

VENKATRAMAN): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the National Highways Act, 1956 and the National Highways Authority of India Act, 1988.

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

SHRI T.G. VENKATRAMAN: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Now, we will continue discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. Now, Shri Nadukkara.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.**

SHRI JOY NADUKKARA (Kerala): Yesterday I was saying that two new abbreviations were contributed by the UF Government to the political vocabulary of our country. One is CMP—Common Minimum Programme. In my State, CMP means Communist Marxist Party. There is one gentleman, Mr. M.V. Raghavan, who is the leader of this party. He is the arch-enemy of the CPI(M) which is one of the partners of the UF Government here. We don't usually use the abbreviation 'CMP' to denote the Common Minimum Programme. The second abbreviation is BPL—Below Poverty Line. In common parlance, BPL refers to a company which produces TVs, washing machines, etc. Here it means Below Poverty Line. There is also another abbreviation, APL—Above Poverty Line. The Finance Minister can be considered as the sponsor of these abbreviations. Any way, the hon. President has used only one abbreviation, i.e., CMP—Common Minimum Programme—at many places of his Speech. But he avoided using the abbreviation, BPL. Perhaps he forgot to use it or avoided to use it.

In many places of his • Speech, he emphatically referred to several programmes and projects which his

Government wishes to implement for the benefit of the general public. But he did not refer to any schemes or projects for the uplift of the BPL, people below the poverty line, from their present position.

In this context, I may point out a new issue. The Fifth Pay Commission has presented its report to the Government which contained several recommendations. The report is pending before the Government. If the Government is going to implement the recommendations of the Pay Commission, it has to find additional resources to the tune of Rs. 8,800 crores. I am not saying that those recommendations must not be implemented. I say that they should be implemented. At the same time, we have to take notice of the fact that some sections of the employees have got some doubts about the Pay Commission's recommendations. There is some opposition to some of the recommendations. If there is any opposition from any group of employees, that opposition should be considered. If their opposition is found to be based on some genuine reasons, their views shall be taken into consideration and necessary modifications be made to the recommendations and the amended recommendations should be implemented. Then another question comes. The Government is going to find additional resources for the employees. Then, what is the proportion of the employees to the total population? It is only a small section of our community. Then, what about schemes for the benefit of the BPL people? There are about 35 crore people who are below the poverty line. When the Government is going to find Rs. 8,800 crores for a limited section of our community, what about the 35 crore people who are below the poverty line?

Is the Government of the opinion that they do not deserve more help and special assistance? If the Government is going to help the Government employees by raising additional resources, then it must find additional resources for people who are below the poverty line. There is another section which is above the BPL

people—you may call them the APL people—but having an earning capacity less than even the Class.IV employees in the Government service. Is it not the duty of the Government to Government employees? Will the Government ignore them because their bargaining power is very much less?

Sir, the Government has so many welfare schemes, so many poverty alleviation schemes but so far as the implementation is concerned we are a failure. We have schemes but we do not implement them. We allocate huge amounts for welfare schemes but we do not utilise those amounts. The statement of utilisation of such allocations till the 10th of February shows that while the allocation for JRY is Rs. 1790 crores, only Rs. 1,342 crores were utilised. The allocation for IRY is Rs. 1,140/- crores and only Rs. 806 crores are utilised. Rs. 1,970 crores were allocated for EAS and only Rs. 1,328 crores were utilised. For MWS Rs. 447 crores were allocated and out of that Rs. 310 crores were utilised. For IRDP the allocation was Rs. 549 crores and the utilisation was only of Rs. 344 crores. Rs. 963 crores were allocated for ARWSP but only Rs. 413 crores were utilised. Here I may point out that in the last pre-election budget which was presented by Dr. Manmohan Singh, an ambitious scheme, the National Social Assistance Programme, was announced and Rs. 900 crores were allocated. How far has that scheme been implemented? It was aimed at providing an assistance of Rs. 75/- per month as old age pension to destitute citizens above the age of 65 years, an accident insurance scheme— Rs. 5,000 in case of natural death and Rs. 10,000 in case of accidental death of the bread winner of a family—Rs. 300/- under Maternity Benefit Scheme for the first two pregnancies of BPL women. How far have we been able to implement these schemes? My information is that only 40% of the allocation has been utilised so far. So, we are lagging behind so far as implementation of these schemes is

-concerned. But, at the same time, we are also announcing new schemes. That is the problem. Recently, the Government announced the issuance of special cards to people below the poverty line and making them available essential commodities at special subsidised rates. Well and good. It is a very noble idea. I congratulate the Government. But the problem is that 75% of the people have no access to Public Distribution System at all. How are they going to implement it? The Government has to find some new system by which this benefit can reach the people at large, or we have to strengthen our Public Distribution System. Without doing these two things, there is no meaning in announcing such a scheme. In *my* opinion, this promise is a bit premature one. The way the Government is making so many promises and announcements, the way the Prime Minister is making these declarations, I feel that the Government is finding a sadistic pleasure in making declarations and announcing schemes which cannot be implemented.

Sir, I must mention here that our Prime Minister stated that he was going to table all relevant documents in respect of the Bofors investigations in Parliament. Did he make that statement after having due deliberations? He again stated that he was going to make minor adjustments in respect of Jammu and Kashmir issue. Did he make that statement after considering all the aspects of the issue? Sir, while visiting the States, he has been making promises there. I want to know as to how many of those promises have been fulfilled so far. I think, he failed to make any promise in Kerala only. After becoming Prime Minister, he has visited Kerala twice. On both occasions maybe, sensing that he is always in the habit of making promises...

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa): He has given you a Minister.

SHRI JOY NADUKKARA: That was his policy. He did not make such a promise. A journalist asked him as to

what he was going to give to Kerala. In fact, they expected some promises from the Prime Minister, but in Kerala, he kept tightlipped and mum. He made no promise there. Sir, now he can say that he has no unfulfilled promise for Kerala because he made no promise there. That is the position.

Sir, the Address of the President mentions about the federal polity and relations between the Union and the States. Sir, I belong to a political party, Kerala Congress (M) which believes in a strong Centre as well as satisfied States. At present, we have a coalition Ministry at the Centre in which regional parties are also represented.

In the present political set-up, single-party rule may not be possible in the near future. So, we have to change our attitudes and mould them in accordance with the changed situation. There may be demands from the States for more powers and more benefits which the Centre will have to consider. If necessary, our Constitution should be changed in accordance with the present situation.

Sir, we have been able to form a Government at the Centre with the help of 13 political parties. These parties agreed to a Common Minimum Programme. They elected a person from amongst them as their Prime Minister. Then, / what about U.P.? A similar situation is prevailing there. There also, single-party rule is not possible. Not a single party could secure majority there. At the Centre, 13 parties came together and formed a Government, but there is no popular Government in U.P. Everybody is of the opinion that U.P. is heading towards anarchy, chaos and everything. But, who is responsible for it? I think the political parties are responsible for it. The Government is not being formed there because every political party wants its own candidate as Chief Minister. They are not amenable to an agreement. That is the only reason which stands in the way of forming a Government there. We are accusing

ourselves. Our Constitution does not have provisions to meet such type of contingencies. So, if necessary, we should amend the Constitution so that we may be able to meet such contingencies. We can even think of every party putting up a Chief Ministerial candidate in the election and whoever gets the maximum number of seats should be made Chief Minister so that there may not be any dispute after the election. If necessary, suitable amendment should be made in the Constitution to that effect also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Mr. Nadukkara, please conclude within one or two minutes.

