(श्री इकबाल सिंह)

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों का विकास न होने से ग्रामीण शिक्षित बेरोजगार गलत रास्ते की ओर भटक गया। उसका दिमाग रचनात्मक कार्यों में न लगकर दूषित व गलत गतिविधियों में जा लगा। इन शिक्षित बेरोजगारों व्यक्तियों को सही रास्ते पर लाने के लिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि देश के सभी पिछड़े ग्रामीण इलाकों का औद्योगिक विकास किया जाए।

मैं यहां पर एक और बात कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे बजट में जहां पर जम्मू-कश्मीर और हिमाचल में स्पेशल हालीडे इन इंडस्ट्री की स्कीम दी गयी है वहां पंजाब में जो कि इस समय बहुत जरूरी थी इस बार फिर नहीं दी गयी है। इसके लिए भी महोदया आपसे विनती है कि सरकार से यह कहा जाए और इसको लागू किया जाए।

पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में उद्योगों का विकास न होने से शिक्षित नवयुवक ऐसे अवैध कार्यों को करने की ओर अग्रसर होते हैं जो देश व समाज के लिए हितकर नहीं है। सरकारी तथा गैर-सरकारी एजेंसियों द्वारा शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की समस्या को हल करने के लिए खूब जोर का ढिंढोरा पीटा जाता है लेकिन व्यवहार में इस समस्या का समाधान करने के ठोस उपाय नहीं किये जाते और न ही ग्रामीण इलाकों में उद्योगों के विकास पर बल दिया जाता है लेकिन सच तो यह है कि देश के समस्त भागों में लाखों की संख्या में शिक्षित युवक बेरोजगारी की लाईन में खड़े हैं। इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए किसी का ध्यान नहीं जा रहा है जो कि बहुत ही चिंता का विषय है।

शिक्षित व्यक्ति जब रोजगार अथवा नौकरी की तलाश में निकलता है तो उसे अनेक कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है। कहीं नौकरी में आरक्षण की नीति बाधक बनती है है तो कहीं रिश्वत व भ्रष्ट तरीके बाधक बनते हैं तो कहीं बड़े-बड़े लोगों की सिफारिशें उसके रोजगार पाने में बाधक बनती हैं तो कहीं देश में व्याप्त भाई-भतीजावाद व वंशवाद की स्थिति उसके रोजगार को प्राप्त करने में बाधक बनती है।

महोदय, जिस प्रकार प्रत्येक देशवासी को स्वतंत्रता उसका जन्म-सिद्ध अधिकार है, उसी प्रकार से रोजगार प्राप्त करने का अधिकार प्रत्येक नागरिक को है। शिक्षित रोजगारों में बी.ए.,एम.ए., बी. एस. सी., एम.एस. सी,पी.एच.डी.बी.एड. पास व्यक्तियों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है इसके अलावा मैट्रिक व इण्टर पास व्यक्तियों की संख्या भी बहुत ज्यादा है। शिक्षित व्यक्तियों का जीवन निराशा से भरा हुआ है। मानवीय मूल्य गिर रहे हैं तथा नवयुवक भी अपने नतिक मूल्यों से गिरता नजर आ रहा है क्योंकि उसके पास शिक्षा होने के बावजूद भी रोजगार का साधन नहीं है। परिवार का पालन-पोषण करने का कोई साधन नहीं है और है न ही सरकार से उसे कोई बेरोजगारी भत्ता मिल रहा है।

महोदया, यदि समस्या का समाधान करना है तो सरकारी तथा गैर - सरकारी क्षत्र को गहराई से विचार करना होगा और शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की समस्यया का समाधान करने के लिए ठोस उपाय करने होंगे। यदि इसका समुचित समाधान शीघ्रता से नहीं किया गया तो ए क दिन ऐसा आएगा कि शिक्षित नवयुवकों के बीच एक ऐसी विद्रोह की स्थिति का जन्म होगा जिसको कि कंट्रोल करना बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाएगा। थैंक्यू।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : अब सदन की बैठक बाद दोपहर ढाई बजे तक लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House than adjourned for lunch at twenty-four minutes past one of the clock'

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-four minutes past two of the clock, The Vice-Chairman (Shri Md. Sailm) in the Chair.

I. DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE

II. CLARIFICATIONS ON THE STATEMENT MADE IN THE RAJYA SABHA ON THE 10TH MAY, 19931 ON U. S. ACCION DESIGNATING INDIA AS A

PRIORITY FOREIGN COUNTRY UNDER ITS SPECIAL 301 LEGISLATION

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM); Now the Discussion on the Working of the Ministry of Commerce. Mr. Yashwant Sinha to begin.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have a clarification to seek in the beginning. I find from the order paper that listed in it is also clarifications on the statement on Special 301 which the Minister made yesterday. I seek your direction, Mr. Vice-Chairman, whether you like us to talk about it while discussing the Ministry of Commerce or to seek clarifications separately at a given time after the Discussion on the Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): That will be taken up separately because the speakers are different.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): But Members are free to refer to 301 because the Discussion is on the Commerce Ministry. The Members cannot be restricted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Not restricted. They are free to do so. But we cannot Jestrict others who are not speaking on this Ministry but are seeking clarifications on Special 301.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: The subject is so vast. They are free to speak on what they like.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA-. Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, let me first state that I deem it a great honour to open this debate on the working of the Ministry of Commerce here in this House today. The Commerce Ministry occupies a pride of place in the Ministries of Government of India. In the entire new economic policy of the Government, I think; the one Ministry which is the most important Ministry, the one Ministry where the success of the new economic policy has to be demonstrated the most, is the Ministry of Commerce. From whatever little I know of the working of the Minitry of Commerce, of the direction, of India's exports and of the performance of India's export-import trade during the last almost three years that this Government has been in power; I will begin by saying that it is in the performance of the Ministry of Commerce that the failure of the new economic policy of the Government is the most maifest. It is here that the whole policy has come home to roost and has produced no results.

Mr. Chairman, I begin by referring[1] to the trade policy statement. It is important to recount this because within a fortnight of the new Government coming to power in June of 1991—they took power, I think, on the 20th or the 21st of June—On the 4th of July the then Commerce Minister came out with a policy statement on export-import trade. All this was consolidated later in consultation with the Ministry of Finance. On the 14th, I think, or the 13th August 1991 he presented a comprehensive statement on trade policy to Pariament. I would like to read briefly from that policy statement. The then Commerce Minister said:

> "The export momentum built up during the period 1986-87 to 1989-90 ..."

They have very carefully chosen this period.

> "... when India's exports grew at an average annual rate of 17 per cent in terms of US dollars was lost in 1991 when export growth decelebrated to only 9 per cent in US dollars."

[.Shri Yashwant Sinha] And then "exports in April-May, 1991 have actually shown a decline of 5.8 per cent." "The restoration of the viability of our external payments situation was the most urgent task, and to this end the Government announced a policy package on the 4th of July." The avowed objective of this policy was to give a "push to our exports. This is what it was.

The Annual Report of the Commerce Ministry which has a Preface by the present Minister of Commerce says:

> "Trade policy occupies a central place in our economic restructur ing."

He admits what I said in the begin-ning, and then, paying himself a compliment .ho goes on to say:

> "The new export-import policy announced for the period April, 1992 to 31st March, 97 marks a watershed in our trade policy. The basic philosophy of the new policy is that foreign trade flourishes in an atmosphere of freedom."

The basic philosophy of the new policy is that foreign trade flourishes in an atmosphere of freedom. I am leaving it at that as far as the new export-import policy is concerned, be-cause I would like to refer to it a little later in my speech. But in his Forword the then Chief Controller of Imports and Exports on this new export-import policy echoed the sentiments of the Minister and said; "The fundamental feature of the new policy is freedom."

Now, T would like to go on to the Annual Report of the Ministry again, because these are important pointers to the whole mental frame of the present Government which has carried out all these policy changes. Here the Commerce Minister says again in the Preface: "The future direction of the policy will "be to prune these negative lists so that they contain only those items where exports ot imports are to be regulated on ground of safety, security, environment an< the like." So, the export-import po licy objective is only to restrict im-ports or exports to suit these ends Which are these considerations? Grounds of safety, security, environ ment and the like. It means the Government has given a complete go bye to such mundane, irrelevant con siderations as foreign exchange, such mundane irrelevant considera tions as the health of the domesti industry, the indigenous angle. These are not important policy parameter! before the Government, The Government will restrict imports and export only in areas concerning the security of the country, the safety of the coun try and other such considerations These are issues which will determine the policy of the Government. Now why I am taking a little time of the House on this is because I am gla(Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, the Cabine Minister for this has come. He is ai old hand in the game. He has serv ed under various Prime Ministers an< he himself has been both in the Com merce Ministry as well as in the Fin ance Ministry, the architect of th policies that he is now compelled to dismantle and dismember and to speal in their support, I can sympathise with him. I can empathise with him T have all my feelings for him, beca-use here is a very embarrassing situa tion for him. T have great hopes from him and I have told him in persona discussions also, because he is an ole guard T think he will have some feelings for some of the policies which the Government of India has follower successfully in the oast. Therefore, am reminding him that the new poli cv parameters are completely divorced from the reality of the situation. Therefore, it is that all he avowed objectives of the new trade policy have not beer; fulfilled. So. going back to the point that T was making that the measures mentioned in the trade oolicy statement which, the Government adopted on 4th July 1991 ,and put together in a policy statemen

before the Parliament on 13th August, 1991—we are in 1993 today—have not done anything to contribute to the promotion of exports. Why is it dangerous? It is dangerous because the predicament that we are facing today is largely because such policies were followed in the past in the decade of the 80s, especially in the later half of the 80s. Therefore, we got into these problems. And if the Government of India continues to follow the same policy, continues to insist on making the same mistake, I have no doubt in my mind that we will proceed towards the same dangerous situation. Mr Vice-Chairman, in this context, I would like to refer, for instance to the position that was there f am saying it because briefly non-Congress (I) Governments were in power, it is very easy now for the present Government to put all the blame on the four months or six months that we were ki power or on the eleven months that the National Front Government was in power and say that they Were responsible for all the ills that the country is facing today . But you are deliberately conceal-in g, knowingly concealing the truth and that truth appears in governmental document here and there, if one looks at them carefully.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, look at the trade imbalance. What was the trade or trade deficit in 1979-80? It was Rs. 2.725 crores. That was what it was. What was it in 1980-81? In the first year of the dangerous decade of the Eighties, it was Rs. 5,838 crores. Subsequently, I am going to read up to 1989-90, Rs. 5.838 crores, Rs. 5,802 crores. Rs, 5,490 crores, Rs. 6,060 crores, Rs. 5,390crores. Then, I will go to 1985-86, it goes up to Rs. 8,763 crores then Rs. 7,644 crores, then, Rs. 6.570 crores, then Rs. 8,003 crores. In the last year of the Seventh Plan. 1989-90 it was Rs. 7.735 •crores. New these are figures from the Economic Survey of the Government, of India. In its- narrative - portion. what does the-Economic Survey say? The Economic Survey says. "This performance is marked by a high trade deficit of about dollar 5.4 billion per annum during the last live years.' They include the last five years". They include other areas also. Now when you talk of the buoyancy of exports in the last years of the Eighties, then, you are deliberately concealing the fact that there was a greater buoyancy in imports; and that India incurred year after year an unsuitable and dangerous trade deficit. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee is in the best position to understand this particular thing be cause he had aiso been the Finance Minister. It is that unsustainable level of our trade deficit, and our current account deficit which has caused all the balance of payments problem which the country is facing today. If we embark on the that dangerous path again, then, I do not want to be a gloomy prophet of doom, but I have no hesitation in saying that the cuntry will face the same difficult situation even in future. What are the indications? Mr. Vice.Chairman, here is the report of the Parliament Standing Committee on commerce. Now what do they say? What does the Annual Report of the Ministry itself say? "We have but 0.41 per cent of the total global trade." That is the harsh truth. That is the insignificance to which this country has been reduced over the years. The obective which has been set is 35 billion of exports by the end of the Eighth Plan. The export growth rate up to the last fin. ancial year, up to January-April, was only 2.2 per cent. I do not know whether the Minister has got the flg-uirvs for the whole year. but this is what it was whereas the import growth was huch. higher 13.6 per cent 13.14 per cent, in dollar terms. That is because of- this yawning trade gap of dollar 3.3 billion up to that period. The estimates are it might go up to dollar 5 billion. As far as the last financial year is concerned, some people say it might, go up to dollar 6 billion.

Now. exports have not picked up. This is 2.3 per cent or 2.8 per cent or 1 8 per cont, whatever may be the ultimate figure. This growth rate is against a negative growth rate in

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]

the previous year. So when you are talking of this growth rate, it is meaningless. This growth means no. thing at all. You have adopted a policy, "Give all the freedom in the world to the exporters, to the Indian industry, to everyone, exporters and importers." You have also mentioned in your various documents that one of the reasons for the shortfall in exports or for exports not picking up was the import compression which had to be adopted in the light of the balance of payments crisis. Now I have challenged this in this House and I would like to repeat it. There is no empirical evidence that import compression has led to the deceiera. tion in industrial growth or in the deceleration of exports. And Mr. Pranab Mukherjee happens to continue to be the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. He has a vast machinery at his disposal. I ask you, I request you, to kindly order a study of this. Let some group study this. I would like to be faced with empirical evidence to suggest that this import compression which reduced our trade deficit So considerably in 1991 has led to export deceleration. We were having in the Question Hour, *Mr.* Vice-Chairman, a discussion on the import of raw silk. Why is it that from 'nil', the import of raw silk went up to 40 tonnes? When we are talking of the fact that there should be a restriction on imports, this is what we mean. You$_r$ domestic silk producers, your weavers, are suffering. And, here, we have spent lakhs and millions of dollars in order to import raw silk which is not a necessary import, from China and from Brazil. When we made import compressions through fiscal and monetary measures, it is precisely this kind of import which was sought to restricted. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to quote here the report of the Standing Committee. It is not the report of one particular party. It is a report of all the narties which are represented in Parliament. And that report says that unrestricted imports are bound to adversely affect our balance of payments and self-reliance which is one of the stated objectives of the Import-Export Pol icy. And they stay, "The Committee regrets to note.. .—which is a very strong condemnation coming from a Parliamentary Committee—" ....that there is developing in the country an overwhelming tendency in favour of import culture. This has spread con. sumerism leading to weakening of our self-reliance." This is the report of the Standing Committee. So, in the name of export promotion, what the Government is doing is, import promotion. What you are doing is, you are creating a new psychology of people depending on imports, of elite consumption, of a totally distor ted picture of the economy, unnecess ary imports, unrestricted imports. And when, Mr. Commerce Minister, you restrict the list of negative items or restricted items in your Trade Po licy which is valid for the next five years cue hopes, you are giving free dom to the importers to import items (1) which are going to hurt the domestic industry and (2) which are not required by our economy. You had handled a far more restrictive import trade regime and you had handle, it successfully in the past. If Indias exports have gone up from Rs. 600 crores to whatever is the figure now — Rs. 33,000 crores *ot* Rs 38,000 crores — today, then, there is no reason why all the policy parameters of the past should be so smugly, so callously, ditched. Mr. Vice-Chairman, therefore, the point I am making is that the whole direction of this New Trade Policy is wrong and one hopes that it wall be possible for the hon. Commerce Minister to take control of the situation and make sure that this does not cause the kind of damage which it is bound bound to cause.

