# RAJYA SABHA

Wednesday, the 27th August, 1997/5 Bhadra 1919 (Saka)

#### The House met at eleven of the clock. Mr. Chairman in the Chair

#### DISCUSSION ON ECONOMY AND **INFRASTRUCTURE**

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the very outset I would like to express my gratitude to you for giving me this opportunity to raise a discussion on Economy and Infrastructure. As you are aware of the background of the Special Session, we had decided to have a particularly structured debate splitting the subjects into four major areas and in this connection we are having the second day's session where we would like to focus mainly on the economic performance and infrastructure. The very nature of the session is to look back and see from where we started, what we achieved, and what we aspire to have. Since yesterday we are discussing the issues before the nation. Golden jubilee celebrations of independence have provided us this unique opportunity. It is a time to rejoice, to remember, to reflect, to look ahead and, perhaps, if I may be permitted to say so, it is also a time for rededicating ourselves to the cause of this great nation. I didn't have the advantage or privilege of participating in the freedom struggle as I was just ten years old when India became independent. According to my memory, when I was a small boy of 6 years old, immediately before independence, during the time of the great Bengal famine in which five million people died, my mother used to rebuke me very frequently and, sometimes, chastise me as I was a petulant child, who always demanded more than what I could consume and had the habit of wasting food. She used to chastise me by saying that wastage of food in a situation like that was nothing but a crime, a criminal act. The faint memory which I have is men, women and

children standing just before a gruel kitchen which was organised to feed the hungry people. Perhaps, it left an impression in me. When I look back I have immense satisfaction that this country, after many years, has been able attain self-sufficiency in food to production. Sir, I should not be taken amiss if I claim that I have the privilege of witnessing the economic development spread over three decades in this country, being intimately associated with the Government at the Centre in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, if not for the whole period of the decade, at least a half of each decade. I still remember the constraints through which we had to pass.

Sometimes, when we compare our performance with the so called Asian Tigers and some of the great economies of South-East Asia people find that our performance as compared to them is not so significant. But I do not look at the problem from that angle. I look at the problem from the angle from where we started. Sir, it is known to this House, particularly to the Elders who have participated in the freedom struggle -----Shir S. B. Chavan and Shri Sikander Bakht are freedom fighters----- and they are fully aware of 190 years' colonial exploitation which created a chapter in the history of this country which was titled 'Drainage of Resources'. Drainage of resources took place in over 190 years from the Battle of Plassy to 1947 which was highlighted by the Congress leaders in the early days of formulation of Congress policies. I would not like to take more time of the House on this issue. But I would like to quote the speech of Shri Surendra Nath Banerjee who was the President, Ahmedabad Congress.

#### He observed:

"One of the chief causes which have contributed impoverishment of the people is the annual drain which, says a writer on Indian economy, has tapped India's very heart-blood. Lord Salisbury has

himself observed, "Much of the revenue of India exported without a direct equivalent". The drain of the last thirty years of the 19th century has been estimated at \$ 900,00,000 without interest, at the rate of \$ 30,000,000 a year. This drain represents a distinct loss of national wealth and resources. As Sir George Wingate has observed."

While speaking on this subject in the Calcutta Congress (1906) Dada Bhai Nauroji observed:

"As long as the economic condition remains unnatural and impoverishing, by the necessity of supplying every year some Rs. 200,000,000 for the salary, pensions, etc. and the children of a foreign country at the expense and impoverishment of the children of India, to talk of applying economic laws to the condition of India is adding insult to injury. I have said so much about this over and over again that I would not say more

about it here ------ I refer to my book. I ask any Englishman whether Englishmen would submit to this unnatural economic muddle of India for a single day in England, leave alone 150 years?

Against this background when India attained freedom, what were the priorities before the policy-makers? The first Finance Minister of independent India, Shri Shanmugam Chetty, presented two budgets. One budget was presented on 11th November, 1947 which was an interim budget because one budget was presented by Shri Liaquat Ali who was the Finance Minister in the Viceroy's Executive Council before independence. Thereafter, another interim budget was presented in November. The first full

i budget was presented in February, 1948.

- ! He observed, "Today the major problem of India is of balance of payment and also of food". We had some sort of a
- misconception that at the time of independence we had huge sterling-pound

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reserves. Yes, it was there but that was just for a few weeks because the entire sterling-pound reserves, which we had accumulated during war-time, were utilised to meet the claims of British civil servants, who had retired, towards acquisition of railways and towards aquisition of the interests of British sterling companies by Indians. An the problem of BoP started in 1948 itself-the problem of importing food, the problem of Balance of Payments, the problem of millions of migrants who were coming every day. Some newspapers, particularly The Statesman, is bringing out the front-page items of their newspapers fifty years ago. I am meticulously seeing it and I find that almost every day there was some item on migration of refugees from West Punjab, from the then East Pakistan, which is now Bangladesh. So, we had to start in that context.

What was the international situation, Sir? Marshall Plan was passed by the American Congress. Development assistance was available. But a news item appeared in The Statesman fifty years ago which said the then British Chancellor of the Exchequer warned 300 top financiers and bankers of the world about the sordid state of the world economy. For a period of seven years the world population grew, but the world food production declined by 7%. That was the item which was discussed by Lord Dalton, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, with those top financiers and bankers of the world economy. So, we became free in that atmosphere. Marshall plan was passed by the American Congress. But aid was not available to all the developing countries. There was a string attached and that string was, "You join either SEATO or NATO". 'The independent foreign policy which we pursued from day one of our independence debarred us from having the type of assistance which others got.

Therefore, when we review our performance we cannot do that in isolation. We shall have to review our performance in the context of what we have achieved. -People say that we should have accepted an economic policy whereby from day one private sector could have played a major role. Where was the private sector in the 50s? What'was the capitalisation in the Indian stock market in the earlier years of our developmental planning? I, am not going into the First and the Second Plan. Even during the Sixth Plan, what was the state of affairs of our private sector? Where was the money? Where were investable resources? Therefore, the State had to intervene. But we never accepted a dogmatic policy. You look at the evolution of our Industrial Policy. India's first independent Industrial Policy Resolution was passed in 1948. Thereafter it was amended in 1956. It was again amended in 1973. There was another amendment in 1980, yet another amendment in 1985 and subsequently major changes in 1991. This was not done in isolation. This was done in the context of the situation prevailing at a particular point of time.

Therefore, Sir, when we review our performance, we shall have to look at what our goal was, what our objective was. Fortunately, the Lok Sabha Secretariat has brought out a compilation of Finance Ministers' Budget speeches with an introduction from Dr. Manmohan Singh. From Shanmugham Chetty to CD. Deshmukh to T.T. Krishnamachari all the Finance Ministers of India in the 50s and 60s had the primary consideration of how to have food. Even in 1974 when Mr. Y.B. Chavan presented his second Budget after the regular Budget sometime in June 1974, when runaway inflation was there, almost at the rate of 24 per cent-Dr. Singh was the Chief Economic Adviser at that point of time-Mr. Chavan had to say that the whole Indian economy was moving around food, its production, its procurement, its distribution. Therefore, food is! a very important aspect and we must ensure how we can have food security. This is the most important aspect of our economic development. The public sector .\_\_

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had to take the commanding role in" industrialisation of the country. Who else could have done that at that time? It was not a dogma. It was the utmost necessity and Sir, if we look at the document which has been prepared by the Lok Sabha Secretariat under the- direction of the Speaker, it has revealed gertain yery-interesting features. The point which I am trying to drive at is, if you look at the First Plan to the Eighth Plan including the Annual Plans, you will find that most of the developmental resources we have been able to procure through our own domestic savings. In the decade of 50s, the GDP growth was 3.59 per cent, the rate of investment was 12.04 per cent, the rate of savings was 10.77 per cent. That means less than 2 per cent was the external support. The same is the story in the second decade. The same is the story in the third decade. The same is the story in the fourth decade. Only between 4985-86 and 1988-89, the external support was : above three per cent and during 1991-92 it was a little more than two per cent but the Eighth Plan period taken as a whole | shows external support as 1.2 per cent of the GDP. As an Indian-I am just forgetting whether I belong to a particular party or not-as an Indian should I feel proud or not, that our achievements are substantially by our own efforts, by our own savings, by our own internal management? External support which we received is just peanuts in the overall development. During this period, Sir, it was not that we did not have any problems. We had Immediately maior problems. after independence we had some conflict with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. In 1962 we had another war In 1965 we had the third war in 197i we had the fourth war. During this period we had three major oil crises-in 1973, 1979 and again in 1991. But the Indian economy did not collapse. We did not go the Mexico way. We did not go the Thailand way because our economic strength is deep-rooted in the soil of this country. It does not depend on the whims and caprices of a few multi-nationals, their choice, their

investment decisions. That is the strength of our Indian economy. It is not the contribution of any individual party, or individual persons. It is the contribution of Indian farmers. It is the contribution of Indian workforce, Indian scientists. Today if we feel proud that, our agricultural scientists have been able to develop a particular clone in which India is going to emerge as the largest producer of natural rubber leaving behind Malaysia as the producer of natural rubber, it is a great contribution by the Indian scientists, it is a great contribution to agricultural research. In 1980 itself, our total sugar production was 46 lakh tons and within 15 years we have been able to double it, more than double it. These things did not happen accidently. For that, there was a need of planning; there was a need of intervention by the Government; there was a need of creating the conducive atmosphere where these investments could be made, these decisions could be implemented effectively. But, that does not mean that we

have not slipped. Yes, we have slipped. There had been omissions and commissions. It is because of this session... You are looking at the watch, Sir, I would not take more time because other distinguished speakers are there. But, within five-six minutes, I would conclude. But, there had been slips. What did we want to have? It is to be judged whether we have achieved it to a considerable extent. My contention is just today, perhaps, it has provided us an opportunity to move, forward from the gains which we have consolidated over the last five decades. We can move forward. If we want to move forward, what is to be done? Here I am not going into the nittygritty; this is not the occasion. The most important thing, perhaps, is we must evolve a national consensus, cutting across party lines, to have an economic policy of this country, for this country, not for any party, not for a combination of parties, but for this country a national economic policy. We have a national Foreign Policy which is by and large

subscribed to by every political

party, which has provided immense strength to the policy-makers, to the implementers. But, we require a national economic policy. Why am I saying so? We are going to have a very ambitious target for the Ninth Plan. We want to have Rs. 21.90,000 crores of investment for the period 1997 to 2002. We want to have seven per cent growth. If we want to have seven per cent growth, our rate of investment should be around 28.6 per cent. Of that, 26.2 per cent would come from the domestic savings. The external support, as reflected in CAD, is being projected as 2.4 per cent of the GDP. From where will these resources come? If these resources are to be brought, we shall have to take certain hard decisions. Rs. 18,000 crores of deficits of State Electricty Boards are to be tackled. Can it be tackled without a broad political consensus amongst all political parties? Is it possible to create a situation in which national priorities are to be determined? Can it vary from Government to Government? Can it vary from political party to political party?

Mr. Chidambaram in his Budget last year did a good thing. But, when I was listening to his proposal for the Accle-rated Irrigation Programme, it came to my mind, what a foolish decision — execuse me, Sir, for using this particular pharse — we took in the National Development Council meeting of 1980! Prior to that, for irrigation and major power projects, 10 per cent of the Central Assistance was earmarked. It helped to build up Bhakra Dam; it helped to build up Kosi project; it helped to build up Mahanadi project, new temples of India's economic development. Suddenly, in 1980, we decided that irrigation and power are basically State subjects, why a part of Central Assistance should be earmarked. Some Chief Ministers demanded and we agreed to do that". All are responsible. I am not passing on the responsibility to anybody. In those days, most of the Chief Ministers oelonged to our party, but we took a decision. We modified the Gadgil Formula of Central

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Assistance, and what we find that one of the important infrastructure sectors today is starving. In the book, it has been pointed out what would be the requirement, in financial terms, for commercialisation of infrastructure facilities to be provided, if we want to avert power crisis, petroleum crisis, overall energy crisis and if want to achieve the eight per cent growth we must have very good exports. We cannot afford to have that type of balance of payments crisis which we faced very recently. Some 19 or 20 billion US dollars is not enough unless we have a sustained growth in exports. We have the capacity to meet our import requirements through our export earnings. But at the same time. I would like to emphasise that I don't subscribe to the view that import substitution in this country has no role. Import substitution has a role. Mr. Chidambaram has brought out a very good paper on subsidies, a discussion paper which says that 137338 crores, nearly 14% of our GDP is being provided for subsidies-direct, indirect, hidden and visible. About Rs. 43,000 crores are the Central subsidy and about Rs. 92,000 crores are subsidies given by the States. We shall have to take a conscious decision on what we are going to do in the next 10 years if we. want to have a 17.5% tax-GDP ratio, as projected in the Plan document from the present level of 16%. We must have a consensus. Otherwise, no Finance Minister, however expert he may be-it rnay be Dr. Singh or Mr. Chidambaram, or anybody for that matterwould be in a position to balance it unless there is political backing. This political backing cannot come merely from one party. I am not talking of mere numerical strength. It is not possible even if you have two-thirds majority or three-fourths majority in the House. These are the issues which have to be dealt with urgently. These are issues which I think you have provided us this opportunity immediately after assuming the office as the Chairman of this House. Let us take advantage of this opportunity. Yes, we have differences. Dissent is part of democracy. We will continue to disagree. Even

after these four days we will continue to disagree. There is no harm. Even in these four days, we may disagree. But this dissent should not debar us from discussing these issues.

I will make one more point and then conclude my speech. I have some apprehensions regarding the so-called globalisation and what is likely to emerge if we are not careful and why I am emphasising on self-reliance. I am emphasising on selfreliance because I am a little worried about what has happened between 1980 and 1994. From certain documents, I find that in this one-and-a-half decade, from 1980 to 1994, the GDP of 49 LLDCs, the least of less developed countries, has declined from 2.9% to 1.4%. Their international debt has increased, in absolute terms, from \$ 868 billion to \$ 2.900 billion.

We talk of investments from abroad. But I don't know how much we will get. Our total external debt is about \$ 92 billion, roughly 28 or 29% of our GDP and it is within manageable limits. If we go beyond that, we may have problems. I am not going into this aspect theoretically. My question is: Where are the invest-able resources available? In 1995, the total investable resources, in absolute terms, was roughly \$ 315 billion. Of this, nearly 66% was invested amongst the G-7 countries. Seventy-three per cent of the remaining amount went to the Asian Tigers, including China. If you calculate, out of \$ 315 billions, nearly two-thirds went to the G-7 countries. Of the remaining, 73% went to the Asian Tigers. Then, what is left to countries like us? Therefore, we have to depend substantially on our own strengths, on our own resources. If we want to do that, we have to formulate certain clear policies. What are you going to do with the multilateralism? At least, I am scared that over the last fifteen years, we are talking of multilateralism. What is emerging in the name of multilateralism? It is regionalism which is emerging. Between 1985 and 1994, the world trade has increased by 2368 billion US dollars and 50 per cent of this was shared by the European Union, NAFTA

and ASEAN among themselves. Therefore, the 50 per cent of the enchanced world trade is shared by 'these regional blocs. The relevance of SAPTA comes there. We cannot implement SAPTA if we always talk of 'what we might have'? The so-called reciprocity, the concept of reciprocity is not always relevant. We must ask ourselves if we give something to Bangladesh, should we have reciprocity; whatever we give to Sri Lanka, should we must have reciprocity-we must come out of this mindset- If we can come out of this mindset, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do believe that this country has immense potential. We could fight against the mightiest colonial power in the world 50 years ago. They have left a message and that message is in the next millennium which is just three years away, if we want to have food for all, if we want to have health for all, education for all and job for all let us not minimise our achievements. At the same time, let us not live in platitudes. Let us draw lessons from our past mistakes and take the corrective decisions and move ahead. In political parties, we must have differences essentially. But we must keep aside this difference or some issues. Sir, I am very poor in Hindi and Urdu. With a good deal of efforts, I tried to learn an Urdu couplet and in my bad pronounciation I would like to say it and then conclude.

"दुश्मनी जमकर करो लेकिन इतनी गुंजाइश तो हो.

कल अगर दोस्त बन जाए तो शार्मिदा न हों।"

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PROF. NAUNIHAL SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, infrastructure is the Achiles heel of the Indian economy. The availability of adequate infrastructure facilities is vital for the acceleration of the economic development of a country. The Governments have traditionally been aware of this and accorded high priority to investment in sectors such as railways, roads, power, telecommunication, ports, water-supply, sanitation, sewerage and airports. Consequently, infrastructure has been predominantly provided by the public sector in.

" almost all the countries. A new wave of privatisation and deregulation has been sweeping infrastructure sector around the globe over the last decade or so. However, there is, today, a considerabe doubt about the Government's ability to supply infrastructure services efficiently. A key issue that needs to be grasped is that the kind of economic growth projected will not be possible without a substantial movement in all areas of infrastructure. If this takes place, the total exports should reach about 66 billion US dollars in 2000.-01 and 115 billion US dollars by 2005-06. My expectation is that about 40 per cent of the external capital can flow into the infrastructure sector. However, the projection of domestic savings suggests that it is quite feasible for total investment in infrastructure to increase from the current level of 5.5 per cent of GDP to about seven per cent by 2000-01 and eight per cent by 2005-06. In absolute terms this implies total infrastructure investment requirements of Rs. 4000 to 4500 billion over the next five years and this would rise .to about Rs. 7500 billion in the following five years. If we expect about 30-35% of total external inflows to go into the financing of infrastructure, we could expect about 15% of the total capital requirements for infrastructure to be externally financed. The rest, as much as 85% will have to be financed domestically. Therefore, a meaningful commercialisation of infrastructure projects is essential. For that matter, comprehensive policy changes are needed in the contractual savings segments such as pensions, insurance, provident fund and the debt market. It is proposed that an Infrastructure Finance Development Corporation be set up to promote infrastructure investment. Mr. Chairman, Sir, out of various infrastructure requirements, I will 'immensely emphasise the power sectordue to paucity of time-as it is the spirit and content of the total infrastruc- ture facilities and services.

Sir, the power planners had prepared an over-ambitious plan to add 48,000 MW of capacity during the Eighth Plan without any realistic assessment of. power demand and the availability of matching resources. Sir, the Eighth Plan, However, is now leading towards a miserable failure as hardly 18,000 MW of capacity, that is, a third of the original programme is likely to be achieved although the Plan outlay for the power sector in the Eighth Plan was double the actual expenditure during the Seventh Plan. The SEBs have executed MOUs for about 1,00,000 MW of installed capacity with IPPs out of which 8 projects have been identified as fast-track projects. It is unfortunate that even these so-called fasttrack projects have suffered serious delays and cost escalations. Their execution and commissioning is shrouded with uncertainties.Ad-hocism was adopted to add large capacities to satisfy the ego of political masters at the top and the result is that T&D losses have already swelled to about 32% and there is no hope to arrest this rising trend even during the Ninth Plan. The situation in the Ninth Plan does not appear any better. It may be interesting to note that a relation between demand and energy requirements gives a PLF of less than 50% and there is a mismatch in demand and energy projection. Sir, perhaps, the policy-makers have not taken any lessons from the failures in the Eighth Plan and still want to project a very ambitious programme. The achievements may not be better than the Eighth Plan leading to a chaotic situation. So, massive power shedding and load restrictions may have to be enforced even at the cost of public wrath. The State Electricity Boards are heading towards a financial disaster which may prove to be more serious than power shortage. This important infrastructure sector may be on the top agenda of the United Frost Government as we are heading towards a power crisis which is unheard of so far. In the power sector the following recommendations are made: cost-based pricing for each consumer segment; independent regulation of prices with a provision to price reform; a Central electricity regulatory commission outside the Government's operative

control be set up; urgent restructuring of SEBs that separate the generation, transmission and distribution functions; replacement of plant load factor by plant availability; and, the evolution of medium term fuel policy. But, alas! What we have seen so far in the infrastructure front is mega talk and micro results, knowing is fully well that infrastructure is the decisive factor for the success of liberalisation. Finally, .Sir, what we have is no action or worse, a new scam. The questions arise: whether we are truly perceptive of these realities; whether we are prepared for pragmatic policy changes; whether we can shift gears in infrastructure and move to micro action leading to mega results. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI' ASHOK MITRA (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman Sir, in the olden days, civilizations were measured in terms of achievements in the course of a full century. We can say, at least, in the course of five decades, we ought to have been successful in not only articulating what our nation as a collective entity wants but what have been our achievements over this period. Some of us cannot but feel both sorrowful and cynical. One tentative judgment on behalf of some of us could be, 'Yes, the original political leadership in the country wanted to set up a republic after Plato's idea, a republic for that nation's elite and the rest of the community were there to serve the wishes and desires of this elite. One area where certainly the point proved is with respect to educational advancement and I do deliberately mention this point because this in my view is crucial to economic development. We could have achieved a much faster rate of growth provided we, right at the beignning of our independence, had instructed ourselves that, come what may, we are going to make our entire population litereate in the course of the next five years or six years or eight years; otherwise, heads will roll. We did not believe in the philosophy of chopping off heads on account of non-success perhaps

because this non-success was to the something of a leadership positive achievement; let the poor remain poor, let the ignorant remain ignorant; then our polity is safe, and the polity has been safe for the last fifty years for those who had been at the helm of affairs. But, now there are stirrings because you may ensure non-education for your poor but you cannot still ensure that there will not be some leakage of awareness of what is happening inside the country and across the wide world globe. And, this is what is happening. You have not given them drinking water, you have not given them primary schools but you have given them community television sets, they watch programmes and reach their own conclusion, 'that somehow or the other I have to reach that particular standard of living and how do I reach it? By hook or by crook.' In this matter I do not feel, I as an off-spring of a very poor house-hold need not at all feel bashful because the leadership of the country has taught us that there is no stigma attached to achieving your goal through dubious means. This is, after all, how they reach their own judgment. They cannot sign their names, does not' matter, but they can reach appropriate conclusions .which they are trying to do. This something which we have to face. If you want to set up our agenda for the next 50 years, we have to talk about these things. That is, what about education. Do we mean that we want to have time-bound programmes to solve the education problem? We must have land reforms in the country, effective land reforms which allows the poorest of the poor peasants to have a slice of land by using which he can have an expansion of his income and earning. That income, in turn, will then lead to an increase in the demand for goods and services that might be produced in our industry. We can set up this kind of agenda for ourselves, provided we are prepared to dismantle our control over the polity and the economy that we think we can continue for the next fifty vears, in the manner we have continued during the past fifty years. Then, of course, it is

a pointless frustrating exercise in elocution that we are indulging in. Then, there are other things. Do we know even about this particular structural factor which has really held us back? What about the kind of structural factors which have been introduced in the country over the past six years? I have some data, which I have got from the Prime Minister himself in response to a Parliamentary Question and in the kind of reply he has given there is no scope for ambiguities. He said that during the six year period, that is, 1991-97, the overall rate of economic growth has been lower than the rate of growth in 1980s. The rate of agricultural growth has been lower and the rate of industrial growth too has also been lower. This is the general picture. But, the rate of growth is higher only in the services sector. What does it mean? We know that in the course of the last six or seven years, the salary scales have been raised enormously in the mercantile sector. A young man who used to get, maybe, Rs. 30,000/-per month, is now getting Rs. 3,00,000/-. It has been an explosion of income. In the kind of national income accounting methodology that we have, the money that is spent on raising of salaries becomes the income for the subsequent years. So, it is a very painless process of adding to services income and which is now having its impact on the rate of growth. If this rate of growth in the services sector were not considered, then our overall growth in the course of these six months would have been barely 4 per cent or 4.5 per cent, which would compare very poorly with the rate of growth in 1980s. In any case, over it is lower. But, certainly if you consider the big span from 1947 onwards, you see the kind of snootiness that one hears that we have some kind Of obtuse ideology of socialism, and that socialism led us astray; we had a very poor rate of growth; now that we have the reforms, milk and honey will start flowing in the country. First of all, that is no socialism. The elite took care of themselves. A socialistic pattern of society has nothing to do with socialism.

It was a mere turn of the phrase. You expanded the public sector, but you expanded the public sector for your class friends. You subsidised power etc. for my friend Mr. K. K. Birla and his company. No, that is not socialism. This is a misnomer to say that you are expanding socialism. You did nothing of that sort. You expanded your class base. You said that you had very nice words to say about how to ammeliorate the conditions of the poor. At least one side effect was that we did build an implicit public sector,

I made some quick estimates that if we take all our public sector capital stock and revalue that capital stock at the current prices, it comes to \$2,500 billion. If you take the average ingress of foreign direct investment in this country since 1991, meaning that if we from now on depend only on foreigners for investment, to build the same capital stock that we have in the public sector today, we will take 250 years. If we take an average of \$2 billion of entry of foreign capital, it will take 125 years. This is the magnitude of the success that we have achieved over the past 50 years, despite all the deficiencies and other shortcomings in our economic planning and our economic structure. Should our agenda in the course of the next 50 years be to dismantle the \$2,500 billion public sector? You are not in a position, and your private sector is not in a position, to duplicate this investment. Your private investors on whom you are depending, are coming on a very slow trot. What concrete steps do you want to pursue to stop the sabotage of the public sector that we are already having? This is what they are trying to do. I plead with the hon. Members that they represent the sovereignty of this nation and they should do something about it.

I will mention a related point. We nationalised the banks. First Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and subsequently Mrs. Gandhi nationalised the banks. Now you say that it was a heinous thing which they did; so we must denationalise the banks,

which we did. My friend, Dr. Manmohan Singh did this through a legislation which was brought over here in 1993-94. At that time, some friends made a point that they were for denationalisation but that they were not for infiltration of foreigners in the banking sector. I want to remind you-it is not yet clear-roughly 22 per cent of the equity of the State Bank of India, our major bank, is already owned by foreigners. They would be allowed to own equity up to 30 per The assumption is that our cent. the Government's representatives, representatives on the Board will remain inert and passive, as has been the convention and foreigners will determine the policy of the State Bank of India today, may be, the Bank of Baroda tomorrow and gradually the entire banking sector thereafter. Those who were in favour of the private sector in banking three years ago, were, in fact, advocating the cause of foreign banks. Now, look at what has happened. There was a bizarre spectacle last week. The State Bank of India is buying dollars in order to lower the value of the rupee, to depreciate the rupee, and the Reserve Bank of India, the central bank of the country, is buying rupees in order to shore up the value of the rupee. So, the part is already becoming greater than the whole. We cannot blame the foreigners. the foreigners did not come and. capture our State Bank. We handed-over our nationalised bank to them on a platter.

This is where the other factor comes in. That is the factor of what you have done, by having the convertibility on the current account. Some hot money has come in. The Finance Ministry takes pride of \$30 billion. Certainly it is a lot of money. But, they have to remember that they have also \$ 100 billion of foreign debt outstanding. On \$30 billion they are suspicious here today and tomorrow. But, once the Rupee starts weakening, some of this money will certainly drift away. There is a very great possibility that now that Mexico is behind us, Thailand is behind us, the Philippine is behind us, maybe that India could be a good

entertainment and some of the exercises, which the State Bank of India has applied itself to, could be the precursor of bringing down the value of the Rupee to the level of Rs. 40/- or Rs. 45/- against a dollar. There is now an open speculation that: this is what is being done. You may advance the argument that that will help our exports. By putting down the value of our currency you think our exports will go up. Can you put your hand on your heart and say that this is going to happen? The Erupeans and the Americans will find one pretext or another—non-tarrif barriers. labour standards, this and that-and see that this does not happen. The net result will be that the goods that you now sell will be sold at a price which is 20 per cent or 25 per cent less. In other words the rate of exploitation of the Indian people could go up by 25 per cent or 30 per cent through this process of devaluation. If, perchance, the devaluation proceeds further then we, as- Indian community, will be faced with a much worse situation. -

Since my time will soon run out, without going further into it I would say just for a change, let us look back a little to a factor which was precious with us fifty years ago. We were proud of our independence that we had just achieved. We must try to preserve it. We can preserve it if we put stress of self-reliance. All .this \$250 million capital stock that I have referred to we built with very little of foreign aid. The official assistance that had come and which was in the range on 0.5 per cent or one per cent of our GDP. We would have built a reasonably strong economy, if-and I, have to say thatthere was not that profligacy in imports that was resorted to in the late 80s, we would not have fallen into the debt crisis of 1990-91. We just borrowed money, right and left,short-term and medium-term, and then there was an accummulation of contractual obligations to return the money during 1992. It was our own doing. We did so, because our rulers forgot that with self-.

reliance we can survive; if we give up selfreliance, we will be at the mercy of foreigners. Is everything over? Is it the only policy prescription which our rulers can suggest to us, to hand over the country

and its policy-making to the foreigners, whether it is the issue of patents pr otherwise, whether it is the issue<sup>v</sup>of tariff or non-tariff, whether it is the issue of bank rate policy or the issue of credit, or what should be the external value of the Rupee? They say it is all right; the foreigners know the best. If we have that earning that we must return to the nonfreedom that we had 50 years ago, than, of course.' it is very easy to work out your agenda. It has already been worked out and everyday we are the victims of this agenda. On the other hand, if you say, no, we still nave

potential to develop our economy in our own manner, without bothering too much about the susceptibilities of the foreigners

#### 12.00 noon

There is no problerrt. We can build this economy on the basis of what we have, on the strength that we have and the talent that we have. There will be temporary difficulties. Some of our foreign friends will try to create difficulties for us. But in this world, international relations change very fast and we can re-explore the friends that we. lost in pre-1990s' the reasons of which are known to all of us. I would say that the crisis that we are facing is a crisis of culture. A significant proportion of our affluents do believe that whatever the foreigners say and order are the things that we have to follow and pursue. On the' other hand, even within this community. there are dissensions. We have still the potential to evolve a certain independent path of development. But for that we need a-character. Ultimately, it is not a problem of economics. It is a problem which is basic to the issues and economic conditions. Are we prepared to return to that character or would we remain a nation led by thieves and crooks? Thank you very much. .

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH (Assam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened with great respec to all the speaker who have spoken before me and particularly to my esteemed colleague, my friend, Dr. Ashok Mitra for whom I have a great affection and great regard. It is possible that what I am going to say will not wholly be in the line of thinking that he has tried to project. But to him and to those who think like him, I would like to say in the words of an Urdu poet:

"माना कि तेरी दीद के काबिल नहीं हूं मैं,

तु मेरा शौक तो देख मेरा इंतजार तो देख।"

Sir, the celebration of the golden jubilee of our independence is an occasion for rejoicing. It is also an occasion for introspection and to set new goals for our nation. We can take legitimate pride in\*, what has been achieved in this country. When I look at India before Independence, the 50 years before Independence and 50 years that came after 1947, I think in every sphere of life there has been progress. I have calculated that between 1860 and 1909 there were 22 famines "in this country, that is, one famine every  $2^{1/2}$  years. After 1910 the British Government found some way to deal with these problems. Even then, as Shri Pranab Mukherjee mentioned at least 3 .million people died in the Bengal famine. We take pride in. the fact that with the system of food security, the stimulus that we have given to agriculture in our country, we have been able to avoid that sort of catastrophe and more so when countries like China faced famine. For example, in 1960s according to credible international estimates at least 30 million "people perished in the famine in China in the wake of the Great Leap Forward. I think it is a matter of pride that we have escaped from that sort of calamity. That is a tribute to the vision of the founding fathers of our Republic. I would say that it is also a great tribute to the then Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and to the then Agriculture Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam and to India's agricultural

scientists whose achievements and whose commitments have made it possible for us to have a credible system of national food security. Before independence India had a literacy rate of less than 16%. I agree with my friend, Dr. Ashok Mitra, thatwe should have done more. But even then the increase from 16% to 53%, as revealed by the national census of 1991, is a substantial step forward. In the 1940s infant mortality rate in our country was between 145 and 150 per thousand child births. We brought it down to 70. It is not good enough. But there is progress. I was born in a very drought-prone village of the then Punjab. I grew up in that village. I had not seen the face of a doctor until I went to the High school in the tehsil headquarters. Today in most parts of our country there are, I think, heajth services, though they may not be up to the standards,' that this country expects, what this country aspires for. There is scope for improvement. But in all these areas there has been progress. In 1947 India did not have a capital goods industry worth the name. Today India can meet 80% to 85% of its requirement of capital goods through domestic production.

Dr. Mitra referred to the need for selfreliance. We are entirely one with -him. There is no alternative for this country but. to pursue a path of maximum possible self-reliance. But what is this self-reliance? I think I can do no better than to quote before this House what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in the first chapter of the Third Five Year Plan. He posed this question. He said, "In an interdependent world that we live in, what is the meaning of self-reliance?" It is not autarky. No country can be entirely self-sufficient in everything. He said, "The only viable meaning .of self-reliance in an increasingly interdependent world that we live in is that we should be able to. pave our • way in pur international transactions through our exports and through normal inflow of capital, that we should do away with reliance on conces-l sional official aid which is never free of

strings." If the criterion is like that, India today is more self-sufficient than ever before. In recent years India is able to meet 85% to 90% of our import requirements through our own export efforts. As regards the reliance on concessional aid, until a few years ago the average was not half a percent of our GDP as my friend, Dr. Mitra, has mentioned. The average was closer to 2% to  $2^{1/2}$  of our GDP. It was probably 3%. In the last five or six years the reliance on external resources has declined as a proportion of our national income. It has not gone up. As far those who believe that the last five years have been years of sell-out to foreigners, sacrifice of self-reliance, I would respectfully submit to them that the picture is completely different from what they have been trying to project.

But I have not stood here to enter into a polemical debate. I think we can all take pride in the fact that our pace of progress, although it falls short of the aspirations of our people, although it falls short of the potential of our economy, although it doesn't compare favourably with many countries of East Asia and South-East Asia, has been sustained in the framework of a democracy. The fact that this pace of social and economy transformation has been sustained in the. framework of an open society, a demo-cratic polity, committed to the rule of law and committed to respect all fundamental human freedoms, I think, is a matter of pride for all Indians. Self-reliance must remain the cardinal principle of our economic and social policies. But, as I said, self-reliance has to be interpreted in a dynamic world. If you look at Gandhiji's writings-I have read what Gandhiji wrote in Hind 'Swaraj' in 1908what Gandhiji said on the same subject in 1947 is very different. In fact, a correspondent asked Gandhiji, "What is it that has now changed your mind?" Gandhiji said, "I am in constant search for truth and when I discovered that what I believed earlier was wrong, I have no difficulty in owning up." I would like to

submit to this House that in the world that we live in the only concept of self-reliance is rooted in the thinking of Pandit Nehru which I just mentioned. Even Gandhiji said, "We want to build in this country a house which has windows and doors open on all sides," But we must develop internal strength, both economic strength, social cohesion and moral strength to which, Sir, you drew our attention so eloquently vesterday in your inaugural address that whatever winds may blow from all cultures of the world, this country will have the strength not to be blown off its feet. We have nothing to be afraid of foreigners. I think the biggest thing we ought to be afraid of is the sense of fear. Those who try to create a sense of fear among the Indian, people, I think, they are unconsciously sapping the tremendous sense of creativity, energy, enterprise that I see alround India today, among Indian scientists, among Indian technologists, among Indian entrepreneurs.

Now there are various ways in which you can look at the last five or six years. You can choose 1991-92 as a base and then show that the performance does not compare favourably with what it was before. But I am glad that at least Dr. Mitra now admits that the 80s was a period of robust growth. I think the Congress party certainly takes credit for that because both the Sixth Five Year Plan and the Seventh Five Year Plan formulated under the Primeministership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi respectively. I was a Member Secretary of the Planning Commission when the Sixth Plan was formulated and I was its Deputy Chairman when the Seventh Plan was formulated under the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister, the late Rajiv Gandhi. I am not going to quarrel whether the 80s were better or the 90s were better.. We take pride in the fact that in the 80's itself when Latin America, and Africa, were going downhill, India maintained a creditable growth record of  $5'_2$  to 6 per cent per annum. But I would also like to

record on this occasion our people's great debt of gratitude to the late Rajiv Gan-• dhi. Rajiv]i had a vision to see that the world was changing and the world was changing fast enough and, therefore, we would need to readjust our economic and social policies to absorb knocks and shocks that there might be in store for us. Before his death, he spelled out in the Congress election manifesto some of these changes which had to be made. Our party being faithful to that mandate did make efforts in that direction. I am not saying that all things that we did were right. There were mistakes. There are bound to be mistakes. But I think the motive, the inspiration, was not to sell India to foreigners but to build an India which can enter into the 21st century with self-confidence and self-reliance and can take pride in its achievements. I have been going abroad over the years. Wherever. I go, whether I go to USA, whether I go to Canada or whether I go to Britain, Indians now take pride in what has been achieved in India. All of them want to be partners in this great drama that is being played in this country. I compliment my colleague, Shri Chidambaram, for carrying forward the tprch of economic freedom, of liberalisation. I believe that in the changed world that we live in there is no other way which can resolve the dilemma that we face of finding a Judicious balance that we need between tradition and modern age. India is a country with a living civilization of 5,000 years. We take pride in our culture and civilization. But, at the same time, as Pandit Nehru taught us, we cannot realise our destiny unless we make full use of modern science and technology. Our nation will be eternally grateful to Pandit Nehru for what he did to build up these temples of learning, this vast reservoir of scientific, managerial and technological skill. Now we must take advantage of that and go forward and look the world straight in the face. I look at the WTO and I respectfully submit, India is on the threshold of great opportunities in expending our trade. Don't get

carried away by the fears and the alarms that the WTO is going to subvert India's sovereignty. I thing no country can subvert the sovereignty of a country of 900 million people with its Parliament being alert, media being alert and public opinion being such a mighty force. We will always remain masters of our destiny. But if we do not take note of changes taking place and the tremendous progress that technology is making all over the world, if our enterprises are condemned to second rate and third rate technology, I think the people of India, particularly the youth of India, are not going to accept that. The people of India want our industry to produce quality goods. The people of India want our industries to produce these goods at competitive prices. The people of India want our industry to acquire the mission to compete with the multi-nationals not only within our own country but also abroad, And India can do it. It is the duty of this Parliament, it is the duty of all of us to strengthen our enterprises to strengthen our scientists, to strengthen our farmers to meet that challenge. But if you believe that you can isolate vourself from the rest of the world-I think we made that mistake in the 17th and 18th and 19th centuries when the rest of the world was experiencing great industrial revolution, may be for reasons beyond our control, that<sup>1</sup> revolution by-passed us; that is why both India and China were left behind in the race for social and economic growth-and if today we repeat that mistake I think history will never forgive us. Sir we are Members of various international institutions and I think we should take full full advantage of the opportunities that these institutions offer. I have dealt with IMF and the World Bank for nearly 30 years, I have faced much criticism in this House but I can say truthfully on the basis of my own experience that we have made use of these institutions for our national good. They have not been able to dictate to us things which we did not want to do. A new historian of the World Bank who is now compiling a new history

of the Bank is going to bring out how the World Bank thinking about development matters was influenced by innovation made in this country. Right from the beginning if you read the First Five Year Plan, there is a continuity. We need strong growth because without strong growth you cannot solve the problem of poverty, you cannot solve the problem of unemployment. But we also know that growth capabilities like the five fingers of the hand are unequally distributed in our country. Therefore, those who are at the lower end of the ladder, social and ladder. economic these sections of society-they are Scheduled Castes. Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, children-require women and special attention. That is why along with vibrant growth strategy and employment-friendly growth strategy, we need special programmes to help these disadvantaged sections a.id disadvantaged regions to take full advantage of the opportunity that our nation gives. That I think is a unique contribution of Indiana development strategy to the thinking about development in the rest of the world. It is quite possible that some of have not' these programmes been implemented as effectively as it should have been. We have had too much centralisation ... We did not, I think, pursue the goal of Panchayati raj institutions with the firmness and with the determination that we ought to have shown. Fortunately, thanks to Rajivji and later on to Narasimha Raoji, the amendments that have been carried out in the Constitution of India have bridged that gap. Therefore, all the pressure that this House can bring to bear on other seg, ments of our society should be to strengthen the role of the Panchayati raj institutions. That is the legitimate pursuit of decentralisation. Educational programmes, health programmes, safe drinking water programmes, all these programmes, should be designed with an eye on local requirements. local resources, local potentialities and also with the participation of local resource mobilisation efforts. So, in all these areas, our country has

given a lead in development thinking. Therefore, we don't have to be apologe-. tic; we don't have to say that the rest of the world is out to absorb us. But, at the same time, development cannot be mere ly more of the same. Panditji used to say: We live in a dynamic world and, there fore, we cannot be prisoners of the past. We must think dynamically. Our thinking must adjust with the changing needs of our time. Our objectives have ndt changed since the founding fathers of our. Republic enshrined those objectives in the Constitution of India. But strategies and programmes of action have to change with the changing needs of our time. Indian economy today is so big that it cannot be governed efficiently and effec tively "by the Government alone. Corrup tion is a subject which we have talked about. The' Prime Minister has drawn our attention to wide spread corruption. I think we cannot get rid of corruption by having an excessively over-bureaucratised State machinery. In all these matters, there is a need for fresh thinking and, as Mr. Mukherjee has said, the need for a national consensus. As I see, India today faces four crises.

The first crisis is the fiscal crisis. The Central Government over the years has made important efforts to reduce fiscal deficit. I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the effort that he. is making to bring down the fiscal deficit at the Centre. But the Combined fiscal deficit at the Centre, in the States and in the public enterprises is unsustainably high. If you want the State to'have more resources for education, if you want the State to have more resources for health, if you want the State to have more resources for antipoverty programmes, then, I think that dream cannot become a reality unless you deal with this fiscal malaise. And how are we going to deal with it? The challenge before our country is to correct the fiscal imbalance without hurting public sector investment. .We need public sector investment in agriculture^ we need public sector investment in infrastructure. \_ I have been saying that we need both

public and private investment in infrastructure. But, for many years to come, the responsibility of the Government for infrastructure improvement will remain predominant and if you don't deal with the fiscal malaise, if you are going to allow the subsidies, howsoever desirable they may be, prolifirate, then we cannot solve this problem. Even a good medicine taken beyond moderation can prove fatal.

Mr. Mukheriee and Dr. Naunihal Singh have made a mention about the State Electricity Boards. These are today losing Rs. 8,000 crores annually. If the State Electricity Boards had these Rs. 8,000 crores with a debt-equity ratio of, let us say. 1:2, they could mobilise from the market and additional Rs. 16,000 crores. The annual additional resources at the disposal of the SEBs would be about Rs. 24,000 crores. With this amount, we can add at least 6,000 MW of Power per annum. You would not need any foreign investment if our SEBs are run according to the laws. Our law says that our SEBs must so conduct their operations that they earn a minimum rate of 3% on their fixed investment. But year after year this law has been violated. How long can this country live with such violations? Parliament formulates laws. But these laws are honoured more in their breach than in observance. I think it is time that this House and this Parliament did something about this. In the same way, for example. Dr. Mitra has mentioned about the role of the public sector. I am one with him that the public sector continues and will continue to play a very important role in our natiorial development. What was the conception of Panditji when he was talking about the public sector, when he was talking about the commanding heights of our economy being with the public sector? Panditji's conception, as I understand it, was that in all economies, whether socialist economies or capitalist economies, profits have been the biggest source of investment and also of income distribution. So, if you socialise profits through the public sector, you kill two birds with one stone.

By socialising the profits, you reduce the consumption of the capitalists. So, that money is available for investment. By socialising profits, you prevent further inequalities of income and wealth. But if your public sector is running as a post-office socialism, that there' are subsidies and that the overall rate of return is not more than 2%. I think that sort of public sector cannot fulfil the historic task that Panditji had in his mind. Therefore, if we take seriously what Panditji said-and that is what socialism is all about-socialism as he visualised, an economically efficient system, socially a more just system, if you want that to become a reality, then we have to think about how we should run our public enterprises. They need more autonomy, more accountability. That is one thing. Finally, as I see it, we must rethink about our fiscal system..