SHRI JOY NADUKKARA: Yes, Sir. Sir, the Sarkaria Commission Report is before the Government. It has been stated that this Government is going to appoint another committee to find out what recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission report have to be implemented. So, appointment of commissions after commissions will go on like this. It is a prolonged process. Sir, the Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika institutions are there. The States have transferred some of their powers to Gram Panchayats, but what has the Centre done in this regard?

The Centre has to transfer some of the powers to States. Instead of doing that it is actually trying to steel some of the powers in some pretext or the other. Sir, I now come to the most important issue of our country, that is corruption. We are very vociferous about checking corruption. We are always talking of that and doing nothing. The Lokpal Bill was before the Parliament since decades in one form or the other. A Government comes and presents it and after that it would not get it passed. Later, another Government comes and presents it and it would say that the earlier Bill was not competent to cover all the lacunae .and they reframe it and present it afresh. They also fail to get it passed. Then,

another Government comes and like this the process goes on. I do not know whether this Government would be able to get it passed. Any way, I hope for the best; the speeches against corruption are always here and we are confining ourselves only to that. The President, in his speech has said that we are on a high growth path. I am happy to believe that, but the facts teach me differently. Sir, at present, we are importing wheat. As far as rice is concerned, we are exporting it but the export has decreased. Sir, there is also power scarcity in our country. Even in the capital city there is power scarcity. The agricultural community in my State is facing a very serious situation. With regard to the price of rubber I stated here last time that it is decreasing. In 1995 it was Rs. 62 per Kg. and today it is Rs. 42 per Kg, a fall of Rs. 20 per Kg. So, the rubber growers are facing very serious difficulties. The cardamom cultivators are also facing difficulties due to smuggling of cardamom into India. Moreover it is being imported. The Government is giving all incentives for the export of cardamom and, at the same time, it is importing. In the answer given to my Unstarred Question No. 906, it is said that last year, up to September, there was an import of 12 MT cardamom to India. While we are exporting cardamom, and also giving incentives for export. There is import also. I do not understand why this Government is allowing import of cardamom. The agriculturists are always agitating against the import of cardamom and against smuggling but the Government is doing nothing to check smuggling. At the very same time, there is a crash in the domestic market because of the Government's policy of import of cardamom. We cannot say these things to be the pro-farmer policy of the Government. Also, the price of coffee has come down. We had hoped that the coffee prices would rise when our friend from Kerala, who is having his coffee plantation also, became a Minister, but unfortunately, there is no such signs of

price rise in the present set up. Sir, I would be concluding. The President has skipped many things and I also would skip many things. I hope with the President that we would emerge as a giant and a developed nation early next century. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Thank you. I now call Shri S.B. Chavan.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I support the motion moved by Mrs. Kamla Sinha, expressing our gratitude to the President for delivering an Address to the joint session of both the Houses. I expect the Prime Minister, while replying to the debate, would not talk in terms of this Government or that Government and this party or that party. Actually it is a continuous process and everyone of us is committed to the nation as a whole. If there have been any defaults, certainly, we will have to consider them from that point of view and try to correct the same. I must say that unfortunately we do not get an opportunity of discussing the Mid-Term Review. In the Plan as a whole when a Mid-Term Review is taken, it provides you an opportunity to find out the areas in which you are lagging behind and the areas in which you are doing well. It gives you some time to apply the correctives and see to it that within a stipulated time you will be able to reach the targets fixed for yourselves. Unfortunately, this time this position could not take place. That is why being the first Address by the President after the formation of the U.F. Government, I think, the only document on which we can possibly decide is the Approach Paper prepared by the Planning Commission which gives us an idea about the policy statement of the Government as to what they propose to do in the next five years and on that basis we will have to make our own assessment. While doing this, I wanted to go deep into the matter, but I do not propose to do all that now. Many of my colleagues have covered other points, so I do not want to

repeat the same points. The first thing about which a mention has been made in the President's Address and about which we are very keen to find out as to what exactly is the latest position is that on the very first page of his Address the President says, "The Inter-State Council at its meeting on October 15, 1996 accepted a majority of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission for implementation by the Government. A Standing Committee, which shall be a permanent Committee of the Inter-State Council, has been set up to review the remaining recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, especially those relating to the devolution of financial powers to the States and changes required in Article 356 of the Constitution." Baring these two recommendations, with regard to other recommendations, it is stated in the President's Address that they have taken a decision. Why I am raising this question is that in the previous Government I was heading this Sub-Committee of Inter-State Council. This Sub-Committee took decisions on all the recommendations except these two. I am keen to find out as to what exactly are the alterations and modifications that they have made. The Government must come cut with the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and the decisions taken on the report of the Sarkaria Commission. If I am not mistaken, the hon. Finance Minister in his speech has also given an idea about the devolution of financial powers to the States. So that will also dispose of the financial power that was contemplated. Now the only recommendation left is the application of article 356. We would like to know the latest position with regard to the recommendations ,of the Sarkaria Commission and whether the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee have been accepted or they have been pleased to make any changes or any alterations. That kind of a document should be placed on the Table of the House so that everybody is clear in his mind about the recommendations of the Sarkaria Com-

mission and the decisions which the Government has been pleased to take in the matter. Sir, the second point to which. I would like to make a reference-r-I do not think that this point has been touched by any of the hon. Members—if at all, perhaps, I was not present....is that the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission have been made and the Report has been submitted to the Government. I had an opportunity to discuss this with a few Ministeries and I could see that they have made a provision for the current financial year according to the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission. I am sure, even the hon. Finance Minister has also talked in terms of making a provision for providing total emoluments to the Government employees. According to my understanding of the problem, and this has been the practice followed so far, whatever recommendations are made by a Statutory Commission, though they are called recommendations, they are normally accepted by the Government excepting very extraordinary things on which the Statutory Commission might have suggested something which the Government feels that they cannot possibly agree. So, we are very much interested in knowing as to whether this has been treated as a kind of total package or the Government is trying to take decisions in an isolated manner, on those issues. This is a matter about which both the Houses of Parliament, especially, this House are very much interested; what ultimately you have accepted and not accepted and the reasons thereof will have to be stated very clearly. I am sure, when the hon. Prime Minister replies, it would be possible for him to inform this House about the latest position on the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission.

In the President's Address there has been a reference to the Lokpal Bill. The Lokpal Bill has been introduced in the Lok Sabha and I believe we had a meeting with the leaders of all political parties and everyone of us has agreed for inclusion of the Prime Minister in the

Lokpal Bill. So, inclusion of the Prime Minister in the Lokpal Bill has been agreed upon by the leaders of all political parties. There should be no reason as to why this should be held up now. If the Bill is introduced, I do not know whether the hon. Speaker of the Lok Sabha is going to refer it to the Standing Committee; and since every political party has agreed upon this kind of proposition, it should be passed by the Lok Sabha and there should be no reason for any kind of reference. If it comes to the Rajya Sabha, at least, I do not find any reason as to why we should not accept the Lokpal Bill.

Next is about the liberalisation that we have been talking about. It is true that when my esteemed colleague, Dr. Manmohan Singh, was the Finance Minister, he came out with this idea and everybody accepted this. But, while accepting something, I do not think you can consider any kind of innovative practice as a gospel truth. The idea was that the new technology would be brought by people from outside wherever we do not have that kind of technology. By all means, get the technology and allow the outsider to come and invest in our country. There is a tremendous scope for giving all help and cooperation which is required by a foreign investor. But there are new problems which have been thrown up. We have to tackle them under the conditions of India. What may be good for the US Government may not necessarily be good in the case of India. India has a bigger population to tackle and in the circumstances prevailing. Already, we have a huge amount of unemployment in our country. If we are going again to add to the unemployment, educated-unemployed, uneducated unemployment, then of course, it is going to create a first class problem for this country. That is why we will have to consider liberalisation in the context of the employment opportunities that we provide.