Now. in the matter of exports, I am quoting from the Standing Committee. What have they said? We have advertised, with great fanfare, that the exchange rate poliev of the Government, the complete liberalisation, the complete convertibility, fri

this year's Budget, is a great achievement. This is the most shining achievement of the Government and ail this has been done starting with the streamlining of the Exim Scrips in 1991. The partial convertibility and full convertibilities on the trade account are sought to be justified on the ground that these are going to help our exports. Now, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee should know better than anyone that the exchange-rate adjustment policy is a debunked theory in international trade. Nobody believes any more that if you change your exchange rate, if you adjust your exchange rate, your exports are going to pick up. We have done that adjustment and we have pushed up the price of the dollar to Rs. 32l. today and the 'hawala' is at Rs. 37/- or Rs. 38/- or Rs. 40/-.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra)- It is at 39 rupees.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Jagesh Desai tells me that lit is at 39 rupees. Now, if this be so, if this is the kind of devaluation which has taken place, almost 100 per cent devaluation of the Indian rupee, and after that we achieve a growth rate of 2.2 per cent in exports, is this policy justified? What has the Standing Committee said about it? The Standing Committee, after due consideration and deliberation says: "This variable performance in different categories of product groups would lead to the conclusion that across the board measures of devaluation etc. have not helped export performance" and if I might add, they are not going to help them even in future. It is going to be the same story of disappointment and frustration if we continue to follow this policy.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, why is it that we have embarked on this path? Why is it that we are now liberalising at a mad pace? Why is it that we are debunkdng, we are denigrating all that was considered valuable, that was considered worthy in our system? The simple answer to that, as we have said in debates on economic policy, is the fact that we are acting under pressure. We are told that this is the line which India must adopt. This is what it amounts to. We are under pressure from the World Bank; we are under pressure from the IMF; we are under pressure from the Asian Development Bank and the policies, whether they are policies in the Budget or whether they are policies in the Ministry of Commerce are being dictated from abroad and * Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is the reason why we are following policies which are not going to lead us to Eldorado. They are only going to lead us to disaster. Now, just take one more example of this Annual Report of the Ministry of Commerce.

There was a time when the stock market prices were going up. Then every Minister in the Finianee Minis try, including the Finance Minis ter, was vying with each other to come and claim before Parliament, before the people, before every for um in this country and abroad that the increase in the stock market pri ces was because of the liberalisation of economic policies of the Govern ment when that policy had nothing at all to do with what had happened in the stock market. Similarly, what does the Annual Report of the Man. istry of Commerce say? It says: "Consequent upon the positive liber alisation measures undertaken by this Ministry, exports have shown an improvement this year as compared to the corresponding period last year." Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, cor responding period last year, I have already told you, was a year in which there was a decline in exports. What satisfaction do you want to draw by saying that we have an export growth of 2.2 per cent against a projected growth of 13.6 per cent or whatever was the target fixed for the Eighth Plan and we have already lost that? Do you think we will ever reach 35 billion dollars by the end of the Eighth Plan? That appears

to be a very unlikely target. But ag ain, what is it which the Commerce Ministry ought to do? I think I have no hesitation in saying that the Min istry of Commerce is barking up the wrong tree. I have said it m a debate earlier when Mr. Pranab Mukherjee's predecessor was here in *t*his House. I said that there is a tendency on the part of the Ministry of Commerce to explain away its failure. If there is any deceleration, if there is any shortfall, they will find hundred, reasons why that shortfall has taken place from President Clinton to the last cobbler in Agra. But if there is any little success with which the Ministry of Commerce or its policies have nothing to do, then they will be the first to rush and claim credit for it. This is the tendency in the Ministry of Commerce. For God's sake, please get rid of this tendency. Please look deeply, carefully into what ought to be done. There are a lot of things which ought to be done. But one thing which I would like to emphasise is that along with micro approach, there must be a micro app-roach. Unless you adopt a micro approach, a firm-by-firm, a product -by— product and a market-by-market approach, your export targets have absolutely no meaning because ultimately if we say that we want to achieve an export growth of this percentage and we want to have an export growth of 5 billion dollars or 3 billion dollars in the next financial year, this incremental trade must be fixed as a responsibility on all those star trading houses and nan-star trading houses and on all the categories you have created amongst export houses. You must be able to call your exporters, you must be able to discuss it. You have a plethora of export promotion organisations. Now what I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Commerce is whether such exercise has been done in the Ministry of Commerce. There are the healthy industrial houses, there are the strong, competent industrial houses in this country. What is their contribution? What is the contribu-

tion of the public sector? What is the contribution of the small scale sector and what is the contribution of the foreigncollaboration company? I don't have the figures. I could not get the figures in a hurry but I know this from past experience that the contribution of the small scale sector is a very significant contribution; the contribution of the public sector is a very significant contrbution. There are some honourable exceptions am ong the large industrial houses in the country which are doing export, but, by and large, the biggest culprits on the export front are those who are in the 'large' category and those who have the advantage of foreign colla boration. They are the ones who are not contributing to the country's ex port efforts. They are here only to exploit our domestic market and there is no reason, Mr. Vice-Chair man, why they cannot be forced to make more and more efforts and a really significant contribution to our export effort. So the point I am making is, call them. Call all your industrial houses, call you$_r$ exporters, call your export houses and sit down with them. Give the task to the Export Promotion Councils. Ask them to bring to you a list of what is going to be the export target of export house 'A' or exporter 'B' in relation to market 'C' in rela tion to product 'D', what is it going to be in a period of time, in 1993-94, 1994-95, 1995-96. Now you have a five-year policy of export-import. Ask them to give you a target for the next five years and it lis only then, ifter you have broken if down expor-er-wise, product-wise, country-wise, that you can monitor it properly, you can give them the assistance that the need and you can ensure that our export targets are fulfilled.

There is another area Mr. Vice-Chairman, to which I would like to make a reference because I have recently written a letter to the hon. Finance Minister on this and I think that is an area where we are missing a lot of opportunity. Somebody brought it to my notice recently that in project exports these is tremendous

possibility and project exports is one area where there has actually been a decline. If you look into the figures given by the Standing Committee in its Report, then you will And that project goods have actually declined in the last financial year over the previous financial year by 28.3 per cent. Now why has this situation come about? This has come about be cause the entire procedure for pro ject exports, despite all the claims of liberalisation which this Govern ment has made so far in 2 and half or 3 years, is something which does not apply to project exports and this is one area, Mr. Vice-Chairman, where I said there are tremendous opportunities. The Committee, for instance, said, "The Committee un derstands the consultancy and project exports are entitled to only 50 per cent of the benefit under income-tax as compared to other exports. The Committee sees no rationale for this discrimination, particularly because Indian Intellectual Properties can be utilised to earn foreign exchange on a much larger quantum than at present. The incentives given for pro jects and consultancy should be, therefore, at par with other exports." Then they go on to talk about the project exports. That is why *J* don't want to go into the details. But the point I am making is that this is one area where it is possible for India, gi ven the stage of development in which we are, to make a solid contribution and there is no reason why we should not take advantage of it and there is no reason why the Government should not look into this and make sure that we exploit the potential which is available to us.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are many other areas but in view of the limited time that is there at my disposal. I will not go into all those areas. I will merely touch two or three other important points which, to my mind, are of extreme importance and which require careful consideration for our future as a nation. The first is in regard to international trade negotiations. As far as the Uruguay Bound is concerned, we have repeatedly pointed out to the Commerce Minister a>nd to the Government in this House and outside and I would like to repeat it that there is no reason why the Government should shy away from appointing a Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. This famous Dunkel draft was given in December 1991. The whole of 1992 has passed and there has been no agreement, not because we were creating any difficulties. We were lying prostrate. We were there helpless. We were prepared to eccept anything.

We were prepared to accept their blows but it did not come to that. We were saved by a conjunction of factors abroad because the EEC and the US could not come to an agreement and there was presidential election in the USA. A whole year has gone by. There was a danger that the GATT round might be brought to an end immediately after the assumption of office by the US President sometime in February or March. But, fortunately or unfortunately for us, the new US administration has taken a view that they would like to look afresh at the entire Dunkel draft and, therefore, the likelihood is that the whole thing will remain pending and it is only towards the end of the year that something might emerge. As far as we are concerned. I am completely unable to understand the point of view of this Government which is only waiting for foreign impulses as if we cannot do anything. It might be finalised in March 1993 or April 1993 or it might be finalised at any moment of time. So, we are not in a position to take any initiative. I was listening to the speech in the Rashtrapati Bhawan—the hon. Commerce

[Shri Yashwant Sinha] Minister was also there—of the Tanzanian President. What was the Tanzanian President saying? He was saying, "India has been the lelader of the Third World. We expect India not only to *come* to the rescue of a country like Tanzania but we expect India to take the leadership of the Third World". This is the leadership which came to us naturally. This is the leadership which Mr. Pranab Mukheree, as the Minister of Commerce, as the Minister of Finance, has assumed in his personal capacity, in international fora and he has led the Group of 77 in pointing out or projecting our point of view. Now why is it that suddenly India, a mighty, a great country which used to occupy a position of pride, a position in of influence, a position of power, whether it is GATT or UNCTAD or any other international forum, has become so helpless? Why is it that today we have suddenly toe-came so helpless that We have to depend on President Clinton ,to save us, if at all, and we can't take any initiative on our own? Why can't the Government appoint a committee? The US Congress is in a position to influence the US policies. The US Trade Representative says, "we have to satisfy the US Congress and that is why we must take action against India under Special 301". That is something to which I shall come a little later. Why is it that the Parliament of India cannot be taken into confidence? Why is it that the Parliament cannot give direction to the Government? Why is it that the Parliament will not be listened to by this Government? I am saying this with all seriousness about the Uruguay Round. I am talking basically of the patent system, our patent law of 1970, in the context of Special 301, in the context of the Uruguay Round of discussion. I am saying this not merely as a question. It is a very shortsighted view to take that it might lead only to an increase in drug prices in his country and, therefore, we should not accept it or ask for some safeguard in regard to drug prices.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, if I could take a little time of the House in telling you what exactly is involved, what is it that the Dunkel proposals tell us? What is it that the developed countries are wanting India to do? What is the manner in which they want the famous Act of 1970, which has been responsible for our economic growth and *economic* self-reliance, changed? What is it that they want changed? Mr. Vice-Chairman, they want that along with process patent, we must also have product patent. In other words, if these spectacles can be made by one process it is possible under our law for somebody else to discover another process to make the same thing. But if you go for a product patent, then this product is patented and any alternative route to that product is bared. Therefore, they are insisting on product patent. Then, what should be the period of patent? According to our laws, present laws, as far as engineering goods and such other items are concerned, the period of patent will be 5 to 7 years. As far as chemical goods, drugs, etc. are concerned, it will be 12 to 15 years. Now, they are insisting that it should be 20 years across the board for patented products. This is the second point. The third point is in regard to the definition of working of patent. In our law importation is not working. The patent holder must come to this country and set up shop here. He must manufacture that product. In the new dispensation importation will amount to working. So, a foreigner will take a patent; he will not manufacture that iem here. He will continue to import for 20 years, the period for which he has a patent; and that will qualify as working of the patent; and We can do nothing about it. He will produce it there and export 5t to our country.

The fourth point is in regard to the reversal of the burden of proof. It is a golden law of jurisprudence that the burden of proof will be on the prosecution all the time. In this particular case, we are saying the burden of

proof will be on the accused on the defence. They will have to prove that he has not pirated a patent. How can he prove that he has not pirated a patent? He does not know about the patent. If I do not know about an item, commodity, anything, how can I say that I have not stolen it? This is the reversal of the burden of proof. Then in our case, in our patent law, there is this compulsory licence of right. There is a concept of public interest. The Government retains the right under our patent law to ask a patent-holder to make available his patent to any other person ki public interest on paymen of a suitable compensation. This, according to the Dunkel proposals, according to the developed countries, will become justiciable. He can drag you to a court of law. He can see that you don't get his patent and that he coninues to have a monopoly.

Then, what is patenting? According to the British law, all the laws in the world, patenting will relate to invention. By that logic patenting of living organisms is forbidden. The Harvard mouse has been patented, genes have been patented, plant varieties have been patented, seeds have been patented. Therefore, there is a great danger. The whole field of frontier science of bio-technology is now before us. We have made a lot of progress in this field. If we accept the Dunkel proposals, then patenting of living organisms, patenting of discoveries, patenting of all the discoveries in bio-technology will become their right and we sure going to suffer a great deal because our research and development, our science and technology will receive a knock. That is what it is. By the same token, atomic energy will also be brought with in the purview of patents.

