

remunerative, the farmers hopes are shattered. We have already witnessed earlier the extreme hardships which have been faced by the farmers due to non-realisation of remunerative prices in other crops also. Therefore, it is imperative for the Government to bring out a market intervention strategy by ensuring a minimum support price for coconut so that the farmers do not resort to any drastic steps.

Sir, I request the Minister of Agriculture to kindly intervene in the matter, either directly or through a Coconut Board, to mitigate the hardship faced by the farmers. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for one hour.

The House then adjourned for lunch at three minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirteen minutes past two of the clock,
The Vice-Chairman (Shri T.N. Chaturvedi) in the Chair.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS -Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Shri Kartar Singh Duggal.

SHRI KARTAR SINGH DUGGAL: Sir, listening to the marathan debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, I thought there was hardly anything left for me to comment upon, excepting perhaps, Kargil. I, therefore, propose to confine myself only to Pakistan's defeat in Kargil referred to in the Address in the context of the long-drawn hostility with our neighbour, Pakistan; more because I happen to be a little acquainted with the terrain and the disposition of our security forces in the region.

Courtesy Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, as members of the High-powered Media Advisory Committee, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand and I were guests of the Border Security Force in Jammu and Kashmir in the Leh Sector, to acquaint ourselves, with the conditions in the forward areas with a view to determining how best the electronic media could play its part. All through the recent Kargil conflict, I was reminded of our visit, particularly to the Kargil Camp and what we were shown around.

Immediately before entering Kargil town, we noticed a sort of improvised *Samadhi* around an electric pole on the roadside. When asked, we were told that it was a modest memorial of a defence personnel, who was attending to some fault in the line on the pole when the enemy shot him down from across the stream. It is said that the Pakistan forces were almost at the doorsteps of Kargil town in the previous war.

The next morning, we were driven to a steep hilltop over 6,000 feet above sea-level to see for ourselves a bunker and the conditions in which our soldiers stood guard. The drive was breathtaking, to say the least, with the Area Commander himself at the wheel. As we alighted, we were shown to another hilltop at a short distance manned by Pakistani soldiers, where, evidently, they had their bunkers. That explained why our hosts had insisted that Dr. Anand's Secretary and my wife accompanying us must put on some sort of jackets. "You never know, the trigger-happy Pakistanis, seeing the ladies, might decide to do some mischief." The Colonel was apologetic. While we could see the Pakistani post with naked eye, the binoculars helped us mark their movements clearly.

We had yet another surprise awaiting us in the evening. We were taken to a bunker across the stream and told that the Pakistanis had their *Sanghar* on the other side of the hill. Then, pointing to a sparkling water-fall, our host observed non-chalantly, "It is our common source of drinking water. We draw water in the morning, while the Pakistanis do so in the afternoon."

Now, viewing the Kargil conflict in the background of this scenario, I am inclined to ask, how on earth we could at all lose sight of the proximity of these potential trouble spots? More so in a porous border and ferment terrain. Agreed, in the alpine weather-conditions, when the entire region is snowbound, the practice obtaining had been that both the sides vacated their bunkers above a certain height, for a few months, but knowing as we do that, of late, Pakistan has far too many Afghan mercenaries free from their domestic fighting, why did we lower our intelligence guard? I entirely agree with the Subrahmanyam Committee's indictment that it was a miserable failure of our Intelligence Services. The intrusion was "a complete and total surprise to the Indian Government, Army and intelligence agencies, as well as to the J and K State Government and its agencies."

The result, we had to suffer considerable casualties in a 'short' and 'sharp' war of 50 days, losing 474 officers and soldiers, with 1,109 wounded.

The worst, it is agreed in all quarters that our Jawans were ill-equipped for the extreme cold and frightfully hazardous conditions. It was a bold and brash move on the part of the intruders, and they eminently succeeded in it.

Where they failed was that they could not internationalise the Kashmir issue, which they felt the world community seemed to be forgetting. And yet Kashmir was internationalised all right, but in India's favour. We owe this to the restraint exercised by Prime Minister Vajpayee, who would not let his forces cross the line of control, despite worst provocation. This led the international community to realise Pakistan's perfidy and condemn it for violating the L.O.C. They insisted on Pakistan vacating the aggression first. Pakistan's strategy that a cease-fire would enable it stay put in the bunkers occupied surreptitiously, came to naught.

Then, ultimately Pakistan had to withdraw the intruders shamefacedly, we owe it to our political and diplomatic success. We hardly "crushed" Pakistan, as it is being made out. Pakistan would have felt defeated, if we had either eliminated the intruders in our territory altogether or taken them prisoners, as we did in the aftermath of the Bangladesh war. That we didn't do either, explains Pakistan's renewed cross border militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, immediately after the Kargil conflict.

My conviction is that the Kargil war was won for us by Bill Clinton more than anyone else. Had the USA not threatened Pakistan with sanctions and the rest, for all that we know, we would have been still engaged in scaling the Kargil heights in our endeavour to drive the enemy out of our bunkers. I have known what an uphill task it is to reach those bunkers on peaks, more so, when the enemy is showering bullets from positions of vantage.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Duggal, leave some time for your colleague also.

SHRI KARTAR SINGH DUGGAL: Incidentally, while allowing time to the intruders to move out without any harm coming to them, the enemy utilised this time in planting mines for our soldiers. Did we make sure that Pakistan doesn't have any of our men taken as prisoners? I ask this because, earlier, we released 92,000 Pakistani prisoners of war, without making sure that they account for 54 missing Indian defence personnel who are still believed to be in Pakistan's custody, as spies, besides, of course, over 200 Indian soldiers repatriated at the time. Shri I.K. Gujral, the then Minister of

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External Affairs, in reply to a question about their fate, regretted in the Rajya Sabha on September 4, 1996 that Pakistan had not responded positively to the numerous constructive proposals made by the Indian side, over the years, for resolving the humanitarian issue. In the meanwhile, their relatives in India continue to receive their letters and messages. Some of those about whom there are definite clues that they are still held in Pakistan are: Major Ashok Suri, flight Lt. V.V. Tambay, Major A.K. Ghosh and Captain Ravinder Kaura. that a number of Indian prisoners are held in Pakistan in most inhuman conditions is confirmed by Victoria Schofield in the book titled "Bhutto - Trial and Execution". I quote: "At Kot Lakhpat, for three months Butto was subjected to a peculiar kind of harassment, which he thought was especially for his benefit. his cell, separated from a barrack area by a 10 foot high wall, did not prevent him from hearing horrific shrieks and screams at night from the other side of the wall. One of Mr. Bhutto's lawyers made enquiries amongst the jail staff and ascertained that they were, in fact, Indian prisoners-of-war who had been rendered delinquent and mental during the course of the 1971 war."

The worst is that, in reply to a Starred Question in this respect in Rajya Sabha on 1.3.2000. which, unfortunately, did not come up for discussion for want of time, the Minister of Defence stated:

" The matter has been taken up on several occasions with Pakistan at various levels including that of Prime Minister. During his visit to Pakistan from 20-21 February, 1999, the Prime Minister raised this issue with the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the two sides appointed a two-member committee at Ministerial level to examine humanitarian issues, including that of the missing personnel. The matter was also raised in the official level discussions held with Pakistan in March, 1999. The Pakistani side stated that there were no Indian POWs in their custody, but agreed to re-examine the matter fresh. Government would continue to pursue this matter with Pakistan. All the missing defence personnel of 1965 and 1971 wars, after a lapse of seven years, have been presumed to be killed and their families are given liberalised pensionary awards, which include liberalised family pension, gratuity, children allowance and education allowance for children."

This is, to say the least, callous and heartless. Indeed, one does not know how to define Pakistan's defeat in Kargil. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : Thank you very much श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा जी आपके आठ मिनट हैं । आठ मिनट में आप बहुत कुछ कह लेंगे।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा (बिहार) : मैं पौने आठ में समाप्त करूंगा । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में गरीबी उन्मूलन, कृषि नीति जैसे कई महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दे गिनाए गए हैं । यहां तक कि धर्मनिरपेक्ष लोकाचार तक की चर्चा की गई है जिसके प्रति बताया गया है कि यह सरकार प्रतिबद्ध है । कृषि के बारे में नई नीति लाई जाएगी, इसकी भी चर्चा की गई है। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात इस अभिभाषण में कही गई है कि हमारे विकास का प्रधान केन्द्र बिंदु गरीबी उन्मूलन होगा और सचमुच में यह सरकार इसके प्रति प्रतिबद्ध है तो मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ । लेकिन मुझे शंका है कि जो ग्लोबलाइजेशन की नीति, लिब्रलाइजेशन की नीति जो कांग्रेस के रिजम के वक्त में श्री नरसिम्हा राव जी के जरिए लाई गई यदि उसी पर यह सरकार चल रही है तो शायद ही वहां यह लक्ष्य हासिल कर सकेगी । मैं पढ़ रहा था कि स्पेशल सेशन में 1997 में जब प्रधानमंत्री जी, जो मूर्वर्स थे रेंजोल्यूशन के, एक विषय पर जब बोले रहे थे, जो अभी प्रधानमंत्री हैं और जो जार्ज साहब बोल रहे थे, वे क्या बोल रहे थे उसमें और अभी जिन नीतियों पर यह सरकार चल रही है, उन्हीं के प्रधानमंत्रित्व में, दोनों में कोई मेल नहीं है । जार्ज साहब ने इसमें कहा था कि "We had opposed this policy before it was formulated. We had opposed this inside and outside the House, at that point of time, and in the same background, we oppose it to this day. We feel the need for bringing changes in the policy. If a suitable and appropriate policy is to be formulated, we shall have to follow the Gandhian path." We had opposed this policy before it was formulated." जार्ज साहब ने कहा था और अभी उनकी सरकार है । हम समझते हैं कि जिन आर्थिक नीतियों पर यह सरकार चल रही है वह गांधीयन रास्ता नहीं है, वह गांधीयन नीति नहीं है । उस समय वे ठीक बोल रहे थे या अभी वे ठीक रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ इसमें कोई मेल नहीं है । वाजपेयी जी ने तीन मुद्दों की चर्चा उस वक्त की थी जिसको देश ने ध्यान से सुना था । एक मुद्दा था क्रिमिनेलाइजेशन ऑफ पोलिटिक्स का, फिर करप्शन का था। इसके बारे में बहुत ही भावुक ढंग से उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं इसका साक्षी हूँ, मैं इसे नजदीक से देखता आ रहा हूँ कि पहले क्रिमिनल्स पोलिटिशियन्स के पास, हमारे पास आते थे मदद के लिए, मदद मांगने के लिए और अब मदद देने आते हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में कहीं भी एक शब्द में भी पोलिटिक्स के क्रिमिनेलाइजेशन