In this regard, some people have been telling me that the small-scale sector has

been completely thrown open to everybody. We had given them reservation so that they should be able to prosper, so that they should be able to contribute considerably for the good of the economy of the country. In fact, they have been big exporters also. A major portion has been contributed by the small-scale sector. Now, if this entire sector is thrown open, if big houses, multi-nationals, come in, the small-scale industries would be totally eliminated. There would be no possibility of then-existence under the liberalised system. That is the interpretation that has been given to me. In fact, I would like to be enlightened as to whether the Government is going to consider this aspect of the question. I hope the Government would not turn round and say: 'It is you who had started all this'. Yes; I had started it. If I had started something and if we had committed a mistake, I do not think you are supposed to continue the same thing. In the light of the experience gained, you will have to modify and try to find out as to how far this can be continued.

Similarly, in the case of major and medium industries, I am given to understand that every effort is being made to see that the multinationals get the control over all these major and medium industries. Our industries were the loudest in the beginning to ask for the multinationals to be invited to come to India. But now they are shouting: 'We are losing control; instead of being given a minor share, they are getting a major share'. It is said that efforts are being made to see that these industries are taken over. Sir, actually, our local entrepreneurs are doing excellent work in this area. If these industries are controlled, if these industries are taken over, I do not think there is going to be any addition to the effort which is being made. I would like to know whether my information is correct. If my information is wrong, I would be very happy. I would be very happy if that does not come out true. But I have read the statements of

the leading industrialists of the country. I do not think there is any scope for any kind of mis-understanding on that score.

At this stage, I would like to say something about the Disinvestment Commission which was appointed by the Government. Conscious efforts are being made to see that disinvestment is made in the case of public sector undertakings which are doing very well; you are trying to disinvest in these public sector undertakings. Now, for the what purpose this money is going to be utilised is a question which everybody would have to look into.

Acually, some of these companies, some of these public sector undertakings, have become sick not because of any fault on their part. Maybe, some more delegation of powers was necessary, which was denied to them. Of course, you can think of delegating more powers to them. But the main hurdle was that the latest technology was not available to them. Funds for implementing the new technology were not available to them. If the funds become available, if the new technology is now coming into the country, why should we not use this opportunity for reviving all the sick industries and try to help those who, in fact, have become unemployed?

If there is a possibility of reviving the sick industries, it should be looked into. Of course, you can have a list. In that list, you can categorise the industries which are beyond the scope of being revived. By all means, have a 'golden hand-shake', give them the money; let them go to any other industry to get absorbed. At the same time, wherever the possibility of revival is there, it should be explored.

The other day, I think it was the Minister of Industry Who was replying in the House. He gave us the details about the public sector undertakings which were sick and which were before the BIFR. In spite of their recommendation that these companies can be revived, nothing is being done. In this connection, the point

I raised a little while ago becomes relevant. When the shares in the public sector undertakings are being disinvested, when the money becomes available to you, is this money going to be utilised for the revival of the sick industries, or, you are going to utilise this for reducing your deficit? This is a point on which I expect the Government to come clean. The Government should come clean on this point, saying: 'We do not want to utilise this money for reducing our deficit'. Sir, then I go to the next point. If I understand correctly, a commitment has been made to have a growth rate of the economy at seven per cent. According to me, it is a very modest effort on the part of the Government. But it has its own implications. Without understanding the implications if you just say that a growth rate of seven per cent or eight per cent should be adopted for the country, then you will be merely indulging in rhetoric and you will not be able to achieve what you contemplate. If this has to be implemented, then, of course, there are certain very hard decisions which are required and which the Government will have to take consciously as to what they propose to do in the matter. The first decision that you will have to take will be not to fritter away the resources. You will have to consciously make an effort for resource mobilisation both at the Centre and in the States. When the States go to the Planning Commission when their Annual Plans are being cleared, we take great pride in saying, "We have increased your Plan by 25 per cent." Have you taken stock of the financial position of the State Governments? Knowing full well that they just don't have the capacity to raise the resources, you take pride in raising it by 25 per cent, 30 per cent or 40 per cent. I am not objecting to anything provided they have the resources. You have to stop deficit financing at least for five years. We as a nation will have to resolve that hereafter there is no question of deficit financing and we will not allow any State Government, and the Central

Government also, to go in for deficit financing. Can you take this kind of a decision? If you can't then better forget about talking in terms of a seven per cent rate of growth.

Another point which I would like to make is, if the capital receipts are going to be utilised for revenue expenditure, I don't think any country can commit a greater blunder than resorting to this kind of a practice. That means you borrow the money and make payment of salaries to your staff and other people. I don't think any responsible Government can possibly think in terms of having this kind of a thing.

The second thing about which the Government will have to take a very conscious decision is to have some kind of a coordination between the different departments. Every department considers itself free. I have often seen it on the floor of the House, "I am going to recommend this to the Finance Ministry' as if the Finance Ministry is different and you are different. Government as a whole has to reply to the House. This practice of saying that the "Finance Ministry is coming in our way" is something which, in fact, Government should not resort to. So, there should be coordination, and if the Finance Ministry is not in a position to give the money, you will have to give the reasons as to why the Finance Ministry is not agreeing with your proposals. So, this aspect of coordination has to be properly kept in view.

Another very difficult proposition that I am patting before you is not to announce any populist schemes. Without understanding the implications if populist schemes worth cores and crores of rupees are committed, without any benefit to the country as a whole, then it is going to be very difficult. I am stating all this not to just differ from you. In fact, according to me, seven per cent is the minimum that you can think of in terms of growth rate.

Added to that, if you take into consideration the rate of growth of the population, then, this is going to be hardly any thing. But, do you have the resources, do you have the discipline and can you enforce that kind of discipline? If not, this is going to be a very difficult proposition. That is why I have stated all these three or four factors on which you should possibly consciously take a decision and make a resolve, "We mean what we are saying. We are going to implement this." This kind of resolve should be there. If the Government has to make this kind of resolve, all the Opposition parties should also be with the Government because that will create the necessary atmosphere. Let us all come together, join together and see that the country is brought to a proper stage. We have the potential. It is not that we do not have the potential. We have a tremendous potential, but somehow we have not been able to make full use of the same. We can possibly collectively come together on this kind of a proposal. I am sure that all hon. Members in the Opposition will also come together. I am appealing to all them that we have to stand as a nation before the comity of nations. We cannot exist as a ruling party or as an Opposition party. We have to exist as a nation. We have all the capabilities of being a modern nation.

Now, I come to some other things. In the absence of the mid-term review of the Eighth Five-year plan, I will point out three or four Departments which, in fact, have been mainly responsible for giving a rather bleak picture. They are in the infrastructure area. In fact, they have not done well.

With apologies to all those who are present here, I want to point out that the first amongst them is the energy sector. I am sorry to say this, but the fact remains that not even 50 per cent of what we had promised to the nation at the beginning of the Plan could be achieved. You have to give all the details of how you propose to overcome this difficulty and to provide the power which is required by the na-

tion. How you are going to provide the same will have to be clearly stated before the House.