The second crisis is that of the infrastmctural crisis. This crisis is not going to disappear by giving counter-guarantees, by merely saying that we have a iarge private sector to come in. But which private sector will invest in power if our SEBs are bankrupt, if the SEBs do not pay the Railways, if they don't pay the Coal India? All these are absorbed, sooner or later, into the public sector deficit. If we, therefore, take up the problem of infrastructural development very serious-.ly, then structural reforms in the power sector, in the telecom sector and in other sectors, are essential so that all investors, both in the private and the public sector, will have an assurance that if they come in, they will get a reasonable rate of return.

The third crisis that I have talked about is the human resource crisis. I started by saying—I agree with Dr. Mit-ra—that it is a shame that SO years after our independence, not all our children are in schools. We must make good that deficiency in the next five years. Similarly, we must reduce the infant mortality rate in our country to what has been achieved in progressive States like Kerala. We must bring down the rate of population growth to what has been achieved in Kerala and more recently in Tamil Nadu. We need a comprehensive social development strategy which consists of credible social safety nets. Some of these things were done in Kerala. Later on, the mid-day meal programme was thought of in Tamil Nadu. In 1995, the Congress Government introduced a country-wise mid-day meal scheme. I think we have to build on those foundations whereby the social development gap which is phenomenal is made good.

Fourthly, we need a modern financial system in our country. Our banking system is not up to the mark. Both our banking sector, capital markets and insurance need reform. If you are serious about putting more money into the infrastructural system, I think that dream will remain a dream if you don't do something about further reform of banking, capital market as well as insurance.

Finally, in dealing with the international system, as I said, I don't think India has to be afraid of dealing with IMF, the World Bank and WTO. I think the world that is evolving now is becoming multipolar. Our ambition should be to become an additional pole for the world. We have not be afraid of those, for example, who wish to dominate. International relations have never been a game of charity. They have always been and they will always be a game of power relations. Our goal has to be to make use of the space that is now available to strengthen our economy. And I do submit to you, Sir, that in the system that is now evolving, the multipolar Japan; there is the European Union; there is North America-I think, there are opportunities. We must make full use of the international economic system, rather than withdrawing ourselves from the rest of the world.

These are the challenges and I am confident that this House will give an appropriate lead to our country. I think India in the next fifteen years has all the ingredients to get rid of the scourge of poverty, ignorance and disease and to emerge as the third- or the fourth largest economy in the world and, at the same time, become a compassionate, humane society, proud of its liberal democratic heritage. That is the challenge and that also is the great and unique opportunity.

SHRI SANATAN BISI (Orissa): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity. My submission will be very, very objective. What are the reasons and where does the fault lie? What are the corrective measures that we should have taken?

Thank you.

Firstly, I would submit that there are 119 projects each costing Rs. 100 crores and above, which are lagging behind their original schedule. The resultant cost escalation on account of delayed execution is Rs. 39,858 crores. So, in all these areas where have we failed, what corrective measures should we have taken, as a result of which we could have created infrastructural facilities?

Secondly, in regard to infrastructural development, of late a decision has been taken and a committee has been constituted for identification of 100 most backward and the poorest Districts in the country. The report is awaited. The report should be submitted early so that in this 50th year of our independence we can know what infrastructural facilities do we have in the backward Districts of our country.

The other thing is that in this publication on page 52, an important area that has been mentioned is regional imbalances. I would submit that the findings of the survey bring into focus wide disparities that are prevailing in the field of human development in various States of India. For instance, Punjab has per capita income twice as high as that of West Bengal. While 27 per cent of the population lives below the absolute poverty line in Haryana, the percentage of absolute poor in Orissa is 55. So, we must take into consideration this aspect.

So far as the State of Orissa is concerned, Sir, for the last fifty years it has been neglected. I would submit that the tribals, perennially bonded in abject poverty in Kalahandi, Bolangir and Naupada Districts, boycotted the Independence Day celebrations and submitted a memorandum with the signatures of 47,471 villagers, stating reasons for their endemic poverty. Sir, the other thing I would like to submit is that a large amount of Rs. 451 crores was diverted by the States without caring for the rules governing such schemes. So far as regional imbalances are concerned, my submission is that we should take corrective measures in this regard. Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this debate has afforded to us an opportunity of introspection, assessment and evaluation of our performance as a nation over the preceding 50 years. But, in doing so, not for a moment do I think that we have to do so either in a vacuum or as a matter of academics. My objective, in whatever I want to do by way of evaluation and assessment, is to aim at improving our overall performance in social, economic and political fields in the light of our experience in the preceding 50 years so that we adopt dynamic policies, we make pragmatic laws and we take measures to accelerate the economic growth with social justice to banish poverty, to bring political stability and make India a powerful democracy emerging as a strong independent sovereign republic commanding that respect and commanding that awe which it is entitled to as the largest democracy and the second most populous country in the world.

Sir, in evaluating our performance in the 50 years, one feature that strikes me most outstandingly, is about the self-sufficiency in food. Almost every speaker has referred to it. It is a matter of quite some gratification to us that earlier with a much lesser population, we were perennially languishing in food shortages. We

had starvation deaths. Today, fortunately, with a population of 960 million, we have got rid of the food problem and we are selfsufficient in food. Very rightly, we are entitled to be proud of our achievements in two spheces: despite all that has happened, despite the efforts of the secessionists in two border States, despite communal riots, despite violence unleashed by gangsters and antisocial elements, India has today emerged as a united and integrated country; secondly, we have been able to do so by entrenching democracy into the very marrowbones of the nation as such. Democracy is a system in which it is not very easy to be able to control such a large population. But, we have been able to entrench democracy, the roots of democracy into the very heart of the nation and, despite all disruptive political movements.-'despite all the violence by secessionists. violence bv communal elements, gangsters and anti-social elements, the integrity and the unity of the country is intact. But, Sir, what is the state of our nation today after 50 years, and what is its impact on ensuring substainable economic growth? This is the theme, Sir, of my speech. Unfortunately, the coalition politics has had some very deleterious fall-out. The coalition politics was not able to effectively, firstly, curb the growth of communal Political parties in the country; secondly, it ushered in political instability entailing a miserable and deleteriously weak administration. The most harmful effect has been that neither the people nor the investors have any tonfidence in this Government. Howxan we effectively take care of 960 million people when they don't have any faith or confidence in the Government?

The most disastrous consequence is that investors are scared to invest in the country. A large many figures have been quoted as to what we need in the years to come. Speaking about the power sector, Sir, some things have been mentioned by Dr. Manmohan Singh and my esteemed friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. Sir, the minimum that we need in the next 15 years' time is the additionality of generation capacity of 1,50,000 MW. That alone will take care of the perennial shortages in which we languish at the moment. Suicidal power shortages, suicidal powercuts, load-shedding, etc. have to be brought to an end. We need to have an addition of 1,50,000 MW in the next 15 years. Sir, the investment requirement is 150 billion US dollars. In terms of rupees, it is Rs. 5,40,000 crores at Rs. 36 per dollar. Where are we going to get this money from? Investors must come into power sector if we have to have sustained growth of economy. We need resources. If there is a crunch of resources there never can be any growth and I want to submit to those friends of mine who are critical of foreign investment; if we are not going to have economic growth, how are we going to banish poverty and how are we going to banish ignorance? It is possible, Sir, that we have growth without social justice but I cannot think of social justice without growth and if that is the sine qua-non, it is necessary that we need to have more resources and more resources cannot come from investors unless they have faith in the political stability of the country as such. Sir, I want to very beiefly point out the effect of our march towards the open economy as a result of economic reforms introduced in 1992 by Dr. Manhomah Singh. Fortunately they have been followed by Mr. Chidambaram, in the coalition Government and despite his limitations he has gone ahead. I want to compliment him. He has done fairly well in various areas of the economic field. But the point I want to drive home is that our drift towards open economy has helped the country accelerate economic growth. Sir, this is not an occasion to give detailed statistics but I am giving just two figures. In the three decades from 1950-51 to 1979-80, the average annual growth rate of GDP was 3.49% and the average savings rate was 14.38%. But after we shifted to the market economy gradually, the annual

growth from 1992–97 is 6.5% of the GDP and the annual average rate of saving is 23.28%. We are not as yet an open economy and a whole lot has to be done. It is out of saving that we have been able to make investments all these years. Whatever we have been able to have, primarily it is out of savings, as was pointed out by my esteemed friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. The actual performance of the economy after economic reforms should have no scope for any doubt that for higher sustainable growth we need to move and move as fast as we can towards an open economy. Something was referred to about the Nehruvian economic policy with reference to the socialistic pattern of our society vis-avis economic reforms. Sir, it is a myth to say that in adopting the economic reforms that we have and the process of globalisation, there has been a departure from the Nehruvian economic policy. In fact, after the Avadi plenary session of 1956, when the resolution on socialistic pattern of society was adopted, Pandit Nehru clarified that at that stage of the growth of economy it was necessary that Government came in a big way because there were no investors available in the private sector. For the rapid industrial development that was to be brough about in the earlier years, we had to work for the growth of agriculture and for irrigation, etc., and then we drifted on to heavy industries for which the capital was not available and the Government had to take upon itself the responsibility of making investment in the heavy industries. But, did ever Pt. Nehru say that he opposed higher economic growth. In fact, Pt. Nehru had explained clearly that he is not opposed to private sector investment provided it is done in a manner which caters to the social objectives. Ultimately, Sir, a higher growth is possible as a result of the policies which we are adopting. And now there is proof, absolute proof that with an open economy we are marching much faster towards higher growth and are able to ensure a sustainable growth. Are we departing from the

Nehruvian policy? We are only ensuring a sustainable growth. We have not abandoned our avowed objectives of social justice, banishment of poverty and banishment of ignorance. In fact, it is to serve and subserve the same cause we have adopted this open market policy. But, Sir, because of the constraint of time, I will be very brief and I will try to finish as soon as I can. Sir, the biggest impediment I find to the banishment of poverty and ignorance is the untrammelled growth of our population. From 322 million in 1947, we are 960 million in 1997 — three times in fifty years! What will happen to us? The annual growth rate is 2.1 per cent and population by 2011 will be 1.164 million. And the zero growth rate if we go the way we are going will only be achieved nearly by the end of the next century. We cannot wait that long. The demand on resources is alarming. By 2021 itself, we will need additional foodgrains of 43 million tonnes. From where are we. getting it? We will need to look after the educational facilities for 78 million additional children. And we will need additional 70 million houses and 94 million additional jobs will be required. Therefore, if we want to learn from our past experiences to build a strong economy, a stable economy, a sustainable growth, higher per capita GDP banishment of poverty and ignorance, sincere measures to eradicate corruption and build а powerful, strong sovereign republic for ourselves, I suggest the following:

It has to be realised that India is a Union of States. Each State should, not aspire to be a Union. A nation can only be one. And a nation has certain ingredients. A nation means, there has to be free movement of people, free movement of goods and services. We must not do anything which impedes that. All secessionist, divisive, communal, casteist and linguistic forces must be curbed ruthlessly. Real sector must be strengthened and streamlined, which means we must make administration transparent and administrative machinery

# and Infrastructure

far more efficient. We must expand and improve the infrasturcture.T will only be speaking of the power. There are a large many areas, a large many other infrastructure areas for which we need resources, we need "money. Without resources, we cannot think of expanding and we need to do that by ensuring that there is more and more incentive and attractiveness for the investors to come. I do not necessarily mean the foreign investors. But, you have to harness all the savings that we have in India. You have to give impetus to the savings which alone will ensure a larger resource availability for expanding our infrasturcture. We need to instil a much higer sense of responsibility in our workforce. Our working of financial institutions is extremely unsatisfactory. They are functioning -extremely satisfactorily. By international standards we need to streamline the same. In fact, I think that if we need to expand the infrasturcture, higher responsibility in the financial institutions for Private investment is a must. Apart from real sector, in every possible field of industrial and business activity, we must reduce Government intervention to the barest minimum. Today, Sir an exporter has to fill in as many as 46 forms. What kind of unshackling of the Government's stanglehold is there on the economy? If an exporter has to fill in as many as 46 forms, it is extremely worrisome, it is cxtermely undesirable. We have to work towards establishing an open economy, based on competitive market in which every player has an opportunity on merits and not on Government's patronage. States are indulging in fiscal profligacy with impunity. We have to provide deterrents by curtalling their devolution where necessary and penal processes. The Centre must abide by a high degree of iscal discipline and it is here again I wanted to congratulate Mr.

Chidambaram. He is working hard to contain the fiscal deficit. We need to contain the revenue deficit also to 'zero' and, in fact the inflation all over the Asean countries, whether it is Thailand,

whether it is Korea, whether it is Taiwan or whether it is Singapore except Japan which has an inflation rate of less than one per cent. Other countries have an inflation rate of less than three per cent. We must not allow our inflation to go beyond three per cent. Sir, parallel economy is the bane of this country. What has been the reason for that? In fact, parallel economy and black money have a direct nexus with corruption. Far too much of Government's interference in every sphere of our life, the licencequota-and-permit-raj, very was substantially responsible the for generation of black money. If black money was generated, it was unavoidable that the people indulge in all sorts of corruption, including political corruption. Therefore, a system must be evolved where you do not have to pay for various licences that you have to take today. If you have to go for a birth certificate, you have to pay money. If you have to go for a death certificate, you have to pay money. If you want power, you have to pay money to the Government. Sir, there is one instance which I wanted to tell this House. The hon. Minister for Power is sitting here. A meter of my son, who is a lawyer and who resides in Vasant Vihar, went out of order. The officials of the electricity department came and they

said, "We cannot change your meter

since meters are out of stock. So, we will

charge you on an average rate for about a

year, or two years, before we get a meter

for you." Having fought a case of a client

of his, who was charged for this kind of

average rate and who had paid exorbitant

bills, he said, "For god's sake, fix up a

meter." They said, "There is no meter

available." His driver was standing there.

He took the concerned official out. He

said, "Look, sahib does not understand

these things, you tell me what is to be

done." The officials said, "Since, your

sahib happens to be the son of the Power

Minister, at a concessional rate of Rs.

400, we will give another meter.

Otherwise, the rate is Rs: 1,200." Sir,

publicly this has been said and done.

We are not willing to make over distribution of power into private hands. Calcutta Electricity Board was the biggest curse. Today, it is working so efficiently. All that they have done is, giving it to the private sector to manage. SHRI SATISH (Rajasthan): So, Rs. 800 were debited to your account. SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: That Rs. 800 was an invisible gift to the person concerned for he happened to be the son of the Power Minister. Sir, all that I am

saving is, it is this approach which has to be brought to an end. Everyone is a victim of this kind of corruption. When I am talking of corruption, I have to deal with political corruption also. So far as corrupt politicians individual are concerned, they are there in every party. The degree might be different. But, one political corruption of which all of us are victims — and I must submit respectfully that hypocritically we are not taking' care of it — is the election. Are not all parties using black money for election? Let us be honest about it. We. are making an honest evaluation. We are talking above party predilections and affiliations here. Unless the Government undertakes to finance election, nothing will come out. To end, I want to submit that if we do not want to barter away the future generations to poverty and ignorance and we must chalk out a programme, however drastic, to reach zero-population growth by 2025. Laws must not be made unduly draconian in which hardened criminals get away and unsuspecting and innocent are harassed. Tax laws are a classic example of how laws must not be made/In the preceding 35 years we have made over 4,000 amendments in the Income Tax Act. The simplest sections there are Section 11 and 13 of Income Tax Act which deal with exemption for charity. Over ^50 amendments have been made while retaining exemption in these two sections. I will submit that stringent provisions do

AGARWAL

How do we eliminate all these things?

not reduce tax evasion. A pragmatic approach has to be taken. The Finance Minister started reducing the rate of taxation. Let us work towards free convertibility of the rupee. Keeping in view the caution suggested by the Expert Committee, the Bill which has to deal with the laundering of money, is opposed the cardinal principles of criminal jurisprudence of any civilized society, please do not act overzealously by making draconlan laws. Economic offences are committed primarily because there are far too many regulations and far too much many bureaucratic interference. In the end, it must be realised that coalition politics has unfortunately failed in our present country. The coalition Government unfortunately inspires no confidence or faith. People have been telling me that this Govt,, is not even working on daily wages, it is working on hourly wages. It does not make me happy. We want you to be strong. We want you to inspire confidence in the people. Perhaps, as I see now at the moment, the only solution to the problem is a Government by a strong national secular party at the centre, otherwise sooner than later the country may find itself disintegrating. No system of governance, including democracy, is immune from collapse. Therefore. democracy cannot bear stress and strain beyond a point. From that point of view we have to ensure that we have a Government of a secular party at the Centre, which gives stability and enjoys confidence of the people and investors. SHRI VEDPRAKASH P. GOYAL (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, through a beautiful publication, "Fifty Years of Indian Parliamentary Democracy", the hon. Speaker of Lok Sabha has sought to set the objectives of this Special Session as (i) to take stock of five decades of successes and failures, and (ii) to suggest an agenda for the next millennium. Fifty years is a small pause in our recorded history of 5000 years as a nation-an mtegrated cultural society living on a land mass abounding in unmatched natural resources. Though a

large treasure of records of great value to mankind was plundered and burnt in Taxila and Nalanda, yet we can use imagination that there must have been a vast network of roads and waterways adequate to serve the needs of those times, which facilitated movement from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, and Kutch to Mandlay and beyond. People with all natural diversities, which persist even today, weaved a fabric of common ethos, that is, Bharat. Today's proud and arrogant nations looked at us with awe for centuries, when they were engaged in crusades, settling scores, between Bishops .and Monarchs.

How did the European Colonial powers and their offshoots in the wild West build massively on their infrastructure? Their craftsmen were able to bring about an Industrial Revolution financed by the loot from rich colonies like Hindustan; while the skills and initiatives of our craftsmen were systematically killed. While they progressed as prosperous countries, we regressed as an enslaved demoralised nation.

It was this three centuries' gap that we had to bridge after independence; and, it is in this light the successes and failures of the SO years will have a meaning and a message. We need parabolic-hyperbolic rate of development in the coming years.

#### 1.00 p.m.

We surely have made progress. A na tion whose pent-up energies were re leased by freedom could not but make progress. We have great individuals in all fields, giant private corporations—both owned by families and professionals—and public undertakings, an impressive level of scientific—especially, nuclear development by our own R&D—an

development by our own R&D—an envy of other developing countries and even the West. Then why is it that our share in world trade slipped down from 2 per cent in 1947 to <sup>1/2</sup> per cent in 1993? India's *per capita* income which was twice that of China in 1960 is now lower than China's. We must ponder and take some bold initiatives. Is our democratic set-up weaker than the regimented system of China? I am not ready to buy-that. We even came alive through the dark, long, tunnel of Emergency in the 70's and built a more robust democracy.

A very comprehensive study on 'Infrastructure Projects-Policy Imperatives for Growth and Welfare by the Rakesh Mo-han Committee gives mind-boggling figures of funds requirement. Without going "Into the jugglery of 8-10-12 digit figures in this short Special Session— these we discuss day in and day out in different fora—I am tempted to make a seemingly reckless suggestion. Taken in the right spirit, suitable adjustments, in the wider national interest, can be made.

Remove hurdles in the way of inflow of funds and technology on a massive scale from all sources—private sector, NRIs., multinationals and friendly foreign Governments, even at somewhat unfavourable terns, in the short run.

The level of sickness is such that a powerful dose, a bold injection, is required to arrest the decay: For a change, let us shift from the accountant's approach of adding and subtracting figures and give a chance to chemistry. The country has enough technical, managerial and commercial acumen—with a patriotic urge to stand tall in the comity of nations. We can take care of the undesirable after-effects of this bold step, if any. We can prescribe antidotes.

May I join the chorus of those quoting Gandhiji, in this Golden Jubilee Year of Independence? He told the British at the August Kranti Maidan in 1942 to 'Quit India: We shall take care of the chaos that you say will follow'. The 'benevolent' British had to pack off within five years of that call. They did leave behind one of the worst bloodshed in human history, through partition of the country. Memories of the pre-partition days in Lahore and post-partition days in the Banaras Hindu University still haunt me from time to time. But we managed. We were not an under-developed, dark, continent, with a lost history. In the overall, we are not worse off today than in 1947.

With the bold, controversial, step suggested, I must caution. There should, simultaneously, be a powerful, continuous, monitoring mechanism; and no room for corrupt bureaucrats, businessmen and men in public life who probably loot away 85 paisc out of the hard-earned rupee meant for the last man in the queue for whose uplift and welfare massive development funds are allocated. There may be an exaggeration in these figures to make one's point. The point is, such people should suffer a hard, exemplary, punishment and that too, speedily. Society should ostracise them. They should be put to shame in public in whatsoever guise they appear. Such awareness will have to be created in the whole country. This will give a meaning to growth. This will wipe the tears from the eyes of our brethren who have never laughed.

And now consider just one area as a specimen. While I strongly urge an integrated approach towards transport, the need for the development of the road network cannot be over-emphasised. As our economy grows at 7-8 per cent annually, and we enter global competition, we shall be handicapped in our progress.

Roads carry 60 per cent of freight and 80 per cent of passenger traffic. The projection for the year 2000 is: the ratio of rail-road cargo traffic will be 67:33. In fact, it may end up in the reverse, *i.e.* 35:65. Similarly, the projection of passenger traffic of 40:60 may emerge as 15:85.

This is the trend; and maybe, difficult to reverse in the foreseeable future.

By the year 2000, the number of vehicles would go up from 3 lakhs to 5.4 crores. The length of National Highways may increase from 20,000 to 35,000 kms. only. The length of State Highways may increase from 60,000 to 1,35,000 kms. Out of this, two-thirds are single-lane roads. You may call them just lanes.

The investment in the road sector has declined from 6.7 per cent in the First

Plan, to 3 per cent in the Eighth Plan. The National Highways is a mere 0.6 per cent of the outlay which was 1.4 per cent in the First Plan.

We need 90 billion rupees in the coming five years; and 115 billion rupees more in the five years thereafter. About the condition and the maintenance of roads, the less said the better. On an average, our trucks make 200-250 kms. per day, as against 500-600 kms. in the developed countries.

I shall not venture into other areas like railways, aviation, ports, etc. But 1 would surely like to make a special mention of the power sector-the urgent need to increase the share of hydel and atomic power in our kitty, for obvious reasons- in the long-term interests of the country. Liquid fuels are foreign exchange guzzlers. Coal deposits, at the present reckoning, may last 70-80 years, whereas recycled uranium may last 100 years; and thorium, 600 years. Coal is also required for steel making and has so many problems of transportation and pollution. Our scientists have mastered the uranium technology. In fact, in the use of thorium, we perhaps, have a monopoly at present.

In sum, I suggest. Remove the hurdles in the way of inflow of capital for infrastructure. Give deterrent punishment to the corrupt; also, taking action against the non-performers at all levels. Integrate all means of transport, for optimum efficiency. Develop water transport and expand the rail-road network, to bring the neglected • areas into the national mainstream, which will reduce the separatist tendencies. Intensify renovation and modernisation in the power sector. Take up repairs in the road sector on a war-footing. Increase substantially the hydel and atomic content in our power basket.

I have no doubt that within our lifetime, maybe, at the time of Diamond Jubilee celebrations of our freedom from British yoke, we shall be among the chosen few at the world's summit.

Thank you.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA (Bihar): Madam, ever since our economic reforms have started, the nation has been infused with a new sense of hope and confidence in the future of our nation. In spite of the changing political scenario, the passion and pursuit of reforms has been sustained, confirming the single-minded determination of the people to progress. Being the 50th year of Independence of our country, this is an opportune moment to take stock of the successes and failures of our planning process. It is in this context that I would like to review the macro-economic factors which reflect the state of the developments made over the last decade or so.

Madam, among the key indicators, the GDP is a relevant factor. During the Eighth Plan, we achieved a growth-rate of 6.5 per cent per annum against a target of 5.6 per cent. During the Seventh Plan, we had achieved 6.04 per cent. This shows that we have had a sustained progress during the last five years. The results of the economic liberalisation are surfacing.

Here, I want to mention that while the Chinese economy achieved a growth rate of 10 per cent, our economy, with the same resources of manpower, minerals, education and infrastructural facilities having been available, lagged behind. We should look into the reasons for this. The Chinese system worked very well because of their quick decision-making process, opening of the market and encouragement of foreign investment in that country.

In spite of all the drawbacks, the growth rate of our GDP, 6.5 per cent, has put India in the top three performers among the underdeveloped countries.

Madam, the next is the agricultural sector. Agriculture contributes 29.4 per

cent of the GDP. It employs 64 per cent of the total work force. Since 75 per cent of our population lives in the rural area, this must perforce be our priority area. Significant strides have been made in agricultural production, ensuring food security. We achieved a sustained growth rate of 3.5 per cent per annum, and we achieved a food production target of 198 million tonnes by the end of the Eighth Plan. This rate of growth in the agricultural sector is not going to be sufficient. The reason is the rate at which our population is growing..Our growth of 3.5 per cent in agricultural production is not going to be sufficient at all. The minimum growth rate of the agricultural sector must be 4.5 to 5 per cent.

Madam, another factor is industry. Our industry performed well, recording a plannea growth rate of 11.7 per cent in 1995-96 and between 9.8 to 10.5 per cent in 1996-97. This success was mainly because of the reforms which encouraged the manufacturing sector.

Madam, there is slow-down in our industrial production because of various factors. We need to address ourselves to the reasons for the slow-down. A major cause for the slow-down seems to be shortage of power and lack of infrastructural facilities. Ultimately, there is decline in the rate of growth of our exports.

This decline in the industrial production and its growth needs to be checked. Otherwise, we would be heading for a bad situation. Power is another factor. Shortage of electricity has had an adverse impact on both industrial and agricultural sectors. During the Eighth Plan, as against the Plan target of 30,538 megawatts, only 17,668 megawatts was achieved. This was only 58 per cent of the target and a growth rate of 3.6 per cent. In the Ninth Plan the target was fixed at 57,000 megawatts. It has been reduced to 48,000 megawatts. And, if I am correct, there is a thinking that this target may be further reduced to 40,000 megawatts. The fact is that most of the

industry in the country is using the captive power generation. That requirement has not been taken into account. If that shortage is taken into account, the shortage would be much more than what is anticipated. So, a serious brainstorming needs to be done as to how we can cope up with this basic infrastructural requirement, which will reflect the entire process of our economy and our agricultural growth.

Petroleum is a matter of our serious concern. Its demand has been growing at the rate of 7 per cent per annum, reaching a demand level of 81.18 million tonnes at the end of 1996-97. Of this, the indigenous production, which was 35.147 million tonnes in 1995-96, has dropped to 32.88 million tonnes in 1996-97. Since the total differential imported, this drop in indigenous is production will cost the country additional 2 to 3 billion dollars per annum. Our oil bill, if the production is not increased, is going to grow, which will ultimately lead to a depletion in our forest reserves. The question of subsidies continues to worry us. At the moment it stands at Rs. 24,000 crores, which might grow to Rs. 30,000 crores, if nothing seriously is done on this account.

Our export performance during 1993—96 was excellent averaging a growth rate of 25.6 per cent per year. This dropped sharply to 14.9 per cent in 1996-97. This drop, after three and a half years of high growth, is a matter of concern.

The Ninth Plan target is a growth rate of 19 per cent to 22 per cent per year. This would increase the GDP by 17 per cent as against the growth rate of 12 per cent in the Eighth Plan. But, the question is how are we going to achieve this? No serious thought, it seems, has been given to this factor. It is a matter of serious concern.

As a result of trade liberalisation, imports increased in 1994-95 by 23.1 per cent of the previous year. In 1995-96, it rose to 36.4 per cent. This reflects a buoyancy in trade, but a major portion of

this import figure is on account of our oil imports. That means it does not reflect the real import figures. So, we come to the conclusion that our imports are growing because of the growing oil and petroleum products requirements.

Coal is another factor. We had a production of 288 million tonnes in 1996-97. Its demand being much more *i.e.* 405 million tonnes in 2001, the question is how are we going to meet it? Our production target at the moment is 9.4 per cent, whereas with this growth rate, we cannot sustain it. That means we cannot meet the requirements from our production in this sector. So, the production growth rate needs to be revised and it has to be fixed at a minimum of 15 per cent. For that a massive investment is required. Unless due care is taken, we are going to lag behind in this also.

Madam, steel is a crucial factor to the material development of any modern society. It is also an important indicator of the socioeconomic development of a country. We had a demand of 25.43 million tonnes in 1996-97 and the availability was 23.72 million tonnes. The demand and production are likely to grow by the end of the Ninth Plan. In the terminal year 2001 to 2002 we anticipate a demand of 38.68 million tonnes and availability will be 38.01 million tonnes which indicates that in this sector there is no cause for conern. However, modernisation of our existing steal manufacturing facilities must take place if we wish to remain competitive or be competitive in the international steel market.

Madam, roads are a matter of great concern. The road traffic is increasing at the rate of 10 per cent per annum. The freight by road is almost 60 per cent of our total freight movement. The passenger traffic has increased by 80 per cent. Whereas our socalled National Highways constitute only 1.7 per cent of the total road network of our country, 40 per cent of the total road traffic uses these Highways and this traffic is growing. On the basis of 1991 estimates in order to achieve a standard upgradation and expansion of existing Highways an amount of Rs. 74,500 crores would be required. This is a huge investment required and unless our planners give due consideration to this sector we are going to lay behind in our economic growth. Madam, the Marshall Plan was implemented only after the Second World War. The most important priority was given to the Communication Sector of which construction of National Highways across Europe was given the highest priority.

Next is ports. We had a cargo traffic of 228 million tonnes in the year 1996-97. The expected cargo traffic by 2001 will be about 424 million tonnes. How are we going to meet this? This is a point which our planners have to take into account. The handling capacity of present port facilities is 252 million tonnes. This includes the slippage of the earlier Plan period. So, that means our present port handling capacity is far below than what is required today, leave aside the future requirements.

Telecom is another factor. In the Eighth Plan although we have witnessed a sustained high growth in the basic telecom services, the demand has far exceeded the supply resulting in a large unsatisfied demand. At present there are 22,00,000 people waiting for this basic facility. During the Ninth Plan, telephone demand is expected to grow from 180,00,000 lines in the first year to 360,00,000 in the terminal year, that is, 2001 to 2002. To achieve the goal of providing telephone on demand about 215,00,000 new connections would have to be provided. Assuming a cost of Rs. 40,000 per line, an investment of Rs. 86,000 crores would be required. I do not know what is going to be done in this sector. As regards cement, there are 124 large cement plants with an installed capacity of 88.23 million tonnes per annum and there arc more than 300 minicement plants with an estimated capacity of nine million tonnes per annum. The total installed capacity is thus 97 million tonnes. Actually the production of cement in 1994-95 was 62.35 million ' tonnes and in 1995-96 the production was 69.55 million tonnes. If you look at the figures, you will find that on an average this industry has done well. But a lot of care has to be taken to save power in this industry.

आबादी की बढ़ोतरी से एग्रिकल्चर की बढ़ोतरी कम रही, यह बहत चौकाने वाला तथ्य है । इस तरह अनाज की पैदावार, 90 के दशक में 190 मिलियन टन को पार कर गई । इस पैदावार में तरक्की का कारण रकबे में बढ़ोतरी, अच्छे बीज, अच्छी बरसात और बेहतर टेक्रालाजी रही । हालांकि हम दावा करते हैं कि फुड में हम आत्म-निर्भर हो गए हैं। कल से आज तक मैं सून रहा हूं, बहुत लोगों ने कहा कि हम खाने के मामले कें आत्मनिर्भर हो गए हैं। कल से आज तक मैं सून रहा हं, बहत लोगों ने कहा कि हम खाने के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर हो गए हैं। हमारी 40 फीसदी आबादी गरीबी की लाइन से नीचे रहती हैं। 50 साल की आजादी के बाद भी इसके पास पूरा खाना खरीदने के लिए पैसे नहीं, हैं और वह भुखा या आधा पेट खाकर ही सो जाता है, पौष्टिक आहार की बात तो दूर रही । हां, यह बात जरूर है कि आजादी के पहले अकाल जैसी संभावनाओं से हम बच निकले हैं । हमको इस बात का एहसास होना चाहिए कि हमारी पैदावार दुनिया में शायद सबसे कम है। दूध, फल और सब्जी, जिनके बारे में हम दावा करते है कि ये चीजे हम सबसे ज्यादा पैदा करते हैं, हमारी पैदावार दुनिया के अच्छे पैदा करने करते हैं, हमारी पैदावार दुनिया के अच्छे पैदा करने वाले देशों के मुकाबले में 40 फीसदी हैं । चाइना के मुकाबले में हमारे मल्क में खेती की 60 फीसदी जमीन ज्यादा है और हम चीन से 40 फीसदी कम अनाज पैदा कर पा रही है । चीन से मैं इसलिए मुकाबला कर रहा हूं क्योंकि चीन और हम इस स्थिति में करीब साथ साथ आए थे। पिछले 18 सालों में चीन का जी.डी.पी. पांच गुना हो गया है और उसकी पर कैपिटा इनकम चार गूना बढ़ गई है। इसी पीरियड में हिन्दुस्तान का जी.डी.पी. सिर्फ दो गुना हो पाया है और पर कैपिटा इनकम सिर्फ 50 फीसदी बढ़ पायी है। दूसरे एडवांसड मुल्कों के मुकाबले में खेती की पैदावार में हम कहीं नहीं टिक पाते हैं । जमीन की एक इंच मोटी ऊपर वाली परत जिस पर फसल उगती है 300 से एक हजार साल या इससे ज्यादा टाइम में बन जाती है । हिन्दुस्तान का कुल रकबा 328.7 मिलियन हेक्टेयर हैं, इसमें से 175 मिलियन

हेक्टेयर के लिए स्वायल कंजरवेशन और वाटर कंजरवेशन के मेजर्स लेने की जरूरत है। हर साल 6 हजार मिलियन टन स्वायल, 2.5 मिलियन टन नाइट्रोजन, 3.3 मिलियन टन फास्फोरस और 2.60 मिलियन टन पोटाश के साथ अपनी जगह छोड़ देती हैं और यह नुकसान हिन्दुस्तान में बनने वाले कुल नाइट्रोजन, फास्फोरस और पोटाशियम खादों की मिकदार से ज्यादा है। इसको कम करने के लिए हर मुमकिन कदम उठाना जरूरी है।

हिन्दुस्तान में कुल 17 करोड़ हेक्टेयर से कुछ ज्यादा जमीन है जिसमें खेती की जा सकती है। इसमें से करीब 14.2 करोड़ हेक्टेयर जमीन में ही खेती की जाती है। 2 करोड़ 15 लाख और 80 हजार हेक्टेयर जमीन बेकार होने की दिशा में बढ़ रही है। करीब 3 करोड़ 20 लाख हेक्टेयर जमीन सूखे की चपेट में आ जाती है और 40 से 50 लाख हेक्टेयर जमीन का 2000 तक अरबनाइजेशन में चले जाने का अनुमान है। इस तरफ मुक्कमल तवज्जह देना बहुत जरूरी है। हिन्दुस्तान में 10.5 करोड़ लैंड होल्डिंगस में से 6.2 करोड़ मार्जिनल किसान है। एक मार्जिनल किसान के पास सिर्फ 0.4 हेक्टेयर जमीन है। इस जमीन के भरोसे एक परिवार अच्छी तरह से जिंदगी बसर नहीं कर सकता।

बरसात के ऊपर निर्भर खेती एक तरह का जुआ है और खाद या अच्छे बीज ऐसे किसान की पहुंच के बाहर हैं।

# एक माननीय सदस्य : साऊंड।

डा. रणबीर सिंह : हिन्दुस्तान की 60 परसेंट से ज्यादा आबादी खेती पर आमदनी और रोजगार के लिए मुनहसिर है और यह फिगर पिछले 40 साल में कोई खास कम नहीं है। 50 वाले दशक में खेती का 50 परसेंट से ज्यादा हिस्सा जी.डी.पी. मे था. अब वह घट कर 30 परसेट से कम हो गया है और जिस सेक्टर का हिस्सा 50 परसेंट से कम था वह बढ कर 70 परसेंट से ज्यादा हो गया है। इस तरह खेती की आमदनी का औसत नेशनल औसत से बहत कम हो गया है। वह खेती और बाकी धंधों की आमदनी और वेल्थ में बडा भारी फर्क दर्शाता है । छोटे और मार्जिनल किसानों तथा खेतिहर मजदूर को पूरा साल काम नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए साल में काफी दिन वह बेरोजगार रहता है । गांवों के अन्दर ऐसे एग्रोबेस्ड धंधें बढाने चाहिये जिससे इन लोगों को 12 महीने काम मिलता रहे । इसकी कुछ मिसालें फूड प्रोसेसिंग सेक्टर और मवेशी पालना वगैरह है। मवेशी पालने के बारे में मैं एक और बात कहना

चाहता हूं । हमने अपने इंडीजिनस मवेशियों को बिल्कुल नजर-अंदाज कर दिया है । और फॉरेन ब्रीड के ऊपर जरूरत से ज्यादा त्वज्जों देना शुरू कर दी है । यह बहुत घातक है । और हमारी अच्छी नस्ल के मवेशी भी इस जहनियत का शिकार हो रहे हैं । दूसरा गोश्त का एक्सपोर्ट भारी पैमाने पर फॉरेन एक्सचेंज कमाने के फ्रिराक में किया जा रहा है। यह भी देश के लिए भारी नुक्सान हो जाने का बाइस बन जायेगा ।

महोदय, गांवों के लैंडलेंस लोगों को घर बनाने और खेती करने के लिए बहुत थोडी-थोड़ी जमीन अलाट की जा रही है। घर बनाने के लिए जमीन देना तो ठीक है। लेकिन खेती के लिए दी जाने वाली जमीन इतनी नाकाफी है कि इससे इनकी समस्या हल नहीं होती। इसमें खेती करना बहुत ही मुश्किल है। वैसे भी छोटे और मार्जिनल किसानों के लिए खेती करना अनइकोनोमिक हो चुका है। खेती के ऊपर 25 परसेंट से ज्यादा आदमी छोड़ना लाभकर नहीं है। बाकी लोगों को दूसरे धंधो में डालना बहुत जरूरी है। सब से ज्यादा जरूरी इनपुट खेती के लिए पानी है जिसका सोर्स नहरें और टयबवेल हैं । उत्तर प्रदेश में सिर्फ 30 परसेंट सिचाई नहरों के जरिये किये जाने की गुंजाइश है । नहरों की एफिशियेंसी सिर्फ 15 परसेंट है । ज्यादातर पानी सीपेज और इवेपोरेशन में निकल जाता है । नहरों की सफाई न होने इवेपोरेशन में निकला जाता है। नहरों की सफाई न होने की वजह से पानी टेल-एंड तक पहुंच नहीं पाता । दूसरा बड़ा जरिया टयूबवेल है । 1947 में करीब एक हजार टयूबवेल थे जो 1968-69 में बढ़कर 3.6 लाख हो गये और 1997 में 60 लाख हो गये हैं । 1965-66 में एक तिहाई आवपाशी टयूबवेल के जरिये होती थी जो अब बढ कर करीब 50 परसेंट हो गई है। इस तरह पानी के ओवर एक्सप्लायटेशन से पजांब के 12 जिलों और हरियाणा के 3 जिलों में जितना पानी जमीन से लिया जाता है वह पुरा रिचार्ज नहीं हो पाता है। जमीन के नीचे अडंरग्राऊंड वाटर लेवल घटता चला जा रहा है । गुजरात के महसाना जिले में, और तमिलनाडू के कोयम्बटूर जिले में जमीन के नीचे के पानी का तो बहुत बुरा हाल है । 1984-85 में 253 बलाक्स इस पानी की कमी से प्रभावित थे जो अब बढ़कर 422 हो गये हैं। ग्राऊंड वाटर कंजरवेशन पर उचित ध्यान देना बहुत जरूरी है।

महोदय, अब में गन्ने की दुर्दशा के बारे में एक दो बात कहना चाहता हूं। उत्तर प्रदेश में सिर्फ 30 परसेंट गन्ना शुगर मिल में लिया जाता है। बाकी 70 फीसदी कोल्हूं और क्रेशर में क्रश किया जाता है। कोल्हू की शूगर की रिकवरी 2 परसेंट हैं और क्रेशर की रिकवरी परसेंट के करीब है तथा मिल की रिकवरी करीब 10 परसेंट है। क्रेशर में गन्ने का भाव पिछले साल 25 रूपए क्विंटल रहा और मिल का भाव 70 रूपए प्रति क्विंटल से ऊपर रहा। 70 फीसदी गन्ना जो मिल पर नहीं जाता और जो 25 रूपए के भाव है और जिसमें रिवकरी कम रही, उससे किसानों को तो नुक्सान रहा ही लेकिन देश को भी बड़ा भारी नुक्सान रहा। अगर 70 फीसदी गन्ना 10 फीसदी रिकवरी के हिसाब से क्रश किया जाता तो काफी ज्यादा शुगर पैदा होती जिसमें एक्सपोर्ट की संभावना भी बढ़ सकती थी... (समय की घंटी)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसि**) : कंक्लूड कीजिए।

डा. रणबीर सिंह : जल्दी खत्म कर रहा हूं।

क्रेश वाले एक जमाने से क्लोज पैन टेक्रालाजी की मांग करते आ रहे हैं और इस लिबरलाइजेशन के जमाने में भी उनकी मांग मानी नहीं जा रही है। ज्यादातर इंडस्ट्रीज डीलाइसेंस की जा चूकी है पर शगर इंडस्टी का नम्बर अभी तक इसमें नहीं आया है । गन्ने की कीमत सरकार तय करती है । लेवी शुगर और फ्री-सेल शुगर भी सरकार की पालिसी के जरिए तय होता है । गन्ने के जोन बनाए गए हैं । गन्ना अपने जोन से बाहर नहीं ले जाया जा सकता है । चाहे इसमें किसानों को आग लगानी पडे और गन्ने की जब अच्छी फसल हुईहै तो उसमें अक्सार पड़ा है। मिल्स टाइम से चाल नहीं होती है । छोटे किसान गन्ना काटने के बाद गेहूं उसी खेती में बोता है और अगर गन्ना नहीं काट पाता खेत में से तो उतना गेहूं नही बोया जाता है। इससे अनाज की कमी होने की भी संभावना है । गन्ने का पेमेंट मिलों के जरिए बरसों देर में किया जाता है उस पर कोई इंटरेस्ट नहीं दिया जाता है। लिहाजा मेरा सुझाव है कि शुगर मिल्स को डीलाइसेंस करना चाहिए। शुगर को डीकंट्रोल करना चाहिए और शुगर एक्सपोर्ट को डीकैनलाइज करना चाहिए ।

सड़कों की हालत बहुत खराब है देहातों में । करीब 6 लाख गांव हैं हिन्दुस्तान में, जिनमें सडकें सिर्फ 3 लाख गांवों में हैं और 4 लाख गांव ऐसे हैं जिनमें अच्छे मौसम मे ही जाया जा सकता है । यू.पी. में एक आदमी के हिस्से में आधा मीटर सड़क आती है । लिहाजा अगर किसान की हालत को सुधारना है तो इसके लिए इन्फ्रास्ट्रकर बढ़ाना होगा, उसकी उपज का उचित दाम देना होगा । इरीगेशन पोटेंशियल जो बहुत ज्यादा है उसको एक्सप्लायट करना होगा और किसान को सिर्फ वोट बैंक न समझकर उसको इज्जत देनी होगी, उसकी कीमत देनी होगी उसको और उसको भी एक सम्मान इस समाज के अदंर देना होगा ।

धन्यवाद, आपने मुझे टाइम दिया।

**श्री सुशील कुमार संभाजीराव शिन्दे** (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, धन्यवाद ।

भारतवर्ष को आजादी मिले आज 50 साल पूर्व हो गए हैं । और उस उपलब्ध में हमने क्या खोया और क्या मिलाया और कल हमें क्या मिलाना है, हम इस पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं । आजादी के पूर्व राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी, जी ने इस देश की जनता से वादा किया था, इस देश की जनता से एग्रीमेंट किया था, टीमिंग मिलियान्स को आश्वस्त किया था । उसके मुताबिक चाहे हम किसी भी पार्टी के हों, हर पार्टी महात्मा जी गांधी का नाम आजकल ले रही हैं लेकिन हम उस बात में कमिटेड रहे या नहीं रहे... (व्यवधान)... इसलिए हमें आत्मचिंतन करना जरूरी है । आज का दिन आत्मचिंतन करने का दिन है । मुझे याद आता है – मैंने "यंग इंडिया" में 26 मार्च, 1931 में पढ़ा कि महात्मा जी गांधी ने लिखा था :

"I am working for *Swaraj*, for those toiling and unemployed millions who do not get even a square meal a day and have to scratch along with a,piece of stale *rod* and pinch of salt."