The worst, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is the full system of cross linkages of punitive action. It is not merely within the GATT, it is not merely if you violate IPR norms it is not merely in the field of trade—of goods and merchandise^—that they will retaliate, They want a cross linkage to be established with the World Bank and the IMF. This whole settlement, dispute settlement machinery in the GATT is going to go completely wonky, is going to acquire a completely new character. A developing country like India, once it is accused of patent violation, will be hauled over the coals not only before the GATT but they can shut us out of the World Bank, the IMF, the Asian Development Bank and all such assistance. Now these are the dangers, Look at it. It is hot a simple case. If you take it individually—the process patent along with the product patent may not appear to be difficult. And take the period of patent, it may also not appear to be that difficult. But if you look at the whole thing, all these eight or nine points that I have mentioned, together, it is a very, very dangerous situation and I do not know—![am being quite candid— how many people even in Government are understanding the implications. Mr. Mukherjee was kind enough to call us. We had a discussion with him and we told nim, "Please have a Parliamentary committee to go into this matter" He had his reservations. I would like to repeat it to him, Mr. Vice-Chairman, through you. Even today, there is time. Let us have a Parliamentary committee. A Parliamentary committee must be able to go into this matter in great detail and set the guidelines for the Government. But, if you continue to dither, if you continue to vacillate, If you: continue to think about it, then, it is going to lead to a situation where the day President Clinton makes up his mind—and he appears to have made up his mind—that will be the day of doom for India. And, with all the em-phlasis at my command I am telling you not only on behalf of many of the Opposition parties here whose mind I know but I am saying it on behalf of many of the Congress Members also whose mind also I know, don't

[Shri Yashwant Sinha] take this House for granted. As far as the meaecrual property Right are concerned, Mr. Commerce Minister, iet a tsiguai go tnat this is not negotiable, This is not negotiable. We snail not negotiate on the 1970 Act. There were wo Joint Parliamentary Committees, it took 20 years for this country to arrive at that Act and pass it through Parliament. Let us not fiddle with it Let us not play small, little, games with it to satisfy OUST foreign masters sitting somewhere. This is something which is not negotiable. This is something which the Government must understand. And, even if concessions are made, compromises are made, in any international fora, I have no hesitation in saying with all the emphasis at my command that we shall not let it pass muster in Parliament. Here, you are going to face a very difficult Situation and you will face a revolt even from your own Members. Now, Mr, Vice-Chairman, in this whole thing about negotiation, lots) of mistakes have been made in the Uruguay Round and I plead with folded hands with the Government, with the Commerce Minister, let us not repeat those mistakes in future, let us for once take a tough line, let us take a line which is in our national interest let us take a line which is in the interests of all the developing countries and let us assume the leadership which the developing countries are prepared to give us. India must once again assert itself in the international fora. India must once again lead the developing countries and tell the developed countries that we are not going to submit to any blackmail, to any blandishment and to any such games. Now, regarding this 301, the U.S. Trade Representative has decided to name India under 301 for priority action. And I understand that 80 million dollars worth of our exports under the Generalised System of Preferences have already been taken out of the GSP. This is a kind of punitive action which they have taken. Now, it is important to explain this. This is an Act of the U.S. congress which was first passed in 1974 There is often a contusion between the Super 301, 301 and Special 301. *I* will take a mute time, super 301 relates to the trade in mercnandise ana Special 301 is some-txung which applies to intellectual property rights services, insurance and investment. So, if they want to taise action as they have taken against us, they will take action under Special 301. This provision in the U.S. Trade taw, was strengtnen-ed through an amendment in 1988 and the Special 301 came. Why did it come? Why was the U.S. Congress compelled to make this change? It was compelled to make this change because the whole U.S. approach to the international trade has undergone a change. It is no more interested because it cannot compete in trading in goods. The border paradigm as the basis of negotiations in the GATT round, in all the previous seven rounds, is now being given a go by. And why is it that they are suddenly jumping over tne national boundary and coming and delving into your bedroom, so to say, and saying "what are you doing about investment, what are you doing about insurance and other services, what are you doing about in-telectual property rights?" That they are saying because this is where the US's strength is today. Tomorrow they may not have any interest. Today, they have no interest or very little interest in goods, in merchandise. They have an interest in investment because they feel that they can continue to export these services, these patents and make money. Now this is the reason why the Special-301 was introduces in 1988 and the US has now taken action against India. And what is it that someone, a petty official in the US Embassy, has given a statement which appeared in today's Hindustan *Times* where he has put it conservatively? It says. "The infringement by us of the US patent laws, of pira-

ting, is costing the US about $, 40 million annually." Now, there is no official figure. I would like to ask the Commerce Minister in all humility whether his Ministry has done any exercise to find out if there is any truth in the US allegation that we are piraing their patents and if we are pirating then, why it is that we cannot take action under our existing laws. Why is it that the US, the aggrieved party, cannot come before our courts and file a case against us? Why is it that they have to pressurise us, they have to twist our arm, in order to have a totally new patent regime?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, here I have a report. This should be quite revealing. I have brought this document because *I* happened to be in Washington last year, to be exact, on 8th June, 1992 This is a report of the Japanese Government on unfair trade policies of the major trading partners. India does not figure because we are not a major trading partner of Japan. This report chronicles the Japanese perception of the US trade laws and how they are unfair. They made an analysis They had ten countries and ten parameters. This report, which the Japanese Government has accepted, says that out of the ten parameters set by them, nine were being violated by the US trade laws. Nine of them were being violated and this country which is the international violator of all norms, has the gumption to proceed against us under the Special-301. I am sorry to *be* saying this, Mr. Vice-Chairman —I am not interested in US bashing— but the ugly American has never been uglier. If we had any hopes from the regime of President Clinton, all those hopes stand dashed to the ground. By taking this action, which even Mr. George Bush did not take, Mr. Clinton has made his new face quite clearly visible to say that he is also as much of an imperialist as anyone else and the US today is not merely interested in Pax Americana whether it is in politics or trade, the US is today the biggest international rogue elephant stalking the land. This is what they are and they have no business doing it. This whole matter is still under discussion in the GATT irrespective of the fact whether we reach a settlement on IPR or not. The Uruguay Round is not finished. Then, now dara they impose the Special-301 in our country and ask us to go and explain to them? What does the Commerce Minister say in his statement? The Commerce Minister says, "We will continue to impress upon the US Government that these issues must be resolved through a multilateral system and any unilateral action on their part is unwaranted". Take it to the GATT. You cannot take it to the GATT because the GATT does not have a regime on IPR yet. But the general behaviour of the US Government is something) about which you can agitate in the GATT. I would like to know why for the last four years the US has been threatening us under the ' Super-301. Why is it that we have not taken it to the GATT? Let us take it to the GATT. Why don't we lodge a formal complaint against the US attitude? The Japanese have done it. Since 1988, some figure is here. The Japanese have taken it to the GATT. The Japanese Report says:

> "It bears mention in this respect that of the cases brought before the GATT Panels from January 1980 to March 1992, of the 23 cases, 17 were against the USA and GATT violations were found in seven."

This is the international violator, violator of international nrms, and they hve made this law which is their municipal law, which is their national law, and they have the gumption to ask India to come and explain! I would most humbly urge upon the Commerce Ministry, I would most humbly urge upon the Government of India: "Don't give *in* to this US blackmail. Don't go and explain your position to the US."

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]

We are not under eny obligation to obey their internal laws. They can prosecute you, they can persecute you, they can haul you up before their courts. But we have the inter. national law and we have our own national laws and we have powers under them to reciprocate to retaliate, and there is no reason why we should behave like we are a Banana Republic and there lis no reason why we should not behave like we are mighty Republic in this world and face up to the US challenge and take the world on our side.

I see no reason why there Has been a failure on this front. I would most humbly plead with the Com merce Mi mister because he has a lot of experience. There have been fail ures in the past. But he knows the intricacies of international negotia tions and, so, there is no reason why we should lose hope and there is no reason why we should not take coura ge in our hands and remedy the dama ge which is being sought to be done. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, once we have that attitude, then this whole talk of globalisation, the in tegration of our economy with the world economy, all this new idiom which, has crept into our economic thinking, we will find, does not wash. It does not wash because no body is interested in integrating with you, nobody is interested in seeing that you go global. There is a lot of difference and I am sure the Govern ment knows the difference between internal liberalisation and globalisa tion. I am all for internal liberalisa tion. Give strength to your industry so that it can compete with the world. But there is no point in asking them to swim when they are not even able to move their hands. This will not help the country and it is only soing to do damage. And, if you are doing it under pressure, it is time you stood un manfully against such a pressure and asserted our economic sovereignty, asserted our independence. There is no better opport-unity and there is no greater test of this will than our response to the Special 301 that the United States has sought to impose upon us and it is where the will of the Government will be tested and once we take that fight, Sir, I have no doubt that a lot of truth will dawn upon our Government and the bankers that they have put on their eyes, the blinkers that they have sought to put on our eyej and the eyes of the people will vanisn automatically.

With these words, Sir, I would very humbly plead with the Comm erce Minister that he should have a relook at the working of his Ministry and make sure that the Ministry subserves the needs which it is called upon to do in our system. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Mr. Vice-CHAIRMAN, Sir, first of (all, I am very happy that we have a very very experienced Commerce Minister. Earlier, both the Commerce and Finance Ministries were with the same Minister. I think the time has now come to suggest that these two Ministries should be with one and the same person. There is a reason for this. At present, we are facing a situation where we want to see that our difficulties regarding the balance of payments, which is the most crucial thing, are removed. In this sort of situation, it is the Finance Minister who gives concessions for the export trade and it is the Finance Minister who wants to see that we have to borrow much less from the international organisations so that we can stand on our own legs. A_s such, I feel that my view-point will be considered by the Government and the Prime Minister.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very happy that in the last one year, we have don_e very good work regarding our exports. But earlier, there was a move by the Finance Minister that we should try to export value-added goods. This will help create employment in our country and we shall also earn foreign exchange because of

the value-added thing. But, unfortunately, 1 am seeing the reversal of that policy. For granite, if exported in the raw state, there was an export duty. That has been removed this year. For iron ore also, that kind of export duty was levied. I think, it is still continuing. I feel that the Gov-* ernment should try to see that ex. ports are made of value-added gooos. If something is exported in semi-processed form or in raw state, then there should be export duty on that. That will help us to some extent to get more foreign exchange.

Mr. Yashwant Sinha has made any points. And on many points I agree with him.

AN HON. MEMBER; On many he agrees, but on many he doesn't agree.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Sir, I remember that when we wanted to fire the Agni missile, there was tremendous pressure from the United States of America that we should not fire it. I raised this issue in this House and said that if it is not fired, then there will be an impression in the minds of the people that this Government has succumbed to the pressure of America. And within one week, it was fired. This country will not succumb to the pressure of any big power. This country will always stand On its own legs. And this country will not succumb to this kind of pressure of Super-301 or Special-301 by America. Sir, I have seen the reply of the Commerce Minister in this connection He has given a diplomatic reply. But there is much in what he has said. This issue is bei3g discussed. This is not an issue between India and the United State. This is a multilateral issue, and is being discussed in the Uruguay Round of talks, and America should not have taken any action. I am sure that this Government will not succumb to the pressure of America or any other country. Whatever is in the interest of this country, whatever is in the interest of the masses of the country, whatever is in the interests ox our agriculturists, that will be uppermost in the minds of " the Government. And I am very happy that both the Prime Minister and the Commerce Minister, not once but three or four times, have told in different forums that we shall preserve, we shall protect the interests of the common man, we snail protect the interests of our agriculturists, we shall see that the common man can get his medicines at a proper price. I am sure that in the discussions at GATT, our Government will take a very firm stand. I am sure the other developing countries are watching what India does. Sir, I was a delegate at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1987. There was tremendous pressure from the United States and other countries that We should privatise our public sector. But our Government was very firm. At that time, all the countries of the Third World were looking[1] towards India. And I am very happy to say that at that time Mr. S. P. Shukla who was the Finance Secretary, subsequently was looking after this work on behalf of the Government. He stood firm and We said that we are not going to hear these things and we shall decide our policy which is in the best interest of the country. I am sure, and I have full faith in Mr. Pranab Mukherjee; he is also a very progressive-minded person, as 1 know him and I am sure that he will see to it that no harm is done to the common man of this country.

There are other aspects and Mr. Yashwant Sinha also pointed out about them. Small—scale industry is a major party so far as our export trade is concerned. There are exports of handicrafts to the extent of about Rs. 6700 crores. Similarly, we export readymade garments to the extent of about Rs. 6700 crores. Similarly, we export readymade garments to the extent of about Rs. 4000 to Rs. 5000 crores. But the point I am trying to. make is that same items are there

[Shri Jagesh Desai]

lor our exports and there is no change. For the last 3 or 4 years I have bene seeing the same items for exports. I don't understand why we are not going in for some other items also. Is it because there is some quota or some kind of a restriction in other countries?

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH) in the Chair.]

Take the case of textiles. In the U.S.A. there is a quota: some ceil ing is there. Under the GATT propo sals, they have been given 10 years' period, reducing it for the first 3 to 4 years, from 12 per cent and then for 2 to 3 years, the percentage is higher. I am happy that our Govern ment has taken a firm decision that it should be done within 4 to 5 years and that the percentage should also be increased. The Government should stick to it, otherwise our exports will be adversely affected.

I *am* sorry there was not enough time for me to go through the Report and other relevant papers.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Why was there not enough time for you? You are the only speaker from your party.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Actually I kept all my papers at my residence.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): He did not have the time to go there.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I will try to highlight some of the points.

As regards our exports, in 1990-91, the exports were of the order of ab out Rs. 32,000 crores. After the new initiative taken by the Government, the exports have gone up to Rs-44,000 crores in the year 1991-92. As regards imports, in 1990-91. the imports were of the order of Rs. 43,000 crores and they have gone up to Rs. 47,000 crores. Our trade deficit in the earlier year was about Rs. 10,640 crores and it has come down to Rs. 3000 crores in 1931-92. In the current year, for the 9 months' per. iod, our imports ar$_e$ of the order of Rs. 47,000 crores but our exports have not gone up to that extent and they remain at Rs. 37,000 crores. So, in the current period of 9 months, our exports are less by Rs. 7,000 crores whereas our imports remain at the same level. Our trade deficit has gone up from Rs. 3000 crores to Rs. 10,000 crores. How are you going to make up for that deficit? What we are told is that our trade deficit will be about 6 billion dollars ir so. I do not know the latest figures. I would like the hon. Minister to tell us the position as on 31st March, 1993 and whether the trade deficit which was earlier of the order of Rs. 3000 crores has gone up and if so, to what extent it has gone up- I would like to know from the hon. Minister what measures he is going to adopt to see that in future we shall be able to reach a growth rate of 15-17 per cent, which he wants to achieve. I would like to know whether we will be able to do it or not.

