

श्री दीपांकर मुखर्जी : अकेले काफी हैं।

उपसभापति : नहीं, नम्बर थोड़े ही बन जाते हैं।

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## PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS (RESOLUTIONS)

### RESOLUTION

#### REVIEW OF ECONOMIC POLICY

SHRI JIBON ROY (WEST BENGAL): Madam, I move the following Resolution:

"That this House expresses its concern over

- (i) the decline in the growth rate and quality of growth in industrial production;
- (ii) the widening economic disparities amongst the States and increasing fiscal deficits in their economies;
- (iii) the growing incidence of unemployment, poverty and economic disparities amongst different sections of population, decline in the rural consumption, and also decline in the quality of life amongst the lowest strata of society since liberalisation; and urges upon Government to review its economic policy and evolve a national consensus on framing a socially equitable economic policy best suited for the country's economic and political sovereignty."

Madam, while moving the Resolution, I emphasise on the last part of the Resolution, that is, the operative part of the Resolution, and I want the Government to take the initiative so that a national consensus is evolved, not on the existing economic policy, but on economic policy, based on equity, social justice, self-reliance and growth, combining all together. We feel that it is the basic testament of our politics, and also of the economic direction given in the Constitution. While doing so, I don't want to make a speech, but I want to mention some of the facts, which are haunting me, for the consideration of the House, and also for the consideration of the Government. I want the Government to prepare a White Paper. This economic policy was adopted ten years back. So long, we have been discussing the policy contents only. Now, the consequences

are coming down to the ground -- factories, agriculture, everywhere. Now, based on the real situation on the ground level, I urge upon the Government to prepare a White Paper and get it discussed all over the country, and in both the Houses of Parliament. And we all should agree on what is best for the nation. In doing so, the first point that I want to place before the Government is that, nowadays neutral data are not available. Data are either getting doctored or manipulated or changed. So, you cannot make a comparison between the present situation and the previous situation. In the industrial growth data, the indices, weights are changed, baskets are changed. In the Wholesale Consumer Price Index, the baskets are changed. The baskets are changed. Recently, the Planning Commission has released some data on the poverty level. There also, the parameter has been changed. In the new parameter, the calling period which was 30 days earlier, has now been extended up to one year. The Economic Survey says that it is not comparable. Still, our hon. Finance Minister, in his Budget Speech, has stated that the poverty level has come down to 26%. Madam, great injustice has been done in the economic policy when they have compared the performance of the pre-reforms period with the post-reforms period. Everybody knows that the reforms started in the middle of 1991. The year 1991-92 is taken as pre-reforms period, and they show that the rate of growth was very high during the post-reforms period. Therefore, I would request the Government to give neutral figures so that they can be compared. Otherwise, we will have to depend on the data supplied by the ILO, UNO, etc. Therefore, it is not fair. Madam, even if the growth rate of 6.4%, which has been mentioned in the Economic Survey, is taken as correct, that growth rate does not represent prosperity.

Growth has to be accompanied by increase in employment; growth has to be accompanied by increase in savings; growth has to be accompanied by increase in investments and increase in capital formation. That has to be comparable; otherwise, growth alone cannot be considered as a yardstick for development. During the British period, in the initial stages, there was a tremendous growth, because they had tapped our land, they had tapped our underground resources which were there. Is this a fair and correct growth? You have also replaced the policy directions, you have changed the commanding role of the public sector and of the economy and handed over its command to the international finance capital. They tap it initially because they think that there may be some growth, but if taken content-wise, you will have to consider whether this growth is a quality growth, whether this growth is for the good of the people. When you look

at the data supplied by the N.S.S. in its 55<sup>th</sup> Round, if you compare it, calculate it, along with the Census Report and the actual growth of population, you will find that the increase in employment is an all-time low during this period. From 1.36% in the year 1987-88, it has come down to 0.67% per annum, on an average. The rate of employment has not increased; it has decreased. Therefore, your growth is not a quality growth. The savings have come down from 24% to 22%. It was 24% in 1999, and it has come down to 22% now. So is the investment rate, and so is the rate of capital formation. But you say that growth is there; very good growth is there. If that is the determining factor, then our growth is probably lower than that of Pakistan, so far as the agriculture sector is concerned. Our growth is lower, both in the context of agriculture and industry, than that of Sri Lanka and Nepal. Therefore, you have to compare it in real terms.

Madam, another important factor is this. Not only the rate of employment has gone down, the real wage has also come down.

The recent statistics given by the ILO in the World Employment Report of 1998-99 show that the real wage of the workers in India has gone down by 5%, on an average, every year, between 1990 and 1996. Madam, it says that between 1990 and 1996, every year, the real wage has fallen by 5%. The employment rate has also gone down; the real wage has gone down. I want to know what is the destination of gain. I want to know the areas, where there is gain in the growth rate, where it is going up. It is not coming to the labour, as the real wage is falling at the rate of 5% every year. It is not going to the peasantry; it is not coming to the common people also. Employment is also not increasing. Then, where is it going? Even the savings have not increased; the capital investment has not increased. Therefore, one has to decide whether the growth is fast or whether crony capitalism is developing in our country, which has no relation with the common people and the common masses. Madam, why I say this is because, these growth figures are false; they are not the real growth figures. The figures of the Economic Survey and other documents indicate that industrial growth rate is increasing. In that growth also, there are two trends. The industrial growth is taking place at a higher pace, but the consumption of electricity is going down. Everybody knows that this year, the production of electricity has gone down to four per cent, probably, from ten to twelve per cent consumption of electricity during the pre-reform period. The consumption of electricity during the pre-reform period, i.e. before 1991, was sixty-five per cent. Madam, sixty-five per cent of the total

electricity was being consumed by the industry during the pre-reform period. Now, only thirty-three per cent of the total electricity is being consumed by the industry. Madam, are we running industry through water? Are the industries functioning without electricity? I fail to understand, Madam, what kind of industrialisation is taking place. They have said that it is growing, but the basic industry is falling, the capital goods industry is falling; even a machine is not being produced in our country. The industry is in a very serious condition. There is decline in steel production, there is decline in the basic and machine-building industries, but the growth is taking place! Madam, growth is not taking place even in the non-durable consumer goods. Therefore, we have converted our economy into an economy where electricity is not required, to an economy where capital goods are not required, to an economy where basic goods are not required, but where industrial growth is taking place! That is why we have come to a stage where we are importing, assembling and exporting. We have almost converted our economy into a colonial economy, in the real sense. Madam, this situation of industry and this condition of agriculture is very dangerous. The figure which is given by the Economic Survey says, "in 1997-98, there was a decline of 2.4%; in 1998-99, there was a growth of 7.1%; in 1999-2000, there was a growth of only 0.7%; and in 2000-2001, the growth is only 0.9%." For the first time in Independent India, the growth rate of agriculture is going below the growth rate of population. It has never happened in the last 50 years. But still we say that our economy is growing and we are persisting with reforms. Madam, I again come to industry. Here also, in the Budget that was presented by the hon. Finance Minister the day-before-yesterday, we see that there is a fall in the collection of excise duty by Rs. 1,000 crores, which means, in the real sense, industry is going down. It is going down. Therefore, if you do not change the policy, I do not think that in the near future, industry will revive, because of these three-four reasons. The first reason is that, in any case, the savings are not increasing. You have given so many concessions to the share market, but still, the savings are not increasing; and it will not increase. The second thing is that private capital formation is also not taking place.

The consumption expenditure is not increasing. Thirdly, you have broken the public sector on the order of one man. You have obeyed them, but they have not fulfilled their commitment that so far as foreign investment is concerned, it would come. The latest figure is that there is \$7.53 trillion investable fund all over the world. There is surplus. Out of \$7.5 trillion, \$4.50 billion is going to developed countries. \$1.73 billion is coming to

developing countries. \$100 million is coming to Asian countries. We get only \$2 million or \$3 million. To get \$2 billion, we have destroyed our public sector, and we have destroyed our industrial base. Therefore, I don't think that so long as you do not change your policy, there will be a real revival of the industry.

In agriculture, whatever mechanism you apply, tax manipulation or other manipulations, whatever may be the mechanism, if international price goes down continuously, you cannot save the economy simply by putting the customs duty alone. What is the international price? It is coming down at a rate that is higher than the rate of depreciation of the rupee. The value of the rupee in 1990-91 was 17, and, now, the value of the rupee is 46.5, 46 or 47 in terms of a dollar. You are thinking that since the rupee is getting depreciated, we will be able to export our products. They are depreciating the value of the products in the international market. The price of wheat had gone down by 30 per cent in 1998; 38 per cent in 1999 and 40 per cent in the first half of 2000; rice, by 5 per cent in 1998, 22 per cent in 1999, 31 per cent in the first six months of 2000; soyabeans, by 14 per cent in 1998, 30 per cent in 1999 and 24 per cent in the first six months in 2000; sugar by 27 per cent in 1998, 49 per cent in 1999 and 49 per cent in the first six months of 2000; coffee by 13 per cent in 1998, 30 per cent in 1999 and 51 per cent in the first six months of 2000; cotton by 24 per cent in 1998, 38 per cent in 1999 and 35 per cent in the first six months of 2000; copper, by 34 per cent in 1998, 37 per cent in 1999 and 29 per cent in 2000. Therefore, our agriculture is finished. Nobody can save it, if you do not change your policy direction.

Now, my point initially is that our Constitution, under articles 38(2) and 39(c) directs that the economic direction should be based on equality, equality not between persons alone, but equality between groups and equality between the States.

India is 1,000 million. Here, people have suffered deprivation for centuries, thousands of years. Feudalism is going on for more than 2,000 years. This is not Europe. This is not America. You can do whatever you like.

I never believe that the great leaders who formulated our Constitution were socialists or communists, but I bow my head before them because they had the sagacity, and they knew that unless equality is maintained among States and others, the country would break, the country

would collapse. That collapsing process has just started. The time is there. If you can save it, you save it. You started liberalisation, but you have not initiated land reforms. Had you done some land reforms, the consumption expenditure could have increased.

Some market could have increased. Foreign investment could have come in. You did not do it. These are pre-requisite things for liberalisation. But you did not do it. Then, you went on creating some social security net. Some alarming figures are coming. Recently, in reply to a question, the Health Ministry has given some figures. They said that 47 per cent of our children are born underweight, 70 per cent of the children are anaemic. The Indian Red Cross have calculated that only 0.7 per cent is spent during all the ten years period on prevention of diseases. Their report is based on the Disaster Management System. Now malaria is breaking out at different places in the country. Other diseases are spreading because of your market economy.

Another report from the UNICEF has come. They have also said that the children are underweight. This underweight may cause diabetes. On all fronts, there is a serious situation. We are at the ground level, we understand the situation. But we do not know their language that much. At the ground level, the situation is very serious. If you do not control the situation, then, it may cause more damage.

Madam, regarding the equity of the States, I had put a question.

The answer is very alarming. The entire North-East States are collapsing. The market does not bother about anybody, who is surviving and who is dying. The East is also collapsing. In the 80's the growth rate in Arunachal Pradesh was 4.5 per cent. In the 90's, it has gone down to 0.53 per cent. The growth rate in Assam was 1.87 per cent. It has gone down to 0.88 per cent. In Bihar, the growth rate was 2.21 per cent. Now it is 2.5 per cent. Similar is the case with the remaining North-Eastern States. From the reply to another question, it was very clear that whichever State tried to follow the World Bank's diktat religiously, their growth rate had fallen during the 90's compared to the 80's. Those who tried to ignore the World Bank's diktat, their growth rate has increased in the 80's as well as in the 90's. I will give the figure for Andhra Pradesh. In the 80's, their growth rate was 4.28 per cent. In 90's it has come down to 2.42 per cent. Karnataka has improved substantially. In the 80's their growth rate was 3.41 per cent. In the 90's, it has gone up to 5.64 per cent. The growth rate in Maharashtra was 3.83

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per cent. It has slightly increased to 4.14 per cent. In the case of U.P. it was 2.48 per cent. It has declined by 2.38 per cent. The most abused State, Kerala; their growth rate was 1.37 per cent. It has increased to 4.76 per cent. They have registered an overall growth percentage of 247. In West Bengal, the growth rate in the 80's was 1.82 per cent. It is the most abused State. In the 90's, their growth rate has gone up to 5.07 per cent. They have registered an overall growth percentage of 180. Why I am talking about West Bengal and Kerala is because they have done two things. They have implemented land reforms religiously. They have consumption market in the villages. That is why they are able to sustain. The second thing is that they have not built many fly-overs and highways with World Bank's assistance. That is why they are improving. Therefore, I would request the Government of India to take note of the situation.

That is the reply to my Question, No.1244 on 30.11.2000, by Arun Shourieji. The country is collapsing. We see that. Sometimes, I feel I am unfortunate that I have come to the House, to Parliament, at a moment when the economy is collapsing, the country is collapsing, on all counts. I have drawn this conclusion not from my imagination, but based on the figures available.

My simple submission is this. You have done it as you thought it fit. That is why you have done it. The Government has done it. I cannot challenge the wisdom of the Government. My point is, it is being implemented for the last 10 years. Now, please have a review. We understand your problems. I understand the world order today, the world situation today. It has to be taken into consideration. Taking that into consideration, review the entire policy. You initiate a discussion. Prepare a White Paper. Initiate talks. And, while preparing the White Paper, don't doctor the data. Give independent, neutral, data so that people can assess it and review it. With these words, I commend my Resolution. Thank you.