There is a mismatch between the thermal power stations and the hydel power stations. We have a tremendous hydel power capacity. Some States, especially in the North, have a tremendous capacity of generating hydel power. But, an impression has gone round, and to some extent it is correct, that it takes a long gestation period. While, for completion of a thermal power station, it takes five years, for that of a hydel power station it takes seven to eight years. With all the eminent scientists and eminent technicians that India has been boasting of, can't you find a solution to this problem of reducing this period of gestation by two or three years? It will add to the capacity which is available in the country tremendously. So, you will have to undertake that exercise now and see that you are able to achieve a proper balance between the two. Hydel power stations are very good for peak hours, for the peaking capacity. We are falling short of the peaking capacity. That is why we have to run all these thermal power stations and we have to suffer losses.

Secondly, kindly consider how long we are going to justify the transmission and distribution losses. There is the chronic example of Delhi. The Delhi Electricity Authority has power stations the next door. What is the transmission loss? Forty-eight per cent.

Is there any justification, if from the next door, merely because the electricity passes on a transmission line, there is a transmission loss of 48 per cent? How can you justify the 48 per cent losses? You have to go deep into the matter and try to find out .....

**श्री महेश्वर सिंह (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :** बिजली की चोरी हैं।

**श्री एस.बी. चव्हाण :** यह जस्टीफिकेशन कितने दिनों तक देते रहेंगे ? चोरी हैं, तो उसका इलाज करिए।

The nation, as a whole, is suffering.

**SHRI M.A. BABY (Kerala):** Sir, like in kickbacks, the transmission loss should not be more than 7 per cent.

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** I think I am discussing a more serious subject. My point is that we should be able to correct all these things. If capacity utilisation in some power station like Vijayawada is 95 per cent, why not in other power stations? If you are able to do this, it will add to 45 per cent of electricity supply of the country. So, kindly go deep into the matter and try to find out how best we can plug these loopholes. Don't allow these chaps to get away with whatever they have been doing.

Sir, when there was a power failure in Maharashtra for three hours, except in the Vidarbha area, the whole of Mumbai and the rest of Maharashtra was in darkness for three hours. You know what are the consequences of power failure there. All local trains and all other trains, which are run on electricity, were stranded at the places where they were. We have a number of tall buildings there. The life there was totally paralysed. But, we, in Delhi, seem to be used to all these things for weeks together, not for hours. For weeks together we had power failure. Mightbe, some areas were excluded. That is why we could not get the total feel of what is happening in Delhi. I request the hon. Prime Minister to appoint an expert commission to go deep into the matter and try to find out how these things could happen. We should cover not only Maharashtra, but Delhi also and try to ensure that such things do not occur hereafter. Fix responsibility in these areas too.

The other sector, which, in fact, is going to be the major power generation source of the future is the nuclear power station. The other day, the Minister of Planning and Programme Implementation, while replying in the House had himself to admit that he could not do much in the matter. Not even half of it was achieved. If they were going to rely

on nuclear power to be the main source of supply in power, which in fact, is environment-friendly and pollution-free, it should be possible. When France and other countries are producing 10,000 megawatts or 15,000 megawatts of power from their nuclear power stations, and when India boasts of such a high level of availability of scientists in the country, why should we not be able to do it? Of course, some difficulties might be there here and there, but we should be able to overcome them and see that it becomes a major source of supply in power.

Sir, gas turbine is a very important source, from which we can get power. Using gas turbines for this kind of purpose is a very wasteful use according to me, but for the time being we have no alternative. So, the best thing is that we should have more gas turbines installed in different areas and see that we are able to produce electricity. That, in fact, is very much called for.

The next thing which we have to consider is irrigation. Irrigation is another input for agriculture. Somehow or the other we have seen that irrigation projects are pending right from the Sixth Plan, the Seventh Plan and the Eighth Plan. There might be some projects pending since prior to the Sixth Plan. Already three Plans are over. Every State Government will feel happy to add new projects to the list without completing old projects which they have already taken up. How much is the cost escalation? How much money are you going to spend? I think three times or four times the original cost is being spent. Some projects are not being completed. Irrigation benefits are not being made available to the people. We boast that we have started so many new projects in one State. Water has been impounded. There is no canal system. There is no distribution system. In the case of electricity supply, there are transmission losses. The same is the case with water supply also. There is theft of water. All kinds of unhealthy practices are indulged in. So,

my request to you will be : Please try to go deep into the matter and try to find out which are the States where such projects are there. You have a monitoring cell in the Planning Commission. We are not saying anything new. You say that Rs. 900 crores is being given and sometimes you say that Rs.2,000 crores is being given. It is very good. But, at the same time, you cannot forget that you have a cell in the Planning Commission to monitor the projects, as to why they are getting delayed. In spite of that, I don't think there has been any kind of improvement. If no reply is forthcoming, then, the stock reply would be, "It is a State subject." I must say that it is a very good escape route. Merely by giving such a reply, you cannot possibly escape from your responsibility. That is why my request to you will be, kindly go deep into the matter and try to see that things are improved and projects are completed well in time so that there is no escalation in the cost.

One thing which I must not forget is about the Jhudpi jungle in Vidarbha area of Maharashtra. This Vidarbha area was a part of Madhya Pradesh. The Ministry of Environment has become another very big hurdle in giving clearance to the project. To give clearance to each project, they take three years and four years. Then, they take pride in saying that we have not cleared the project. In fact, some kind of a mechanism has to be evolved by which this sort of obstacles put by the Ministry of Environment are removed. In the case of Jhudpi jungle, I would request the Minister of water Resources to kindly go deep into the matter. When I was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, I had a discussion on this issue and we had come to a certain conclusion. Thereafter, I do not know what happened to it. The whole decision was reversed. So, kindly go deep into the matter and don't hold on to this project for no fault of theirs.

I forgot one thing more and that is about electricity. In the case of power

generation by foreign companies, counter-guarantees are being given by the Central Government. In fact, I have been after them persistently. Now it has been restricted to five projects only. Anyway, since your commitments are there, I would not object to that. But hereafter you have to see that they rely only on the guarantee given by the State Government and the Central Government is not required to give a counter-guarantee because later on you will come under a tremendous pressure. At least, I have no doubt about it. That is why I am just putting this matter before you to kindly consider it and try to find some solution in the matter.

Sir, the third sector is the oil sector. In the oil sector, the tendency nowadays is to believe that prospecting and production should be entrusted, to foreign companies, outsiders. If you go through the figures, you will find that the production has been going down, the refining capacity is also going down, and we are more dependant on getting crude oil, petrol and gas from outside. Special lines are being requested either from Oman or from Iran or from other places, instead of becoming self-sufficient, every day we find that the capacity is going down. So, we will have to apply our mind, and how best we can possibly find a solution to this problem is one of the things which we will have to keep in mind. When I was a Member of the Consultative Committee, I have been pleading with them to find out as to what their R&D has been doing. The R&D Department is in existence in the Oil and Natural Gas Commission for the last 25 years or thirty years. But surprisingly, there is hardly anything that they have done. We will be very happy if they were to come forth with a definite proposal that the R&D Department has evolved a new alternative. There are a number of alternatives which are available and which can possibly replace the very costly fuels. In fact, these reserves are not going to last for more than 25 or 30 years. If we can possibly find some kind of an alternative

solution, I think it will be a very good thing for the country.