Then, in regard to the question of services, to which Mr. Yashwant Sinha also made a reference, I strongly feel that we should not accept it. It was not there earlier in the G.A.T.T. negotiations. We should not accept it. Why should we accept it? If we accept it, what will be the repercussions in our country? Are we going to allow foreign companies in the banking sector? Are we going to allow them in the life insurance area? Are we going to allow them ul the general insurance field? Are we going to allow foreigners to float companies in our country in these areas? Sir, we have had a bad experience. When I spoke on the Finance Bill yesterday, I quoted some paragraphs from a report of the U.N. regarding privatisation of the public sector. I warned as to what would

happen in the Third World countries. *It* more foreign capital comes into tne country will happen? They will jeopardise our interests, both by their interference and their domination, li we allow them to that extent,, I tear about the consequence's. Let us not go back to the days of the East India v,ompany. I am sure the Gov ernment will take care of it. We should see that this sec tor should not be opened up for any foreign company, or, for that mat ter, even for any private sector or ganisation in India. At least, we should not allow foreign companies in these three areas.

Then, I am happy to And that there is less export of iron ore in the first nine months of last year. we wanted that we should not export raw materials, but only finished goods. There. fore$_i$ I am happy to see that export of iron ore was less in the first nine months of last year. But what about our tea export? Export of tea has gone down. What efforts are you go. ing to make to see that the export of tea is increased? The same thing in the case of tobacco, of which Dr. Sivaji always speaks. There also, the export is less. What measures are you going to adopt to see that the exports of such items are increased?

About the full convertibility of the rupee on trade account, I would like the Government to again ponder over this and see whether it i$_s$ going to be beneficial or not. I have my own doubts on this. I had expressed my doubts on this earlier also. I am reiterating it again today. I feel thai the earlier Government scheme in res pect of export promotion—where concessions and incentives were there-will be far better. It is far better than permitting them to meet their re-quirements of foreign exchange by buying it in the open market. My worry here is that they will only import such items where there is a high margin of profit after manufacture, but they will not import items which are required for the common man. As such, I feel that we may not have enougn foreign exchange eveu for import of petroleum products. We may have to take it from tne mar Ke i. in the caue ot buut imports like petroieum the exchange rate will go very high. This will, in turn, put our industries as well as tne consumers in the hands of manipulators who will release foreign exchange only when there is a big demand from departments like Defence, Petroleum, etc. I hope the Government will look into it and see how this problem can be solved.

Lastly, we have the G.A.T-T. proposals relating to agriculture, services, patents and intellectual property rights. I hope the Goverriment will take care of it and se$_e$ that they do not accept such proposals which will be deemed by the people to have been accepted, as if we have yielded to prssures from big powers. That should not happen. I have full faith in the capacity of our Commerce Minister and I am sure under the leadership of our Prime Minister these difficulties will be removed.

Coming to the IMF and the World Bank loan, whether it is liked or not, whether it is accepted or not, we should always say that there are no conditions. I know, nobody is going to agree to that, but I am happy that on two occasions we have declined the offers of the World Bank. The one was whe, the Railways wanted loan from the World Bank for mod ernisation, they had put a condition that all the six units under Railways wanted loan from the World Bank for modernisation, they had put a condition that all the six units under Railways should b$_e$ privatised and the Government did not accept it. Our Prime Minister has sai it not once, twice or thrice that we shall accept foreign collaborations or foreign aid only on our own terms and conditions which are beneficial to our country. I thin that is the approach which must be put into practice. Similarly, for Narmada also the

[Shri Jagesh Desai] same thing was done. I am sure we will not succumb to any pressure, and this country and the people of this country will not tolerate any kind of pressure which will humiliate us or which will be against our national interest.

Sir, I am confident of our capacity, yet we have to go miles ahead. The picture of our exports during these 9 months has not been bright. As such, the Government and the Commerce Ministry should suggest to the Finance Minister how our exports can be increased and how import of non-essential items can be eliminated. We shall all back you in this respect. If this is done, I think we shall be able to check our balance of payment position. Otherwise, we shall be in a very very bad position and nobody will be able to help us.

श्री राम दास अग्रवाल (राजस्थान) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वाणिज्य मंत्रालय के बारे में आज यह सदन चर्चा कर रहा है वाणिज्य मंत्रालय इस देश का एक प्रमुख मंत्रालय है। इसके ऊपर देश की विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जित करने का भार है । इस मंत्रालय को इसलिए महत्वपूर्ण समझा गया कि देश की विदेशी मुद्रा जो हमारे लिए बड़ी बेशकीमती है, उसके सबध सें वह नीतियों का निर्धारण करे वह ऐसी पद्ति चलाए, जिससे निर्यातकों को प्रोत्साहन मिले। वह ऐसी व्यवस्थाए करे ताकि देश विदेशी मुद्रा अधिक कमा सके । यह सब करने का दायित्व वाणिज्य मत्रालय पर है और मैं समझता हूं कि पिछले 40 वर्षो म वाणिज्य मंत्रालय को जो कुछ चाहिए था अगर उन्ह बड़ी कारपोरेशन चाहिए थी तो वह उनको एम.एम.टी.सी., एस.टी.सी. के नाम से मिलीं, उनको एक्सपोर्ट प्रमोशन कांन्सिल चाहिए तो वह उनको मिली और अन्य अन्य विभाग, कांन्सिल; कारपोरेशन, यह उनको मिलती रहीं । हम इस सदन सें प्रतिवर्ष नई नीतियों के भाषण वाणिज्य मंत्री के द्वारा सुनते रहे और हरेक बार जब भी नीति का विषय आया, जब भी एक्सपोर्ट, इम्पोर्ट नीति घोषित की गई, इस देश को, इस संसद को यह कहा गया कि आने वाला वर्ष बड़ा अच्छा होगा, इससें भविष्य सुन्दर होगा, हमारी विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार बढेगा। यह नीति निर्धारित करते करते बड़े-बड़े कारपोरेशन का संचाल करते करते, इतने भारी-भरकम विभाग बनने के बावजद जो उदेश्य तय किए गए थे, जो टारगेटस तय किए गए थे, जो निश्चित आशाए की गई थीं, उनका क्या हुआ ? क्या हम जो कुछ सोचते थे या जो जो हम यहां घोषणा करते थे या जिस प्रकार की हम अपेक्षा करते थे, आशा करते थे उस आशा के अनुकल हमें परिणाम मिले ? यदि नहीं मिले तो क्या हम आज जब इस बात की समीक्षा करने जा रहे हैं कि आने वाला वर्ष वाणिज्य मंत्रालय जो हसें यह कह रहा है कि आने वाले साल सें एक्सपोर्ट 15 से 20 परसेंट बहु जाएगा, यह आशा हमको फिर दिलाई जा रही है। हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बहुत बढ़ेगा क्योंकि हमने उदारीकरण की नीति अपनाई है, हमने सरलीकरण कर दिया है, हमने नीतियों सें बड़ा भारी परिवतन कर दिया है–समाजवाद के चोगे को उतारकर ढैंक दिया है, राष्ट्रीयकरण की नीति को तिलांजलि दे दी है, सरकारीकरण की नीतियों को हमने छोड़ दिया है और अब इसके कारण हमारे देश में मानो विदेशी मुद्रा के आने का अम्बार लग जाएगा, ऐसा आश्वासन ऐसी आशा हमको फिर दिलाई जा रही है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह देश केबल आशाओं पर जीता रहेगा और अंतिम परिणाम सें हम दिवालियापन के कगार पर पहुच जाएगे ? मैं तथ्यों के द्वारा इस बात बात को साबित करना चाहता हुं कि नीतियों का निर्धारण इसलिए किया गया था कि हमारे देश सें विदेशी मुद्रा अधिक आए, हमारे यहां पर हमारे देश के उत्पादों का निर्यात बढ़े, लेकिन परिणाम उल्टे हो रहे हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि हमारे वर्तमान वाणिज्य मंत्री महोदय, जिनके बारे में दश यशवत सिन्हा जी ने भी और देसाई जी ने भी कहा कि ये बड़े अनुभवी हैं, बड़े योग्य हैं, समद सें इनकी मान्यता है, बल्कि मैं अगर यह कहूं कि संसद सें ही नहीं, शेयर बाजार सें भी इनगी मान्यता हें तो यह गलत न होगा।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मगर सरकार में इनकी भागीदारी अनिश्चित है, कल ही अखबार में निकला है।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : इनका वर्चस्व शेयर मार्किट में भी चलता है। इनके नाम से शेयर बाजार ऊपर-नीचे आता है ऐसा मैंने सुना है। अच्छा है, अनुभवी, योग्य प्रशासक वाणिज्य मंत्री बने हैं। इनसे पहले हमारे एक वाणिज्य मंत्री थे। इसी संसद में मैंने उनका वक्तव्य सुना था क्योंकि मैं उसी समय चुनकर आया था, जब वह वक्तव्य द रहे थे, क्योंकि वह भी एक नौजवान लगते थे, चिदम्बरम साहब भी अच्छे मंत्री लगते थे, मेरी उनके प्रति बड़ी सहानुभति थी, लेकिन उदारीकरण नीति का सरलीकरण की नीति का सबसे पहला शिकार वही हो गए। अभी क्या हुआ? उदारीकरण की नीति का शिकार मंत्री।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : शिकार हुए या शहीद हुए?

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : शहीद हुए। मैं जायज नाजायज की बात नहीं कर रहा हूं। वह मंत्री नहीं रहे, उनको त्याग-पत्र देना पड़ा। उदारीकरण की नीति का पहला शिकार चिदम्बरम साहब हुए। मैं आरोप लगाने नहीं जा रहा में केवल तथ्यों की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि आखिर इस देश के हरेक वाणिज्य मंत्री ने बड़े अच्छे आश्वसान दिए हैं कि बस, इस साल आप हमारी नीतियों का परिचय लो, आजमाओ, अगले वर्ष देखना कितना विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार भर जाता है। आज भी यह कहा जा रहा है कि हमारा विदेशी व्यापार 20 परसेंट बढ़ जाएगा जबकि 1992–93 का परिणाम केवल 2.2 परसेंट बढ़ोत्तरी में परिणत हुआ है। अभी 13.5 परसेंट से 2.2 परसेंट आ गया। क्योंकि? हम इसका जबाव चाहते हैं। आखिर आप टारगेट तय करते हैं, आखिर आप निर्णय लेते हैं, आपके पास प्रशासन है, विभाग है, आपके पास अधिकारी हैं, कौंउसिल हैं, कारपोरेशन्स है, आपक पास सब प्रकार के साधन उपलब्ध है, लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी अगर आप सही तथ्य नही देते है तो क्या वजह हैं? या तो आप जानबूझकर इस देश को गुमराह करना चाहते हैं, गलत तथ्य देकर इस दश को केवल आशा में जिलाना चाहते हैं या फिर आप सही बात को जानते हैं। दोनों में से एक बात तो जरूर सत्य होगी। कहां 13.5 परसेंट और कहां 2.2 परसेंट? आखिर कोई फर्क तो हो, पांच सात परसेंट के वेरिएशन को हम लोग समझ सकते हैं और सारी बातों को जानते और समझते हैं या लेकिन 11 परसेंट का वेरिएशन यह समझ में नहीं आता है। आखिर वाणिज्य मंत्री महोदय, इस बात का एक्सप्लेन तो करें। कारण आप सो दे सकते हैं, मैं उन कारणों की मीमांशा में नहीं जाना चाहता। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आखिर इस देश के अन्दर जो यह आश्वासन दिए जाते हैं, उनके तथ्यों के बारे में मंत्रियों की या जो पार्टी राज करती है, उसकी जवाबदेही होनी चाहिए कि वह जो कुछ भी कह रहे हैं वह सत्य कह रहे हैं, वह गुमराह करने के लिए नहीं कह रहे हैं। इतनी बात तो जरूर सबको माननी पड़ेगी। मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हम एक तरफ एक्सपोर्ट के बढ़ने की बात करते हैं और अभी यशवन्त सिन्हा जी ने भी कहा कि हमारे कांग्रेस के भाई कभी कभी कहते हैं कि एक साल में वी.पी. सिंह जी ने राज किया और सारा चौपट कर दिया। मैं उदाहरण देकर, तथ्य देकर आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं कि 1950–51 में हमारा निर्यात 606 करोड़ रुपए का था उस समय हमारा आयात 608 करोड़ रुपए का था। केवल दो करोड़ रुपए का आयात हमारे देश में ज्यादा होता था। 1950–51 में। लेकिन 1960–61 में क्या स्थिति हो गई? मैं दशक के हिसाब से जा रहा हूं, प्रति वर्ष के हिसाब से नहीं जा रहा हूं। 1960–61 में आयात हो गया 11622 करोड़ रुपए का और हमारा निर्यात रह गया 6.42 करोड़ रुपए का और इस प्रकार घाटा हो गया 480 करोड़ रुपए का। महोदय, उसी प्रकार से 1980–81 में हमारा आयात हो गया 12549 करोड़ रुपये का तथा निर्यात रह गया फिर 6711 करोड़ रुपये का, तथा मायनस हो गया 5838 करोड़ का। 1990–91 में 43193 का आयात हुआ और निर्यात हुआ 32553

[श्री राम दास अग्रवाल]

