEZ के नाम पर ली गई है, अधिगृहीत की गई है। क्या उन एरियाज़ से हटाए गए लोगों के लिए आपके पास कोई योजना है, कोई चिंतन है? जो लोग वहाँ से हटाए जा रहे हैं, क्या उनको रोजगार देने के लिए आप कोई नियम बना रहे हैं? जब सरकार के मिनिस्टर्स से पूछा जा रहा है कि इसकी विशेषताएं क्या हैं, इस SEZ में आपने क्या-क्या मुख्य प्रावधान रखे हैं, तो उसमें तमाम चीजों के incentives इन SEZ एरियाज़ के लिए हैं, जिन्हें सुनकर आप हैरान हो जाएंगे कि किस प्रकार के incentives सरकार की ओर से दिए गए हैं। पाँच सालों तक इनकम टैक्स में छूट दी गई है, duty free import and domestic procurement of goods for the development, operation and maintenance of SEZ units, 100 per cent इनकम टैक्स में छूट और पाँच वर्षों के लिए 50 per cent, उसके बाद export profit re-investment, इसमें तमाम तरीके के कर की छूट दी गई है। इसमें कोई zero rated under IGST Act, 2017 के बारे में लिखा हुआ है, जिसके अनुसार SEZ एरियाज़ में किसी भी प्रकार का टैक्स जीरो है, वहाँ जीएसटी भी नहीं देना है, राज्य का भी कोई टैक्स नहीं देना है, किसी भी प्रकार का कोई टैक्स नहीं देना है। अगर आप देश के किसानों, मजदूरों और नौजवानों को इतनी प्रकार की छूट दें और SEZ के नाम पर जो कर्ज लिया गया है, वह नौजवान लोगों को छोटे-छोटे उद्योग लगाने के लिए दे दें, तो आप लाखों लोगों को रोजगार दे सकते हैं।

सर, इसमें investment की बात भी कही जा रही है, बड़े-बड़े दावे किए जा रहे हैं। मैं एक अंतिम बात कहकर अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा। कहा जा रहा है कि इससे foreign investment बढ़ेगा, इस तरह के तमाम दावे किए जा रहे हैं। यह सरकार के एक मंत्री का जवाब है, मेरा जवाब नहीं है। इसमें पूछा गया है कि investment में कितनी वृद्धि हुई, तो उन्होंने बताया है कि वर्ष 2013-14 में निवेश में 59,946 करोड़ रुपए की वृद्धि हुई, जो वर्ष 2011-11 में घटकर 42,131 करोड़ रुपए हो गई, यह वर्ष 2015-16 में घटकर 37,700 करोड़ रुपये हो गई, वर्ष 2016-17 में यह फिर बढ़कर 46,695 करोड़ रुपए, वर्ष 2017-18 में 51,728 करोड़ फपए और वर्ष 2018 के नौवें महीने तक का जो इनका आंकड़ा है, उसके अनुसार 17,395 करोड़ रुपए का निवेश बढ़ा है।

**श्री उपसभापति:** संजय जी, conclude करिए।

**श्री संजय सिंह:** सर, अंतिम बात है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि जो लगातार निवेश बढ़ाने का दावा किया जा रहा है, वह भी गलत बात है, वह भी पूरी तरह से गलत है। मेरे इसमें मंत्री जी से सिर्फ दो सवाल हैं, पहला यह कि SEZ एरियाज़ में जो जमीनें कब्जा की गई हैं और इस्तेमाल नहीं हो रही हैं, क्या उनको किसानों को वापस करने की कोई योजना है? दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि जिन SEZ एरियाज़ में आपने यह 1,20,000 एकड़ जमीन अधिगृहीत की है, उन एरियाज़ के नौजवानों को, किसानों के बच्चों को, वहाँ के रहने वालों को रोजगार देने की कोई योजना है?

**श्री रामकुमार वर्मा (राजस्थान):** उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस बिल पर बोलने का समय दिया। मैं अपनी पार्टी को भी धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने मुझे इस बिल पर बोलने का अवसर दिया। The Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Bill, 2019, जो कि Special Economic Zones Act, 2015, में amendment के लिए यहाँ पेश किया गया, जो Ordinance 2 मार्च, 2019 को जारी किया गया था, उसको repeal करते हुए, इसको स्थापित करने के लिए यह लोक सभा के बाद राज्य सभा में है। इसमें बहुत कम संशोधन किए गए हैं और ये बहुत बड़े संशोधन नहीं हैं। माननीय नरेन्द्र मोदी जी के नेतृत्व में भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था ने आज पूरे विश्व के अंदर जो स्थान बनाया है, उसमें मैं कहूँ कि वर्ल्ड में हमारी इकोनॉमी का जो fastest growing rate है, वह अपने आपमें सराहनीय है। आज हमारा स्थान कहाँ आ गया है, इसके बारे में मेरे पूर्व के सम्माननीय वक्ताओं ने बहुत कुछ बताया है, उसी के मदेनज़र "न्यू इंडिया" को एक और मजबूत गति देने के लिए यह अमेंडमेंट बिल आपके सामने पेश किया गया है।