*The question was proposed.*

उपसभापति : फेलेरियो जी, श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी जी और श्री रामदास अग्रवाल जी ने जल्दी जाना है इसलिए आप पहले इन्हें बोल लेने दीजिए। श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी जी पहले आप बोल लीजिए।

**श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) :** उपसभापति महोदय, वैश्वीकरण के उन्मुक्त घोड़े पर सवार होकर उदारीकरण, निजीकरण और ढांचागत समायोजन के नाम पर अपनाई गई नई आर्थिक नीतियों के चलते जो चाबुक हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था पर फटकारी जा रही है उसका परिणाम हमारे सामने है। नई आर्थिक नीतियों के नाम पर शुरू किए गए इन आर्थिक सुधारों का कुत्सित, अमानवीय चेहरा अब पूरी तरह से बेपर्दा हो चुका है।

[ उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पच्चीरी) पीठासीन हुए। ]

महोदय, जीवन राय जी ने अपने इस प्रस्ताव के जरिए हमारे शासकवर्ग को एक बार फिर मजबूर किया है कि वह अपने हवाई घोड़े से उतर कर जमीनी यथार्थ को देखे। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक जमीनी यथार्थ का सवाल है वह बहुत ही खौफनाक है। यहां पर आपके सारे हवाई सपने चकनाचूर हो जाते हैं। आप आंकड़ों की भाषा समझते हैं, इसीलिए मैं आपकी भाषा में ही कहना चाहूंगी कि जो भाषा आपने लिखी है उसको पढ़िये, उसको समझिये। आप स्वयं देखेंगे कि कहां से इसको शुरू किया था और हम कहां पहुंच गए हैं। कल तक जो बातें गैर-सरकारी संस्थानों के प्रवक्ता कह रहे थे कि हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था भयंकर मंदी के भंवर में फंसी हुई है, उसे अब आपके सरकारी दस्तावेज स्वीकार कर रहे हैं। आंकड़े बताते हैं कि उदारीकरण के इन वर्षों में संकट बढ़ से बढ़तर होता चला गया है। एक ओर विदेश व्यापार का घाटा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, विदेशी कर्ज लगातार बढ़ता चला जा रहा है और दूसरी ओर कृषि और उद्योग भयंकर मंदी के शिकार हो रहे हैं।

महोदय, पिछले दो वर्षों से सकल घरेलू उत्पाद की वृद्धि दर में लगातार गिरावट हो रही है। वर्ष 1998-99 में यह दर जहां 6.6 प्रतिशत थी, वहीं 1999-2000 में यह 6.4 प्रतिशत रही है।

अब 2000-2001 में इसके सिमटकर सिर्फ 6 प्रतिशत रह जाने की संभावना है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुद्रास्फीति की दर भी लगातार बढ़ती जा रही है। 27 जनवरी 2001 को मुद्रास्फीति की दर जहां 8.2 प्रतिशत थी और 52 सप्ताहों के औसत के आधार पर यह 6 प्रतिशत थी। सरकार की वित्तीय स्थिति को दर्शाने वाला राजकोषीय घाटा भी भले ही जी.डी.पी. के संदर्भ में न बढ़ा हो लेकिन शुद्ध रूप में 1,04,717 से बढ़कर 1,11,972 करोड़ रुपये हो गया है। महोदय, यहां तक की पूंजी और मुद्रा बाजार की स्थिति भी बहुत अच्छी नहीं है। नये आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार, मैं उद्धृत करना चाहूंगी, कहा गया है कि "चालू वित्तीय वर्ष के पहले 9 महीनों में प्राथमिक बाजार से संसाधन जुटाने में उल्लेखनीय गिरावट आयी है।" महोदय, आधारभूत ढांचे के क्षेत्र के बारे में भी आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण में टिप्पणी की गयी है - "आधारभूत क्षेत्र की औसत विकास दरों की प्रवृत्तियां कुछ क्षेत्रों में वर्ष 1980-81 से 1991-92 की अवधि से तुलना करने पर 1992-93 से 1999-2000 की अवधि के दौरान मंदी प्रदर्शित करती है।" इसी प्रकार सामाजिक क्षेत्र के बारे में आर्थिक सर्वे में यह कहा गया है कि "यह पिछले दशक की तुलना में बेहतर है लेकिन यह देश की गरीबी को कम करने के लिए अभी भी अपर्याप्त है।" कुल मिलाकर हम सभी जानते हैं कि इस साल के बजट को पेश होने के पहले तक न सिर्फ हमारे देश की जनता में तथा अपनी फसलों को न बेच पाने और कर्ज न चुका पाने की पीड़ा से आत्महत्या के लिए मजबूर हो रहे किसानों में, दूर दूर तक रोजगार की संभावनाओं को न खोज पाने वाले



बेरोजगार नीजवानों में गहरी निराशा और तीव्र गुस्सा दिखाई दे रहा था, बल्कि देश के छोटे-बड़े व्यवसायियों और उद्योगपतियों में भी एक पस्तहिम्मती दिखायी दे रही थी कि जैसे भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था को अब इस मंदी से उबारना कोई दुःस्वप्न ही हो। महोदय, पहली बार उद्योगपतियों के विभिन्न नेतृत्वकारी संगठनों ने विदेशों से आयात होने वाले सस्ते माल के खिलाफ आवाज उठायी। बजाज जैसी कम्पनी के मालिक ने कहा था और शायद वे ऐसा कर भी रहे हों कि अपने कारखानों में पंखों के उत्पादन को बंद करके विदेश से सस्ती दरों पर पंखे ला करके उन पर अपना लेबल लगाकर बेचेंगे। महोदय, शेयर बाजार की हालत तो और भी खस्ता थी, यह हम सभी जानते हैं। मार्च 2000 में मुम्बई स्टॉक एक्सचेंज का संवेदित सूचकांक 2000 के अंत में 5001 से 13.5 प्रतिशत गिरकर जनवरी 2001 के अंत में 4,327 पर पहुंच गया। एक हिसाब के अनुसार शेयर बाजार में आयी इस गिरावट से निवेशकों को कई लाख करोड़ रुपए का नुकसान हुआ। महोदय, औद्योगिक रुग्णता की स्थिति के बारे में सर्वे में कहा गया है "अनुसूचित वाणिज्यिक बैंकों के जरिए रिजर्व बैंक द्वारा इकट्ठा की गयी सूचना के अनुसार 31 मार्च 1999 को 3,09,013 औद्योगिक इकाइयां बीमार थीं जिनमें लघु उद्योग के क्षेत्र में 3,06,221 थीं और गैर लघु उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में 2,792 थीं। उसके पहले वर्ष तक रुग्ण लघु क्षेत्र की इकाइयों की संख्या 2,21,536 थी जो बढ़कर 3,06,221 हो गयी तथा गैर लघु क्षेत्र की रुग्ण इकाइयां 2,476 हो गयीं। इस प्रकार सिर्फ एक साल में रुग्ण और कमजोर इकाइयों की संख्या में 38 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। यह संख्या निश्चित रूप से चालू वर्ष में भी लगातार जारी है वरना उद्योगों से जुड़े हुए तमाम तबकों में जो मायूसी छाई हुई है, वह आज हमें दिखाई नहीं देती। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम जिस समय इस पूरे आर्थिक परिवेश पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं, उस समय माहौल भिन्न प्रकार का बना हुआ है। अभी दो दिन पहले ही आगामी वर्ष का केन्द्रीय बजट पेश किया गया है। इस बजट में भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था को मंदी से मुक्त करने की कोई मामूली कोशिश तक नहीं की गयी है। इसके बावजूद पूंजीपतियों के सारे के सारे संगठन बजट के भोंपू बने हुए हैं। पूंजीवादी अखबार और टी.वी. चैनलों पर बैठे हुए दिग्गज आर्थिक टिप्पणीकार बेहद उल्लासित और आल्हादित हैं। शेयर बाजार भी अचानक उछल गया है। एक अजीब प्रकार की अफरातफरी मची हुई है। पूंजीवादी दलों के प्रवक्तागण एक वर्गीय एकता के कारण ही बहुत अशोभनीय ढंग से एक दूसरे की पीठ ठोकते हुए दिखाई दे रहे हैं और वित्त मंत्री को शाबासी दी जा रही है। कहा जा रहा है कि बहुत साहस का काम आपने करके दिखाया है। जो कोई नहीं कर सकता था, वह आपने करके दिखाया...

**श्री रामदास अग्रवाल (राजस्थान) :** आपके लिए बहुत कष्ट का काम है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्रीमती सरला माहेस्वरी :** महोदय, मेरा सवाल है कि वित्त मंत्री ने आखिर ऐसा क्या काम किया है, ऐसा कौन सा साहस उन्होंने दिखाया है जो और कोई नहीं दिखा सकता था। उन्होंने अर्थव्यवस्था को चंगा करने की दिशा में कोई छोटा सा कदम भी नहीं उठाया। हमें यह बताया है कि भारत की जो मूलभूत समस्या है वह हमारी व्यापक जनता की दरिद्रता है और इसका कारण है हमारा सिकुड़ता हुआ बाजार। कृषि क्षेत्र में पूंजी की सख्त कमी आ रही है, आप समझ रहे होंगे। किसानों के कर्ज और उनकी फसल के लाभकारी मूल्यों को फिर से दोहराने की मैं जरूरत नहीं समझती हूँ। इसे अब सारी दुनिया जान चुकी है। औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में बढ़ती हुई रुग्णता, बढ़ती हुई बेरोजगारी का सबब है। इसे भी अलग से बताने की जरूरत मैं नहीं समझती। डब्ल्यूटीओ में सुधार के लिए वित्त मंत्री ने क्या कोई भी प्रस्ताव बजट में रखा है? इसके बावजूद क्या आज समूचे पूंजीवादी खेमें में एक प्रकार के अट्टहास की हंसी हमें सुनाई पड़ रही

है? हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने सिर्फ यही किया है, अपने बजट भाषण में मारी दंभ और निर्ममता के साथ यह ऐलान किया है कि भारत का मजदूर वर्ग अब पूंजीपतियों की मनमानी का गुलाम रहेगा। एक हजार से कम रखने वाले मजदूरों के मालिकों को अब मनमर्जी से मजदूरों की छटनी का अधिकार है। यही वह बात है जो कल तक मायूसी के अंधेरे में डूबे हुए हमारे देश के पूंजीपति वर्ग की तानाशाही की अहम भावना की तुष्टि करती थी। और इसीलिए वह आज सबसे ज्यादा आह्लादित है। यह पूंजीवाद का सबसे गलीज रूप है। दुनिया में पूंजीवाद का उद्भव जनतंत्र, स्वतंत्रता और भाईचारे के नारे के साथ शुरू हुआ था। किन्तु आज का पूंजीवाद निर्दयी तानाशाही का पुजारी बना हुआ है। वह इसी बात से खुश है कि हमारे संविधान ने जनतंत्र की श्रेष्ठ परंपराओं के साथ श्रमजीवियों को जो मूलभूत अधिकार दिए थे, ट्रेड यूनियन बनाने का अधिकार, सामूहिक सौदेबाजी का अधिकार, वे सब आज इस सरकार ने छीन लिए हैं। अगर वास्तविक अर्थों में इस सरकार को पूंजीवादी हितों को ही साधना था तो उसे भारत के बाजार को विस्तृत करने की दिशा में कोई कदम उठाना चाहिए था। महोदय, हम वामपंथी लोग वर्षों से इस बात की मांग करते आ रहे हैं कि व्यापक भूमि सुधार की जरूरत है और यह व्यापक भूमि सुधार का कार्यक्रम कोई समाजवाद का कार्यक्रम नहीं है। यह कार्यक्रम जनतंत्र की परिस्थिति में भी हो सकता है और कहा जाता है कि इस कार्यक्रम के चलते हमारे व्यापक किसान जनता की दरिद्रता को दूर करने में और भारत के बाजार को विकसित करने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ते हुए कहे जा सकते हैं। लेकिन वर्तमान सरकार न इसके लिए तैयार है और न ही इस वर्तमान सरकार के सुर में सुर मिलाकर हुआ-हुआ मिलाकर पूंजीपतियों को इस बात से सरोकार है कि इस देश की जो मूल समस्या है, उसकी ओर वे आकृष्ट हों। महोदय, यही वह मूल आधारशिला है जिस पर हमारे देश की अर्थ नीति को खड़ा किया जा सकता है? मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी कि यह सब लोग इस बात से तो खुश हैं कि मजदूरों पर बेखौफ चाबुक चला सकेंगे। पूंजीवादी अर्थ नीति की भाषा में चाबुक फटकारने की निर्दयता को श्रम बाजार की लोचशीलता का नाम दिया जाएगा। श्रम बाजार की यह लोचशीलता मजदूरों के दरिद्रीकरण के आलवा और कुछ नहीं है। व्यापक किसान जनता को दरिद्र रखकर, मजदूरों को दरिद्र रखकर किसी भी औद्योगिक विकास का सपना नहीं देखा जा सकता है। महोदय, विकास किसके लिए हो रहा है? अब हमें सवाल उठाना चाहिए अगर आप विकास की बात कर रहे हैं तो विकास किसके लिए है और कैसा विकास है? मुट्ठी भर उच्च वर्ग और पूंजीपतियों के लिए विकास? डब्ल्यूटीओ के इस युग में उच्च वर्ग की जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए अब भारत की औद्योगिक इकाइयां ही नहीं बल्कि विकसित देशों की औद्योगिक इकाइयां ही यथेष्ट हैं। इस तबके के लिए आयातित माल का क्रेज न कभी खत्म हुआ है और न कभी होगा। महोदय, मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि कुल मिलाकर इस सरकार ने जो नीतियां अपनाई हैं उनसे भारत के औद्योगिक विकास की कोई संभावना नजर नहीं आती है। लघु बचत योजनाओं पर ब्याज की दर को कम किया गया है और इसके चलते आम लोगों के लिए इसे अनाकर्षक बनाना और आम लोगों की पूंजी को शेयर बाजार के स्टोरियों के हाथों में खींचने का उपक्रम भी शुरू किया गया है।

सट्टेबाज पूंजीपति वर्ग शायद इसलिए भी खुश है कि उन्हें आगे और ज्यादा पूंजी के साथ खेलने और बिल्कुल निडर होकर खेलने का मौका मिलेगा। उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले दिनों शेयर बाजार में आई गिरावट से आम लोगों को जो लाखों-करोड़ों का नुकसान हुआ उसके लिए एक भी पूंजीपति को शायद ही कभी कोई कैफियत देनी पड़े। वास्तविक अर्थों में अर्थव्यवस्था को घंगा करने की दिशा में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने अगर कोई साहस का काम किया होता तो