करोड़ का और घाटा हो गया 10640 करोड़ रुपये का। इस प्रकार से 1992-93 के जो फिगर्स अप्रैल-दिसम्बर तक के मंत्री महोदय के विभाग ने दिए हैं उसमें 47480 करोड़ रुपये का इंपोर्ट हुआ और एक्सपोर्ट हुआ है 37329 करोड़ रुपये का तथा 10151 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हमारा फिर इस साल में है। आखिर यह जो घाटे बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, मैं आपसे एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि डालर टार्म्स में अगर हम इन सारी बातों पर विचार करेंगे तो आपके सामने परसंटेज और भी अधिक आश्चर्यजनक स्थिति प्रगट होगी। महोदय, 1950-60 में हमारी जो इंपोर्ट की वृद्धि थी, वह 23 परसेंट से ज्यादा थी और 1960-61 में जो एक्सपोर्ट की वृद्धि थी वह .3 परसेंट रह गई और आयात बढ़ गया 16.4 परसेंट। आज जब 1980-81 का दशक आया-उस समय हमारी इंपोर्ट की जो वृद्धि थी वह 8 परसेंट हुई, हमारी आयात की जो वृद्धि थी वह 40.2 परसेंट थी। इस देश के सबसे लाडले सपूत श्री राजीव गांधी ने जब इस देश का राज्य संभाला उसके बाद 1985-86 में, हमारी एक्सपोर्ट की जो 24 परसेंट की ग्रोथ थी 1950-51 में, यह हमारी 1980-81 के अन्दर वह 6 से 7 परसेंट थी, वह मायनस 9.9 परसेंट हो गई और निर्यात कितना बढ़ा साढ़े ग्यारह परसेंट। निर्यात में हम मायनस में चले गए। आयात में हम बढ़ गए साढ़े ग्यारह परसेंट। आखिर जब यह इस प्रकार आयात निर्बाध रूप से होने लग गया, लाइसेंस खोल दिए गए लोगों को कह दिया गया कि मंगाओ जो मंगाना है, विदेशी मुद्रा की चिंता मत करो, इसकी चिंता करने की आवश्यकता नहीं और वह चिंता न करने के कारण देश में आयात बढ़ता गया। देश में लग्जरी गुड्स आते गए। देश के अंदर ऐसा वातावरण बन गया जैसा कहा गया कि इंपोर्ट कल्चर पैदा हो गया और उसके कारण हमारी विदेशी मुद्रा के भंडार का क्षरण प्रारम्भ हो गया। महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि अपने सरकार के माननीय मंत्री महोदय से कि आखिर जो तथ्य आए हैं, आप उनको देखते हैं, आप उनको समझते हैं। लेकिन आखिर इन सारे मामलों में हम करने क्या जा रहे हैं? 1992-93 की स्थिति और भी ज्यादा खराब है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि 1991-92 में निर्यात के अंदर हमारा मायनस 1.5 परसेंट था और हमारी सरकार जो क्लेम करती है, इस समय हमारे निर्यात में 3.2 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई, यद्यपि, पूरे सकल वर्ष की 2.2 है। यद्यपि पूरे सकल वर्ष की 2.2 परसेंट है लेकिन अगर हम यह भी मान लें कि उनकी वृद्धि 3.4 परसेंट भी हुई, तब भी हमारे निर्यात की क्या स्थिति रही है, इसका भी तो विचार करना पड़ेगा। हमने 1992-93 में इंपोर्ट किया है माईनस 19.4 परसेंट। यह इंपोर्ट क्यों बढ़े, इस पर आप विचार करें तो आपको रिपोर्ट पढ़कर आश्चर्य होगा कि चूंकि हमने 1991-92 में इंपोर्ट कम्प्रेशन कर दिया था, आयात बंद कर दिया था, उसके कारण इस वर्ष हमको ज्यादा आयात करना पड़ गया। तो आयात कितना हो गया? गए साल का माईनस 19.4 परसेंट और इस साल का प्लस 16.5 परसेंट तो टोटल आयात इस देश के अंदर 35.9 परसेंट बढ गया। आखिर विदेशी मुद्रा कहां से आए? विदेशी मुद्रा कोई पेड़ पर तो पैदा नहीं होती। हमारे पास जो विदेशी मुद्रा है, उसको हम कम खर्च करेंगे तो बचत हो सकती है और हम एक्सपोर्ट करेंगे तो शायद हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार बढ़ सकता है लेकिन विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार नहीं बढ़ता है क्योंकि आमदनी होती है 2.2 परसेंट और खर्च करते हैं 35 परसेंट आयात करते हैं 35 परसेंट और निर्यात करते हैं 2.2 परसेंट। तो इससे विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार कहां से बढ़ेगा? देश को हम क्यों गफलत में डालना चाहते हैं देश को हम क्यों व्यर्थ की आशा दिलाना चाहते हैं।

हम तथ्यों को सामने रखें और देश की जनता के सामने जायें तो ईमानदारी होगी और ज्यादा ठीक ढंग से हम विषय को रख पायेंगे लेकिन सबसे बड़ी मुश्किल इस बात की होती है कि जब इन सारे तथ्यों पर हम विचार करते हैं तो इस देश को इस बात पर भी विचार करना पड़ेगा इंपोर्टस को क्यों बढ़ावा मिल रहा है, एक्सपोर्टस क्यों नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं? मैं इंपोर्टस के बढ़ावे के बारे में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि हमारे माननीय सदस्य बहुत सी बातें बोल चुके हैं और कई माननीय सदस्य बोलने वाले हैं। मैं केवल इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि

आज देश के अंदर एक्सपोर्ट ओरियेंटेड यूनिट्स लगाए गए । आपने विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जित करने के लिए डिवैल्यूएशन कर दिया, लिब्रलाईजेशन कर दिया । आपने और भी कई स्टैप्स उठाए । जो कदम उठाए गए हैं वे अच्छे कदम हैं । हम उनकी सराहना करते हैं लेकिन मैं एक बात जानना चाहता हूं । आपने डिवैल्यूएशन कर दिया । एक्सपोर्ट इंडस्ट्री को लाभ हुआ, ऐसा माना गया लेकिन मैं आपसे ईमानदारी के आधार पर एक बात निवेदन करना चाहता हूं । जो ऐडवांटेज एक्सपोर्टर को डिवैल्यूऐशन के कारण मिला, रुपए के ऐडजस्टमेंट के कारण मिला, कन्वर्जन के कारण मिला, क्या एक्सपोर्ट ओरियेंटेड यूनिट्स को आप ने पावर के बारे में कंसैशन दिए थे ? कोयले के दाम बढ़ गए, स्टील के दाम बढ़ गए, रेलवे का टैरिफ बढ़ गया, डीजल और पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ गए । तो आपने जो लाभ एक्सपोर्ट इंडस्ट्री को दिया डिवैल्यूऐशन के माध्यम से, रुपए की कनवर्टिबिलिटी के माध्यम से, उसकी कास्ट बढ़ाकर वह लाभ आपने उधर से ले लिया । एक्सपोर्ट इंडस्ट्री जहां थी, वहीं खड़ी है । उसको कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ । कहीं भी उसको प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिल रहा है ।

आप कहते हैं कि हमें एक्सपोर्ट इंडस्ट्री को प्रोत्साहन देना है । मैं आपके सामने एक सुझाव रखना चाहता हूं । अगर आप एक्सपोर्ट ओरियेंटेड इंडस्ट्रीज को निर्यात करने वाले उद्योग धंधों को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं चाहे वे स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज में हों, चाहे वे हैंडीक्राफ्ट्स में हों तो उनके जो कास्ट इनपुट्स हैं, अगर उनके बारे में आपने विचार नहीं किया, यदि उनमें बढ़ोत्तरी होती रही तो इधर आप प्रोत्साहन देने की बात करते रहेंगे और उधर कास्ट बढ़ती रहेगी । मामला वहीं का वहीं रह जाएगा, आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा । यही हो रहा है इस समय । एक तरफ से जो कुछ दिया जाता है, दूसरी तरफ से ले लिया जाता है । यह ऐसा सर्किल बन गया है जिसको तोड़ना केवल आप जैसे व्यक्ति के लिए ही संभव है । दूसरे व्यक्ति की बात मैं नहीं जानता ।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) पीठासीन हुए]

मैं इतना अवश्य कह सकता हूं कि एक्सपोर्ट इंडस्ट्री जिसको आप समझते हैं कि वह आपको पूरी तरह से समर्थन देगी एक्सपोर्ट के लिए, उसके सामने ये समस्यायें हैं जिन पर आपको गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए । जो स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनके बारे में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि एक तरफ हम कहते हैं कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिए । महोदया, आपके विभाग ने कुछ सहूलियतें दी हैं । बहुत अच्छी बात है देनी चाहिए । स्माल स्केल इस देश के बेसिक उद्योग हैं । इनके अंदर ठोस प्रगति के चिह्न पाये जाते हैं । उनके अंदर क्षमता है प्रगति करने की लेकिन क्या होता है कि आपने तो सहूलियतें दे दी हैं, लेकिन क्या आपके बैंकों ने उनको सहूलियतें दी ? आपने तो कह दिया कि उनको एक्सपोर्ट क्रेडिट मिलेगा लेकिन क्या आपके बैंक उनको क्रेडिट देते हैं । बैंक कहते हैं कि आपको लेटर आफ क्रेडिट की फैसिलिटी चाहिए तो आपको सौ परसेंट पैसा जमा कराना होगा तब लैटर आफ क्रेडिट फैसिलिटी मिलेगी । आप चाहते हैं कि बैंकों के अंदर कोई जाए तो बैंक उनको कहे कि 80 परसेंट कोलेटरल सैक्योरिटी और 20 परसेंट कैश लाओ । जब सौ परसेंट सैक्युरिटी देनी है तो उनके पास क्यों लोग जायेंगे । अगर बैंक इस प्रकार का व्यवहार करने वाले हैं तो स्माल स्केल का निर्यात कैसे बढ़ेगा ? इन सारी बातों पर जब तक हम प्रैक्टिकल ऐप्रोच नहीं करेंगे तब तक इस मामले में वास्तविकता नहीं होगी । सिर्फ हम अंधेरे में भटकते रहेंगे जैसे कि हम 40 साल से भटक रहे हैं । विदेशी मुद्रा पैदा करने के लिए बार-बार आश्वासन दिए जाते हैं लेकिन हम जहां हैं वहां से भी पीछे हटते जा रहे हैं । जहां हैं उससे भी डगमगाते जा रहे हैं । आखिर इन सारी बातों का विचार करते समय मैं आपसे एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूं । जो आपके सरकारी प्रतिष्ठान हैं, एम.एम.टी.सी. या और भी विभाग हैं, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आप सी.ए.जी. की रिपोर्ट जो आई

[श्री राम दास अग्रवाल]

है उसको देखें जिसके अंदर मिनिस्ट्री आफ कामर्स के बारे में कहा है। एम.एम.टी.सी. के कुछ डील्स के बारे में सी.ए.जी. ने जो कहा है यह बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है।

श्रीमन्, हमारा सदन शायद कल और लोक सभा आज और कल अपना समय व्यतीत कर चुकी है कुछ मामलों पर जिनमें कुछ भ्रष्टाचार की बू आती है। लेकिन यहां पर सी.ए.जी. की रिपोर्ट जो एम.एम.टी.सी. के आफिसर्स के बारे में, जिसमें 6.2 करोड़ रुपए का लॉस हुआ एक डिवीजन मैनेजर एम.एम.टी.सी. के विदेशों में जाता है, सौदा करता है, डील करके आ जाता है और यहां आने के बाद एम.एम.टी.सी. के बड़े लोग, बड़े जो आफिसर्स हैं उनके पास जब एग्रीमेंट आया तो ऐग्रीमेंट की शर्तों के बारे में बातचीत होने लगी तो अफसर कहते हैं कि यह जो आफिसर गया था इसको कोई अधिकार ही क्यों नहीं था। यह जो अफसर गया था एम.एम.टी.सी. का जो बाहर से ऐग्रीमेंट करके आया उसका आपको यहां पैसा चुकाना पड़ा। सरकार का 6 करोड़ रुपया चुकाना पड़ा और डिवीज मैनेजर को आपके विभाग ने शायद सस्पेंड किया। महोदय, वह सस्पेंड हुआ, वे शायद इस बात को जानते हैं कि मैंने गैर कानूनन सस्पेंड किया तो इसका कुछ नहीं बिगड़ने वाला है, यह 5-7 महीने या दो साल छुट्टी करने के बाद वापस एम.एम.टी.सी. में आ जाएगा। उसका सस्पेंशन गलत साबित हुआ। उसको साढ़े 5 लाख रुपया हर्जाना दिया गया। जिस आदमी ने अनअथोराइज्ड ऐग्रीमेंट कर लिया जिस आदमी ने फारेन में जाकर एम.एम.टी. के नाम पर सौदा कर लिया, जिसे ऐसा करने का कोई कानूनी अधिकार नहीं था, उसके बावजूद वह व्यक्ति हटा था, उसको कंपेंसेशन देकर वापस नौकरी में रख रहे हैं। यह कौन सा खेल है। यह अंधेर नगरी चौपट राजा वाला काम हो रहा है जो व्यक्ति अनअथोराइज्ड काम कर रहा है उसको साढ़े 5 लाख रुपए का पुरस्कार मिल रहा है, उस को वापस नौकरी मिल रही है। यानी देश का सम्मान भी लुटा। आज कोई अफसर भारत सरकार का जाता है और हम उसको भेजते हैं तो उसको अधिकार नहीं होगा तो हिन्दुस्तान में उसके आने के तुरन्त बाद उसके साथ जो व्यवहार होना चाहिए था वह किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि सीएजी की रिपोर्ट में कई जगहों पर ऐसे-ऐसे 4-5 उदाहरण दिये हुये हैं। मेरे पास समय नहीं है कि मैं इन सब को पढ़ कर सदन का समय लूं। लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार के कुछ उदाहरण माननीय मंत्री जी के नोटिस में पहले ही आये होंगे। मैं कोई प्राइवेट कागज से उदाहरण नहीं दे रहा हूं जो आपकी सीएजी की रिपोर्ट कल ही मेरे पास आई है उससे पढ़कर सुना रहा हूं। सरकारी प्रतिष्ठानों में जो व्यक्ति काम कर रहे हैं उनके आचरण के बारे में, उनके द्वारा किये गये एग्रीमेंट के बारे में इसमें दिया हुआ हैं। मैं एक उदाहरण कोट करना चाहता हूं जो एसटीसी के बारे में हैं। उनका एक शक्कर का जहाज था जिसका इंश्योरेंस 12 दिसम्बर को होना चाहिये था लेकिन तकदीर से कहिये, दुर्भाग्य से कहिये वह जहाज जल गया। क्योंकि एसटीसी सरकारी कम्पनी है उसमें इंश्योरेंस कम्पनी को धोखा देना चाहा। उसमें जहाज डूबने के बाद इंश्योरेंस कराना चाहा पर इंश्योरेंस कम्पनी समझदार थी इसलिये उसने उसका इंश्योरेंस नहीं किया। लेकिन एसटीसी को उस पूरी शिपमेंट का पैसा उस पार्टी को भरना पड़ा केवल इसलिये कि समय पर उस जहाज का इंश्योरेंस नहीं कराया था। आखिर हम 5-5 लाख रुपये के फर्नीचर, गद्दे, तकिये, चादर खरीद के मामलों के लिये समय दे रहे हैं और यहां पर करोड़ों रुपये आपके सरकारी अफसर अपनी नेगलीजेंसी के कारण डूबो रहे हैं। उसके लिये कोई किसी को चिंता नहीं। इसके बारे में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया जाता। इस देश के अन्दर क्या इसी तरह की व्यवस्थायें चलती रहेंगी ? अगर इस देश के अन्दर हम तरक्की करना चाहते हैं, इस देश के अन्दर अच्छी व्यवस्था लाना चाहते हैं तो हमें भ्रष्टाचार के ऊपर