इसकी हिस्ट्री के बारे में बहुत कुछ बता दिया गया है। भारत का प्रयास सन् 1965 में कांडला से शुरू होता है, जिसमें एक्सपोर्ट प्रोसेसिंग जोन की स्थापना होती है और फिर बहुत लम्बा समय बीत जाता है। इतना लम्बा समय बीत जाने के बाद 1990s के दौरान हमारे financial और economic crisis हुए, उसके बावजूद तत्कालीन सरकारों ने गंभीरता से नहीं सोचा कि हमारे जो SEZ होने चाहिए और हमारे जो एक्सपोर्ट प्रोसेसिंग सेंटर्स स्थापित किए जा रहे थे, उनमें वृद्धि की जाए, उनको विशेष सुविधाएं दी जाएं, ताकि FDI और FPI हमारे यहां इन्वेस्टमेंट करें। वह स्थिति वर्ष 2000 तक रही। वर्ष 2000 में माननीय श्रद्धेय अटल जी के नेतृत्व की सरकार में इसको गंभीरता से लिया गया। तत्कालीन कॉमर्स मिनिस्टर की देख-रेख में इसका पूरा अध्ययन किया गया और देखा गया कि वर्ष 2000 तक इस देश के अंदर ऐसे सिर्फ सात एक्सपोर्ट प्रोसेसिंग सेंटर स्थापित हुए थे, वे क्यों नहीं बढ़े। फिर उसकी प्रक्रिया चली। वर्ष 2005 में यूपीए सरकार ने इसको एक ऐक्ट का रूप दिया और फरवरी, 2006 में यह लागू हुआ। मैं समय को ध्यान में रखते हुए अपनी बात को संक्षेप में कहूँगा।

मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि वर्ष 2005 से लेकर 2014 तक जिस तरह के इकोनॉमिक जोन्स बनाए जाते हैं, उनके पीछे एक ही उद्देश्य होता है कि हम इन्वेस्टर्स को एफडीआई के द्वारा, चाहे वह एक्सटर्नल हो या इंटरनल हो, उनको वे सुविधाएँ उपलब्ध कराएँ। हम ऐसे जोन बनाएँ, जिस के अंदर उनको कस्टम ड्यूटी, एक्साइज़ ड्यूटी, इनकम टैक्स और जैसा हमारे साथी, संजय सिंह जी ने जो बताया कि बहुत सारी छूटें हैं, उनका लाभ उनको मिले, ताकि देश की अर्थव्यवस्था में वृद्धि हो, हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बढ़े, additional economic activities बढ़ें, employment बढ़े और देश का balance of payment भी हमारे favour में हो और foreign exchange भी एक्सपोर्ट के आधार पर हमें मिले। इन उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिए यह किया गया।

अभी हमारे प्रतिपक्ष के भाइयों, विशेष रूप से कांग्रेस के लोगों तथा कुछ और लोगों ने कहा कि economic zone जैसी कल्पना को बन्द कर देना चाहिए, इससे फायदा नहीं हुआ। इससे फायदा क्यों नहीं हुआ, इसके कारणों को यूपीए सरकार ने नहीं देखा। तत्कालीन सरकार ने बहुत सारे जो कारण बताए, उनमें से एक सबसे महत्वपूर्ण कारण यह था कि जब हमारे यहाँ FDI, कोई foreign investor या internal investor आता है, तो सबसे पहले वह यह देखता है कि देश का वातावरण कैसा है, देश के अंदर वातावरण अनुकूल है या नहीं है। मैं सदन को बताना चाहूँगा कि वर्ष 2014 से पहले, वर्ष 2008 से 2014 तक financial system इस तरह से disturb हो चुका था कि करप्शन चरम सीमा पर था। तब बहुत सारे taxes थे। हम देखें कि बैंकिंग इंडस्ट्री के अंदर जो 18 लाख करोड़ से बढ़कर वर्ष 2014 तक 52 लाख करोड़ तक हो गया था, उसके कारण वातावरण अनुकूल नहीं था और उसके कारण हमको जो Investment मिलना चाहिए था, वह नहीं मिला। महोदय, आज नरेन्द्र मोदीजी का सपना है कि देश समृद्ध हो, विकसित हो और उन्होंने 'सबका साथ, सबका विकास और सबका विश्वास' के साथ कार्य किए, उसी की परिकल्पना के लिए ...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं दो मिनट और लूँगा।

**श्री उपसभापति:** रामकुमार जी, आप एक मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त करें।

**श्री रामकुमार वर्मा:** महोदय, मैं दो मिनट और लूँगा। मैं कहता हूँ कि जिस तरह का हमने वातावरण देखा, मुझे यहां तीन वर्ष हो गए। इश्यू कितने ही इम्पॉर्टेंट हों और बिल्स कितने ही Important हों, विपक्ष का जि तरह से नेगेटिव attitude रहा और सदन को नहीं चलने दिया, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस कारण हम इम्पॉर्टेंट बिल्स भी पास नहीं करा सके। उसी का रिजल्ट है कि 2 मार्च, 2019 को यह अध्यादेश जारी किया गया। एफडीआई के वातावरण में आज मामूली अमेंडमेंट किया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत अच्छा है और मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now, Shri D. Raja. You have six minutes' time.

**SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu):** Sir, at the outset, I must point out that unlike BJP, the Left Parties are consistent on the issue of SEZs. In fact, BJP had opposition to SEZs in 2009 and now they have changed their position. It is their prerogative but unlike BJP, we are consistent on this issue.

Sir, I am one of the movers of this Statutory Resolution. I would like to raise three broad points. First, what was the tearing hurry to resort to Ordinance? Sir, I always consider that Indian Parliament is a vibrant Parliament. Even if it does not work for minimum 100 days, it is a vibrant Parliament and we should respect our Parliament and its capacity. So, why should we take the Ordinance route? In the same House, we used to pass Bills even without any discussion when there was consensus, or, when there was no controversy but here there are issues involved. So, why did the Government resort to Ordinance route? That is why, we opposed it and moved the Statutory Resolution. So, the Government should explain as to what was the tearing hurry?

Then, Sir, as far as the content of the Bill is concerned, the Bill says that, "after the words, 'local authority', the words, 'trust or any entity as notified by the Central Government' shall be inserted.

[Shri D. Raja]

Now, are the SEZs autonomous bodies above the laws of the land as the Central Government notifies and the land is acquired in some State! What is the role of the State Government? How are the SEZs operating? Are they operating under the laws of the country? Do they have their own rules or regulations? Are they under the control of the Government? These are all issues which the Government needs to explain.

The other issue is about foreign money. Many Members are talking about bringing foreign money. My good friend, Narendra Jadhav and Mr. Naresh Gujral also mentioned about foreign investment. We had a situation in India which we should not forget, the Lehman Brothers episode, how the foreign investors ran away after taking loans from banks. Even now, we are facing certain problems, how the public sector banks were looted by some industrialists, who took away huge money and ran away. Now, they are living like fugitives. In such a situation, what is the trust of these companies or entities which are coming to India? It is not the question of mistrust or distrust. Mr. Jairam Ramesh should have become some kind of linguist but he is sitting in Parliament. The question is about this trust? What is this trust, I want to know. When my good friend Derek was speaking, he also raised certain issues of electoral bonds. Whether these trusts can buy electoral bonds, whether these trusts can give electoral bonds to some political parties, I do not know. What is the power of these trusts? What is this trust? This is what I am asking. I am raising a political question. It is not a linguistic question. It is a political question. What is this trust? What are the powers of this trust? I want to know whether this trust can buy electoral bonds. I want to know whether this trust can give electoral bonds to some political parties. I want to know whether this trust can be allowed to interfere and influence the political course of the country. This is a political question. I would like the Minister to respond with convincing answer and facts, because it is a serious issue. That is why we have serious apprehensions. You may agree or you may not agree with this, but you will have to give due consideration to the concerns expressed by us. We are expressing and articulating these concerns in the interest of the country and its future, if you love the country, we also love the country. This country belongs to you. This country belongs to me. This country belongs to us. That is why we are raising all these concerns in the national interest, in the country's interest. We have passed through several situations and the financial sector crisis is deepening in India. In such a situation, you are opening the gates for various entities. I don't know what the bodies are. It has 'individual', 'entity', 'trust' and so many things. How do you define them? How do you bring them under the law of the land? This needs to be explained. In such a situation, we thought it is better if this Bill is referred to a Select Committee. That is what we demanded. This can go to a

Select Committee for further scrutiny. After all, we are passing legislations. Those legislations should be fair enough for the country and the people. That is why we thought this legislation is a serious one. It needs further scrutiny. It can be referred to a Select Committee. But it is up to the political parties and the Members present here to decide upon it. I think it deserves to be sent to a Select Committee. There are other issues which we raised. The Minister, as everybody says, Mr. Piyush Goyal, is a very intelligent person. He even acted as the Finance Minister for a brief period. He presented the interim Budget. With his rich experience and knowledge, he can respond. After all, these are all serious questions. We need you to respond and give us a convincing reply. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when the Lok Sabha was debating this Bill, 13 eminent Members of Parliament spoke on it. I was quite impressed that Members could evince so much interest for a Bill such as this. Today, I am even more impressed that the House of Elders has 18 eminent Members of Parliament showing interest in this Bill.