में इसलिए एक और उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं । उन्होंने 25 अगस्त, 1946 को "हरिजन" में लिखा है :

> "I read Ruskin's "Unto This Last" during a train to Durban and it gripped me immediately. I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realise the ideal of equality and brotherhood, it must adopt and act on the principles of "Unto This Last". It must take along with it even the dumb, the deaf and the lame."

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इसलिए महात्मा जी के इस कथन को कथनी के साथ पेश का रहा हूं कि क्या हमने महात्मा गांधी जी के विचारों को सही मायनों में स्वीकार किया है? जब टीमिंग मिलियंस की बात करते हैं और अनटू दिस लास्ट, जो आखिरी का आदमी नहीं दिखता है । उसे सब कुछ दें दें, यह हम कहते हैं तो कया हमने दिया है?

थोडा सा उदाहरण के तौर पर बताना चाहता हं। मेरे पास कुछ फिगर्ज हैं। जो हजार करोड़ एंटी पावर्टी फंड्स एक साल में यूटिलाइज नहीं कर पाए हैं । मैं इसलिए यह बताना चाहता हूं कि वह कहां-कहां यटिलाइज नहीं किए । मेरे पास फिगर्ज है । ओपानिग बैलेंस ऑन अप्रैल फर्स्ट 1995 उसके बाद है सैंट्रल फंड़ज रिलीज्ड टिल मार्च 12, 1996 एंड द बैलेंस अनस्पेट ऑन मार्च 1996, महाराष्ट्र में ओपनिंग वैलेंस ऑन मार्च फर्स्ट 1995 23 हजार 81, सैन्ट्रल फंडस रिलीज्ड 38 लाख122 और अनस्पेंट बैलेंस 2386 रहा है। वही बात बिहार में हैं, वही गुजरात में, वहीं उत्तर प्रदेश में, वही वेस्ट बगांल में है। जब यह इतना हम टीमिंग मिलियंस के लिए उत्थान का कार्यक्रम कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि इसके लिए सैन्टर भी बड़ा जिम्मेदार होना चाहिए कि, Economic state of affairs is not the management of finance only.

जब तक टीमिंग मिलियंस के लिए उसकी योग्यता नहीं देखते वट इज इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर ? इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर की यह व्याख्या है:

Infrastructure contributs to economic development both by increasing productivity and by providing amenities which enhance the quality of life.

यह तो क्वालिटी ऑफ लाइफ है हम किसके लिए कर रहे हैं? यह हैव्ज वालों के लिए यह हैव नॉटस वालों के लिए कर रहे हैं? जब हम बातें करते थे 50 साल आज हमारे स्वतंत्रता के पूर्ण हो गए हैं और आज भी हम यह देख रहे हैं कि हमारी इकोनोमी कैसे बनेगी, पैसा कैसे आएगा । यह इतना ही हमारा काम नहीं है। महात्मा गांधी जी ने यही हमारे को देखने के लिए कहा कि ग्रामीण अर्थ व्यवस्था को प्रथमतया देखना होगा क्योंकि हमारा जो केन्द्र बिंदु हैं वह आदमी है, इंसान है, और वह देहात में रहता है। उसकी उन्नति के लिए देखना चाहिए । यह मुझे खुशी है कि भारतवर्ष में 1947 से आज तक कांग्रेस की सरकारें आई। बीच में और भी दूसरी सरकारें आ गई । मैं वह प्लान पर नहीं जाना चाहता हं, मैं रोलिंग प्लान पर नहीं जाना चाहता हूं । लेकिन मुझे एक तो यह बताना जरूरी है कि भारतवर्ष में जब, चाहे पंडित जी हों, इंदिरा जी हों, राजीव जी हों, जैसे-जैसे परिस्थिति आई वैसे-वैसे उन्होंने अपने इकोनोमिक ट्रेंड को बदलने के लिए अपना विचार भी बदला है। क्यों भारतवर्ष में हमने यह मार्केट इकोनोमी को स्वीकार किया? इसका कारण ही एक है , कि जहां से पैसा मिलाना है, वहां से मिलना चाहिए और उसकी पूंजी देश में जहां जरूरी है

वहां उसका खर्च करना जरूरी है इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर में खर्च करने की बात हम करते हैं, लेकिन सैन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट में कितना प्रयास किया है, मैं एक उदाहरण के साथ बताता हूं । महाराष्ट्र में कुछ साल पहले एक ऐसी स्कीम शुरू की गयी थी, जिस में इरिगेशन के लिए नेशनल सेविंग्स सार्टिफिकेट के माध्यम से पैसा उपलब्ध कराए जाने का प्रावधान था, नेशनल सेविंग्स सर्टिफिकेट के माध्यम से पावर जनरेशन के लिए पैसा इकट्ठा करने का प्रावधान था । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह छोटी-छोटी योजनाएं होती है जिन के द्वारा छोटे लोगों का पैसा इनवॉल्व होता है जिसे इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर विकास के लिये लगाया जा सकता है और उस से हमेशा देश की उन्नति के लिए काम होता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब हम फ्री इकानॉमी की बात कर रहे हैं , मार्केट इकॉनोमी की बात कर रहे हैं जिस में एक तरफ से ज्यादा पैसा आ रहा है, लेकिन दुसरी तरफ हम मानव की उन्नति के लिए, जो गरीब इंसान है, उन के लिए खर्च कर रहे हैं या नहीं, यह भी देखना जरूरी है। अब यह कौन मॉनीटर करेगा? महोदया, आज आजाद हुए 50 साल हो गए हैं, लेकिन एंटी-पावार्टी पर केवल एक साल में 2 हजार करोड रूपया खर्च नहीं हो पाता है तो इस के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है? एंटी-पावार्टी के लिए जिन लोगों पर पैसा किया जाना है, वे कौन लोग हैं – ये वे हैं जो दलित हैं, वे हैं जो कि आदिवासी हैं और ये वे हैं जो बैकवर्ड क्लास के हैं। यदि उन लोगों के विकास के लिए जो प्रावधान किया गया हो उस खर्च की मॉनीटरिंग नहीं करेंगे तो देश में केवल बड़े-बड़े इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर लगाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। जब तक कि हम छोटे आदमी की ओर नहीं देखेंगे। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं उदाहरण के तौर पर बताना चाहंगा कि फर्स्ट प्लान में बैकवर्ड क्लास पर इनवेस्टमेंट के लिए हमारा "आउट ले" 39 करोड था और एक्सपेंडीचर 30 करोड़ था। यह फर्स्ट प्लान था और एक नई जाग्रति थी। फिर सेंकड प्लान, थर्ड प्लान आए और उनमें भी खर्चा प्रावधान से काफी कम रहा । जब सिक्सथ प्लान आया तो उस की तस्वीर अलग थी । गरीबी उन्मूलन योजनाओं पर खर्चा प्रावधान से काफी अधिक था। मैं यह क्लेम नहीं करूंगा कि यह सब कुछ कांग्रेस की सरकार ने किया, लेकिन जो अच्छी बात की गयी है, उसका वर्णन करना आवश्यक है महात्मा गांधी के लक्ष्यों को ख्याल में रखते हए जो काम किया गया है, वह भी बताया जाना चाहिए । तो सिक्सय प्लान में 9204 करोड़ का आउट लेथा और एक्सपेंडीचर हुआ 11,332 करोड़ । सातवें प्लान में आउट-ले था 16808

करोड़ और खर्च हुआ , 17,558.97 करोड़ । यहीं मैं एक उदाहरण और देना चाहूंगा कि वर्ष 1978-79 में आउट ले था 99.09 करोड़ और खर्च हुआ 99.94 करोड़, लेकिन 1979-80 में आउट-ले था 98.84 करोड़ और खर्च हुआ 86.40 करोड़ यानी वहां 12.44 करोड़ प्रावधान में से बच गया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह उदाहरण मैंने इसलिए दिया क्योंकि जब इस तरह का चेंज-ओवर सरकार में आता है तो गरीब आदमी अटक जाता है, उसका ख्याल नहीं रहता है और वह पैसा कुछ नए जनरेशन और योजनाओं में ट्रांस्फर हो जाता है, लेकिन जब तक आप छोटे आदमी का सुधार नहीं करेंगे तब तक इसका कुछ फायदा नहीं मिलेगा । महोदय, मुझे यह समझ नहीं आता कि आठवें प्लान में प्रावधान 6,884 करोड ही क्यों रखा गया है? महोदय, आज जब हम गांधी जी को याद कर रहे हैं और अपनी आजादी की 50वीं वर्षगांठ मना रहे हैं और जहां सातवें प्लान में हम ने 16,808 करोड़ रखा था और 17,558 करोड खर्च किया था, अब आठवें प्लान में इस से दो गूना रखना जरूरी था, लेकिन यह नहीं रखा गया। महोदय, यह हमें सोचना चाहिए कि ऐसे प्रोजेक्शन के लिए जब बाहर से कुछ पैसा आता है, एन.आर. आईज. पैसा देते हैं जिसे कि हम इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर पर लगाते हैं वहीं जब तक सोशल डवलपमेंट नहीं होता है, उस गरीब आदमी का इकॉनोमिक डवलपमेंट नहीं होता है, हमारा देश संपन्न नहीं हो सकता है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने पिछले दिनों एक किताब में पढ़ा था कि इंसान को दो टाइम के खाने के लिए कम से कम कितनी कैलोरीज की आवश्यकता है। म0 प0 3.00

शहर में लगती हैं 2100 कैलोरीज और देहात में लगती हैं 2400 कैलोरीज और आज वे भी नहीं मिलती है । 1987-88 में 310 मिलियन लोग पावर्टी लाइन ने नीचे थे, जो 1993-94 में 323 मिलियन हो गए और आज हम 400 मिलियन तक पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे होने वाले हैं । पेयजल आज 15 परसेंट अरबन आबादी को और 17 परसेंट रूरल आबादी को उपलब्ध है । आदिवासी इलाकों में पेयजल मिलना बहुत जरूरी है और इस पर हमें ध्यान देना होगा । सेनिटेशन और सीवरेज की भी बहुत बड़ी समस्या है, आज शहर में 50 प्रतिशत आबादी और देहात में 96 प्रतिशत को सैनिटेशन की सुविधा उपलब्ध नहीं है ।

जब हम देश की इकोनमी पर गौर करते हैं तो मुझे इंदिरा जी की याद आती है, उन्होंने गरीबी हटाओं का

नारा दिया था और 20-सुत्री कार्यक्रम के माध्यम से गरीबों और आदिवासियों को उन्होंने प्राथमिकता दी थी। एक तरफ से उन्होंने पैसा खींचा और जहां आज तक हमने ज्यादा पैसा दिया था वहां से निकला और गरीबों को 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के द्वारा दिया । एक तरफ इंदिरा जी ने गरीबों को सुविधाएं दीं, दूसरी तरफ संजय गांधी जी ने पापुलेशन कंट्रोल का काम किया । इसलिए आज के दिन यदि हम संजय गांधी जी को भूलते हैं, तो यह सही नहीं होगा । अगली शताब्दी में हमारी पापुलेशन 100 करोड़ के ऊपर हो जाएगी, लेकिन हम इस बात पर गौर नहीं करते हैं कि किसी ने पापुलेशन कंट्रोल करने के लिए कितना बड़ा प्रयत्न किया । आज हम चुप क्यों हैं? पापुलेशन कंट्रोल के बारे में कितना पैसा हमने लगाया है, जरा इस बारे में थोडा सा पीछे देख लें । इसलिए मैं इन्ट्रॉस्पेक्शन करने की बात कर रहा हूं । हमें थोड़ा सा पीछे देखना चाहिए कि हमारे से क्या गलतियां हो रही हैं। एक तरफ छोटे आदमी की उन्नति के लिए हम काम करें और दूसरी तरफ पापूलेशन कंट्रोल का काम होना भी जरूरी है देश के लिए। जब भी वेलफेयर की स्कीमें आती हैं, मैं देखता हूं कि अनक्लीन्ड प्रोफेशन के लिए हम भंगी मुक्ति योजना निकालते हैं, बहत पैसा खर्च करते है, लेकिन भंगी को मुक्ति देने के बाद आगे क्या करते हैं? वह अनइम्प्लायड होता है, उसकी हम कुछ फिक्र करते हैं या नहीं? हमारी यह मांग हमेशा रही है कि चाहे टैनरीज में काम करने वाला हो, अथवा उसे मुक्ति देते हो तो मुक्ति देने के बाद, उसे दूसरे किसी व्यवसाय में बसाना चाहिए, तभी असलियत में अनटू दिस लास्ट, आखिर के आदमी का उद्वार हो सकता है। यदि आज के दिन हम उसका जिक्र नहीं करेंगे, यदि आज के दिन हम उसका विचार नहीं करेंगे तो गांधी जी का नाम लेने में हम परिपूर्ण नहीं हो सकेंगे । हम इकोनमी की बात करते हैं, आज हमारी इकोनमी स्ट्रेथन हो रही है । हमें बढ़ोत्तरी मिल रही है । 3.56 से आज हमारी ग्रोथ रेट 6.5 पर आ गई है। आज इन्फ्लेशन घट गया है। मुझे याद है हमारे सभापति महोदय श्री कृष्ण कान्त जी जब कांग्रेस फोरम फार सोशलिस्ट जी थे, मोहन धारिया जी थे, बहुत बातें जब इस पर करते थे कि इस देश में इन्फलेशन बढ़ रहा है, तो इस पर बहुत अटैकिंग उस वक्त भाषण होते थे। आज खुशी इस बात की है कि आज इन्फलेशन कंट्रोल हो गया है और दूसरी तरफ हमारी पूंजी बढ़ रही है। जब पूंजी बढती है तब हमारा यह कहना होता है, जब इन्फट्रकर की बात हम कहते हैं प्राइवेट इन्टरप्रिन्योर की तरफ से, प्राइवेट इन्वेस्टर्स की

तरफ से, तो उसमें छोटा आदमी दुर्लक्षित नहीं होना चाहिए । इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि जो अनक्लीन्ड बिजनेस करने वाले लोग हैं, उनके लिए नई योजना लानी जरूरी है। इंदिरा जी ने एक काम किया था 1974-75 में। मुझे 1976 की बात याद है कि कम्पोनेंट प्लान का जो पैसा मिलता है तो यह हजार, दो हजार, तीन हजार, पांच हजार, दस हजार, पन्द्रह हजार तक आज तक जाता है, इसमें उसका कल्याण नहीं होता है। वह इकट्ठा करके दलित वर्ग के लोगों के लिए कहीं स्पिनिंग मिल दें दें, कहीं शूगर फैक्टरी बना दें, कहीं कोऑपरेटिव या ज्वाइंट सेक्टर में नयी-नयी फैक्ट्रीज खोल दें, ऐसा प्रयोग हमने महाराष्ट्र में किया था और वह बड़ा सफल हुआ। वहां केवल दलितों के लिए एक्सपोर्ट ओरियेटेंड स्पिनिंग मिल हमने बनाई थी।

महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जब हम इंट्रोस्पैक्शन की बातें करते हैं और भविष्य की ओर देखते हैं तो इस बात का ध्याना रखना जरूरी है कि गरीब आदमी की क्या हालत है हमारे देश में । महोदय, डा. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने 26 जनवरी, 1950 को कांस्टीट्यूऐंट असेंबली में भाषण करते हुए कहा था कि –

"We are going to enter into life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. How long shall we continue to live in this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has labouriously built up."

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, डा. अम्बेडकर ने जो यह शंखनाद किया था, उस शंखनाद को हम भूल जाएं, मैं समझता हूं कि यह बहुत गलत है। जैसा महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि "अलटु दिस लास्ट पर्सन" अगर हमें आने वाले 50 सालों में भ्रष्टाचार को नष्ट करना है और उन्नति की तरफ देश को ले जाना है, सोशल जस्टिस गरीबों को देना है तो महात्मा गांधी जी ने जो विचार रखें थे, उनको हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिए। सत्ता किसी भी पार्टी की हो, चाहे कांग्रेस की हो या किसी और दल की हो, हमें यह ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि महात्मा गांधी ने उस

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आम आदमी को केन्द्र बिंदु माना था और अगर हम उसकी उन्नति का ध्याना रखेंगे तभी यह हैव्ज और हैवानाटस का अंतर मिट सकेगा और भारत एक महान देश बन सकेगा। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हुं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI AMAR SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Thank you very much for having given me this opportunity. This session has got a very special significance. While speaking on economy and infrastructure, it is my duty to salute to a great visionary and thinker of modern India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who is responsible for initiating the basic infrastructure of industrial growth in this country as the first Prime Minister of India.

Sir, six years have passed since the country launched the process of economic liberalisation. To discuss whether we did the right thing or not, at this point of time, will be a wasteful exercise. It would be worthwhile only to make a review of the economic process and suggest the ways to rectify its flaws. For this, it is vital to know where we stand today in the development of our infrastructure.

Today we have to face three challenges: the first one is how to control deficit; and second one is, how to provide adequate and reliable economic infras tructure services at a resonable cost and with sustainable financing and pricing policies; and finally, how to ensure broad-based employment-generating growth of agriculture, industry and other sectors, together with strengthened programmes for basic social services and antipoverty programme to ensure a rapid alleviation of poverty. These challenges remain central to our concerns. It is essential to keep reducing the centre's fiscal deficit to below 4% of the GDP as soon as possible in order to reduce interest rates and free up resources to finance the high levels of investment both public and private to contain Central Government's borrowing from the R.B.I, and check the growth of inflationary potential and pressures; to modernise the growth of rapidly rising interest payments which

prompt the resources available for spending on priority sector and infrastructure needs. Sir, the measures for reduction of fiscal deficit were well known in theory, but these are difficult to implement in practice. Today, what we are required to do is that we must preserve with our programme of tax reforms which has helped to raise the ratio of revenue to GDP. We must reduce the growth of subsidies through better targeting and much more systematic application of usercharges for Government services. Finally, Government must act expeditiously on the recommendation of Disbursement Commission.

As regards infrastructure, it is true that the Government has taken a wide array of initiatives to accelerate expansion of infrastructure service in power, telecommunications, roads, ports, civil aviation and irrigation. All these initiatives need to be followed through with vigour and dedication. In the Ninth Plan period, the country needs to spend at least Rs. 5,000 billion on the infrastructure sector, and an estimate Rs. 7,500 billion would have to be invested in it by 2005 AD. As for our performance during the previous Plans, it has been far from satisfactory in this sector. Our investment in the power sector in the last Plan was so insufficient that in the first nine months of the last year we could generate only 799 MW of extra capacity. The recurring power failure even in the Capital during the current year underline the critical nature of the power problem throughout the country. Due to erratic supply from the Grid, the economy of the country has been paying a heavy price in the form of foregone production, loss of exports of goods and services, recourse to high cost captive power generation. A solution to these problems can be found in the rationalisation of retail power tariff, induction of private investment in electricity distribution and restructuring and corporatisation of State Electricity Boards to run on commercial principles. I would like to compliment West Bengal Government for giving West Bengal State

Electricity Board to a private company which successfully solved power crisis in Bengal. The output in the agriculture sector has been worse. Similar is the situation in the oil front which is under a serious threat with crude oil production have declined, oil imports rising sharply and the deficit on the Oil Pool Account rising each day. But Government have not shown adequate concern for the fall in domestic oil production and the Oil Pool Decifit is growing by the day: There is no economically viable alternative to adjusting petroleum prices to reflect the impact of international oil price rise except to carry out a phased dismantling of the existing administered price mechanism in this sector.

Another neglected sector is transport. While 85 per cent of our railway lines were laid in pre-independence era, the growth in surface transport, shipping and civil aviation has not been encouraging. All these sectors being the major contributors of any developing economy, to hope for a balanced development is thus impossible.

The Government has been trying to attract private investment in the infrastructure sector, but the lack of capital to invest in this sector is its main problem. The problems are worsened when even on-going projects are slowed down or halted. By the end of the last year, 199 projects belonging to different Ministries, each costing Rs. 100 crores or more, were stuck. According to available information, 35 of these are in the power sector, 57 in the Railways and 24 in the surface transport sector. The coal sector too has a backlog of 25 projects. The deldy on the 199 projects has escalated their cost by an average of 99 per cent. The increase till now adds up to Rs. 39.885 crores. Of these, the total original cost of 122 projects had escalated from Rs. 48.208 to-Rs. 96.295.4 crores by December, 19%. There are other projects in different sectors like Atomic Energy, Power, heavy industry and Railways affected by delays.

To what extent have we succeeded in attracting private and foreign direct investment for infrastructural development? On the one hand, India is under pressure from rich nations, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc. to remove import restrictions. On the other, it has to look around desperately for investments in infrastructure. Foreign investors are mainly interested in the consumer sector and domestic investors are no different. The country, therefore, has to rely heavily on limited external sources to develop this sector. Among these sources are multilateral agencies like World Bank, Asian Development Bank, International Finance Corporation and the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund. These are the biggest sources of long-term credit at low rates of interest which are available for 8 to 15 years at 2 to 3.5 per cent interest. But these agencies do not fund private projects directly. Private sector projects can get these loans through the Government only.

My esteemed colleague, Shri Manmohan Singh, has talked about the fear psychosis being created in the market in regard to foreign investment. He may be right. But we cannot ignore that with the entry of multinational companies, there is no level playing field for the domestic industry. Since 1991, in many areas, import duties have been reduced to such an extent that the locally-manufactured items have become costlier than the imported goods. This has affected a number of Indian industries industrialists. While multi-national and companies are welcome to invest in high-tech areas, they should not be allowed to come into the country and grow at the cost of local manufacturers and local industrialists.

Until now, maximum private investment has gone into the telecome sector. In contrast, the capital invested in power projects has been very little. This has resulted in a shortfall in power supply there by contributing to the current year's slow-down in industrial growth. According to the Fourteenth Electricity Survey, india would need 1,44,295 MW by 2000 AD, the present capacity being only 73,656 MW.

My esteemed colleague, Shri Salve-spoke about power projects and the role of the private sector in power projects. Sir, I am an industrialist myself. I am putting up a small power project in Karnataka, with a capacity of 10 MW. My project would be completed in two years, but there would be no transmission line put up by the State Government to carry this power. This is the position. How can you expect any industrialist to enter this area when this is the situation? I am saying this from my personal experience.

I would like to conclude my speech by warning the Government. In spite of the socalled 'Dream Budget', its reflection is not visible, in terms of economic and industrial growth. Banks are flush with funds, with pronounced lower rates of interest; but there are few takers. The stock market is at an alltime low. The local industries, the indigenous industries, as I mentioned earlier, are not prepared to face the onslaught of the multinational corporations, their finance and corporate muscle. They are under a great stress. The import duties have been reduced so much that in many cases, the imported material is cheaper than the locally-manufactured item.

Sir, foreign investment should be only in the high-tech fields where we do not have enough, infrastructure. When Shri Manmohan Singh was the Finance Minister, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, a Member from the same party, had mentioned about the need for a level playing field. I very strongly support his views in this regard.

The multinational companies are not supposed to invest in the consumer goods sector. They should invest only in—I emphasise this again—high-tech areas. When our country needed a special type of computer, when America was approached—I know it for a fact—they refused to give this technology to us. It is a different matter that our eminent scientist, Dr. Abdul Kalam, developed a super-computer which is better than America's. Yet, it has become fashionable these days to talk about globalisation and the need for opening up the economy. I would like to point out here that even America is raising the slogan 'Be American: Buy American'. They face a severe problem in their automobile industry because of the onslaught by Japanese cars.

Sir, much before the concept of the world being treated as a global village, in the wake of technological advance, our ancestors had said: 'Vasudeva Kutum-bakam'. I also subscribe to this theory. I welcome economic liberalisation, but not at the cost of the local industries and industrialists. The aspect of self,-reliance stressed by Shri Ashok Mitra, Shri Manmohan Singh and other eminent speakers is very important.

With these observations, I conclude roy speech. Thank you, Sir.

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, स्वाधीनता की स्वर्ण जयन्ती के उपलक्ष्य में हमारी ससंद, पिछले पचास वर्षो में जो कुछ हुआ है, जो कुछ पाया है, जो कुछ खोया है, उसका लेखा-जोखा कर रही है । मैं सर्वप्रथम अपने श्रद्धा के सुमन उन स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों के चरणो में चढ़ाना चाहता हूं जिन्होंनें देश के लिए, देश की आजादी के लिए – चाहे वह आर्थिक आजादी हो, चाहे राजनैतिक आजादी हो-उस आजादी को हासिल करने के लिए अपने प्राणों की आहुति दी । उन्होंने कभी सोचा भी नहीं था कि आजाद भारत में कभी उनके परिवार के लोगों को सच की आवाज उठाने की अनुमति मिलेगी या देश में भारतीय नागरिक कहने की अनुमति मिलेगी या वे वाकई अपने आपको गर्व से भारतीय कह सकेंगे, इसकी आजादी मिलेगी ।

उन्होंने चाहे वह सेलुलर जेल हो और चाहे जलियावाला बाग हो और चाहे कोहिमा हो और चाहे कच्छ हो, जहां-जहां पर वे थे, उन्होंने भारत माता को गुलामी की जंजीरों से छुड़ाने के लिए आन्दोलन में हिस्सा लिया और देश को आजाद कराया । महात्मा गांधी जी का जो आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ वह आजादी हासिल करके ही थमा । महोदय, जिस दिन आजादी हासिल हुई उस वक्त हमें महसूस हुआ कि हमारे स्वंतत्रता सेनानी क्या चाहते थे। जितने भी ग्रहणी स्वतंत्रता सेनानी थे, अगर आप देखें तो उनके पास सब कुछ था, सब धनी थे, धनाढ्य थे, पढे-लिखें थे, पर उसके बावजूद अपने राज्य की कल्पना करते हुए, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक आजादी को हासिल करने के लिए उन्होंने अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के खिलाफ एक जेहाद शुरू किया था।

महोदय. अगर हम खाली गरीबी की बात करें तो उसका सही सटीक विश्लेषण हम नहीं कर सकेंगे । यह लड़ाई सिर्फ गरीब और अमीर की नहीं थी, यह लडाई सिर्फ काले और गौरे, की नहीं थी, यह लडाई तो भारतीयता की थी, साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ थी। हम अपनी आजादी हासिल करना चाहते थे । ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के वक्त भी गरीबी बहुत ज्यादा थी। मैं थोड़ा आगे चला जाऊं कि गरीब का भला तो भगवान कृष्ण भी नहीं कर सके । भगवान कृष्ण के अपने सहपाठी सुदामा की जो गरीबी की अवस्था थी उसके हमारे धर्म-शास्त्र गवाह है। गरीबों का भला करने के लिए ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य में भी पावर्टी कमीशन बैठा और उसमें जमकर चर्चा हई । उसमें दादा भाई नौरोजी ने जमकर चर्चा करवाई, गोखले जी ने जमकर चर्चा करवाई और गरीब को जो अधिकार नहीं मिल रहा था, उसकी आवाज को बुलन्द किया और आवाज बूलन्द करने के बाद, जिस वक्त हमें आर्थिक आजादी हासिल हुई, राजनैतिक आजादी हासिल हुई, उसके बाद से ही हम गरीब के भले की बात सोच रहे हैं। यह स्वर्ण जयन्ती सिर्फ उसी की नहीं है, मैं तो इसको तीन इरा में बांटता हं। वैसे तो अब नाइंथ फाइव ईयर प्लान आ गया है । यह है- हीलिंग, पामिंग एंड बिल्डिंग इरा । मैं हीलिंग और पामिंग इसलिए कहता हूं कि जिस दिन मूल्क आजाद हुआ था उस दिन लाखों घर उजड़ गये थे और ये वह लोग थे जिन्होंने देश की आजादी के लिए अपना खन बहाया था। बगांल का बार्डर और पंजाब का बार्डर लहू-लुहान था, करोड़ो, लोग विस्थापित हो गए, उनका सब कुछ उजड़ गया था। उनका सब कुछ था लेकिन खाली हाथ वह लूटे-लूटाये आ रहे थे। शरीफ हो रहे थे उन भंगडों में , उन नृत्यों में, उन आजादी की खुशियों में जहां भारतवासी आजाद भारत की खुशियां मना रहे थे उन्होंने भी अपनी आंखो के आंस पोंछ डाले और उसमें शरीक हए। आप आज देखेंउस पोटेशियल को जो रिफयूजी बनकर पजांब से आया था, जो रिफ्यूजी बनकर बंगाल से आया था, वह आज अपने पैरों पर खडा है

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और बहुत अच्छी तरह से खड़ा है, अपनी ताकत से खड़ा है।

महोदय, मैं इसके साथ ही एक और बात कहना चाहता हूं । जब हम भारत की कल्पना करते हैं, जब भारत की आर्थिक अवस्था की कल्पना करते हैं, अगर पंजाब को छोड दें, तो हम थोडा कम देखते हैं। चाहे वह परकैपिटा इन्वेस्टमें हो, चाहे परकैपिटा परचेजिंग पवार हो, चाहे वह पावर्ती लाइन हो, चाहे परकैपिटा इन्कम हो, हाईएस्ट जाता है पंजाब । पर जिस वक्त ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद ने पंजाब और बगांल के दो हिस्से बना दिये तो ये क्यों बना दिये क्यों कि पंजाब का पश्चिमी भाग सबसे उर्वरा था, एग्रीक्लचरलर रिच था। बगांल का पूर्वी भाग सबसे उर्वरा था और एग्रीक्लचरली रिच था। ब्रिटिश हमको इकनोमिक सैट-बैंक देना चाहते थे और यही कारण था कि उसने हमारा पार्टिशन किया । उन पार्टिशन के पीछे उनकी चालाकी थी कि राजनीतिक आजादी तो उन्हें मिल जाये पर आर्थिक आजादी में ये अपने पैरों पर खडे न हो सकें। वे हमें यह बताना चाहते थे । उस वक्त ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के उन लोगों ने जिन्होंने पार्टिशियन किया, सिखों को लालच दिया था कि तूम भी एक सिखस्तान बना लो । आज हमारा सिर गर्व से ऊचां होता है कि सिखों में भी बाबा खडक सिंह जैसे नेता थे । जिन्होंने 1920 में नेशनल मूवमेंट ज्वाइन किया और जिस तरह से आन्दोलन खड़ा किया । सियालकोट में बाबा खडक सिंह ने प्रमणित कर दिया कि एक मूवमेंट में ज्वाइन करके सिख भी किस तरह अपनी भारत माता को पूजते हैं । वैसे इतिहास तो बड़ा पुराना हैं। मैं परन्तु यहां मैं पोस्ट इन्डिपेन्डेस की बात करना चाहता हूं । मास्टर तारा सिंह जो अकाली नेता थे और आज जिन्हें घृणा की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है, यदि उस वक्त ये अकाली नेता मास्टर तारा सिंह न होते तो शायद पंजाब हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा न होता, हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये । इस देश की 50 वीं वर्षगांठ पर मैं भी समझता हूं मैं कांग्रेस का हूं फिर भी मैं भारतीय के रूप में कहना चाहता हं कि हमें अपना सिर मास्टर तारा सिहं के प्रति भी नमन करना चाहिये । क्योंकि उस दिन लाहौर में यूनियन जैक झंडा फाड़कर उन्होंने यह प्रमाणित कर दिया था कि सिख सिखस्तान नहीं बनायेंगे, हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा बनकर रहेंगे । यही कारण है कि आज भारत का मकट पंजाब है और पंजाब ने उसी तरह से करके दिखाया है। चाहे वह फौज हो, चाहे आर्थिक उन्नति हो, सभी क्षेत्रों में पंजाब अग्रसर है। जिस वक्त इंदिरा जी पीएल- 480 गेहूं विदेश से मंगाने के लिए मजबूर थी उस

वक्त पंजाब के फारमर्स ने कहा था कि आइन्दा आपको विदेशियों के सामने हाथ नहीं फैलाने देंगे। कन्ट्री की ग्रेनरी बास्केट में हम मैक्सिमम कन्ट्रीब्यूट करेंगे और उन्होंने कर के दिखा दिया।

महोदय, आज हमें इस बात पर गर्व है। कि हमारे देश के सैनिकों के लिए, साइंटिस्टों के लिए, हमारे इकोनोमिस्टों के लिए और हमारे इंजीनियर्स के लिए जो हमारा इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर बना है, अगर हम देखें तो पायेंगे कि इसके पीछे उनका अनुदान है, उनकी मेहनत है, उनका परिश्रम है और देश के नेतृत्व का दान है। इसलिए आज जो भारत खडा है, आत्मनिर्भर बनने की कोशिश में खड़ा है, वह आत्म निर्भर बनकर रहेगा। सवाल इस बात का है कि हम पुरानी बातें तो करते हैं कि हमने यह किया और हमने वह किया लेकिन हमें आगे क्या करना है इस पर विचार करने की जरूरत है । आज भारत को वे नौजवान चला रहे हैं जिनका जन्म 1947 के बाद हुआ है। आज वे लोग भारत के कर्णधार है जो भारत को 2047 तक पहुंचाने वाले है । उनके भविष्य के बारे में आप क्या सोचते हैं, यह निर्णय लेने की जरूरत थी और यही निर्णय लेने की जरूरत है कि आखिर हम भारत को किस दिशा की तरफ ले जायें? 1974 के बाद जो पैदा हुए हैं वे इंजीनियर्स हैं, वे इंडियन पुलिस सर्विसेज में हैं, वे ही आईएएस आफिसर्स है, वे ही एडवोकेट है, हमारे साइन्टिन्सट हैं और वे ही हमारे सोल्सजर्स हैं जो सरहद पर बैठकर इस देश की सुरक्षा कर रहे हैं । हम उनके लिए कैसा भारत निर्माण करना चाहते हैं, कौन सा इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर चाहिये महोदय? हम जिस इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर को गर्व से कहते हैं, स्पोज हम रेलवे की बात लेते हैं। महोदय, जब भारत में रेलवे को ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादी लाए तो इसलिए नहीं लाए थे कि हम इधर उधर आ जा सकें । वह इसको इसलिए लाए ताकि मैनचेस्टर और लंकाशायर से जो उनका सामान आता है वह पोर्ट से शहरों तक पहुंच सके और बिक सके । वह सामान कस्टमर तक, कंज्यूमर तक पहुंच सके इसलिए बनाया था। क्यों नहीं उन्होंने उस वक्त सडकें बनाई, क्यों नहीं हाई-वे बनाए, क्यो नहीं उन्होंने छोटा सा एक नेट वर्क हाई वेज का बनाकर छोड़ दिया? उन्होंने रेलवे बनाई और हम सब को यह याद है कि फर्स्ट क्लास में बढने का अधिकार भारतवासियों को नहीं था । उन्होंने महात्मा गांधी को उठाकर बाहर फेंक दिया जब कि उनके पास वैलीड टिकट था। आज यह इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर भारत ने डेवलप किया है । भारत का यह डेवलपमेंट कहां तक जाएगा, कब उन तक पहुंचेगा यह सोचने की बात है। हमारे देश में 5 लाख 76 हजार गांव हैं। इन 5 लाख

76 हजार गांवों में सड़कें नहीं पहुंची हैं। वहां से लोग शहरों की तरफ आ रहे हैं। ये क्यों आ रहे हैं ? हर एक नौजवान, हर एक मां-बाप चाहता है कि उनका बच्चा अच्छा पढ़-लिख ले। अगर पढने की सुविधा सिर्फ शहरों में होगी, इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर सारा शहर में होगा तो लोग गांवों में क्यों रहेंगे? आज हम स्पष्ट देख रहे हैं। क्यों भाग रहे हैं, क्योंकि वहां गांवों में बिजली उपलब्ध नहीं है, स्कूल उपलब्ध नहीं है। हमारी कोशिश हो रही है – राजीव गांधी का सपना था पंचायती राज का कि हम पार्लियामेंट से पंचायतों तक पहुंचे और पंचायतों का, लोगों का उनका अपना पीपुल्स मैडेट हो, पीपुल्स प्लानिंग हो, पीपुल्स प्रोग्राम हों और पीपुल्स बजट हो और पीपुल्स एक्सपेंडीचर हो। यह तभी हो सकता है जब कि सब कुछ सुचारू रूप से चले।

महोदय, इन 50 वर्षो में कुछ उन्नति हुई है लेकिन इसके साथ ही कुछ अवन्नति भी हुई है। उन दोषों का स्वीकार करके आज हम एक दुसरे के ऊपर आरोप या दोषरोप न करें। आज हमें बैठकर यह फैसला करना है कि आज तक भारत जैसा चल गया चल गया, पर आने वाला भारत कैसे चलेगा इसका हम एक एजेंडा तैयार करें । यह नेशनल एजेंडा फार फयूच जनेशनर हो । पर हमारा दुर्भाग्य यह है कि यहां जो पांच वर्षो के बाद चुनाव होते हैं उसमें हर पार्टी अपना चूनाव मैनीफेस्टो देती है। लेकिन कुछ ऐसी अवस्थाएं होती जा रही हैं कि कुछ मैनीफेस्टो ऐसे आते हैं जो टोटल आर्थिक ढांचे को बिगाड़ देते हैं और जो डेवलपमेंटल फंडस हैं वे डाइवर्ट हो जाते हैं, दूसरी तरफ चले जाते हैं। इसका मूल कारण क्या हैं? कुछ लोग भावावेश में आकर अपने मैनीफेस्टों के थ्रू कमेंटमेंट करते रहते हैं और वह लोगों को अपनी रेक्वेस्ट से विभ्रांत करते हैं । हमें किसी की बातों से विभ्रांत नहीं होना चाहिए । ऐसा करने के लिए हमारे पास एक ही रास्ता है कि हम एक नेशनल एजेंडा फ्यूचर जनरेशन के लिए ड्रा करें । हम जब स्वाधीनता आंदोलन की बात किसी नौजवान के सामने करते हैं तो वह कहता है कि ये तो कहानियां हैं । वह ऐसा क्यों कहता है? क्यों कि हमने उसे एक ऐसा परिवेश दे दिया है। हम उस को जाति के नाम पर बडा कर रहे हैं, हम उसको धर्म के नाम पर बड़ा कर रहे हैं, हम उसको मजहब के नाम पर बडा कर रहे हैं,हम उसको भाषा के नाम पर बडा कर रहे हैं लेकिन हम उसको भारतीय के नाम पर बडा नहीं कर रहे हैं। कोई बंगाली बन गया है. कोई बिहारी बन

गया है, कोई मराठी बन गया है, कोई मद्रासी बन गया है लेकिन कोई भारतीय बनने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। अगर भारत देश हम नहीं बनायेंगे तो जो एकानामिक नेशनजिल्म हैं वह कहां से आएगा? जब तक उसकी समझ में भारतीयता की बात नहीं आएगी तो हम एक नेशनलिस्ट एकानामी किस तरह से बना सकते हैं। यह डिस-बैलेस हैं, रीजनल एम्बैलेंस क्यों है? इसका कारण यही है कि जब किसी विशेष क्षेत्र का आदमी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर बनता है, या इंडस्ट्री मिनिस्टर बनता है या स्टील मिनिस्टर बनाता है तो वह अपने क्षेत्र की प्रगति के लिए डेवलपमेंट के लिए सारा पैसा उधर भेज देता है।

उस वक्त हम यह नहीं देखते, उस वक्त हम यह नहीं सोचते कि यह क्षेत्रीयतावाद कैसे जायेगा और कितना भंयकर होगा । (व्यवधान) मैं सब की बात कह रहा हूं । यही कारण है कि रीजनल इम्बेलेंस हमें फिर गुलामी की ओर ले जाने के लिए अग्रसर करेगा । अगर हमें अपने देश की रक्षा करनी है, और आने वाले भविष्य में हमें वाकई अपने नौजवानों को देश प्रेम की भावना से जोड़ना है तो महोदय, हमारे तीन मॉटों हैं – एडवांसमेंट इन लनिंग, शिक्षा की प्रगति होनी चाहिये, कॉरपोरेट लाइफ सोसाइटी में होनी चाहिए, संघंबद्ध जीवन होना चाहिये और पेटोटिल्म, देश प्रेम की भावना जागनी चाहिये। इन तीनों चीजों को जगाने के लिए हमें जो भी उपराला करना पडे, जो भी जरूरत हो, हमें वह परी करनी चाहिये और हमें दलगत भाव से नहीं सोचना चाहिये, राष्ट्र के भाव से, राष्ट्र के हित में सोचना चाहिये । हमारी आर्थिक उपलब्धियों को हम तभी बचा सकेंगे जब हम जिनके लिए यह आर्थिक उपलब्धियां हैं या जिनके हम जिनके लिए यह आर्थिक उपलब्धियां हैं या जिनके लिए यह आर्थिक व्यवस्था है उनको जब तक जागरूक नहीं करेंगे तब तक वह नहीं समझ सकेंगे कि जो पैसा आ रहा है, वह किस के लिए आ रहा है । महोदय, मैं छोटा सा उदाहरण देता हं, आपको । तीन आदमी सडक के किनारे पत्थर तोड रहे थे । एक आदमी ने उनसे पूछा, देखिये परसेप्शन कितना बदल जाता है। एक आदमी ने पछा कि भाई क्या कर रहे हो। उसने बड़े गुस्से से कहा देखते नहीं तुम, मैं क्या कर रहा हूं। दूसरे से पूछा भाई तुम क्या कर रहे हो तो उसने कहा कि मैं अपनी रोजी के लिए कमा रहा हूं। एक ने बडे गरूर से कहा मैं पत्थर तोड़ रहा हूं जैसे शायद हमारे ऊपर कोई अहसान कर रहा हो और दूसरा जो था वह कहता है कि मेरे को कोई मलतब नहीं है पत्थर किस के टूट रहे हैं, मेरे को तो मतलब इतना है कि शाम को हाजरी मिलेगी। तीसरे से पछा कि भाई तुम बताओं कि यह क्या कर रहे हों। उसने कहा साहब यह बगल में जो सडक बन रही है,

उसके लिए मेटल चाहिये, उस मेटल के लिए मैं पत्थर तोड़ रहा हूं। तीन आदमी एक ही काम कर रहे हैं और तीनों के जवाब विपरीत थे। क्या कारण हैं? यही कारण है कि जब तक हम आज नौजवानों के लिए जिनके लिए हम सडक बना रहे हैं, अस्पताल बना रहे हैं, टेलीकम्यूनिकेशन के साधन दे रहे हैं, हवाई जहाज चला रहे हैं,रेल-गाड़ी चला रहे हैं, अगर उसको पता न लगे कि यह सम्पत्ति उसकी अपनी सम्पत्ति है, जब तक उसको पता नहीं लगेगा कि यह चीजें उसके लिए हैं और उसके आने वाले भविष्य के लिए हैं तब तक उसके अन्दर मोह और प्यार पैदा नहीं होगा। कल हमारे विपक्ष के नेता ने बोलते हुए कहा कि हमारे देश के साइंटिस्ट जा रहे हैं, एम.बी.ए. पढ कर बाहर क्यों जा रहे हैं? उसका कारण है हमने देश में सिर्फ राजनीति से लोगों को जोड़ने की कोशिश की है। आज आप आर्थिक उपलब्धियों के साथ इस देश की आने वाली पृश्तों को, नौजवानों को जोड़े तब उन्हें यह महसूस होगा कि यह जो आजादी हमने हासिल की है यह आजादी ऐसी-वैसी हासिल की हई नहीं है जिसे न पता हो कि बाबा राम सिंह कौन थे। बाबा राम सिंह के कूका मूवमेंट में 500 आदमियों को , एक दो नहीं, 500 आदमियों को तोपों से बांधकर उड़ा दिया गया। जिसे उसके बारे में पता न हो उसे अपने देश के इतिहास की जागृति या स्वाधानीता संग्राम आन्दोलन के बारे में क्या मोह और मोहब्बत होगी। उसके लिए तो ऐसा है जैसे आजादी लॉटरी में मिली। परन्तु हमें यह चाहिये कि आज हम यह सारी आर्थिक अवस्था और आर्थिक उपलब्धियों को राष्ट्रीय भावना के माध्यम से आने वाली पुश्तों और वर्तमान नौजवानों के साथ जोडें हम कुछ कर पांएगे और इसी की रूप-रेखा में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमें सदन की तरफ से एक मांग करनी चाहिये कि एक नेशनल एजेड़ा बनाया जाए । वह नेशनल एजेंडा 2047 तक अगर नहीं बनता हो तो आप टायल बेसेज पर पांच वर्ष के लिए बनाएं । अगले 5 वर्ष के लिए बनाइए और वह एजेंडा किसके लिए है। वह मेरे लिए और आपके लिए नहीं जो अपनी आधी जिंदगी गुजार चुके हैं और कुछ शायद पुरी गुजार चुके हैं । उनके लिए नहीं । पर उनके लिए जो कल के भारत के कर्णधार हैं। उनके लिए उस एजेंडे की जरूरत है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि सदन सारी दलगत परिस्थितियों से ऊप उठकर एक नेशनल एजेंडा, इक्रामिक एजेंडा आने वाले भविष्य के लिए और नौजवानों के लिए तैयार करेगा क्योंकि हम देखते हैं कि बेरोजगारी है। सलीम भाई बोल रहे थे कि इस देश में पता नहीं अशुफाकुल्ला और भगत सिहं के नाती पोते बेकार बैठे पड़े हैं, नौकरियां ढूंढ रहे हैं। बात बहुत सही

है । इसलिए मैंने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा था कि उनको नहीं पता है कि फांसी के फंदों को चूमते हुए खुदी राम बोस ने 14 साल की उम्र में जिनको फांसी हुई थी, क्या कहा था। खुदी राम बोस 14 साल की उम्र में कहता है – हे मां। एक बार तू विदाई दे, भारत माता, मैं हंसते-हंसते फांसी के फंदों को चूमूंगा। फांसी के फंदों को चूमूंगा और हंसते-हंसते चूमूंगा। सारा भारतवर्ष देखेगा और मां मैं एक बार नहीं पून: में अपनी मौसी के घर 10 महीने 10 दिन बाद जन्म लूंगा और उस दिन मां तू अगर मुझे न पहचान सकी, देखना मेरे गले में फांसी के फंदे का निशान होगा । वहीं तेरा खुदी राम होगा। वही तेरा खुदी राम होगा। उस खुदी राम बोस के सपनों को अगर हमें पूरा करना है तो हमें भविष्य के बारे में सोचना है और यह उसी एजेंडे की मांग है। ये जो खुदी राम की उम्र के लोग हैं ये चीत्कार करके पूछ रहे हैं कि हमें जो आजादी दी है, जिस आर्थिक आजादी को दिया है, उस आर्थिक आजादी में हमारा भविष्य क्या है। महोदय, क्यों इन लोगों ने अपनी डिग्रियां फाड़नी शुरू की थीं ... (समय की घंटी)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसि**) : आप टाइम भी तो देखिए।

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : आई एम कंक्लूडिंग । गोपीवल्लभपुर और नक्सलबाड़ी में स्कूल कालेज जलने लगे थे । क्यों जलने लगे थे? लोगों ने अपनी डिग्रियां क्यों फाडनी शुरू कर दी थी क्योंकि उनको दिख रहा था कि ये डिग्रियां लेकर हमें कोई नौकरी नहीं मिलने वाली है । तो हम इस आर्थिक व्यवस्था में क्या करना चाहते हैं । हम इस आर्थिक व्यवस्था में अगर उनका भविष्य नहीं तैयार करना चाहते हैं, अगर उनका नहीं तैयार कर सकते हैं तो क्या फायदा है । इसी लिए इस सदन को चाहिए कि एक नेशनल एजेंडा बनाए ।

यही कहकर मैं इजाजत चाहता हूं । जय हिन्द । धन्यवाद ।

DR. ALLADI P. RAJKUMAR (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am fortunate enough to be in this august House on this occasion when we arc celebrating 50 years of our independence. I am also fortunate enough to get 7 opportunity to express a few of my views in this august House.