प्रहार करना पड़ेगा चाहे वाणिज्य मंत्रालय से संबंधित हो या किसी अन्य मंत्रालय से संबंधित हो । बड़े दुख के साथ मैं इस बात को कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी वर्तमान सरकार के मन में पता नहीं क्या कुंठा है। उसमें किसी प्रकार का निश्चय करने की क्षमता नहीं है । इनके मन में किसी प्रकार से भी आगे बढ़ने की क्षमता नहीं है । वह कभी भी इस बात का निर्णय नहीं लेती कि जो भ्रष्टाचारी लोग हैं उनके लिये ठोस कदम उठाये जायें । चाहे कोई छोटा आदमी हो या बड़ा आदमी हो जो भ्रष्टाचार करता है उसके लिये ठोस कदम उठाने चाहियें। लेकिन हो क्या रहा है कि लोग भ्रष्टाचार में पलते जा रहे हैं, भ्रष्टाचार में बहुते जा रहे हैं। चाहे स्मगलर्स हों, चाहे बम बनाने वाले हों, चाहे बम लाने वाले हों, चाहे ड्रग लाने वाले हों, ये सब सरकारी छत्रछाया में पनप रहे हैं । इस देश में अगर इनकी बढ़ोतरी हो रही है तो इसके लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है ? आपकी व्यवस्था इसके लिये जिम्मेदार है । क्योंकि उसने इतनी ढीली रस्सी रखी हुई है कि हर आदमी उस रस्सी में से निकल जाता है । यह क्यों होता है क्योंकि किसी का कोई भाई निकल आता है, किसी का कोई संबंधी निकल आता है। किसी का मद्रास में कोई संबंधी निकल आया, किसी का कोई बम्बई में निकल आया, किसी का कलकत्ता में निकल आया । वीरप्पन जैसे लोग बच आयेंगे। क्या हमारे देश में इसी प्रकार की व्यवस्था चलती रहेगी ? मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अगर इस देश के अन्दर हमें अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था का सुदृढ़ करना है, अगर हमें अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाना है तो आर्थिक व्यवस्था के साथ जुड़े सभी प्रश्नों को एक साथ हल करना पड़ेगा, चाहे वह व्यापार से संबंधित हो, उद्योग से संबंधित हो, चाहे भ्रष्टाचार से संबंधित हो, चाहे सहूलियतें देने का सवाल हो और चाहे सरकारी रेपेटिज्म का सवाल हो। इन सारी व्यवस्थाओं में आमूल परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है । भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने समय-समय पर पहले भी आमूलचूल परिवर्तन का समर्थन किया था और सरकार से बार-बार यह मांग की थी कि हमारी नीतियां गलत दिशा में जा रही है लेकिन हमें कहा गया था कि आप दक्षिणपंथी हैं । मैं कांग्रेस के लोगों को धन्यवाद देता हूं कि जिस समय यहां सामने से समाजवाद का गुंजायमान होता था, समाजवाद का गुणगान होता था तो पीछे बैठने वाले बंधु जयजयकार करते थे समाजवाद की । राष्ट्रीयकरण का जयजयकार करते हैं, समाजवादी व्यवस्था की जयजयकार करते है। आखिर आपको देश को चलाना है तो समाजवाद से चलाइये या किसी भी वाद से चलाइये। मैं यह इसलिये कहना चाहता हूं कि व्यापार से राजनीति चल सकती है, लेकिन राजनीति से व्यापार नहीं चल सकता है। राजनीति से देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था नहीं चल सकती है । आपको ठोस निर्णय लेना चाहिये । आपको ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये कि जिससे कम से कम व्यवस्था का राजनीतिकरण हो। आप सरलीकरण कितना करते हैं, आपने सारा सरलीकरण कर दिया, सारी इंडस्ट्री को छूट दे दी, सारी बातें कर दी, लेकिन एनवायरमेंट मिनिस्ट्री के पास जाकर मामला लटक जाता है । काम खत्म हो गया, सारा लायसेंस खत्म हो गया एनवायरमेंट मिनिस्ट्री सबका गुरू बनकर सब की चोटी हिला देती है । इसलिये सारी व्यवस्था पर आपको समग्र रूप से विचार करना होगा । टुकड़ों टुकड़ों में विचार करके देश की आर्थिक संरचना मजबूत नहीं हो सकती है। इसलिये मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि जिस समय सारी बातों पर सरकार विचार करती है, उनको सोचना चाहिये कि देश की आर्थिक रचना में किन किन चीजों की कमी है । मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। हमारी एक एक्सपोर्ट क्रेडिट कारपोरेशन नाम की संस्था है और यह वाणिज्य मंत्रालय के अन्तर्गत चलती है । मैं उसके कामकाज की समीक्षा नहीं करूंगा, बड़ी लंबी बात कही जायेगी । लेकिन उसके अन्दर मैं आपसे

(श्री राम दास अग्रवाल)

यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि छोटे-छोटे लोग जो एक्सपोर्ट का काम करते हैं मेरे पास इसके कई उदाहरण हैं जिनके प्लान सेटल करने में एक्सपोर्ट क्रेडिट कारपोरेशन कम से कम दो-दो साल का समय लगाती हैं । एक छोटा व्यापारी, स्माल स्केल का व्यापारी, उद्योगपति ई.सी.जी. से परेशान होता है और किस प्रकार से एक दरवाजे से दूसरे दरवाजे पर दौड़ता है । अपन इंश्योरेंस का क्लेम लेने के लिये, क्लेम सेटल करने के लिये उसको दरवाजे दरवाजे दौड़ना पड़ता है । क्यों नहीं आप कोई परफेक्ट मेकेनिज्म कायम करते हैं जिससे छोटे छोटे व्यापारियों और उद्योगपतियों को दरवाजे दरवाजे दौड़ना न पड़े । अगर आप सरलीकरण करना चाहते हैं तो आप रेडटेपिज्म का सरलीकरण कीजिये । बैंकों के साथ बैठकर बातचीत करिये । आखिर आप छोटे लोगे, व्यापारियों और निर्यातकों को क्या देते हैं ।

इसके साथ ही मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि जो जयपुर से संबंधित हैं । वाणिज्य मंत्री का ध्यान मैं जयपुर की ओर आकर्ष्ट करना चाहता हूं और उनको निमंत्रण देता हूं कि वे एक बार जयपुर आयें । उनके ध्यान म यह बात होगी कि जयपुर राजस्थान का एक ऐसा क्षेत्र है जहां से हिन्दुस्तान का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा निर्यात का होता है । जहां से जेम्स जाते हैं, जहां से हैंडीक्रेफटस जाते हैं, जहां से प्रिंस जाते हैं, जहां से सोना, चांदी और जवाहरात के ओरनामटस एक्सपोर्ट होते हैं । ऐसी जगह पर आपने क्या प्राप्त करा रखा है ? मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि मैं जयपुर में रहता हूं और जानता हूं कि राजस्थान का रत्न उद्योग, राजस्थान का हैण्डीक्रेफ्ट उद्योग हजारों करोड़ों रूपये अर्जित करके आपको देता है । लेकिन दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि राजस्थान के इस क्षेत्र को नेगलेक्ट किया गया है । वहां पर किसी प्रकार की साधन-सुविधा वाणिज्य मंत्रालय ने प्रदान नहीं की है । वहां पर अच्छे कस्टम की व्यवस्था नहीं है । एयरपोर्ट पर कंसाइनसेंट लेने की अच्छी व्यवस्था नहीं है । कस्टम का एक छोटा-सा स्टाल दुकान की तरह है उससें कस्टम बना हुआ है । जयपुर से करोड़ों रुपयों का माल एक्सपोर्ट होता है । वहां पर चोरी भी हो गई थी, लेकिन उसका कोई पता नहीं लगा है । आखिर जो जगह आपको इतना पैसा अर्जित करके देती है उसकी तरफ आपको विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिये और उन स्थानों के बारे में विशेष रूचि लेनी चाहिये । जयपुर की तरह उड़ीसा भी है । वहां से भी हैंडीक्राफटस का पोटेंशियल है । अगर आप इन स्थानों की तरफ ध्यान देंगे तो हमारी विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार बढ़ सकता है । लेकिन केवल सपना देख कर, 20 परसेंट की तरक्की का नाम लेकर अगर आप बात करेंगे तो कोई अर्थ नहीं रखता है । इसलिये अन्त म मैं मंत्री जी से आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूं और आग्रह करना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक एक्सपोर्ट युनिटस का सवाल है, आपको कास्ट इनपुटस के बारे में ध्यान देना चाहिये । ताकि उनको जो बेनिफिट आप देना चाहते हैं, वह उनको मिले है या नहीं मिले हैं, उनकी क्या गति हुई है अंत में जा कर, इसको जानकारी करने के लिए आपको कोई मेकेनिज्म सेट करना चाहिये । दूसरा मेरा निवेदन है कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज जो निर्यात के लिए काफी पोटेंशियल रखती है, उनके ऊपर विशेष ध्यान देने के लिए इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था कायम की जाए ताकि उनको मिलने वाली सुविधाएं जो आपका विभाग देता है, फाइनेंस विभाग देता है, बैंकिंग विभाग देता है, सारी की सारी सुविधाएं उनको प्राप्त हों । तीसरा मेरा सुझाव है राजस्थान में एक्सपोर्ट के लिए बहुत पोटेंशियल है, उड़ीसा में बहुत पोटेंशियल है, इन स्थानों के ऊपर आपको विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि हमारी विदेशी मुद्रा के भंडार वास्तव में भरें । केवल कर्जा ले कर या उधार ले कर या एन० आर०

आईज. से रुपया मंगा कर हमारे देश का काम चलने वाला नहीं है। अगर देश को चलाना है तो वास्तविक कमाई होनी चाहिये, कर्ज ले कर काम नहीं चलेगा। कज से हम कर्जदार बन जाएंगे, हमारी हालत और भी खस्ता हो जाएगी। मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्री अपने अनुभव के आधार पर इन बातों पर विचार करेंगे। धन्यवाद।

PROF. M. G. K. MENON (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are discussing here matters relating to the Ministry of Commerce and this Ministry essentially deals with matters of imports and exports from the point of view of meeting various ob. jectives in national development. The Chadrman of the Standing Committee for the Ministry of Commerce—this departmental committee is a new sys. tern, which has been introduced—Mr. Gujral, had presented its report yesterday on the working of the Ministry of Commerce. I think it brings out many aspects which should be carefully gone into by the Ministry. I strongly endorse many of the comments which are made in it. It is not my intention to go into it because the Committee has already gone through it. But what is important for us to recognise is that the position with regard to export-import front is certainly not satisfactory. I think we have to recognise that and we have to * bake measures in a direction which will make it satisfactory. In the earlier phase there was a compression in imports—we are familiar with that—but in the later period—I have got all the figures but I don't want to take the time of the House going through the figures—we ted a significant increase in imports. The desired export level which we should aim at would imply a growth of the order of 20 per cent if we really want to be i_n a satisfactory position and even higher. I see no possibility at the present moment. The situation being what it is. it could not be achieved. I am fully award that the hen. Commerce Minister has said that this is a majorr challenge. He has accepted it. He isays, "It is a challenge". But I don't see any real measure in what the Government has put hefore us which will bring this about.

श्रीमती सरला माउहेश्वरी (पश्चिमी बंगालथे : ट्रेजरी बेंचेज की जो हालत है वही वाणिज्य मंत्रालय की भी हालत है।

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): What a pitiable condition!

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY; I think all of them are busy exercising their conscience elsewhere.

PROF. M. G. K. MENON: I don't see in the present policies which are before us, the possibility of achieving the export growth rate, that we should achieve, to meet the genuine import requirements. That iis the first point which I would like to make. I think the position is acute because of the world situation as it stands. One has only to look at the economic situation the recession and the problem that exists in all the major countries in the world, whether it is the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the former Soviet Union, the countries of Central Eastern Europe, Japan, etc., name any country which figures in' our export list. You see nothing but economic problems, recession and troubles. It is against this background, of what exists there, that we have to achieve these "exports. The second point is that import element is of the greatest concern because the way we are proceeding at the present moment, our imports are bound to increase. We have only got to look at the manner in which netorleum consumption oil consumption in general has increased, continues to increase. In my view, on the basis of the current policies of the Government. the steepest increase is in terms of transport vehicles. The growth in transport vehicles is about 3 to 4 time.; our road system on whiich they will operate. Transport vehicles automatically means fuel required to operate. Recenty I read an interesting analysis of the situation in China. If you look at the

[Prof. M. G. K, Menon]

growth of oil import by China, it is very significant. It has oil of its own. It has gone far ahead of us in terms of being able to give up the two foreign companies for foreign investment contracts for exploratory drilling, assignment of basins and the like. In spite of that the growth rate of oil import by that country is such that they would have to pay for it by exports which they would only be able to do through exports of weapon system principally to the Middle East. This is the basic conclusion of the UN how China lis going to opt. I don't se_e Us doing it on that basis. I see no control on the import system. I am not talking of import control which would harm the economy of the country, but import control which prevents unnecessary, ostentatious, growth of the economy.