की चर्चा नहीं की गई है और हम समझते हैं कि यदि इस बारे में सरकार की कोई नीति नहीं है तो यह बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है वरन् मैं तो अब यह पा रहा हूँ कि इसकी चर्चा तो छोड़ ही दी गई, एक कदम मामला और आगे बढ़ गया है जिसका सारा देश साक्षी है। उनका कहना था कि अब क्रिमिनल्स आते हैं मदद देने किन्तु अब पोलिटिशियन्स जा रहे हैं जेल के गेट तक मदद मांगने और यह इस रिजीम के अंदर हुआ और बिहार में जो घटना घटी है उसका देश साक्षी है।...**(व्यवधान)**... आप शांत रहिए।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : मदद किससे मांगने जा रहे हैं ? नाम लीजिए, नाम लीजिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : आप बैठिए, मुझे डिस्टर्ब मत कीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : ओझा साहब, आप अपने वक्त में अपनी बात कह दीजिए।**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : उन्होंने यहां तक कहा था कि ...**(व्यवधान)**... इलेक्शन कमीशन ने संख्या बता दी है। अपने भाषण में उन्होंने बता दिया है कि कितने असेंबली के अंदर गए हैं और कितने पार्लियामेंट के अंदर गए हैं। **(व्यवधान)** ... आप मेरा समय बरबाद मत कीजिए।**(व्यवधान)**....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आपको बहुत सी बातें कहनी हैं। आप इधर उधर मत कहिए, आप इधर कहिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : करप्शन के मुद्दे पर उन्होंने कहा था कि मैंने टेलीविजन पर देखा कि किस तरह से घूस ली जाती है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : ओझा साहब, फिर आप उधर देखने लगे। यह ठीक है कि वे बिहार के हैं लेकिन आप इधर देखिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : करप्शन और ब्राइबरी ये दोनों मुद्दे उस वक्त उठाए गए थे। स्पेशल सेशन में जब वे बोल रहे थे तो उस वक्त जो मुद्दे उन्होंने उठाए थे, इनकी भी यहां पर कोई चर्चा नहीं है। क्या ये दो मुद्दे जो आपने उस वक्त उठाए थे क्या उस वक्त महत्वपूर्ण थे और जब आप आज प्रधानमंत्री हैं, अब वे महत्वपूर्ण नहीं रह गए हैं? इसमें इनके बारे में कुछ खुलासा नहीं किया गया है। तो क्या देश के लोग यह विश्वास करें कि उस वक्त जिन मुद्दों को आप महत्वपूर्ण बता रहे थे वे अब महत्वपूर्ण नहीं रह गए हैं? इसी तरह से जीरो टोलरेंस टु करप्शन की बात प्रधानमंत्री जी ने कही थी। इस मामले में विजिलेंस कमिश्नर द्वारा सभी सांसदों को पत्र लिखे गए थे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या

अब यह मामला बंद हो गया? महोदय, इस सरकार के चलते सभी स्तरों पर 100 परसेंट, सेंट परसेंट टोलरेंस टु करप्शन कायम है। इसलिए मैं इस सरकार से आश्वासन चाहूंगा कि वह इन दो मुद्दों पर अपनी नीति का खुलासा करे।

तीसरा महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा जिसकी चर्चा जीरो आवर में भी हुई थी वह रिव्यू कमीशन के बारे में है। पूरे देश के अंदर इस बारे में चर्चा है। अहलुवालिया जी हंस रहे हैं। वह शायद मुझे रोकना चाहते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप उधर मत देखिए, इधर देखिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा: संविधान को रिव्यू करने की बात की जा रही है। लेकिन उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब सरकार एग्रीकल्चर पर पालिसी ला रही है और वह उसका ऐलान कर रही है, उसने श्रम आयोग बना दिया है जो श्रमिकों के बारे में नीति बनाएगा, बूढ़ों के लिए, वृद्ध जन-परिषद आपने बना दिया, बच्चों के बारे में आप नीति ला रहे हैं, पावर्टी एलिवेशन नीति के प्रति आप प्रतिबद्ध हैं, धर्मनिरपेक्ष लोकाचार नीति के प्रति आप प्रतिबद्ध हैं, तो ये सारी चीजें जो तमाम देश के जनजीवन से संबंधित हैं इनके बारे में जब आप कोई न कोई कमीशन या कोई न कोई नीति ला रहे हैं तो हम नहीं समझते कि देश में कोई ऐसा मुद्दा बाकी रह गया है जिसके लिए संविधान समीक्षा की कोई जरूरत हो। इससे एक शंका देश के जनमानस में, लोगों में, सांसदों में परिलक्षित हो रही है और व्यापक पैमाने पर इस बारे में संदेह है। इस संदेह का निवारण आप नहीं कर पाए हैं, इसको आप मिटा नहीं सके हैं चाहे विधि मंत्री जी ने इस पर अपनी बात कह दी हो या कहीं भी उन्होंने सफाई क्यों न दी हो, लोगों का संदेह आप मिटा नहीं पाए हैं। गरीबी उन्मूलन सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात है।...(व्यवधान) ... आप डांगे जी का नाम मत लीजिए नहीं तो मैं दूसरे लोगों का नाम लूंगा।...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप का समय खराब होगा।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा: आप मरमरिंग मत कीजिए। चुपके चुपके मत बोलिए। जो बोलना है जोर से बोलिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): ओझा जी, आप इधर उधर मत देखिए। वे इस तरह से आपका समय गंवा देंगे। समय पर मुझे ट्रिक्टली राशन करना है।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : मैं किसी नेता का नाम नहीं ले रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): नहीं नहीं, किसी बड़े नेता या डांगे जी का सवाल नहीं है । ..(व्यवधान)

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा: जब आप कह रहे हैं कि हमारे आर्थिक विकास का केन्द्र बिन्दु या प्रधान केन्द्र बिन्दु गरीबी उन्मूलन है तो इस पर सरकार की ओर से अभी बहुत कुछ कहना बाकी है । राष्ट्रपति जी जब राष्ट्र के नाम गणतंत्र दिवस के अवसर पर संदेश दे रहे थे तो उन्होंने बहुत मार्मिक बातें कहीं थीं । उन्होंने कहा था कि सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक न्याय करोड़ों देशवासियों के लिए अभी भी एक अधूरा सपना है । उन्होंने कहा था कि एक समाज के रूप में हम संवेदनहीन और कठोर बनते जा रहे हैं । उन्होंने कहा था हमारे उपग्रह उन स्थानों से छोड़े जाते हैं जहां गरीब टूटी-फूटी झोंपड़ी में रहते हैं । हम समझते हैं उन्होंने ठीक समस्या की तरफ राष्ट्र का ध्यान दिलाया था । मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ । लेकिन जो हमारे आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्षेत्र में घटित हो रहा है, उससे प्रकट होता है कि सरकार का ध्यान उधर नहीं है । कृषि पर निर्भर लोगों की संख्या में कमी आने के बजाय अब बढ़ने लगी है और वैसी स्थिति में हमारी स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़ जो चार करोड़ लोगों को रोजगार देती थी उसकी हालत यह है कि 31 लाख से अधिक रजिस्टर्ड स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़ में से 6 लाख सिक हैं, बंद हैं और यह सिकनेस का ट्रेंड आगे और भी बढ़ेगा जिससे बेकारी पैदा होगी और कृषि पर निर्भरता बढ़ेगी । स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री खास तौर से अति लघु उद्योगों से निकल कर जो लोग कृषि पर निर्भर होंगे, कृषि की समस्या को और कठिन बनाएंगे, गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों की संख्या में और वृद्धि होगी । यह किसी सरकार के लिए कठिन होगा कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़ को र कर के और गरीबी के उन्मूलन की समस्या का वह हल कर दे । लेकिन देखा जा रहा है कि यही हो रहा है । राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में लैंड रिफार्म्स के बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं है । इस तरफ कोई गम्भीर प्रयास भी इस सरकार के फ़ारेये नहीं हो रहा है । हम याद दिलाना चाहेंगे कि जब जार्ज जी बोल रहे थे उसी स्पेशल सेशन में उन्होंने बताया था कि टेररिज्म और क्रिमिनलाइज़ेशन की समस्या की जड़ में अनइंप्लायमेंट है । यह सारी बातें वह बोल रहे थे और उन्होंने इस तरफ ध्यान भी दिलाया था कि महाराष्ट्र और कर्णाटक सरकार ने कुछ ऐसे सीलिंग एक्ट में प्रतिगामी संशोधन किया जिसके चलते काफी मात्रा में जमीनें रखने की छूट मिलने वाली है । इसकी भी चर्चा की थी । आज लैंड रिफार्म्स के बारे में जो हमारे कानून हैं उनके इंप्लीमेंटेशन के बारे में कुछ नहीं किया जा रहा है जबकि यह मान्य नीति है दुनिया भर में खास तौर से एशिया के देशों में जहां लैंड रिफार्म्स की नीति की प्रधान बात है कि गांव के भूमिहीन मजदूरों को जमीन का आधार दिए बिना हम उनकी गरीबी दूर नहीं कर सकते हैं । हमारे देश में सीलिंग एक्ट बना वह काफी

दोषपूर्ण था काफी लूपहोल्ल था। लेकिन उन लूपहोल्ल रखने वाले भूमि सुधारों को भी लागू नहीं किया गया। उस दिशा में फाज़िल घोषित हुई जमीन का वितरण नहीं हुआ। उसी की चिंता थी कि सरकार इस तरफ आगे कैसे इस काम को करेगी। उसके स्थान पर देने को मिल रहा है भूमि सुधार के बारे में कोई प्रतिबद्धता इस सरकार की नहीं है और इसके बारे में कोई भी खुलासा नहीं किया गया है और हम समझते हैं कि दूसरा कोई भी प्रयास आपका सफल नहीं होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): अब समाप्त करिये।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा: महोदय, समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। इंप्लायमेंट गारंटी स्कीम हो या गरीबी उन्मूलन के हमारे दूसरे कार्यक्रम हों, यह सरकार यही कर रही है कि इंदिरा आवास योजना का नाम बदल कर कुछ और आवास योजना कर दो, तीन रोजगार योजनाओं को मिला कर एक कर दो, आईओआरडीपीओ, दवाकरा, मिलियन वेल्स स्कीम को मिला कर एक कर दो। नाम बदलने की होड़ है। राजीव गांधी का नाम वहां से हटाओ, इंदिरा जी का नाम वहां से हटाओ, इस तरह से स्कीमों का नाम बदलने से इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। आप उनका नाम खूब संस्कृताइज्ड कर दीजिए, संस्कृत में नाम दे दीजिए, वेद और पुराणों में से नाम खोजिए लेकिन उन स्कीमों को नाम दे देने से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है..(व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप कृपया समाप्त करिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : एक वृद्धजन परिषद है। अब वृद्धजन परिषद की चर्चा इसमें है। लेकिन यह वृद्धजन परिषद क्या है, यह पता नहीं है। गांवों के अंदर जो वृद्ध होते हैं खेत मजदूरों के, उनके बेटे भी उन्हें नहीं रख पाते हैं न उनकी देखभाल कर पाते हैं। आपकी जो यह वृद्धजन परिषद है इसमें कौन-कौन वृद्ध हैं - रिटायर्ड आर्मी के अफसर, एयरफोर्स के अफसर, बड़े बड़े अधिकारी जो रिटायर्ड हो गए हैं, बुड़े हो गए हैं