[Vice-Chairman (Shri Ajit P.K. Jogi) *in the Chair.*]

Now I will come to the poverty alleviation programmes about which we are making a lot of publicity. In the Eighth Plan we have failed in this respect. We just take pride in saying that we have given so much money to the people. But how has it been implemented? If we go into the whole matter in depth, you will find that large amounts of funds are either being diverted for some other purpose or they are being misutilised. The other day, Mr. Chaturanan Mishra, who is a very good Minister—and I must compliment him for doing an excellent work—was giving reply to a particular question. I do not know how he came up with this idea. In fact, huge funds are being misutilised or diverted for some other purpose in some states. He was pleased to state on the floor of this House that he could not do anything in the matter. If the Government cannot do anything in the matter, then what is the idea in giving money to them?

It is the Central Government money which the Government is giving to them, and if it is used for some other purpose or if it is being misutilised, and you just keep quite and say that we cannot possibly do anything in the matter, then it means you are not doing your job properly. So, after great persuasion, we could succeed in getting a reply from him that he would collect the information and pass on the same to us. I think that (S not enough. When the Central Government is taking an initiative, it is very necessary that they have to go deep into the matter and try to find out why the States are getting away with this kind of activities. There is no reason why the Central Government should keep quite about the whole thing. Take the State Governments into confidence, discuss the matter with them. But, at the same time, the prog-

ramme has to be implemented. If the poor man feels that Government after Government are just failing in the matter, then, of course, he will lose faith in our democratic set-up. That is the greatest danger that we find in this, and that is why I will specially request the Government to identify those States who are Assorting to this practice. It is not that every State Government is doing this. There are a few States who are doing this, and knowing fully well, if this is the kind of reply that you try to give to us, then, of course, I don't think that you are discharging your responsibility properly. You will have to go deep into the matter and see that this malady is put an end to.

Sir, I have put forth very concrete suggestions. Instead of entering into any political kind of speeches and hurling some kind of abuses against each other, I thought I must say something which the Prime Minister should be in a position to clearly state before us...as to what it is that you are going to do in this matter. If he at least sounds reasonable in this matter, then there is a hope of achieving seven per cent growth rate; otherwise, there is no possibility. We will be just frittering away the money and we will not be doing any service to the nation. This is only my appeal. I am actuated by that point of view alone and not by any other consideration. If you fail, it is for the future to decide whether you should be blamed or not. I feel your duty towards the nation should be the first priority in your mind. You should try to go deep into the matter and see, during your tenure, that you will be able to contribute to the good of the nation. If that thing is there, I will be the happiest person. Thank you very much for giving me time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): Thank you. Mr. M.A. Baby.

SHRI M.A. Baby: Thank you very much, Sir, for having permitted me to participate in this debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Ghavan Sahib has in his speech set cer-

tain remarkable standards for the debate. However, when we discuss the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, Members are entitled to debate issues not only under the sun but also above the sun. The President's Speech recounts what the Government has done in the recent past and what it proposes to do in the immediate future. That is our practice in this House. The time covered is only one year and we know that it is far less than one-millionth of a drop in the infinite ocean of time. But still it is a bridge from the past to the future through the present. Therefore, we discuss everything related to human existence. We discuss politics, our assessment about the possible political developments. That is why my very good friend and hon. colleague, Mrs. Margaret Alva, while concluding her speech predicted with remarkable courage that the Congress party would come out of its present plight I have to meet that point. Similarly, my friend, Mr. Singla, mocked at the Common Minimum Programme. I have to deal with that point also. I do not disagree with some of the formulations, especially with regard to the acute problems that are faced by our country in relation to power situation as well as irrigation which Chavanji had mentioned. But the two formulations made by Chavanji that the Government has to take hard decisions and that the Government should not go after populist policies, may lead to different interpretations.

Before dealing with the points of Mrs. Margaret Alva and Mr. Singla, let me begin with tax concessions. When a decision to give tax concessions to corporate sector is taken, that is not a hard decision. According to some economists, that is a very legitimate need. What is a hard decision according to us? Putting burden on the common masses. Economists keep on asking the Government to take hard decisions. What does it mean? What does it mean? Without any hesitation you should put burden on the common masses of the people. That is considered to

be hard decision. But the Government has to give tax concession to wealthy people. If tax evasion is being permitted, that is not considered to be a hard decision. So far as voluntary disclosure scheme is concerned, of course, it is an effort to mobilise some ill-gotten money and appropriate that for productive activities. But even that is not considered as a hard decision. That is a very good decision. From that angle I am in total disagreement with some of the economists who speak about hard decisions. I want hard decisions vis-a-vis monopoly houses, tax evaders, landlords and those who are taking the major share of the cake. Is this Government willing to do that?

Now let me come to the question of populist decision. What is considered to be a populist decision?. If the Government takes a decision to give mid-day meal to poor children, that is described as a populist decision. I do not mean to say that Chavanji was intending this kind of an interpretation. But in terms of common vocabulary of the media as well as in terms of economic perception, something aimed at common masses of people, those who live in villages, that is considered to be a populist decision.

Whether what we decide to give to the masses of people in villages are reaching them or/middleman is taking away a major share of the cake, is a different matter. Nobody over here would defend that. In this context I want to make a reference to an assessment made by the *Economic Times* where it stated that as per the data available the so-called trickling down theory is not working for the last five years or so. On the front page, the Editor of the *Economic Times*, Swaminath Aiyar, along with his colleague wrote an article analysing the Economic Survey. It says that the real income of the poor people has declined in the recent past. I do not want to cite meaningless statistics to prove this. But, even according to statistics, this is the reality. For a while, let us shut our eyes and think of the villages. Dr. Aram, in

this Very eminent intervention mentioned about Mahatmaji's vision. It has become very unfashionable these days to think of Mahatma Gandhi. We may be accused of having developed a new found affinity for Mahatmaji. We might have committed our own mistakes in assessing Mahatma Gandhi. We still have some disagreements with Mahatma Gandhi. There is nothing wrong in disagreeing with a mighty personality. I was reading one of the speeches of Mahatmaji made in a Congress session. When I found the word 'comrade' used by Mahatmaji, I was amazed. Comrade EMS told me that for the first time he heard the word 'comrade' used by Pandit Nehru. Then I found that Mahatmaji also used the word 'comrade'. He was referring to the communists working in the Congress who moved a resolution and got only 13 votes. Mahatma Gandhi, first of all, congratulated them for their boldness in coming forward and putting their motion of disagreement to vote, knowing full well that

that may be defeated. Then Mahatmaji said, "comrade, I have to the following disagreements with you." Dr. Aram also quoted Mahatma Gandhi. It may be a rare instance of re quoting someone's quota in the same debate. About the village structure, Gandhiji said, "In this structure, composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening never ascending circles; life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. It will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the village ready to perish for the circle of villages till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are in a integral part."

Dr. Aram said that this vision may be Utopian. But I disagree wit him. This is something which we can achieve. In a classless society, everybody should contribute for the good of others. Whenever it is convenient, we also quote Gandhiji and his village-oriented development con-

cepts. Can we claim that with all the planning, right from the First Five Year Plan which started in 1951 to the 9th Five Year Plan which the National Development Council unanimously agreed to, we have been able to give better lives to people in the village? I don't say that after independence, in the last five decades", nothing positive was done in the villages. I will be the last person to say that. There are some achievements. But can we claim that these changes are commensurate with the overall development that we have achieved in this country? What is the share that went to the villages? What is the share that remained in the cities and towns? When this question is put, not only will the reply be unsatisfactory, but every Parliamentarian will have to hang his or her head in shame. Even the 33 per cent women representatives whom we may have here will have to hang their heads in shame. In the cosy atmosphere of the Rajya Sabha Chamber and the Lok Sabha Chamber, we discuss the problems faced by people. The majority of Indian population seldom finds relevance in our scheme of things. So, the question is: What does the United Front Government want to do? Mr. Singla mocked at our Common Minimum Programme. The full form of CMP is not Communist - Marxist Programme. We consider the Common Minimum Programme a relatively positive programme and it is moving in the right direction. A beginning has been made. I would like to tell Mr. Singla that our Common Minimum Programme is far better than the Common Minimum Programme is far better than the Common Maximum Programme of the Congress party which got them entangled in scams after scams... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to intervene since he has taken my name. I had said that 'minimum programme' was for the people of this country. For the 13 parties, it was maximum power. Which party is going to get which Ministry, how many Members

from a party will become Ministers is all that they are concerned about. For the people they have a minimum programme. For the parties they have 'maximum power programme.'