वे सरज्जी के साथ भूमि सुधार लागू करने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ते और ज्यादा सरकारी नियोजन का ऐलान करते लेकिन यहां तो गंगा बिल्कुल उलटी ही बह रही है। भूमि सुधार की बजाय कृषि के पूंजीवादीकरण का कार्यक्रम अपनाया जा रहा है। सरकारी नियोजन और वृद्धि की बजाय उसमें और ज्यादा कटौती तथा सरकारी कंपनियों को बेचकर बजट का घाटा पूरा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। आगामी वर्ष में 12000 करोड़ के विनिवेश का ऐलान किया गया है अभी से महत्वपूर्ण सरकारी उपक्रमों के नाम बताए जा रहे हैं कि इन-इन उपक्रमों का विनिवेश किया जाना है। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी कि यह कोई रचनात्मक दृष्टिकोण नहीं है बल्कि बाप-दादाओं की संपत्ति बेचकर मौज करने का दृष्टिकोण है। अंत में इस प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी कि मंत्री जी अपनी आंखों से भ्रम का पर्दा हटाकर क्रूर यथार्थ को देखें। आई.एम.एफ., डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. और वैश्वीकरण के नुस्खों से कोई भी देश फला फूला नहीं है बल्कि तबाह और बर्बाद हुआ है। और तो और खुद अमरीकी समाज चिंतक नोम चोमस्की ने इन आर्थिक नीतियों का गहराई से अध्ययन किया है और बताया है कि ये आर्थिक सुधार दरिद्रता के वाहक हैं और आजादी और लोकतंत्र के दुश्मन हैं। नोम चोमस्की के शब्दों में "विश्व पूंजीवाद स्वयं में लोकतंत्र पर एक हमला है। वास्तव में यह जिस सूत्र पर काम करता है वह गरीबों के लिए बाजार की माल और धनिकों के लिए छूटों और राहतों की बौछार। नई अर्थव्यवस्था का मतलब है बहुमत जनता के विरुद्ध धनिक वर्ग की एकता और व्यवस्था। धनिक वर्ग की यह एकता और व्यवस्था लोकतंत्र को अपने अस्तित्व के लिए खतरे के रूप में देखती है।" उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, नोम चोमोस्की ने अपने अध्ययन में बताया है "अमरीका और इंग्लैण्ड जैसे देशों में कुछ वैसे ही कार्यक्रम चल रहे हैं जैसे ब्राजील, मैक्सिको और भारत में और परिणाम वैसे ही निकल रहे हैं। वहां भी कुछ लोग अत्यधिक सम्पन्न हो गए हैं और अत्यधिक लोग विपन्न। बहुत से लोग समाज में फालतू हो गए हैं क्योंकि मुनाफा बटोरने में वे शामिल नहीं हैं।" उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश की भी यही हालत है राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण के आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि उदारीकरण के बाद विकास की दर तो बढ़ी पर गरीबों को इससे कोई फायदा नहीं पहुंचा। इस सर्वेक्षण से यह भी पता चलता है कि इन वर्षों में 1990 की तरह ही प्रत्येक तीसरा भारतीय भीषण दरिद्रता की हालत में जाने के लिए मजबूर है। लेकिन अफसोस है कि हमारी सरकार के लिए दरिद्रता की कसौटियां भी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मानकों से उलट हैं। वैश्वीकरण की बात करते हैं लेकिन उनकी ये कसौटियां अलग हैं। इसलिए गरीबी भले ही कम न हो लेकिन आंकड़ों के भ्रमजाल से गरीबों की संख्या जरूर कम हो सकती है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत की गरीब जनता आज मंत्री जी से नागार्जुन के शब्दों में यह सवाल कर रही है कि :

उसका मुक्ति पर्व कब होगा कब होगी उसकी दीवाली,

चमकेगी उसके ललाट पर कब ताजे कुमकुम की लाली

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अंत में यह कहना चाहूंगी कि जन विरोधी, राष्ट्र विरोधी आर्थिक नीतियों को पलटिए वरना घरती कांपेगी और कांपकर यही कहेगी कि सिंहासन खाली करो जनता आतुर है। धन्यवाद।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, श्रीमान् जीवन राय जी ने जो संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया है उसे मैंने बड़े ध्यान से सुना। आज शायद पहली बार मैं और वे किसी बात पर आपस में सहमत हैं, जो बड़ा कठिन है उनके लिए और मेरे लिए भी, लेकिन एवरेज में फिफ्टी-फिफ्टी ठीक

है। वह इसलिए कि आज 52-53 साल की आजादी के बाद हमारे देश की दुर्दशा का, भारत देश का जो चित्र उन्होंने पेश किया है, जो चित्रण प्रस्तुत किया है वह काफी हद तक सही है। गरीबी है, बेरोजगारी है, पीने का पानी नहीं है, पशु-चारा भी नहीं है और लोगों को अपने गांव तक जाने के लिए कई जगह सड़कें भी उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। शिक्षा के बारे में भी यही हाल है। अशिक्षा हमारे देश में आज भी है और खासकर महिलाओं में शिक्षा का प्रतिशत बहुत कम है। 33 प्रतिशत महिलायें ही पढ़ी-लिखी हैं और 67 प्रतिशत अनपढ़ हैं, अज्ञानी हैं। आज भी देश में 32 करोड़ लोग बिलो पावर्टी लाइन हैं, ऐसी स्थिति है लेकिन हम इस परिस्थिति के लिए किसे दोष दें। हमारे यहां जनतंत्र मौजूद था। हमारे बड़े बड़े नेता मौजूद थे, दुनिया में जिनका नाम था, दुनिया में जिन्होंने अपना नाम उजागर किया था, ऐसे महान लोग हमारे देश के प्रधानमंत्री बने, वित्त मंत्री बने और उन्होंने एक व्यवस्था को देश के सामने रखा और कुछ शानदार व्यवस्थायें रखीं। समाजवाद नाम की एक व्यवस्था हम लोगों ने आयात की। उन्होंने उस व्यवस्था को मोडिफाई करके देश के सामने रखा जिसका समर्थन हमारे माननीय जीवन राय और उनकी साथी पार्टियों ने किया और देश को यह घुट्टी पिलाई कि अगर देश का आर्थिक ढांचा मजबूत करना है, गरीबी मिटानी है, बेरोजगारी हटानी है तो इसके लिए केवल एक रास्ता है कि आंख मूंदकर समाजवाद की तरफ चले जाओ। कुछ लोगों ने जिनमें हम भी थे उन्हें कहा कि आंख मूंदकर इस व्यवस्था के प्रति आस्था रखना ठीक नहीं है। लेकिन उस समय हम बहुत कमजोर थे, हमारी आवाज नक्करखाने में तूती जैसी रह जाती थी, हम दक्षिणपंथी करार दिए जाते थे। और न जाने वामपंथी, कई कई भाषायें जो हमारे समाजवादी समर्थक, साम्यवादी समर्थक लोग बोला करते थे, हमने भी सोचा कि शायद यह रास्ता जिसको सरकार ने एडोप्ट किया है, ग्रहण किया है, यह निश्चित रूप से देश को तरक्की के स्थान पर ले जाएगा। लेकिन जो चित्र हम आज देख रहे हैं वह दयनीय है। मैं उस चित्र से केवल एक ही बात जानना चाहता हूँ, आलोचना की दृष्टि से नहीं तथ्यों की दृष्टि से कि कई प्रांत ऐसे रहे हैं जिन पर एक ही पार्टी ने 22 साल तक राज किया है और उनमें एक प्रांत अभी भी है जहां 77 से लगातार एक ही पार्टी की सरकार है। मैं उस प्रांत में जाता रहा हूँ। मैं 70 से पहले भी हावड़ा और कलकत्ता जाता रहा हूँ। मैंने 70 में जिस प्रकार से सड़कों पर, बड़े बाजार की सड़कों पर लोगों को पड़े देखा है, रिक्शा चलाते देखा है, गंदे नाले में सोते देखा है, टूटी-फूटी सड़कों के सहारे लोगों को जीते देखा है मैं आश्चर्य करता हूँ कि जब मैं 1999 में वहां गया तो मुझे वही दृश्य दिखाई दिया।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम :** कहां?

**श्री रामदास अग्रवाल :** कलकत्ता और हावड़ा। मैं बोलूंगा लेकिन धीरे धीरे बोलूंगा। नहीं तो हमारे मित्र नाराज हो जायेंगे और मुझे बोलने नहीं देंगे। आज की भाषा में कोलकत्ता जिसको कहते हैं, वहां मैंने देखा है कि 77 से वहां पर एक व्यक्ति, एक पार्टी तथा एक व्यक्ति की सत्ता बनी रही। हमने सोचा कि चलो कम से कम एक प्रांत में स्थिर सरकार है, एक प्रांत में एक पार्टी ऐसी है जो समाजवाद और साम्यवाद का नारा लगाती है इसलिए कम से कम वहां से गरीबी हटेगी, वहां भुखमरी नहीं रहेगी और वहां पर तरक्की के बाजे बजने लगेंगे। वहां उत्थान का नारा लगेगा और वहां पर शांति होगी और वहां पर कोई भी गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वाला आदमी नहीं मिलेगा।

लेकिन आज भी कोई दावे से छाती ठोक कर नहीं कह सकता कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में आज कोई गरीब नहीं रहता, पश्चिमी बंगाल में आज कोई बेकार नहीं रहता या पश्चिमी बंगाल में

सब के पढ़ने के लिए और चलने के लिए सड़कों का प्रावधान हो चुका है। आपके हाथ में सत्ता थी, केन्द्र में जिन लोगों के हाथ में सत्ता रही, 40 साल तक लगातार एक ही पार्टी का शासन रहा और ठीक था प्रजातंत्र में उन्होंने राज किया था। इसमें किसी को कोई एतराज नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन इसके बावजूद कि एक ही पार्टी का राज इस देश में 40 साल रहा, एक ही पार्टी का राज एक प्रदेश में 22 साल से चला आ रहा है, इसके बावजूद भी देश की प्रगति क्यों नहीं हुई और प्रदेश की प्रगति क्यों नहीं हुई? एक सवाल हमारे सामने है। अगर हम केवल चश्मा लगा कर पश्चिमी बंगाल में हरियाली देखेंगे और उत्तर प्रदेश में सूखा देखेंगे, उससे समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। अगर समस्या के समाधान की चिंता है तो जीवन राय जी, चश्मा एक प्रकार का लगाइये। समाजवाद की परिभाषा में आप लोगों ने, न जाने कितने बड़े बड़े लेखकों ने, आपके लोगों ने कितनी बड़ी बड़ी पुस्तकें रच डाली कि सारी समस्या का एक ही निदान है और वह है समाजवाद। समाजवाद पर यह देश चला 1999 तक। 1999 तक समाजवाद की राह पर चलने के बावजूद हमारे रास्ते में कांटों की बोछारें बनी रहीं। हम लोग गरीब से गरीब होते चले गये। अब सवाल यह आता है कि इसका समाधान क्या है? मैं बहुत सारे आंकड़े आपको दे सकता हूँ। लेकिन मैं आंकड़ों पर नहीं जाऊंगा क्योंकि और भी माननीय सदस्य बोलेंगे। आंकड़ों पर जाने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। हम यह जानते हैं कि इस सदन में कई बार आंकड़ों के अम्बार में हम फंसे हैं। कोई क्या आंकड़ा दे देगा, कोई दूसरा आंकड़ा दे देगा। अगर कोई प्रगति का आंकड़ा दिया जा सकता है, प्रगति का दायरा दिया जा सकता है तो मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि बिजली के क्षेत्र में बहुत तरक्की हुई है, उद्योग के क्षेत्र में तरक्की हुई, कृषि के क्षेत्र में भी उत्पाद बहुत बढ़ा है लेकिन सवाल तो यह है कि सब बढ़ने के बाद भी हम कमजोर और गरीब क्यों हैं? क्या हम किसी एक व्यवस्था को या हम किसी एक शासन को आरोपित करने के पश्चात अपने उत्तरदायित्व से मुक्त होंगे? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चूंकि यह संकल्प किसी पार्टी के नाते प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया, यह संकल्प एक प्राइवेट मੈम्बर का होता है, इसलिए इसमें विचार रखते हुए, विचार करते समय कम से कम इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिये कि इस देश ने क्या गलती की है, हमारी कौन-सी त्रुटियाँ हैं जिसके कारण हम आज 52 साल की आजादी के बाद भी पश्चाताप के आंसू बहा रहे हैं। पश्चाताप के आंसू बहाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। हमारे ऊपर जिम्मेदारी है, सदनों पर जिम्मेदारी है, विधानसभाओं पर जिम्मेदारी है, अगर वह जिम्मेदारी नहीं निभा पाएंगे तो इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है। मैं केवल यह कह कर नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस उसके लिए जिम्मेदार है या पश्चिमी बंगाल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जिम्मेदार है या बाकी प्रान्तों में अन्य पार्टियाँ जिम्मेदार हैं। आप संतोष कर सकते हैं कि केरल और बंगाल में कुछ आंकड़े देकर कि वहाँ कुछ थोड़ा बहुत फर्क पड़ा है। थोड़ा बहुत फर्क तो सारे देश में पड़ा है। हजारों मील सड़कें बनी हैं, हजारों मील रेलवे लाइनें डली हैं, बड़े बड़े कारखाने लगे हैं, चार लाख करोड़ रुपया हमारे देश का उद्योगों में लगा। यह तो हम सब जानते हैं। लेकिन जो बड़े बड़े कारखाने बने हैं, बांध बने हैं, यह सब तो बने हैं लेकिन उस सबके बावजूद भी हमारा देश कमजोर देश क्यों है।