Sir, let us analyse our successes and failures collectively and wholly. If we do

Then another company from Germany wanted to invest Rs. 500 crore. But because of the poor port facilities they had to wind up. This is the fate of our infrastructure. I am not blaming anyone. Let us analyse our conscience. What have we achieved during these 50 years? For example, take the case of power. During the First and Second Five Year Plans the power position was good But the Government could not anticipate the demand of power. Slightly the power sector has been neglected. It has been completely neglected in every Five Year Plan. In the Eighth Five Year Plan the> projected 40,000 MW of power. But at the end of the Eighth Five Year Plan they could achieve only 1,600 MW. You can see the difference. This is the fate of the power sector. In the Ninth Five Year Plan they have projected 57,000 MW. But now it has been reduced to 40,000 MW. How much will they be able to achieve by the end of the Ninth Five Year Plan, only God knows. We have opened gates for the private entrepreneurs. In the Eighth Five Year Plan expected the we private entrepreneurs to produce 15,500 MW. They could produce only 1,000 MW in the Eighth Five Year Plan. Now in the Ninth Plan Five Year the private entrepreneurs have projected 32,500 something for the coming generation they will give us a pat. I agree with Mr. Ahluwalia on the issue of a national agenda. We have a trial programme for five years. Let us forget our party lines. Let us work together and set some concrete proposals for the benefit of the coming generation. We have opened the gates for globalisation and liberalisation. What is our stand on economy and infrastructure today? Are able to meet the infrastructure we requirement through globalisation and liberalisation? I will just give two examples. One America-based company, Howard Packard, was supposed to invest Rs. 1,500 crores in an ink jet factory in India. Unfortunately, due to lack of. proper infrastructure, they wound up.

MW. But how much will they achieve by the end of the Ninth Five Year Plan, time will tell. This is the position of power. Today almost all the States are recling under power crisis. Today we owe thousands of crores of rupees to NTPC and other coal units. For the last three years we are inviting private people but we are not recognising NTPC. It is a very old company which has got vast experience. It has also got manpower. But unfortunately we have neglected NTPC. If our power position is good and water is available in our country, everybody will come and invest here. If there is no basic infrastructure, nobody will come here. What is the use of globalisation and liberalisation? Let us all come together and do our best to improve the power position.

Sir, now I come to roads. We are spending crores of rupees on National Highways? But what is the position of National Highways? We are unable to maintain the National Highways properly. If any calamity occurs and if we want to go to that place, it will take us two to three days. That is the fate of our roads. We have invited private enterpreneurs to develop our roads.

So far as the Railways is concerned, there is a saying in Hindi:

"आमदनी अठन्नी, खर्चा रूपया"

That is the fate of the Railways. During these 50 years they have achieved substantially. I don't deny that. But I am seeing for the last three years whoever Railway Minister comes from whichever State, he will have Sangemurmur floors and colour televisions at the railway stations. But there are certain stations where there is no drinking water. We are celebrating fifty years of independence. Sir, let us uniformly distribute the Budget throughout India. Sir, about telecommunications, though we made achievements in telecommunications, still we have to do a lot in telecommunications. Today, of course, we are having a colour T.V. in every

village. We know what is happening today in this august House. But, people cannot watch what is happening in this august House. Though telecommunications have done a good job, still a lot has to be done. With these few words, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman for giving me this opportunity to speak on the subject of economics and infrastructure. Sir, while we rejoice celebrating the 50th year of Independence, as representatives of people, we must do some introspection. We should remember that though we attained political independence fifty years ago, we are yet to socio-economic achieve independence. Therefore, it is time for deliberations rather than celebrations. When we look back at the year of independence and compare it with what we are today, we can't really rejoice at the pace of progress that the nation has made. It is said that foodgrain production has gone up by five times since independence, and that we have produced one million ton of foodgrains more than last year. But the fact remains that we have over 34 crore people living below the poverty line. We have only succeeded in adding the word "Socialist" in the preamble to the Constitution of India. But very little has been done to provide the minimum basic necessities to the common man. The statistics provided by the Government do not present the real picture because. unless the socio-economic conditions of the poor are improved, all our progress in terms of quantity would be of no use. I am sorry to say that our concern and attention towards agriculture has not been adequate. Our economy is basically agrarian. Though, the contribution of agriculture to national revenue is only 27 per cent, it provides employment to the tune of 67 per cent of the total employment opportunities in the country. Yet, we have been trying to push the market economy at the cost of agrarian

economy. The promises of the Government to do justice to the crores of agricultural labourers are yet to take shape. We must admit that the Government has not planned the progress with augural insight. Last year we exported wheat but this year we are importing wheat. We have not realised the importance of storing foodgrains. The United States produces only 60 crore tonnes of foodgrains a year, but it has foodgrain storage capacity of 180 crore tonnes, that is three times more than their production. It is reported that if we could save the five to ten per cent food grain wasted in transportation for three years, we too can construct modern foodgrain godowns to save the surplus for future use or export at the appropriate time. It is sad that agriculture sector does allocation of funds. The hon. Agriculture Minister has recently stated that though the Agriculture Ministry had sought Rs. 19,500 crores for the Ninth Plan, the Planning Commission allocated only Rs. 8,700 crores. We are yet to fix our priorities while distributing funds. The economic liberalisation, as we apprehended, has come to affect the farmers adversely. Here is a small example. The cooking oil was in the restricted list until 1944, but in April, 1944, the Government allowed import of palmolein under Open General Licence and fixed the import duty at 65 per cent. Again in March, 1995, all categories of cooking oil were allowed under OGL and the import duty was reduced to 30 per cent. In the 1996-97 Budget, the import duty was further reduced to 20%. So, the value of imported cooking oil has increased from \$ 677.74 million in 1995-96 to \$ 824.9 million in 1996-97. This decision, no doubt, resulted in the rise of the price of the oil by a few rupees. But it has hit the farmers very badly because the price of oilseeds had fallen. Farmers could not get back even what they had invested.

I am only finding fault with the policy of liberalisation pursued by this Government. Prices should be brought down to enable the common man to buy essential commodities. But I am only saying that import is not the substitute. Prices should be brought down through improved and scientific means of production and by eliminating middlemen who are making huge profits. There is a huge margin between the price fanners get for their produce and the price the common man pays to buy those products from the market. Between these two stages, the middlemen are ruling the roost. A Tamil Pattukkottai socialist poet, Kalyanasundaram used to say that "man is eating a fellow human being." When will this attitude change and when shall our worries disappear. The Government should try to eliminate the middlemen to bring down the prices. Imports will not only hit our farmers but will also be a drain on our balance of payments.

The Oil Pool deficit is said to be Rs. 19,000 crores. A hike in the prices of petroleum products is hanging on the people like the Damocles' sword. It can fall on them any time. It is a fact that mismanagement of the Oil Pool Account has led to this situation. In the past, the surplus in the Oil Pool Account was used to make up the budget deficit. When the price of petroleum came down in the international market on 31.3.1989, the price was not reduced in India. Thus, we had Rs. 8,900 crores surplus in the Oil Pool Account..If that surplus account was maintained, that would have come to Rs. 27,849 crores now. Therefore, it is wrong to say that the prices of petroleum products should be increased to meet the Oil Pool deficit.

It is really disturbing that we are reluctant to give certain concessions to farmers who are the backbone of this country's economy. But we are prepared to give hundreds of crores of rupees in the name of liberalisation. Industries which do not come in the priority list are given 40% of the total natural gas at a rate 60% less than the price in the international market. For the last seven years, the price of gas for these industries has not been increased. And the Government have given concessions to the tune of Rs, 20,000 crores to the industrial houses by way of customs and excise duty concessions. Having done this, now they want to increase the price of petroleum products which will affect the common man ultimately.

The Government should remember that unless the interest and welfare of the workers are not taken care of industrialisation will remain only on paper. In spite of our opposition inside and outside Parliament, retrenchment of workers is going on. Out of the 245 Central public sector undertakings, 83 were declared sick. Even after the approval of the BIFR, the Government is not ready to revive them. The workers apprehend that the Government is trying to retrench them by not reviving the sick industries. It will be unfortunate to retrench even a single worker because we have the great advantage of having a huge manpower, workforce, human resource, as compared to several other nations.

#### 4.00 PM

Our population will prove to be a boon if people are properly trained and their services are utilised in the task of nation-building. Therefore, the Government should not think of retrenching the workers. Rather, it should generate more employment, it should train the people and make them a great asset for the nation.

Sir, we have over five lakh villages, out of which about 75% villages do not have roads, electricity and safe drinking water. Only a few States are in a good situation. This is because of lack of attention on infrastructure development. The Government expenditure on physical and social infrastructure has declined over the years. From 1991 onwards, the condition has further deteriorated. Railway goods traffic came down from 5.6 million tonnes in 1985— 90 to 3.9 million tonnes in 1990—95, on average per cent change per . annum. Electricity generation has come down from 15.8 billion kilowatt, to 12.2 billion kilowatt, cement production from 8.7 million tonnes to 7.2 million tonnes, coal production from 6.4 million tonnes to 5.1 million tonnes, during the same period, on average per cent change per annum. Though the estimated electricity generation during the 8th Plan was 30,538 MW, only 18,000 MW could be generated. Sir, if paucity of funds is the reason, then what are we going to do in the 9th Plan?

Sir, another important infrastructure is roads, which are necessary for transportation. Of the 1,62,000 km. national and State highways, only 2% are four-laned, 34% double-laned and the rest are singlelaned. In such a situation, there is urgent need to add 32,000 Km. of roads to the national highway network. Since, this is in the social sector, the Government has to mobilise resources to provide this infrastructural facility.

overall An view of the economic scenario of the country should not make us complacent. China has increased its GDP five times and its per capita income four times in a span of 18 years. It has achieved a growth rate of 10%. But after fifty years, we are still struggling for 5% annual growth of economy. This comparison should our make us realise what has gone wrong. China has progressed not because of Central planning or its political system. It was because of the I package of reforms that it undertook in 1978. The Government revenue in China declined from 31% of GDP in 1978 to 10.7% in 1995. More money was left with the people for productive investment. But in India the Government is keen toincrease its revenue and leave little to the people. nothing wrong in learning There is lessons from our past. We might have differences with the political system of a country. But we should try to learn sincerely if others have something good for developing the economy.

Patriot and a great national poet, SubramanyamBharati, in a spirited attempt to kindle the patriotic fervour in" the veins of Indians, sang even before we got independence which means that "What resource Mother India is bereft of, Why stretch out begging bowl to other countries?" Sir, as long as that spirit is there, no force on earth can stop our progress. Thank you.

DR. GOPALRAO VITHALRAO PATIL (Maharashtra): Sir, India has accepted the economic reforms in the form of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. Today I would like to highlight the dangers of globalisation in the world as well as in India. Sir, the world has become a global village with the advent of modern communications - jet age, supersonic Concord and Information Super Highway. We have never treated the world as a village. India has always thought about the whole world as Vas-udhaiva Kutumbakam - the whole world is one family. So, there is a big difference in the two concepts. When we think about the world, we feel there are contrasting situations in which the world, is living. There is enough wealth, enough resources and there is plenty of everything, but the people are poor. There is poverty in the midst of plenty. This can be explained only in the sense that multi-national companies are emerging, they are acquiring wealth which is unimaginable. There are companies which have 25 billion dollars, 50 billion dollars worth of assets. There are some whose assets are worth 150 billion dollars. Not only this, there is another thing that has been going on.

They are merging together. This is also a very surprising phenomenon, concentrating the wealth in a very few companies. Most of the people know that last year there was a merger of Boeings with McDonald Douglas. The merger activity was to the tune of 692 billion dollars. These companies have acquired that much of strength. What is their power? I will give you an example here. Five million people are holding the assets worth 16,700 billion dollars. Only five million people are possessing 16,700 billion dollars out of 5,000 million population of this world. Six companies with a sale of 617 billion dollars are surpassing the GDP of the whole of South East Asia as well as the Sub-Saharan region. This is the desparity. Three hundred and fifty eight billionaires are having assets which are more than 45 per cent of the total population of the world. This is their might; this is their strength. With this economic strength, they have formed a law. That law is 'might is right' and 'survival of the fittest'. This was Darwin's law, and they have accepted it and now they are implementing it. Now, with this economic strength, they want to invest this money. There are three four centres for their investment. They could invest in America, but America is the most debtor country. That country will not give them returns, and that country never requires investment of this level. So, they want to invest in Europe. But, Europe is already full of companies and that also does not require this investment. They cannot invest in Russia because it is in a disintegrated form and there is no security of investment. So, there arc two centres; one is the emerging market in India; and the second is South East Asia. They have already invested in South East Asia and now India is their target. In India 15 to 20 per cent population which constitutes about 15 to 18 crorc people are having incomes equal to incomes of Americans, Europeans and other progressive countries. They can purchase cars; they can purchase houses; they can purchase washing machines, T.Vs. and everything. They can change these things every year. So, this is the biggest market, as far as these companies arc concerned. As I said earlier, they arc using economic might as a right.

Sir, now the Sourth East Asia has emerged as a very big econmic centre of activity. We call them Asian Tigers. But, these people are not tolerating the emergence of other economic powers, namely, Sourth East Asia and India. These are the two areas, where these people are targeting. What has happened

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#### to the South East Asian economy? The

South East Asian economy was so powerful that the centre of economic gravity of the world had shifted to Asia. Forty-four per cent of the GDP of the world is contributed but the South East Asian countries Bn3 Torty-four per cent of the GDP<sup>of</sup> the world is also contributed by the U.S.A. It means, they were equal in economic strength with the United States. They United States felt that this was a challenge. Therefore, one billionaire, George Soros who is a speculator, wanted to take revenge with these South East Asian countries because they admitted Myanmar as a member of ASEAN. He was a protector of free society. He wanted to punish these people and started speculation. Within two days, the currencies of Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia started declining. Now we are seeing the result. The Honourable Malaysian Prime Minister, Md. Mahathir, said that their economy was built with great and painful efforts in the last 15-20 years but you are destabilising it within two days with your machinations! These are the things which come with multi-nationals and they are now targeting India and they are coming to India. "What is the result?

Two-three things are happening. One is that our own industrialists, businessmen and small industrialists are falling prey to these sharks and they are swallowing them. There is a run and race just to have equity. Equity share means the share of multi-nationals, firstly a minority share, secondly, they are having collaborations, thirdly they are having joint ventures and fourthly, mere are takeovers. Even Birlas, Tatas and many other small people are already having collaborations. After a few years you will see that there are no Indian companies manufacturing anything. I will try to explain this by giving a few examples. There is also a two-fold purpose in it. These people are coming to India because India has democracy. It is a free and functional democracy. There is a strong judiciary and, therefore, their investment in India

is very safe. The profits and concessions we give them are so good that their returns are good. Therefore, they are making investment in consumer goods, in cars, service sector, etc. During the last year, Rs. 18,000 crores have come and out of which they have invested only about Rs. 6,000 crores as direct investment whereas Rs. 11,800 crores have been invested in portfolio management. When they invest in portfolio management the danger is that this money can be withdrawn at short notice and it may cause great economic fog in the country in which sums are invested. The second thing is that there are about a hundred companies in India who had a turn-over of Rs. 20,000 crores in 1991-92 and within the next two-three years their turn-over increased by Rs. 38,800 crores which means the increase was 91%. Their pre-tax profits have increased up to 135%. What are they doing in our country? Some companies have come in food processing industry and some in consumer sector. I will give one more example. One company is manufacturing potato chips. Sir, you are aware of the cost of potato. The farmer sells it for Rs. 5 a Kg. The companies sell chips for Rs. 240 a Kg. They are purchasing at Rs. 5 a kilo and selling at Rs. 240 a kilo! What is the cost economics? It is because of advertisement and because of salesmanship, marketing, etc. They can do this. It means, huge profits earned by them do not go to the producer.' The same is the case with soft drinks. Pepsi and Coca Cola have come here. What is a soft drink? It is a strange thing. It does not contain any calories. No value. Carbon dioxide is passed in water and carbonic acid is produced. People consume this and I do not know why. Nobody will consume it if it is not cooled. Until and unless it is chilled, it is not consumed at the first instance. Secondly, for health also it is not very good. People think that gas is reduced but actually gas is produced because it contains carbon dioxide. Gas and acid are increased in the stomach. The second thing is that it contains some biflavinoid

compounds. Some research is going on it and it says that it may cause cancer. So, these are the things. In India we need nimbu sharbat because nimbu sharbat contains sodium chloride. India is a hot and humid country. We lose sweat and in sweat we lose sodium chloride. If sodium chloride is lost, it produces fatigue. If we pay one rupee for a glass of nimbu sharbat, it gives us sodium chloride and at the same time, it gives us sugar and calories. When we compare the price of soft drinks with fruit juice, we find that fruit juice gives us more energy and carbohydrates. What is the price of lassi and many other drinks when we compare it to these soft drinks produced by these multinational companies? They are not essential at all. But, they are being advertised in the electronic media and this electronic media culture has invaded this country. These products are being popularised and their sales are going up. What the multinational companies are doing here, I will give you an example. There is a very large company known as Unilever. (Timebell rings) Sir, give me three more minutes. ...(Interruptions)...

**श्री शिव चरण सिंह** (राजस्थान) : बहुत बढ़िया बोल रहे हैं, आप इनको और समय दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसि) : आपके और भी बोलने वाले मेम्बर्स हैं।

DR. GOPALRAO VITHALRAO PATIL: Sir, I will conclude within three minutes. Unless I give some examples, it will not be possible for me to elaborate. Sir, this Unilever Company which is an international company and has come to India, is the largest multinational. There are hundreds of such companies. This company has started taking over the other companies. It has taken over four or five companies. This company has acquired fifty per cent of the icecream producing capacity of the whole nation. This has acquired the Lakme Company, this has acquired the TOMCO and this has acquired the Vasisthi Detergent Limited. Now, the strange thing is that these companies are having joint ventures with another company known as

Kimberley Park. This Unilever Company is producing what? This company. is producing children's napkins as if this country does not know how to produce napkins for children. So, such strange things are happening and these things are being controlled by this company. This is a dangerous thing. Our own companies are being swallowed by these multinationals. They are having a sway with the multi-electronic media. Our young people who are very innocent, their minds are being affected and horror is exhibited on the TV. This is changing our lifestyle and our values which are traditional. Therefore, there is an invasion on our culture. Sir, you may be aware that one Mr. Samuel Hunting has put up a thesis on conflict of cultures. According to him, there will be conflicts of cultures and civilisations in future and clashes will occur on this basis. There will be conflicts whether it is the Western culture or whether it is Japanes or Hindu or Islamic or any other culture. There will be conflicts in these cultures. Therefore, We should be aware of this invasion by these multinational companies. While concluding what I would like to suggest is that we should be aware of this and we should formulate our policies in such a way that agriculture is given more importance. What are our needs? These small vehicles are not our need. We need mass transport vehicles. Now there is a problem of petroleum and there is Oil Pool Account deficit. We should reduce the consumption of petrol. Cars should be there, but we should give more importance to buses. There should be more buses. There should be some austerity and simplicity. Let us adopt and change our policies in such a way that more importance is given to Swadeshi, to our own people and to our own manpower. I would like to conclude with a poem by Neeraj.

चन्द मछुवारों से साजिश कर, सागर की सम्पदा चुरा ली। कांटों ने माली से मिलकर, फूलों की कुर्की करवा ली। खुशियों की हड़ताल हुई हैं,

सुख की तालाबन्दी हैं।

आने के आई आजादी,

मगर उजालाबन्दी है।

This is the «2flrf/ which wc have got. With our efforts we can make a suraj from swaraj. With these words, I conclude my speech. Thank you.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): Respected Vicc-Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I would like to pay my homage to the thousands of martyrs who had laid down their lives at the altar of the freedom struggle. This is an occasion when we have to make an introspection as to how far we have succeeded in attaining the objectives of those martyrs and the lakhs of people who have participated in the freedom struggle. After independence, we have been following a particular development pathplanned economic development, building up basic industries, infrastructure sector and the public sector and also improving the production in agriculture. As a result of that we have got very great achievements. Due to lack of time, I do not want to narrate all those achievements that we have. But, at the same time, I am of the opinion that we should not forget the fact that certain noble objectives have not been fulfilled so far. We have been thinking about a welfare State where we have to wipe away the tears of all the people. We were thinking of eradicating poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and all that. Unfortunately, in fulfilling those objectives, we are lagging far behind. In mid-1991, our country faced a particular crisis at that time namely, the balance of payment crisis. At that time, old policies were thrown out and certain new policies were implemented. Those policies are known in the name of globalisation, liberalisation, privatisation, market economy and all that. Now, we are implementing those policies for morethan six years. I think, at this moment, we should examine on the basis of our own objective experience, as to how far

this developmental path has helped our country to achieve its goal. Are those economic reforms suitable for the speedier economic growth of this country and also to find solutions to eradicate poverty or illiteracy or unemployment and problems like that? If we go through that, of course, certain achievements are being pointed out. One is that even though in the first 2-3 years there was a decline in industrial production, now it has gone up. Intne ame way, the GDP growth has also gone up. An impression was created that we are going to have a sustained growth and a higher level of production. But, the giving recent developments are a' different picture. For example, there is decline in industrial production. In the matter of agricultural production we have already reached a plateau" The growth is halted there. We are stagnating there. So, in the matter of budgetary estimates also, the revenue income by way of various taxes, has also not been attained. If you examine the results of the last several months we are not going to attain the budgetary target. We may fall far short of it. Then, there are problems like poverty and unemployment. These are also increasing. During this period more and more factories are being closed. More and more factories are becoming sick. No serious effort is being made to revive these factories. As a result, lakhs and lakhs of workers have been thrown out of their jobs. Our traditional industries are also facing a very serious crisis. New employment opportunities are not being created to the expected extent. As a result of this unemployment is increasing. During the last two years there was some increase in exports. But, now it is also declining. Then, in 1991 the exchange value of rupee in comparison with dollar was Rs. 17-18. Now, though it is being said that it is almost stable for the last one year or so, it is hovering around Rs. 35. It means it has almost doubled. In the last week there was a crisis. The value of the Indian rupee depreciated. If we go through the national newspapers in most of the newspapers economic experts are writing

that there will be further depreciation. Some say that it may be up to Rs. 38/-. Some say within a few months it may reach even up to Rs. 40/-. The exporters want that the Indian rupee should be devalued. So, the exchange, value of rupee is going from Rs. 17/- to Rs. 35/-or Rs. 38/- or Rs. 40/-. Then, how can our country become stronger? How can our economy be improved? Due to lack of time, I do not think I can explain the things in detail. With the implementation of this programme there may be some progress in some fields. But, at the same time, one of the objectives that we have agreed to is that we should prevent the growth of monopolies. But, what is happening actually? Even in the past the monopolies had been growing. Their numbers were increasing. Their capital was being welcomed to more sectors. Now, foreign multi-nationals are also coming ino the field. They are occupying key positions in our economy, which will have very bad effects. Not only that. What about the Indian industry? Of course, there are some industrialists who are claiming that they are capable of competing with anybody in the world. They say: 'We are quite capable'. But what is happening just before our eyes? The multinational companies take a lot of shares in these Indian companies and, gradually, the Indian companies are being swallowed up by the multi-nationals; they are being taken over. Now most of the national newspapers are writing editorials about it. If things go on at this rate, the Indian industry would collapse. This is what is being said.

Another important thing we will have to go into is the imbalance in development. Of course, during the last fifty years also, in the matter of development, there has been imbalance between one region and another, between one State and another State, and within a State itself, between one area and another area. But, after the new economic policy was implemented, this disparity, this imbalance, is growing further; is getting aggravated. When, unemployment increases, when poverty increases, when imbalance in development increases, what will happen? Crores of people would get dissatisfied. Our youth would get dissatisfied. The consequence would be that the various divisive forces, the reactionary forces, would make use of them in order to divide the country, in order to disrupt the growth of the country, in order to prevent the growth of the country.

herefore, my point is: it is high time we review our economic policy that is being implemented now. In this matter, we have a different opinion. Somebody else may have a feeling: he may think: 'I have got the intuition; whatever I think should be done to improve the economy is the best thing'. That would not be correct. In a democratic country like ours, people's opinion would have to be taken into consideration and we would have to find some method to arrive at a consensus as to what should be our path of economic development, what should be our programme, what we should give up and what we should accept. All these things would have to be decided. This is the first thing I would like to say.

The second thing is the question of infrastructure. Of course, in the infrastructure sector, there have been some achievements. But it is inadequate. Whatever capacity that we have built up is not enough to meet the requirement. This is the position. Take, for example, electricity. Shortage of power has become a hurdle in the way of utilising even our installed capacity; leave alone the question of setting up new industries. It has become very, very difficult. The same thing about ports, railways; everything.

In the last Session, when the Approach Paper to the Ninth Five-Year Plan was presented, we were given to understand that about 56-57,000 MW of installed capacity would be built up in the Ninth Plan. But reports are now appearing that it would be brought down to 40,000 MW or so. Perhaps, it would be brought down further when the whole thing is finalised.

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If this is what is going to happen, our weaknesses, our, shortage in the infrastructure sector, cannot be overcome. Instead, it would get further widened; it would get aggravated. It would become a stumbling block in the development of the economy. Therefore, this would have to be paid attention to.

Thirdly, I would like to talk about the public sector. Due to lack of time, I do not want to go into the details. But, I would say, by any standards, by any parameters, the public sector has made a valuable contribution to our economy. It has contributed a lot to our economy. At the same time, I do not say that the public sector does not have any weakness. There are weaknesses. If there are weaknesses, those who were in power are mainly responsible for it. One reason was that the public sector managements were not given autonomy. What stood in your way? Who prevented you from giving autonomy to the public sector managements? Several commissions which were appointed by the Government of India and by the various State Governments have repeatedly, again and again, recommended that they should be given autonomy. Why was it not given? In the same way, •other things are there. Anyhow, my point is that instead of killing the public sector, we should try to protect the public sector.

The next point I want to mention is that as far as possible, we should seriously aim at reviving the sick industries and the closed industries.

Fourthly, I want to mention about the agricultural sector. We are all proud of the fact that we have succeeded in producing foodgrains to the extent we require them at the moment. But it is a wellknown fact that if the situation continues like this, after a few years we will be facing a very serious crisis. Therefore, we have to give attention to this sector. Especially poor and marginal peasants should be given sufficient help by way of insurance coverage or something else. I come from Kerala. We are cultivating mainly commercial crops. What is happening in the matter of rubber, cardamom and coconut? The prices of all these products are falling, and this is mainly because of the fact that their import is being permitted. Therefore, the entire peasantry in our State is being ruined. Now this is the case with regard to peasants in various parts of the country.

Today a news item has appeared that traders in India are allowed to enter into agreements with multinational companies and that as a result of some such agreements, ships with 5,000 or 10,000 tonnes of sugar have already reached Chennai, with the result that the sugar price has immediately fallen in the market. If this goes on, who will be affected? Naturally, the sugarcane cultivators will be affected. Therefore, the agricultural sector will have to be given particular attention. The problems that have arisen will have to be studied, and solutions will have to be found for them.

Next I come to the unemployment question. Unless we think about this seriously and evolve some programmes which will enable us to raise more and more employment avenues, employment opportunities, the country will be in peril. The people will not suffer poverty or unemployment for long. Therefore, my suggestion is that we should think of preparing a plan to find a solution to eradicate unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and all such other problems within a definite time-limit. A programme will have to be drawn up for that.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI SURESH A. KESWANI (Maharashtra): Mr Vice-Chairman, I must thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on a very important issue. We are taking a look during these four days at what we did for the last fifty years and what challenges we may have to face in the emerging world..

Sir, when one takes a bird's eye-view of the Indian economy for the last fifty

years, one must face, and one cannot escape the economic realities that stare at us. The elementary laws of economics are based on an assumption that man conducts himself in a rational manner. When we were taught the basic laws of demand and supply and the elasticity of 'demand, as Professor Mitra will bear me out, we were asked to assume that man is a rational being and that he will conduct himself in a rational manner. We must ask ourselves whether as a nation we have conducted ourselves rationally in the comity of nations during the last 50 years. It is a well known fact that from the British we had inherited an economy which was predominantly rural and agricultural. Our industrial base was relatively small. As Prof. Manmohan Singh pointed out, we are today producing 80 per cent of the capital goods required for our industrial growth as against practically zero per cent that we used to produce in our won country in 1947. I request my colleagues to ponder as to what cost we have incurred for setting up the capital goods industry and what is the quality of this capital goods industry that we are talking about. The statistics often conceal more than what they reveal. No one can deny the economic relevance of building a capital goods industry for a nation of our Size. To make a country, industrially self-sufficient. One cannot however lose sight of the bewildering costs that are incurred for the purpose. The costs are in terms of protection that we kept on providing to this industry against the international competition. In the process we produced the capital goods industry, the large part of which can be described as cripples, who cannot possibly walk, who cannot possibly sustain or support themselves without continued protection.

As Dr. Mitra pointed out, we had neglected the basic things needed to build a strong and independent India. Our basic strength was the population of India. Our first investment ought to have been in the field of strengthening the capabilities and the productivity of this population. What need to have been

done, as it was rightly suggested by Dr. Mitra, was that we should have invested primarily in education itself. How would have this education helped and what would have this education done? If you look at the Budgets of the State Governments, you will find that 40 per cent of the money of the State Governments even today is being spent on education yet the results are so poor. Why? We have divided our country into the so many linguistic States. Leaving the education to the States as the State subject, we have built Gujaratis, we have built Maharashtrians, we have built Keralites, we have built Malayalees and we have build Tamilians. We have built every description except building the Indian people. This was pointed out by my colleague, who is sitting right in front of me. The education did not achieve its primary purpose. The primary purpose of education, to my mind, is to build character among the people, to inculcate the right kind of attitudes in the pupils. The second thing which education must do is to provide correct and updated information. In most schools you will find that syllabus contains information which is out of date. The information provided in textbooks is often factually Incorrect. It shows what kind of regard we pay to education. Primary school teachers are shuffled around even in the Centrally aided schools. The total management of education thus leaves a great deal to be desired. On this Subject there is near total unanimity. However, we are still continuing to neglect education in a manner which could be done only at our peril.

The second most important area where attention should have been paid is towards villages. As Gandhiji said, "Strengthening of the village as a unit is a must." We are totally for that concept. We were an agrarian economy with 85 per cent of the people of this country living in villages. We had scarce resources. As Pranab Da pointed out, we had large foreign exchange reserves and these were exhausted within a year's time towards

payment of salaries and dues to the foreign officers 'and for payment towards acquiring various public sector undertakings. I do not wish to go into what Pranab Da has said, whether they are right or wrong. But even if I am accepting what he has said. Certainly we had enough amount of money to build our villages into a strong self-reliant units as Gandhiji had envisaged in his programme. The self-sustaining village would have provided employment to the greater number of artisans and the rural poor, it would have helped us to build our agricultural base as also the agro-industries, it would have also helped us to invest in irrigation which was the primary area where we ought to have invested our money in Low cost minor irrigation dams, lakes and ponds. What did we do? We have transferred the irrigation part to the States; and States were expected to make investments in irrigation. What has happened? A large number of mega projects were taken up for which States could not find enough resources. The escalation in the cost of projects continuously eluded completion of projects. As such irrigation projects came up in the country in a lop-sided manner. This lopsided development of irrigation has resulted in a high cost for providing scarce water resources. It has enabled some of the leading lights who were controlling these areas to pocket as many irrigation facilities as possible in some restricted areas. As a result of this, we have experienced that scarce water resources were put to most Uneconomic use. In most cases some leaders diverted water supply to their areas to grow sugarcane in States like Maharashtra leaving large area without any irrigation or water facilities. Today, there are no takers for sugarcane. Some cooperative sugar units which came up with the help of the State Government's subsidy have proved to be the most uneconomic thing. As a result of this, the State Governments are carrying on with huge, yawning, deficits and without any way to improve irrigation facilities. On the one hand you have sick

sugar cooperative units and on the other hand there are no takers for sugarcane and, on the third hand we have large parts of land which have no irrigation facilities. As a result of this mismatch of water resources and their end use farming agriculture itself has become a very nonprofitable business or I should say a marginally profitable business. This is driving both small farmers and the farm Labour from agriculture to other area, leading to greater unemployment and adding to the problems of the urban areas in country, noteably the spurt in the crime. Т

The past fifty years have thus been an exercise of missed opportunities and committing investments in a manner which could neither be described as most rational or objective nor could seriously be considered as steps in strict national interest. In any case, we have been able to achieve the present economic status where we have certain strength as also certain shortcomings. How do we conduct ourselves in the emerging world? We are witnessing the fast-changing world. In the emerging information age the geographical boundaries are unlikely to stop anyone from exploiting our people. The neoimperialist powers are not nations but multinational corporations. As Dr. Gopalrao Vithalrao Patil has just pointed out, the instruments for creation of wealth have always changed with the times. When the mankind began the instrument of wealth was cattle with which the hunter-gatherer moved from place to place. With the agricultural revolution we found that the instrument of wealth had changed from cattle to land, and agriculture and land became the source of wealth. With the onset of industrial revolution we saw that the instrument of wealth was transferred from agriculture to industry. Today we have come to the information age where we find that new instruments for creation of wealth are coming and we, as a nation must be prepared for this revolution caused by scince & Technology. The civil war in the United States during the end of last

century showed the world that the weapon industry was a very significant new power by itself. It went on sucking a number of industries from the rest of the world and took them to its own domain and area of influence. The American civil war experience while created New weapon Industry took us to the First World War where we saw that the First World War had brought enormous power and wealth into the hands of those few companies, which transformed themselves into multi-nationals. These multi-national corporations had triggered wars throughout the last century to strengthen their own empires. The second global conflict was a direct consequence of the machinations of these powers. Now these powers have in their hands the Latest star war science and technology and, therefore, the geographical boundaries of the nations are unlikely to stop them. One need not worry about other nations. I think, one should worry more about the mutlinationals who are infiltrating into the boundaries of our nation and surreptitiously taking away the wealth from our pockets without our Government being able to protect anyone of us in any way. The Governments of industrialised nations and the International agencies like Would Bank/IMF etc. own the powers in the hands of these new centres of power. How are we going to guard ourselves against these influences in the next millennium? That is the greatest challenge which the mankind is facing in this part of the Hemisphere.What are the solutions? I think the greatest solution, as was pointed out by Dr. Mitra-it is never too late-that we now need to significantly increase or improve our investment in education both in terms of quality and quantity. How do we bring the education to the international level whereby we are able to meaningfully upgrade the skills of our people? How are we going to improve their productivity? I think that is the primary challenge before us. Our Large population would have a meaningful role to play in the world where industrialised nations are ageing fast. The

second area of concentration must be strengthening of our villages by significant investment in agriculture and agroindustries and doubling our agricultural productivity with the help of Science and Technology. We need to reverse the migration to the cities and to decongest our urban areas. For this a massive programme of road-building and investment in communication is necessary. They seem to be the areas which must engage our attention, if we are to make any significant achievements in increasing the employment and reduction of crime in these areas. Finally, we must select certain industries where we have inherent advantages and build global-size capacities in those industries which can supply and provide to the international community the goods at international prices and we should be able to stand in competition with the multi-nationals. I think these are the few areas' < where we need to concentrate. I must thank you for giving me this opportunity and I conclude.