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी) : वह आपने कह दिया है। उस बात का विवरण पूछ लीजिए। आप समाप्त करें और कोई मुख्य बात हो तो कह दीजिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : उनके लिए पूछ रहा हूँ। इसलिए सरकार यह खुलासा करे कि यह वृद्धजन परिषद क्या है और इसके बारे में कोई स्पष्ट नीति आनी चाहिए क्योंकि पहले से ही जो घोषित नीति है उनकी आवास समस्या को हल करने के लिए आदि आदि उनका कार्यान्वयन हम लोग देख रहे हैं कि कागज पर है। अंत में उपसभाध्यक्ष जी फिर हम कहना चाहेंगे संविधान संशोधन के मामले में कि कितना ही सरकार सफाई दे - अभी

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सफाई हो नहीं पायी है और इसमें इस पक्ष या उस पक्ष की बात नहीं है। हम यह नहीं मानते कि आगे एक सौ या दो सौ वर्षों तक जब तक हिंदुस्तान रहेगा आप संविधान के पन्ने मत पलटिए और समीक्षा की बात मत कीजिए या संशोधन की बात मत कीजिए, मेरा यह नहीं कहना है लेकिन आप पर शक इसलिए होता है कि आज जिसकी सरकार है और जिनका डामिनिन्स है जिनका प्रभुत्व है इस सरकार में उनकी नीतियां यह रही हैं, जो वे देश के सामने रखते आ रहे हैं कि धारा 370 को बदलो और प्रेजीडेंशियल फार्म आफ गवर्नमेंट लाओ ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी): अब आप समाप्त करें कृपया।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : ये जो बातें कहते रहे हैं और धर्म निरपेक्षता जो एक प्रधान तत्व है हमारे देश में, आप हिंदू राष्ट्र की बात करते रहे हैं। आपकी जो कारगुजारियां हैं आपके जो कृत्य हैं पिछले दिनों के ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी): श्री थलवै सुन्दरम। ओझा जी, आप समाप्त करें।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा: संविधान में जब आप संशोधन करने जा रहे हैं, समीक्षा करने जा रहे हैं, आप क्या कीजिएगा, आप पर शक इसलिए है, और कोई संशोधन तो नहीं हो रहा है ..इसलिए इस संदेह को जो राष्ट्र के ऊपर छाया हुआ है..

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी): श्री थलवै सुन्दरम। वे नहीं हैं। डॉ. अरुण कुमार शर्मा। ओझा जी आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा: आप इसको दूर करेंगे। धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी) : जितने लोग हैं उसके हिसाब से आपका दस मिनट का टाइम है ।You have to go early also. So, you will speak briefly, I know.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Assam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The President's Address is indicative of various programmes of the Government. But the basic issues faced by our country, at the present moment, are: the growing population and unemployment. I want to know as to how the Government is planning to deal with these two problems. No specific action plan was elaborated in the President's Address.

I feel that these are the most burning issues now being faced by the country. We must have some specific action plan to control our population. What we have seen during the last fifty years is, there has been a tendency on the part of the earlier Governments, taking foreign loans, allowing a lot of subsidies, thereby affecting the work culture that we have had. It has nationalised everything. There was a tendency to give Government employment in public sector. The original work culture of the Indian population has gradually been reduced, because we are giving opportunity to the population, because we are providing subsidy, we are helping them through the different assistance programmes of the Government. The people who were not able to earn even their bread and butter, were also encouraged to increase the population. During the Emergency, there was some specific action plan to control the population. Subsequently, because of the appeasement policies of different Governments and of the present Government no concrete action has been taken. Our neighbouring country China has the largest population in the world. They are coming down with a heavy hand to control the population. Probably, after 20 or 30 years India will surpass China so far as population is concerned. So far as the unemployment problem is concerned, I have seen that every Government makes a lot of declarations that so much employment will be created, that so many lakhs of avenues will be created. But what do we see in the action plan? What is the result? Many of the States declare that by 2005 all the villages would be electrified. When 2005 comes, they may again declare that by 2010 all the villages would be electrified. Every year we listen about this kind of propaganda and this kind of assurance. Now nobody believes in these things. Making a declaration has become a routine work. There is only one issue on which the President's Address was very clear, i.e. formation of a Commission for reviewing the Constitution. I am not personally convinced that only the Review Commission can give us a solution to all the problems. But at least, we will have an introspection as to what needs to be done and what needs to be carried out immediately for strengthening the system which could not deliver the goods in the past. We need a system which can make our internal governance effective. We need to strengthen our system so that we can deliver the goods. Our Constitution is ambiguous. Our judiciary is ambiguous. There are so many laws which have become outdated. But we are still following them. We are sticking to the original concept that what is going on is going on in the right direction. When we have accepted globalization, we have gone in for gradual reduction

in subsidies. When the Government is reducing subsidies, at the same time, they should see as to how we can better manage our internal affairs, internal administration and research work which should be given the top most priority so that there is effective competitiveness on the economic front, on the commerce front and on the external affairs front. What is our internal arrangement and what is our internal planning for this competition, there is no mention of these things in any of the proposals of the Government. But we are going very fast on the reduction in subsidies. There was some commitment about a citizenship register. India is the only country today where we do not have any register of citizens. How many citizens we have in each State, how many foreigners have come to India under various international agreements and how many of them have been granted citizenship certificates, whether they are staying here or not, how many foreigners have exceeded the time-limit of their stay in India, there is no record of these things. There was a proposal for bringing out a citizenship register and also a scheme of work-permit to the non-citizens. But this time, the President's Address has been silent on these issues.

Fourthly, about the North-Eastern region, it is very unfortunate that on many occasions, various commitments have been made, but no action has been taken. Whenever the Prime Minister or any Minister went to the North-Eastern States, or, whenever there was some discussion in Parliament, there had been some assurances; some commissions were formed, some task forces were formed. During the last four years, probably, every Prime Minister has visited the North-Eastern region, and after every visit, there have been some declarations. But, as far as the implementation part is concerned, either at the bureaucratic level or at some other level, we have not seen the outcome of these declarations. They are not even adequately reflected in the Budget. And they are not adequately reflected in any policy matters. That is why whatever we are saying gives a wrong impression to the people of the country. Even the Home Minister says that they have come out with various measures for the development of this region. The Government is propagating that a huge amount of money has been sanctioned for the North-Eastern region, but it has not gone to the people; it has been otherwise utilised. But it is also a hard fact that most of the North-Eastern States are having financial problems. And, for historical reasons, these States were created after the disintegration of the earlier undivided Assam, and a lot of administrative units were created; thereby, the requirement of the non-plan expenditure increased.

Therefore, whatever money was given for development of the North-Eastern States, approximately, 40 to 50 per cent of the Plan money has been diverted for paying the salaries of the Government employees. The earlier Governments did not take adequate measures and there has only been an increase in the number of Government employees and public sector employees. We must have a pragmatic view on the entire subject; more so, when the North-Eastern region has become sensitive for ISI activities. In the changed scenario, when the Government is putting more forces in the Kashmir region, on the India-Pakistan border, the ISI is taking advantage of the situation. They have found that the North-Eastern region will be a suitable ground for them, and they are taking the help of the militants operating in that region. These militants are being trained by them. They are financed by them. And the Pakistani Embassy in Bangladesh is directly involved in helping the ULFA and the other militant groups. The Chief Minister made a statement in the Assam Assembly about this fact that the ISI has been going in a big way to destabilise India through the corridors of the North-Eastern region. The State Government has gathered a lot of evidence from the apprehended ISI agents and also from various other sources. That is why it is a very serious issue. If we don't take adequate steps, then they will succeed in disintegrating India through the North-Eastern region.

Then, as regards the immigration problem, the Home Ministry has stated in a report that in the 36 Assembly constituencies of Assam, the Bangladeshi immigrants have become a majority. This has been mentioned in a report of the Home Ministry. Immigration is going on at an alarming rate. The border has not yet been checked. Very little action has been taken to curb illegal immigration and also to debar these immigrants who have already attained the voting rights with their names on the voters' list. Should we not debar them so that the political destiny of the indigenous population in those areas is taken care of? Our Constitution, our laws, could not provide adequate security and adequate safeguards to preserve the identity of the various ethnic groups in the past. That is why I plead that the Government should come forward with a specific action plan to curb this continued illegal migration from across the border.

There is another issue. The Prime Minister made several declarations in his last visit to Shillong. But after his return to Delhi, only one issue has got reflected in the Budget. That was regarding establishment of 450 ITIs. Barring that, not a single of his declarations has got projected in the Budget

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or in any other subsequent policy pronouncements. The Prime Minister's package had also envisaged that the Guwahati Airport will be converted into an international airport and that Guwahati will become the regional hub of activities. It is a pity that till today there is no evening flight either from Delhi or from Guwahati. Also, for going to many parts of the North-East, we have to fly through Calcutta. Even for going to some parts of Assam like Dibrugarh and Jorhat, we have to fly from Calcutta. Guwahati is the nerve-centre and the gateway to the North-East. Till today, these airlines have not taken action to make Guwahati the regional hub of their activities so that regional connectivity is there. I can give one example.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): No. The Minister is taking note of it. You go to the next point and then wind up. The Minister is here and he is taking note of your points about airlines connectivity.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : There is one more issue and that is about the Assam Accord. The Assam Accord was signed so that we could have a solution to the long-pending issue of migration. There was a six-year long agitation on the basis of which there was a tripartite discussion between the AASU, the Asom Gana Parishad, the Government of Assam and the Government of India. But, till today, the successive Governments have ignored the implementation aspect of the Assam Accord. That is why the problem in Assam as well as in the other parts of the North-Eastern Region has not been properly attended to. The Assam Accord addresses a lot of issues that should be dealt with for maintaining the integrity and the unity of India. I hope the Government will take appropriate steps for the implementation of the Assam Accord, which is vital for the maintenance of the unity and the integrity of the country.