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): Your point was well made. You need not repeat it... (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Baby, you have only six minutes left.

SHRI M.A. BABY: I hope you will deduct the time taken by Mr. Singla. Singlaji says that these parties are together because they are for power. I want to remind Singlaji that one of the major left components of the United Front has the moral strength that when it was offered a position which is the highest position in the parliamentary democratic process, the post of the Chief Executive of the country, that party had the political courage, the wisdom... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: They are repenting. They have said they made the biggest blunder in history. The leader of their party is saying that. (*Interruptions*)... Don't say this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): Mr. Singla, please let him conclude.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: My point is, he is referring to me. It is a historical blunder. His leader accepts it.

SHRI M.A. BABY: I accept that it is a historical blunder that I referred to your name.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): Please don't talk to each other. You will have to address the Chair.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Sir, what I mean is 'what my party die'. You are referring to that Statement.

SHRI TRILOKJ NATH CHATURVEDI (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Bab, again you are looking at him.

SHRI M.A. BABY: I have to join the issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): You have to join the issue through the Chair.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Sir, I can never join issue with you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): You can address the Chair.

SHRI M.A. BABY: What I mean is that this United Front has the moral strength of a party which could eschew power with the concept that there has to be a Government, a non-Congress Government because Congress has been voted out of power, a non-BJP Government. But we did not want to take the responsibility of the Chief Executive because we feel that people did not give that mandate, people did not vote to that extent whereby we can legitimately take the decision that we have the mandate to rule the country. Now, let me also mention that my party feels that rather than participating in Government, the party would be in a position to help this Government by being a catalytic agent like in a chemical process. This is what we feel and my friend fails to appreciate this because his party always thinks of power whether it is the power of being the head of a Pan-chayat or that of the Central Government. That is why his party dismissed the first ever elected Communist Government of 1957 in Kerala even when that Government enjoyed a majority. I do not want to recount the entire experience. Therefore, Sir, I would now like to refer to the very remarkable hope expressed by my hon. colleague Shrimati Margaret Alva, that the Congress will come back to power. Maybe, if people decide so, it may come back to power. But my Congress friends should remember one point, that the Congress has been getting defeat after defeat in the national parliamentary elections consecutively three times since 1989. In 1989, the Congress was rejected. After what? After Rajivji got a majority which even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or Mrs Gandhi could never get. Within four years, the Congress was defeated in 1989. When the next election was held in 1991

again the Congress was defeated, even the tragic assassination of Rajivji in the midst of elections could not help the Congress. Still the Congress was in a minority. But thank to the position taken by the Left that though the Congress did not get a majority, it being the single largest party should rule. We decided that and you formed the Government. I do not want to say how that minority Government became a majority Government. If I speak much about free market operation, it would become *sub judice* because hawala and JMM cases are being heard by the court. So, I do not want to go into those details. Your greatest affinity for free market would be due to the fact that free market operation in Parliament helped your Government to sustain.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): Your party's time is over. You have to conclude.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Sir, the competitive democracy should not degenerate into an auctionable democracy. I think I would be doing injustice to the President's Address if I fail to mention some of the points which his Address ought to have dealt with and which I would have liked. One is environment and ecology. Chavanji made a reference to it saying that the Ministry of Environment was coming in the way of many developmental projects. It should be taken due note of because we should not become environmental fundamentalists. At the same time, environment and ecology are issues which should attract the attention of the entire humanity. Today we are sitting here and discussing issues. If we think of the whole human activity, it would be amazing. We could be amazed by the scientific and technological progress registered by the entire humanity. It is because of the special environment which is available on this beautiful planet in the entire cosmos—thanks to the environmental and ecological balance which this beautiful planet is enjoying. That is why we are able to be here, living as human

beings. If we infringe upon this delicate environmental and ecological balance, it will tantamount to betraying our future generations. We don't have any moral right to do this because this planet belongs to the future generations as much as it belongs to us. But, unfortunately, sufficient attention is not being paid in our country to this very major area. And I am very much disturbed by the fact that the hon. President's Address does not have any reference to this particular aspect.

The hon. President has referred to science and technology in his Address. But, unfortunately, in the recent past, sufficient attention is not being paid to the glorious traditions of our past. In the ancient past, we had such glorious scientists as Aryabhata, Bhaskara, Kanada and in the modern times we had people like Sir C.V. Raman, J.C. Bose, Srinivasa Ramanujam, Dr. Chandrasekhar, Har Govind Khurana. This House had the privilege of having as its Members people like Dr. Raja Ramanna, and Prof. M.G.K. Menon. But, unfortunately, of late the glorious foundation's of our scientific and technological advances have got weakened. This is very disturbing. I don't want to give the concrete facts and figures indicating this decline due to the paucity of time. Recently, some proposals have been made in the new Budget which I very well appreciate. But a lot more needs to be done. This year happens to be the 110th birth anniversary of Srinivasa Ramanujam. In this context, I would also like to state that we should not only attach the required importance to the development of science and technology but we should also try to instil in our people the scientific temper. This is very much necessary-in our society. The importance of this would become evident when I refer to what the family of Srinivasa Ramanujam had encountered after his death at the age of 32 years. The orthodox Brahmins refused to participate in his funeral the reason being that

Srinivasa Ramanujam had crossed the sea and that he did not not undergo the so-called purification exercise after return. This great country has such orthodox feelings also. When we look back to what has happened during the course of the last fifty yhears, we would find that there are many things which we can be proud of. At the same time, I want to specifically mention two aspects ... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): Mr. Baby, please wind up.

SHRI M.A. BABY; Sir, I am in the process of winding up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AJIT P.K. JOGI): You have already exceeded the time-limit.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Sir, I crave your indulgence.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, he has initiated the process.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for your information I have spent 10 years in. this House. But this is my maiden speech on the President's Address.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Then, this is a big discovery.

SHRI M.A. BABY: Sir, we feel proud of our fight against the British colonialism. We achieved independence. We are now going to celebrate fifty years of independence. But during this time many things have happened in the country and outside. We hear discussions about a unipolar world. Are we standing up against the pressures? Are we again getting subjected to pressu/es from outside? We know today the super powers can never think of marching into another country with their military and weapons. There are other invisible methods of cultural and economic subjugation. A country need not be militarily occupied these days, but it can be economically occupied, it can be culturally occupied. I think when we are

starting the celebrations of 50 years of our independence, that process of economic and cultural subjugation of many developing countries is already on vigibility.