इसके ऊपर जब हम विचार करते हैं तो मेरी दृष्टि से इस व्यवस्था पर जो आरोप लगाने की बात की जाती है और हमारे जीवन राय जी घड़ी की सुई को वापस घुमाने की बात कर रहे हैं, मैं नहीं जानता घड़ी की सुई को घुमा कर वह कौन से समाजवाद की राह पर ले जाना चाहते हैं। वे कौन से रूस के समाजवाद के रास्ते पर ले जाएंगे या चीन के पैटर्न पर ले जाना चाहेंगे, कौन से देश की व्यवस्था पर जाना चाहते हैं। पर यह सारी व्यवस्थाएँ हमारी स्वयं भंग हो चुकी हैं। रूस ने समाजवाद को छोड़ दिया। आज रूस जो एक बड़ा साम्राज्य था, शक्ति

था, जो दुनिया की मानी हुई एक शक्ति थी आज वह खंडित हो कर बिखर गया है। क्यों बिखर गया है? मैं यह नहीं कहता केवल समाजवाद बिखरा है, साम्यवाद बिखरा है, मैं जानता हूँ हमारे पूर्व के अन्दर जो देश पूंजीवादी कहलाते थे इनकी भाषा में जापान, थाईलैंड, मलेशिया, यह सारे देश भी अभी दो साल पहले एकदम चकनाचूर होने की स्थिति में आ गये थे।

वे पूंजीवाद के समर्थक थे। उन्होंने ओपन मारकेट की व्यवस्था को, ग्लोबलाइजेशन को स्वीकार कर लिया था और वहां पर मल्टी नेशनल्स का अम्बार लगा हुआ है, उसके बावजूद वे देश, उनकी मुद्रा कितने भयानक रूप से आँधे मुँह गिरी, यह हम जानते हैं। एक तरफ समाजवादी व्यवस्था का रूस ध्वस्त हो गया और दूसरी तरफ जो पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था के स्वरूप में काम करने वाले जापान आदि थे उनकी अर्थव्यवस्था डगमगा गयी। यह डगमगाने का काम और आर्थिक स्थितियों को बिगाड़ने का काम हर एक व्यवस्था में हुआ है। प्रश्न यह है कि हम अपनी समस्या का किस प्रकार से समाधान करें। यह हमारे लिए, सबके लिए बड़ा सोच का और विचार का विषय है। यह जीवन राय जी ने सही ढंग से रखा है कि यह विचार का विषय है। आज हम जो कुछ भी स्वीकार करना चाहते हैं - ऐसी व्यवस्था स्वीकार करें, आज 2001 में तो कम से कम ऐसी व्यवस्था को लागू करने का प्रयास करें कि आने वाले 50 साल बाद यहां बैठने वाले हमारे जो सांसद होंगे वे यह न कहें कि जीवन राय जी एक सदस्य हुआ करते थे, रामदास अग्रवाल एक सदस्य हुआ करते थे, वैकैया नायडु एक सदस्य हुआ करते थे, उन्होंने एक ऐसी व्यवस्था लागू की कि हम गरीब के गरीब बने हैं, फकीर के फकीर बने हैं। कम से कम हमको तो कोई यह न कहे, ऐसी व्यवस्था हम स्वीकार करें। उस व्यवस्था को स्वीकार करने के लिए बड़े मन के संकल्प की आवश्यकता है। यह केवल भाषणों से नहीं हो सकता। इसमें सामूहिक निर्णय करने के लिए, इसमें आम कन्सेंसस बनाने की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी कि हमारे देश के अंदर हमें कौन-सी चीजों को लागू करना पड़ेगा ताकि हम अपने देश के विकास के लिए एक समुचित और एक एग्रीड की हुई पालिसी सबके समन्वय में सबकी जानकारी में, सबकी सहमति में स्वीकार करें, तभी तो कुछ होगा अन्यथा आगे नहीं चल सकता है।

मैं कंक्लूड कर रहा हूँ। मैं आपके इशारे को समझ रहा हूँ।

आज हमें क्या करना चाहिए। आइए हम सब मिलकर तय करें, देश की पापूलेशन कम करें। यह बढ़े नहीं। कौन करेगा? मैं कभी कभी आँकड़े देखता हूँ कि इस देश की पापूलेशन अगर हम नियमित करते, कंट्रोल करते, आज जो सौ करोड़ से ऊपर क्रास हो रही है, आप जरा कल्पना करिए कि अगर हम नियंत्रित व्यवस्था में चलते, पापूलेशन को बढ़ने से रोकते और इस देश की आबादी अगर 70 करोड़ रहती तो देश में आपको कितने गरीब मिलते। आप चूक गए। 70 करोड़ की आबादी में कोई आपको गरीब नहीं दिखता। कोई पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे नहीं दिखता। लेकिन हम नहीं रोक पाए। हम दुनिया को दोष देते हैं, व्यवस्था को दोष देते हैं। लेकिन हमने संकल्प नहीं किया कि हमें देश की आबादी को रोकना होगा। नहीं रोक पाए। कई कारण हैं, जिन कारणों की व्याख्या करने से फिर मन में किसी न किसी को कष्ट होगा। उसमें धर्म घुसा दिया गया, उसमें राजनीति घुसा दी गयी, उसमें वोट घुसा दिया गया और अन्य अन्य बातें डाल दी गयीं। इसके कारण पापूलेशन बढ़ती चली गयी और आज हम रो रहे हैं। आज हम आंसू बहा रहे हैं।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा (राजस्थान) : अग्रवाल जी सही कह रहे हैं। पापूलेशन को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिए संजय गांधी ने कदम उठाया था। उसमें राजनीति आ गयी, धर्म आ गया। इसलिए वह सक्सेस नहीं हो पायी। यह सही कह रहे हैं।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : ठीक बात है। जो सही है तो सही है, इसमें क्या है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि अगर हमने निर्णय किया होता तो हम गरीबी के जो आंसू बहाते हैं उसकी जरूरत नहीं पड़ती।

दूसरा, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में कई बार, इस सदन में कई बार चर्चा हुई कि इस देश के आर्थिक स्वरूप के ढांचे को अगर किसी ने निगल लिया है तो वह भ्रष्टाचार है। वही मीणा जी को कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपके प्रधान मंत्री, हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी ने कहा था, जब मैं एक रुपया दिल्ली से भेजता हूँ तो वह जहाँ पहुँचना चाहिए, पहुँचते पहुँचते 85 पैसे गायब हो जाता है और वहाँ आम आदमी तक केवल 15 पैसे पहुँचता है। 15 पैसे पहुँचता है यह एक कैलकुलेशन है। वह 10 पैसे है या 8 पैसे है इसका क्या पता। अगर हम एक रुपए में से 15 पैसे केवल वास्तविक रूप से खर्च कर रहे हैं तो इस देश की तरक्की का सपना क्यों देखते हैं। कोई मतलब नहीं है उस सपने को देखने का। अगर देश की आर्थिक तरक्की का सपना देखना है तो भ्रष्टाचार पर कुल्हाड़ी चलाने का संकल्प इस देश को करना पड़ेगा, आम सहमति से करना पड़ेगा और इस सबके आधार पर फिर किसी को आरोपित करने की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ेगी, किसी पर गाली निकालने की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ेगी। लेकिन नहीं किया आपने। हम एक दूसरे पर मिट्टी उछालते रहे, धूल फाँकते रहे। लेकिन हमने भ्रष्टाचार पर काबू नहीं पाया और आज भ्रष्टाचार इस सीमा तक पहुँच गया है...

दूसरा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है जो सबसे बड़ा कारण मुझको दिखाई देता है वह यह है कि हमने ऐसी प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था स्वीकार की जिसके अंदर अगर किसी आदमी को सरकारी नौकरी मिल गई या कहीं और किसी कल-कारखाने में उसको नौकरी मिल गई तो उसने यह समझ लिया कि अब मुझे काम नहीं करना है, अब तो मुझे तनख्वाह मिलती है और काम करने की तनख्वाह थोड़े ही मिलती है। यह बात अगर हम ईमानदारी से स्वीकार करते और हम अपनी एफीशिएंसी को बढ़ाते तथा हमने यदि काम को एक पूजा की दृष्टि से देखा होता तो ऐसी स्थिति नहीं आती। हमने यह स्वीकार किया कि हम लेबर यूनियन को अधिकार देंगे, लेबरर्ज को अधिकार देंगे, देने चाहिए, यह प्रजातंत्र में आवश्यक भी है, लेकिन उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रजातंत्र में अधिकार के साथ कर्तव्य भी और कर्तव्य के साथ उसको लागू करने की आवश्यकता भी है और हमने लागू नहीं किया। मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ और मुझे पता है कि किसी सरकारी कंपनी में अगर किसी को सौ रुपये मिलते हैं तो वह केवल दो रुपये की रिटर्न काम करके देता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर के अंदर मेरा निजी अनुभव है, वह सौ रुपये देता है तो कम से कम 70 रुपये का काम लेता है। सरकारी प्रतिष्ठानों को लील लिया गया है। सारे सरकार में लगे हमारे उद्योग आज ऐसी स्थिति में आ गए हैं कि उन्हें हम बंद करने की सोचते हैं या हम उन्हें बेचने की सोचते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति क्यों आ गई? लाखों करोड़ रुपये का इन्वेस्टमेंट बेकार हो गया और इसी कारण देश की तरक्की नहीं हुई, इसी कारण हम बेरोज़गारी नहीं मिटा पाए और इसी के कारण हम देश के आर्थिक ढांचे को ठीक नहीं कर पाए। इस देश के आर्थिक ढांचे में

परिवर्तन लाने के लिए किसी व्यवस्था पर आरोप मत लगाइये, किसी शासन व्यवस्था को आरोपित करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, एक कंसेंसस बना कर कोई ऐसा संकल्प प्रस्तुत करें जिससे कि यह प्रकट हो कि आने वाली पीढ़ी के लिए हम ऐसा काम करके जायेंगे कि उन्हें गरीब रहने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा, तब तो इस संकल्प का कुछ उपयोग है, अन्यथा केवल आंकड़ों के जंजाल में फंस कर हम एक-दूसरे के विरुद्ध कुछ भी करते रहेंगे।

अंत में उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि संकल्प की भावना ठीक है, संकल्प के प्रति उनके जो विचार हैं वे बिल्कुल ठीक हैं, लेकिन किसी व्यवस्था को, चाहे आज की उदारीकरण की व्यवस्था हो या कल की समाजवादी व्यवस्था हो, इसे आरोपित करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जरा मिल बैठ करके कोई व्यवस्था का निर्माण करें तो इस संकल्प का उपयोग होगा। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Goa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved here by our hon. Shri Jibon Roy. Mr. Roy, in his Resolution, speaks about the widening economic disparity among the States. He also speaks about the economic disparity among different sections of the population. I think, the main concern of good governance or a good Government in the economic field has to be, removal, or, at least, reduction, of the economic disparity.

Good governance in the economic field means, reduction, if not elimination, of the economic disparity among the people. It works in this manner. You take a hundred metres race. Some people start from zero point. Others start from 90-metre point to reach the 100-metre target. Is it fair? It is not. Similarly, in the race of life, some people live in mansions, have the best of healthcare, topmost education, the best of food and clothing. Other people live in slums, if at all there are slums, or on the footpath. Living on the footpath means, no food, no education, no health and nothing. Is it fair?

This Government speaks about growth. Growth is all right; but growth can't be justified for lack of equality. Growth and equality must go hand in hand, as Mr. Jibon Roy says. Equity can't be compromised ever, as justice can't be compromised, under whatever considerations. Therefore, Sir, the fact of the matter is this. Over the last so many decades, disparity among the people within the country, and disparity among the countries globally, has been widening.

Fifty years ago, where was the U.S. and England? They were much ahead of us. They are, today, even further ahead of us. Disparity among the developing and developed countries has increased drastically. With the



present policies of globalisation, it is increasing much further. Disparity is the main concern now. The implications of globalisation, I must say, have many beneficial effects; but it also has many adverse effects and dangerous effects.

We must have the benefits. We try to control the adverse effect. The main adverse effect is this that disparities grow within the country. In India since the economic reforms people like you, like me and all of us are improving. You see the middle class is improving. Sir, you know much better. The poor are not improving. Therefore, not only they are not improving, but the gap is also increasing and that is leading to frustration and, as the mover of the Resolution has said, that has dangerous consequences for peace, for stability within the country and also for peace and stability because of the increasing disparity among the countries at the global level. Now, I am very surprised-- I would have said shocked -- by these rave reviews that this Budget has got. All I see is the photograph of the Finance Minister, such a big photograph is smiling, newspaper is also smiling, the editor is also smiling and the journalist is also smiling. I am not only surprised, I am shocked because if the main concern of good governance in the economic field is to reduce the disparities, then this is a bad Budget by that standard because this Budget has no concern at all for the poor. Hon. Sir, in fact, it appears to have contempt for the poor. *..(Interruptions)...* That is just an example of the direction of this Government in the economic field and otherwise. Therefore, I am saying this. Now what are the concerns? First of all, let us take the PDS. You are dismantling the PDS. Rats are eating wheat in the godowns. More than two lakh rats are eating wheat in the godowns and half of the population, in some States more than half of the population, is going home, is going to bed with one meal, if at all any. Is it fair that you should dismantle the PDS? This is in the context of the Public Distribution System and about what the Budget and all of you are doing in this Government. Now, I come to health. Last year the Budget was drastically reduced for health. This year in nominal terms it has been maintained but in real terms because of the inflation it goes down. There are no dispensaries, there are no facilities for the poor people. The diseases which we thought had been eliminated such as malaria are going rampant all over the country. Therefore, what is being done is the complete neglect of health because you are reducing the Budget and privatising everything. Now, I come to what is happening in the educational field. If you look at your States, all of your States, particularly those controlled by the ruling party within the ruling

alliance, teachers are not being appointed for the Government schools. Even at the elementary education level, the Government schools are to be abolished and in their place some NGO sort of private schools are to come. Now what is being said is that if you have money, you go to a good a school and if you do not have money go in for the non-formal education. Non-formal education means you pay Rs.100 to a teacher who sits under a tree and there is no classroom, no books, nothing. From U.P. Government we got information in the Standing Committee that books cannot be provided to the teachers - forget about the students -- because there are so many teachers and there is no money for books to the teachers. Therefore, what is going to happen is like this. Our children will go to the best schools or at least the Government schools and the children of other 50 per cent people will have non-formal education which is no education at all. Sir, education is the basis from the beginning itself. Due to this educational disparity what you are doing is that you are not having formal education for all; having formal for some and non-formal education for the most; formal education and good education for the classes and non-formal education which is no education of any quality for the masses. Therefore, this is what you are doing in the field of education. This is the way this is going on. By this standard whether it is the Budget or whether it is the economic policy of the Government, they are all bad policies and there is bad governance. Instead of reducing disparities which should be the central concern of any economic policy, you are, in fact, widening and maintaining the disparities among the people. Therefore, this is what is happening.