Sir, at the outset, I must, since he concluded the discussion, tell Mr. D. Raja that none of us in this House or in this country has any doubt whatsoever that you are always talking in the national interest and you are as much committed to the nation's good as any one of the other 130 crore citizens of this country. We are not under any such wrong impression, you may rest assured. At the same time, the Left can never be Right. And, therefore, I will certainly respond to all the concerns and apprehensions.

श्री उपसभापति: राजा जी आपके राइट साइड में ही बैठे हुए हैं।

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: He likes to remain on my right side. Well, I think we all will have to wait for a long time for him to move anywhere else. But I have an open invitation for you to come onto the right side. Not my right side but your right side.

SHRI D. RAJA: I am on the correct side. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Way back in July, 2003, the then NDA-1 Government led by Shradhey Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji brought out the SEZ Policy. Framed several rules under SEZ Rules, brought in several fiscal incentives and created a very robust framework in which SEZs were sought to be promoted in the country. SEZs have been prevalent in many other parts of the world. As several speakers before me mentioned, they have become engines of economic progress, engines of growth, have supported large-scale exports and have created lakh number of jobs and investment opportunities around the world. When the Congress-led UPA Government came to power in 2005, they were faced with a number of requests, suggesting that the Special Economic Zone Rules and all the other matters related thereto should be converted into an Act, an Act of Parliament. The



[Shri Piyush Goyal]

reason —and it is mentioned in the Preamble of the Act —was to instil confidence in investors and to signal the Government's commitment to a stable SEZ policy regime and to impart stability to the SEZ regime, thereby generate greater economic activity and employment through the establishment of SEZs. If I am not mistaken, I think, you were supporting the UPA at that point of time. ...(*Interruptions*)... I am talking of UPA-1. You should not forget that in 2005, you were a part of UPA-1. My good friend, Mr. Derek O'Brien, and his party, supposedly to be consistently opposed to SEZs, was also supporting the Congress in UPA-1. So, the first point that I would like to clarify to the august House, through you, Sir, is that if at all you want to say that you have been consistent or my friend, Mr. Derek, wants to suggest that they have been consistent, it is demolished in this very first instance that you all supported this Act and I did not hear any murmurs from Mr. Derek's party or from the Communists opposing the SEZ laws. And I believe that they rightly brought in this law because international investors are always looking for a stable and predictable regime under which they want to do the investment. However, as Mr. Gujral rightly pointed out, the Government, which wanted to bring stability in the regime, sadly withdrew most of the fiscal benefits, particularly related to Income-Tax, Dividend Distribution Tax, exemption from MAT, etc. because of which, the SEZ framework had certainly faced stress post 2010-11 when the Budget brought out these changes and in-between caused the policy framework to become weak and left several investors in SEZs in the lurch. In some sense, it will explain why SEZs have large areas of land but do not have enough takers for it. Because of this instable policy and the flip-flop that we saw, I think many investors lost interest and large areas of land in SEZs remain unused, as my good friend, Prof. Manoj Jha, just mentioned. But, at the same time, one cannot ignore the reality that SEZs have created a large number of jobs, SEZs have brought in large amount of investment, SEZs have been able to create a lot of export opportunities. The approximate figure at the end of March, 2019 states that the investments in SEZs were a whopping ₹ 5 lakh crore plus. The employment in SEZs was over 20 lakh people. And the exports from SEZs were over ₹ 7 lakh crore. So, one can't deny what Mr. Vajpayee started and what Dr. Manmohan Singh and his Government rightly supported and continued, save and except for the withdrawal of the income-tax benefits, had become an engine of growth and an engine of creating jobs. I think all of us in this august House are deeply appreciative and supportive of this SEZ concept.

There is some talk about the urgency of the Ordinance. I did explain it in the beginning when the House asked for an explanation and Mr. Mahesh Poddar had to stop. But at the cost of repetition, I would like to once again inform the hon. Members that we would all



recall the amount of disturbances that happened in both the Houses almost throughout the 2018-19 period during which no law could be passed.

Because of this, the Government in its first term was forced to bring many issues of urgent nature through the form of Ordinances. Economic development, growth, investment, jobs cannot wait just because a few Members of Parliament or one or two political parties keep disturbing the Houses and do not allow the House to function. It was shameful that for the first time we saw the hon. Prime Minister's Speech being disturbed in the House of Parliament which we had normally never seen. Maybe, somebody can raise a comment or two. There can be a small disturbance but never before has the hon. Prime Minister had to have a whole Speech running into probably maybe three-fourth of an hour with complete disturbance. In this kind of a logjam, when a situation was that Bills could not be passed, obviously, the Government, which has been elected by the people of India to perform its functions in national interest and public interest, is expected to take every possible step at its command so that investments, growth, jobs do not get stalled. Therefore, when the Reserve Bank of India defined Alternate Investment Funds as an investment vehicle, when SEBI came out with its framework to allow Alternate Investment Funds to invest in financial services sector, international financial services centres, through the medium of trusts, some time, in November 2018, we started the process of making the law. Since the House was not functioning and there was very little possibility of having the House pass any new law, the then Government decided that waiting for the next Session of Parliament—which should have in any case been in June-July—would only delay the investment possibilities. We decided to come out with the Ordinance in this regard.