श्री संजय निरूपम (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष, महोदय, आजादी की 50वीं वर्षगांठ के अवसर पर भारतीय ससंद का जो सिहावलोकन सत्र बुलाया गया है, मैं उस निर्णय के लिए आपको और सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूं । महोदय, मैं इस निर्णय का स्वागत और अभिनंदन करना चाहता हूं । महोदय, यह पता लगाना बहुत जरूरी था कि पिछले 50 सालों में हमने क्या पाया और क्या खोया, हम पिछड़े तो यों पिछड़े और कैसे पिछड़े । महोदय, मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूं कि पिछले 50 सालों में हमारे देश ने कोई तरक्की नहीं की है । हमारे देश ने तरक्की की है मगर हमारे देश से ज्यादा हमारे देश की आबादी ने तरक्की की है । महोदय, हमारे देश की आबादी ने इतनी तरक्की कर ली है कि हमारे देश की तरक्की उसे छू नहीं पाई है, सबसे बड़ा दुःख इस बात का है ।

महोदय, अर्थशास्त्र के बडे-बड़े विद्वानों और साधारण लोगों के बीच भी ऐसी धारणा है कि जब तक हम पापुलेशन पर कंट्रोल नहीं करते, तब तक हमारा अर्थ-तंत्र को अपने नियंत्रण में नहीं ला सकते हैं । लेकिन मेरा सवाल इससे एक कदम आगे बढ़कर है । मेरा सवाल यह है कि क्या जनसंख्या बढते रहने के बावजूद हम अपने अर्थ-तंत्र को मजबूत नहीं कर सकते

थे? पिछले 50 सालों में इस दिशा में कुछ नहीं हो पाया। कुछ सोचा नहीं गया ढंग से इस बारे में । मुझे लगता है कि पापूलेशन बढने की बात को हमने बहाना बना लिया है, अपनी कमियों को छिपाने का, अपने दोषों को छिपाने का, अपनी गलतियों को छिपाने का। मुझे नहीं लगता कि हमारे यहां किसी प्रकार से संसांधनों की कमी है । बल्कि हमारे यहां तो मानवीय ससांधन, खनिज-संपदा अपार है, हमारे यहां मैन-पावर की कमी नहीं है, इतना कच्चा माल है, रॉ-मैटीरियल है। महोदय, हमें जो किताब उपलब्ध कराई गई है लोक सभा सचिवालय की ओर से . उसे में पढ रहा था तो मैंने देखा कि 1950 में पुरे विश्व व्यापार में हिन्दुस्तान का शेयर 2 फीसदी था लेकिन 1996 में वह घटकर आधा फीसदी हो गया। यह बहुत दुःख की बात है और मुझे लगता है कि जब आज 50 सालों के बाद हम आत्म-चिंतन करने के लिए बैठे हैं तो यह हमारे लिए एक शर्म की बात है।

महोदय, नेहरू जी ने कहा था कि औद्योगिक इकाईयां यानी फैक्ट्रीज आजाद देश के मंदिर है लेकिन आज इन मंदिरों की क्या हालत है? तकरीबन ढाई लाख इकाइयां बीमार पड़ी है, सिंक हो गई है । इन इकाइयों मे बैंको का तकरीबन 13 करोड़ रूपया जो लोन और क्रेडिट के रूप में दिया गया था, फंसा पडा है और उसकी वापसी की कोई उम्मीद नहीं है । मेरा सवाल यह है कि इन औद्योगिक इकाइयों के बीमार होने से जनसंख्या की वृद्धि कैसे जिम्मेदार हैं? जनसंख्या बढने से इन औद्योगिक इकाइयों का कैसे नुकसान हो सकता है ? अगर हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल यूनिट्स सिक हो गई हैं तो मुझे नहीं लगता कि उसमें जनसंख्या वृद्धि का कोई दोष है। अगर किसी का दोष है तो मैनेजमेंट का दोष है, अगर किसी का दोष है तो हमारी सोच का दोष है।

महोदय, मुझे लगता है कि देश को तरक्की के रास्ते पर दौड़ाने के लिए हमारे अंदर जो इच्छा-शक्ति होनी चाहिए थी, वह उतनी नहीं थी, जो कमिटमेंट होना चाहिए था, प्रतिबंद्धता होनी चाहिए थी राष्ट्र के विकास के प्रति, वह प्रतिबद्धता नहीं रही पिछले 50 सालों में । अगर हम आत्म-चिंतन करना चाहते हैं तो मेरा पहला सुझाव यह होगा कि सबसे पहले हमें प्रतिबद्ध होना पडेगा राष्ट्र के विकास के बारे में । इसका सारा दोष न राजनीतिज्ञों को दिया जा सकता है, न ब्यूरोक्रेटस को दिया जा सकता है लेकिन उन्हें पूरी तरह से माफ भी नहीं किया जा सकता है क्योंकि पिछले 50 सालों में इस देश में रेड-टेपिजम बहुत तेजी से बढ़ा है , लालफीताशाही बहुत तेजी से बढ़ी है, बहुत सारे ऐसे प्रोजेक्टस हैं जो रेड-टेपिजम की वजह से आगे नहीं बढ़ पाते, रूक जाते हैं।

#### 5.00 P.M

उन ब्यूरोक्रेट के अदंर सिर्फ करप्शन वाली बात मैं नहीं मानता । एक वर्क कल्चर होना चाहिए, वर्क कल्चर नहीं है । हमें एक वर्क कल्चर डैवलप करना पडेगा, एक काम करने की संस्कृति और कामों को निबटाने की जो संस्कृति होती है, जो एक सोच होती है, जो मानिकसता होती है, उसे डेवलप करना पडेगा । महोदय, मैं मुम्बई से जुडा हुआ एक उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूं । पिछले कई महीनों से पैट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट्स की प्राइंसेज बढ़ाने के लिए संयुक्त मोर्चा सरकार में उथल-पूथल मची हुई है। एक पक्ष कहता है कि कीमतें नहीं बढानी चाहिए । लेकिन इस लडाई में किसी ने यह नहीं सोचा कि पैट्रोलियम प्रोडक्टस का उत्पादन बढ़ा देना चाहिए । इस दिशा में बहुत ध्यान से नहीं सोचा जा सकता है, इस दिशा में काम नहीं किया जा रहा है, क्योंकि लडाई सिर्फ कीमतें बढाने के लिए और कीमतें नहीं बढ़ाने के ऊपर हो रही हैं। 1992 में पेट्रोलियम सैक्टर को प्राईवेटाइज किया गया । जब प्राइवेट कम्पनी के लिए ओपन-अप किया गया तो मुम्बई हाईवे में 26 ऑयल ब्लौक के टेंडर बुलाए गए । 24 टेंडर एप्रूव हुए, फाइनल हुए और दो पेंडिग रहे । 1992 में 24 बिडर्स को फाइनल किया गया । उसमें कुछ देशी थे, कुछ विदेशी थे, अलग-अलग कम्पनियां थी। महोदय, अब 5 साल हो गए वह टेंडर फाइनल हो गए, बिड फाइनल हो गई लेकिन आज तक वह 24 ऑयल ब्लौक क्रुड ऑयल एक्सट्रेक्ट करने के लिए अभी तक उन बिडर्स को नहीं दिए गए हैं, अभी तक एग्रीमेंट साइन नहीं हुआ है, जबकि बिड फाइनल हो चुका है, पांच साल लग गए हमें एग्रीमेंट बनाने में । पता नहीं, अभी और कितने साल लगेंगे । महोदय, इसमें जो अंडर लाईन करने वाली बात है वह यह है कि इन तेल कुंओं से अगर पांच साल पहले हमने उत्पादन शुरू कर दिया होता, क्रूड ऑयल का एक्सट्रेक्शन शुरू हो जाता तो रोज हमें 40 हजार बैरल क्रूड ऑयल का नुकसान नहीं होता । इन तेल कुओं से प्रतिदिन 40 हजार बैरल क्रूड ऑयल निकाला जा सकता है । क्यों नहीं निकाला जा रहा है, यह समझ में नहीं आता । इसलिए मैंने कहा कि काम करने की जो संस्कृति होती है, काम को एप्रूव करके आगे बढाने की जो संस्कृति होती है वह संस्कृति नहीं दीख रही है हमारे यहां । महोदय, हम रोज इन 24 ऑयल ब्लौक में 40 हजार बैरल क्रुड ऑयल का नुकसान झेल रहे हैं । और इसकी वजह से हमें हर साल 262 करोड़ डालर

सिर्फ महाराष्ट्र की प्रगति का नहीं है । किसी भी राज्य की प्रगति कैसे होगी, अगर केन्द्र सरकार सहयोग नही करेगी? और जब तक राज्यों की प्रगति नहीं होगी, तब तक देश की प्रगति कैस हो सकती है? राज्यों के व्यक्तित्व और देश के व्यक्तित्व को अलग-अलग करके नहीं देखा जा सकता । जब शहर का विकास होगा, जब गांव का विकास होगा, जब प्रदेश का विकास होगा तब इस देश का विकास होगा । यह भावना, केन्द्रीय सरकार में बैठे हए लोग हैं, जो पदाधिकारी हैं, जो आफिसर्स हैं, जो मंत्रीगण हैं, उनके अदंर यह भावना पैदा करनी पडेगी । हमारे बीसियों प्रोजेक्ट्स केन्द्र सरकार में पडे हुए हैं । उन प्रोजेक्ट्स को अप्रुवल नहीं मिल रहा है? क्यों देरी हो रही है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता । मैं सदन के सामने यह सवाल रखना चाहता हूं कि क्या राज्य सरकारें अपने प्रोजेक्ट्स को पास कराने के लिए केन्द्र सरकार को स्थित दें ? ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गयी है। हमारे मुख्य मंत्री आत है, अलग-अलग मंत्री से मिलते हैं, फिर रात को हम लोगों को बुलाकर बीफ करते हैं कि हमने फलां-फलां मंत्री से बात की है, वह कह रहे हैं, कि यह प्रोजैक्ट अब फाइनल हो जाएगा लेकिन प्रोजैक्ट फाइनल नहीं हो रहा है। महोदय, इंफ्रास्ट्रकर की बात चल रही है । कह जाता है कि इस देश की तरक्की या औद्योगिक तरक्की तब तक नहीं हो सकती, जब तक पूरा इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर डेवलप नहीं होता । इस तर्क को हम भी मानते हैं । मुम्बई और पूना के बीच हमने एक 6 ट्रैक हाईवे बनाने का प्रोजेक्ट तैयार किया है । 6 ट्रैक का हाईवे बनाने का प्रोजेक्ट तैयार किया है। 6 ट्रैक का हाईवे बनाना चाहते हैं । हमारा प्रोजेक्ट तैयार है, फंड तैयार है, कोलेबोरेशन तैयार है, लेकिन वह त्राजेक्ट पिछले दो सालों से पर्यावरण मंत्रालय में पड़ा हुआ है। पर्यावरण के प्रश्र पर उस पर किसी ने आपत्ति की है, पर्यावरण मंत्रालय उसे नही निपटा रहा है । हमारे मुख्य मंत्री आते हैं, पर्यावरण मंत्री से मिलकर चले जाते हैं, और पर्यावरण मंत्री उन्हें आश्वासन देते हैं लेकिन एन.ओ.सी. नहीं देते। हमारे कई ऐसे इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर से जुडे हुए प्रोजक्ट्स हैं जो पर्यावरण मंत्रालय में बद है और पर्यावरण मंत्रालय से एन.ओ.सी. के लिए तरस रहे है । अगर आप इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवलप करना चाहते हैं तो सबसे पहले इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर के प्रोजेक्टस को प्राथमिकता देने की बात सोचनी पडेगी । क्योंकि सबका तर्क यही है कि जब तक इन्फ्रास्टच्कर डेवलप नहीं होगा, तब तक इकानॉमिक डेवलपमेंट नहीं होगा, तब तक इकॉनिक डेवलपमेंट नहीं होगा, आर्थिक विकास नहीं होगा। पर्यावरण मंत्रालय ने अगर हमारी फाइल रोक रखी है. हमारे प्रोजेक्ट्स रोक रखे हैं, और मैं उसका विरोध कर रहा हूं, उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठा रहा हूं तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम पर्यावरण के

का नुकसान हो रहा है यानी पिछले 5 सालो में हमने 1310 करोड़ डालर का नुकसान झेला है, क्योकि हमें काम करना नहीं आता । जो प्रोजेक्ट्स फाइनल हो गए है, उनको चालू करने की हम अनुमति नहीं दे पा रहे है – सबसे बड़ा संकट यह है । महोदय, क्रूड ऑयल का उत्पादन करने के बारे में यदि हमने दढता से निर्णय लिया होता तो मुझे नहीं लगता कि आज पैट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट्स की प्राईसेस को बढाने को लेकर के इतनी लड़ाई हो रही होती और न ही ऑयल पूल डेफिसिट बढ़ता । अभी मैंने 3-4 दिन पहले अखबारों में पढा कि आजकल ऑयल पुल डेफिसिट बढकर 22 हजार करोड़ हो गया है। रोज 22 करोड़ बढ़ रहा है। 2-3 महीनों पहले मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा था वह 15 हजार करोड ही था। पता नहीं, यह आयल पुल डेफिसिट का मामला कब तक बरकरार रहेगा । कीमतें बढाने की जो यह आपसी लडाई सरकार के अदंर चल रही है वह लडाई कब तक जारी रहेगी और यह घाटा पता नहीं कितने हजार करोड़ हो जाएगा। हमारी दिलचस्पी इस लडाई में नहीं है। वह लडाई जीतें, हारे आपस में क्या करें, इसमें दिलचस्पी नहीं है । हमारी दिलचस्पी सिर्फ इतनी है कि आप बुनियादी प्रश्न की ओर ध्यान देना शुरू कीजिए, तुरन्त निर्णय लेना शुरू कीजिए । महोदय महाराष्ट्र राज्य का एक दुख मैं आपके सामने रखता हूं । केन्द्र सरकार के विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में जो काम हो रहा है, कहते है कि विकास नहीं होता, हमारे पास फंड नही है, टेलेट नहीं है। लेकिन हमारे पास फंड है, टेलेंट है, प्रोजेक्ट हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां मंत्रालयो में प्रोजेक्टस पडे हए हैं। कैसे-कैसे प्रोजेक्टस पडे हुए हैं बताता हूं । इससे पहले में एक बहत बडी जानकारी देना चाहता हं । इससे पहले मैं एक बहुत बड़ी जानकारी देना चाहता हूं कि केन्द्र सरकार के ऊपर महाराष्ट्र सरकार का 373 करोड़ रूपए बकाया पडा हुआ है, रेलवे को 56 करोड़ देना है, टैक्सटाईल्स मिनिस्ट्री को 174 करोड़ देना है, न्यायालयों और न्यायधीशों के घर बनाने के लिए केन्द्र सरकार को हमें फंड देना है । उसकी राशि 143 करोड़ जा रही है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की सफाई सुविधा के कार्यक्रम के लिए उन्हें 23 करोड़ रूपए देने हैं । महाराष्ट्र सरकार पिछले कई सालों से लैटर लिख रही है, हम सांसद सदन में सवाल उठाते हैं, मंत्रीगण के पास जाते है कि यह काम कर दीजिए । महाराष्ट्र के विकास का सवाल है , पर यह काम नहीं हो रहा है। में नहीं मानता कि सिर्फ फंड की कमी है, मैं नहीं मानता कि पैसा नहीं है, इसलिए नही दिये जा रहे हैं। मुझे लगता है कि उस काम को महत्व नहीं दिया जा रहा है। महोदय, मैं इसलिए पूछ रहा हूं कि अगर यह व्यवस्था रही, ऐसी स्थिति रही तो महाराष्ट्र का विकास कैसे होगा ? सवाल महाराष्ट्र का नहीं है, सवाल

विरोधी है। इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि पर्यावरण के संरक्षण में हमारा विश्वास नहीं है । हमारी सरकार ने अभी मुम्बई के आस-पास जो पहाड़ों की खुदाई होती है, जब उस खुदाई की रिपोर्ट मिली तो सरकार ने उसी वक्त उस पर रोक लगा दी। हमारी पार्टी के प्रमुख, शिवसेना प्रमुख खुद बहुत बड़े प्रकृति प्रेमी है। हम विश्वास करते हैं कि पर्यावरण है तो जीवन है लेकिन इकॉलॉजी और डेवलपमेंट दोनों ही टकराकर नहीं चला जा सकता है। अगर हम डेवलपमेट चाहते हैं तो थोड़ी-बहुत कूर्बानी देनी पडेगी। महोदय, विदर्भ में झुडपी जंगल की बहुत बड़ी समस्या हैं । शायद आप झुड़पी जगल की समस्या से वाकिफ नहीं होगे। छोटे-छोटे पेड होते हैं, उन्हें शुद्ध हिन्दी में ठूठ कहा जाता है । वह न जगलं है और न उपजाऊ जमीन है। पूरे विदर्भ के चार जिलों में तकरीबन दो लाख बत्ती स हजार हैक्टेयर ऐसी जमीन है । इस झुडपी जंगल को जबरन केन्द्र सरकार ने 1980 के वन संरक्षण कानून में डाल दिया है। वह वन नहीं है पर उसे वन सरंक्षण कानून में डाल दिया गया है। जब 1960 में महाराष्ट्र का गठन हुआ था तब उस तरह का कुछ झुड़पी लैंड, बल्कि इधर से ज्यादा, डबल, ट्रिपल मध्य प्रदेश में आया था। वह सारा झुड़पी जंगल उन्होंने डेवलप कर लिया है। उनको छोड़ दिया गया है और महाराष्ट्र के झुड़पी लैंड को, झुडपी जगंल को वन सरंक्षण कानून में शामिल कर दिया गया है । अब इस वजह से वहां पर कोई प्रोजेक्टस नहीं बन पा रहे हैं। हमारे कई ऐसे सिचांई के कार्यक्रम हैं। विदर्भ के जिन जिलों की मैं बात कर रहा हूं, वह बेसिकली आदिवासी क्षेत्र हैं। ऐसे आदिवासी क्षेत्र हैं जहां पिछले 15 सालों से फसले नहीं पकी है। उन क्षेत्रों में महाराष्ट्र सरकार चाहती है कि सिंचाई के साधन उपलब्ध कराए जाएं, बांध बनाए जाएं, छोटे-छोटे डैम बनाए जाए । मैं जानता हूं कि कितने डैम प्रोजेक्टस वन एंव पर्यावरण मंत्रालय में रूके हुए हैं। कई प्रोजेक्टस तो हमेशा के लिए यह कह कर बन्द कर दिए गए हैं कि इससे वनों को नुकसान होगा, जबकि वहां पर वन है कि इससे वनों को नुकसान होगा, जबकि वहां पर वन है कि नहीं। मेरा सवाल यह है कि हम ठूंठ पेडों की रक्षा करें या आदिवासी मनुष्यों की, हम ठूठ पेडों को बचाये या आदिवासी मनुष्यों के जीवन को बचायें । इस सवाल पर बहुत ध्यान से गौर करना पडेगा। मैं जानता हूं कि पर्यावरण की रक्षा होनी

ें महोदय, हमे यह तय करना पडेगा कि इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवलपमेंट के लिए बेसिक समस्यांए क्या हैं और उन

चाहिए जिनको खाने के लिए कुछ नहीं मिलता है पहले

उनके बारे में सोचिए । अगर मनुष्य ही नहीं रहेंगे तो

ठुंठ पेड रहकर क्या करेगे।

समस्याओं का निदान कैसे ढूंढना हैं और तत्काल ढूंढना है । मेरे विचार में इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवलमेंट की तीन बड़ी समस्याएं है। यदि हम इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर का डेवलपमेंट करना चाहते हैं, रोड, पुल, पोर्ट बनाना चाहते हैं, पावर प्रोजेक्टस लगाना चाहते हैं, डैम बनाना चाहते हैं तो हम में मुझे अखबारों में पढकर, किताबें पढ़कर, लोगों से मिलकर, सुनकर तीन समस्यांए दिख रही हैं । एक तो पर्यावरण से जुडा हुआ प्रश्न है। दूसरा प्रश्न अनावश्यक मुकदमों का है। ऐसे बहुत सारे इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर प्रोजेक्टस हैं जो पब्लिक लिटीगेशन की वजह से सब-जुडिस हो गए हैं । हम मुम्बई से बाहर रायगढ़ जिले में इन्टरनेशनल एअरपोर्ट बनाना चाहते थे। उसके लिए बाकायदा प्रोजेक्ट भी तैयार हो गया और फण्ड का भी प्रबन्ध हो गया। उसके बाद उसके लिए भूमि का अधिग्रहण करने की बात आई और महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने उसके लिए जमीन अधिग्रहण करने की योजना शुरू की तो उस क्षेत्र में कुछ विरोधी दल के लोगों ने जमीन अधिग्रहण करने का विरोध कर दिया और उन्होंने कहा कि यह पर्यावरण का सवाल है। यह हमारी जमीन है, यह हमारी खेती की जमीन है, जहां पेड़-पौधें और जगंल हैं इसको हम नहीं हो पाया है और वह इन्टरनेशनल एअरपोर्ट का प्रोजेक्ट रूका हआ पडा है। उस प्रोजेक्ट का मामला कोर्ट में चला गया है और पूरा का पूरा प्रोजेक्ट कोर्ट में सब-जुडिस हैं । उस पर जब तक न्यायालय फैसला नहीं करेगा तब तक वह प्रोजेक्ट आगे नहीं बढेगा । तीसरी समस्या फण्ड की है, कोष की है, धन अभाव की है। कहते हैं कि हमारे पास धन नहीं है इसलिए हम इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवेलप नहीं कर सकते हैं । इन तीनों अडचनों को दूर करने के लिए मेरे पास कुछ सुझाव हैं और मैं चाहूंगा कि सदन उन सुझावों को गौर से ले और अगर सरकार चाहती है तो उन सुझावों पर गौर करें।....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसि) : टाइम हो गया । प्लीज कनक्लूड ।

श्री संजय निरूपम : सर, हमारे पास 48 मिनट का समय है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): No. That is not the way to calculate it. Please conclude.

श्री संजय निरूपम : सर, मुझे कनक्लूड तो करने दीजिए । इकोनामी और इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्र हे ।.... 3\* उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसि) : आपने इसके बारे में तो बोल दिया ।

श्री संजय निरूपम : अभी कहां बोले, अभी तो शुरू किया है इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर से जुडी हुई तीन अड़चने हैं, इनको दुर करने के लिए मैं कुछ सजेशन्स देना चाहता हूं । पहला सजेशन तो यह है कि इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर से जुडे हुए जितने प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं उनको पहले प्राथमिकता दी जाए । उन परियोजनाओं को पूरा करने के लिए उन परियोजनाओं को तुरन्त चालु करने के लिए एक सिंगल विंडो सिस्टम तैया किया जाये, एक ही छत के नीचे सारे डिसीजन होने चाहिए। यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि एक एनओसी यहां ले रहे हैं और एक एनओसी वहां लेने जा रहे हैं, इससे प्रोजेक्टस टलते जायेगे । जितना इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवलपमेंट का काम चलेगा, देश के जो औद्योगिक विकास का मामला हैं वह उतना ही बढ़ता चला जायेगा। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि पिछले 50 सालों का हम आत्मचिन्तन करें और कोई सही निर्णय लें जाने वाले 50 सालों में सुधरने के लिए । मेरा पहला सजेशन यह है कि इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवलपमेंट के लिए इनफ्रास्टच्कर से जडी हई जितनी परियोजनाएं हैं, उन परियोजनओं के निपटान के लिए, लागू करने के लिए एक सिंगल विडों सिस्टम तैयार किया जाये और तत्काल उन्हें निपटाया जाये और जल्दी निर्णय लेने की बात सोची जाये । मेरा दूसरा सजेशन हैं कि इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर से जुड़े हुए जो प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, उन प्रोजेक्ट्स को लेकर के जो लिटीगेशनस शुरू हो गई है, उनके निपटान के लिए सेपरेट कोर्ट बनाया जाये या एक ट्रिब्युनल बनाया जाये। उनके जो फैसले होंगे, वे हमें मान्य होंगे।....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सनातन बिसि) :** आप उस एरिया में क्यों जा रहे हैं?

श्री संजय निरूपम : सर, यही तो प्रॉब्लम हैं कि इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर डेवलपमेंट नहीं हो पा रहा है क्योंकि आज कम से कम 10 हजार से ज्यादा इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर प्रोजेक्ट्स कोर्ट में लटके हुए हैं। यही तो बुनियादी प्रश्न है और उस बुनियादी प्रश्न पर मुझे बोलने नहीं दिया जा रहा है। फिर फायदा क्या है यहां पर इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर पर डिसकसन करने का हमें यहा पर दिन क्यों बुलाया है। हम मुम्बई में रहते और काम करते अपने।....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Why are you going into all those things? These four days have to be utilised for discussing national issues. This is a matter which is *sub*  and Infrastructure 106

*judice.* It is a different thing. So, please conclude.

श्री संजय निरूपम : सर, मैं चाह रहा हूं कि बुनियादी प्रश्न का डिसकसन किया जाए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Conclude please.

श्री संजय निरूपम : सर, में कनक्लूड कैसे करूं। मैं आपको बताता हूं कि मैं पिछले साल भिलाई में गया था। वहां पर पिछले बीस साल से एक फलाई ओवर बन रहा है। आधा फलाई ओवर बनकर पड़ा हुआ है और उसका मामला कोर्ट में है। वहां के जो लोकल लोग हैं उन्होंने ऑब्जेक्शन कर रखा है और वे कोर्ट में चले गए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): You see, you can't repeat all these things. Please conclude.

श्री संजय निरूपम : सिर्फ में इसलिए बोल रहा हूं कि इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर से जुड़ा हुआ लिटिगेशन है । उनको निपटाने के लिए एक ट्रिब्यूनल बनाया जाये । मेरा तीसरा सजेशन फंड से जुडा हआ है। हम रोड बनाना चाहते हैं तो कहते हैं कि फंड नही है, हम पूल चाहते हैं तो कहते हैं, फंड नहीं है। हम पोर्ट बनाना चाहते हैं तो कहते पैसे नहीं । अगर ऊपर की दो समस्याओं को हल कर दिया जाये तो फौरन इन्वेस्टमेंट बहुत तेजी से आ सकता है, इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर डवलपमेंन्ट प्रोजेक्ट के लिए अगर वे नहीं आते हैंतो बेशक न आएं, इस सदन में मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हं । अभी हाल की बात है कि आर.बी.आई. ने जो चैक बुक छापनी शुरू की तो उसकी प्रिटिंग पर एक चार्ज लगाया गया, 25 पत्ते की अगर एक चैक बुक है तो 25 रूपये चार्ज किये जाते हैं एकाउन्ट होल्डर्स से हमें पता भी नहीं चलता है कि हमारे एकाउन्ट्स से 25 रूपये कैसे निकल जाते हैं। मुम्बई में हर रोज 9 करोड़ चैक के जरिये ट्रांजेक्शन होता है। मेरा एक सजेशन है कि इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर डवलप करने के लिए जो फंड तैयार किया जाए उसे ट्रांजेक्शन के जरिए तैयार किया जाए । प्रति ट्रांजेक्शन एक रूपया चार्ज किया जा सकता है। जो चैक के जरिए ट्रांजेक्शन हो रहा है उस पर अगर एक रूपया चार्ज किया जाए तो रोज 9 करोड़ रूपये का इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर फंड तैयार किया जा सकता है अकेले मुम्बई में । अगर 9 करोड रूपया हम रोज जमा कर रहे हैं तो एक माह में हम 270 करोड़ जमा कर लेंगे और एक साल में 3240 करोड़ । ट्रांजेक्शन टैक्स की जों धारणा है, मैं चाहता हूं , कि आपके माध्यम से, सदन के

माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री श्री पी. चिदम्बरम तक पहुंचे ताकि जब वे अगला बजट तैयार करें तो इस ट्रांजेक्शन टैक्स की बात वे उसमें शामिल करें और राज्य सरकार के मुख्य मंत्रियों को भी बुलायें, उनके साथ बैठकर इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर फंड डवलप करने के लिए और क्या-क्या रास्ते हो सकते हैं, वे निकाले जाएं।

महोदय, एक आखिरी बात में आपके सामने और रखना चाहता हूं जो क रूरल इन्फ्रारूस्ट्रच्कर के संदर्भ में है । गांवों में सड़कें नहीं हैं,गांवों में रेल भी नहीं जा पाती है, गांवों में बिजली नहीं है। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि शासन का विकेन्द्रीकरण होना चाहिये । और विकेन्द्रीकरण हुआ भी है । ग्राम पंचायतों के स्तर पर बहत अच्छे ढंग से शासन होने लगा है हमारे देश में मेरा एक सजेशन हैं औद्योगिक विकेन्द्रीकरण के बारे में । शहरों में अब उद्योग लगाने के लायक नहीं रह गये, चलने लायक नहीं रह गये। वहां रियल एस्टेट बहुत महंगा हो गया है, लेबर मंहगा हो गया है और जीवन की बुनियादी शर्ते महंगी हो गई है और जीवन की बुनियादी शर्ते महंगी हो गई हैं। यही चीजें बहुत सस्ती हो जाती है अगर हम गांवों में जाते हैं तो वहां जमीन सस्ती है, सस्ता लेबर है और सस्ता कच्चा माल है। यदि कोई कमी है तो सिर्फ इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर की,रोड की, रेलवे की, बिजली की , दूर संचार की । अगर हम इन कमियों को दूर कर लेते हैं। तो गांव का विकास होगा देहात और देहात के लोगों का विकास होगा । शहरों की ओर जो गांवों के लोगों का पलायन हो रहा है औद्योगिकरण न होने के कारण रूरल इकोनोमी डवलप न होने के कारण शहरों की ओर जो पलायन हो रहा है, वह पलायन रूक सकता है। इसलिए रूरल इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर पर हमें ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हमारे बिजली मंत्री अलघ साहब यहां बैठे हुए है, जब पावर क्राइसेस पर हम डिसकसन कर रहे थे तब मैंने एक सजेशन दिया था कि अगर मिल्क को-ऑपरेटिव हो सकता है, शुगर को-ऑपरेटिव हो सकता है तो क्यों नहीं पावर को-ऑपरटिव बनाया जाए । अगर आप पावर को –ऑपरेटिव बनाते हैं। और उसमें ग्राम पंचायतों को इन्वालव करते हैं छोटे-छोटे गांवों में छोटे-छोटे डेम बनाकर के गांव के किसानों की जरूरते पूरी की जा सकती हैं, उनके सिंचाइ के साधन पूरे किये जा सकते हैं, उनकी बिजली की समस्या हल की जा सकती हैं। महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूं जो आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया। बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय था। मैं कोई विशेषज्ञ नहीं हूं, आप क्षमा करें । आप नाराज भी हो गये थे।

# THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Please conclude.

श्री संजय निरूपम : जैसी मुझे समझ थी, मैंने अपनी समझ के हिसाब से कुछ सजेशन्स दिये हैं। मैं आशा करता हूं कि मेरे सुझावों को स्वीकार किया जायेगा।

श्री राघव जी (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं समय के अभाव के कारण मैं अपने आपको संसाधन जुटाने और उसके वितरण तक सीमित रखुंगा । कोई भी सरकार जो राज करती है। उनके लिए मुख्य रूप से दो उद्देश्य हआ करते हैं । एक तो यह कि वह आर्थिक दृष्टि से देश मजबूत बने और दूसरा यह कि सामाजिक न्याय मिले । देश आजाद हुआ तो हमने इन सब बातों की परिकल्पना की थी, और तभी ये सपने संजोये थे कि देश की गरीबी हटेगी । हर एक को रोजी मिलेगी, रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान की न्यूनतम आवश्यकताएं पूरी होगी । शुद्ध पेयजल, शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध होगा । लेकिन इनका विश्लेषण किया जाए कि यह यहां तक पूरा हुआ है। यह एक विचारणीय प्रश्र हैं। हर वर्ष हम बजट लाते हैं। बजट के माध्यम से शासन की जो नीतियां है , वह प्रतिबिबित होती है और उन बातों की पूर्ति की जाती है । लेकिन क्या इन बातों की पूर्ति हुई है यह देखने की बात है ।

अगर सामाजिक न्याय की बात लीजिए तो स्थिति यह है कि सरकार ने एक सर्वेक्षण करवाया था। यह सर्वेक्षण चार वर्ष तक चला। 20 हजार लोगों से पूछताछ की गई और 16 राज्यों में यह सर्वेक्षण किया गया। इससे यह बात सामने आयी है कि देश के 34 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे हैं जिनकी प्रति दिन आमदनी 5 रूपये से कम है। सरकार ने अभी जो डाक्यूमेंट प्रस्तुत किया है उसमें भी यह बताया है कि 1991 में प्रति व्यक्ति आय – 1981 की कीमतों के आधार पर 1187 रूपये प्रति द व्यक्ति थी – आज वह 2449 हैं। यानी, 50 वर्षो में थोड़ी सी बढ़ोतरी प्रति व्यक्ति आय मे हुई है और वह भी 2449 पर पहुंच कर रूक गई है।

जहां तक शिक्षा का सवाल है , आज भी 40 प्रतिशत लोग अशिक्षित हैं । बेरोजगार हर साल बढ़ रही है । कपड़ा और मकान जैसी बातें बहुत दूर की बात हो गई है और जो न्यूनतम आवश्यकतायें हैं उनकी भी पूर्ति नहीं हो पा रही है । यही कारण है कि आज भी हिन्दुस्तान में कालाहांडी, बोलंगीर और छत्तीसगढ़ जैसे स्थानों पर भूख से लोग मरते हैं । तो यह तो सामाजिक न्याय की स्थिति है । आर्थिक मजबूती की बात हम करते । आर्थिक मजबूती की हालत यह है कि 1997-98 के बजट में 68 हजार करोड़ रूपया ब्याज चुकाने में हम खर्च कर रहे हैं जो कि हमारे कुल नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर जो 169324 करोड़ रूपया है उसका 40 प्रतिशत है। नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर का40 प्रतिशत हम केवल ब्याज पर खर्च कर रहे हैं। यह जो आज 40 प्रतिशत है यह 1980-81 में20 प्रतिशत था जो कि बढ़कर 40 प्रतिशत हो गया है।

विदेशी कर्जा 31.3.95 को 311792 करोड़ रूपया था। आयात और निर्यात जिसके आधार पर आर्थिक मजबूती का नाप लिया जाता है उसकी स्थिति भी अगर लें तो 1.4.1996 से 30.9.1996 के बीच के 6 महीनों में हमने एक्ससपोर्ट किया है 16140 मिलियन डालर का और आयात किया है 17253 मिलियन डालर का। अर्थात इसमें भी घाटा 1813 मिलियन डालर का है।

जहां तक सब्सिडी का सवाल है, हमें अपने देश में 9399323 करोड़ रूपए सब्सिडी पर खर्च करने पड रहे हैं । इस संबंध में जो पेपर प्रकाशित हुआ है, डिसक्शन पेपर में लिखा हुआ है कि :Our Subsidies are generally inefficiently administered.

यह सरकार ने स्वयं मंजुर किया है । तो यह स्थिति हमारे देश के अदंर है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बड़ी विडम्बना हैं कि महात्मा गांधी ने, कांग्रेस ने और देश के बाकी लोगों ने आजादी की लडाई लडी और उस समय हम सब लोगों ने मिलकर स्वदेशी का नारा लगाया और विदेशी कपडों की होली जलाई । लेकिन आज उससे बिल्कुल उलट स्थिति हो गई है। आज विदेशी पंजी का स्वागत किया जा रहा है, विदेशी तंत्र का स्वागत किया जा रहा है और इसके लिए सारे पापड़ बेले जा रहे हैं। आज स्थिति यह है कि कंज्यूमर गुड्स के लिए भी, जिसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है, विदेशी पुंजी मंगाने के लिए 13251.67 करोड़ रूपए के प्रस्ताव मंजूर किये गये हैं । यह विदेशी पूंजी हमारे देश के अदंर पिछले पांच वर्षो में आई है । इसका नतीजा क्या हआ ? इसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि हमारे लघू उद्योग जो देश के अदंर हैं वे आज 26376 की संख्या में बीमार हैं और लगभग बदं है। उनको चालू कराने की स्थिति नहीं बन रही है।

महोदय, महात्मा गांधी ने खादी पर जोर दिया था। लेकिन आज खादी की बिक्री पर जो कमीशन पहले मिला करता था, वह कमीशन घटा दिया गया है। जो रिजर्व केटेगरीज में हमारे उद्योग आते थे, उनकी संख्या इस वर्ष के बजट में 1997-98 के बजट में उसमें 14

डिरिजर्व कर दिये गये हैं । लोग बेरोजगार हो रहे हैं, धंधें बदं हो रहे हैं । इसके कारण से विदेशी पूंजी ज्यादा आती जा रही है। देशी पूंजी और देशी रोजगार के ऊपर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ रहा है। देशी पूंजी और देशी रोजगार के ऊपर बहुत बुरा असल पड़ रहा है। यह तो हमारी आर्थिक मजबूती की हालत है। दोनों बिन्दुओं पर हमारी स्थिति खराब हो रही है । मैंने कहा कि विडम्बना यह है कि स्वदेशी से हम चले, नेहरू जी ने समाजवाद का नारा दिया और हम जा कर पहुंचे कहां पर ? उदारीकरण की आड में पूंजीवाद इस देश में आ रहा है। कांग्रेस इस सरकार का समर्थन कर रही है। यह और भी विडम्बना की बात है कि जा काम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग पूंजीवाद को गालियां देते थकते नहीं थे, आज वह भी पुंजीवाद को गले लगा रहे हैं, पुंजीवाद की नीति के साथ चलने वाली सरकार के साथ स्वंय भी जुडे हुए हैं । इस स्थिति में बदलाव नहीं आएगा तो देश की स्थिति खराब हो जाएगी । हम तरह से हम विदेशी ट्रेप में फंसते जा रहे हैं । इसके लिए मैं कुछ सुझाव दूंगा, क्योंकि समय बहुत कम है। इसलिए मैं सुझाव इस संबंध में देना चाहता हूं और वह सुझाव इस प्रकार है ।

महोदय, इस स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए आवश्यकता है कि हम स्वेदशी को बढावा दें । अपने यहां लघू उद्योगों को बढ़ावा दें। उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं के आयात पर अधिक आयात कर लगाया जाए। खादी की बिक्री पर जो छूट पहले दी जाती थी, उसी प्रकार की छूट प्रदान की जाए और भी अधिक आइटमों को लघु उद्योगों के लिए आरक्षित किया जाए । विक्रय करके स्थान पर आडिशनल एक्साइज डयूटी लगाई जाए क्योंकि विक्रय कर के माध्यम से इस देश में करो की बहुत चोरी हो रही है । जब काले धन की बात आती है तो उसकी संख्या पर मैं नहीं जाऊंगा कि देश में कितना काला धन है लेकिन काला धन जो बनता है वह केवल इनकम टेक्स की चोरी से नहीं बनता है। यह धारणा बहुत गलत है। काला धन जो इस देश में पैदा हो रहा है, उसके और भी बडे कारण है लेकिन जो बडा कारण है, उसके और भी बडे कारण हैं लेकिन जो बड़ा कारण है वह है सेल्स टेक्स की चोरी । एक्साइज डयूटी की चोरी भी बड़ा कारण हैं जिसके कारण काला धन पनपता है । इन टैक्सों की दरें बहुत ज्यादा हैं। उसको बचाने के लिए ज्यादा कोशिश होती है। एक्साइज डयूटी बचाई जाती है तो उसके लिए सेल्स टैक्स भी बचाया जाता है और इनकम टेक्स भी बचाया जाता है । इस प्रकार से एक श्रृंखला चालू हो जाती है । इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है, कि एक्साइज ड्यूटी मूलभूत टेक्स है, इसलिए इस टेक्स पर कठोरता से नियंत्रण होना चाहिऐ, पुरी निगरानी होनी चाहिये ।

### (उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) पीठासीन हुए)

जिस प्रकार अडिशनल एक्साइज ड्यूटी शक्कर पर, तम्बाकू और कपडे पर लगाई गई हैं उसी प्रकार मिल में पैदा होने वाली अधिंकाश वस्तुओं पर अडिशनल एक्साइज ड्युटी लागु कर के इस देश से विक्रय कर को विदा करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। पर्यटन उद्योग को बढ़ावा देना चाहिये । आज इस देश के अन्दर जो विदेशी मुद्रा आ रही हैं उसमें पर्यटन उद्योग का तीसरा स्थान हैं । लेकिन उसके प्रति घोर दुर्लक्ष्य हो रहा है । केवल 180 करोड़ रूपये का प्रावधान वर्ष 97-98 के बजट में इसके लिए किया गया है जबकि इससे रोजगार अधिक मिलता है, विदेशी मुद्रा आती है । पर्यटन उद्योग को बढ़ावा मिलना चाहिये । बहुत सी सब्सिडीज ऐसी है जो गरीब जनता तक पहुचंती नहीं है। इसलिए सब्सिडीज पर पूनः विचार होना चाहिये । इस बार वालेंटरी डिसक्लोजर स्कीम को घोषणा की गई है । मैं उसके मेरिट्स में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं कि यह स्कीम ठीक है या गलत है लेकिन जब आपने एक बार तय कर लिया है कालाधन अगर बाहर नहीं निकाल पा रहे हैं तो उसके लिए वालेंटरी डिसक्लोजर स्कीम लानी है तो आपको आधे मन से नहीं लानी चाहिये क्योंकि आधे मन से लाएंगे तो आपके लगे हुए हैं, उनको हटाना चाहिये। उसमें जो कमियां हैं, उनको दूर करना चाहिये । उसमें जो कमियां है, उनको दुर करना चाहिये विश्वसनीयता पैदा करनी चाहिये । अगर आपने विश्वसनीयता पैदा की तो इस माध्यम से काला धन जितना भी है वह सामने आ जाए ताकि उससे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक हो सके । लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि यह सरकार इसे आधे मन से लागू कर रही है। इसलिए अभी बहुत हिंचक हो रही है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) :** राघवजी, आपकी पार्टी के और चार लोगों का नाम है।

श्री राधवजी : आपने कह दिया है तो मैं अभी दो मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूं। फिर मेरा यह सुझाव है कि टैक्स कानूनों को सरल बनाना चाहिये। टैक्स कानून जितने सरल होंगे उतनी ही टैक्स चोरी की जो प्रवृत्ति है वह कम होगी। तकनीकी त्रुटियों के कारण जो कठोर शास्तियां लगायी जाती हैं वे शास्तियां अगर लगाना बंद कर देंगे तो इससे भी भ्रष्टाचार कम होगा।

सामाजिक और धार्मिक क्षेत्रों में कार्य करने वाले बहुत से ट्रस्ट है, बहुत सी संस्थाएं है और बहुत से व्यक्ति हैं। लेकिन उनको प्रोत्साहन नहीं दिया जाता है। हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा देश है कि सदियों से इस क्षेत्र में लोग कार्य करते आए हैं धर्म शालांए बनवाते हैं, कुएं

खुदवाते हैं, तालाब बनवाते हैं, मंदिर और पाठशालाएं बनवाते हैं । लेकिन इस क्षेत्र में प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलता है। बल्कि कानून ऐसे बने हुए हैं कि इसमें बड़े अड़गे लगे हुए हैं। कि इसमें बड़े अडंग लगे हए हैं। ट्रस्ट बनाने में बडे अडंगे हैं। फिर उसके लिए पंजीकरण कराना है, उसका रजिस्ट्रेशन कराना है। जितनी अड़चने हैं वे अगर दूर की जाए तो हिन्दुस्तान में प्रति वर्ष अरबों रूपया इन धार्मिक और सामाजिक संस्थाओं के माध्यम से सामाजिक न्याय के लिए खर्च हो सकता है । फिर मेरा एक और सुझाव यह है कि मांस का निर्यात इस देश में पूरी से बदं किया जाए क्योंकि मांस के निर्यात के कारण पशूधन का हास हो रहा है,पशूधन घट रहा है। पशूधन घटने से कई तरह की कठिनाइयां ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में भी हो रही हैं और पर्यावरण के क्षेत्र में भी हो रही है । इसलिए मांस का निर्यात पूरी तरह से बदं किया जाए

डीजल और पेट्रोल की खपत को कम करने के लिए उपाय किए जाने चाहिए। हम आयल पूल के घाटे की बार-बार चर्चा करते हैं लेकिन इसके लिए कोई आज तक विचार नहीं किया जाए कि किस तरह से डीजल की खपत कम हो, किस तरह से पेट्रोल को खपत कम हो। हम यह नियत बना सकते हैं कि 50 हजार तक की जनसंख्या वाले जो शहर हैं वहां पर तांगे चलेंगे, मुनष्य से चलने वाले व्हीकिल्स चलेगे लेकिन पेट्रोल और डीजल से चलने वाले आये रिक्शा और टैक्सियां नहीं चलेगी। ऐसे कुछ डीजल में बचत हो सकती है। गांव में छोटी-छोटी दूरियों में ले जाने के लिए बैलगाड़ी का उपयोग हो बजाए ट्रैक्टर और ट्रकों के। इससे डीजल और पेट्रोल की बचत हो सकती है।

फिर शक्कर और कैरोसिन को कंट्रोल में शामिल तो जरूर किया गया हैं लेकिन गरीबों को मिलना ही नहीं। 400 ग्राम शक्कर एक व्यक्ति के लिए तय की गयी है और एक परिवार में अगर 5 व्यक्ति हैं तो इसमें 2 किलों शक्कर मिलती है। अब 2 किलो शक्कर के लिए किनती दूर जाना पडता है। इसके लिए मेरा यह निवेदन हैं कि इस स्कीम पर पुनर्विचार किया जाए। पुनर्विचार करने से इस पर जो सब्सिडी दी जाती हैं उस पर भी काफी फर्क पड़ जाएगा। फिर गरीबी के निवारण की जितनी योजनाएं बनायी गयी हैं उनमें जो कोई भी व्यक्ति दुरूपयोग करता है उसके ऊपर भी कठोर नियंत्रण होना चाहिये । इसमें दुरूपयोग करने वालों के लिए सजा का प्रावधान करेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से यह धन गरीबों को अधिक उपलब्ध हो सकेगा । इस तरह से मेरे कुछ सुझाव हैं । मुझे उम्मीद हैं कि इन सुझावों पर सरकार

अवश्य विचार करेगी ताकि आने वाले दिनो में सामजिक न्याय की दृष्टि से भारत आगे बढे और आर्थिक स्थिति में भी भारत समृद्ध हो और मजबूत बने। धन्यवाद, आपने जो समय दिया।

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): In this concluding part of discussion which was initiated in a very right way by our esteemed hon. Member, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, I would like to touch upon only the subject pertaining to because infrastructure my esteemed colleague, Shri Ashok Mitra, has already spoken on the economy. I also regret to state that in spite of a certain dig from Shri Raghavji on us now, I would not like to touch upon that subject. I would like to have the discussion above all party affiliations. I will not touch upon even Enron also for his benefits. This is for his kind information. Coming to the infrastructure, today, after all this discussion, one thing has become very clear that so far as infrastructure in this country is concerned, public sector has played a major role. This has been the consensus of this that public sector has to continue this role, so far as infrastructure is concerned. This is a report which is well prepared by the Lok Sabha. In this you will find that for infrastructure itself the fund requirement budgeted is, Rs. 7,50,000 crores and 4,50,000 crores. We all know that this Rs. 7,50,000 crores and Rs. 4,50,000 crores are not a little money which can come quite easily. The whole of our planning, so far as infrasturcure is concerned, is based on that. It is based only on that factor of Rs. 7.50,000 crores which has to come from somewhere. This is my first suggestion on this account that our thrust, in view of the problems we have in infrastructure, should be changed from the achievement of target to effective utilisation. Improvement of capacity utilisation is one factor where the thrust should now be more than only on the capital intensive projects which are supposed to come. In this particular case, so far as the priority is concerned, we cannot neglect the resources that have

been created. We have to see how best this capacity can be utilised. The second point, which hasn't yet come, is that there has to be some sort of an energy audit or energy conservation. This energy conservation that we are insisting\* on is not a question of rationing of energy. It is a question of efficient utilisation of energy. This should be our second thrust so far as the infrastructure is concerned.