There is another issue. Sir, the North-Eastern Region is bounded by 98% of its boundary with the neighbouring countries. Only two per cent of the North-Eastern Border is linked with the mainland. It is a hard fact that Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and some other countries are giving help and shelter to the extremist outfits in those countries. As a result, irrespective of whatever we may say that it is a law and order situation and so on, the international agencies, through the corridors of these neighbouring countries, are trying to destabilise our country. There was a news item today in the

Hindustan Times that the King of Bhutan has not only had talks with ULFA, but he has visited the ULFA camps, he has taken dinner with them and he has been directly helping the extremist outfits of Assam. If that is the situation...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): This will be looked into. But normally, we do not mention the Heads of States of foreign countries. Anyway, you have made your point.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SHARMA : Sir, it is about our external affairs. We are having friendly relations with Bhutan. We are giving some financial aid for the development of industry in Bhutan. Why our External Affairs Ministry could not take up this matter adequately with the Government of Bhutan? Simply saying that the North-Eastern region is insurgency-prone area, that the State Governments are ineffective and they do not help, will not solve the problem. The problem lies across the international border and not within the North Eastern region. This fact has not been realised.

There is a tendency to blame the State Governments for not doing enough to maintain law and order. In fact, it is the other way round.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I rise to support the Motion conveying thanks to the President for addressing the Joint Session. Sir, it is a document consisting of Government policies and programmes. This document raises a lot of hopes and equal apprehensions.

Sir, I touch upon some three-four important aspects of the speech. In his Address, the President has said that with more vigour, the Government would implement the reforms effectively. Sir, reforms presuppose some hard decisions. It is true, and everybody can envisage that. But hard decisions should not be selective, especially when it affects the interests of the poorer sections of the community.

Sir, the Finance Minister always says that because of successive Governments, the deficit has been accumulating, that is the real enemy of the economy and that has to be curbed and balanced. These are all true. Sir, with regard to disinvestment of the public sector undertakings, the Government has totally failed to mobilise resources, as they have promised. With regard to improving the base of taxation, they should have done it effectively through the taxation system, widening the tax net. Instead of doing all these things, it

[25 April, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

is rather undesirable, especially at this juncture, to hit the poor by cutting down the subsidies. That is what the Finance Minister has chosen to do, that too, without consulting anybody. I wonder why the Finance Minister has included it in the Budget. He could have conveyed it at the CMs' meeting. He could have taken them into confidence. Ultimately, it is the Chief Ministers who have to implement all these at the grassroots level. Sir, this Finance Minister has not done that. Sir, reforms, I should say, should start from the Government. He said, 'The Government shall pursue resolutely the objective of downsizing the Government and preparing the road map for the purpose.' He said this in the Budget Speech. Sir, what are the efforts the Government has initiated in order to downsize the Government?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): We are discussing the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. You have to keep in view your time.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, whatever the President has said, that is the policy and programme of the Government. I do not think there is any difference between the President's Address and the Government's policy. I do not think, Sir, in our democracy, such things will arise.

Sir, recently, Mr. Arun Shourie, the Minister for Planning, has made a disclosure.

It has been said that the so-called downsizing unlike charity seems never to begin at home, the number of the top officials of the Central Government who are supposedly responsible for implementing the Government policies, including to reduce the size of the Government, from Secretaries at the apex down to the Deputy Secretary, it rose from 2340 to 2870. It is a 22 per cent increase from February 1997 to February 2000. Sir, the number of Secretaries has gone up from 110 to 150, Additional Secretaries from 95 to 105 and Joint Secretaries from 368 to 444. This is the statement given by Mr. Arun Shourie published in an economic and political weekly. They have quoted Mr. Shourie and the Finance Ministry. Sir, what are the steps that have been initiated by the Government to reduce its own expenditure? You see that this is within their domain. They should have initiated all these efforts. They have increased the Cabinet strength to 80 and odd. This reflects that the Government itself has no sincerity or good faith for doing it. There is a lot of absurdity in the Ministries and the Departments. Sir, I am told that the Ministry of Agriculture has got four Secretaries, the Ministry of

Rural Areas has got two Secretaries, the Ministry of Consumer Affairs & Distribution has got three Secretaries - one is in-charge of sugar and one is in-charge of edible oil. What for are all these people here with all their paraphernalia? Ultimately, these functions come within the domain of the State Governments and they have to perform because they are answerable to the people. Why do you have such a huge Government machinery here, making all the CMs to knock at the doors of the Central Government on every issue? These are the things which the Government has to take note of. The Government with all sincerity should have austerity measures to control the Government expenditure. Instead of doing that it is not fair on the part of the Government to cut food subsidy at this juncture which the nation is facing.

Now, I come to the reforms. Sir, we support the reforms because there is a total change in the international economic scenario. So, we do not want to isolate ourselves from the comity of nations which the people believe have developed due to these reforms. We also want to have development. So, we will have to have these reforms. But, these reforms should not strike at the roots of the economic fundamentals. The Government should keep this in mind. Sir, the history is that the economies of the so-called Asian Tigers have collapsed. But, it does not have adverse impacts on the Indian economy because of the strong fundamentals of our economy. Sir, recently 700 and odd items have been placed on the OGL whether under the GATT or the WTO or whatever is there and they include agricultural products. What will be the fate of the Indian farmers and the Indian industry? Sir, the products that are being produced by the small scale sector in the country are not competitive as compared to the Western countries in quality and productivity. It is true and nobody can deny it. But, after this decision they will make the Indian market a dumping yard. Can we compete with them? So, at least the Government should create a level playing field for our industries, for our entrepreneurs. Till that transition period is over, the Government should have some protection policy. Otherwise, there is going to be an industrial and economic chaos in the country. The Government must keep it in mind. We strongly advocate reforms. We are supporting the reforms. But that does not mean that they can destroy the fundamentals of the economy which have been built up over the past five decades. Sir, one more thing is this. Unfortunately, whatever decision the Government takes, becomes a controversial one. Of course, there are persons who want to make everything controversial. I do not want to go into that. But their own people are

accusing. Their own allies are accusing. What prevents the NDA Government from taking their own allies - leave alone the Opposition or the nation -- into confidence? Recently, you have hiked the prices of foodgrains. Have you taken the Chief Ministers into confidence? You should have taken them into confidence. Sir, if any hard decision is to be implemented in our State - I am saying this with all the authority at my command - first, we take the people into confidence. First, we tell them that these are the facts; this decision is inevitable and you have to bear it. First, we prepare them mentally and then we take a decision. Nobody knows what decision you are going to take on a fine morning. Today there is an increase in the price of one item; and tomorrow there is an increase in the price of some other item. These are all things which does not go well with the people of this country and the nation. The President's Address claims, "The Government is fully committed to preserving and further strengthening the secular ethos of our country." During his last Address also, the President made the same statement. The same thing was repeated in the last Address also. Let us have an introspection. Are we really true to the statement made? Why? Everyday, we are reading about the incidents of attacks on minorities and dalits. The communal forces, especially, - I am sorry to say - after the advent of the NDA Government, have become emboldened and they have been indulging in all these activities. I advise the Government to be firm in dealing with such -- if I may call them so - outfits of the BJP. They may deny it. But that is what they are doing. I wanted to put a supplementary in the morning, but the Chair did not allow me. I want to know whether the NDA Government wanted to treat secularism as a basic feature of the Constitution. I wanted to pose this question in the morning. The apprehension in the minds of the people, to that extent, is because they are having a doubt in this regard. We are reading a lot of material in the newspapers - if we attach any credence to newspaper reports - that attempts are being made to saffronise the administration. The Leader of the RSS wants that the Advisers to the Prime Minister on the Economic Council should be removed. Who are they to interfere with the Prime Minister Office's appointments? The appointments to the ICHR, the Indian Institute of Advance Studies, and the Nehru Yuvak Kendra, have all become controversial. There is a lot of *halla-gulla*. Sir, even the Ambedkar Foundation has not been spared. Why do you create such a controversy with regard to appointments? The Prime Minister has gone on record, both inside and outside the House, saying that as far as the temple construction is

concerned, they will abide by the verdict of the Supreme Court. Recently, some important personalities of the VHP had said, "Irrespective of the judgment of the Supreme Court, we will go ahead with the construction."

Can I call it a religious or a cultural terrorism, Sir? I can't search for another word. Can you disown this organisation? Some leaders of the ruling front are members of this organization. Nobody can deny that they are not the outfits of this organization. Sir, what I am trying to advise is, we have got a different responsibility, as compared to the other gentlemen there. We want that the Government should continue with secular ethos; develop the country, provide political stability and initiate efforts in that direction. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I think, you are winding up now....*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: No, no, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): You have already consumed your time. So, you have to wind up.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Only two-three minutes more, Sir. So far as devolution of funds is concerned, the Sarkaria Commission has recommended for devolution of 50 per cent of the funds to the States. The functions of the States have been increasing. Various subjects have been entrusted to the States. Andhra Pradesh is one of the States which has been demanding for allocation of more funds. The Finance Minister has agreed for allocation of funds to the tune of 29 per cent. Recently, in a CMs' meeting also, he had agreed to it. In the Budget speech also, he said, "I will come out with a Bill for provision of allocation of funds to the tune of 29 per cent" Sir, very intelligently, it has been changed from gross receipts to net receipts. We have been pleading with him that this deficit of the States has to be made good. Till now, the Finance Minister has not given any assurance. I request the Government to take this aspect into consideration because the Bill which was introduced is also for net receipts - 29 per cent of the net receipts, not gross receipts. He said that the recommendations of the 11th Finance commission have also been accepted. It is an interim report which is yet to be laid on the Table of the House.

Sir, I would like to give one more suggestion, and then I will conclude. Unless our anti-dumping mechanism is made more effective, there is going to

be a danger of dumping of various products. Today, the Minister may say that we have been armed with levying of customs duties, excise duties so as to bring those products at par with Indian products. But, once we have signed the WTO, and once we removed the Quantitative Restrictions, in due course of time, the Government may also lose those powers. These are the impending dangers. Of course, I don't advocate that you go slow with reforms process. You go, but be realistic, be pragmatic. Ultimately the objective of the reforms is to improve the economic conditions of the people, improve the health of the economy. So, these aspects have to be taken care of. Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) : श्री सन्तोष कुमार बागड़ोदिया । आपका तीन मिनट का समय है । आप तो तीन मिनट में भी बहुत कुछ कह लेंगे ।

श्री सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया (राजस्थान) : धन्यवाद महोदय, मुझे लगता है कि मेरे ग्रह आपसे मिलते हैं क्योंकि मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर सबसे पहले बोलना था, इस सब्जेक्ट पर मुझे एक हफ्ता पहले बोलना था लेकिन आप चेयर पर नहीं बैठे थे, इसलिए मौका नहीं मिला । आज आप आए हैं । अब जितनी देर आप मुझे बोलने देंगे, उतनी देर बोलूंगा, नहीं तो चुप हो जाऊंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) : चार बजे दूसरा विषय लेना है और अभी इस विषय पर बोलने के लिए बहुत सारे मैबर्स रहते हैं ।

श्री सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया : सर, मैं चार बजे से पहले खत्म कर दूंगा । ..(व्यवधान).. महोदय, मैं सबसे पहले देश की इकॉनॉमिक कंडीशन के बारे में बोलना चाहता हूँ । राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में पैरा 17 में आखिर में कहा है.....