It is important to note this, and many Members have tried to play around the word 'trust', distrust, mistrust. I think hon. Chairman's effect is coming on all the Members gradually. When the Reserve Bank of India defined the Alternate Investment Funds as a potential form or as a vehicle of investment, they very categorically explained who are the people who are allowed to invest. Financial institutions shall include—it's sort of an exclusive definition—a company, a firm, an association of persons or body of individuals, whether incorporated or not, any artificial juridical person not falling within any of the above preceding categories engaged in rendering financial services or carrying out financial transactions. Then, in the explanation, they have included several categories of investors which, for your kind information, include merchant banks, investment banks, pension funds, mutual funds, trusts, exchanges, clearing houses etc. and then they have defined what are financial services. Now, obviously, the country and the laws of the land are governed by regulators. It is not as if any trust or anybody can come into Special Economic Zones or international financial services centre, and make any investment. Similarly,

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Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) on 26th November, 2018 brought out the operating headlines for Alternate Investment Funds in international financial services centres in which they have brought out the legal framework. They have combined into this all the various circulars until then. Here also, they have brought in very categorical guidelines on who shall be allowed to invest, who can become a sponsorer of an Alternate Investment Fund. What the minimum amount that would be required to invest is and all the various requirements and the restrictions, clauses, all the framework around which the investment would come in, have been very, very detailed articulated by SEBI when they brought out these guidelines. But, as was the situation in 2005, when the Congress led U.P.A., supported by Trinamool Congress and supported by the Communist parties converted the then rules, circulars and policies into a law so that the investors have certainty. Thus, we also wanted to give investors the confidence and certainty for which we brought in this law. We would have ideally liked to have it passed by Parliament, if it had functioned properly in the Winter Session and if we were able to run the Budget Session smoothly. But, sadly, it became evident from the entire proceedings of both the Houses that it would not be possible to get any laws passed in the disturbance, in the din of the House. So, we were required to bring it in as an ordinance. Some Members did raise the issue about how much investment has come and all sorts of very, I think, below the belt aspersions have sought to be cast on this including the fact that whether there were electoral trusts and what not have you. I do not think SEBI and RBI, all of them are governing electoral trusts over here. They are governing investment trusts. For your kind information, until now, we have 8 proposals from such trusts and all from reputed companies. The total amount comes to about ₹ 8,000-odd crores. The total investment potential out of these 8 applications is about ₹ 8,000 crores. Our expectation is that the changes that are being proposed will pay result in about 3 billion dollars. That is about ₹ 20,000 crores plus annually in terms of investment coming into the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC).

Yesterday, the hon. Prime Minister was very rightly saying that this august House represents the will of the States of the people of India. I think, it is time we choose whether we want to be in old India or we want to be in new India. Trust was not an investment vehicle in 2005; otherwise, an illustrious economist like Dr. Manmohan Singh would have possibly included it at that point of time also. New structures of investment evolve over a period of time. As Shri Gujral, who is himself an eminent Chartered Accountant, said that new structures will keep coming in and, therefore, we brought in trusts as a possible investment source. By the same logic, two years down the road, some new form of

investments could come in. Some new type of entities may be developed by the international world which will become a vehicle for investments. Every time we do not have to come to Parliament for these small amendments. Therefore, what we have said is that trusts—~~it~~ has nothing to do with the trusts—~~or~~ any entity that may be notified by the Central Government. Now, in future, if some new form of investment vehicle comes, we can notify it, and I would request Shri Bhattacharya not to belittle the Central Government so much because I was just checking The Special Economic Zones Act which has been passed by his party in the same two Houses of Parliament. Almost on every clause, the Central Government is empowered to do one thing or the other. After all, the Government functions in an organized fashion. We have a complete system, policy and procedures. So, anything Government does is not in a light fashion. It is done with full responsibility.

SHRI P. BHATTACHARYA: Sir, I have not challenged...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please Bhattacharyaji, nothing will go on record.

SHRI P. BHATTACHARYA: \*

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Should the Central Government choose to notify any of the type of entity which can become an investment vehicle; obviously, it will be placed as subordinate legislation before both the Houses of Parliament also. We will have every right and every opportunity if at all some wrongdoing has been done at any point of time by any Government to discuss and debate it in the House.