Therefore, Sir, on this goldern jubilee of Indian independence, I would like to put thrust on four points, namely, improvement of capacity utilisation, audit and conservation, regional balance and the last but the most important, self-reliance. So far as infrastructure is concerned, I think these are the four factors to which we should give priority. In case of power, right now there are certain moves regarding renovation and modernisation of plants. I can give two or three examples regarding the infrastructure.

Now, renovation and modernistion of plants costs you about one-third of the cost of a new power plant, a *de movo* plant. The expansion of an oil refinery costs you about fifty per cent; of the cost of a totally new oil refinery plant. So, this is the part where we have to rightly give more thrust now.

Coming to infrasturucture, Mr. Ahluwalia is there and he was talking about those three examples. Yes, peopl's participation in infrasturuture is a must. It is not only a sort of polemics that we talk of people's participation. What are the biggest bottlenecks so far as infrasturucture is concerned? Whether you talk about power or oil refineries or any railway project, land acquisition and displacement of people from that land is a national issue. Despite what party lines we take, on this issue we have to take national decision because whatever we may talk about cost-overrun or time-overrun, one of the major factors has been land. Unfortunately, we find that in many areas it has become a major problem not only because of land

acquisition but also because it is a human problem. Sir, we are talking about globalisation. When I was doing my engineering in the '60s, I read when a thermal plant was built up in developed countries they did what they called it public counselling. That is a part of the starting of a thermal plant. We don't do it in this country. Mr. Ahluwalia was telling us, "If I do not know why this fertilisser factory is being built up, why this refinery is being built up...", then, when you acquire the land, it is only for your governance, unless people's involvement becomes more important than the technology. I will come to technology later. But people's participation in this is a part to which we must give priority. Otherwise, our infrastructure preparations will be only on paper. Even if you get Rs. 7,50,000 crores, you cannot have infrasturuture if you do not address yourselves to the problem of land acquisition in a humane way, with a human face, not only from the angle of governance. So, an appropriate technology, decentralised planning, people's participation and rgional balance, become a. part of the whole issue of infrastructure.

Sir, 1 will just take a few minutes more. I know you are giving me a very hard look.

Coming to infrastructure, I will divide it into the energy sector - power, coal and all that — and the transport sector. So far as the energy sector is concerned, I don't remember the exact year probably, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee can tell us - there was an Energy Ministry. But it is not the question of Ministry. Energy planning has to be done in an integrated manner. We cannot have a policy independent of each sector; coal, oil, other fuels, non-conventional energy sources and other types of energy sources. There has to be an integrated policy on energy. I think this is one point which has not been considered so far, even after fifty years. Of course, in between, we had, in 1986 or 1987, a Ministry for Energy. But as I said, it is

not a question of having just a Ministry. There should be an integrated energy planning. This should form the focus of our future infrastructure planning.

How do you do energy planning? The main thrust, the main objective, would have to be the utilisation of the energy resources available within the country. If you have a 12,000 MW naphtha-based plant, that would not give you a longterm solution. We have to act. We do not have to react. Today, when there is an energy problem, when there is a fuel problem, you go in for some fuel like naphtha from outside. But the energy resources available within the country have not been taken into account. Therefore, I say, our utilisation should be based on the resources available within the country.

Sir, if you give me just one minute, I would like to point out one thing, in this connection. This is the 'Source Study' by TEDDY for the year 1995-96. This tells about the fossil fuel reserves and the production-reserves ratio.

As far as the reserves are concerned, in the case of coal, we have a reserve of 59 billion tonnes; oil—765 million tonnes; and natural gas—707 cubic metres. As far as the production-reserves ratio is concerned, we find that in the case of coal, it is 247; for oil, it is 26; and for natural gas, it is 40. That means, as far as coal is concerned, for 247 years, production can take place, if we want to.

The main problem in the case of coal is the quality of coal. We require a technology for this. But we do not go in for a technology from outside for the thermal power stations which have been installed earlier.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Mukherjee, you have to conclude now.

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: I will take another one or two minutes, Sir.

Therefore, so far as the reservesproduction ratio is concerned, we can use coal for a number of years. Coal is the major energy source. We have to think of utilising our coal to the fullest extent. As I said, the main problem is the quality. Our coal has high ash content. It is not superior; it is inferior. We have to go in for technology in this regard outside, inside. We have the fluidised bed boiler concept which utilises this inferior quality coal. Then, we have the clean coal utilisation concept. These are the technologies. We have the clean coal concept; then, coal gasification. These are the technologies we want. We can definitely go in -for these technologies. We can definitely go in for importing this. But we do not have to go in for the standard thermal power stations which we have.

Therefore, the utilisation of our coal reserves to the maximum possible extent should be our another priority.

The second major problem that we have, which we have come to understand after thirty-forty years, is this. It is about regional balanace, so far as our requirement is concerned. But this regional balance docs not hold good for the source of reserves. The reserves are not regionally balanced. The idea of taking coal from the Bengal-Bihar coalfields to Tamil Nadu was tried. But that was a mistake we make. We are trying to correct it now by having pithead thermal power stations.

Regarding energy management. I have been insisting time and again—I still insist this— that like financial audit, energy audit has to be imposed; whether it is domestic, commercial, agricultural, industrial. Energy complacency cannot be the case for a capitalstarved country. We cannot be looking only at supply management.

Sir, I would touch upon the transport sector now. I will conclude in two minutes.

We have the same problem, so far as the transport sector is concerned, between rail, road and ports. These three things cannot be treated apart, one isolated from the other. There has to be an integrated transport policy. It is no longer possible to neglect inland water transport. We cannot give emphasis only to surface transport. Inland water transport cannot be ignored.

So far as the Railways are concerned, we find that the road sector has almost taken over the freight transport. In the 50's, 88 per cent of the freight traffic was carried by the Railways. Only the remaining 12 per cent was carried by the road sector. Today, it is almost the opposite. Today, only 35 per cent is carried by the Railways and the rest 65 per cent by road. It results in a drain on our foreign exchange. Therefore, as in the case of energy sector, in the case of transport sector also, there has to be an integrated approach. The rail, road and water transport has to be integrated in such a way that it saves energy, it reduces our energy consumption and our dependence on foreign exchange, dinner bill for the family will be Rs. 2,500/-. The family will spend Rs. 2,500/-for one dinner. On the other side, the pcr-capita income of a person is Rs. 12,500/-.

What Mahatma Gandhi has said is very much relevant here. Therefore, I quote what he said:

"I am afraid that for years together India would be engaged in passing legislations in order to raise the down-trodden, befallen, from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalists, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes and subsequently totally scientifically ' by the British rulers......"

"If we are to lift these people from the mire, then it will be the bounden duty of the national Government of India, in order to set its own house in order, to continually give preference to those people and even free them from the burden under which they are being crushed."

I again quote Gandhi Ji. It is very relevant "even today. He said:

"So long as there is a vast distance between the very few rich people and the millions of other hungry people, it is not possible to run the administration on the basis of nonviolence. In India the poor will enjoy the same authority, as is being wielded by the very rich few. The stark difference that is visible in the palaces in Delhi and the adjacent shanty huts of the poor labour population will not last for a day therein."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the palaces of New Delhi are there as on today and the slums and shanties of Delhi are also there as on today. Now, here we should try to find out what free India can do.

I remember one example written by Louis Fischer, an American journalist in a Book captioned: "A Week With Mahatma". He wrote: "Gandhi received Sir Stafford Cripps, the sole representative of the mighty British Empire. When he visited Sevagram, Gandhi Ji was sitting in his hut just with a small piece of cloth, khadi and a desk by his side. When Sir Stafford Cripps entered his room, there was no furniture; Sir, regarding the civil aviation sector, the navigational aids at airports have to be. strengthened. We cannot expect the private sector to do this. Our image is damaged by this. Our tourism industry will be affected.

Wherever necessary, investment should be made. The areas of energy and transport sectors need investment. This has to be done on a priority basis, and this cannot be bypassed for the expected Rs. 7,50,000 crores from outside. Thank you very much.

SHRI BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not want to go much into the figures. I would like to confine myself to some facts which, in my view, are very important.

Everybody has appreciated the Green Revolution which India has shown to the world. Everybody is stunned to find that India has achieved self-sufficiency in food. As a matter of fact, people from outside arc coming here to learn the agricultural technology of India and how it has achieved self-sufficiency in food.

Sir, today, people may not realise that this is a great achievement of India. I remember what happened in Bengal when I was a student of LL.B. and was working in a newspaper office. Lakhs of people died of starvation in Bengal. We were receiving news every morning that dead bodies were picked up from the footpaths of Calcutta, loaded in trucks and thrown into the river. This was the position. This was the outcome of the British rule. Today we have achieved selfsufficiency in food. We are providing food to 94 crore people.

I remember, Sir, that pencils manufactured in Germany were used by us. Similar was the case with the pins that we were using. Today, as a matter of fact, we are producing tanks, planes and satellites. This is the progress that we have made. Nobody on earth can say that no progress has been made. If you want to find some small faults, okay, that can be done. But everybody will have to accept whatever progress has been made.

I feel that our main weakness is this. The advantages of the freedom and the achievements should have percolated to the lower strata of the society. I believe that this is one of our drawbacks. My friend just mentioned here that our per capita income is Rs. 2,500/-. You understand the meaning of Rs. 2,500/-Today, if a family of half-a-dozen persons goes to a five-star hotel in Delhi, a single not even a chair. So, Sir Cripps kept on standing. Both of them laughed. Then Gandhi Ji removed papers and a pen from his small stool and said: "This is the only thing I can offer to you." That was the simplicity of Mahatma Gandhi. Today, of course, Rashtrapati Bhavan is there. Of course, it was not built by the Indian Government, but by the British empire. It was Viceregal lodge for Viceroys. But simplicity has been given the go by. If we can impress upon the

poor and the general masses of India that those who are in the seat of power in Delhi are the people who believe in simplicity and are actually practising simplicity, then only will they feel that something is being done for them.

Now I will mention about the black money, about which, perhaps very few people have spoken. The black money has grown to over Rs. 90000 crores. A scheme has been announced by the Finance Minister. I do not know how much the scheme will be successful. But the point is how this black money is being generated. Is there any other scheme with the Government, except the present one, whereby the Government is bowing down to the people having black money with begging bowl and requesting them to please give the Government 30 per cent and keep the rest of it? The people who have black money are not going to surrender it to the Government, whatever they may be expecting. The only course open is to take a very strong measure so that the black money can be taken forcibly from them. Sir, now a time has come when India should have two Finance Ministers-one dealing with the white money and the other dealing with the black money. I am afraid that would be the only course left.

Now, I come to the point of India's integrity. A sort of disintegration is taking place in different States. Yesterday only you said in your speech that if we are to leave out U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, we will be in a comparable position with some of the developed or developing nations. How can we leave out three or four States? Is it possible? If you leave out these States, then what remains? These are the States which represent a majority of seats in the Lok Sabha.

These are the States where regional imbalance is taking place. The imbalance between one class and the other class is apparent. But the imbalance between one State and the other State is wide, between one region and the other region

is wide. What is the position of the Western region? The position in the Western region is different. The position in Southern region is also different. The position in the North and East Region-Mr. Vice-Chairman, from where you come-is entirely different. That is what you have referred to in your speech vesterday. These regional imbalances are there. I am afraid it may pose a threat to the unity of the country. That is one problem. The other problem is regionalism which is taking place in the North-East Region. Violence is going on. When Britishers were here, I feel that India was more united. Indians were united during the British rule. Now, nothing is happening like that. At that time, violence was on a lower scale. Telephones were working very good. Industry was working very good. A few British officers in India conducted their administration only through Indians and things were very fine. Why couldn't we do this? Our own people are at fault. I think we will have to consider this very seriously.

Sir, I want to submit about infrastructure in a few minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Not in a few minutes. You have to conclude. There are other Members also who want to speak. Please conclude within two minutes.

SHRI BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT: I will, conclude. Every Member referred to the power sector. Yes, power sector is a very important sector. My friend, Shri Dipankar Mukherjee knows everything about the power sector. Today I heard two hon. Members-Shri N.K.P. Salve, the former Minister of Power; and Dr. Manmohari Singh, the former Finance Minister. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I must tell you that nobody bothers about the difficulties being faced by the State Electricity Boards, what type of coal they are receiving. The coal which they are receiving contains 4 to 5 feet huge stones, iron material. The coal supplied to them contains a lot of ash. If it is transported

in the monsoon season to Tamil Nadu, Gujarat it will turn into mud or cement concrete. A representation was given to the Minister of Power that substandard coal was being supplied. A discouraging reply came from him. Similarly, the NTPC also receives the same coal. It means the Government is helpless to help the State Electricity Boards.

Regarding subsidy to the State Electricity Boards, even the Finance Minister doesn't bother about it. The Minister of Power also feels a headache about subsidy. The subsidy amount has to be deducted from the funds which the Central Government gives to the States. This is the only way out to help them. If any money is paid to the State Electricity Boards, may be through a grant or a loan, tell the State Governments whether they have paid full subsidy to the State Electricity Boards or not. There may be the dues of the Power Finance Corporation or there may be the dues of the REC or any other dues, the Government of India, the Ministry of Power should take a lead and assert with the Finance Minister that whatever funds his Ministry is going to give to the State Governments that subsidy amount should be deducted directly from their funds. That is the only way you can help the State Electricity Boards who are really interested in power generation. Otherwise, the floodgates which have been opened to the private sector for generating electricity will not yield any results. All hopes and aspirations and calculations for generating electricity in the private sector will be belied. We will have to depend on the State sector. We will have to depend on the present power sector! I suggest that we put up power stations at the pitheads and then transmit power instead of cross transportation of fuel. This power can be supplied at 4 or 5 paise per unit. That is the best way out to solve this problem. That is what I submit. Thank you very much.

SHRI SANJAY DALMIA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is good that we are deliberating on an important subject—"Economy and Infrastructure" in the 50 year of our Independence. Sir, 200 years of foreign rule has made a tremendous difference in the economy of India. India was once known as the golden eagle which was robbed of all its wealth. At the end of 200 years we were left poor and under developed in all aspects.

#### 6.00 P.M.

Let us ponder over what we have achieved in the 50 years. On the eve of independence we were thinking that in the next 50 years we would be able to catch up with the 200 years which we had lost and we would be able to make up, if not wholly, at least, a substantial part of it. What do we see today? We have hardly made any progress towards the singular aim of banishment of poverty, removal of poverty, all-over development of India including infrastructure. When the Britishers were here they had vested interests. They did not want to develop the infrasturcture as a whole. An infrasturcture is not merely a power station or a road or a bridge. The most important aspect of infrastructure is human development. I think we have not deliberately given any importance to this most important aspect in the last 50 years. Unless the human being is developed, we will not be able to develop our other infrasturctural resources. Why I am saying so is that an educated individual can take care of himself and he should not depend on the State for any thing. He can stand on his own legs. I think it was a deliberate attempt to keep most of the people in such a state of affairs that they will be perpetually dependent on the State for one thing or the other. Having said this, what we feel now, as a nation, is that we should have an agenda. It should be what we are going to do in the next 5 years or 10 years or 15 years or 20 years towards the singular aim of banishment of poverty. Today our per capita income is something like 300 dollars or 400 dollars which is very, low verv as compared to our

neighbouring Asian countries. We were growing in the last 50 years or, at least, up to the eighties at the rate of 3% or  $3^{l}/2\%$ . In the eighties it went up marginally to 5%. In the last four or five years the percentage of growth has been 61/i or so. Now if we continue to grow at the rate of 6% or 7%, with a population growth rate of 1% or 2%, I think, in 15 years or 20 years we will be able to achieve a per capita income which will be, at least, three times more than what we have today. Now that is the minimum. We must have a national agenda that in the next 15 years or 20 years we will achieve three times more per capita income and we will abolish poverty, remove poverty, banish poverty so that nobody would depend on the State and the people will be able to stand on their own legs. I think when we conclude the session this should be one of the issues on the agenda.

Coming to infrastructure, most of the infrasturcture all over the world, especially in the western countries, was developed by the colonial funds. Why I am saying so is that the time required for getting the return was very short. Therefore, they were able to do it by the colonial fund which they got free of interest. Here we have to depend on the funds from insurance corporations or such other institutions where the interest rates are low and the investors will have to wait for a long time before they get the return. I have one or two suggestions to make in this regard. We have a regulatory authority, SEBI. Unless a company make profit or declares dividend for three years, it should not be allowed to be listed in the stock exchanges, especially when it wants to issue shares at a premium.

In the case of infrastructure also I have a few suggestions to make. I will give you the example of telecom. Once you reach a base, a minimum base, a customer base, then your growth is like this. You have to do it unless reach a customer base. Now once you are able to do it, it goes like this. Therefore, there is no necessity to enable a scrip to be issued at a premium. Once you reach a stage of profit then in next three or four or five years it will be like this. Since an initial investor has to make a sacrifice, the initial investor should be allowed, after five or six years when for the first time they come to a situation of no profit no loss or a small profit situation to put their scrip in the market wherever they are at a premium. If there are buyers, they will buy it. If there are no buyers, nobody will buy it. This is regarding infrastructure. This is my important suggestion.

Then another point is about foreign players versus domestic players. We have been talking about foreign players and domestic players, WTO, trade and all that. A lot of people have talked about foreign investors and the domestic industry getting a levelplaying field. I don't want to dwell very much on this. I would like to make one or two points on WTO. I am not against WTO. I want that we should be a part of the global arrangement. Just as we have taken a lead in the Non-aligned Movement where we put forth the views of developing countries and we may develop as a non-aligned bloc, similarly India should take a lead in forming a bloc of developing countries. We should negotiate with WTO to the advantage of our countries rather than their countries. This is an art of negotiation or diplomacy or whatever you call it. I would like to give you an example. The Indian textile industry will have to wait for 10 years to open their market. But I have to open my market for their product. Similarly, I have a lot of good people, ' computer engineers, scientists, etc. who can go to those countries and take up jobs and do a lot of good work. But then they are not allowed because of the immigration laws. If it does not suit them, they say that there is an immigration law. If it does not suit them, they say that there is this law. But they want me to open my market for many products. The same is the situation for other developing countries. What I

want to say is we should take a lead and wc should be leaders just like non-aligned countries and developed countries and negotiate jointly with WTO so that we can get benefit for the developing countries. The whole thing should be in the interest of our countries rather than in the interest of developed countries because they can wait. They have resources. They have time and they have money. Our people need that today. They can wait till tomorrow.

My last point is about rate of taxation. I would like to give an example. There arc three modes of transportation, *i.e.* motor car, scooter and bicycle. Now the trend is, we want to have three rates of taxation," i.e. 8 per cent, 13 per cent and 18 per cent. There are many cases. I don't want to quote all the cases because it will take more time of the House. I would like to give an example of motorcar. A motor car is taxed — I am just giving an example — at a rate of 8 per cent and a scooter is taxed at a rate of 13 per cent and a bicycle is taxed at a rate of 18 per cent. I think it should be reverse. A bicycle should be taxed at a rate of 8 per cent, a scooter should be taxed at a rate of 13 per cent and a motor car should be taxed at a rate of 18 per cent. But it is not happening. There are classifications of goods where there are such things and where there are such distortions. I think it should be taken care of because it affects our industry.

Lastly, there is reservation for small-scale industry. I welcome it. I have no quarrel with that. Now when an Indian manufacturer wants to manufacture an article reserved for a smallfscale industry, he is not allowed to do so! But the same article manufactured by a multinational company can be imported into India. An item reserved for a small-scale industry can be imported into India just because it is made by a foreign company

But our own companies are not allowed to make it. If these items have to be imported, then it does not make sense that Indian companies are not allowed to make it. Then I can go out and tnen import it into India. Sir, it does not make sense. I mean, if it has to be made, let it be made for small scale but then there should be no import of such products. I wanted to say a few things more. But since there is no time, I am concluding. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Prof. Ram Bakhsh Singh Vanna. He is not there." Shri W. Angou Singh.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH (Manipur): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity of participating in the deliberations of the special session of Fifty Years of Indian Independence. Sir, after a long period of colonial exploitation and economic stagnation, India became an independent nation from 15th August, 1947. The overall socio-economic situation at the time of independence was dismal. Sir, we all know that India ranks seventh among the nations of the world in terms of geographical area and it is second only to China in terms of population. Wide-ranging physical, social, cultural, racial and linguistic diversities pose a serious challenge in the formation of economic policies of the country. Regid caste system and the existence of sharp inequalities in the distribution of income wealth as well as opportunities are some of the over-riding constraints adding to the complexity of the situation. The Constitution of India was framed with the potent instrument of integration and establishing 'unity in diversity' in the Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic with a parliamentary form of Government. The epitome of the economic philosophy was reflected in the choice of mixed economy both as a system and as a policy. Growth, equity and self-reliance are the three broad objectives of the national economic policy. With the stated socio-economic perspective, the Five Year Plan was prepared by the first Prime Minister of Independent India Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who was the Chairman and it became the concept of national planning. He said that the aim of

planning in our country should be 'growth with justice'. India, the seventh largest country in the world even now could not totally achieve the growth and justice as envisaged by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of India. Even now the trickle-down theory, according to which development at the top will gradually flow down to the bottom, has not been totally given Up even after 50 years of India's Independence. Massive mobilisation of financial resources commensurate with the initial size of population as well as the growth has been rendered difficult by the widespread poverty on the one hand and a hesitant fiscal policy on the other. The rate of economic growth has consequently been slow and at time even negative. Growth of economic opportunities has, therefore, tended to lag behind the growth of population. These are the causes which manifest in the form of growing inequalities of income and wealth across households as well as geographical areas. Hence reconstruction and development of the economy were the obvious imperatives in the post-independence period. Viewed in this perspective the economy of India has remarkable achievements to its credit. The overall increase in industrial production is more than, six-fold The production of cotton cloth increased from nearly four thousand million metres in 1950-51' to more than 13 thousand million metres in 1990-91. Cement production jumped up from 2.7 MTs in 1950-31 to 49 MTs in 1990-91. In the production of machinery tools, the progress has indeed been phenomenal and the agricultural sector is on the increase. The index of agricultural production has recorded a three-fold increase since the beginning of planning. Agricultural productivity has more than doubled and the production of foodgrains is three times more than that in 1950-51. Electricity generation increased by more than 40 times, railway freight traffic by more than 7 times, shipping tonnages by 20 times and bank offices by more than 10 times. The contribution of public sector to the Indian economy is immense and our economy is on the march. But during the

short period when the Congress party was not in power, the pace of progress remained painfully slow, generally less than planned. Poverty continues to be quite acute and unemployment is up. The rising prices have created further difficulties. The situation in respect of interregional disparities is no less alarming. Internationally, the picture is quite disheartening. India's ranking in GNP is very low and an industrialised nation has slided down from the tenth position to twenty-sixth position. The country's share in the world trade has come down from 2.4% in 1950 to nearly 0.4% and India's human development index was very close to the bottom. To meet this challenge, economic reforms were initiated in July, 1991 by Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then Finance Minister under the leadership of Shri Narasimha Rao, the then Prime Minister in order to restructure the instrumentalities of control and regulation, removing some and revamping others, to minimise the bottlenecks in the way of economic growth. Thus, the crisis situation developed on the external payments front has been overcome.

From the 1995 Economic Survey report, it is noted that India recorded one of the fastest recoveries from a micro-economic and balance of payments crises. It also stated that the growth achieved in the post-crisis period was a noteworthy achievement by the international standards and was more sustainable than the growth in the immediate pre-crisis period. Overall GDP 31 factor Cost rose from 6.3% in 1994-95 to 7% in 1995-96.

Sir, in order to bring growth and justice among the people in the next coming years, the present uniform economic policy is to be modified and preparation of plans for the development should vary according to the specific problems and needs of particular areas. The Planning Commission should have to prepare Plans in two ways, one for developed States and the other for underdeveloped States like the North-East States for infrastructural equalisation whidi is the need of the hour to bring the backward States to the level of the developed States. The Plan is to be prepared from the bottom and to fulfil the needs of the grassroot people who are at the lowest strata of the society.

The existing functional policy cannot make available to the total benefits to the actual beneficiaries. There is a great leakage in the midst. In order to bring transparency and to make available the totality of benefits to the actual beneficiaries, the existing functional policies are to be modified. A loan policy of kind credit and kind recovery system is to be introduced.

All Central schemes should be implemented through the States involving the concerned MPs of the States and the present guidelines are needed to be modified. Strict instructions should be given to the State Governments to follow the Central guidelines in the implementation of the Central schemes.

The 73rd and the 74th Amendment Acts for the decentralisation of power to the grassroot level should be implemented in toto. The allocation of funds for this purpose should be kept on need based basics on the development of the States. A Central Finance Commission should look into the recommendations of the State Finance Commissions as they are an integral part of the Indian federal finance. An integrated approach has to be based on an understanding of the letter and spirit jof the 73rd and the 74th Amendment Acts passed by the State legislatures to conform to the Central legislation and to check the ongoing trends towards centralisation.

The most common instrument of intergovernmental fiscal transfers are grants. The system of grant-in-aid has to be related to the entire scheme of vertical and horizontal transfer of resources from the Centre to the States and from the States to the sub-State level. The Centre should review as to how far the legislations passed by the States have conformed to the letter and intent of the 73rd and the 74th Amendment Acts.

With these few words, I now conclude my participation in the deliberations of the Special Session of Parliament.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) : प्रो. राम बख्श सिं वर्मा, आपके शुरू करने से पहले मैं बता दूं कि अभी कई लोग बोलने वाले हैं इसलिए अगर सब लोग पांच-पांच मिनट बोलेंगे तो सब बोल पाएंगे।

प्रो. राम सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, मैं 10 मिनट में समाप्त कर दुंगा।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम**) : तो सब बोल नहीं पाएंगे।

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : मान्यवर, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए समय दिया । ससंद के इस विशेष सत्र में हम आजादी के बाद के 50 वर्षों की अपनी उपलब्धियों और संभावनाओं का सिंहावलोकन कर रहे हैं और इसी क्रम में आज हम अर्थव्यवस्था और मूलभूत ढांचा विषय के संबंध में आज हाऊस में विचार कर रहे हैं। मान्यवर, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि किसी भी देश में आर्थिक विकास और मूलभूत ढांचा का, बिना सामाजिक ढांचा के विकास के कोई के कोई अर्थ ही नहीं है । इस अवसर पर मैं गुनार मिर्डल की पुस्तक एशियन ड्रामा का उद्धरण देना चाहता हूं जिसमें उन्होने लिखा है कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में किया गया विनिवेश सोशल इनवेस्टमेंट के समान होता है जिससे सोशल केपिटल का निर्माण होता है और सोशल इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर का भी निर्माण होता है और सोशल इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर का भी निर्माण होता है। इसलिए मान्यवर, मैं मानता हूं कि जो फिजीकल (भौतिक) इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर है उसका कोई अर्थ नहीं है जब तक सोशल इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर का ठीक स विकास न हो । जब तक सोशल इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर का ठीक से विकास नहीं होगा, फिजीकल इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर का कोई अर्थ नहीं है। सोशल इनफ्रास्ट्रच्कर के सबंधं में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि शिक्षा जो है, वह बुनियादी आवश्यकता है।

महोदय, शिक्षा के संबंध में अपने विचार रखते समय मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि मुझे कोई संकोच नहीं है इस सदन में यह कहते हुए कि हमारे देश की जो शिक्षा व्यवस्था है, वह लार्ड मैकाले द्वारा प्रतिपादित शिक्षा पद्धति का कमोवेश प्रतिरूप है। अंग्रेजों को इस देश में शासन व्यवस्था चलानी थी। इसके लिए शासक वर्ग तो उन्हें इंग्लैड से मिल जाता था परन्तु यहां पर जो बड़ी संख्या में क्लर्को की आवश्यकता थी, बाबू लोगों की आवश्यकता थी और लिखा-पढ़ी करने लायक मामूली शिक्षित लाखों व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता थी उसी आवश्यकता की पूर्ति के लिए लार्ड मैकाले ने मैकाले पद्धति की इस देश में नीवं डाली थी और आज तक हमारे देश की जो शिक्षा व्यवस्था है, उस शिक्षा व्यवस्था की छाया से मुक्त नहीं हो सकी है। आज भी हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति में वहीं दोष चला आ रहा है । इसलिए हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति में अनेक विसंगतियां आज भी मौजूद हैं। बहुत सी विकृतियां इसमें उत्पन्न हो गई हैं।

महोदय, मैं मानता हूं कि शिक्षा का अर्थ हैं। मुनष्य का संर्वागीण विकास अर्थात् मानसिक विकास, शारीरिक विकास, नैतिक विकास, अर्थात चारित्रिक विकास एंव अध्यात्मिक विकास। शिक्षा मानव का निर्माण करती है। परन्तु खेद के साथ कहना पड रहा है कि हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति सम्पूर्ण मानव का निर्माण नहीं अपितू खंडित मानव या आधे-अधूरे इन्सान का ही निर्माण कर पा रही हैं। यही कारण है कि हम आज तक इस देश में आजादी के 50 वर्ष के उपरात भी अच्छे नागरिकों का निर्माण नहीं कर सके हैं जो इस देश की महान परम्पराओं से भिज्ञ हों । हम ऐसे नागरिकों का निर्माण करने में विफल रहे हैं जिसमें प्रचण्ड राष्ट्रीयता की भावना हो और विश्व मानवता के प्रति जिनमें असीम अनुराग हो । हम ऐसे नागरिकों का निर्माण नहीं कर सके हैं जिनमें श्रम के महत्व की समझ हो जिनमें उदारता हो और जो उदात्त भावों से परिपूर्ण हों । इस शिक्षा के माध्यम से इस देश में नवीन कार्य संस्कृति को जन्म देने और उसे पनपाने में तो हम असफल रहे ही हैं, अपनी अमुल्य सांस्कृतिक धरोहर को भी अक्षुण्ण रखने में हम समर्थ नहीं हो सके हैं। हमारे देश में जो शिक्षा दी जा रही है वह रोजगारोन्मुख भी नहीं है। यही कारण है कि आज करोड़ों की संख्या में शिक्षित बेरोजगार इस देश में मौजूद हैं और जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है इस देश में दस करोड़ से भी अधिक इस समय शिक्षित बेरोजगार हैं और हर वर्ष बेरोजगार नौजवानों की संख्या दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी गति से बढ़ती जा रही है। शिक्षित नवयूवक नौकरी न मिलने की स्थिति में कोई अन्य काम करने लायक भी नहीं रह जाता है। वह अपने घर के कृषि कार्य अथवा व्यापार कार्य करने में मेहनत मजदूरी करने में अपनी हेठी समझता है क्योंकि उसे श्रम के महत्व को समझाया ही नहीं गया हैं । ये गढे लिखें नौजवान आज अपने परिवार औरअपने देश पर भार बन रहे हैं । इसमें उनका कोई दोष भी नहीं है। दोष है हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति का जिसमें उन्हें मनुष्य बनाने और हर कठिनाई में परिश्रम करके जीविकोपार्जन करने की मानसिकता उत्पन्न करने का पाठ

ही नहीं पढ़ाया गया है। कितने दुख और कष्ट की बात है कि जिस नौजवान पीढ़ी को इस देश के निर्माण में नवीन ज्ञान, बल, स्फूर्ति और परिश्रम से लगना चाहिए था, वह पीढी बेरोजगार होकर भटक रही है, पथभ्रष्ट हो रही हैं अथवा आत्महत्या करने को विवश हो रही है । आज समाज में जो इतनी विकृति आ गयी हैं। वह इसी कारण से है। ये ही बेरोजगार पथभ्रष्ट नौजवान अपराधियों के गिरोह में बदल रहे हैं . डकैतियां डाल रहे हैं, हत्याएं कर रहे हैं, महिलाओं के साथ छेड़खानी कर रहे हैं , उनके गले में जंजीरें खीचं रहे हैं, बलात्कार कर रहे हैं, फिरौती के लिए अपहरण कर कर रहे हैं । सही मायने में देश का सबसे बडा संकट आज चरित्र का संकट है और चरित्र का भी संकट मान्यवर मैं मानता हूं इसलिए है क्योंकि इस देश में शिक्षा का सकंट है। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में भी शिक्षा माफियां उत्पन्न हो गए है। उत्तर प्रदेश के जिला फर्रुखाबाद जहां का मैं निवासी हूं, मुझे मालूम हैं वहां एक नहीं बल्कि अनेकों शिक्षा माफिया हैं, जो अपनी दुकानें चला रहे हैं , जिनमें छात्रों से रूपया लेकर उन्हें नकल करायी जाती है। ऐसे स्कूलों में दूसरे जनपदों से नहीं बल्कि मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान तक के छात्र बिना पढ़े हुए पास हो जाने के लोभ में प्रवेश लेते है और इन संस्थाओं के मालिक उनसे प्रति वर्ष लाखों रूपए वसूल करते हैं। ये माफिया अब केवल उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं बल्कि अन्य प्रदेशों में भी अपना मकडजाल फैला रहे हैं। राज्य सरकारें क्यों नहीं ऐसी संस्थाओं के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही करती और इस तरह से जो उपार्जित धन है उस सम्पत्ति को सरकार जब्त क्यों नहीं कर लेती है। मेरा विश्वास है कि जब तक शिक्षा का ध्येय नौकरी रहेगा तब तक उसमें गुणात्मक परिवर्तन की संभावना नहीं आ सकती है । इसीलिए राष्ट्रकवि मैथिलीशरण गुप्त ने कहा था कि –

"शिक्षे तुम्हारा नाश हो तुम नौकरी के हित बनी।"

हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति में एक और बड़ा दोष यह है कि हम आज तक वैज्ञानिक विषयों सहित अनेक विषयों की पुस्तकें राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में अथवा क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में उपलब्ध करा सकने में असमर्थ रहे हैं। संविधान के अनुछेद 343 के अनुसार हिन्दी को सरकारी कामकाज की अधिकृत भाषा का दर्जा अवश्य दे दिया गया है और व्यवहार में क्रमशः उसे प्रतिष्ठित करने के लिए 15 वर्षो की समयावधि निर्धारित की गई थी। परन्तु आजादी के 50 वर्षो के उपरान्त भी आज तक हिन्दी को सरकारी कामकाज अथवा शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाने का कार्य पूरा नहीं किया जा सकता है। यही हाल आठवीं अनुसूची में जो उल्लिखित 18 क्षेत्रीय भाषाएं हैं उनका

भी है। उनके साथ भी इसी तरह का सौतेला व्यवहार किया गया है । शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में मौजूद इस विकृति के कारण हमारे देश के छात्र में मौजूद इस विकृति के कारण हमारे देश के छात्र न तो राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी और न क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में ही निष्णात हो पाते हैं और न विदेशी भाषा अंग्रेजी ही अधिकारपूर्वक पढ़ पाते हें या लिख पाते हें या समझ पाते हें या समझ पाते हैं। छात्रों का बहुत अधिक समय और ऊर्जा इस प्रकार विदेशी भाष को सीखने में व्यय हो जाती है। जिससे उनकी प्रतिभा पर विपरीत असर पडता है। नौकरियों के लिए विदेशी भाषा अंग्रेजी का सीखना जैसे अनिवार्यता बनती जा रही है जिसके कारण इस देश के छात्र अपनी संस्कृति और अपनी जड़ों से कटते जा रहे हैं। अंग्रेज तो मान्यवर इस देश से चले गए परंतू अंग्रेजियत आज भी इस देश में फल-फुल रही है। कितने दुख और शर्म की बात है कि सर्वोच्च सत्ता में आसीन हमारे राष्ट्र का नेतृत्व वर्ग भी उसी अग्रेजी भाषा को अपने दामन से चिपकाए हए हैं जिसे इस देश की 95 प्रतिशत जनता समझ ही नही पाती है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) :** वर्मा जी अब आपको समाप्त करना पडेगा।

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : मान्यवर, मैं दो मिनट लेकर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि चीन हमारे बाद में स्वतंत्र हुआ पंरतु वहां के सरकारी कामकाज की भाषा आज चीनी भाषा है । इसी तरह से जापान में भी वहां की कामकाज की भाषा, सरकारी कामकाज की भाषा और शिक्षा का माध्यम जापानी भाषा है । जिस देश की अपनी एक भाषा नहीं होती मान्यवर मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उस देश की एकता, अखंडता को साथ ही उस देश के सम्मान और स्वाभिमान को भी ठेस लगती है । भारतेन्द्र हरिशन्द ने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा था:

"निज भाषा उन्नति अहैं, सब उन्नति कौ मूल"

मान्यवर, मैं एक मिनट और लेना चाहता हूं । मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूं कि तमाम आयोगों के बनाने के उपरांत भी 1968 में और 1986 में इस राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति की संरचना हो जाने के उपरांत भी 1976 में शिक्षा को 42वें संविधान संशोधन के माध्यम से समवर्ती सूची में रख देने के उपरान्त भी शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में वंछित सुधार अभी तक नहीं हो सका है । प्राथमिक शिक्षा के सार्वभौमिकरण का लक्ष्य आज तक प्राप्त नहीं हो सका और कब तक पूरा होगा यह कहा भी नहीं जा सकता । 1968 में कोठरी कमीशन द्वारा प्रस्तुत रिपोर्ट के अनुसार आज तक हम शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सकल घेरलू उत्पाद का 6 प्रतिशत संसाधन के स्थान पर केवल 3.9 प्रतिशत संसाधन ही व्यय कर रहे हैं। इसके लिए शिक्षा में जब तक शिक्षा को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता नहीं दी जाएगी, लक्ष्यो को प्राप्त कर पाना में समझता हूं कि असंभव है।

श्रीमन् समयाभाव के कारण मैंने केवल कुछ तथ्यों को आपके माध्यम से इस सदन में रखा है। आपने मुझे समय दिया इसके लिए एक बार पुनः आपको धन्यवाद।

दारा सिंह चौहान (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्री उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम आजादी की 50वीं वर्षगांठ इस विशेष अधिवेशन के माध्यम से, दलगत भावना से ऊपर उइ करके, इस सदन के माध्यम से देश के सामने जो संदेश दे रहे हैं , निश्चित रूप से हमें ईमानदारी से इस पचास वर्ष के अंतराल को दिल और दिमाग साफ करके देखना होगा कि आज भी जब हम इस विशेष अधिवेशन के माध्यम से अपनी बात को सीधे जनता तक पहुंचाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं तो आज भी देश का बहत बडा हिस्सा इस आजादी के मकसद को नहीं समझ पा रहा है। आजादी क्या चीज है, उसको जानता भी नहीं तो निश्चित रूप से जो आजादी हमें मिली थी वह इस समाज के लोगों की गैर बराबरी दूर करने के लिए मिली थी। निश्चित रूप से हम लोग उसमें कुछ नहीं कर पाए । आज शिक्षा जो बुनियादी चीज है उस शिक्षा के अभाव के कारण हम आजादी को समझ नहीं पाते हैं। आज भी देश की बहत बडी आबादी शिक्षा से वंचित होने के नाते आजादी के मकसद को नहीं समझ पा रही है। आज भी देश के दलित समाज के लोग, पिछडे समाज के लोग, अकलियत वाले दस्तकार, कामगार ऐसे लोग हैं, जिनके बच्चे आज भी शिक्षा से कोसों दूर हैं । जब तक देश में शिक्षा का अभाव तथा सामाजिक विषमता रहेगी तब तक हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ सकता। यहां कल भी चर्चा हो रही थी और आज भी चर्चा हई कि इस देश में तमाम ऐसे प्रदेश है जहां पर शिक्षा का स्तर कुछ अच्छा का स्तर ऊंचा उठा है निश्चित रूप से वहां पर जो सामाजिक विषमताएं रही है उनके खिलाफ वहां के नेताओं ने निश्चित रूप से संघर्ष करने का काम किया है । जिस प्रदेश में आज भी जाति –विहीन समाज की संरचना नहीं हो पाई सामाजिक विषमताओं का आज भी शिकार है, वहां निश्चित रूप से शिक्षा से वंचित लोग हैं। इन नाते में कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तक इस समाज में शिक्षा और समाज में निकटता नहीं लाई जाएगी और जो सामाजिक विषमताएं हैं उनको दुर नहीं किया जाएगा तब तक हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ़ पायेगा।

महोदय, आजादी की वर्षगांठ पर यह अच्छा मौका है जबकि हम इस सदन के माध्यम से, हम ने 50 सालों में क्या पाया, क्या खोया- यह ईमानदारी से कह सकते हैं । आजादी का जो मकसद था, जिन लोगों ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी थी, आजादी के लिए जिन्होंने कुर्बानियां दी थी निश्चित रूप से आज जो आंकड़े पेश किए गए हैं, उन सरकारी आंकडों को देखने से यह एहसास होता है कि आज भी गांवों में रहने वाले गरीब, वह 70फीसदी गरीब जिन से शिक्षा का कोई मतलब नहीं है, उन के लिए आजादी बेमतलब है । आज सामाज मे जो गैर-बरबारी की बात कही जाती है, आर्थिक क्षेत्र में जो प्रगति की रिपोर्ट पेश की जाती है, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज भी देश में जो कानून बने हैं, वे ईमानदारी से उन गरीबो के लिए नहीं है। जिन गरीबों के सुधारने की बात कही गयी है, ईमानदारी से उन कानूनों को लागू नहीं किया गया है ।

महोदय, आज भूमि-सुधार की बात कही जाती है मगर इस देश में रहने वाले ऐसे गरीब समाज हैं जो कि खेती तो करते हैं . लेकिन उन के पास खेत नहीं है 1 वे खेती तो रकते हैं, लेकिन उन के पास खेत नहीं है और हजारो एकड़ जमीन के मालिक वे लोग हैं जिन्होंने खेतों की मेढ़ को नहीं देखा है। ऐसे में उन के लिए आजादी का क्या मतलब है? महोदय. जब उन को गांवों में खेती करने के लिए खेत नहीं मिलता तो वे गांव छोडकर बडे-बड़े महानगरों में बस जाते हैं। आप ने उन्हें इन बड़े-बडे हए देखा होगा। वहां वे किसी तरह अपनी जिंदगी जीने के लिए हैं जहां कि लोग खडे होना तक पसंद नहीं करते। आज हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में रहने वाले गरीब खेती न होने के कारण वहां अपने पेट को नहीं पाल सकते हैं और मजबुरी में गावं छोडकर बडे-बड़े महानगरों में ऐसी जगहों पर आकर बस गये हैं। इस तरह पिछले 50 सालों में इस सामाज के लिए हमें जो करना चाहिए था वह हम नहीं कर पाए हैं । इसलिए हमार कहना है कि जब तक इस देश से सामाजिक विषमता को हम दूर नहीं करेंगे, शिक्षा को मौलिक अधिकारों के साथ नहीं जोडेंगे तब तक हमारे महापुरूषों की जो मंशा रही है, उसे देश कभी परा नहीं कर पाएगा। कहने का अर्थ यह है कि भूमि सुधार के लिए केन्द्र द्वारा जो कानून बनाए गए हैं , उन का पालन ईमानदारी से नहीं हो पा रहा है। फिर हम कागज के आंकडों पर दिखाते हैं, कि हमारे देश का विकास हुआ है । सही बात है विकास हुआ है । इसे हम मानते हैं, लेकिन

देश में रहने वाले कितने परसेंट लोगों का विकास हुआ है? आज भी देश में उन्हीं लोगों का विकास हआ है जिन्होंने कि समाज के इस बहत बड़े हिस्से को अपने चंगूल में जकड़ कर रखा है । महोदय, आज बडे-बड़े कल-कारखानों में किस की भागीदारी है? बडी-बडी फर्मो में किस की भागीदारी है? देश की बडी-बडी नौकरियों में किस की भागीदारी है? आज हम देश में जो कानून बनाते हैं, उन का इम्पलीमेंटेशना नहीं हो पाता है। महोदय, आज भूमि-सधार की बात कही जा रही है. यह सब से बनियादी चीज है क्योंकि हम नौकरियां नहीं दे सकते हैं । सब की बेरोजगारी दूर नहीं कर सकते हैं लेकिन आज भी हिन्दुस्तान में इतनी जमीनें पड़ी हुई है कि अगर उन को गरीबों में बांट दिया जाए तो निश्चित रूप से उन की गरीबी बहुत हद तक दूर की जा सकती है।

## **उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) :** अब आप अपनी बात समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री दारा सिंह चौहान : इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज जब ईमानदारी से जिस प्रदेश ने कानून का पालन किया है, आज भूमि-सुधार की बात उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने की है। जो एक्ट बनाया गया केन्द्र द्वारा, जो इस सदन ने बनाया, ईमानदारी से जब उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार आज कर रही है तो कुछ लोगों को तकलीफ होती है, जब ईमानदारी से उनके सामाजिक और शैक्षिक स्तर को उठाने की बात कही जाती है, आजादी के 50 साल बाद भी समाज में जो आज तक कौसों दूर खडे हैं, उनको यदि अगली कतार में लाने का प्रयास किया जाता है तो कुछ लोगों को तकलीफ होती है। आज भी, आजादी के इतने साल बाद भी जो बड़ी-बड़ी नौकरियां है, उनमें जो दलित समाज का, शैडयूल्ड कास्ट का कोटा है, ईमानदारी से उसको पूरा नहीं किया जाता है। इसके कारण क्या है, इस बारे में सभी लोगों को ईमानदारी से सोचना पडेगा । आजादी से पहले देश में जिन लोगों के, समाज के जिन लोगों के क्लास- 1 की नौकरियों में 32 फीसदी लोग थे, आज क्लास- 1 की नौकरियों में उनकी संख्या केवल एक या डेढ़ फीसदी है। इसका मतलब है कि देश में जो सामाजिक विषमताएं रही है, जो गैर बराबरी रही है, उस आधार पर समाज की सरंचना करके हिन्दुस्तान की ताकत कुछ लोगों द्वारा अपने हाथ में समेटकर रखी गई है । इस बारे में मैं ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हम सभी राजनीतिक दलों को मिलकर ईमानदारी से इस गैर बराबरी को दूर करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए । जब तक आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक गैर बराबरी को हम ईमानदारी से दूर नहीं करेंगे, हम कुछ भी बोंले, इस देश को प्रगति के पथ पर हम आगे नहीं बढ़ा पाएंगे।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद ।

श्री गोविन्दराम मिरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, स्वतंत्र भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था अपने आदर्शवादी लक्ष्यों को पाने में तो असफल रही है, उदारवाद के नाम पर लागू सुधार, घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था, ऋणभार, रूग्ण उद्योग नीति एवम् मूल ढांचागत विकास की उपेक्षा के चलते देश आर्थिक परतंत्रता के कगार पर पहुंच गया है। यदि यह स्थिति नहीं बदली तो संभवत: 21वीं शताब्दी में हमारे बजट का ब्लू प्रिंट वर्ल्ड बैंक के डायरेक्टर तथा अन्य ऋणादातागण बनाएंगे। कुल मिलाकर इस आर्थिक विनाश को भारतेन्दु हरिशचन्द्र के शब्दों में अच्छी तरह अभिव्यक्त किया जा सकता है,उन्होंने "भारत दुर्दशा" नाटक के प्रारम्भ में ही लिखा था:-

# आवहु सब मिलि के रोवहू भारत माई। भारत-दुर्दशा देखि न जाई॥

यह एक विषम सवाल है कि क्या वजह है कि विकास के बावजूद अतंर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हम कभी अपने से कम विकसित और कम संसाधनों वाले देश के मुकाबले भी आज पिछडे हुए नजर आ रहे हैं? क्या वजह है कि अनाज के मामले में हमारी बढ़ती हुई आत्मनिर्भरता के बावजूद हमारे यहां भूखे पेट सोने वालों की संख्या बढ़ रही है? क्यों हम विज्ञान और प्रौद्योगिकी के बड़े-बड़े संस्थान खडे करने के बावजूद अपने यहां वह देशी तकनीक विकसित नहीं कर पाए, जो हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था के माकूल हो ?