It says, "There has been a general upward trend in stock indices, primarily due to the revival in the industrial sector."

मैं इसके बारे में बोलना चाहता हूँ कि इंडस्ट्रियल सेक्टर का रिवाइवल और ट्रेंड इन स्टॉक इंडिसिज़, इन दोनों का कोई संबंध नहीं है । स्टॉक इंडिसिज़ का बेस एकदम अलग है, इंडस्ट्रियल रिवाइवल एकदम अलग है । जब तक सरकार इस बात को नहीं समझेगी, मैं समझता हूँ, सरकार गलत रास्ते पर चलती चली जाएगी । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारी दुनिया में आज लड़ाई ज़मीन की लड़ाई नहीं है । अभी मेरे भाई ने कहा कि भूटान एक छोटा सा देश है । वहां टेररिज्म.....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : सन्तोष जी, आप थोड़े अपने प्वाइंट्स लगाएं तो अच्छा रहेगा क्योंकि टाईम कम है, इसका ध्यान रखिए ।

श्री सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया : मैं वही बात बोल रहा हूँ कि हम भूटान की एक इंच ज़मीन नहीं ले सकते लेकिन झगड़ा है रोटी, कपड़े और मकान का । मैं इकानॉमिक कंडीशनस की बात कर रहा हूँ कि यह जो रोटी, कपड़े और मकान का चक्कर है, यह अब धनी देशों में भी चालू हो गया है । पहले ऐसा नहीं था । पहले वहां पर रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान खूब था । जब वहां भी अनइम्प्लॉयमेंट बढ़ना शुरू हुआ, तब यह डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. का सवाल उठा । उनकी इंडस्ट्रीज़ में इतना ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन हो गया कि उनके अपने देश में माल का बिकना मुश्किल हो गया क्योंकि उनका पर कैपिटल कंज़मेशन भी बहुत ज्यादा हो गया था, इसलिए वे हमारे जैसे गरीब देशों में अपना माल भेजने की सोचने लगे । तब डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. का सवाल उठा । इसलिए मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इससे हमारे ऑर्डिनरी सिटिज़न्स को क्या लाभ मिलने वाला है? हम रोज़ सुनते हैं कि इस एम.एन.सी. ने एक युनिट खरीद लिया, इस एम.एन.सी. ने दूसरा युनिट खरीद लिया लेकिन उन्होंने नया डेवलपमेंट क्या किया? यह जो कहा जाता है कि 10 बिलियन डॉलर यहां प्रति वर्ष आ रहे हैं, तो ये 10 बिलियन डॉलर जा कहां रहे हैं? हमारी जो एक्ज़िस्टिंग इंडस्ट्रीज़ हैं, उन्हीं को लेने में जा रहे हैं और उससे कोई नया इम्प्लॉयमेंट नहीं बढ़ा है । क्या कोई नई टेक्नालॉजी यहां आई? अगर नहीं आई तो इस तरह का रुपया यहां आने से कोई फायदा नहीं है ।

सर, "कोका कोला" आ गया, "पेप्सी" आ गया । मैं "कोका कोला" जैसी कंपनी के बारे में यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि हिंदुस्तान में जितनी "थम्स अप" की फैक्ट्रियां थीं, सबको "कोका कोला" ने खरीद लिया और उसने अपनी कोई नई फैक्ट्री नहीं लगाई । उससे कोई प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ा । तो क्या लाभ हो रहा है इस तरह के कामों से ? मैं चाहता हूँ कि कोई ऐसी पॉलिसी बने जिससे हमारा इम्प्लॉयमेंट बढ़े । अगर वे अपना माल भेजना चाहते हैं डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. में और वह सस्ता है तो मैं सरकार से यह अनुरोध करूंगा कि डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. में बात करे कि हमारे लेबरर्स वहां जा सकें । हमारे पास लेबरर्स बहुत ज्यादा हैं, हमारे पास लोग ज्यादा हैं । उसमें वे रिस्ट्रिक्शन्स लगाते हैं कि खाली साइटिस्ट जा सकते हैं, केवल ये लोग जा सकते हैं, केवल ये लोग जा सकते हैं, ऐसा क्यों है? वे हमारे वर्कर्स को एलाऊ करें, हम उनका माल खरीदेंगे । हमारे वर्कर्स को अमरीका जाने दें, जापान जाने दें, सब जगह जाने दें, तब तो डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. का महत्व है । अगर ग्लोबलाइज़ेशन करना है तो खाली इकानॉमी का न करें, ग्लोबलाइज़ेशन पूरे वर्ल्ड की सारी जनता का भी करें तब उस ग्लोबलाइज़ेशन का महत्व है ।

सर, अब मैं सरकार को एग्रो बेस्ड इंडस्ट्रीज़ के बारे में बताना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इम्प्लॉयमेंट बढ़ाना है तो वह एग्रो बेस्ड इंडस्ट्रीज़ में बढ़ सकता है और उसकी तरफ सरकार का कोई ध्यान नहीं है, चाहे वह टेक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री हो, चाहे जूट इंडस्ट्री हो, चाहे टी इंडस्ट्री हो, चाहे दूसरी एग्रो बेस्ड इंडस्ट्रीज़ हों, ऑर्गेनाइज्ड हों या तेल निकालने की इंडस्ट्री हो। मैं सोचा करता था कि शुगर इंडस्ट्री एग्रो बेस्ड इंडस्ट्री है, इसमें क्या होगा, इसमें कभी कोई एम.एन.सी. का असर नहीं आ सकता है। चाय इंडस्ट्री में एम.एन.सी. का असर नहीं आ सकता है। मैं केवल दो सेंटेंसेज में यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि पूरे हिंदुस्तान में ही नहीं, पूरी दुनिया में हिंदुस्तान लीवर कंपनी एक ऐसी एम.एन.सी. है जो चाय की इंडस्ट्री को कंट्रोल करती है। वह चाहती है तो दाम बढ़ जाते हैं और वह चाहती है तो दाम गिर जाते हैं। उन्होंने कहा तो आपने श्रीलंका से खराब चाय मंगानी शुरू कर दी और हिंदुस्तान लीवर उस खराब चाय और अच्छी चाय को मिलाकर एक्सपोर्ट करती है। तो यह तो एम.एन.सी. का हाल है। ऐसे ही शुगर में क्या हुआ? आपने बाहर की बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियों के प्रभाव में आकर शुगर को यहां आने दिया। उससे क्या हुआ, यहां की सारी शुगर इंडस्ट्रीज़ ठप पड़ गई। अब हमारे कपड़ा मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हैं। मैं इनसे मिला था थोड़े दिन पहले। जूट इंडस्ट्री में नाम के लिए हड़ताल है। सारी फैक्ट्रियां खुल गई हैं, कुछ दो-चार फैक्ट्रियां बन्द हो गई। इसके बाद भी मैंने उनसे अनुरोध किया। इतनी एफिसिएन्सी इस गवर्नमेंट में आ गई। 23 तारीख का स्ट्राइक का एनाउन्समेंट हुआ और मार्केटिंग आर्डर को 30 तारीख में डायलूट कर दिया गया, एक हफ्ते में। यहां तो साल-साल गुजर जाते हैं और सरकार सोई रहती है, इसमें इतनी एफिसिएन्सी? कोई बात नहीं, जो हुआ सो हुआ लेकिन अब तो उसको विदझा करें। अब तो जूट इंडस्ट्री में प्रोडक्शन ठीक चल रहा है, अभी भी विदझा नहीं कर रहे हैं। जैसा अभी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने कहा, His proposals on dividend tax are a blow to the Government's *swadeshi* credentials. अगर आप मॉरिशस में कम्पनी लगा लें तो आपको टैक्स कम देना पड़ेगा और हिंदुस्तान में लगाएं तो उसी कम्पनी का टैक्स ज्यादा देना पड़ेगा। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि डबल टैक्सेशन हो लेकिन उसे आप इन्टरनेशनल बनाएं ताकि दूसरी कंट्री में जो टैक्स लगे सिमिलर कम्पनी में उससे ज्यादा टैक्स उसी चीज पर यहां भी लगे, तब तो लैवल प्लेइंग फील्ड हुआ। हम 40 परसेंट दे। और वे 20 परसेंट दें, इससे हिंदुस्तान की कम्पनियां कभी पनप नहीं सकती।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : अब आप वाइन्ड अप करिए।

श्री सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया : सर, आप हैं तो एक-दो मिनट और बोल लेता हूँ। सर,

मैं लेबर लॉज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे साथी यहां पर बैठे हैं और वे सब जानते हैं कि अब चाइना में भी लेबर लॉज बदल गया है। एक्सपोर्ट ओरिएन्टेड यूनिट्स में आप चेष्टा करके देखें, हम यह नहीं कहते कि आप लेबर को हटाएं। मैं रिटर्नमेंट में इंटरस्टिड नहीं हूँ लेकिन प्रोडक्टिविटी में मैं इंटरस्टिड हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर एक इंडस्ट्री में 100 लेबर हैं तो 100 के 100 रहें लेकिन जो काम नहीं करते हैं, उसमें एम्प्लायर को राइट होना चाहिए कि उसको बदल दें। आप यह देखें कि कौन वर्कर प्रोडक्ट नहीं कर रहा है। एक, दो या तीन वर्कर्स के कारण 100 वर्कर्स खराब हो जाते हैं। यदि ऐसे वर्कर्स इंडस्ट्री में रहे तो वह इंडस्ट्री कभी नहीं चलेगी। हम जो डम्पिंग कर रहे हैं, हमारी चीजों के दाम बढ़े रहेंगे तथा उसकी और बाहर की चीजें सस्ती पड़ेंगी। हम लोग यह पेंम्परिंग करते हैं तीन परसेंट लेबर को, महोदय, सौ करोड़ में तीन परसेंट पॉपुलेशन है। इनमें इंडियन एयर लाइन्स के पॉइलेट्स भी आ गए। उनकी यूनियन्स है, हर महीने उनको दो-तीन लाख रुपए मिलते हैं। यहां पर किसी भी एमपी की दो-तीन लाख इनकम नहीं होगी लेकिन उनकी इनकम है। वे भी यूनियन बनाते हैं और जब चाहे पूरे हिन्दुस्तान को बन्द कर सकते हैं, यूनियन के नाम पर। हमें ऐसी यूनियन बन्द करनी पड़ेगी और एक नियम बनाना पड़ेगा कि तीन हजार के ऊपर जिसको भी पैसा मिलता है, वह यूनियन नहीं बना सकता। इनकी पेंम्परिंग करते-करते हम लोग कब तक थकते रहेंगे? अब मैं दूसरा प्वाइन्ट लेता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप इस समय अपना आखिरी प्वाइन्ट लें।