So, that is what is happening. Now, the World Bank and the multinationals are coming here. I would request you that we must have a debate or, at least, a briefing in this House as to what is the role of these so-called brettenwood brothers; like the World Bank and the IMF, in our economy. Please enlighten the Members of Parliament as to what their role is. Their role is immense and enormous in the economy of our country and today, and that of the developing countries. Therefore, the Members of Parliament should be educated and enlightened as to what exactly their role is. Then, you have the multinational corporations. What is the meaning of a multinational corporation? Sir, multinational corporations are bigger and more powerful than countries. There are several multinational corporations whose budget is more than the Budget of the half of the Member-Nations of the United Nations. That is the status of the multinational corporations. They are there. There is no transparency. They are accountable to

nobody. They are accountable only to their shareholders, whether they are in the U.S. or Britain or Luxemburg or Canary Islands or Bahamas or wherever they may be. They are accountable to nobody. Now that the multinationals are controlling more and more of the national economy, we must know as to what their functioning is, what their limitations are, what is the control and what is the accountability and what is the transparency in their operations. I think the Members of Parliament -- including myself -- need to be educated urgently on the IMF, the World Bank, their role in the national economy; multinationals, their limitations, accountability and transparency. So, I do not want to take much time of the House.

I want to raise a point with regard to the poor people of the country. The number of poor in the country is going to increase by millions because of the imminent collapse which has started in agriculture. Sir, agriculture has collapsed. My colleague from my own State is there. He is the Minister of Agriculture. He will bear with me. Sir, my State is having a good coconut production. The price of coconut has come down from Rs. 8,000/- per thousand to Rs. 1,500/- - Rs. 2,000/-. When the inputs are increasing, the price that we are getting now is coming down to 20 per cent of what we were getting earlier. So, naturally, we have to close our plantations. There is no other way. Sir, *supari* is another main crop of our State. The rate of betelnut now come down from Rs. 150 per kg to Rs. 70/- per kg. How can we manage like this? We will have to close our agriculture; and once we close our agriculture, the food security will go and we will go back by fifty years when we were said to be living 'from ship to mouth.' At that point of time, the food was coming free of cost because we had the ODA. Now, we will have to pay for that food also. Therefore, the main concern of every country in the world is to have food security. Food is the belly and that is the main security and that is the reason why the developed countries are giving huge subsidies for agriculture -- billions of dollars; the exact amounts have been given to us by the hon. Minister of Agriculture himself in this House, in a written reply. So, now, the Minister comes and tells us in his Budget, the Government tells us all the time, "Oh! The Congress Government signed the WTO and the WTO does not permit." It is entirely untrue. I could have been used a strong unparliamentary word. But I do not want to use it. I will only say that it is untrue because the WTO permits duty on food, on agricultural products, up to 300 per cent, but the duty that is existing here today is about 20 per cent or 30 per cent on edible oils and other products. Originally, it was 20-30 per cent. We wrote

to the hon. Prime Minister to increase it to about 50 per cent or so. Now, I think, it has been increased a little more. My demand here is to increase it to 300 per cent. The import duty on agricultural produce should be increased to 300 per cent -- the maximum that the WTO permits. Otherwise, subsidise agriculture just like Japan is subsidising -- it is giving billions of dollars by way of subsidy. You give huge subsidies to our farmers the way countries like Australia, New Zealand, USA, and the European Union are doing, because there is no third way. Either you give heavy subsidies like the developed countries or impose a heavy duty which the WTO permits, that is, up to 300 per cent, and not 70 per cent. Otherwise, we will be destroying our agriculture, the food security that has been built over fifty years will go and we will be back to the days of living 'from ship to mouth' which we should not ever contemplate. Now, Sir, I will come to the question of the WTO. Please do not blame the Congress Government, because the WTO is a continuous process. So many countries are going there and arguing on the implementation of the WTO provisions, saying that the implementation is not correct. By arguing and delaying the implementation, they are achieving the fruits. But you are sitting tight.

Now, what is being done is, you say, "We are too weak. Your country is very powerful. You will not listen to us." What needs to be done by the weak countries is, to have regional arrangements. South Asia is the only part of the world where there are no regional arrangements. Even in Africa it is there; in Latin America it is there; ASEAN, you know very well; Europe, you know very well. South Asia is the only part of the world where there is no regional cooperation, and that is a disgrace to us. Therefore, what I am saying is, you convene a SAARC summit immediately. The President of Sri Lanka came here. The SAARC summit is to be held annually, but it was not held last year because we took a stand that the President of Pakistan is not a democrat, is not elected. However, the President of Burma is all right! We can invite him here, have him in the Rashtrapati Bhavan, and have a lot of good talks and everything. But the President of Pakistan is not acceptable. We should not be bothered whether the President of Pakistan is a democrat or not. That is the problem of Pakistan. We should be concerned with our own interests, and our interests call for regional cooperation. We should fight together in the WTO and other economic fora on regional problems and concerns. Therefore, I call for a SAARC Summit. When the President of Sri Lanka

came here last week, it was agreed to have a meeting of the Standing Committee of SAARC. That is not good enough. We must immediately convene a SAARC summit, where we should not discuss bilateral issues because, otherwise, we will bogged down in India-Pakistan tussle, and nothing will happen. Instead, we should concentrate on issues of common interest and on important economic issues. Among these economic issues, we should basically put up a united fight for our rights and our concerns, particularly, in the field of agriculture. With these imports, we are destroying our agriculture and everything because of the WTO, just like the other countries are doing. Now, it is not just a question of power; it is also a question of knowledge. Knowledge is power. The seven most powerful countries - the Group of Seven - are constantly in touch. They are preparing tremendous research papers. They attend to so many things. But we just go there. Some Joint Secretary, or, at the most, a Secretary, will prepare a speech for the Minister. The Minister will go to that meeting. He will read out his speech there, will feel very happy, and then come back home. Then will say, "We have not achieved anything because we had not done our homework." And homework is not only for the Minister, but also for the whole institution, the whole structure. Therefore, one of the ways by which we can do this at the regional level is by strengthening the South Commission's office at Geneva which looks after the interests of the developing countries, provide them funds and finances so that they could develop and do proper researches and put forward proper arguments and proper evidences before the WTO. Arguments are good. Even if you are strong with a lot of brawn, you cannot...*(Time-bell)*... I will just finish. Still there is time. If you have good arguments, any amount of power cannot defeat the power of logic. Therefore, I am calling for a reversal of these policies, which insist on growth and growth alone. Reversal, so that equity comes on the top and growth comes along with equity, that is, internally. Secondly, I am calling here for increasing the duties on agricultural imports to the maximum permitted by the WTO, which is 300 per cent, not 70 per cent, as the Budget has done the other day. I am calling here for a SAARC summit, which had been postponed last year. We should not bother whether General Musharraf or anybody else is a democrat or not. You should convene a SAARC summit to evolve a united position of South Asia before the WTO so that we are in a strong bargaining position. Therefore, in that manner, let us see that there is less disparity among our people, greater homogeneity because that is one road, and the only road, to peace and prosperity. Thank you.

**4.00 P.M.**

SHRI B.J. PANDA (Orissa): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. While there is much to be lauded in this Resolution that has been moved, I am afraid, I must also sound a discordant note. There is talk of disparity and increasing disparities. But, are there disparities? Undoubtedly, the answer is, yes. There are disparities. But if you look at these policies that we are debating, the fundamental question that arises, Sir, is, whether these disparities exist because of the policies that we have been following since 1991 or they exist despite having these policies. Perhaps, we have not adopted these policies soon enough; perhaps, we have not pushed them far enough. It cannot be denied, Sir, that, for decades, we were joked about in the rest of the world on the so-called Hindu rate of growth of 3-3.5%. It cannot be denied, Sir, that, today, the rate of growth in our country is, on an average, 6%. It cannot be denied that there are benefits that are inherent in this growth. While acknowledging the need for equity, as the hon. Member has just pointed out, I assert, Sir, that there can never be any equity without growth. Today, we are faltering or stagnating into a position where a 6% growth rate,-- although much better than the past-- is nothing to be proud of. In the past few decades, the rest of the world has shown us that double digit growth is possible. It is possible not just in the so-called Tiger economies of the small countries in South East Asia, but also in big countries, bigger than ours. Sir, the Resolution seems to hark back to some sort of a vision of a golden era. Which golden era are we talking about? Are we talking about the past fifty years? What world-class industry have we built? Our share in the world trade, our market share in various industries worldwide, has shrunk to a minimal position. What are these large, world-class, industries that we are so afraid of decimating? What are the great social achievements in the past fifty years that we are so proud of, that we are afraid of losing it? Yes, Sir, we have had social achievements. But I don't think anybody will dispute that our huge population growth has neutralised most of any growth, of any social benefits, or equity that has been built up in our country in the last fifty years. Or, shall we hark back to only 15 or 20 years, or to the 80's as was being talking about? Undoubtedly, if you look at the statistics, the growth rates in the 80's do seem attractive but, Sir, can it be denied that the growth in the 80's was primarily due to high Government spending? Where did those huge Government spendings come from? They had come from borrowings. Why are we stuck with such huge interest repayments which

we are now bequeathing to future generations? It is because of those loans, it is because of that high Government spending that we are in a rut today. Is that the way? Sir, it is an artificial concept of what a golden era of our country's growth ought to be. In pursuing such an agenda, we will continually get stuck in a rut of worrying about the 10% of the population of the country, at the cost of the balance 90%. This can be in the form of worrying about the organised sector, as opposed to the unorganised sector workers, if we worry about the labour policy. It can apply across-the-board to everything else. Sir, the engine of every prosperous society is commerce. It is value addition. It is not this narrow-blinded aim of providing a job at any cost; it is a question whether any value is added or whether any product is created. It is the by-product which leads to the prosperity of any country. Take the example of IT industry, Sir. Today, our IT industry is talked about globally; not just talked about, it is acknowledged universally as the major significant feature of the Indian Economy.

Sir, the world does not recognise much about India. It recognises that we are a nuclear power; it recognises that we are a democracy; it recognises that we are an IT super-power; and it recognises that we win beauty contests. Out of these, only the nuclear power tag is something that can be credited to Government's achievements. We are a democracy because, we, as a people, wish to be so. We are an IT super-power, not because of Government's intervention or Government's help, but despite it. We also win beauty contests. Sir, it is also not because of Government's assistance, but despite it. There is a lesson to be learnt, and the lesson is that it is not the Government's job to directly try to attempt to do things against the nature of mankind. It is the Government's job, Sir, to facilitate, it is the Government's job, Sir, to provide the platform on which we can achieve our potential.

Sir, I do not want to take too much time, but I do wish to laud many things that the hon. Member, Shri Jibon Babu, has pointed out. I do wish to laud that we, as a country, have failed in providing basic primary education! He pointed out the figures of budgetary allocations made in this area, which are pathetic. He also pointed out our lack of application, our lack of allocation to help, which ought to be lauded. But this is precisely the point I have been making. The point I have been making is that it is the Government's job to focus on facilitating the basic needs of the country, and to unleash the talents and the economic forces in this country, which

will, by achieving their potential, provide the employment, provide the prosperity, that he so eloquently sought for our country. Sir, we must have the intellectual honesty, as hon. Member Shri Faleiro, was saying. We must have the intellectual honesty to acknowledge that there are many items in our policies that need correction. But our policies do not need dumping *en masse*. We may need correction here or there. Sir, let me give an example. When I was talking about harping back to some sort of a golden era, would he wish that we harp back to an era when there was great equalisation? Over 50 years, Sir, that contributed to the decimation of the economy of this country in the east. Sir, we still have anomalies in our policies. The Railway Budget will be coming up for discussion and we shall be taking up certain anomalies there, on behalf of my party and on behalf of my State. Sir, in aiming at a populist Budget, we today have a scenario, where within the State of Orissa - where we have the third largest deposit of chromate and many other minerals in the country - within the State of Orissa, Sir, it costs more to transport ore than to export it outside, thousands of miles away, to China and to Japan. We have created a scenario, Sir, by these policies of the last 50 years, where it encourages us to export raw ore rather than to do value addition in our country. That is not a golden era to which we ought to be going back. That is not a golden era at all, in fact. So, we need to correct some aspects of our policy. But in conclusion, I must say, Sir, that it is not despite these policies, it is because of these policies that we have achieved any gains that we have in the last ten years. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU (Tamil Nadu): Thank you very much,

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. By this Resolution, Mr. Jibon Roy wants to bring to the notice of this Government that the disparity should be removed. I am at a loss to understand how this Government is going to remove the disparity among the people.

Sir, the Budget says, 27 per cent of the receipts is by way of loan, and, at the same time, 26 per cent of that income is paid by way of interest on loans. I would like to know from the Government the total amount of debt that India has to repay and whether the Government is going to repay the amount at any point of time or the Government will be paying only the interest. I think, Sir, every year, loan is obtained from foreign countries, and the interest also will be increasing proportionately. I don't think, this Government can remove the disparity among the people, with its own



resources. Sir, Rs.3,00,075 crores is received, and 27 per cent of this is by way of loans. So, the actual receipts are only Rs.2,75,000 crores, out of which, Rs.11,600 crores is paid by way of interest, and the remaining amount left for national development is Rs.1,60,000 crores. How is it possible to bring this disparity under control?

Sir, nowadays, the position is that the rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer day by day. The reason for that is that the conscience of the people has been lost. Nobody thinks of building the nation: everybody thinks of building himself. This is the tendency of the people. Nobody has the patriotism, nobody is for the development of this nation, and everybody is thinking of building himself. In this way, one has to think about how this disparity can be removed.