महोदय, स्वतंत्र भारत में जिस तीव्र गति से आर्थिक विकास होना था, वह हुआ नहीं । 8 पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के बाद भी हम सकल घरेलू उत्पाद की वृद्धि दर को विकास के ध्येय अर्थात् 7 परसैंट तक भी नहीं पहुंचा पाए हैं । इसके बावजूद पहले तीन दशकों, 1947 से 1977 तक, सकल घरेलू उत्पाद की वृद्धि दर मात्र 4 प्रतिशत से भी कम रही । 1971-80 के बीच तो वह घटकर अप्रतिशत से भी कम हो गई । कछुआ गति वाली विकास की यह वार्षिक दर आकर्षक नहीं है । चिंता की बात तो यह है कि इसके लिए बजट घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था का सहारा लिया जाता है । स्वगीय श्री जॉन मथाई को छोड़कर स्वंतन्न भारत के सभी वित्त मंत्रियों ने लगातार घाटे के बजट बनाने की नीति अपनाई । घाटे की वित्त व्यवस्था एक ऐसी प्रवृत्ति है जिससे मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ती है और कीमतें स्थायी नहीं रहती । आर्थिक सुधार वास्तविक हो, इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि बजट घाटे को शनैः शनैः न्यूनतम किया जाए या समाप्त कर दिया जाए । यह दो बातों पर निर्भर है – एक राजस्व में वृद्धि और दूसरे खर्च में कमी । ये दोनों ही उपाय साथ-साथ चलने चाहिए । लेकिन सर्वेक्षणों से ज्ञात होता है, कि बजट घाटा, जो 1992-93 में 40,173 करोड़ रूपए था चालू वर्ष में बढ़कर उसके 65,454 करोड़ घाटा सकल राजकोषीय घाटे का 45 प्रतिशत था, फलस्वरूप केन्द्र सरकार के ऋणों के लगभग आधे भाग का प्रयोग राजस्व खाते के अतरं को पाटने के लिए किया गया । ऐसी स्थिति में किसी ऐसी परिस्थिति का सृजन नहीं होता जिससे कोई आय प्राप्त हो सके ।

1997-98 में भी विकासात्मक गतिविधियों के लिए पंजीगत बजट को अंतरित किए जाने वाले संसाधन उपलब्ध नहीं होगे । यह स्थिति राजकोषीय नीति के लिए अच्छी नहीं कही जा सकती । अतः यह आवश्यक है कि सभी प्रकार के व्यय के लिए पर्याप्त मात्रा में राजस्व प्राप्तियां बढाई जाएं । हमारी राजस्व प्राप्तियों की कमी का बडा कारण है रूग्ण सार्वजनिक उद्योगों में लाभ के बदले घाटे की स्थिति । सभी जानते है कि 241 में से अधिकांश अर्थात 101 सार्वजनिक उद्योग घाटे में चल रहे हैं। महोदय, 1995-96 में इनकी कून हानि 4,826 करोड़ रूपए रही। इनकी रूग्णता को कम करने हेतु कतिपय उद्योगों में निविनेश करने के लिए विनिवेश आयोग की स्थापना की गई जिसने 15 कंपनियों की पहचान करके कार्य आरंभ किया लेकिन यह इलाज कम प्रभावशाली रहा है ।

महोदय, भारत में बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में सब्सिडी दी जाती है - प्रत्यक्ष योजना व्यय की अंतर्गत राजसहायता या सब्सिडी का प्रावधान किया जाता है । महोदया, 1972-73 में सब्सिडी की राशि 140 करोड़ रूपए थी जो अब वर्तमान वित्त वर्ष में बढ़कर 18,251 करोड़ रूपए होने का अनुमान है। यदि इसमें राज्य सरकारों द्वारा दी जाने वाली सब्सिडियों को भी जोड़ दिया जाए तो यह उत्पाद का लगभग 15 प्रतिशत है। ध्यान देने योग्य बात यह है कि सब्सिडी अर्थव्यवस्था में विकृत्तियां पैदा करती हैं क्योंकि इसके लाभ समाज के उन वर्गो को नहीं मिल पाते जो इनके पात्र हैं। नयी सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली को लागू करने की प्रक्रिया में भी यही पैटर्न उजागर हो रहा है।

महोदय, केन्द्रीय सरकार की देय ऋण राशि में लगातार वृद्धि हो रही है। सन 1980-81 में जहां यह सकल घरेलू उत्पाद की 43.9% प्रतिशत थी, वहां 1996-97 में यह बढकर 53.4 प्रतिशत हो गई है। रूपयों में यह 6,68, 110 करोड़ रूपए थी। सरकार ने उदारीकरण के बहुत ढोल पीटे लेकिन मैं इस बात की ओर सदन का और सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षिक करना चाहता हं कि उदारीकरण के पश्चात नए ऋणों पर ब्याज दरों में वृद्धि से ब्याज-देयता में वृद्धि हुई है । सन 1996 में देश का कुल बाह्य ऋण 3,15,435 करोड़ रूपए था। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मानकों के अनुसार भारत को बाह्य ऋण बहुत अधिक है । इसमें राज्य सरकारें भी पीछे नहीं है। महोदय, 31 मार्च, 1997 को 25 राज्य सरकारों का कुल ऋण भार 1,42,227 करोड रूपए था । सरल शब्दों में कहं तो हमारे योजनागत और गैर-योजनागत व्यय को पूरा करने में घरेलू संसाधन अपर्याप्त है। अतः हमें कर्जी का सहारा लेना पड़ रहा है। अब आलम यह है कि एक वर्ष में लिए गए ऋण उस वर्ष के दौरान देय ब्याज भार को भी पूरा नहीं कर पाते हैं । ब्याज प्रतिबंद्धता का यह स्तर बड़ा खतरनाक है । चालू वित्त वर्ष के बजट में ब्याज के भूगतान के लिए 68,000 करोड़ रूपयों का प्रावधान किया गया है जो गैर-योजनागत व्यय का ४० प्रतिशत बैठता है।

महोदय, चिंता की बात यह है कि बढते हुए ब्याज भार में सरकारी खर्च का भुगताना ज्यादा है और निरंतर बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। सकल घेरलू उत्पाद के 5 प्रतिशत से भी कम भाग को सिर्फ ऋणों पर ब्याज के भुगतान के लिए रोकना कतई संतोषजनक नहीं कहा जा सकता। इसके चलते हम आर्थिक गुलामी की ओर बढते जा रहे हैं और इससे मुक्ति क लिए हमें दूसरा स्वाधीनता संग्राम शुरू करना पडेगा।

महोदया, पिछले ८ वर्षो से उदारीकरण की आड़ में वर्तमान एंव पिछली सरकार ने देश के अनेक क्षेत्रों को विदेशी निवेशकों के लिए खोल दिया है। इन क्षेत्रो में घरेलू उपयोग में आने वाली वस्तुएं भी है । ये विदेशी बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियां भुजिया, कॉर्नपलैक्स आदि के निर्माण में घुस गई है और शीतल पेय के क्षेत्र से भी भारतीय उत्पादकों का सफाया हो गया है। अतः बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों को इन क्षेत्रो तथा मास मीडिया के क्षेत्र में नहीं घुसने देना चाहिए । उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं का पूरा उत्पादन स्वेदशी होना चाहिए क्योकि –

# "स्वेदशी आन-बान शान है, विदेश जहर समान है"।

हां, आधारभूत ढांचे के विकास में जहां भारी निवेश की आवश्यकता है, बहुराष्ट्रीय एंव निजी कंपनियां को आमंत्रित किया जा सकता है पर भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था के हितों की उपेक्षा करके नहीं । सरकार की वर्तमान नीतियों में इस मौलिक परिवर्तन की महती आवश्यकता है । यदि ये परिवर्तन नहीं लाए गए तो हम आर्थिक गुलामी के शिंकजों में जकड़ जाएंगे जिससे आजाद होने के लिए हमें एक और स्वतंत्रता संग्राम की आवश्यकता पडेगी और कौन कह सकता है कि हम उसमें सफल हो ही जाएंगे? ऐसा संभव नहीं कि हम आर्थिक परतंत्रता के मार्ग से राजनैतिक परतंत्रता के दौर में पुनः प्रवेश कर जाएं ।

महोदय, अब मैं मूल ढांचागत विकास के कुछ विशिष्ट क्षेत्रों की वर्तमान दशा या दुर्दशा की ओर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। मांग और आपूर्ति में सर्वाधिक असुंतलन विद्युत उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में दिखाई देता है। यद्यपि हमारी प्रति व्यक्ति विद्युत खपत विश्व औसत 2,216 किलोवाट की तुलना में बहुत कम यानी मात्र 320 किलोवाट है तथापि हम इसे भी उत्पन्न करने में अक्षम रहे है । इसके अनेकानेक कारण है जिनसे हम भली-भांति परिचित हैं। अनुमानतः 78 प्रतिशत पन-विद्युत क्षमता का दोहन अभी तक नहीं किया जा सका है।

महोदय, नियोजित विकास के लगभग 50 वर्षों के बाद भी विद्युत उत्पादन की स्थिति इतनी भयंकर है कि बार-बार की जाने वाली कटौती मजाक का विषय बन गई है। जनरेटरों से इस कभी को दूर नहीं किया जा सकता। महोदय, आठवीं पचंवर्षीय योजना के दौरान विद्युत क्षमता वृद्धि में कमी के दुष्परिणाम नवीं योजनावधि में उजागर होंगे। अतः नवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना और सरकारी दोनों क्षेत्रों में विद्युत निवेश बढ़ाने की तत्काल आवश्यकता है।

यातायात के क्षेत्र में सड़क यातायात, जल यातायात और हवाई यातायात तीनों ही की दयनीय स्थिति है। सड़क यातायात में निरंन्तर वृद्धि हो रही है। पर इस क्षेत्र में विकास दर मात्र 10 प्रतिशत वार्षिक ही है और यह वाहन वृद्धि दर की दृष्टि से भी चिंताजनक है। सड़कों के अपर्याप्त नेटवर्क के फलस्वरूप परिवहन लागत में वृद्धि हुई । इससे भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था को अतंर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिस्पर्दात्मकता में धक्का लगा है । इस कारण हुई आर्थिक हानि प्रति वर्ष लगभग 300 बिलियन के लगभग है । राष्ट्रीय राजमार्गो की मुख्य सड़कों को सदृढ़ करने और क्षमता बढ़ाने की तत्काल आवश्यकता है। यही बात नौ-परिवहन एंव वायु परिवहन के बारे में भी कही जा सकती है । दूरंसचार के क्षेत्र की ओर झांके तो ज्ञात होता है कि 20 लाख लोग आज भी दूरभाष हेतु प्रतिक्षा सूची में है, जबकि प्रति 100 व्यक्ति मात्र 1.7 है । उधर विश्व में यह औसत 12 हैं । 6 में से तीन लाख गांवों मे अभी भी टेलीफोन नहीं पहुंचा है । एक प्रमुख आर्थिक विश्लेषक ने कहा है कि :-

"The Indian economy has reached a stage where infrastructural deficiencies are proving to be stumbling blocks to its future expansion. Plans to transform India into another Asian Tiger are bound to flounder because of the severe shortage of power, transport and communications".

महोदय, हमें आधारभूत ढांचे के विकास के लिए बड़े और क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाने होंगे। आने वाली बाधाओं से जूझना होगा। "हमारा भारत महान" का खोखला नारा पर्याप्त नहीं है । भ्रष्टाचार जो आर्थिक को दीमक की तरह से चाट रहा है उससे निपटने के लिए वास्तविकरूप से कारगर कदम उठाने होंगे। जनसंख्या नियंत्रण को अनिवार्य करना होगा और पूरे देश में समान नागरिक संहिता लागू की जानी चाहिये। साथ ही आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि हम कृषि को बढ़ावा दें । जैसा कि इस सिद्धांत को प्रतिपादित करने की आवश्यकता है। जैसा पहले कहा गया था कि – "उत्तम खेती मध्यम बान, अधम नौकरी भीख निदान। महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूं, सरकार को सावधान करना चाहता हं कि –

> "बच के आते हैं जो तूफानों से साहिल की तरफ, उनसे कह दो कि किनारों पै गहराई हैं।"

धन्यवाद ।

डा. (श्रीमती) उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल (गुजरात) : सर, आज हम आजादी की 50वीं स्वर्ण जयंती के महोदया पर मूल्यांकन करने बैठे हैं कि 50 साल में हमने क्या किया, क्या पाया, क्या करना चाहते थे, क्या कर पाए या नहीं कर पाए और जो आगामी साल है उसमें हम क्या करेंगे। सर, हम लोगों में यह भी सुनते हैं

कि छोटे-छोटे देशों का इतना विकास हुआ और हमारा इतना बडा देश और 95 करोड की आबादी लेते हए हम जहां हैं वहां ही हैं हमें क्या मिला है । उन लोगों को हम जरूर बता सकते हैं कि 50 साल में जो हमारे देश ने विकास किया है, तरक्की की है यह कोई कम नहीं है। यह चाहे उत्पादन के बारे में है, खेती के विकास के बारे में हैं या शिक्षा के बारे में हैं या आरोग्य की सुविधाओं की उपलब्धि के बारे में हैं , ऐसी बहुत सी बातें हम बता सकते हैं । लेकिन मेरे ख्याल से जो सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि हमारे देश की है वह लोक शाही के मल्यों की प्रस्थापना है। जो नींव हमने डाली है लोक शाही की, चाहे कितने भी अप्स एंड डाउंस हमारे समाज में आए हमारी लोक शाही दृढ़ ही रहेगी इसमें कोई शंका नहीं है। यह सबसे बड़ा योगदान हमारे 50 साल का है तो मेरे हिसाब से यह कोई कम बात नहीं है। वह भी लोग कहते हैं कि गांधी, नेहरू या सरदार के समय में जो मूल्यनिष्ठ राजकरण था और आज- "आया राम गया राम" की राजनीति चलती है,पक्ष पल्टा का राजकरण चल रहा है। अब मल्यों की बात रही ही नहीं है। भ्रष्टाचार की बातें ही सुनाई देती है और ऐसी बातें करते-करते हमारे राजकीय पक्षों और हमारे राजकीय नेतृत्व के प्रति अश्रद्धा खडी हुई है, विश्वास कम हो गया है । यह भी एक बात है । लेकिन हम यह भी कह सकते हैं कि जो लोकशाही की प्रणाली है, जो उसकी नींव है – जहां विचार स्वतंत्र हैं, वाणी स्वंतत्र है, अखबार स्वतंत्र हैं, मतदान करने वालों का आधिपत्य आज भी हमारे समाज में जिन्दा है। महोदय, कई ऐसे देश है जो हमारे साथ या हमारे आगे-पीछे स्वतंत्र हुए, जिन्होंने लोकशाही पद्धति को स्वीकार किया, आज वहां पर लोकशाही की जो नींव प्रस्थापित कर चुका है उसमें रूल आफ दी पीपल इस्टैब्लिश कर पाए हैं, उसमें रूल ऑफ लॉ इस्टैब्लिश कर पाए है। यह हमारी सबसे बड़ी सिद्धि है, यह मैं मानती हूं। हम जब बात करते हैं कि पार्लियामेंटेरियन की जिम्मेदारी , न्यायपालिका की जिम्मेदारी और प्रधान मंडल की जिम्मेदारी क्या है तो साथ में हमें यह भी सोचना जरूरी है कि नागरिक की, मतदाता की जिम्मेदारी क्या है? अतः इसके बारे में भी हमारे मतदाताओं को, नागरिकों को जागरूक करना जरूरी है। हम देखते हैं कि जब इलैक्शन होता हैतो मतदाताओं को वोट देने के लिए लाने में कितनी तकलीफ होती है और कितने परसेंट मतदान होता है। मतदान कहीं 50 परसेंट होता है, कहीं 35 परसेंट होता है, कहीं 25 परसेंट होता है और कहीं-कहीं तो इससे भी कम होता है। क्या उनकी यह जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि सही मायने में वोट दिया जाए? जब

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हम इलैक्शन के कायदे-कानूनों के सुधार की बात

अकेले गरीबी निवारण के प्रोग्राम से काम नहीं चलता है । अकेली ग्रान्ट्स से या सब्सिडी देने से समाज का उत्थान नहीं होता है । हम यह भी जानते हैं कि सब्सिडी का भार अर्थ-तंत्र पर पड़ता है और वह खुद अर्थ-तंत्र को खत्म कर देता है । हमें यह भी देखना चाहिए कि लोगों की जो विकास की भूख है, जो तडप है, और जो वे मांग कर रहे है, इसके बारे में क्या करना चाहिए ।

मुझे थोड़ा पब्लिक सेक्टर का अनुभव है और मैं इस संबंध में बातें कहना चाहूंगी । आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में करीब 60 हजार मेगावाट बिजली की आवश्यकता मानी गई थी, लेकिन प्लानिंग कमीशन ने 48 हजार मेगावाट की मंजूरी दी और फाइनेंशियल कंस्ट्रेन के कारण यह 48 हजार मेगावाट से कम की योजना कर दी गई तब बाद में 30 हजार मेगावाट पर आये। जब पांच साल पूरे हुए तो हमने देखा कि करीब 18 हजार मेगावाट के आसपास ही हम उत्पादन कर पाये । उस समय 48 हजार मेगावाट की मजूंरी दी और फाइनोशियल कंस्ट्रेन के कारण यह 48 हजार मेगावाट से कम की योजना कर दी गई तथा बाद में 30 हजार मेगावाट पर आये । जब पांच साल पूरे हुए तो हमने देखा कि करीब 18 हजार मेगावाट के आसपास ही हम उत्पादन कर पाये । उस समय 48 हजार मेगावाट का उत्पादन करने के लिए सोचा गया था लेकिन हम केवल 18 हजार मेगावाट का उत्पादन कर पाये । इस क्षेत्र में प्राईवेट सेक्टर का योगदान ज्यादा रहेगा यह मानकर प्लानिंग कमीशन ने उसके लिए जितना अलाटमेंट करना चाहिए था, वह अलाटमेंट नहीं किया। पावर एक ऐसी चीज है जिसके उत्पादन में ज्यादा खर्चा होता है और अब ऐसा माना जाता है कि नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में करीब डेढ लाख मेगावाट करने में करीब चार-पांच करोड रूपये लग जाते हैं तो यह हिसाब अगर हम डेढ़ लाख मेगावाट के लिए लगाए तो करीब 6 लाख करोड़ रूपये अकेले पावर सेक्टर में इन्वेस्ट करने की आवश्यकता पडेगी। हम पावर की डेढ़ लाख मेगावाट की आवश्यकता में से नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में कितना उत्पादन कर पायेंगे, इसके बारे में सोचना बहुत जरूरी है। मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठे हैं, बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि वे इस बारे में कोई रास्ता जरूर निकालेंगे । दुसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हं कि.....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): दूसरी बात नहीं, यह तीसरी और चौथी बात हो गई।

डा. (श्रीमती) उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल : मुझे जो गिनती आती है वही तो बताऊंगी । पावर प्रोजेक्ट को मान्यता देने का जो प्रोसेस है, मैं उसके बारे में भी कहूंगी । पावर प्रोजेक्ट का जेस्टेशन पीरिएड 4-5 साल का माना जाता है, इसके बाद इसके कंस्ट्रक्शन में 4-5 साल और लग जाते हैं । इस प्रकार अगर सब कुछ ठीक-ठाक चलता रहे तो एक मेगावाट पावर को आने में

कर रहे हैं तो यह भी सोचना जरूरी है कि जो नागरिकों के मतदान करने की जिम्मेदारी होती है, अगर मतदाता अपनी यह जिम्मेदारी न समझे तो हमें उनको वोट देने के लिए मजबूर करना चाहिए । वह वोट किसको दें, कौन-से व्यक्ति को दें, कौन सी पार्टी को दें, इंडीपेडेंट को दें, यह उनकी मर्जी है, लेकिन वोट देना हर नागरिक का फर्ज हैं। उसे यह फर्ज अदा करना चाहिए चाहे वह ब्लैक बैलैट पेपर डाल दे लेकिन उसका बैलेट बॉक्स तक आना और वोट डालना जरूरी है। यह भी सुधार करने की जरूरत है। दूसरी बात में यह कहना चाहूंगी कि लोगों की अपेक्षाएं बहुत बढ़ गयी है। इसमें कोई गलत बात है, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानती हूं, जितनी जागरूकता आती है, उतनी ही अपेक्षाएं बढती है और अपेक्षाएं बढाना कोई गलत बात नहीं है लेकिन मर्यादित साधनों से अपेक्षाओं की पूर्ति नहीं होती है, इसकी वजह से अंसतुष्टि बढ़ती है। इंदिरा जी के समय में, राजीव जी के समय में, नरसिंहराव जी के समय में और अन्य सरकारो के समय में गरीब -लक्ष्ययी कार्यक्रम गरीबी हटाओं के नारे साथ लगाए गए । उनका इम्प्लीमेटेशन भी हआ । अगर इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं होता और खाली बातें होती तो लोगों की इनमें श्रद्धा नहीं होती । लोगों को लगात था कि यह सरकार है जो गरीबी दूर करने की बात कर रही है लेकिन यह होते हुए भी जो तंत्र की शिथिलता थी, तंत्र की जो मर्यादाएं थीं, उसको भी राजीव जी ने स्वीकार किया था कि रूपये में से 15-20 पैसे केवल अंतिम व्यक्ति के पास पहुंचते हैं और बाकी का इधर-उधर खर्च हो जाते हैं। इसलिए आज जब हम मूल्यांकन करने बैठे हैं तो हमें यह बदलने की जरूरत है कि 20-25 परसेंट पैसे जो योजना के लिए खर्च किए जाते हैं। गरीब-लक्ष्ययी कार्यक्रम के लिए खर्च किये जाते हैं ।

म0 प0 7.00 इसके बजाय 80 से 85 प्रतिशत पैसा जिसके पास पहुंचना चाहिए वह उसके पास पहुंचे । ऐसा माहौल बनाने के लिए पार्लियामेंट को सोचना चाहिए, यह मैं मानती हूं । ऐसा कोई तंत्र भी खड़ा करना चाहिए कि हम जो पैसा किसी प्रोग्राम के लिए दे रहे हैं, चाहे वह पैसा ग्रान्ट्स के रूप में हो या स्कीम्स के लिए अलॉटमेंट के रूप में हों या सब्सिडी के रूप में दिया जाता हो, वह सरकारी पैसा जिस काम के लिए दिया गया है या जिस व्यक्ति के लिए दिया गया है वह उस काम पर खर्च होता हैस या नहीं होता है, वह उस व्यक्ति तक पहुंचता है या नहीं पहुंचता है तो इसकी मानीटरिंग करने के लिए कोई एक सिस्टम इवाल्व करना बहुत जरूरी है । लेकिन

9 से 10 साल का समय लग जाता है । अगर इसमें और कोई प्रॉब्लम आ जाये तो और भी ज्यादा साल लग जाते हैं । जैसा कि हमारी सरदार सरोवर या टिहरी योजना में या अन्य योजनाओं में हो रहा है। ऐसे ही 25-30 साल का समय निकल जाता है तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी किसकी है । इसका रीजन कुछ भी हो, चाहे कोई सोशल एक्टिविटी का रीजन हो, चाहे जुडिशियरी का रीजन हो, चाहे तंत्र की कोई गलती हो या और कोई भी रीजन हो, इसके बहुत से रीजन्स होते हैं। लेकिन प्राइस एक्सक्लेशन होता ही रहता है, होती ही रहता है और जो योजना 6-7 करोड की होती हैं वह पूरी होने तक 25-26 हजार करोड़ की हो जाती है। तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी, कहीं पिन प्वाइन्ट करने का कोई रास्ता होगा। यह डिस्क्रिशन पीरियड 5 साला का है, इसको कम करके डेढ-दो साल बनाने का कोई रास्ता हो सकता है? मैं यहां जहां तक जानती हं कि करीब 70-80 एजीन्सियों के पास यह प्रोजेक्ट मंजूर करवाने के लिए जाना पडता है और इसमें सबसे डिफिकल्ट है इन्वायरमेंट से निकलना । इसमें दो-तीन साल निकल जाते हैं । क्या हम कोई वन विन्डो क्लियरेन्स सिस्टम इवाल्व कर सकते हैं । जिससे इस समय को हम तय कर सके ।

ये बहुत बड़े इश्यूज हैं, इनके बारे में सोचना बहुत जरूरी है । यहां बताया गया एनर्जी कन्जर्वेशन के बारे में यह भी बहुत लम्बी-चौड़ी बात है लेकिन बहुत इम्पोर्टेन्ट बात है। इसी तरह से एनर्जी मैनेजमैंट भी बहुत बड़ी चीज है। मैं इसकी बहुत ज्यादा गहराई में नहीं जाना चाहती हूं लेकिन जरूर बताना चाहती हूं कि क्या हम विल्लेज इलैक्ट्रिक को-ऑपरेटिव बनाकर पंचायत लेवल तक दे सकते हैं? जब हमने डी-सैन्टलाइजेशन हर एक क्षेत्र में किया है तो क्या हम इलैक्ट्रिसिटी के डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन के बारे में डी-सैन्ट्रलाइजेशन पर विचार नहीं कर सकते हैं? मैं एक और बात भी बताना चाहती हूं कि जो हमारा फ्यूअल सिस्टम है और फ्युअल पॉलिसी है इसके बारे में भी पूनः विचार करना बहुत जरूरी है । गूजरात, राजस्थान में जो कोयला आता है थर्मल पावर स्टेशन के लिए, वह दो हजार किलोमीटर दूर बिहार से आता है। उसकी ट्रांस्पोर्ट कॉस्ट बढ़ जाती है और बीच में थ्रेष्ट भी होती है। गुजरात में जो गैस निकलती है उसे उत्तर प्रदेश ले जाया जाता है जो कि 1500 किलोमीटर दूर है। इसमें क्या इकनोमी पड़ी है, क्या सोच इसके पीछे पड़ी है? बिहार का कोयला गुजरात लायें और गुजरात की गैस उत्तर प्रदेश में लें जायें । क्या बिहार में थर्मल पावर स्टेशन बनाकर वहां से पावर को हम ट्रांस्मीट नहीं कर सकते? हमारे पावर ग्रिड तो बहुत एफिसिएन्ट माने

जाते हैं । अगर पावर ग्रिड का हम पूरा नेटवर्क बनाकर यह सब करे तो शायद ज्यादा सस्ते और कम खर्च में हम यह काम कर सकते हैं। इसी तहर गुजरात, राजस्थान में गैस बेस-पावर प्रोजेक्ट्स बनाकर वहां से हम बिजली पूरे देश में ट्रांस्पोर्ट कर सकते हैं । मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता है कि इतनी आसान बात सरकार की समझ में क्यों नहीं आती है? मंत्री जी जरा इसपर ध्यान देंगे तो बहुत अच्छा होगा ।

मेरी दूसरी बात इतनी इम्पोटेंन्ट हैं जोकि ट्रांन्समिशन डिस्ट्रिब्युशन के बारे में हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (मोहम्मद सलीम) ः** लेकिन आपको समाप्त करना पड़ेगा । जो-जो आपके प्वाइन्टस हैं वे बोल दें ।

डा. (श्रीमती) उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल ः ट्रान्समिशन डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन उतना ही इम्पोटेंन्ट हैं जितना पावर जनरेशन । मैं इसकी डिटेल में न जाकर दसरे सब्जेक्टड पर आऊंगी । जैसे पावर प्रोजेक्ट में करीब 65 प्रोजेक्ट इधर-उधर बन्द पड़े हैं और हमारे पास नार्दन बैल्ट में हाईडल एनर्जी की इतनी कैपेसिटी पड़ी है । जिसका हमने 24-25 परसेंट से ज्यादा यूटिलाइजेशन नहीं किया । ऐसा माना जाता है कि करीब 84 हजार मेगावाट हाईडल बिजली हम उत्पादित कर सकते हैं । इसकी प्लानिंग क्या है, सरकार क्या कर रही है, इसके बारे में भी सोचना बहुत जरूरी है । जैसे पावर प्रोजेक्ट हैं इसी तरह से और भी कई इन्डस्ट्रीज हैं, में बन्द पड़ी हुई है। मैं जहां सभी इंडस्ट्रीज का उल्लेख नहीं करना चाहती हूं। लेकिन इतना जरूर कहूंगी कि जो सिक यूनिट्स हैं खासतौर से जो टैक्सटाइल मिलस के सिक यूनिट्स है । इन सिक यूनिटस के बारे में सरकार गम्भीरपूर्वक नहीं सोच रही है। यह आजादी का पचासंवा साल है, स्वर्ण जयन्ती है । आजादी की लडाई में इन टैक्सटाइल मिलों के वरकर्स ने अपना पूरा योगदान दिया था। तीन-चार महीने तक वह मिल बंद रही और तनख्वाह नहीं मिली थी। इन लोगों ने देश के खातिर न खाया, न पिया, न अपने बच्चों की और फेमिली को देखा और देश के लिए उन्होंने काम किया । वे लोग पेंशन नहीं मांग रहे हैं । यह बात अलग है लेकिन जो लेजिटिमेंट है, रोजी-रोटी, वह उनको मिलनी चाहिए । इसके बारे में अगर इस साल सोचा जाए तो बडी खशी की बात होगी।

बी.आई.एफ.आर. की हमने व्यवस्था उपस्थित की है । लेकिन मैं नहीं जानती हूं कि कितनी मिलें बी.आई.एफ.आर. की ओर से चालू हुई है, कितने मजदूरों को फिर से काम मिला है? इस प्रश्न को सुलझाने के बजाए कम्पलीकेटेड बनाने का काम किया जा रहा है, ऐसा हमें लगता है तो इसके बारे में खासतौर पर सोचा जाए, यह बहुत जरूरी है।

दुसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हं कि जो इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर फैसिलिटीज हैं इसमें जितनी बिजली इम्पार्टेंट हैं, उतनी ही रोड़स भी इम्पार्टेट है। इसके बारे में मैं एक ही एक्जाम्पल देकर यह बात खत्म करना चाहंगी । रोडस का भी माडर्नाइजेशन होना जरूरी है। 7 फिट की रोड बहुत समय से चली आ रही है। आज बड़े बड़े इंडस्ट्रिलियस्ट मेगा इंडस्ट्री चला रहे हैं । इसमें कम्युनिकेशन की सुविधा भी बहुत जरूरी है । मैं जहां तक जानती हूं मुंबई और अहमदाबाद के बीच में जो फ्लाई ओवर बन रहा है, यह प्रोजेक्ट करीब पिछले 15 सालों से चल रहा हैं और 10 साल से बन्द पड़ा है यह कब शुरू होगा यह किसी को मालूम नहीं। पूरे देश में यही एक ऐसा रास्ता नहीं होगा, ऐसे कई छोटे-बडे रास्ते होंगे । जब हम विकास की बात करते हैं तो अगर एक रास्ता बनाने में हमें 15 साल लगेंगे तो वहां जो इंडस्टी आयेगी, उनके लिए जो माल चाहिए या जो प्रोडेक्ट वहां तैयार होगा, तो उसका ट्रांसपोर्ट हम कैसे करेंगे? कैसे इंडस्ट्री पनप पाएगी और इंडस्ट्री का विकास होगा तो ऐसी भी हमारे सामने प्राबलम हैं। महोदय, एक गांव से दूसरे गांवों तक जाने के लिए रास्ते नहीं है । इंटीरियर में जो गांव हैं वहां से तालुका टाउन को जोडने वाला कोई रास्ता नहीं है। मेन रोड से गांव के अदंर जाने का रास्ता, जिसको अप्रोच रोड कहते हैं यह होने जरूरी हैं । लेकिन यह भी अवेलेबल नहीं है। ऐसे कितने ही ट्राइबल विलेजेज हमारे यहां आज भी है जहां हम पहुंच नहीं पाते। हम लोगों से कहते हैं कि आप खेती का विकास करों । आप माडर्न टेक्रालाजी को यूटिलाइज करो, उत्पादन बढ़ाओं । यह साग-भाजी लगाता है, फ्रूट्स लगता है, केले पकाता है, टमाटर पकाता है। लेकिन वहां रास्ते तो हैं नहीं, ट्रांसपोर्ट तो हैं ही नही । इसलिए उसको उसका कोई लाभ नहीं मिल पाता । वे रोड़ पर जाते हैं लेकिन वहां उसके माल को उठाने वाला कोई नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए वह रोड पर अपना माल फेंक देता हैं कि जिसको लेना है, लो, चाहे मुफत में लों। यह स्थिति हमारे यहां है। ऐसे प्रश्नों को सुलझाने की जरूरत है।

जहां तक प्रायरिटीज का प्रश्न है। इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्करल फैसिलिटीज किस तहर से नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में देनी चाहिए इसके बारे में हमें सोचना चाहिए । जब हम

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प्लानिंग कर रहे हैं तो हमें दो-तीन बातें ध्यान में रखना बहुत जरूरी है कि हम नौंवी पंचवर्षीय योजना में क्या करना चाहते हैं । खेती का कितना विकास होगा, इंडस्ट्री का कितना विकास होगा, उद्योग कितने बढेगे और इसके लिए हमें कितनी इलेक्ट्रिसिटी चाहिए, पानी कितना चाहिए रोड कितनी चाहिए, विकास कितना चाहिए, यह सब सोचकर प्लानिंग करके अगर इसको इम्पलीमेंट करे तो यह उचित होगा । लेकिन जो सबसे बडी कमी अपने प्लानिंग की, मैं मानती हूं, वह यह है कि इसका कोई टाइम बांउड प्रोग्राम नहीं है। प्लानिंग होता है, फिर कब होगा, यह योजना खत्म, यह हम नहीं मानते हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) : उर्मिलाबेन जी,आपकी पार्टी से सात लोग बोल चुके हैं। आप आठवीं स्पीकर है। अभी एक और भी है। हमारी समय सीमा है, आपकी भी अपनी समय की सीमा होनी चाहिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

डा. (श्रीमती ) उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल : हमने प्लानिंग किया तो इसमें टाइम बांउड एस्पेक्ट भी होगा चाहिये, मोनिटरिंग भी होगी चाहिए कि जो प्लानिंग हुआ, उस प्लाना को किसी भी तरीके से हम साल्व कर पाएंगे । मैं दो तीन बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगी । प्लानिंग जब होती है तो उसमें तीन एक्सपेक्ट ध्यान में रखने चाहिये । एक नेशनल लेवल की प्लानिंग है जिसमें वह होता है कि राष्ट्र में क्या क्या विकास करना है और विकास करने के लिए क्या क्या जरूरी है । इस प्रकार की प्लानिंग आजकल चल रही है । दूसरा हमें विलेज लेवल से भी प्लानिंग करनी चाहिऐ । इतने गांव हैं जहां पंचायतें बनी है. पंचायतें अपनी गांव में प्लानिंग करे कि हमारे गांव की प्रायर्टीज क्या है और उनके गांव के विकास के लिए क्या क्या करना चाहिये। तीसरा प्लानिंग यह है कि जो अडंर प्रिविलेज्ड लोग हैं, कम्युनिटीज हैं, अंडर प्रिविलेज्ड एरियाज है उनको ज्यादा बढावा मिले, इसके लिए क्या करना जरूरी है । इसके लिए हमें टाइम बाऊंड प्लानिंग करनी चाहिए, मोनिटरिंग सिस्टम, बैलेंस्ड डवलपमेंट का ख्याल और प्लानिंग इन टोटलिटी, सभी वाजुओं पर विचार कर के सम्पूर्ण प्लानिंग करें, पीसपील प्लानिंग नहीं करें। इतनी बातों का ध्यान में रख कर प्लानिंग करें। मैं अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करते हुए आपको धन्यवाद देती हूं । मैंने थोड़ा ज्यादा समय लिया और आपने भी दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपकी आभारी हूं।

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity. This year we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our independence. We have deliberated upon what Gandhiji dreamt, what Pandit Nehru told about democracy, what the picture of democracy should be in India, what others have done and how the freedomfighters have sacrificed their lives. All these things have been discussed and deliberated upon at length. I would like to submit one or two areas where we have succeeded after attaining independence. Once I was reading a written speech of one of the Congress Presidents, Shri D.C. Dass. He criticised Rabindra Nath Tagore. Everybody must be knowing it. He said, "Before you invite a guest, you must be having a source of selfdependence to welcome that guest; otherwise: you should not invite him." It was a written speech. There was some criticism about it also. I would like to know whether we have achieved that goal for which we fought. When we attained freedom, the whole country was in a mess and we were fully dependent on others. In India literal cy rate was 18.3 per cent. Still we have not been able to achieve that target. Still SO per cent of our population is illiterate. It is shameful on our part that we could not educate our women. In India two-thirds of our women are still illiterate and one-third of our population is illiterate. Sir, you will be surprised to know that 135 million people in this nation have no access to basic health facilities. Two hundred and twenty-six million people have no access to drinking water. We have been talking much. As far as power is concerned, we do not have enough power. As far as health facility is concerned, we do not have anything. As far as infrastructure is concerned, I would first say that if you talk about infrastructure, we must talk much about education. We have planned Black Board Operations and other things. But we could not reach the target so far. Unless we educate the nation or we educate the whole population, I do not think that we will be able to cope with the particular dream of Dr. Ambedkar. Right of equality and all these things are there. But so far as

unparalleled demand of certain castes and sections of society for reservation is concerned, I would like to say that we have not vet been able to provide ample opportunities to the depressed or oppressed classes of society. I would say education is the basic need and if we can educate the people, they can have their own resources. We have talked much about the increase in population. Increased population is not a burden to the nation. If anyone says that it is a burden, I will not agree to it. We have not known to utilize manpower. We could see that as far as the progress of our nation is concerned, we stand the second largest nation in export of software and hardware. Preparing software is the result of manpower. We are the second largest nation as far as that export is concerned. That way I am not against economic globalisation. But there are some dangers also. About danger, I was referring to an article written by Michael Zurn from Germany. He has written a very good thing. I auote.

"Our way of running the earth and life on it must be changed fundamentally if widespread human mis-ery is to be avoided and our global home on this planet is not to be irreparably mutilated." Further he says about the danger on the globalisation also. About the danger on the globalisation he says, I quote "In approaching the question of global dangers, if danger exists, what can be done about it?" In my view there are four groups of global dangers to be distinguished. First, environmental damage induced by wealth. Second, environmental damage induced by poverty. Third, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the fourth, is the effect of the failure of development to catch up. I am not against globalisation but these dangers are to be observed, rather to be guarded against? I remember one particular William Kafka, who once sociologist, wrote in a letter and I quote, "This is an age through which we are passing, where the human thrust is that everyone would

like to be a multi-millionaire overnight." If this type of thrust continues, to prevail among the people of the world corruption will prevail in the world. Not only that, if the world has to have green revolution, instead of that it will have to face bloody revolution. I would like to submit one thing. As far as the thrust of people of becoming multi-millionaires overnight is concerned, it is nothing new nowadays. We could find prevalence of corruption among politicians also. I am not quoting any particular personality who is involved in corruption. But this thrust has entered the minds of the politicians those who are supposed to protect the country, our nation. If this thrust is going to be continued in the minds of our people, I don't think we will be able to realise the dreams of our freedom fighters, dreams of people like Gandhiji, Nehruji and of those who sacrificed their lives for the cause of independence. Yesterday Mr. Chaliha was talking about the third gen\* eration and about his experience in the freedom struggle. My father, grandfather, grandmother and two uncles were in jail once. I don't know I am lucky or unluckly, fortunate or unfortunate. I cannot say anything about it. But I saw my father when I was about one-and-a-half years old.