My own sense is that actually it is a small amendment which can have large impact of investment in jobs, economic growth. It is sad that Shri Jairam Ramesh sought to make SEZ a mockery of law by saying that 400-plus were approved. Shri Jairam, as Shri Gujral rightly pointed out, while Vajpayeeji's Government was there, only two were approved. I think, one in Tamil Nadu and one in Gujarat. ...*(Interruptions)*... There were not more than two that were approved. Who approved 400-plus and who was the Commerce Minister at that time? Somebody talked about 80 and all; I mean, I do not write those types of things in my notes. That is for ail of us to reflect and remember. While most of these SEZs were being approved, I think, Mr. Derek, your party was very much supporting the UPA. I think, Mr. Raja, you were very much supporting the UPA.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Can i disturb you? I did not want to disturb you. I clarified at the end. It is good you said. We were supporting or not supporting; the Parliamentary record is there on the very Land Acquisition Act. That is my limited point.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: No. Not the Land Acquisition Act. We are talking about the SEZ Act.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Yes. We opposed it then. We got only 13 votes but we opposed it then.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: SEZ Act or Land Acquisition Act?

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Both. We were not with the Congress. We had 13 but we opposed it. That is the limited point.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: But you continue to enjoy the fruits of power and remain in the Government. Incidentally, there was a lot of talk about land acquired from the farmers. May I clarify to this august House, Sir, that the SEZ Act very clearly prohibits land to be acquired from farmers for setting up this SEZ, barring a few exceptions, which have been properly articulated in the guidelines and in the process of approval also? The Board of Approval will approve a proposal for establishment of SEZ only after the concerned State Government recommends it in the first place and the State Governments have been advised that in case of land acquisition, first priority should be for acquisition of waste and barren land and, if necessary, only if necessary, single crop agriculture land could be acquired. Then, it further says, if per force,—and per force has a strong meaning in law—a portion of double crop agriculture land has to be acquired to meet the minimum area requirements, especially, for multi-product SEZs, the same should not exceed ten per cent of the total land required for the SEZs. And this also if I remember correctly, though I was in opposition, was put in because land has to be contiguous. So if there are various patches of land, barren land or single crop land and if there is a small patch in between which is double crop, the small patch cannot stop the industrial development of the whole State or the region. Therefore, this 10 per cent clause was brought in that you can add maximum that much land which is multi-crop. In any case, the Central Government does not allot any land or acquire any land. If at all it is done, whatever is done is done by the State Governments. For the record, my party did not have too many State Governments at the time when most of this land was acquired. And most of this land got acquired in that same period about which I have been referring on more than one occasion so far. Most of this land was acquired before 2011; in any case, after the income-tax benefits were withdrawn, this policy has almost seen stagnancy and seen a tapering effect. Whatever investments came in, whatever was the add-on investments, that continue to happen, but there was a tapering effect. What we are trying to do, Sir, is to engage with the rest of the world. Today, we have International Financial Services Centres in London, New York, Singapore, Hong Kong. We have people raising funds worth billions of dollars and, we, from India go to these Centres to raise funds. We provide jobs to the people in those International Financial services Centres. Why should we not be doing all that to India? Why should not we have

International Financial Services Centres set up in India? And that is the intention why we are trying to promote the concept of financial services, why we are trying to see we can become a hub of activity which creates millions of jobs, which encourages people from the world to come to transact in India, which becomes a Centre, where instead of our going to London and New York, the world comes to India and raises money in this IFC in which investors from all over the world can invest, can set up different operations and that does not affect the domestic economy at all. This entire activity is carried out within the confines of the SEZ or the International Financial Services Centre with absolutely no relationship to the domestic economy, but, indirectly provides support to the domestic economy. It provides jobs to us, Indians, and it provides opportunities to ensure that we do not become dependent on rest of the world, while gives us an opportunity to make other parts of the world dependent on India as a large and a strong services Centre for operations. There was some talk about the conditions of the Trust before they are allotted land. Firstly, we don't allot any land. Secondly, the condition of the Trust, as set up by the SEZ, is by the SEBI and the RBI. We don't have to set up. Likewise, there are hundreds of legislations. Each one does not define each term and each activity. It is defined by different laws and whatever is residual, goes to the General Clauses. So, I think, each law cannot define in detail what will be the nature of Trust, and I do wish that we should rise from petty comments or trying to belittle over the Trust and this and that. It can be religious Trust, somebody said. I think, some people are so scared that they see religion in everything. But, don't be so scared. I don't think we need to give up as yet, and everything is talked about religion. These are pure economic decisions, and I have no doubt in my mind that these decisions will help India become a part of the developed world, become a strong nation. We can hold our head high in the rest of the world. One hon. Member mentioned that the first SEZ was in Mumbai. But, I think, that is technically and factually wrong. In Mumbai, there are small SEZs most approved during the period when you were supporting the Government, and those are largely IT SEZs which are in Mumbai. We have to promote the IT sector. I don't think anybody in this House will deny IT to be a shining example of India's ability to engage with the world on equal terms. By the way, BJP's manifesto was also talked about. I am amazed how can anyone do some selective reading without an understanding of what we have said in the manifesto. Certainly, it was a part of our manifesto. But, at no point of time, did that manifesto ever oppose SEZs for the sake of opposition. What they said in our BJP manifesto was, among other comments, in conclusion, the entire issue of SEZ and acquisition of land for industrial use will be addressed after a careful scrutiny of the Parliamentary Standing Committee's report, and factoring in the need to protect the farm sector and enhance food production. This is our BJP manifesto.