Shri Jibon Roy has mentioned about the agricultural sector. Now, the agricultural sector is labour-oriented. There is no value or dignity for a labour-oriented profession, and only persons with white-collar jobs and those who want to earn without doing any work, either manual or even brainy work, are respected. The Government is also respecting only those people. No respect is given to the agriculturists. There is no respect for sincerity and truthfulness, but, if a person is able to commit a fraud, is able to deceive and is able to cheat, he is respected in life. The poor agriculturist is not able to maintain himself. Even a person who has even a small capital or even a person who runs a *pan* shop, is respected in the society: a person with ten acres of land has no respect in the society. He is not able to earn anything for his day-to-day life. This situation has to be tackled.

Now, among the uneducated youth, there is a lot of unemployment. There is no guarantee of employment to the educated youth. On the one side, everyone has to be educated. On the other, the educated persons are not getting any employment. You are not able to provide employment. Naturally, those educated people become frustrated and they join some terrorist organisation. The Government should take necessary steps to provide self-employment to the educated youth. I am happy that the Minister who is holding charge of the Department of Banking is here. When a honest person approaches the bank for loan, the same is denied to him. But the person who is capable of cheating the bank, is given loan by the bank. In fact, the number of defaulters is increasing. They are contributing to the NPAs of the bank. When a person is able to earn in a

honest manner, he is not respected. But when a person is able to make quick money through short-cut method, he is respected. The people who are involved in smuggling and in other unlawful activities are able to fund politicians during elections. The people who earn illegal money, are able to fund elections and they are respected. But honest persons are not respected. That is why the poor people and honest persons are not able to come up in their life and lead a dignified life, have two square meals a day and clothing. But the persons who are not sincere, who resort to illegal activities, are leading a better life. They are holding this Government. I would request that the Government should evolve some method to remove the disparity between the rich and poor; and the gap that exists between these two should be closed. With this, I conclude my speech.

श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम (उत्तरांचल) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले दस वर्षों में आर्थिक उदारीकरण, व्यापारिक भूमंडलीकरण, औद्योगिक आधुनिकीकरण, संस्थाओं का कम्प्यूटरीकरण, हर क्षेत्र की संस्थाओं का निजीकरण और विश्व का तकनीकीकरण बड़ी तेजी से हुआ है। इसका असर दुनिया के हर देश पर पड़ा है। इसी संदर्भ में नई-नई नीतियां भी बनी हैं। हमारे देश की जो आर्थिक नीति है वह भी इसी संदर्भ में बनी है। संयोग से या दुर्भाग्य से या जाने-अनजाने, सोचे या बिना सोचे, जल्दी से या देर से हर देश ने इसे स्वीकार कर लिया है, हमारे देश ने भी स्वीकार कर लिया है। इसकी शुरुआत विकसित देशों के घर से हुई लेकिन विकासशील देश और तीसरी दुनिया के देशों ने इसे स्वीकार कर लिया और हमारे देश में जब-जब जिस राजनैतिक दल की सत्ता रही उसने उस नीति को अपनाया और आर्थिक सुधारों को जारी रखा। फर्क इतना है कि इस सरकार ने उन आर्थिक सुधारों में जरा तेजी कर दी है। यहां सरकार कांग्रेस की भी रही, संयुक्त मोर्चे की सरकार, जो कांग्रेस समर्थित सरकार थी, भी रही लेकिन आज तक किसी भी राजनैतिक दल ने यह नहीं कहा कि इस नीति को बदल दो, इस नीति को अस्वीकृत कर दो। विश्व का जो यह गठबंधन है उससे निकल आए इसलिए इस नीति को बदलने का कोई प्रश्न ही पैदा नहीं होता। स्वयं प्रस्तुतकर्ता ने भी कहा है कि जो नीति हमारे देश ने स्वीकार कर ली है अब उस नीति को हम नहीं बदल सकते। लेकिन इसके क्रियान्वयन में जो कुछ दोष हैं उन क्रियान्वयन के दोषों के बारे में हमें सुझाव देना चाहिए। मैं क्षमा चाहता हूं कि यहां पर हमारे विद्वान साथी जो इस विषय पर बोले, अच्छा बोले, बड़ी आलोचना की कि यह नहीं होना चाहिए था, वह नहीं होना चाहिए था लेकिन यह किसी ने नहीं कहा कि अब क्या होना चाहिए। हमारे दो कैबिनेट मंत्री यहां पर बैठे हैं, दोनों मेरी पार्टी के वरिष्ठ नेता भी हैं। मैं उनका ध्यान चाहूंगा। हमारे यहां जनसंघ के साहित्य का भा.ज.पा. द्वारा एक प्रकाशन निकाला गया जिसका फोरवर्ड हमारे आज के प्रधानमंत्री जी श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने लिखा। उसकी एक लाइन मैं पढ़कर सुनाता हूं :

"We want to have a technology evolved to suit Indian conditions, a technology which ensures not only mass production but also production by masses."

अगर इसको अपना लेते तो गरीबी दूर होती। मैं एक और उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। आपने यह देखा होगा कि हर बड़ी सड़क पर, राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग और राजमार्गों पर जब बड़े पुल बनते हैं, चाहे नदियों पर बने, चाहे नहरों पर बने, हर एक पुल का खर्चा सरकार जनता से वसूल कर लेती है। अगर आप सड़क से गए हों, मगर दुर्भाग्य से हमारे नेता हवा में उड़ते हैं, हवाई जहाज में जाते हैं या फिर सुपरफास्ट ट्रेन में चलते हैं। अगर आप कारों से सफर करें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि पुलों पर टोल टैक्स लग जाता है, हर ट्रक पर, लारी पर या कार पर और उनसे पैसा वसूला जाता है। यह तब तक वसूला जाता है जब तक उसकी लागत का पैसा पूरा नहीं होता। इस पैसे को देने में आज तक जनता के किसी भी आदमी ने आपत्ति नहीं की, न किसी ने सवाल पूछा और न किसी ने पैसा देने से इंकार किया। मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जब देश में सड़कें बनाने का काम होना है यह अगर मशीनों से न होकर मानव शक्ति द्वारा हो तो इससे मानव शक्ति को काम मिलेगा। इसमें देर ज्यादा लगेगी लेकिन हजारों-सैकड़ों लोगों को काम मिल जाएगा। इतने दिनों से जो टूटी फूटी सड़कें हैं या नहीं हैं यही होगा कि वह दो साल तक ऐसी ही चलती रहेंगी। अगर इसमें पैसा ज्यादा लगेगा तो उस पैसे को टोल टैक्स लगाकर वसूल किया जा सकता है। इसमें किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी और लोगों को काम मिलेगा। इससे सड़कें भी बनेंगी और मानव शक्ति का उपयोग होगा, उनको काम मिलेगा।

मैं दूसरी मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ। आज हम सुधार करने जा रहे हैं। आप क्या सुधार करने जा रहे हैं। हम प्रशासनिक सुधार करेंगे, न्यायिक सुधार करेंगे, शिक्षा में सुधार करेंगे आर्थिक सुधार करेंगे। लेकिन सुधार का मतलब बिल्कुल परिवर्तन नहीं है। कुछ जोड़ देना या घटा देना भी सुधार हो सकता है। आज गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों को जो काम मिल रहा है वह खेती से मिल रहा है। खेतों में ट्रैक्टर इस्तेमाल होता है। ट्रैक्टर का इस्तेमाल बड़े काश्तकारों को करना चाहिए या जमीन को तोड़ने के लिए करना चाहिए? छोटे किसानों को या मामूली जुताई-बुवाई के लिए ट्रैक्टर नहीं होने चाहिए। अगर ट्रैक्टरों का इस्तेमाल नहीं होगा और हल बैलों का इस्तेमाल होगा तो उसमें मानव शक्ति लगेगी और लोगों को काम मिलेगा। इस संबंध में हमारी जनसंघ की जो नीति थी उस के बारे में यह जो नेशनल एजेंडा है, इसमें कहा गया है कि :

"We will carefully analyse the effects of globalisation, calibrate the process of it by devising a time-table to suit our national conditions and requirements so as not to undermine, but strengthen the national economy, the indigenous industrial base and the financial and services sector".

इंडीजिनस इंडस्ट्री हमारी क्या है? उसको नहीं मरने देना चाहिये। उससे काम मिलता है। अब कुम्हार जो मिट्टी के बर्तन बनाता है, उसके पूरे परिवार के 10-20 आदमियों को काम मिलता है। मुझे खुशी है कि सेंट्रल हाल में हम दही कुम्हार के कुल्हड़ में खाते हैं। अगर हम अपनी पुरानी परम्परा दावतों में शुरू कर दें सकोरे और कुल्हड़ में खाना लोगों को मिलेगा तो इंडीजिनस इंडस्ट्री, काटेज इंडस्ट्री और स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री को काम मिलेगा। हमने यह कहा कि हमारी खेती बांझ हो गई यूरिया की खाद से इसलिए अब हम आर्गेनिक फार्मिंग और बायो फर्टिलाइजर इस्तेमाल करेंगे। इसके निर्माण के लिए पशु धन की आवश्यकता होगी। हमने अपने नेशनल एजेंडा में भी कहा -

Special efforts will be made in animal husbandry, dairy, particularly, in respect of so and so.... हमें इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमने क्यों इस तरह की नीति बनाई। दुर्भाग्य से या संयोग से संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, विश्व बैंक और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष पर विकसित देशों का ही कब्जा था। मुझे एक कहानी याद आती है। एक घोड़े वाला, इक्के वाला था। वह घोड़े को हरी-हरी घास खिलाता था और अपनी बहुत अच्छी आमदनी करता था। उसके इक्के में बहुत सवारियां बैठती थीं रोजाना हरी घास घोड़े को खिलाता था। ऐसा हुआ कि सूखा पड़ गया और हरी घास सूख गई। उस घोड़े ने खाना बंद कर दिया। घोड़ा कमजोर हो गया, इक्का चलता नहीं था, सवारियां आती नहीं थीं और वह भूख से मरने लगा। लिहाजा उसे एक अक्ल की बात सूझी। उसने घोड़े की आंख पर हरे रंग का चश्मा चढ़ा दिया और सूखी घास उसके सामने डाल दी। घोड़े को वह घास हरी दिखाई देने लगी और वह झटपट चलने लगा और फट-फट सवारियां भी आने लगीं। यही हाल किया विकसित देशों ने विकासशील और तीसरी दुनिया के देशों का, उनकी आंख पर हरे रंग का चश्मा चढ़ा दिया और इन्होंने जल्दबाजी में स्वीकार कर लिया। लेकिन दुनिया में जहां तक हमारे देश का प्रश्न है, हम लाभान्वित हुए हैं। हमारी प्रगति बढ़ी है चाहे वह हमारी सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी की हो, चाहे सॉफ्टवेयर हो, कंप्यूटर हो, इस क्षेत्र में हम दुनिया के बहुत से देशों में आगे हैं। आज हमें कहते हुए खुशी होती है, थोड़ी सी गलती हुई, जब आयात बढ़ने लगा तो हमने जो शुल्क था उसमें कमी की थी जैसे ही हमने सीमा शुल्क को बढ़ाया तो आज आयात बंद हो गया है और आज हम चीनी निर्यात कर रहे हैं, गेहूं निर्यात कर रहे हैं, घावल निर्यात कर रहे हैं। देर आयद दुरुस्त आयद। ठीक इसी तरह से कुछ हमें अपने क्रियान्वयन में संशोधन करना है। यदि क्रियान्वयन में संशोधन करेंगे तो हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था में सुधार हो सकता है। उदाहरण के तौर पर जनसंख्या के लिए हमें क्या करना चाहिये। जनसंख्या नीति तो बनाई लेकिन वास्तविक नीति क्या है? एक परिवार एक बच्चा। पहले कहते थे हम दो, हमारे दो। अब यह नीति होनी चाहिये हम दो हमारा एक, चाहे लड़की हो या लड़का। आप यह नीति बनाइये, जनसंख्या कंट्रोल होगी, क्या आप इसके लिए तैयार हैं? साहिल के तमाशाई हर डूबने वाले पर अफसोस तो करते हैं इमदाद नहीं करते। कोई तैयार नहीं है, कोई पार्टी तैयार नहीं है तो सब काने हैं बैंगन बाजार में। कौन है इसके पक्ष में? दूसरी बात, एक परिवार एक काम। पति, पत्नी एक बच्चा। एक काम ले लो, चाहे बस का परमिट ले लो, चाहे कोई एजेंसी कोयला, लोहा, सीमेंट की ले लो, चाहे सरकारी सस्ते गल्ले की दुकान ले लो, चाहे शराब की दुकान ले लो, चाहे प्रोफेसरी ले लो, चाहे सरकारी वकील बन जाओ। एक परिवार, एक काम। जब कामों का बंटवारा होगा तभी तो लोगों को काम मिलेगा। अभी यहां एक-एक व्यक्ति 6-6 कामों में लगा हुआ है। अन्य लोग बेकार हैं। तो वन फेमिली वन जाब। क्या कोई करने को तैयार है इसे? इसके अलावा दो-तीन प्वाइंट दो मिनट में कहूंगा।

अनुसूधित जाति और जनजातियों के लिए हमारी स्कीमें हैं, स्पेशल कंपोनेंट प्लान की योजनाएं हैं। क्या राज्य सरकारें इनको क्रियान्वित करती हैं? आज वहां पर गरीब क्यों हैं? अनेक राज्य सरकारें इस पैसे का उपयोग नहीं करतीं। अनेक राज्य सरकारें इस पैसे का दुरुपयोग करती हैं। अनेक राज्य सरकारें इस पैसे को दूसरे मदों में लगाती हैं, डाइवर्ट करती हैं। तो दोष किसका है? नीति का तो कोई दोष नहीं है। क्रियान्वयन का दोष है और इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है। राज्य सरकारें जिम्मेदार हैं। तो राज्य सरकारों को क्रियान्वयन करना चाहिए। ये अगर करेंगे तो हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी होगी। अभी आप बोले। आपने कोई सुझाव