So far as the question of development of the nation is concerned, we are lagging behind. It does not mean to say that we have not done anything after attaining independence. But we have to compete with the world. In the last 50 years, we have done many things. We have several achievements to our credit. We have provided for fundamental rights to out people. Our Constitution has been pro. vided for this. Our Constitution is a symbol of unity in diversity. At the same time, I want to say one thing. It is an age where we have to compete with the world, where we have to tell the world that we are competent and that we are a power to be reckoned with. If we run like a rolling cart, I don't think we will be able to compete with the world in any aspect. Let it be education, economy or

infrastructure. Lastly, I want to say that in India there are many projects which are there. Mr. Alagh is here. We are lugging behind so far as energy is concerned. We can complete many pending hydel power projects by giving first preference to them. We have projects like Narmada, Tehri, etc. Water flown is not being utilised. Let these projects be regarded as national projects and let us complete them as soon as possible.

There are many things which I want to say. Because of the constraint of time, I will not deal with them. But I would say that our plans have to have a certain duration, say a minimum of 10 years. Let us say that in ten years India is going to do this, or attain this much progress in areas where we are lagging behind so that India can stand first among the comity of nations. We are number two in so far as manpower is concerned.

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

श्री खान छफरान जाहिदी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूं कि आपका कि आखिरी वक्ता के तौर पर मुझे मौका मिला और मैं बोल रहा हूं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम**) **:** क्यों आप अपने को आखिरी में समझते हैं?

**श्री खान गफरान जाहिदी** ः नहीं ...... ...(व्यवधान)...,

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी , आजादी के पचास साल परे होने पर आज हम एक जायजा ले रहे हैं कि हम कितना आगे बढे, कितना बढना चाहिए था, क्या हमारी मंजिलें थी, क्या टागेट रखे गए थे और हम क्यों पिछडे, हम मॉशी तौर पर, आर्थिक तौर पर कितना आगे बढ़े, ऐसा महसूस होता है कि पंचास साल में पचास कदम जरूर बढे हैं । जब हम यहां के होटलों की आबादी देखते हैं, बडे-बडे होटलों के लाखो-लाख रूपये के बिलों की अदायगी देखते हैं जब हम ट्रेन के ए.सी. क्लास में लोगों का रिजर्वेशन के लिये भागते हुए देखते हैं, जब हम हवाई जहाजों के सफर के लिए लगी हुई कतारो को देखते हैं तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हम 50 कदम जरूर आगे बढ़े हैं, उतना तो नहीं बढ़े जितने के हम ने टार्गेट रखे थे, जो मंजिलें तय की थी, लेकिन जितने हम बडे थे उतने ही हम समाजी लिहाज से, सिवासी लिहाज से बहुत पीछे

चले गए। हमारी कद्र गिर गयी, हमारी सोच बदल गयी, हम करप्शन की तरफ बढ़ने गलें। जैसा कि हमारे साथी ने कहा कि ओवर-नाइट करोड़पति बनने का शौक हमें लग गया और जैसे कि यूरोप में इंडस्ट्रलाइजेशन हुआ तो वहां हजारों बुराइयां आई, उन में से कुछ बुराईया हम ने अपने अदंर ले लीं क्योंकि बुराइयों की तरफ हमारी लपक ज्यादा थी।

मान्यवर मैं आंकडों में नहीं जाना चाहता । मेरा यह मानना है कि कागज पर ही ज्यादातर आंकडे पुरे हो गए, लेकिन सच्ची बात यह है कि चाहे मजदूर का मामला हो, चाहे गरीबी रेखा का मामला हो, चाहे तालीम के मामले में बहुत आगे बढ़ने की बात हो, हम ने और हमारी आजादी को लाने वाले हमारे बुजूर्गो ने, हमारे पूर्वजों ने नक्शा शुरू का बहुत बेहतरीन बनाया, इंफ्रास्ट्रच्कर भी अच्छा था कि कितना हमें एनर्जी में आगे बढ़ना है, कितना रोड़स में आगे जाना है, कितना स्कूल और बनाने हैं, कितने अस्पताल बनने हैं, कितने कारखाने बनने हैं – सारी चीजें प्लान की गयी और सब कुछ हिसाब से चलना शुरू हुआ, लेकिन तरक्की की सारी रफ्तार आबादी की तेज रफतारी में ऐसी डूब गयी कि आज हम हाथ-पैर फड़फड़ा रहे हैं और जो मंजिलें हम को पानी चाही थी, वह नहीं पा रहे हैं। यह एक सामने की चीज है और इस को साबित करने के लिये कोई आंकडों को पेश करने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप महसूस करें, संच्ची बात यह है कि कोई सरकार और कोई प्लानिंग कामयाब ही नहीं हो सकती, माननीय मंत्री जी भी बैठे हुए हैं, जब तक की पीपूल्स का इनवॉल्वमेंट एट ए बिगर लेवल न हो । महोदय, वह इनवॉल्वमेंट जिस अंदाज का होना चाहिए था वह नहीं हो पा रहा है । इसलिए कि उन को आसानियां प्राप्त नहीं हो रही हैं कहीं इंस्पेक्टर राज है, कहीं लाइसेंस राज है और कहीं किसी और चीज का राज है। नतीजा यह है कि हम आगे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं और पीपुल्स इनवॉल्वमेंट नहीं हो रहा है। मैं पीपुल्स इनवॉल्वमेंट की बात इसलिए कह रहा हूं क्योंकि आज भी स्कूलों की तादाद, प्राइमरी नहीं कानवेंट स्कूल, हाइस्कूल, इंटरमीडिएट, यूनिवर्सिटीज, यूनिवर्सिटीज के रिसंर्च सेंटर्स – अगर ये सारी चीजें देखों जाएं तो आजादी से पहले तो इन का 1 और 10 का रेशियों था क्योकि अंग्रेज एजुकेशन नहीं चाहता था और अगर कही एक सरकारी हाइस्कूल बना हुआ था तो उस समय 9 हाइस्कूल आवाम ने, जनता ने बनाए थे। कहीं डी. ए.वी. कॉलेज बने हुए थे, कहीं इस्लामिया कॉलेज बने हुए थे और कहीं खालसा कॉलेज बने हुए थे और आजादी के बाद भी पीपुल्स इनवॉल्वमेंट रहा इसके लिए हमें उन्हें

मुबारकवाद देना चाहिए । वे काफी चले, लेकिन जितना होना चाहिए था, वह नहीं हआ क्योंकि हम ने लॅर्ड मैकाले के सिस्टम ऑफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को इतना जड़ से पकड़ना शुरू किया कि लोग पढ़ना चाह रहे थे, लेकिन पड़ नहीं पा रहे थे। इसके बावजूद आज मैं इस जगह से खड़े आप के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को 50 साल की आजादी की सालगिरह पर मुबारकवाद देना चाहता हंकि उस ने तमाम दिक्कतों और दुश्वारियों के बावजूद अपने तौर पर इतनी तरक्की हासिल की जिस के लिए हम सभी को उन्हें मुबारकबाद देनी चाहिए कि इतनी हम सभी को उन्हें मुबारकवाद देनी चाहिए कि इतनी तरक्की बढ़-चढ़कर की है उन्होंने आगे बढ़-चढ़कर की है। महोदय, आज भी दो-तिहाई हाई स्कूल आवाम के हैं। यूनिवर्सिटीज तो नहीं क्योंकि सरकारी यूनिवर्सिटीज होती है लेकिन रिसर्च के बहुत से सेंटर्स आवाम के हाथों में हैं, एम.बी.ए. उन के हाथ में है । इतनी सारी चीजें वह कर रहे हैं और हम को खुश होना चाहिए कि आवाम हमारे साथ जुडकर चल रहा है।

मान्यवर, मैं एक-एक बात कहकर मुख्तसरन अपनी बात कहना पसदं करूंगा क्रेडेबिलिटी गैप बहुत बढ़ा हुआ है। प्लानिंग के एवरेज फेल हो गए। अभी रूल आफॅ लॉ की बात हमारे किसी साथी ने कही। सरकारी कारखानों के लिए कोई रूल नहीं। मान्यवर, मॉडल होता है गवर्नमेंट हाइस्कूल और जब मॉडल गड़बड़ हो जाये तो जनता का मॉडल तो वैसे ही गड़बड़ हो जाएगा । मान्यवर, आप तो बंगाल के हैं । ऑडिर्नेंस फैक्टरी का सिलसिला तो वहीं से स्टार्ट हुआ है। भोपाल गैसकांड हुआ, कहा गयाकि सेफ्टी ऑफिसर्स रखे गए मान्यवर, वहां तो मुकदमें दायर हो गए कारखानेदारों के खिलाफ । मान्यवर, वहां तो मुकदमें दायर हो गये कारखानेदारों के खिलाफ और आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरी, जहां 10-15 केमिकल्स बनते हैं, बम बनते हैं और लोग मरते भी है, वहां सेफ्टी आफिसर नहीं रखे गये, उनको स्टेटस नहीं दिया गया, उनको कानून को दायरे में नहीं लाया गया, यह कोई बात है अपने लिए कानून और दसरों के लिए कानून और यह है क्रेडिब्लिटी गैप, कहा गया कुछ और ओर कुछ और यह क्रेडिब्लिटी गैप क्रिएट कैसे हुआ? इसलिए कि हमने चौतरफा फैसला नहीं लिया, एकतरफा फैसला हुआ, मिक्सड इकॉनामी का फैसला हुआ उससे पहले बेसिक इंडस्ट्री का इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर का फैसला हुआ । हमारे आदरणीय प्रणव मुखर्जी जी ने इन्फ्रास्ट्रच्कर पर आज सुबह भाषण दिया, उसके आगे मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है, सिर्फ उसकी जो कमियां रह गई है, उनकी तरफ हम देखने जा रहे हैं मिक्सड इकॉनामी आई, मिक्सड़ इकॉनामी

% के बाद ग्लोबलाइजेशन आया और सारा सिलसिला उस तरफ चलने लगा जब हमने पब्लिक सैक्टर का सिलसिला शुरू किया, हवाई जहाज बनाने का फैसला हमारे लिये ठीक है, रेल तो चल रही थी अब हवाई जहाज हमारे उडने लगे। लेकिन हम होटल भी अपने बनाएंगे, हलवाई की दुकान भी रखेंगे, स्कस्ट्रौइज्म ऐवरी टाइम। पब्लिक के जो काम थे, उनकी तरफ जब अमल दखल हुआ, नतीजा हमारा नुकसान हुआ यह क्रेडिब्लिटी के हक में नहीं था।

पीपल्स इनवाल्वमेंट की बात मैंने आपसे कही, कभी अपनी इकॉनामी पर गौर करना हो, मान्यवर, तो पड़ोस के मुल्कों में जाया जाए और एक राउंड लगाकर आया जाए। हमें खुशी है और हमारा दावा है कि हमारे मुल्क की इकॉनामी बहुत अच्छी है और हमने बहुत कुछ किया है । हमारी सरकारें जो थीं शुरू की और आखिर तक जो आई हैं, उन्होंने बहुत कुछ किया है। आज थोड़ी महंगाई बढ़ गई, इन्फलेशन है यह जो थोडी तबदीली हुई उसकी वजह से दिक्कत हो रही है। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि अगर एक तिहाई आमदनी का खाने पर खर्च हो और एक तिहाई सेहत व तालीम पर और इस तरह की चीजों पर खर्च हो और एक तिहाई डेवलपमेंट पर हो, यदि हम लिहाज से हो तो वह बहुत बेहतर इकॉनामी होगी । आज दूसरे मुल्कों में आप जाइए, तनख्वाहें बड़ी-बड़ी हैं, खाने पर दो तिहाई हिस्सा जाएगा, ऐश का सामान सस्ता मिलेगा, गन्ने का रस महंगा मिलेगा, यह में इंडोनेशिया की बात कह रहा हूं वहां 500 रूपया, वहां का रूपया कम कीमत का होता है, शराब की जो बोतल 500 रूपए में यहां मिलती है वह 50 रूपए में इंडोनेशिया में हैं और गन्ने का रस का गिलास 200 रूपए में मिलता है , जो एक गिलास हमारे यहां चवन्नी या अठन्नी में मिलता है । जब कभी बाहर के मल्कों में जाएं तब कहीं हमें अहसास होता है मैं तो जब भी किसी गैर देश में गया, मान्यवर, 24 घंटे कें अदंर मैंने सोचना शुरू कर दिया कि जहाज का टिकट बुक कराकर फौरन वापस अपने घर चलो, वरना ऐसा न हो कि शेरवानी भी बिक जाए और सामान भी बिक जाए। अपने यहां से बाहर निकलकर देखिए तब आपको यह महसूस होगा। हमारा मुल्क तरक्की की रफ्तार में आगे बढ़ा है और आज भी हमारे खान-पान और तमाम चीजों के दाम ऐसे बंधे हुए हैं कि हम अपने हिसाब से चल पा रहे हैं। हमारे पैसे की कीमत कम हो रही है, इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ रहा है, इसके कंट्रोल के लिये जो साधन किए जा रहे हैं, वे अपना असर दिखा रहे हैं।

मान्यवर, मैं एक स्टेटस की बात कहना चाहता हूं, शायद हमारे जो और साथी हैं उनको भी यह बात पसंद आए । हम किस स्टेज में है – डेवलप्ड स्टेज में हैं सारे मुल्क में या डेवलपिंग स्टेज में हैं? दूसरे मुल्कों से मुकाबला करने से पहले हमको सोचना है इस बारे में हमारे मुल्क की दो तिहाई आबादी यकीनी तौर पर यह महसस करती है कि हम विकसित हो गए हैं यह भावना है । यहां पर हर इस्तेदाद के लोग मौजुद हैं,जरा बताएं कि बिजली की पूर्ति के बारे में हमारा कैसा इत्मिनान है? जब बिजली घरों से चली जाती है तो आज हम लालटेन की तलाश करते हैं. लैम्प की तलाश करते हैं । क्या हमने डेवलपिंग स्टेज की स्थिति को समझाते हुए अपने लोगों में अपने साथियों में,अपने आवाम में यह बात बता दी कि आपको डेवलपिंग स्टेज में क्या-क्या काम करना है? अगर नहरें नहीं है तो आपको तालाब भी बनाने होंगे, पुरानी तरह के कुए भी चलाने होंगे, अगर बिजली नहीं है तो आपको अपने लैम्प भी बरकरार रखने होंगे । लालटेन किस-किस के घर में हैं? आज मैं खुद से सवाल करता हूं और लोगों से पूछता हूं कि बिजली गई चार-चार घंटे, बैठे हुए हैं आंखें बदं किए हुए, क्या हम डेवलपिंग स्टेज या डेवलप्ड स्टेज में हैं? हम नहीं कंटोल कर पा रहे हैं जितना डेवलपमेंट होना चाहिए जितनी एनर्जी होनी चाहिए, वह हम नहीं कर पाए हैं। हमारी परेशानियां है। हमारी लगाने में फेल हो जाता है कि इतने बच्चे अगर इंटरमीडिएट में पास होंगे. तो उनमें से कितने इंजीनियर्स बनेंगे, कितने डॉक्टर्स बनेंगे और वे कहां ऐडजस्ट होंगे । आज स्कूल और कालेज बेतहाशा बढ रहे हैं लेकिन छात्रों का ऐडजस्टमेंट नहीं हो रहा है।आज पढे-लिखे लोग बेरोजगा हो रहे हैं और इसलिए वे बाहर जा रहे हैं । इसलिए मैनपावर प्लानिंग जो बहुत महत्वपूर्ण आईटम था, उसमें हम फेल हो रहे हैं, इस तरफ हमको गौर करना चाहिए ।

मान्यवर, आज इस बहस में हिस्सा लेते हुए मुझे खुशी होते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि –

"तुम्हारा नजरिया कुछ हो हमारा तजुर्बा यह है, अगर दिल में बुराई है, नजर अच्छी नहीं"।

जब हमने राजनीति के ऐगिल से विकास को देखना शुरू किया, तब हमको परेशानी के दौर से गुजरना पड़ा। पांच साल के बाद जब नयी-नयी सरकारें आई, मैं किसी दल पर आक्षेप नहीं कर रहा हूं, सरकार अपोजीशन की हो, 5 साल रहे, हमें खुशी होगी लेकिन जब जल्दी-जल्दी सरकारों को गिरना है तो प्लानिंग कहां रहेगी? एक सरकार को 6 महीनेके लिए चल रही है बिल्कूल तय करके, ठेके के हिसाब से। तो कैसे चलेगा प्लान? एक साल का बजट बना भी दिया लेकिन 5 साल का प्लान कैसे चलेगा? तो सरकार की उम्र और प्लानिंग कमीशन की उम्र ओर उसके प्लान, इनका सामंजस्य होना जरूरी है तभी फैसला होता है और तभी काम आगे बढ़ता है । इसलिए राजनैतिक स्टेबिलिटी जरूरी है। कांग्रेस की स्टेबिलिटी के दौर में जितने प्लान बने, आज जो कुछ नजर आ रहा है, वह उन्हीं प्लानों का परिणाम है और हमें उसकी खुशी है । आपको हमारी उपलब्धियों को कबूल करना चाहिए और आगे के लिए सोचना चाहिए कि हमें क्या करना चाहिए क्या इकनॉमिक सिस्टम में हमें कोई तब्दीली लानी चाहिए. प्लानिंग के सिस्टम में कोई तब्दीली लानी चाहिये ? इन चीजों पर हमें बहुत संजीदगी के साथ गौर करना पडेगा।

मान्यवर, चूकि वक्त कम है, क्या किया जाए, इस पर दो-चार बातें संक्षेप में कहना चाहता हूं कि मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं ले रहा हूं, बहुत तेजी से बोल रहा हूं टेलीग्राफ की जबान इस्तेमाल कर रहा हं वरना मै बहुत अहिस्ता-अहिस्ता बोलता हूं । महोदय, ब्लैक मनी का मिस्टम हमारे पूरे मुल्क को खाए जा रहा है। इसके लिए कभी-कभी प्लान बनता है कि आप अपना पैसा घोषित कीजिए। चूंकि सरकार में क्रेडिबिलिटी गैप हो गया है, डर के मारे जनता बताती नहीं हैकि एक मस्तबा पैसा दे दिया तो रोज पकड़े जाएंगे। इसके लिए कोई स्पैशल प्लान बनना चाहिए । हाऊसिंग एक सब्जैक्ट है जिस पर हमारी सरकार को गौर करना चाहिए । इजिप्ट में जमाल अब्दुल नासिर सदर थे । वहां कई बार के बाद बहत पैसा हो गया तो उन्होंने एक फैसला किया । दरिया-ए-नील के किनारे ब्लैक-मनी बोरों में भरी मिलती थी। उन्होंने कहा कि वन रूम स्यूट, टू रूम स्यूट और थ्रोरूम स्यूट के ये रेट होंगे। जहां से भी पैसा लाओ, लगा तो लेकिन ये रेट हम वसूल हो जाएगी । 20-25 साल में वह पैसा आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता बाहर आएगा, तब हम मालिकान को आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता वह पैसा वापस करेंगे और और वह मिल्कियत हो जाए । सरकार की और वह रेट चलता रहेगा । इस तरह उन्होंने एक ''फेजवाईज प्लान'' बनाया ताकि इन्फलेशन का असर न पडे। इस तरह की कोई स्कीम हमें भी शुरू करनी चाहिए ताकि ब्लैक-मनी बाहर निकल सके और एक मार्ग बाहल हो सके । अभी तो ब्लैक-मनी के जरिए एक पैरलल इकॉनमी चल रही है , इसको खत्म करने की जरूरत है ।

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मान्यवर, हम तो जम्हूरियत में है, खुश है । इस हिंदुस्तान में, हमारे अपने मुल्क में 50 साल से जो कांस्टीट्यशनल ऑब्लीगेंशस हैं, उनको उन सरकारों ने पुरा करने की कोशिश की है जो तब से आज तक सत्ता में रही है लेकिन नेशनल एजेंडा जो कांस्टीटयुशन ने प्रोवाइड किया था इक्वैलिटी बराबरी का, क्या वह इक्वैलिटी का एजेंडा पूरा हो रहा है? क्या 100 कमरों के मकान में 25 कमरे या 50 कमरे रोशनी से महरूम तो नहीं रह गये है? यह भी देखना होगा। गांधीजी ने कहा था कि अगर किसी मुल्क की इकानॉमी को देखना है यह अच्छी है या बुरी है तो उस मुल्क में जाकर देखों । अगर वहांकी मॉयनोरिटी खुश है, इकॉनोमिकली वैल-आफ है, एज्यूकेशनली सैट हैं तो आप समझ लीजिए कि उस मुल्क की इकॉनोमी अच्छी है, हमें उस तरफ भी गौर करना होगा । यह बहत बनियादी चीज है । तीसरा, रिकवरीकी बात है, हमें अफसोस के साथ कहना पडता है कि हमारे अवाम ने, पीपूल इंवोल्वमेंट की बात में, कहता हूं अवाम ने पूरी तरह इसको समझा नहीं। क्या बिजली की चोरी बदं हो गई ? आज खुलकर बात करनी चाहिए हमको इस जगह से। क्या नहरें काटनी बदं हो गई हैं? में एक जगह एम.एल.ए की हैसियत से गया एक शिकायत मिली की उस फलां गांव में दो आदमी तार से लग्गी लगाएं हुए हैं । जिन्होंने मुझसे शिकायत कि उनकी शिकायत पर मैं चला गया डी. एम. के यहां जो एक के यहां वहां बिजली स्क्वायड बैठा हुआ था। उस ने धावा मार दिया और यह पाया। वहां दो ही आदमी मीटर लिए हुए थे, बाकी जितने लोग थे सब के सब लग्गी लगाए हुए थे। तो मेरी शिकायत बेकार हो गई मैने शिकायत की और मेरे तो सब वोट चले गए, हम बरबाद हो गए । मैंने आपसे कहा कि किस-किस जगह पर हमें अवाम को मॉरेलिज्म की तरफ ले जाना पडेगा, और समझाना पडेगा । आज हमारे यहां एक और महात्मा गांधी की जरूरत है। एक ऐसे आदमी को आना पडेगा, ऐसा नेतत्व हमारे पास आना चाहिए तो बता सके कि सच्चाईयां क्या हैं, हमारी जिम्मेदारियां बहैसियत बोटर, बहैसियत शहरी क्या हो सकती है। रिकवरी की पोजिशन हमारे मुल्क की सबसे बदतरीन पोजिशन हैं । शायद एशिया के तमाम मुल्कों में ऐसा नहीं होगा जो हमारे यहां है यानी 35 परसेंट से लेकर बिजली की रिकवरी। कहीं 35 हैं, कहीं 40 हैं, नहीं 45 है । अफसोस का मुकाम है। मान्यवर, सउदी अरेबिया में हंड्रेड परसेंट पानी की रिकवरी है। सिविक एमिनिटीज आप देख लीजिए क्या है? वह कहते हैं कि नहीं, आप पहले पैसा जमा कर दीजिए उतना प्रति हाउस, बिजली ले लीजिए और हर बैंक को बिजली पानी का पैसा जमा करना होता है तथा

आने वाली थी। हार्ट पर जो बायपास सर्जरी होती है, इससे बचाने के लिए एक इनोवेशन अमेरिका में हुआ है । बॉयपास की सर्जरी न होकर उस मशीन के प्रेशर से ठीक करते हैं पर एक साल से यह मामला पडा हआ है. उस पर डिसीजन नहीं हुआ। क्यों डिसीजन नहीं हो पाया? नो प्रोग्रेम, नर्थिग । एक साल से डिसीजन पेंडिंग है । जो जिस्म का हिस्सा कट जाता है, या आपरेशन की वजह से काटा जाता है, कमजोर हो जाता है चाहे वह कितना ही तंदुरूस्त आदमी क्यों न हो । बॉयपास के बगैर ऐसे ही ऊपर से प्रैशर देकर तीन दिन के अदंर बॉयपास का सारा काम मशीन पुरा कर रही है । ऐसी मशीनों के मामले में डिले – यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है । यह डिले "इन डिसीजन" की परिधि में आता है । मान्यवर, अब आखिरी बात कहकर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करूंगा । मैं लॉ ऑर्डर की पोजीशन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं । हमारा मुल्क तीन बड़ी जंगो से गुजर गया । यह हमारे मुल्क की दिक्कत हैं कि हम पचास कदम आगे बढे वरना नौ कदम बढ गये होते । चीन और पाकिस्तान के हमले और फिर हमारे टैरिस्ट और आए दिन के फसाद हंगामें, हमारे अदंर दाखली परेशानियां और बाहरी हमले ऐसी हालत में हमारा मुल्क अमन और शांति से तरक्की की ओर कैसे बढता इस पर सोचा जाए। तरक्की के कॉज के लिए अमन और शांति की जरूरत है, इत्तहाद की जरूरत है, समाजी एकता की जरूरत है । जब घर के चार सगे भाई अगर आपस में लड पडे तो मान्यवर आप अच्छी तरह से समझ सकते हैं एक कहें ''देवबन्दी'' होकर कि मस्जिद यहां बनेगी और दूसरा कहे बरेलवी होकर कि मस्जिद यहां, बनेगी और दूसरा कहे बरेलवली होकर कि मस्जिद नहीं, यहां अस्पताल बनेगा तो उन जमीन पर कुछ भी नहीं बन सकता। यह मुल्क जहां कई मजहब है, यह मुल्क जहां कई फिरके रहते हों, यह मुल्क जहां कई जुबाने बोली जाती हों, यह मुल्क जहां क्षेत्र के तमाम इलाके अलग-अलग हों, उस मुल्क में अगर समाजी एकता और अमन नहीं होगा तो तरक्की की माशल कैसे जल सकती है। स्कूल बनने पर मंदिर बनाने में, कारखाना लगे पर किस जगह लगें, इस पर झगडा है, जातीय टकराव है, अम्बेडकर गांव बनने लगे हैं, गांधी गावों में अब काम बदं हो गये हैं – यह सब क्या पनपने में अब काम बदं हो गये हैं – यह सब क्या पनपने के तरीके हैं? इनको दूर करने के लिए हमें आज दलगत राजनीति से ऊपर उठकर बात करने की जरूरत है । आप देखिए कि टैररिज्म की वजह से पंजाब कहां गया, असंम कहां गया, कश्मीर का क्या हआ, कितना लोन आपने दिया? यह वक्त आया है पचास साल का जायजा लेने के बाद कि इन तीन-चार सुबों को, जहां पर करोड़ो-करोड़ो रूपया दिया गया, लेकिन टैरस्टिस के

हंड्रेड परसेट रिकवरी है। आज अगर हम ऐसा कर दे तो वह सरकार जो ऐसा करेगी शायद दूसरे दिन नहीं रहेगी इसलिए कि बहुत बड़े भ्रम में हम लोग पडे हुए हैं, यानी हम को भी सबको सब कुछ बताना होगा । हमको आज इन लाईनों पर इसलिए बोलना पड रहा है कि हम सियासी सतह से हटकर आज बात कर रहे हैं और 50 साल का जायजा ले रहे हैं। तो हम 50 साल आगे बढे माशी तौर पर लेकिन 25 कदम पीछे हटे समाजी तौर पर और इनसानी कद्रों के लिहाज से हम इंसान बेहतर नहीं बना पाए क्या हमारी मजबूरी थी? इसलिए जब इकतिसादी इंकलाब आएगा तो यह होगा । मान्यवर, एक बात कहकर खत्म करूंगा और वह बहुत जरूरी है। प्लानिंग में चौतरफा विकास की बात क्यों की गई है । अगएर हमारे पास नीचे इंफ्रास्ट्रच्कर है बेसिक इंफ्रास्ट्रच्कर है करेक्टर को हमें बनाना था हमको यह करना चाहिए था। अभी हमारे किसी साथी ने यह बात कही कि 100 करोड किसी प्रोजक्ट का प्रस्ताव था। 100 करोड कोई प्रोजेक्ट आज तक 100 करोड़ रूपए में पूरा नहीं हुआ 50 साल में। जो कितने का तैयार हुआ था वह उतने में हो गया हो तो मैं गारंटी के साथ कहता हूं कि नहीं हुआ । ऐसा क्यों ? क्यों नहीं टाईम बाउंड हुआ वह ? तो ऐसे प्रोजेक्ट बनाने चाहिए जो बेसिक इंडस्ट्री के थे, जो मेजर इंडस्ट्री के थे, जो हमारे पानी के थे कि वह इतने अरसे में परे होंगे तथा उनका पैसा फौरन एक तरफ कर दीजिए और उनसें कहिए कि काम करें । आज इरिगेशन, नहर का चीफ इंजीनियर कोई पूल बनाने नहीं जाता । अफसोस है कि मेटेलिटी कैसे पैदा हो गई कि बडा इंजीनियर जितन होगा कि वह छोटा इंजीनियर कब छुट्टी पाएगा, कब तनख्वाह इसको दी जाएगी, एक दिन की तालीम दी जाए या नहीं दी जाए। क्या चीफ इंजीनियर का केवल यही काम हैं? वह कभी भी पुल बनाने की जगह पर नहीं जाता । मैं एक छोटे से कंट्री में गया था। वहां पुल पर लिखा हआ था- फलां इंजीनियर की औलादें जब वहां से गुजरती होंगी तो उसका सिर फख से ऊंचा होता होगा कि मेरे पिताजी दादा जी ने यह पुल बनाया है और अगर वह पूल गिरा होता तो उनका अपना इंवोल्वमेंट नहीं होता । इसलिए मान्यवर, यह पोजिशन भी अपनी जगह सोचने की है। तीसरे, समाजी सर्वे सही नहीं हो रहे हैं। सर्वे की रिपोर्ट सही करनी चाहिए । "इक्वुअल अपोर्च्युनिटी" बराबर का मौका देना है, तो सर्वे मुसलसल कराते रहना होगा, लैंड मैनेजमेंट दोबारा देखना होगा, उसकी इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में परेशानी हो रही है उसको दर किया जाए । तीसरा है ड्रिले इन डिसीशन । मुझे मालूम है कि दो-चार-छ: मशीने

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हंगामों की वजह से वह उतनी तरक्की नहीं कर सके वरना आज वह कहां पहुंच गये होते । इसलिए हम आपके माध्यम से सरकार से मुतालवा करते हैं कि जहां टैररिज्म बहुत लम्बे अरसे तक चला है, वहां के लोन को या तो लिया न जाए, खत्म किया जाए और अगर लिय जाए तो ऐसे लिया जाए कि उनको पता भी न चले और वह आसानी से उसकी अदायनी कर सकें । मान्यवर, एक शेर कहकर मैं अपनी बात खत्म करना चाहता हूं क्योकि अगर वह नहीं कहूंगा तो मेरी बात खत्म नहीं होती है। यह हमारी भावना जरूर है:

मुसीबतों से लरजने वालो, मुसीबतें हैं नकीबे इशरत।

यानी जो कमी रह गयी है, वह बिगुल बजा रही है कि हमें क्या करना चाहिए।

मुसीबतों से लरजने वालों, मुसीबतें हैं नकीबे-इशरत । खिजां का दामन उलट के देखों, बहार की ताजगी मिलेगी।

लज्जते दर्द मुशतरक दौलते ऐश मुनकासिम ।

और जब हमारे मुल्क में ढेर सारी खुशियां आएं तो हम सब मिलकर बराबर-बराबर बांट लें । हिन्दुस्तान जिन्दाबाद ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF POWER (SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will speak in a telegraphic style. I am glad, from the morning the concept that the whole planning era was a horrible story and nothing was happening was refuted by Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and many other speakers. I think, to say that there were three decades of wrong policies is a gross oversimplification. Even if you look at those three decades, we grew up fairly fast till mid-60s from the beginning of the independence era. Between the mid-60s to mid-70s, we had a very low growth rate of around 3%. In fact, from the mid-70s, our growth rate' has been much higher depending upon whichever way you try to measure it. You can always take one year or the other as a bare and say that the growth rate is 5%or 6%. So, if in the same three decades there were periods of very stow growth and fairly respectable

### [RAJYA SABHA] and Infrastructure

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growth, then it is obviously a gross oversimplification to say that it is Central planning and a particular kind of policy which has been responsible for all of India's ills. In fact, I would put it differently. Whenever we have tried to assess problems, prepare initiatives which are based on combinations of public and private initiatives, we have done well. What do you see since the mid-seventies? 1975 is the year before which you see that between the mid-sixties and the mid-seventies because of these Annual Plans and so on, public investment went down. The whole emphasis on investment went down in the economy and you had very low growth. From the midseventies you see a period where public investment keeps rising; you give powerful incentives for increasing savings; you also started deregulating the economy. In fact, it is in 1974 that the rupee was switched over to a basket of currencies. And all of that showed in improved performance. Take agriculture. Dr. Manmohan Singh was saying and, of course, credit has to be given to our agricultural scientists and the Green Revolution, but in the early '70s again agricultural growth was stagnating--around 104 million tonnes. It is in the mid-seventies, I remember in 1974, after the Budget when the situation was analysed, that it was decided that unless we can put in something like eight million hectares under irrigation, agriculture will not grow. Mr. Mukherjee was the Minister and I was the Adviser in the Planning Commission and we developed that policy; it was a consciously designed policy when you were stagnating.

In fact, the World Bank said at that time, "You will never achieve your target of 125 MT" and we said, "No. If we bring eight million hectares under irrigation, all the work that we have done shows that this will happen." Again in the late '80s we were stuck at around—I remember, around 1987-88; the 7th Five Year Plan was there—140 MT. We prepared a special foodgrains production plan and it is that which then led to the next upsurge to around 170 to 180 million tonnes. And I fully share the assessment of the Planning Commission, that it is in the early '90s when we had tended to neglect agriculture and so strategies like an Advance Irigation Benefit Programme attempts at improving capital formation the agricultural sector, doing in something for land because now land reform is extremely important if you want the new technology to integrate with the farming base. If. you don't do these things, again you are in trouble. So, the issue is not planning versus non-planning. The issue is to understand the reasons of your successes and the reasons of your failures, to develop policies both of private initiative because agriculture in this economy-services, trade and its big industrial sector- has always been in private sector and you want to take advantage of the vigour of private markets. But where you need public initiative, do not shy away from them, whether it is cooperative which Urmilaben talked about or the other kinds of initiatives. I think the strategy that the National Development Council has talked about and approved is that now the stage has come in this economy to consciously target a few major issues-basic minimum services. literacy of the girl child and women, health of the girl child and women, general health but with a major concentration on the girl child and the women, then drinking water, communications-and that in these things you develop specific targets, take advantage of policies, community initiatives, but you also support it with public funds, that you need to concentrate on few а areasinfrastructure, agriculture, science and technology and so on. I thing this is the approach-the Centre and the States entering into creative partnerships of decentralising power, setting objectives together, the target for the year 2002, what have we to do by 2005, initiative at the State level because you can't achieve these kinds of objectives by one grand

8.00 p.m.

centralised design. You want to

encourage regional initiatives. Far more important—what has been said from this morning—the whole question of initiatives at the district level, at the panchayat level, and so on.

This then means that you want strategies which encourage those who help themselves. If people are in difficulties, of course, you need to help them.

The question has been asked from this morning: 'Where are you going to find the resources from?'. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee had also raised this question: 'Where are you going to find the resources from for achieving these objectives in the next four-five years? I agree with him. Unless we can raise public savings by 1 per cent, at least, of the GDP, which is what the Planning Commission has been saying, this kind of a strategy is not possible at all. But to say that we cannot do this is not correct. I am afraid, I cannot agree with that kind of a sentiment. You can clearly design policies which are within your reach to cut down degrees of public waste. This is the message that should go from the House of Elders, that that kind of a transformation is taking place. You cut down on public waste, on the kind of subsidies which do not help anybody, or, the kind of leakage of resources which my hon. friend was talking about a few minutes ago-41 per cent leakage between the energy generated at the BUSBAR and the energy bill, in a very major metropolitan city in India which would remain unnamed.

Therefore, it is not something which it is not possible for us to turn around. There are several cities in India where such a kind of thing is not happening. For example, there is another metropolis where the loss is only 7 per cent. I have recently seen from a study of Panchayats which shows that in India, in every State, there are, at least, a quarter of the district bodies which are mobilising enough resoursces that they can meet something like 70-80 per cent of their current revenue. There are some others whose performance is better.

There is no reason why it should not ecome the norm for the rest of the country. There is no reason why we cannot achieve this kind of a turn around. Sir, you have pointed the question of regional inequality. As the Planning Commission has also said, there are two .States which account for 45 per cent of India's labour force, where the growth rate in the 90's has been zero per cent, or negative. The figure is there in respect of these two States. In U.P., the per capita income has been constant. In Bihar, it has gone down. If growth is only 5 or 6 per cent for India in these two States, it means, the rest of the country is growing at 8 or 9 per cent. Now, you cannot have such a distinction where the average income level has fallen for about alf the labour force, whereas, among the other half, it is rising.

These are the kinds of difficulties which have to address ourselves to in the next round and adopt strategies which enable us to do the turn around. It is not as if we do not know it. The strategies are within our reach. There is nothing which says that if an area tries to help itself with whatever little assistance can be given, it cannot have, for example, creative strategies of borrowing. There are a number of municipal towns in India today. Ahmedabad is one of them. The Ahmedabad Bond has received a CRISIL rating of 'A'. This is the kind of restructuring which we have to think of where you cut down on this waste and make yourself eligible for the next round of assistance.

We had, in Parliament, a discussion about a particular State. I do not want to name the State. The Members of Parliament sat down with me and discussed about the power situation for four hours. About that State there was a question asked in the House as to why in certain villages which were electrified earlier, there was no electricity now. We had finally realised that the resoursces required to send power to those villages were not available at the particular point of time because they were not eligible for assistance and, therefore, it was withdrawn. In regard to that particular State, we decided in that meeting that the Central Government would say: 'If you can begin a programme of assistance, of restructuring, we will fund the investment requirements. I am unhappy to report that at present the response from that State is not good.

I think, Dr. Manmohan Singh is suggesting to reform the State Electricity Boards. Correct. But the question is: what kind of reform are we talking about? There can be a reform where you state some general principles that you must have a rate of return of 3 per cent, that your receivables must be less than 2 months of sales and that, if you do not do it, you are not eligible for assistance. That is the kind of reform where our end up with half-a-dozen States in the country not being'cligible for anything. Anyway, if you take it up seriously, you are planning for darkness for them.

The issue is of a realistic reform. It is a question of sitting down with that economic agency and working with it. We will say, "Are you willing to change? If you are, we are there to sit with you." It is this kind of reform, a reform in which you do not sit with rules, some which are sent from outside India, abstract rules. But you develop rules sitting with them. It is a reform where the turn-around strategy comes from an understanding of each other's problems. Somebody called this "cooperative federalism." I think that is the nature of process that we must get ourselves into in the next round.

You were referring to the rehabilitation programme. We do not tell the Electricity Boards right now that they must give us a pre-ordained target of reform. We tell them, "Will you tell us, if we invest money in this unit, what the changed strategy will be for this unit?" The reform has to start with the conditions which are there in this country. This is the way out rather than a reform process which is built up abstractly. You had a whole Plan for five years in which there was hardly and investment at all. You had a Plan in which you kept on talking about reforms, but not a single Electricity Board put through a reform process. You cannot afford that kind of a situation in the next round.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we expect from the Minister a general approach, not just pointwise replies.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: He is not replying. ... (Interruptions)

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: Is this not a general approach, Chaturvedi Saheb?

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Dr. Manmohan Singh or Mr. Mukherjee raised a number of queries. ...(Interruptions)

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Minister has misunderstood it. The entire approach to this Discussion has been that there would be no reply as such and that, by and large, Members would be able to express their views. You know the discussion. I do not want to say that. Probably the Minister was not present when this approach was adopted. I did not say that what he is saying is not relevant. I have known him for the last 35 years. I know whatever he speaks is of great relevance. That is why I resisted that. ...(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Chaturvedi, I don't think that the Minister is replying.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: I am not at all replying. Chaturvedi Saheb is not ...(Interruptions)

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: All right.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: Chaturvediji, please listen to me first.

There are ways of looking at reform processes. One way of looking at a

reform process is this. You state things in terms of abstract rules. If you like a formal statement, I don't have time. There arc four abstract rules.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: I also know a little bit of this.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: So, this is what I am referring to. It is not that process of reform. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: I attended the National Development Council meetings in Nehru's time. So, I know something of it.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: It has nothing to do with individuals. If you are objecting to my referring to Dr. Manmohan Singh...

SHRITRILOKI'NATHCHATURVEDI:No.Yougoahead.....(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Chaturvedi, please.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: I am not talking about your presentation.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: Good. If you agree with me, there is no problem.

The point I am making is that in this kind of a strategy you cannot talk about putting an overall ceiling on borrowings for productive investment, for example. Why did we not have enough public investment? I think that is mistake. We-have maior Power а Corporations which could have invested. Why is it that over a period of 36 months we did not have a single start with an agency which is as powerful as the National Thermal Power Corporation? I suggest that we should not repeat this kind of mistakes in future. This has nothing to do with individuals. It is a question of a strategy of change. That is what I am referring to. All this means that you have to set ground rules. There have been references, for example in the power sector, to the State Electricity Regulatory Commissions or

the National Electricity Regulatory Commission or the Energy Authority. I am very happy to note that these Bills which we have introduced in Parliament, have been supported on a very widespread basis. We should use this discussion as an advantage, as a point to say that many of these things cut across party lines. We are really talking about the reform processes, which cut across one or the other party.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the point that you made was for improving plant load factors or rehabilitation in the power sector, apart from the question of what you are doing right now. The real questions are the ones that were raised by you and by the hon. Member, Mr. Mukherjee and some of the hon. Members. We have choices today, apart from the shortrun choices that I described earlier. The choices really are the whole question of using coal and transmitting power in a large way; what is the amount of gas that you want to import? If you make a decision in the wrong way, the cost can be twice that of making a correct decision. How do you get hydel projects going? What do you do for the nuclear sector? On all these, we know what the choices are. The question really is to get into operation in the next few months, because time does not wait for you. You cannot keep on postponing the decisions regarding the procedures and policies with which you make the right choices. Otherwise it will be too late, particularly in an economy where you are still going through the reforms process. We take a single instance. The

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Alagh, you promised that you would speak in a telegraphic language. At 8.30 we have a dinner in honour of the Chairman hosted by the Prime Minister. How much more time will you take to finish?

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: I have more or less finished. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have nothing further to add apart from saying that if we take into

account all these, then really what we are saying is that it is too early for this country at this stage to give up the objectives of savings and frugality as it looks at the next five, ten or twenty years. It is not enough to say that you have a high rate of savings. I think the turn around in the public Budget is one thing, but there is a need for something like 30 per cent rate of aggregate savings, which other countries have achieved. The requirement of this coutry in terms of what we call the basic minimum services programme are: the infrastructure programme will need that kind of effort. And to give messages that this kind of effort is not required, I personally think, is the wrong direction. And the consequence of that, which the previous speakers and others have talked about, is the emphasis on productivity and hard work. The whole approach in the next round is not just to raise the public savings level-public savings and private savings-but also to improve productivity by carrying on the process of economic reforms. Whether it is the tariff reform or the capital account convertibility, the idea is with the same investment you have to made more money. I see these two are virtually the two sides of the same coin.

This would be the other major plea. I think it is important to accept that at this stage we are still in the framework where development policy initiatives which are a part of the overall planning strategy is not something that we think of as a thing of the past. I think the approach that we arc following, which is zero in on-strategic objectives is to build more detailed policies and plans for them rather than less detailed policies and plans. This is the correct approach. The final consequence of all this-that is why I went into somewhat long description, which Chaturvedi Sahib felt was not quite fair that hard decisions have to be made. The message that we have to give is that if we are not able to make some of these hard decisions which have been talked about earlier, then, there will be a

problem. If there is a State which is not willing to restructure its system, it will then be not eligible for the kind of opportunities that are there in the next round. If there is a local area that is not eligible, it will not be. Today there are cooperative projects in the power sector. Shrimati Urmilaben talked about it. Today we are discussing them with Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal and in various parts of the country. People are talking about opportunities to turn around whether it is power infrastructure or social

infrastructure. I think we have to set the rules within which we can encourage these different initiatives. That is all that I have to say. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Thanks to all of you. Now we adjourn the House till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at sixteen minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock, on Thursday, the 28th August, 1997.