The first point, as I said, is the baL ance between exports and imports. The second point relates to the question of measures that have already been taken. We are familiar with them. These measures relate to devaluation in the hope that our products will be lower in cost in the export market. I think that the advantages that grow from it have all evaporated. They do not exist now. There is the whole question of liberalisation in the hope that one would have the industry respond to it, b_e able to produce whatever is needed in the export market and supply it on a large scale. But I do not think that liberalisation has really percolated or permeated in any sense of the word. It is only a mater of structural reforms at a certain level. One has had the hope of foreign investment and we have seen any number of statements given, on the number of proposals cleared. But the clearance of proposals is very much different from their *actual investment, actual* production and foreign exchange earning. It is an entirely different matter to have a liberalisation philosophy by which you say, "All right. anyone can come in and set up industry. We do not allot from the Government foreign exchange for the purpose. You can bring in money as equity. You can set up industry. All the requirements of capital goods and the like and the extent to which we don't have indigenous material, you can import them either through exports or by buying foreign exchange in the opsn market." You leave it on an open basis for the industries to function. The Government does not allow foreign exchange for the pur. pose. But the Government does need large amounts of foreign exchange for many, many import items,, prin dp ally, oil fertiliser and defence goods. A number of them are listed So, in that sense, we do need foreign exchange earnings of a significan magnitude. Therefore, as I see if about these measures which hav been taken, namely, devalua tion, liberalisation, the question c foreign investment, if you look at th Report of the Parliamentary Coir mittee—the composition of the ex ports in the various sectors show that some have shown negative grc wth, others have grown very poor! and some of them have done well-it shows that these are not the meas ures which, on a general basi produce results. Therefore, I do be ieve that the measures taken by tr Government up till now are not ad quate for the export growth that really required for the country. Now there are obvious things which ever body knows about. But, T think, should be placed on record on again that if you are looking for e nort market, quite clearly, the fit item is price, the cost of productio HOTV is one reducing the cost of pr duction in the country, as it stand There *h* no indication of this becau there is inflation. The prices of ma: of the items are going up: for exa cle, the electricity rates for the I dustries have gone up and so a *many* such litems.

There is a competing domestic mand and that has to be taken cs of by a large volume of products

So, we need to produce much larger volumes if exports are to be made viable in the long-term. There are supply constraints on a large number of items. Repeatedly, one find that items produced today are not available and, therefore, you have to go about finding out new suppliers, new production and so on. But, if you

. look at the Japanese production, you will find plants where invention is only a few hours because they know that that particular items to that specification will arrive within a few hours in sufficient quantity to meet the production requirements. Here, on the other hand, the factories are expected to have large inventories which lock up capital. There are also a large number of procedural bottle, necks. We are aware of that, like, in terms of the taxation system. There is the whole question of quality culture and, today, not only culture in terms of performance of a product, as you see it like the zero-defect system and so on. but also environmental quality has to b_e dealt with appropriately. Overall, there has to be a major effort at an export culture. I think on most of these that I have stated here I find that our effort is not up to the mark. The other major area is of infrastructural deficiencies that exist at the present moment, whether they are in terms of airports, sea-ports, roads, rail transportation or electricity availability. Every one of these items had deficiencies in terms of numbers and I have had oc-

^ casion to speak on them in this House earlier. These deficiencies affect exports So, the assumption that exports is a matter which can be handled just by the Ministry of Commerce by itself is a mistaken idea. The Ministry of Commerce is an enabling, catalysing Ministry in which many others are also involved. I see the hon. Minister dealing with energy sitting here. Unless he euoplies energy, no factory will be able to operate which can provide goods for exports.

We know the problems with regard to energy. We have been witnessing them in the city in the last few weeks and we also know what had happened in the past.

The other aspect is about co-ordination which is very imoprtant. If you are talking about co-ordination, there is a Cabinet Committee which was set up on trade investment. I believe and the hon. Minister knows, that there is a specific Cabinet Committee on exports I would really like to know about the functioning of this Committee and what it is doing with regard to ensuring the necessary co-ordination because without that co-ordination, one single weak link in the system is enough for the export drive to be stymied or greately weakened.

I have seen a large number of exceedingly good recommendations which the newly constituted or newly functioning Board of Trade has made. I will be glad if the Commerce Minister enlightens the House on what has happened to those recommendations in terms of implementation because I believe many of those recommendations are important. But I dont know where we are with regard to implementation.

There is another important area relating to the functioning of the State Governments in this country because one has to recognise that while the Miinstry of Commerce deals with the Central Government, production which actually results in exports or activity which calls for imports, takes place throughout the country and essentially the State Governments are responsible for these areas. Unless the State Govern ments have an approach to cutting down imports and supporting export drive, I don't think the Central Gov ernment by itself can succeed and I believe a major effort should be made to ensure that the State Govern ments function the way the hon. Commerce Minister would like. I don't see in the Reort or anywhere else a clarification on this issue.

As we move into the future, I would like to mention that the composition brought out in this Report

[Prof. M. G. K. Menon] is interesting. At page 4, it .says "The Committee noted that exporis have declined in dollar terms in the following sectors." Most of those sec tors are plantation spices, ores and minerals, processed foods and things of this nature, including, of course, electronics and computer software. In the same page they say that there is a third group of products where the increases seem to be real as they range from 6.3 per cent to 16.7 per cent such as engineering goods, textiles, handicrafts, carpets etc. I think there is a reason to focus our attention on such products. We should look at areas which are our strength and I believe that in the long-term the strength of this country lies in its people, particularly the educated and highly technically qu alified individuals. What we actually pay to them is a miniscule compare to the payments anywhere else in the world, You take, for example, what you have to pay an engineer in this country who uses tools to carry or sophisticated testing. You will find that it is one-tenth or one-twentieth the cast of an engineer in Europe; US or Japan. So, there are a large number of areas where skiller person- ne become the key to cost of produc tion and I think we should focus our attention significantly on that. There are new areas developing which, reltae to electronics, informatics, bio technology and the lie and these are not areas in which the results will come out the next year or the year thereafter. But these are areas where it will take time to develop. But, in the Tone term, they will be key areas for development If you look at the pxnons from Japan or the produc tion or comnosition of the Japanese goods, historically, you will find from heavy areas like shipbuiding and chemical,'! and so on they have moved on to this ranee of products and much of the innovation, a great deal of prroduction of high value added, takes place in small and medium scale sectors. For example. today, in the computer fleld. practically all the so-caiv PCL_S they get made by the NTL, and lit is not IBM. If you loo] at these computers, you will find tha it is the Apple and the Mackintosh etc. which are in the game. The mair point is that this is where the prospec lies and not Li the large MNC_S an TNCs and we do not, at the presen moment, have policies in my view which are suitable or adequate o appropriate to venture capital ant equity participation by financial ins titutions, multiple participation b; many different groups in such ven ture capital possibilities. This is th only way in which we will encourage innovation from here. Therefore, think, in the long term, apart fror our traditional areas of strengtl these are the areas which we shoul capitalise on.

Sir, I would like to come to a area which I find is neglected esser tially in the Report of the Ministr of Commerce and my friend here. Mi Yashwant Sinha, has already spoke and spoken quite exhaustively c that. The point which is a matter great concern to me is the discussic or the Uruguay Round and the Dui kel Draft. It lis a matter of concei to me because we have repeated] said that there should be a speci debate or discusion in Parliament c these and that was what was agree upon when we met before we close in December last year. No such di cussion has taken place. It has all been proposed that there should 1 a small committee of Parliament which should discuss in detail t implications. Nothing like that has yi been constituted. I am aware of tl papers which are available with tl Ministry of Commerce concerning th area. But they certainly do not pr vide what I think lis necessary to provided by the Government, fully agree that we are a part globalism, we are a part of the inte national commumity. and we cahn take an isolationist posture and kee ourselves away from everyone el and, therefore, there will be, in ms ters of trade involving manufacture goods, involving services and inve ving all sectors, a linkage, a relatim

ship, with the rest of the world com munity. Whit is important for us to recognise is our own interests, and I would like the honourable Minister of Commerce to tell us, in the short term as well as in the long term, the proa and cons, if We accept a parti cular proposal as it stands, sector by sector, that this is what will happen in agriculture, what will happen in chemicals, this is what will happen in pharmaceutical areas and this is what will happen in the dual areas as we move into bio-technology and patenting of living systerms and the like. Certainly, there will be advan tages to us in some sectors, there will be disadvantages, and we cannoi expect the world to have a general agreement which will be totally ad vantageous to us. Therefore, there will be pros and cons. But I would like to know the pros and cons that the Government sees in the short and long terms, and with particular refer ence to aspect which relate to our own national well-being, the question of vast numbers of our people, the food requirements, the question of equity within the country and the like, a$_s$ well as the specific area of responsibility of the Ministry of com merce,, viz. the question of export and irnport aspects. What happens here? There is no such analysis, which have yet seen, presented by the Government. And I belive that such an analysis should be done as to what would happen in a year's »time, if we accepted it, and what what would happen in ten years' what would happen in ten years' time. And in that context, what are the measures we should take to strengthen? For example, it is very clear that one of the sectors which will be tremendously affected by accepting the area of product patents would be pharmaceuticals. What are we going to do in this particular area because, after all. there is a vast difference between someone who earns 200 dollars a year as in this country and someone who earns 15 to 20 thousand dollars a year in the rich countries, in regard to the came medicines? If you look at the current costs of the most avail- able medicines—I have got a list of items here—you will find that they range from 3 to 12, that is, the Indian prices are lower to that ex tent than the prices in Europe or prices in Japan or prices in the Uni- ted States of America. Now, the whole point is: Are we going to have a system in which, having accepted this, all these prices will go up to in ternational leveis? We talk of a level playing field. That is the basic oncept of the Dunkel Draft, the Uruguay Round and free trade and everything else. But is the playing field of the world level? That *is* the first ques tion. Are we really talking of en forcing equality between unequals? If so, what are we doing about it because, for a long time, the impres sion gathered is that except for marginal elements in some areas like textiles and the like, we have really not fought for our rights and brought out the basic situation that exists. Now I could go into great details on the whole Indian Patents Act and what it stands for and what the advantages are and so on and so forth. I do not intend doing so at this stage because I do believe that it is enough to say that the Govern- ment did make a promise in December 1992, in this House that we will have a full-scale debate just on this one question, on this issue relating to the Dunkel Draft and the Uruguay Round, and that the Government would take the overall view of the House into account in further negotiations. That has not happened though almost five months have gone by. There is also no Committee. And I do think that in these matters it is much better for a small group to sit for a very detailed analysis and then make a presentation, and have a further discussion, based on their re. port in the House itself. There are many implications. And I am glad to see the statement made by the hon. Commerce Minister when he talked about the application of the Specdal-301 with regard in India. And he has expressed essentially his concern at

[Prof. M. G. K. Menon] the attitude taken. There seems to be no sense of balance in this application. Af ter all, if they say there has been a piracy or an infringement, I would like to know as to what the magnitude of that piracy is and what the magnitude of the infringement is and how much the U.S. business has actually suffered as a result of this. There should have been an indication of the magnitude because, after all, one takes action in the way they have been proposing or they have been threatening or dealing in the past only if it is a serious enough issue. Every single statement of the U.S. Administration says what their trade with Japan is and their own concern with regard to the Japanese exports in the U.S. Therefore they are raising barriers So, I do not see that they have really a cause or a case for proceeding against India in this manner on the basis of what might be some events or some incidents of a certain magnitude but so trivial that it should not really figure in the relations between our two countries. I hope the Commerce Minister will be able to adequately bring this out in the discussions with the U. S. Government.

With this, I would like *to* conclude by essentially saying that I am deeply concerned about our ability to export as much as we should. I am detply concerned about our inability to control our imports and the process of liberalisation which will lead to increased demands for import of goods, not for the essentials but for meeting what I would regard as luxury demands of the upper sections of our society. I am concerned that we Will not be able to deal with the pressures the way we are proceeding with regard to the Dunkel Draft or the Uruguay Round if there is an agreement by the U.S.A. with the European Community to proceed wtih them and action proceeds rapidly and I would like to see that we do have a very early debate on that subject. In fact, when we discussed this in December the Government had even said that they might consider calling the Parliament earlier for a special session in which one would discuss the issue. But far from that. Parlia, ment has been in session We have gone through all the other business and we are at the point of concluding and nothing has happened So I think, this matter is being taken much too lightly. I certainly know that the Commerce Minister, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, would be serious on this.

I would like to conclude by saying that I have seen the Draft Technology Policy brought out by the Ministry of Science and Technology. We have not had a chance to discuss it. This is not really in harmony with an earlier Technology Policy Statement which was also adopted by the Government in 1983 announced by Mrs Gandhi and in which one of the prinicpal architects in framing it was the hon. Commerce Minister. So, I would like him to really ensure support for technology. I believe it is the lack of technological capability in our industry which will prevent us from holding our position in the export markets of the world. It is not enough to get the technology in. There are rapid changes and rapid development. We should be able to absorb the technology and be'able to take to developed technology But that will not come about until We have the technological strength in our country itself. That is the whole purpose of self-reliance I think the hon. Comms erce Minister knows fully well whaf I have in mind.

I would like to conclude with the point relating to the Intellectual Pro. perty Rights and the question of fits relevance to the country as whole or the question of social jus' tice by quoting from Mrs. Indira Gandhi's address to the General Ass embly of the World Health Organi sation in May 1982.

> "The idea of a proper world orde is one in which medical discover ies will be free of patents and ther will be no profiteering from *Ml* and death."