[Shri Piyush Goyal]

इसमें क्या गलत है? And, by the way, we did not win in 2009. We, of course, took the defeat very gracefully, and after 2014, in any case, as I explained, after eleven months, the income tax concessions came, there has been no land acquisition for those. So, there is nothing more to do about this manifesto item.

I did not understand much about the Bengali poetry. But, about Singur, I don't think this has any relevance to this thing. Singur has never been acquired for an SEZ. It was some industrial project of a private company, and surely, your party has every right to oppose a project or support a project. We are not discussing that in this forum. At the same time, you did mention about the power SEZ. Now, we are trying to engage with our neighbours and expand opportunities to set up power plants in India which can supply power to our neighbouring countries. It was in human dimension. Our neighbouring country which largely has people from the minority community in India, they have some majority over there, if their people get 24-hour power, I think, it is a matter of pride for every Indian. We should all be happy that India is going to provide power to Bangladesh. By the way, that SEZ is set up near Bangladesh, and will be supplying power to Bangladesh. And, if at all, that SEZ is not made competitive, then, nobody will buy power from us. And the rule of exports internationally is, you should export your goods and services, not your taxes, and therefore, if a plant comes up which exports power for India, and helps millions of poor people who are in majority in that country, get benefit of power, just like under Prime Minister Modi's Government, every Indian today has the ability to get 24-hour power.

Sir, we are power surplus today in the I country. It is time to support our neighbours also and that is all that we are trying to do.

आपने दो बीघा जमीन का ज़िक्र किया, मैं उसके बारे में बहुत कुछ कह सकता हूँ, किस प्रकार से दो बीघा जमीन के नाम पर राजनीतिज्ञों ने इस देश के किसानों के साथ अन्याय किए हैं, इस देश के गरीबों के साथ अन्याय किए हैं। यह सरकार इस देश के गरीब, इस देश के किसान, इस देश के हर वर्ग, जिनके साथ सदियों से अन्याय हुए हैं, उनको आत्मविश्वास दिलाने की, उनको आत्मनिर्भर करने की कोशिश कर रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन प्रयासों में आप सब भी सहभागी होइए। अगर आप सब भी समर्थन करेंगे, तो देश और दुनिया को एक अच्छा संदेश जाएगा कि यह पूरा सदन अच्छी आर्थिक नीतियों के साथ खड़ा है।

माननीय आर.सी.पी. सिंह जी ने जरूर कहा कि बिहार में कोई SEZ नहीं है, पर दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति यह रही है कि उस समय जब SEZs के लिए scope था, तब की आपकी बिहार सरकार ने रुचि नहीं ली। जब तक वहाँ सरकार का परिवर्तन हुआ, तब तक शायद SEZ policies के कानून इतने बदल गए थे कि उसके बाद कोई ज्यादा SEZ लगाने में किसी ने रुचि नहीं रखी। फिर भी आपकी बात सही

है। हमने इस पूरी पॉलिसी के ऊपर बाबा कल्याणी कमिटी बिठाई थी, जिसमें हमने अलग-अलग वर्ग के लोगों को बिठाया था - उद्योग जगत से, व्यापार जगत से, कुछ सरकारी लोग थे, कुछ Think Tanks थे, Experts थे। उन सबने अपने comments दिए हैं। हमारी सरकार ने उन सब comments को पूरे तरीके से study करके उसकी एक-एक recommendation पर पूरा आगे का अपना roadmap बना रखा है। कुछ items implement हो गए हैं और बाकी items, जो रूल्स द्वारा हो सकते हैं, उनको मैंने लोक सभा में timelines के साथ बताया कि हम कितने items किस तारीख तक पूरे कर देंगे। कुछ items के लिए कानून में परिवर्तन करने हैं। उनके लिए मैं फिर एक बार सदन के समक्ष आऊंगा।

प्रसन्न आचार्य जी, मैंने urgency की बात बताई। उस समय व्यवधान रहता था, सदन नहीं चलता था। इससे इलेक्शन का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। इलेक्शन खत्म होने तक, इन नई सरकार के आने तक हमने किसी एक application को भी मंजूरी नहीं दी थी। पूरे तरीके से जो नई सरकार आती, वह मंजूरी देती, पर प्रयास यह था कि process शुरू हो जाए। देश-विदेश में भी लोग कोई बैठे नहीं हैं कि आज आपने इसे बनाया और वे कल आ जाएँ। लोग देखते हैं, समझते हैं, पूरे तरीके से assess करते हैं। यह बड़े संतोष की बात है कि 8,000 करोड़ के निवेश की applications इलेक्शन के दौरान आई हैं। यह दर्शाता है कि विश्व को confidence था कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी, नरेन्द्र मोदी जी की सरकार वापस आएगी।