श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया : सर, मैंने तो जब से शुरू किया है तब से मैं आखिरी प्वाइन्ट पर हूँ। मैं आरएसएस के बारे में बोलना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आपको जो कुछ कहना है, जल्दी कह दीजिए।

श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया : सर, रेड्डी राऊद जी अब यहां पर नहीं बैठे हैं उन्होंने कहा था कि उन्होंने एक कल्चरल आर्गेनाइजेशन के अपने भाषण में कहा था। मेरा कहना यह है कि वे शाखा चलाएं, हमें कोई ऑब्जेक्शन नहीं है, वे लाठी चलाने की शिक्षा दें, सेल्फ डिफेन्स की बात करें, हमें कोई ऑब्जेक्शन नहीं है। वे हॉफ पेन्ट पहनें, हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। लेकिन वे अगर यह चाहें कि वे जो कर रहे हैं हम भी वही करें, वे आलू खाएं तो हम भी खाएं, नहीं खाएं तो नहीं खाएं, यह चलने वाली बात नहीं है। वैलेनटाइन के दिन वे लखनऊ में थे, लड़के-लड़कियों के साथ

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : धन्यवाद, समाप्त हो गया।

श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया : सर, एक मिनट और दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप आलू की बात छोड़ दीजिए। अभी और सदस्यों को भी बोलना है। मैं खाली यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप टोपी तो गांधी लगाते हैं, आर.एस.एस. वाले बोलते हैं मत लगाओ...(व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : नहीं-नहीं अभी आप मजदूरों का कुछ कागज देख रहे थे, हायर एण्ड फायर की बात कर रहे थे, वह सुन नहीं पाया। इसलिए उनको समाप्त करने दीजिए। आप समाप्त कीजिए क्योंकि चार बजे से दूसरा विषय है।

श्री सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आर.आर.एस. हमारे देश की मालिक नहीं बन सकती, हमारे देश पर मलिकियत नहीं कर सकती। हमारे धर्म पर, जिस धर्म में हम विश्वास रखते हैं उसमें बाधा नहीं डाल सकती, हमारे खाने-पीने में बाधा नहीं डाल सकती, हमारी ड्रेस में बाधा नहीं डाल सकती तालिबान की तरह कि आपको बुरका डालकर घूमना पड़ेगा, यह करना पड़ेगा, वह करना पड़ेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): धन्यवाद, श्री सी.ओ. पोलोस।

श्री सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया : धन्यवाद मैं आपको देता हूँ, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI C.O. POULOSE (Kerala): Sir, moving the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, Mr. Naidu described the speech made by the President as inspiring. I do not subscribe to that view. Several policy directives, which were presented by the President, have led to disappointment in the minds of wide spectrum of workers of the country.

The working class is the most productive sector of this country. They are creating wealth for the nation. But, how their problems are being dealt with by the Government? I give you some examples. In order to make the public sector attractive to the prospective buyers, various steps like closing down of the so-called unviable units, capital restructuring, bifurcation of companies, etc. are being resorted to by the Government. Another retrograde step in this direction is the reduction in the number of employees. Such reduction is actually carried out through the notorious means of allurements coupled, with an element of arms-twisting. Today the slogan is: "Take VRS or face retrenchment." That is the order of the day. The sick units have become more vulnerable in the current spate of attacks.

The Government have initiated the dangerous move of repeal of SICA. Such a step is obviously to enable the Government -- in the case of public sector -- and the owners -- in the case of private sector -- to close-down the

sick units merely by administrative orders. Anti-public sector policies pursued by the Government are at their peak. It is the PSU employees, who are the worst affected, on the question of their service conditions and trade union rights. There is non-payment or irregular payment of salaries. Anti-workers guidelines are adversely affecting effective negotiations along with re-imposition of the ban on wage negotiations.

Rampant contractualisation of permanent and perennial jobs is being resorted to. The new condition that a new wage agreement must be for ten years has posed a big threat to the interests of the workers of this country.

The Government has conceded a second National Commission on Labour, comprising of a chosen few, who are pro-employers. The terms of reference have only one objective i.e. dovetailing the existing labour laws with the requirements of the employers and the MNCs, fitting in with liberalisation and globalisation policies and measures. The Government has declared its intention to bring forth elaborate amendments to the Trade Union Act, severely restricting the workers' right to organise and unionise. Recently there has been an announcement that the Government is considering the question of "where the hire and fire policy can be permitted and where it should not be permitted." Thus, the Government is surely contemplating to usher in the return of a jungle raj in industrial relations. Many of the labour laws are not being properly implemented. Many Acts are to be updated, but they are not being done. For example, the Payment of Bonus Act, because of qualifying clauses and ceiling clauses, a majority of the workers are out of the purview of the Act. I can cite many examples.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Paulose, now you have to wind up.

SHRI C.O. PAULOSE: Only one sentence. The Contract Labour Abolition Act, the ESI Act, the EPF Act, the Minimum Wages Act, are the few Acts which need urgent revision, in order to protect the interest of the workers. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. M.P.A. Samad Samadani. Five minutes.

SHRI M.P.A. SAMAD SAMADANI (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for permitting me to participate in this very important discussion. Sir, I am here to thank the hon. President for his Address. At the

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same time, I want to share certain sentiments of disagreement over the spirit and details of the Address delivered by the hon. President. I am sorry to state that the Address lacks conviction and a strong will regarding the basic problems facing the country. For example, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, health and sanitary conditions. These are essential things for a healthy life, especially, the village life. There is no clear-cut view regarding these very important issues. Ultimately, health care and education have not been seriously looked into. Nowadays, very serious problems are being faced by the people of rural India. Urbanisation is in vast scale. Migration is taking place from the villages to the cities. As a result of this, slums are coming up and posing a problem to the life in the city. When we look into the economic aspect of the national life, there is the entry of multinational companies. acquisition of Indian companies has become a very serious problem. The economic sovereignty is facing a challenge. There are so many threats to the economic sovereignty of the country. Economic slavery is approaching the country. Sometimes cultural slavery is more dangerous than political slavery. There are already signs in the national life which are symbols of this kind of slavery. They are going to come. The Government is allowing foreign companies in the insurance sector. Earlier, the colonial powers had a sway on the society of India. After the freedom struggle, we had defeated them. India had declared itself free. Those colonial powers are trying to take our nation to that kind of slavery again. Privatisation is again there, with all seriousness. It has appeared with a new vigour. Even Indian airports are not free from this. Leasing of our airports to the private operators will be, in fact, a challenge to the security of the nation.

Sir, there is a kind of intolerance everywhere that has to be fought vigorously and courageously by the Government. There are certain forces and centres in the country which are dictating what others should wear, what they should eat, what they should read and how they should think. They are imposing on others such kind of a political hegemony. Even girls were attacked in this country for wearing Western dress. This is a kind of facism. This kind of facism has already appeared on the national scene. Communalising various spheres of the cultural life of the country has become a challenge to the secular character of the country. There is an intentional move to distort the history, to re-write the history of the country. The history of every nation is a part of the common tradition. It is a useful memory. It cannot become a dreadful memory and a punishment. There is a couplet.

याद-ए-माज़ी अज़ाब है या रब

If the memory of the past is re-written in such a way that it will become a punishment for the present-day society, the country will not be able to afford that kind of a situation. Serious steps are to be taken against such re-writing of history.

Another important issue....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I want to move on to the other poet.

SHRI M.P.A. SAMAD SAMADANI: Let me finish, Sir. I am not taking much time. Another important issue is regarding the minorities. Minorities' freedom is actually a very important part of the national life. Every country, every progressive country, in the world has acknowledged it. Even the UN Charter has given its own importance to the minorities' rights. But throughout the country, in certain centres, attacks are going on against the minorities. Their life, their culture, their religious freedom, everything is being challenged. Articles 14 to 16 of the Constitution are regarding the minorities. Again, Articles 25 to 30 are regarding the minorities. I am not quoting them here. But everything is concerned with the minorities. The Government should come forward to check those atrocities, those attacks against the minorities and whoever raises his hand against the security of the minorities and the national diversity has to be checked by the Government.

Sir, finally, I would like to add one issue and that is about the Constitution review. The Constitution was framed after the freedom struggle and the spirit of the freedom struggle is there in the Constitution. Instead of that, now, party politics is going to become the inspiration for this kind of new effort. Instead of the freedom struggle, if party politics is put in its place, we can very well imagine what the result of this kind of activity will be. Never has the Constitution failed in the country. It is only the implementation that has failed. Improvement of the quality of life is more important than re-writing, reviewing, the Constitution. I would like to quote Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a former President of India. He once said: "Whatever the Constitution may or may not provide, the welfare of the country will depend on the way in which the country is administered." The way in which the country is administered is very important. The implementation is more important...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please conclude now.

SHRI M.P.A. SAMAD SAMADANI: Dr. Rajendra Prasad continues to say, ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): I think people have got your point.

SHRI M.P.A. SAMAD SAMADANI: I am concluding, Sir. This is an occasion when India has to find its real place in the world arena of nations. I conclude by quoting from Iqbal, the world-renowned Indian poet:

कभी दरिया से मिसल-ए-मौज उभर कर

कभी दरिया के सीने में उतर कर

कभी दरिया के साहिल से गुज़र कर

मकाम अपनी खुदी का फ़ाश तर कर

So, a period has come for India to find its own self in the arena of nations. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Shri Narayana Reddy. Thereafter, Mr. Praful Patel. Mr. Reddy, you will not take more than five minutes, in any case.

DR. C. NARAYANA REDDY (NOMINATED): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I appreciate your propriety for the continuity from poet to poet. The hon. President of India, in his Address, has touched upon several important subjects bearing on social, economic, political, technological and cultural aspects. Here, I would like to confine myself to language, culture, and, if time permits, child welfare also. Sir, I am abridging my speech in view of paucity of time, as a mighty elephant in a circus moves on a stool. So, let me offer a few observations.

The hon. President, in his Address, has said: "It is now our responsibility to transform our democracy into an effective instrument for the economic, social and cultural development of every Indian." It is heartening to note that-- for the first time, I think culture is clubbed with social and economic development.