We all welcome the superman of computers, Mr. Bill Gates, from the land of Watergate, and we may take whatever we can. But we should not forget, as has been very rightly mentioned by Chavan Saheb, that we have tremendous potential. Computer is the in-thing of modern era. In computers, there is a word 'IC' which is the heart of a computer. Its full form is Integrated Circuit. But in the Silicon Valley they have another full form for 'IC', which is, India and China. It is known to computer literates. Most of the scientists working in the Silicon Valley are from India and China. So, we have that potential. Our effort should be to utilise this potential and resist other types of occupation by foreign forces.

Similarly, I would be failing in my duty if I don't mention about Mahatma Gandhi. We achieved independence half a century ago and we lost the Father of the Nation almost fifty years ago. Godse is known to have killed Mahatma Gandhi. But I consider Godse to be the bullet which injured Mahatma Gandhi. The trigger was blown by a mindset, which is communal into lence, which nobody in this House, I hope, would justify. Has that communal into lence been receding during the last five decades of our independence? Inasmuch as the colonial forces are trying to break through new means, communal into lence also is trying to masquerade itself and trying to come to the mainstream of political activity. Without demeaning those forces, I would like to appeal to them that this will only vitiate the political atmosphere. Therefore, while fighting politically, while fighting ideologically, while disagreeing politically and ideologically, we should also try to find out to what extent we can cooperate, to what extent we can save political process from degeneration and we should

try to prevent it from getting vitiated through communal poison. I hope that this great country would be in a position to put all its strength together and overcome the difficulties.

With these words, I express my sincere thanks to Rashtrapatiiji for having made this Address to both Houses of Parliament.

**श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण (पंजाब) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया कि आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर प्रस्तुत धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर बोलने का मौका दिया। मैंने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में एस.सी., एस.टी., जो गरीबी के साथ लड़ाई लड़ते चले आ रहे हैं उनका कोई जिक्र नहीं है। पंजाब जो आजादी के लिए बहुत सी कुर्बानियां दे चुका है जिनमें करतार सिंह सराया, शहीदें आजम भगत सिंह, श्री सुखेदव, लाला लाजपतराय, बाता नंद सिंह जी, बाबा गुरुमुख सिंह जी और इसके साथ-साथ शहीद करनैल सिंह जैसे लोगों ने देश की गुलामी को आजादी में तबदील करने के लिए अपनी कुर्बानियां दी हैं। पंजाब के लोगों ने बहुत ज्यादा हिस्सा डाला है लेकिन पंजाब उससे बहुत आगे रहा है। उसके बाद आजादी आई और आजादी की बाद यहां पर तीन जंग लड़ी गई। दो तीनों जंगों में पंजाब के ज्यादा फौजियों ने और आम लोगों ने शहीदियां दी हैं। माताओं और बहनों तथा नौजवान लड़कियां ने अपने सुहाग के ऑर्नमेंट्स उन भाइयों को आशीर्वाद देने के लिए दान किये हैं। उसके बाद कुछ फिरकापरस्त ताकतें जात-पात के नाम पर, बोली के आधार पर पंजाब में लड़ाई रही। उन्होंने इस सुनहरी और स्टेट पंजाब को दो टुकड़ों में बांट दिया। एक का नाम अब हम हिमाचल प्रदेश लेते हैं और दूसरी का नाम हरियाणा लेते हैं। भाई-भाई को अलाहिदा कर दिया कुछ ताकतों ने आ कर और उसके बाद फिर एम ऐसा वक्त आया कि यह भाई जुदा हो गये और और पंजाब 12 जिलों का पंजाब रह गया जिसने अपना हौसला नहीं छोड़ा जिसने अपनी हिन्दू-सिख यूनिटी को बरकरार रखा, जिसने पंजाब की शान ही नहीं बल्कि देश की शान को ऊंचा करने में बहुत ज्यादा हिस्सा डाला। एक ऐसी अंधेरी आई जो इस पंजाब की धरती के टुकड़े-टुकड़े

करने के लिए पहुंची लेकिन पंजाब के लोगों ने दिलेरी से, भाई-चारे से, आपसी प्यार से ऐसी ताकतों का डट कर मुकाबला किया। 1984 से लेकर 1992 तक, 12 साल तक यह लड़ाई पंजाब के लोग लड़ते रहे। लगभग 35 हजार आदमी इस लड़ाई दहशतगर्दी में शहीद हुए। बहनों का भाई जुदा हो गया, औरतों का पति जुदा हो गया और बेटे की मां बेटे से जुदा हो गई। इस पंजाब में बलात्कार, लूटिंग और जो बड़े-बड़े इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट थे उनको किडनैप किया गया। जैसे हमारे इसी मासूम बच्चों को किडनैप किया गया। जैसे हमारे इसी हाऊस के मेम्बर श्री सतपाल मित्तल के ग्रैंड सन को किडनैप किया गया था

और हमारा कोई भी ऐसा आदमी, चाहे गुरुद्वारे के भाई जी हैं या मंदिर में पुजारी हैं या मस्जिद में काजी हैं या गिरिजाघर के पादरी हैं—कोई यह नहीं कह सकता था कि मैं मंदिर में बैठकर, इस गुरुद्वारे में बैठकर या उस गिरिजाघर में बैठकर अपनी जान को बचा सकूंगा। उन पर भी बहुत हमले हुए, बहुत किलिंग हुई। ऐसे ही जो सियासी लोग हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग, 12-13 वजीर इस दहशतगर्दी की जद में शहीद हो गए। सरकारी अफसर भी इस दहशतगर्दी के शिकार हुए। वहां जो हजारों मजदूर काम करते थे—खेतों में, नहरों में और घरों में, वह उसके शिकार हुए। घर-घर में चीखो-पुकार होती रही। उन दिनों में घरों में या गलियों में रात को लाइट नहीं होती रही। उन दिनों में घरों में या गलियों में रात को लाइट नजर आती थी। ऐसे घोर अंधेरे में ऐसी बात होती रही, लेकिन पंजाब के लोगों ने फिर भी हौसला नहीं छोड़ा। वे पंजाब में बढ-चढ़कर मजबूती से काम करते रहे। वहां कोई भी ऐसा कारखाना नहीं था जिसने केन्द्र का भंडार न भरा हो। चाहे वह साइकिल का काम था या सिलाई मशीन का काम था, टैक्सटाइल का काम था, हौजरी का काम था, उन्होंने ऐसे काम करके पंजाब को ही मजबूत नहीं किया बल्कि हौजरी और साइकिल के कारोबार में सारी दुनिया में देश का नाम रोशन किया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं समझता हूँ कि पंजाब हमेशा से बहुत ज्यादा अनाज पैदा करता रहा है और उसने केन्द्र का अनाज भंडार भरा है, लेकिन उस में किसान को कोई बहुत बड़ी रिलीफ नहीं मिली है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि किसान के लिए ट्रैक्टर में और खाद में सब्सिडी मिलनी चाहिये और उस की फसल इंश्योर्ड होनी चाहिये। महोदय, हर छोटे-छोटे कारखाने, छोटी-बड़ी बिल्डिंग्स इंश्योर्ड हो जाती हैं, लेकिन किसान की जो फसल है, उस को इंश्योर्ड नहीं किया जाता। मैं सरकार से बड़े अदब से विनती करना चाहूंगा कि किसान की फसल को

इंश्योर्ड किया जाये ताकि वह अपने काम को बड़े हौसले से कर और देश की खुराक को बढ़ाए।