नहीं दिया। मैंने ये दो चार सुझाव दिए। सरकार ने कुछ कदम उठाए कि हम सरकारी खर्च कम कर रहे हैं और छंटनी कर रहे हैं लोगों की। ठीक है आप कर रहे हैं। लेकिन साथ ही साथ अगर आप आर्थिक स्थिति गरीबों की ठीक करना चाहते हैं तो जहां बैंकों को आपने पूरी तरह से व्यापारिक, कामशियल बना दिया है, कम से कम एक बैंक देश में ऐसा बनाएं जो केवल ये जो हमारे कल्याण के कार्य हैं उनके लिए पैसे देगा जैसे रोजी के लिए, रोटी के लिए, मकान के लिए, शिक्षा के लिए, दवा के लिए, लोगों के पानी के लिए और उनके लिए जो गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे हैं या जो अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोग हैं। कोई एक बैंक तो ऐसा निश्चित कीजिए इसके लिए। लेकिन जब नहीं करेंगे तो कोई पैसा नहीं देगा।

आखिरी बात, आप शिक्षा की बात कर रहे हैं। अब शिक्षा में आप प्रायवेट को दे रहे हैं। एक अपोलो अस्पताल भी यहां बना। दस हजार रुपए वर्ग मीटर की जमीन जो एक नागरिक को मिलती है वह एक रुपए वर्ग मीटर में जितने भी ये पब्लिक स्कूल हैं, लेते हैं चाहे ए.पी.जे स्कूल हो चाहे दिल्ली पब्लिक स्कूल हो, चाहे अपोलो हास्पिटल हो। ये सरकारी जमीन को मुफ्त में, कौड़ियों में लेते हैं। क्या इनकी जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि ये गरीब लोगों को मुफ्त में शिक्षा दें और मुफ्त में इलाज करें। अपोलो अस्पताल में एक भी गरीब इलाज नहीं करा सकता, भर्ती नहीं हो सकता वहां पर। क्या इसमें परिवर्तन नहीं होना चाहिए? आप बनाइए, जरूर प्रायवेट अस्पताल बनवाइए, लेकिन उनके ऊपर इस बात की जिम्मेदारी डालिए कि आपको इतने फीसदी गरीब लोगों को भर्ती करना होगा और मुफ्त में इलाज करना होगा। यह मैं क्यों कह रहा हूँ। हमारे यहां पर स्वास्थ्य मंत्री जी जो हैं आज बहुत सारे लोगों का मुफ्त में इलाज सरकारी अस्पतालों में कराते हैं। उसमें बड़ा पैसा, लाखों लाख लगता है। तो इन लोगों पर जिम्मेदारी डालिए। इसी तरह से शिक्षा में जिम्मेदारी डालिए और इस नीति को आप घलाइए क्योंकि हम ऐसे मुकाम पर पहुंच गए हैं कि वहां से पीछे हटना मुश्किल है और दुनिया की दौड़ में आगे जाने के लिए भी, बराबर पहुंचने के लिए भी उस नीति पर हमें चलना है। लेकिन बराबर करम आप इसका इंप्लीमेंटेशन कीजिए, क्रियान्वयन में कोई परिवर्तन कीजिए।

आखिरी बात कि एक आर्य समाजी की लड़की की शादी होने को आई। उसको दहेज के लिए पैसा नहीं था। उसे कोई लड़का नहीं मिल रहा था। एक मिल गया। उसने कहा कि मैं बकरे की दावत खाऊंगा। उसने मना किया कि भाई मैं तो आर्यसमाजी हूँ, आप ऐसा मत करो। मैं जल्दी में सुना रहा हूँ। फिर शादी तय हो गयी। लड़की के हाथ पीले करने थे। तो उसने एक शर्त लगा दी कि कोई बुढ़ा बारात में नहीं आना चाहिए। उसने कहा कि नहीं आएगा। जब लड़के वालों ने यह बात रखी तो लोगों ने कहा ऐसा मत करो। एक बुढ़ा जरूर ले जाना। लेकिन छुपाकर ले जाना संदूक में बंद करके ले जाना। जब वे बुढ़े को ले गए और जंगल में बाहर बारात ठहरी तो संदूक में बंद करके उसको रख दिया। अब जब वे गए तो कहने लगे कि कितने लोग हैं बारात में। कहा कि 50 हैं, नौजवान ही नौजवान हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि काटो 50 बकरे। नहीं खाया तो लड़की को विदा नहीं करेंगे। अब वे गए उस बुढ़े के पास कि यह तो खाया नहीं जाएगा। वहां जाकर संदूक में उस बुढ़े के कान में यह बताकर पूछने लगे कि भाई बड़ी मुसीबत में फंस गए हैं बताओ कि क्या करें। तो बुढ़े ने कहा कि एक बकरा काटो, बोटी बोटी भूनो और एक एक करके खाओगे तो खा जाओगे। तो खा जाओगे और एक साथ नहीं खा पाओगे। इसलिए मेहरबानी करके नीतियां बनाते समय आप किसी बुढ़े को भी शामिल रखा करो, यानी गांव के

आदमी को, किसान को, मजदूर को, छोटे कर्मचारी को और ये जो छोटे उद्योग-धंधे वाले हैं....  
 ...(व्यवधान)... ये जो उसमें ऐसे लोग हैं ...(व्यवधान)...तभी यह नीतियां गलत बनती हैं या तो  
 यह सदन में ...(व्यवधान)... इनकी नहीं कह रहा, ये भी तो अफसर हैं, मैं तो गांव के, जमीन के  
 लोगों की बात कर रहा हूं। गांव के, जमीन के लोग, जो जमीन पर रहते हैं, मैं उनकी बात कर  
 रहा हूं। महोदय, मैं आपकी इस बात से तो सहमत नहीं हूं कि इस नीति में परिवर्तन हो, हां, इस  
 बात से सहमत हूं कि स्थिति बहुत खराब है। लेकिन सरकार के नीति परिवर्तन से ही स्थिति ठीक  
 नहीं होगी, बल्कि हम सब मिल करके, पूरा समाज और सब राजनीतिक दल मिल करके निर्णय  
 करें, परिवर्तन करें और उस पर चलने की कसम लें। धन्यवाद।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman,  
 Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by Shri Jibon Roy. I also  
 express my very serious concern about the decline in the growth rate and in  
 the quality of industrial production, the problems of equity distribution and  
 widening economic disparities. Since many of the hon. Members have  
 talked quite sensibly on the subject, I would like to address some of the  
 fundamentals. The policy that is being pursued by the Government of India,  
 as on today, quite vigorously which was of course initiated in 1991, is the  
 policy of neo-liberal globalisation. The international experience of ours  
 confirms it beyond doubt that the growth of neo-liberal globalisation  
 marches hand-in-hand with the growth of poverty as well as social  
 polarisation. In terms of neo-liberalism, we understand the market reserves  
 and other things in the best fashion and, by nature, the State is inept and  
 inefficient, and it cannot produce any result. It has always been so and it  
 will always be so, and therefore, everything must be privatised in order to  
 obtain the supreme objective of efficiency. Perhaps, it would help to point  
 out some of the characteristics of these two concepts, i.e. globalisation and  
 neo-liberalisation. Globalisation, no doubt, is an objective fact but it is not  
 true that it is an entirely new process, nor does it mean the universal or  
 definitive triumph of capitalism. It also does not mean an end of revolution  
 and transformation and contradictions between social classes as well as  
 countries. It is, of course, a factual process. I must accept that  
 globalisation is a factual process or a new stage of an old process of  
 internationalisation of capital. I heard some very leading economists saying  
 that this neo-liberalism is nothing but transnationalisation of capital,  
 multinationalisation of production and, at the same time, multinationalisation  
 or standardisation of taste or culture, over and above, everything sanctified  
 by the international lending agencies like the IMF, the World Bank or the  
 WTO for the present. Sir, while we are following the course of neo-  
 liberalism or dispensations of neo-liberalism, I am constrained to say that

there are three 'C's which represent it in short. The first 'C' is, consolidation of capital and that too capital of a crony nature or capital of a speculative nature or what is being termed by different economists in the world today as casino capitalism. Sir, I am told by leading economists that nearly 28 trillion dollars are in circulation around the world, and out of these, only 6 trillion dollars are being used in productive activities, and the rest of the amount, that is, 22 trillion dollars, is being used as speculative capital which is volatile by nature. This is the first 'C'. The second 'C' is consumerism, because this system of neo-liberal economy cannot exist without consumerism or what is called hedonism. Consumerism or hedonism is where the lust for market, grabbing the big bourgeoisie, creates false needs amongst the people at large and allure them to have everything, in the world in their drawing room. People, particularly, the young people, become crazy to have everything notwithstanding his or her economic capacity. This phenomenon has certainly led to a serious and an almost insurmountable problem of social imbalance. This is being observed almost every day and virtually everywhere. The problems of social imbalance are evident everywhere and the people - not all, but quite an alarming number - are involved in an ugly sort of anti-social activities. The third 'C' is corruption. Corruption has become a way of life. When the capitalist economy is trying to survive, it is trying to survive by envisaging this new liberal globalisation. And the fourth C is crime. The crime of horrendous proportions, horrifying proportions, has gone up many-fold. Every day when we open the newspapers, we find newer sorts of crimes being perpetrated. And a large section of young people, who have been rendered unemployed, who have been rendered uneducated, are indulging in all sorts of criminal activities. The number of crimes have gone up, especially in the last 10 years. And these are the problems which ought to be considered while assessing the country's growth.

Sir, the time is short at my disposal. Hence I am not going into the details. I will only give you some facts. I quote from the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank, 1999-2000. When we compare the figures pertaining to agricultural production with those of 1997-98 and 1998-99, -- I am not comparing with 1990-91 - the foodgrains production has marginally increased. I must accept this. Also, the production of rice has increased. But the production of coarse cereals has come down in the year 1999-2000. The production of jute and mesta has also come down considerably. Look at the industrial situation. Some industries have shown an accelerated rate

of growth in 1998-99. The Annual Report of the Reserve Bank states that some industries, which had shown an accelerated rate of growth in 1998-99, registered a decline, and slowed down in 1999-2000. Notable among these are metal products & parts, rubber, plastic, petroleum and coal products. What is more interesting is that the industries or the industrial groups which performed extremely well in 1999-2000 were those that had not performed well in the preceding year. But it is only statistically so. To be precise, the performance was 10 per cent in 1997-98. Earlier, in 1996-97, the performance was 20 per cent. Now, the performance has become 12 per cent. So, it registered a growth rate of 20 per cent. Therefore, it is a jugglery of statistics. As we all know, statistics is what is plus or minus the 100 per cent. Sir, even though the total number of units in the SSI sector had marginally increased in 1998-99 as compared to 1997-98, the value of production and exports has gone down. What is more alarming is the employment situation in the SSI sector. Even though these units were expected to employ a large number of young people, the employment has gone down considerably. Employment in 1997-98 was 4.5% and from that it decelerated to 2.6% only. The exports of SSI have also decelerated.

Some of the hon. Members and my learned friends were referring to some States, unfortunately. Even though, while talking about neo-liberal globalisation and its implementation part, we definitely compare the States, but it is not the States that determine the national economy. It is the national economy that influences the States. The State of West Bengal, the State of Orissa, the State of Bihar cannot formulate a special economy, notwithstanding the economy of the nation. The international experience suggests that social services become the biggest victim in this neo-liberalism. The States have to roll back. The primary dispensation of the neo-liberal economy is that the State has to roll back from all the activities. And when the States are rolling back, the international experience suggests that access to social services is left to the individual effort or to the market forces, and the poverty increases. Hence, even while structural adjustment programmes are being implemented, as it has been done quite vigorously in our country, our priority social action programme should also be properly and sincerely designed to revive the social order. This cannot be accomplished by the pattern of social sector that the present-day Government is envisaging. Sir, some experiences have also demonstrated that governmental investment in education and health facilities sector has obtained dividends, whereas some studies reveal that serious imbalance



between social development and economic growth can seriously impede reduction in poverty, whatever might be statistically painted by the Government and the Government agencies.

Let us take the example of Sri Lanka, a small neighbouring country of ours. In Sri Lanka, the reforms in post 1977 period included reliance on market, market forces and the private sector, as the key instruments of growth, the phasing out of the subsidies -- as we are doing now -- the administered prices, and moving from the universal social welfare to a much publicised targeted programmes, and Sri Lanka observed a sharp increase in economic inequality; and the persistence of a high level of poverty and malnutrition was also quite evident in Sri Lanka. The expectation that market will operate effectively to bring the poor back into the mainstream of development was never accomplished and it could never be accomplished. The structural adjustment programme failed to address the deep-rooted structural impediments in poverty alleviation. I need not go into the details of the experiences of the SAPs in many other developing countries, particularly, the sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America or the Asian countries. Everywhere, the experience is the same and the experience is quite horrifying. Whether or not we accept the reality, the experience, the world over, is quite horrifying. Sir, inequality between the North and the South of the globe has increased. I have some statistics with me. In 1730, the per capita income of the northern hemisphere and the southern hemisphere was equal. In 1930, after 200 years, during the period of great recession, the inequality was four times. Four times more earning or more per capita income was there with the northern hemisphere countries. In 1980, it became eight times. From mid-Eighties, the neo-liberal economy started pursuing its designs. In 1989, the 20% rich of the world grabbed 83% of the earnings which has further gone up to a horrible state in the Nineties; and the changes introduced in the capitalist system, at a time when globalisation is accelerating, accompanied and fostered by neo-liberal doctrine, have entailed, *inter alia*, that some 20 developed countries, with only one-fourth of the world population, hold around three-fourths of the world's revenues, total trade and loan flows, and even the consumption of raw materials and natural resources. And what is more disproportionate and unfair is the recognition that the seven richest countries in the world or the so-called G-7 countries alone, possess 66% of the Gross Product of revenues of the planet.