I am immensely happy that there is a specific mention of the cultural development. I would like to remind the august House that the motto of the Ministry of Culture is: " Culture is the identity of a nation." Ours is a great nation with diversity and multiplicity in all fields. This diversity has given to our country a treasure of many cultural forms. For example, I may tell about dance. We have Bharatanatyam, Kuchipudi, Kathakali, Kathak, Odissi, Manipuri, Mohiniyattam and many other great dance styles. Nowhere in the world such a brilliant diversity is there. Let us be proud of our cultural heritage and do the needful. Similar is the case with music, sculpture, paintings, folk arts and tribal arts. We are indeed proud of our cultural heritage. As I have just now mentioned, there is an indirect threat to this heritage due to a variety of reasons. It is high time that we took concrete steps to preserve and promote our culture. It is surprising that no clear programme has been announced by any of the successive Governments to effectively preserve our cultural heritage and cultural values. However, I must express my sense of appreciation at the formation of a separate Ministry for Culture, Youth Affairs and Sports. I consider this as a sign of the Government's determination to promote culture of our country in all its splendour.

Now, I come to language and computer. Language is an important component of culture. It plays a vital role in the development of society in all fields. India is a treasure house of many languages--ancient as well as modern. Today, language plays a very significant role even in the technological development. It is a very healthy sign that the hon. President's speech has a reference to promotion of information technology through computerisation. The element of computerisation is all pervading. According to our mythology, we passed through Krita, Treta and Dwapara Yugas, and now, we are in Kaliyuga. I feel like naming the Kaliyuga as Computer Yuga in a positive sense.

To my question on 5th March, 1999, the hon. Minister of HRD, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, has detailed various measures being taken by the Government under the programme of technology development for Indian languages. I may mention in this context that recently, the Ministry of Human Resource Development has constituted a Committee of experts at the national level to discuss and formulate ways and means to develop Indian languages on par with English. The first meeting has very useful discussions. It is indeed commendable that special efforts are being made to develop necessary

software to facilitate the use of Indian languages in computers. It is learnt that work in Hindi, Tamil, Marathi and Konkani languages is in progress.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Dr. Reddy, you have already taken six minutes.

DR. C. NARAYANA REDDY: Then I will come to the last point, that is, the National Commission on Children. I should not leave the child welfare. It is a major and positive measure in the direction of child welfare. Even after more than 50 years of independence, we still have the undesirable practice of child labour. In fact, we need efforts on massive scale to better the conditions of our children, particularly from the poorer sections of society. We must evince much care on their education, health, food and general well-being. It is gratifying to note that 'Sarva Siksha Abhiyan' contemplates compulsory education of children of the age group of six to fourteen years. While concluding, I would like to give expression to my feelings on the Commissions.

Sir, I would like to give expression to my feelings on the constitution of committees and commissions to enquire into the various aspects and make recommendations. They are welcome. But in my view, a follow-up action is equally important. Unless the recommendations are carefully studied and implemented, all the exercise on the subject goes waste. I am reminded of the famous lines of the English poet, Longfellow. I generally conclude my speech with a quotation from either my poem, or, somebody else's poem. Now, I am switching over to an English poet to substantiate my view. I quote: "I shot an arrow into the air, it fell to earth I know not where." Constitution of a committee, or, a commission, Sir, is like shooting an arrow into the air. The arrow has to hit the target, otherwise, no purpose is served. I would, therefore, plead for the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Praful Patel.

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, it is his maiden speech.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): That is why I have not reminded him of the time, though I know that he will get more time in future.

SHRI PRAFUL MANOHARBHAI PATEL (Maharashtra): Sir, it is my

maiden speech in this House. I rise to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. My colleague, Shri Yadav, has rightly pointed out that it is my maiden speech in this House. I was earlier... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): This House is only concerned with your maiden speech in this House.

SHRI PRAFUL MANOHARBHAI PATEL: I am very proud and honoured to be a Member of this august House. The President's Address, Sir, is a policy statement, or, a document of the Vajpayee Government. I have heard many speeches here. Unfortunately, I was not a Member of the House when the hon. President addressed both the Houses. But having followed what this Government had done in its earlier *avatar*, when it was once in power for 13 months, and before that for 13 days - it is its third term now - I cannot but help make a few observations. This country is a great country and it has seen more than 53 years of independence. On the one side, we have made very laudable progress in the field of science and technology, in the field of industrialisation and in the field of rural development. We have also maintained a democratic set up and strengthened it from time to time. That is why, we see a free and fair India today. But, on the other hand, we also see the sufferings and the hardships which an enormous number of our people are facing today. The drought in Gujarat or in Rajasthan, are a few examples of the kind of hardships which our people face even today. It is very shocking, very disheartening and very disquieting that crores and crores of people, whether it is in Gujarat or Rajasthan, are facing a lot of hardships. In many other areas, there may not be a drought today, but life, in general, for the common man is filled with hardships. I come from the State of Maharashtra which is supposed to be the most industrialised State. It is supposed to be the most advanced State, in terms of administration and what not. Even in a State like Maharashtra, I can cite examples of many areas like my erstwhile constituency which I represented in the Lok Sabha, i.e. Vidarbha, district of Bhandara, a new district called Gondia and the adjoining district of Ghadchiroli. I can narrate instances of village after village where you would not find an all-weather road, and basic facilities like education and health care are simply a distant dream. When I can quote such kind of instances in my State of Maharashtra, I can well imagine the plight and misery of the crores and crores of people in various remote parts of the country and various States which have not yet been able to get the fruits of development at their doorsteps.

4.00 P.M.

Therefore, what is happening in Rajasthan or Gujarat is very important. Yesterday, I saw a very moving scene on the television. I think this is just the beginning of the problems. We are going to face the real problems of drought in the coming days, in the coming months, when the heat is going to increase, when the water level will be going down further, when our brothers and sisters are really going to face immense hardships. I think it is something which all of us should collectively address as a national issue, as a national problem, and not in a partisan manner. If you go down the lane by 53 years and look at the way in which the problems developed, you will find that, on the one hand, we have collectively gone further, we have gone forward, we have done immense good to the people of our country and, on the other, we have not been able to address these problems collectively and we have not been able to put our heads together, foresee and plan something about such national calamities, be it the cyclone in Orissa, be it the earthquake a few years ago in Latur in Maharashtra, be it the drought this year in Rajasthan and Gujarat. I think this is a problem which has been occurring, time and again, in various parts of the country. Yet, no Government, in the past or in the present, has really collectively put its resources together. Usually, when a calamity occurs, the Central Government will talk about relief. Eventually, it will say, "the subject has to be handled by the State". The State Government will say, "Yes, it is our problem. It is happening in our State. Our people are suffering. But we don't have the resources. We don't have the infrastructure. We depend on the Central Government and request them to give us adequate support". This kind of see-saw is just passing on the buck from one side to the other. This is a regular feature and as a result, as a consequence, it is the people of our country, the poor people of our country, who face the hardships. I think this is something which all of us should collectively address in a non-partisan manner and we should solve these problems collectively.

In this context, we must also appreciate that there is a distinct divide in this country. I am a person leading a righteous life. My friends here may not be very happy when I say that. Of course, private sector enterprise, modern mind and modern approach for solving the problems are a must. But, at the same time, one cannot just brush the other problems under the carpet. Ultimately, if we are not able to give them the basic necessities of life, no matter how much we talk about development and advancement, no matter

how much we talk about opening up the world, we will not be doing justice to our people. Therefore, we have to support them; we have to give them relief; we have to give them succour. In the light of all these things, the Government has increased the prices of various essential items and reduced the subsidies available to our farmers and the poor people through the public distribution network. All these things cannot be looked into through a normal budgetary exercise where, just because the Government has to balance the debit side and the credit side and, therefore, the money is not available, you pass on the burden to the common man. I think a more serious view has to be adopted. A more cool and calculated approach to the issue of supporting the common man of India will have to be adopted by the Government. Therefore, it is disheartening. I recall for a moment that when Mr. Vajpayee, when he was the Leader of the Opposition in the other House, used to talk one had an opportunity to listen to him. One had an opportunity to listen to all the stalwarts sitting on this side nowadays. Then I was on the other side, on the Congress benches. One always used to listen to the other side. Now, of course, fortunately, I don't have the compulsions of supporting this side or that side.

श्री अहमद पटेल (गुजरात) : कुछ दिन का सवाल है ।

श्री प्रफुल मनोहरभाई पटेल : अहमद भाई, वह तो है, लेकिन किस बाजू जाएंगे वह तो आप नहीं कह सकते ।

श्री राजीव शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इस बाजू भी आ सकते हैं ।

श्री प्रफुल मनोहरभाई पटेल : देखिए, हमारे लिए इधर या उधर का कम्पलसन नहीं है क्योंकि हमारी पार्टी का जन्म राष्ट्रवाद के सिद्धांत पर हुआ है । We are talking with a sense of pride in nationalism. Therefore, we talk about the issues before the nation. We do not talk about partisan issues. We do not talk about the Government issues or the Opposition issues. So, I think this issue has to be resolved. It is not an ordinary problem for a country having a population of hundred crores. It is easy to talk in numbers. We are almost one-sixth of the global population. And for a poor country like ours, with a population size of as big as one-sixth of the humanity, and where, out of that, almost 30% of the people even today are living below the poverty line, I think these are very serious issues; very serious concerns. I would definitely request the Government of the day and all of us here, collectively, to take a non-partisan

approach and to see that the basic issues which are core and fundamental to the well-being of the common man of India, are addressed. Fortunately, Dr. Manmohan Singh has just arrived here. I heard his great Budget Speech in 1991. It was my first appearance in the House and I had the opportunity to listen to such a great stalwart of our times. I remember -- just for your information, since you have come now- I told our friends that I am the rightist man. I supported all what you said then. I supported and felt happy that a new vision and a new dynamism was available to us at that time. And, at that time, you said - I am coming back to the basic issue- what I am proposing today, the fruits of that will not be visible in one or two years, but it would be visible over a period of five years. May I remind you that that Budget Speech was made in 1991, and now it is 2000. Almost ten years have passed and I do not think that even in another ten years, we would be able to achieve even half of what you had proposed or thought of then. Whatever may be the reasons. I am not critical of your policies. I am only trying to say that under the situation, as it exists today, when you talked of liberalisation and opening up, we suddenly thought that the public sector was a bad word and we said "let us put a cap on what was being done in the public sector; let us open up everything for the private sector." We talked of building new highways, we talked of building new ports, airports, power stations, just everything, which has been, as I see, again reflected in the President's Address. Here also, we talked of highways, power stations, ports and what not. Most importantly, they will also cover policies meant for improving the performance of key infrastructure sectors, namely, power, roads, railways, ports, civil aviation, telecommunication and petroleum. I think Government after Government just says this. But what has actually happened? Ten years have passed and I do not see a single new airport coming up. I do not see even one kilometre of expressway or highway, which we talked, of being constructed. Nothing has happened. As you know, all these things are done only on paper. On the other hand, the public sector was adding capacity, in whatever way, rightly or wrongly; it may not be the most efficient, but atleast, capacity is being added. On the other side, we are seeing that there is complete disarray, or, I would say, no planning or no foresight which is worth mentioning, which will give tangible results. I, therefore, look at these areas very seriously. The economy must grow. New infrastructural projects must come up. But we have not got the desired results, though our intentions were right, though our direction was right. I do not think it has yielded the desired results. What