महोदय, समाज का एक बहुत ही पिछड़ा हुआ वर्ग है जिसको शेडयूल्ड कास्ट या सफाई कर्मचारी कहते हैं। उनके लिए बहुत सी स्कीम्स बनती चली आ रही हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी किताबें लिखी जा रही हैं, बड़े सुंदर-सुंदर लफ्ज लिखे जा रहे हैं, हर बार इस हाउस में उनकी चर्चा होती है और बहुत से कापोरेशंस बनाए गए हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सब कागजों में महदूद है और दूर देहातों में जो गरीब बसते हैं, उनको इनका कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंचता है। सफाई कर्मचारियों के लिए एक लेंड डवलपमेंट फाइनेंस कार्पोरेशन बनाया गया है और एक सफाई कर्मचारी कमीशन बनाया है। अगर आपको स्कैवेंजर्स की भलाई का काम करना है तो जल्दी-से-जल्दी इस कमीशन से रिपोर्ट लेकर जो उनकी सिफारिशें हैं, उन पर इमीडिएटली अमल करना चाहिये। उन पर “डेट बाउंड” अमल होना चाहिये। तभी इस कमीशन का कोई फायदा होगा वरना इस कमीशन पर जो खर्चा हो रहा है, उसको कोई लाभ नहीं होगा क्योंकि इन सफाई कर्मचारियों तक फायनेंस कार्पोरेशंस का लाभ नहीं पहुंचता है। बैंक वाले जो सब्सिडी हैं, वह लेकर उनको असली रकम भी नहीं देते और पूरा कब्जा भी नहीं देते। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके लिए एक कमेटी बनयी जाए जिसमें उस क्षेत्र के एम. एल. ए. या एम. पी. को उस कमेटी का चेयरमैन बनाया जाए और वह कमेटी उनके काम को देखे। उनके जो काम हैं जैसे-खड्डी बनाया, बूट बनाना, नट-बोल्ट बनाना, मोमबत्ती, अगरबत्ती, हौजरी, बुक बाइंडिंग, बान बनाना, प्लास्टिक के लिफाफे बनाना, ब्यूटी पार्लर, टेलरिंग का काम और रेडीमेड क्लाथ्स का काम इन बस्तियों में खोला जाय।

ताकि ये लोग जो अभी अपना काम करते हैं सफाई का, उसे छोड़कर ऐसे अच्छे धंधे में आ जाएं। ऐसा धंधा वे लोग छोड़ दें, जिसके लिए सदियों से लोग उनको यही कहते हैं कि आपके कर्मा मे, आपके माथे में, आपके हाथों में यह लिखा है कि तुमको यह काम करना है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अजीत जोगी) :** अब आप समाप्त करने की कोशिश कीजिए। आपने अपनी बात अच्छे से कर ली है। कृपया जल्दी समाप्त करें।

**श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण :** सर, जैसा आप कहेंगे, लेकिन यह तो बहुत बड़ा विषय है और हर आदमी इस पर बोलता है। हम जब विषय पर जाते हैं, तो जो भी पर होते हैं वह कहते हैं कि आपका टाइम कम है,

आपका टाइम कम है। हम इसकी बात करना चाहते हैं, जो समाज का, देश का एक पिछड़ा हुआ गरीब है। उकसे लिए आप जरा समय दें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह जरूरी है।

महोदय, आप देखिए, ऐसे लोग हुए हैं पंजाब में। आप देखिए, शहीद करतार सिंह सराबा, पंजाब का वह नौजवान है, जो 19 साल की उम्र में देश को गुलामी से छुटकारा दिलाने के लिए शहीद हुए। आज आप उसी पंजाब की बात करने नहीं देते। अब आप उसी पंजाब की बात सुनना नहीं चाहते, उस पंजाब के लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं। उस पंजाब के लोगों को आपने कोई रियायत नहीं दी। जब जम्मू-कश्मीर में हालात चले तो उसमें आपने पैसे से लेकर सब कुछ दिया और हमारी पंजाब के लोगों को कोई टैक्स रिलीफ नहीं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अजीत जोगी) :** आपने अपनी बात बहुत अच्छे से कह ली है। अब कृपया आप समाप्त करने की कोशिश करें।

**श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण :** शुक्रिया। इसके बाद मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने हरिजनों के लिए, शेड्यूल्ड कास्टस के लिए जो स्कीम बनाई है, उसके लिए डेट बाउंड प्रोग्राम होना चाहिये और जो पहले स्कीम का काम है, जो पहले रुपया दिया है, उनकी रिपोर्ट भी आनी चाहिये कि पिछले साल 1996 में इन वीकर सेक्शन को आपने क्या-क्या दिया है और उससे कितने लोग गरीबी की रेखा से आगे बढ़े हैं। इसकी पूरी जांच होनी चाहिये ऐसा होना चाहिये और लोगों में जो बेरोजगारी है उसको खत्म किया जाए।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अजीत जोगी) :** धन्यवाद।

**श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण :** महोदय, एक मिनट और चाहूंगा, जिसके लिए आपका शुक्रिया। पे-कमीशन ने अपनी जो रिपोर्ट दी है, उसमें लिखा है कि साढ़े तीन लाख जो नौकरियां खाली पड़ी हैं, उनको खत्म किया जाए। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कमीशन वालों को, कि पहले ही हमारा नौजवान बेकार है, एजीटेशन कर रहा है, भूखों मर रहा है, दर भीख मांगता फिरता हूँ, अगर यह नौजवानों के लिए साढ़े तीन लाख नौकरियां पड़ी हैं तो उनको दी जाएं। मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि जो जज हाईकोर्ट से या दूसरे कहकम से बड़े-बड़े आफिसर रिटायर होते हैं, उनको एक्सटेंशन नहीं दी जानी चाहिये। उनको मुकर्रर डेट पर ही रिटायरमेंट दे देनी चाहिये।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अजीत जोगी) :** अब आप समाप्त करिए।

**श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण :** इसके बाद इन लोगों को किसी कमीशन में या कहीं और नहीं लगया जाना चाहिये। जो बेरोजगार लोग हैं, पढ़े-लिखे लोग हैं, कितनी-कितनी उनकी क्वालिफिकेशन हैं, पी. एच. डी. लिए हैं, उन लोगों को आपको काम देना चाहिये।

महोदय, रिपोर्ट में यह भी है कि रिटायरमेंट की उम्र 58 साल से 60 साल कर दी जाए। अगर यह 58 साल से आगे 65 साल, 62 साल होता जाएगा, इस तरह आगे बढ़ता जाएगा तो देश में जो बेरोजगार नौजवान घूम रहे हैं, नौकरी तलाश रहे हैं, उन्हें नौकरी कैसे मिलेगी।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अजीत जोगी) :** अब आप समाप्त करिए।

**श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण :** मेरी दरखास्त यह है कि जो स्कीमें शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए बनती हैं उनको डेट बाउंड करना चाहिये, उन पर कमेटी बननी चाहिये। पंजाब के जो इंडस्ट्रिएलिस्ट हैं उनको टैक्स में, बिजली में रिलीफ देनी चाहिये, किसानों को रिलीफ मिलनी चाहिये ताकि पंजाब का किसान आगे बढ़ता जाए।

अंत में मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। आपके टोकने के बाद भी जो मैं बोलता रहा, उसके लिए माफी चाहता हूँ। आपका बहुत शुक्रिया, जो आपने मदद की, जिससे हम कुछ बोल सके हैं। आपका नए सिरे से शुक्रिया।

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

##### **The Special Court (Trial of Offences Relating to Transactions in Securities) Amendment Bill, 1997**

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

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Special Court (Trial of Offences Relating to Transactions in Securities) Amendment Bill 1997, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 4th March, 1997."