Sir, this is the design being mooted by them and this is the design being advanced by them. Even after all this international experiences, these horrifying experiences, we, the Leftists, who are ardently endeavouring to uphold the cause of the common people, the poor people, the economically marginalised people, are being accused by the ruling clique that we are unreasonably opposing the Neo Liberalism; we are not rational in opposing disinvestment; we are not rational in opposing privatisation; we are not rational in opposing liberalisation, but we have been told that we are unreasonably opposing the Neo Liberalism. The latest resort of the moribund and decadent capitalism the world over to tide-over their inherent and insurmountable crisis. It is simply ridiculous that the political culmination of some anti-people forces are posing to be national and pro-people. The advanced, developed, countries who are conspiring incessantly to push up the poor population of their own countries on the vast number of common people of the so-called Third World, less developed countries or LDCs...

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) : Mr. Bhattacharya, please conclude.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Yes, I am concluding. I am also in a hurry. I am just finishing.

I have some incriminating documents which I cannot place, unfortunately. The vast cross-section of the toiling masses has begun to realise that a serious conspiracy, full of duping and deceit, is being hatched in the laboratories of the finance capitalistically Imperialist countries, particularly the USA and their cohorts. The ADCs or the debtor countries who championed the Neo Liberalism are now somehow prescribing a Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment, which is, in short, being called as PAMSCAD, alongside the economic reforms programme, with the objective of alleviating the sufferings of the poor and vulnerable sections of the society. However, the PAMSCAD also, up till now, could not achieve most of its objectives because of implementation of a large number of projects with limited resources and poor targeting.

Sir, I will just conclude by showing you the whopping increase in the prices of one of the most essential commodities, i.e., drugs and pharmaceuticals. Sir, even though a question was put in this House, a vague answer was given. Now, I do have the statistics. What is the range or

percentage of increase of some very essential drugs? I will just quote it and finish. I have a very interesting answer from the Labour Minister. Yesterday, I got these answers from the Labour Minister and the Minister of Consumer Affairs. I don't have the time to quote those figures. Sir, the problem of malnutrition in our country is quite rampant. Diarrhoea is a problem of poverty; diarrhoea is a problem of malnutrition; diarrhoea is a problem of bad eating, not poor eating. During February, 94 - March, 98, the prices of anti-diarrhoeal drugs increased even up to 59 per cent; the prices of pancreatic and hepatobiliary drugs increased to the tune of 62 per cent; the prices of digestive enzymes increased from 2 per cent to 51 per cent; and the prices of synthetic hormones increased from 5 per cent to 108 per cent. Some friends of ours were talking about family planning परिवार का एक बच्चा। हम दो हमारे दो नहीं, हम एक हमारा एक होना चाहिए।

The cost of contraceptives has gone up manifold. This is the programme that you are pursuing. This is the way by which you want to control the population. The poor people cannot afford the cost of contraceptives. The cost of contraceptives has gone up by 11 to 28 per cent. The prices of tropical hormones have gone up to 138 per cent. Anti-diabetic drugs - I was having a discussion with the hon. Health Minister only the other day. He was telling that nearly 16 million people suffer from diabetes in this country of ours.

MISS MABEL REBELLO (Madhya Pradesh): It is three crores.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: It is three cores! Thank you very much for correcting me, Madam. He told me that more than 16 million people suffer from Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus, IDDM. The prices of anti-diabetic drugs have gone up from 2 per cent to 187 per cent. The drug which was costing us Rs.12 in 1990 is costing us Rs.210 now.

Even then, you, some of my hon. friends and colleagues, say, "Neo-liberalisation *zindabad*; globalisation *zindabad*." Sir, the prices of sedating and tranquillisers have gone up to 176%. Everybody understands antibiotics. The prices of antibiotics have gone up to 139%.

Another disease of the poor population of ours is TB. TB drug prices have gone up to 113%. The Vice-President was saying in a function, the other day, that even now, we are a country which, unfortunately, has

the maximum lepers. Leprosy is an endemic disease. But the prices of anti-leprosy drugs have gone up to 326%. I am surprised. Imagine the policy of the Government! Even after this, some of my hon. friends try to defend this Government! Even after this, some of my friends would say that this Government is pro-people and pro-nation. Even after this sort of statistics, some of our friends would say that we are anti-national and they are national; they would sing the National song and we should not. I do not feel that they should be accorded that credit.

Sir, malaria is another endemic disease. Now, the prices of anti malaria drugs have gone up to 174%. I have many other figures, but I can't quote them over here, because of the time constraint.

What have you done in the area of exports and imports? What is the situation in exports and imports? Let me read from the answer to a question put by Shri Lalitbhai Mehta, who probably sits on the other side, and Smt. Savita Sharada. My sister is missing. However, the Commerce Minister gave the answer. I would just quote it. Gems and jewellery were imported into this country, in the year 1996-97, to the tune of US\$ 4,752.71. What is the report in 1999-2000? It is almost double. Who are the beneficiaries of this neo-liberalism? It is only the filthy rich people. The filthy rich people, who do not find a way out to spend their money are the ones benefited. The import of gems and jewellery has gone up to US\$ 7,636 from US\$ 4,752! I have simply quoted from the answer given by the Commerce Ministry, Government of India, on 27<sup>th</sup> November, 2000.

Sir, the Labour Minister also accepts that there is a loss of employment. The entire country is now reeling under the burden of unemployment. The unemployment problem has gone up manifold during the years of neo-liberal economic policies pursued by the Government of India. Right from 1991, the unemployment problem has gone up. The Labour Minister has been very modest in saying that the workers of some of the public sector units who have accepted the VRS do not come in the category of unemployed. But they have become unemployed. Their sons and daughters did not get any job on compassionate grounds or any other ground. Thousands and crores of people have been rendered unemployed.

Sir, you have cautioned me, and I am also in a hurry to leave, I do not want to go further even though I have many incriminating and interesting figures. We raise questions, we raise our voice, we rush some questions and some answers are given. Even if we make very serious points, no

importance is given to those. I, sometimes, feel, perhaps, we are talking in a house of deaf. The Treasury Benches are filled with deaf people only. They do not want to listen to the voices of the people, who are the poor ones, the marginalised ones, the ones who can't get potable water, who don't have access to sanitation, who do not have access to clothing, and who do not have access to their own food.

We are talking about those people, but the Government is refusing to listen about them. I wonder how long this kind of activity would continue.

With exasperation, indignation and anguish, I have expressed whatever I can. I do not have enough time to mention all the things. With these words, I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

MISS MABEL REBELLO (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I thank you for this opportunity. Sir, I support this resolution of hon. Shri Jibon Roy. I also share the views expressed by my friend Manoj Bhattacharya. This year the Finance Minister in his recent Budget stated that the growth of GDP would be 6.5 per cent. We all know that the Government has already announced that it is going to reduce, downsize the Government by 2 per cent a year in the next five years. That means 10 per cent of the people will be losing jobs. I just want to concentrate on the poorer section of our people. Recently in his Budget Speech, the Finance Minister has announced reduction in the rate of interests on small savings. Sir, as you know last year and this year, the Government has been consciously making an effort to encourage women to start Self-help Groups. The concept of the Self-help Group is that they want women to save, and if women save money in small groups, they can get loans from the banks and other financial institutions. Maybe, the loan can be ten times of the savings. The idea is to help women to get consumption loan and the other is to instil into them the habit of credit and thrift and to encourage them to start some business. Now women all over the country have started these Self-help Groups and have started saving money, small money. Now, on that money too, the Finance Minister has reduced the rate of interest. Women all over the country are depressed today. The little money that they have saved, on that money they have reduced the rate of interest. As it is today, the SC, ST, backward classes, women and people in disadvantageous position do not possess super speciality skills and that is why they cannot get jobs. Earlier these poor people were able to get jobs from the Government and from the PSUs. But now these doors are shut. I think even till last week

they were hopeful of getting jobs in the nationalised banks because these banks have recruitment boards. But now even these boards have been abolished and as a result the SC, ST, backward classes and women will not get jobs in the banks. Only people with super speciality such as MBA or Ph.D from the JNU or some other university will be employed in these banks. What will happen to the poorer sections of the people? They will not get jobs in the organised sector at all. What is happening in the unorganised sector? We all know that the unorganised sector is the biggest employer of these particular sections of the society because they are voiceless people. I do not know what will happen to the poor population of this country. Sir, we know that the rich of this country which constitutes only 3 per cent only corner almost 60 per cent of the national wealth. The bottom 40 per cent have hardly got five per cent of this wealth. The balance 50 or 55 per cent people get hardly 33 per cent. When these 40 per cent people hardly have access to only five per cent wealth and when unemployment is looming large on their faces, I think, they will have no alternative but to commit suicide. As it is, because of its anti-farmer policy of this Government, a large number of farmers, members of the farming community whether they are in Andhra or whether they are in Karnataka, are committing suicide. Daily we are reading reports about them. We know about it. Still this Government does not want to open its eyes. A coconut which was being sold for Rs.7 is now being sold for Rs. 2 only. The farmer does not want even to pluck coconuts. Rubber which was being sold at Rs. 80 per kg is now being sold at Rs. 20 per kg. Some of our colleagues from Kerala also own rubber plantations and one of them shared his views with me. He said, "I have given my entire rubber plantation for slaughter because growing rubber is uneconomic for me and I cannot pay to the labourers." It is supposed to be a skilled job. Mr. Rajagopal, who is from Kerala, is sitting there. He knows about it. That is the plight of the people...*(interruptions)*...He knows better than me because he hails from that region. Similar is the case with mustard growers, groundnut growers, tea, coffee and all that. Just now they have raised the customs duty a bit. I do not know how much of relief will it give to the farmer. The farmer is really in a bad condition. Now, they have imposed customs duty on copra - desiccated coconut - and palm oil, but they have left out soyabean. They have not raised the customs duty on soyabean oil. With this, the people who are growing soyabean, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, from which, Sir, you and I come, will again commit suicide. These people, instead of encouraging the farmers to create wealth for themselves,

are just going ahead and trying to discourage the farmers. First of all, our farmers do not have large holdings. They have got small, uneconomic holdings. The land is barren and bad. They do not have water. They do not have electricity. They wait for the rain god. If it rains, they get some yield. Otherwise, they get nothing. Sir, 50 per cent of our farmers are like this and, added to it, they have got this disadvantage, I do not know how can they survive.

This morning, I spoke to the Education Minister also. The Birla-Ambani Report has come and, if, by any chance, the Government implements this Report, I think, the poorer sections of the people will not have any access to higher education or higher skills. With this, even the little aspiration that they have is totally stifled. I do not know how they are going to fend for themselves. How will they survive? What will they do? I know of drivers, peons, here, in Delhi, who starve themselves to send their children to expensive English medium schools. Sometimes, I ask them, "Why do you do this?" They say, "Since we have no life, at last, we want some better life for our progeny." But, can they afford this luxury? Even if, today, they educate their children by sending them to English medium schools by starving themselves, are you sure that their children will get a job?

There is reservation for the SC/STs. I feel it is a mockery. It has got no meaning. With the liberalisation policy, with the downsizing of the Government, with the disinvestment in the PSUs, with the ban on recruitment in our banks, I do not think, the SC/STs or OBCs will ever get jobs in the organised sector. There is a large gap between the salaries of workers in the organised and unorganised sectors. In the unorganised sector, they get a pittance. So, with this, they, definitely, will not be able to lead a decent life.

We talk about the empowerment of women. What sort of empowerment is there? Women, first of all, have got a lot of disadvantages. You and I know it. All the time we are fooling our women. We are trying to tell them that "all right, we are giving you reservation." We gave reservation in Panchayats and then we make a mockery of them. Oh! ये क्या है, ये सरपंच पति है। So, instead of encouraging them, instead of telling them, "Come on, you start some economic activity." Instead of telling them, "We are here to help you out and strengthen you economically", you are

doing something else. Only when they are economically strong, only when they can generate money for themselves, only when they can create wealth for themselves, the women can be happy. But there are no policies that are stated by the Government either in the Budget or in the President's Address. What will happen to the women? They will be further discouraged. They will be further impoverished. It is really a very, very sad thing. It is all bad talk. We talk about women's empowerment and things like that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Would you like to continue or would you like to conclude?

MISS MABEL REBELLO: If you give a few minutes more, I will complete. You give me two minutes. Sir, similarly, you take the handloom sector, you take the handicrafts sector, you take the tiny industries. Who work in all these sectors? A large number of women work in these sectors. Whether it is agriculture, whether it is bidi industry, whether it is fishing industry, it is women that work and it is women that are mostly exploited in this sector. I do not think they are getting living wages. They are getting very meagre wages.

In spite of that they are working there. With this liberalisation and globalisation, all these units, like the pickle industry, the *papad* industry, will be finished. Earlier women had been working in these industries. But now, with this new policy, big units like the Hindustan Lever, Nestle, and other multinationals, will come into the *papad* industry, pickle industry, *vadi* industry and all such things because you have given a large number of incentives to them. They will make it. They will have brand names. They will sell it. So, these poor women, who used to make *papad*, pickle and such other things, will not be able to make them any more and sell them and get any income for themselves. So, what we thought almost the purview of women, even that has been taken away from them and given to the multinationals. I do not know why this Government is trying to look after the interests of multinationals and large companies. They want women and the poorer sections of the society to die. Smt. Sushma Swarajji, one of our women Ministers, is sitting here. I would appeal to her conscience, and I would ask her to prevail upon her Prime Minister and her other brothers in the Government to not to deny women their little segment of job, particularly in making these small little things, whether it is in the handicraft



sector or in the handloom sector, or making pickles, *papad*, *vadies*, etc., otherwise, these things which were supposed to be their domain, even these will be taken away from them. Consequently, the multinationals will come and will make money for themselves. I appeal to you, hon. Minister, to look favourably into these things. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): The discussion on this Resolution will continue on 16<sup>th</sup> March, 2001. Now, there is one message from the Lok Sabha.

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### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

#### The Judicial Administration Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2001.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha.

"I am directed to inform you that the Judicial Administration Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2000, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 29<sup>th</sup> November, 2000, has been passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2001, with the following amendments:-

#### *Enacting Formula*

1. Page 1, line 1,-  
for "Fifty-first"  
substitute "Fifty-second"
2. Page 1, line 4,-  
For "2000"  
Substitute "2001"