went wrong? Where is the red-tape? Where is the lack of will? Where is the lack of planning? I think we all will have to address these issues collectively. Sir, I would also like to mention the issue of employment. I think Government after Government has been talking of employment. When I was in the other House, i.e. Lok Sabha, then, Mr. Vajpayee's Government also talked of creating, I think, almost a crore of jobs a year. Different Governments whether it was the Congress Government or any other Government and everybody is saying that employment must be generated. But how is employment going to be generated? On the one hand, we are talking of opening up the economy. It is fair enough. It is necessary under the present situation. You cannot live isolated in the world. You have to integrate the economy and live and co-exist with the other people. But at the same time, there is no great industrial thrust in the last five years. Most of the industries which are, in fact, operating are operating at half the capacity. Most of the public sector undertakings are already on the verge of closure. We are talking of disinvestment. That is good enough. But that is going to come later. Today where is the employment which is being generated? We are talking of information technology. We need it. We need a new emphasis. We need new technology to come. We have to come on par with the rest of the world. But where is the employment coming from the IT sector? Young boys and girls who were earlier employed in other sectors are switching over to the IT sector or the normal increase in our population is being absorbed. Basically, when we talk of creating wider employment and creating employment to counter unemployment which is already existing, I do not see any major area of thrust which has been shown by this Government. I would now like to come to the basic issue which was touched upon the President in his Address. In the first paragraph of the President's Address the Government has shown its desire to go in for a Constitution Review Commission. My party and myself are opposed to any basic change in the Constitutional structure. Dr. Ambedkar has given us the Constitution. It has been working for the last 53 years. But, at the same time, some amendments and certain changes have been made from time to time in the last 50 years. There was a conscious decision taken by my party when Shri Sangma was asked to join the Constitution Review Commission. I would like to reiterate that this decision was taken after a very, very conscious and serious view that no basic alteration to the structure of our Constitution would be permitted and that is why Shri Sangma chose to become a member of the Commission. Sir,

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in the last 53 years our country has undergone tremendous changes. What was envisaged in the past by Dr. Ambedkar and our founding fathers of our Constitution has undergone tremendous changes. They definitely saw certain things. But those things as of now are quite different. Therefore, as the time demands, as the needs of the country demand, we should definitely go in for some kind of a review. My friends here will not agree with me because they have been making a lot of noise for the last few days about these people doing something which is going to radically alter the Constitution and that there is some hidden agenda. Whatever you say, you should be rest assured that we have people like Shri Sangma from our side who would act as a watch dog on our behalf so that nothing goes wrong. Nothing is going to happen to the Constitution. Kindly keep this in mind.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: A watch dog or a biting dog.

SHRI PRAFUL MANOHARBHAI PATEL: We will be watch dogs. They may want to bite you. But we will make it sure that they do not bite you.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: They are more worried about the presence of Shri Sangma.

SHRI PRAFUL MANOHARBHAI PATEL: I know that. I know whether they are saving the Constitution or saving what. We know that. They are very upset. But nothing is going to happen. I would like to assure them. On the diplomatic front, recently we have seen the visit of the US President to our country.

It was genuinely satisfactory, from the point of view that the United States, today, is virtually the only super power in the world. Earlier, we used to have the erstwhile Soviet Union. That is all now disintegrated. We all know that. Therefore, when the United States did not really enjoy a very cordial relationship with our country - we had relationship but not a cordial relationship - it was very heartening to see that President Clinton came here; he made the right noise; he spoke about Pakistan; he spoke about India's position; he reiterated what the Governments have been saying from time to time. Therefore, I think, we all need to really work harder on this front and make sure that our relations with the United States are at a even more progressive level. About Pakistan, the less said the better. They are never going to change their approach towards India. We have seen this. We have

tried this. The Prime Minister tried this during his last visit to Lahore. The previous Governments, time and again, have tried to establish a good level of relationship with Pakistan. But, unfortunately, we have not been seeing the right result, that led to the last war in Kargil and so many events which have been taking place from time to time. In fact, the ISI has been operating in India. There have been alarming levels of problems which are being seen even in the city of Mumbai, from where I come. We see that Pakistan-sponsored activities are on the rise. Law and order problem is there not only in Mumbai, but in various other parts of the country also. Therefore, I think, we need to have a serious introspection about our policy vis-a-vis Pakistan, and no matter what, we have to defend our country, we have to defend our borders. And, I think, we are all one with the Government, as far as any action, or, I would say, any level of reaction they have towards Pakistan. I think all of us in the country are one, and there is no doubt, in my mind, about it.

Finally, I would only like to remind my friends here, as regards the activities of the RSS and the VHP, their mother organisation; rather, I would say, their parent organisation. They do not inspire confidence. We have to be careful about that. As regards the order of the Gujarat Government on the RSS issue, the Central Government, very conveniently, brushed aside the issue, saying that it is an issue of the State Government. I don't think any one of us here is a fool. We are all political people. We all realise how Governments are run. We all realise what a high command is. Having been here, I know what a high command is. We have systematically gone through that. So, I don't think, the BJP is any different, or, I don't think, Mr. Keshubhai Patel could have taken a decision of such a serious ramification without the blessing or without the consent or without the connivance of the so-called high command in Delhi. And, therefore, it is a very disturbing thing. We need to show some more maturity. This country cannot be run by the whims and fancies of a few people; we cannot have a fascist agenda. We need to have a more progressive, a more democratic, a more secular agenda. The word 'secularism' is used again and again only in the context of your actions. You people, sometimes, get upset as to why secularism, what secularism is, and all that. Time and again, I hear the BJP saying that secularism is a word which is only used by the other side just to defend their action or whatever. I, personally, feel that you people will have to show more maturity, more patience, in dealing with the problems of the country. The

social fabric of India cannot be destroyed by a few people or by a few ideas or by a few thoughts of some people who think that they are the only ones who are the God gift's to mankind. I don't think that is correct.

Lastly, I would say one more thing. Sir, I will not take more time. I know you have been kind to me. I would only like to read one sentence of the President's Address which says...

"The Government stands by its promise to create the States of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh. Bills for this purpose are being referred to the concerned State legislatures for their views."

I would like to remind my friends here that the BJP manifesto in Maharashtra talked of separate statehood for Vidharbha. Unfortunately, when you talk of your national issues or agenda you conveniently forget that issue which has been promised in your own manifesto in Maharashtra. I think the people of Vidharbha have seen enough of hardships. My erstwhile leader Chavan Sahib is here. He may not be very happy when I am saying this here. But, it is a fact; it is a reality that whether it is Marathwada or Vidharbha, we have seen enough sufferings and hardships. Maharashtra, as I said, is a very industrialised and advanced State. But, Vidharbha and Marathwada have not really seen the fruits of that development. ...*(Interruptions)*... Your erstwhile leader also...*(Interruptions)*... Anyway, since Chavan Sahib is here, I just mentioned it. I did not mean it in any other context. I think Vidharbha is a very emotional issue. The BJP, the ruling party of the day here, has also promised this in its manifesto, therefore, I think, they should take up this issue seriously.

ग्रामीण विकास और कृषि मंत्री (श्री सुन्दर लाल पटवा) : अगली बार इसको ले लेंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : पटवा साहब, आपको तो ड्राउट पर बहुत बोलना है।

श्री प्रफुल मनोहरभाई पटेल : ठीक है। आपको छत्तीसगढ़ मिल गया इसलिए आप विदर्भ को छोड़ रहे हैं। You will pass on the buck. पटवा साहब, अगली बार, अगली बार करके इसको कई बार पास ऑन किया ...*(Interruptions)*...

With these words, I request the Government to look into this issue of creation of a separate State of Vidharbha. Sir, I thank you for the time you have given to me and I also thank the hon. President of India for these words to us. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Now, Shri R.N. Arya is the next speaker. ... (*Interruptions*)... I think he can speak tomorrow. After him Mr. Vahadane will speak. आपका समय नहीं है। लेकिन हमारी घड़ी और यहां की घड़ी में फर्क है। उस लिहाज से आपका भी एक मिनट समय है। यहां की घड़ी में तो समय खत्म हो गया है, मेरी घड़ी में आपका एक मिनट का समय है। मेरे विचार में इसको कल ले लिया जाये क्योंकि ड्राउट का मामला बहुत सीरियस है। आप कल बोलेंगे।

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, मुझे भी एक मिनट बोलना है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): Tomorrow Shri R.N. Arya will be the first speaker followed by Mr. Vahadane and Mr. Rama Shanker Kaushik who will speak for one minute. Now we move on to the Short Duration Discussion.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

Drought and famine conditions in various parts of the country, particularly in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह अजीब विडम्बना है कि हम सदन में वर्षा ऋतु में बाढ़ पर चर्चा करते हैं और ग्रीष्म काल में सूखे पर चर्चा करते हैं। हम प्रति वर्ष चर्चा करते हैं लेकिन किसी निदान और निराकरण पर नहीं पहुंच पाते हैं। स्थिति ज्यों की त्यों रहती है और अभी फिर देश के अनेक राज्यों में सूखे और अकाल की वजह से हा-हाकार मचा हुआ है। जो प्रभावित लोग हैं वे अपनी पीड़ा की व्यथा कह नहीं पा रहे हैं, जो पशु-पालक हैं वे अपने पशुओं को चारा-दाना न देने की वजह से उन्हें मुक्त विचरण के लिए छोड़ दे रहे हैं। मैं बड़ी विनम्रतापूर्वक कहना चाहूंगा कि इस भयावह स्थिति से निपटने में केन्द्र सरकार पूरी तरह से असफल रही है।

असफल मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि यह जो आपदा है यह एकदम नहीं आई है। इससे निपटने के लिए सरकार के पास पर्याप्त समय था, पर्याप्त सूचना थी। सरकार पर्याप्त समय में सही आकलन नहीं कर पाई, सही कदम नहीं उठा पाई। यही वजह है कि स्थिति बद से बदतर हो गई है। अब हम यह कह रहे हैं कि यह स्थिति भयावह स्थिति में पहुंच गई है और यही वजह है कि राजस्थान, गुजरात, मध्यप्रदेश, उड़ीसा और आन्ध्र प्रदेश जैसे राज्यों में लोग सूखे और अकाल की चपेट में हैं। वहां पर लोग पीने के पानी की समस्या से जूझ रहे हैं और रोजी-रोटी की समस्या से जूझ रहे हैं। पीने के पानी की तो