**श्री उपसभापति:** माननीय मंत्री जी, आप conclude करें।

**श्री पीयूष गोयल:** उन्होंने उस दौरान भी applications डालीं।

**श्री उपसभापति:** माननीय मंत्री जी, आप conclude करें।

**श्री पीयूष गोयल:** मैं समझता हूँ कि और कोई विषय नहीं रह गया है। प्रसन्न जी, आपने ट्रेड यूनियन की एक बात कही। Trade union activities को लेकर SEZ में कोई छूट नहीं है। Trade union activities are allowed. SEZ में भारत के हर कानून का पालन करना आवश्यक है। जहाँ-जहाँ कुछ concessions हैं, वे SEZ law में 2005 में पूरे तरीके से रखे हैं, जिनमें ट्रेड यूनियन को कोई exemption नहीं है।

मनोज जी, मैं समझता हूँ कि ग़ालिब का जो भी quote था, मैं उर्दू इतना नहीं समझता हूँ। आप ज़रा और ज्यादा शैरो-शायरी करेंगे, तो मैं आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता इसे सीख लूंगा। लेकिन मैंने पूरा पर्दा खोल कर और पूरे स्पष्टीकरण के साथ आपके समक्ष यह रखा है कि हम क्यों यह कानून लाए। आपने जो कहा कि 50 साल बाद लोग पिछले 50 साल की policies पर regret करेंगे, तो मैं आपको विश्वास दिला सकता हूँ कि 2014 के बाद बनाई गई एक-एक पॉलिसी पर यह देश और दुनिया गर्व करेगी और भारत एक विश्व शक्ति बन कर रहेगा। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

**श्री उपसभापति:** धन्यवाद। I shall first put the Statutory Resolution moved by Shri Elamaram Kareem to vote.

The question is:

"That this House disapproves the Special Economic Zones (Amendment) Ordinance, 2019 (No. 12 of 2019) promulgated by the President of India on 2nd March, 2019."

*The motion was negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion moved by Shri Piyush Goyal to vote. The question is:

That the Bill further to amend the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: we shall now take up Clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clause 2 and Clause 3 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Sir, I move: That the Bill be passed.

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

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**\*SPECIAL MENTIONS - Contd.**

**Demand to Speed up the work on the project of linking of rivers in the country**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kirodi Lal Meena.

**श्री किरोड़ी लाल मीणा** (राजस्थान): महोदय, देश में दुनिया की आबादी के 16 फीसदी लोग रहते हैं, जबकि पानी केवल 4 फीसदी है। देश में लोग घातक पानी पीने को मजबूर हैं और इस कारण प्रतिवर्ष करीब 1 लाख लोग पानी से जुड़ी बीमारियों से मर जाते हैं। भूजल स्तर हर साल एक फीट की रफ्तार से नीचे जा रहा है। नासा के अनुसार भारत के ही करीब 15 करोड़ लोग भीषण जल संकट से जूझ रहे हैं। आज देश के 5,723 ब्लॉक्स में से 839 ब्लॉक्स डार्क ज़ोन में आ चुके हैं। राजस्थान में 236 में से 140, गुजरात में 184 में से 131, महाराष्ट्र में 231 में से 210, कर्नाटक में 175 में से 65, केरल में 154 में से 10, तमिलनाडु में 384 में से 142, आंध्र प्रदेश में 1,125 में से 219, छत्तीसगढ़ में 146 में से 110, मध्य प्रदेश में 459 में से 30, दिल्ली में 27 में से 7, पंजाब में 138 में से 103 एवं हरियाणा में 108 में से 55 ब्लॉक्स में पानी खत्म हो चुका है। यह संख्या लगातार बढ़ती जा रही है। चहुँ ओर पानी की मारा-मारी हो रही है। सबसे भयावह स्थिति राजस्थान की है। भारत में हर साल बरसात से जितना पानी मिलता है, उसका 8% हिस्सा ही उपयोग में आ पाता है, 82% पानी नदियों में बह कर चला जाता है। नगर खेती, औद्योगिकीकरण, शहरीकरण तथा लाइफस्टाइल में पानी का खर्च होना और भी समस्या पैदा कर देने वाला है।

पेयजल की समस्या के स्थायी समाधान हेतु एवे सिंचित क्षेत्र बढ़ाये जाने की दृष्टि से 'नदी जोड़ो परियोजना' पर त्वरित कार्य चालू किया जाये।

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\*Laid on the Table.