I think that is the spirit which sould inform not only the areas of medicine and health, but also the other areas which are of larger social cancern such as food and the like. I hope the hon. Commerce Minister will keep that in mind. Thank you very much

श्रीमती सरला महेश्वरी : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम एक ऐसे मंत्रालय के कार्यकरण पर विचार कर रहे हैं जो मंत्रालय अपनी जिंदगी की आखिरी सांस गिन रहा है और हो सकता है कि आने वाले दो सालों के बाद हम इसके कार्यकरण पर चर्चा न करके इसकी मौत का मर्सिया पढ़ें। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जुलाई, 1991 में यह सरकार सत्ता में आई और दो वर्षों के अंदर ही हमारी आर्थिक नीति के जगत में जो यात्रा इसने शुरू की तो उसने हमें गुणात्मक रूप से एक ऐसी भिन्न स्थिति में, प्रायः मौत के सम्मुख खड़ा कर दिया है। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय बाजार में मालों और संसाधनों की खोज में निकली यह सरकार क्रमशः अपनी अब तक की जमा पूंजी भी गंवाती चली जा रही है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आयात पर परिमाणात्मक प्रतिबंधों को समाप्त करने के साथ जो इनकी वाणिज्यिक यात्रा शुरू हुई तो फिर इन्होंने आयात शुल्क में क्रमशः कटौतियां करने शुरू की, निर्यात को बढ़ावा देने वाली कैश कम्पेंशेटरी स्कीम, रैप लाइसेंसिंग तो फिर एग्जिम स्कीम, एक के बाद एक स्कीमों की उधेड़बुन से गुजारी हुई अंत में रुपये की पूर्ण परिवर्तनीयता पर आकर पूरी तरह से हथियार डाल दिए हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वाणिज्य मंत्रालय के लिए अब करने को कुछ नहीं रह गया है। आयात के लिए निगेटिव लिस्ट सिकुड़ते-सिकुड़ते सिर्फ 10 12 चीजों तक सीमित रह गई है और निर्यात के लिए सारा आसमान खुला है जिसका कोई और छोर नहीं है। जितना आप लूट सकते हैं लूट लीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वाणिज्य मंत्रालय की नीतियों पर मुझे एक राजा और किसान की एक कहानी याद आती है। राजा जमीन के प्रति किसान के मोह को देखकर किसान से यह कहता है कि जाओ, दौड़ लगाओ और जितना दौड़ सकते हो, वह सारी की सारी जमीन तुम्हारी होगी, लेकिन शर्त सिर्फ इतनी है कि शाम तक तुमको लौटकर इसी स्थान पर आना होगा। बेचारा किसान पांव सिर पर उठाकर जब दौड़ना शुरू करता है तो फिर यह भूल जाता है कि उसे वापिस भी लौटना है। बेचारा किसान, जो राजा की चालाकी को समझ नहीं पाया, उसके हाथ में सिर्फ निराशा और हताशा के अलावा कुछ नहीं आता है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान आकर्षित करवाना चाहूंगी कि आई.एम.एफ. और वर्ल्ड बैंक के जिन बादशाहों ने आपकी पीठ थप-थपाई है और पीठ थप-थपाने के बाद आपने जो दौड़ लगानी शुरू की है, तो न तो आपको स्पेशल 301, न ही सुपर 301 के चाबुक नजर आ रहे हैं और न ही आपको उरुग्वे राउंड के कोई अवरोध नजर आ रहे हैं। आप उस किसान की तरह भागते चले जा रहे हैं, भागते चले जा रहे हैं, बिना इस बात की परवाह किए कि आप वापिस लौट पाएंगे या नहीं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जुलाई, 1991 में जब इनकी यह सरकार बनी तो उसके पहले तक इनके दिमाग में इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं थी। उसका सबसे बड़ा प्रमाण कांग्रेस का चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र है। लेकिन सरकार में आने के साल भर के अंदर-अंदर ही जिस तरह इन्होंने आयात को पूरी तरह से उदार बनाने, इजारेदारियों पर प्रतिबंधों को तेजी से कम करने, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का निजीकरण करने, विदेशी पूंजी को अबाध विचरण की छूट देने के, जो एक-एक करके तमाम कदम उठाए, उनसे यह बिल्कुल साफ हो जाता है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी जनता के सामने चाहे कुछ भी दिखाना चाहती हो, यह सही था कि उसकी जेब में एक भिन्न विकल्प रास्ता मौजूद था। और रुपए की पूर्ण परिवर्तनीयता के साथ अब तक जो भी परदा था वह परदा

[श्रीमती सरला महेश्वरी]

उसने उठा दिया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम सभी जानते हैं कि जो भिन्न रास्ता हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्री ने चुना है, वह भिन्न रास्ता भी इनका खुद का नहीं है। हम सभी आई.एम.एफ. और वर्ल्ड बैंक के साथ हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था के तथाकथित स्थिरीकरण और ढांचागत समायोजना के करारों से परिचित हैं। हमारी संसद ने कई बार इन पर चर्चा भी की है। हम यह भी जानते हैं कि वाणिज्यिक नीति आई.एम.एफ. और बैंक के साथ हुए करारों का अभिन्न हिस्सा है। ढांचागत समायोजन के उनके कार्यक्रम में इसे महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त है। इसीलिए उन्होंने 1992 में 5 साल की आयात-निर्यात नीति, वाणिज्य नीति की घोषणा की। इसके बाद भी हाल के दिनों में इन नीतियों में कई परिवर्तन किए गए, लेकिन 5 वर्षों की आयात-निर्यात नीति की घोषणा करना इनकी मजबूरी थी और इस मजबूरी को हमारे वित्त मंत्री कर्जदाता की स्वाभाविक शर्त के रूप में हमको बताते आए हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वाणिज्य मंत्रालय इस पंचवर्षीय नीति के बुनियादी ढांचे में तो कोई परिवर्तन नहीं कर सकता। झुकते-झुकते अब वाणिज्य मंत्रालय सिर्फ इस बात की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा है कि कब उनके इशारे पर व उन्हें साष्टांग प्रणाम करने को तैयार हो जाएं।

विश्व बैंक और आई.एम.एफ. की हकीकत से हम परिचित हैं। ये संस्थाएं जिस स्वतंत्र दुनिया की बात करती हैं, उस स्वतंत्र दुनिया की स्वतंत्रता की असलियत क्या है, यह हम सभी जानते हैं। इस स्वतंत्रता का मतलब सिर्फ उनके लिए है, उन बड़े देशों के लिए है, शक्तिशाली देशों के लिए है और इनकी स्वतंत्रता का मतलब है शक्तिशाली की स्वच्छाचारिता। कमजोर और निर्बल लोगों के लिए इस स्वतंत्रता का मतलब सिर्फ यही है कि तुम्हें गुलामी की स्वतंत्रता है, तुम्हें उनका हुक्म अदा ने की स्वतंत्रता है।

महोदय, जिस समय अमरीका सुपर 301, स्पैशल 301 के चाबुक फटकार रहा है, उस समय पश्चिमी दुनिया में संरक्षणवाद की लहर चल रही है। गैट वार्ता का उरुग्वे चक्र इनके अपने अंतर्विरोधों और स्वार्थों के दलदल में फंसा हुआ है। ऐसे समय में ये हमें उदारतावाद का पाठ पढ़ा रहे हैं। हमसे कहा जा रहा है कि आप अपनी सरहदों को खोल दो। आप कुछ भी नियंत्रण में मत रखो और उन्हें अपनी मनमानियों को करने की खुली छूट दे दो। इसी में आपका भला है और वाणिज्य मंत्रालय मिमियाकर इन तमाम चीजों को स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले एक साल से उदारतावाद की जिन नीतियों पर हम चल रहे हैं, एक के बाद एक कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं, उनसे अब तक हमने हासिल क्या किया है? मैं मंत्री महोदय को बताना चाहूंगी कि उनके विभाग की रिपोर्टों से पता चलता है कि अप्रैल 1991 से दिसंबर 1991 की तुलना में अप्रैल 1992 से दिसंबर 1992 के दौरान हमारा वाणिज्य घाटा 3906.33 करोड़ रुपए से बढ़कर 10150.58 करोड़ रुपए हो गया। हमारे निर्यात में 23.7 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई, लेकिन आयात में 38.67 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई। जनरल करेंसी ऐरिया जिसे हम हार्ड एरिया कह सकते हैं उसके निर्यात में 32.58 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई। जब कि रूपी पेमेंट ऐरिया में हमारा निर्यात 57.59 प्रतिशत घट गया। डालर में होने वाले विदेश व्यापार के क्षेत्र में अप्रैल से दिसंबर 1991 की तुलना में अप्रैल से दिसंबर 1992 के दौरान हमारा आयात 16.53 प्रतिशत बढ़ा जब कि निर्यात सिर्फ 3.41 प्रतिशत बढ़ा जिसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारा वाणिज्यिक घाटा 1628.31 मिलियन डालर से बढ़कर 3555.38 मिलियन डालर हो गया। जाहिर है कि हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्रालय की इन अभूतपूर्व वाणिज्य नीतियों ने, इनके उदारतावाद ने हमारे वाणिज्यिक घाटे को कतई कम नहीं किया, वाणिज्यिक घाटे को कम करने में कोई भूमिका

अदा नहीं की, उलटे हमारे वाणिज्यिक घाटे को बढ़ाने में ही भूमिका अदा की। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन तथ्यों की रोशनी में जो संकेत हमें मिलते हैं उनसे ये साफ जाहिर हो जाता है कि हमारी अर्थनीति खतरनाक दिशा की तरफ बढ़ रही है। हर भारतवासी के लिए यह चिन्ता का विषय है। हर भारतवासी आज इस बात को लेकर चिन्तित है। मैं वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहूंगी कि आखिर आपकी वाणिज्यिक नीतियों और आर्थिक नीतियों का लक्ष्य क्या है, आप क्या हासिल करना चाहते हैं?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम सभी यह चाहते हैं कि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था मजबूत हो। काफी पैमाने पर औद्योगीकरण हो क्योंकि इसी के जरिए हम अपनी व्यापक जनता की समस्याओं को दूर कर पाएंगे। लेकिन क्या हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्री हमको इस बात का विश्वास दिला सकते हैं कि उनकी वाणिज्यिक नीतियां हमारे देश के औद्योगिक विकास में सहायक हो रही हैं? मैं माननीय वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से यह पूछना चाहूंगी कि कौन सी चीजें हैं जिनका निर्यात बढ़ रहा है। वाणिज्य मंत्रालय के अनुसार ही जो आंकड़े हमें प्राप्त हुए हैं उनमें पता चलता है कि अप्रैल 1991 से नवंबर 1991 में तथा अप्रैल 1992 से नवंबर 1992 के बीच भारत का निर्यात 25999.30 करोड़ से बढ़कर 33052.61 करोड़ हो गया। इस निर्यात में दो तिहाई हिस्सा जिन सामग्रियों का निर्यात हुआ था, वह थी कृषि और उससे जुड़े हुए उत्पाद, मेरीन प्रोडक्टस, अयस्क, खनिज चमड़ा, कपड़ा, दस्तकारी का सामान, कालीन आदि। अप्रैल 1991 से नवंबर 1992 के बीच हुए निर्यात में 18481.84 करोड़ रुपए का निर्यात उन्हीं सामग्रियों का हुआ था। ठीक इसी तरह अप्रैल 1992 से नवंबर 1992 में कुल निर्यात का दो तिहाई हिस्सा इन्हीं सामग्रियों का हुआ। कुल 33052.69 करोड़ रुपए के निर्यात में इन सामग्रियों के निर्यात की राशि 22960.27 करोड़ रुपए रही। यहां तक कि निर्यात के बारे में इनकी जो भावी योजनाएं हैं उनका क्या हाल है। हमारे वित्त मंत्रालय के अनुसार यह हमें पता चला है कि जो भावी निर्यात योजना है उसके अंतर्गत कृषि उत्पाद खनिज पदार्थ, चमड़ा, कपड़ा दस्तकारी का सामान आदि हैं। इन्हीं सामग्रियों के निर्यात में वृद्धि की योजना हमारा वाणिज्य मंत्रालय बता रहा है। मैं वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से यह सवाल करना चाहती हूं कि इससे कौन सामग्री ऐसी हैं जिनके उत्पादन के लिए हमें आयात की जरूरत है। क्या इस में कोई ऐसी सामग्री है जिनके उत्पादन के लिए हमें साफिस्टिकेटेड टेक्नालाजी की जरूरत है। जिन पर आप बार बार जोर दे रहे हैं कि हमें अपने निर्यात को बढ़ाने के लिए आयात की जरूरत है, हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्री के द्वारा लगातार यह राग अलापा जा रहा है कि हमें अपने वाणिज्यिक घाटे को कम करने तथा निर्यात को बढ़ाने के लिए आयात की जरूरत है। लेकिन महोदय, सच्चाई इससे बिलकुल भिन्न है।

महोदय, यह उदारीकरण हमारे निर्यात को बढाने और उद्योगों के आधुनीकीकरण के लिए नहीं किया जा रहा है बल्कि अमरीका और पूंजीवादी देशों की अर्थ व्यवस्था में जो मंदी आई है जिसे हम लगातार पढ़ते हैं कि किस तरह से अमरीका के वाणिज्य मंत्री ने इस बात की चिन्ता प्रकट की है कि उनका निर्यात लगातार कम होता जा रहा है, अमरीकी उद्योग में लगातार मंदी छाती जा रही है। तो पश्चिमी देशों के मालों का नहीं उन की मंदी का आप आयात कर रहे हैं। आप हमारा निर्यात नहीं बढ़ा रहे हैं, सारे पश्चिमी देशों की नजर भारत की उपभोक्ता बाजार पर लगी हुई है। तो मैं फिर इस बात को दोहराना चाहती हूं कि यह उदारीकरण के जरिए हम सिर्फ पश्चिमी देशों की मंदी का आयात कर रहे हैं। हमारे देश के उत्पादन को बढाने, हमारे देश के निर्यात को बढाने का इससे कोई संबंध नहीं है। महोदय, मैं कहना चाहूंगी की हमारी सरकार की वाणिज्य नीतियां

[श्रीमती सरला महेश्वरी]

हमारे देश के स्वदेशी उद्योगों पर एक बड़ा खतरा है, लटकती हुई तलवार है और वाणिज्य मंत्री का हर दिन हमारे देश के स्वदेशी उद्योगों पर एक खतरे का दिन है।

हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्रालय की वाणिज्य नीति जो है उस का कुल सार यह है कि वह हमारे देश के स्वदेशी उद्योगों के विकास को रोकने वाली और विकास को प्रतिहत करने वाली है। सुपर, 301, स्पेशल 301, गैट, डंकल आदि द्विपक्षीय, बहुपक्षीय दबाव के विध्वसक टैंकों ने हमारी अर्थ नीति के किलों पर गोले दागने शुरू कर दिए हैं। एक के बाद एक वह हमारी दीवारें ढहाते जा रहे हैं। दूसरी ओर ऐसा लगता है जयचंदों और मीरजाफरों के भूत फिर से हमारी अर्थनीति पर मंडराने लगे हैं। अतीत की गलतियों को सुधारने के नाम पर सदियों पुराने ढांचे का जिस प्रकार जीर्णोद्धार किया गया है उससे हम सभी परिचित हैं। हमारी यह सरकार भी बिल्कुल उसी तर्ज पर "एक धक्का और दो' के नारे के साथ 45 वर्ष में अकालवृद्ध हो गई। हमारी अर्थनीति का जो जीर्णोद्धार कर रही है जाहिर है उससे यह अर्थनीति के ढांचे को ढहा कर ही रहेगी। इसके पहले उन्हें शांति नहीं मिलेगी। हम सरकार की कुछ मजबूरियां समझ सकते हैं कि सरकार को उपलब्ध विश्व परिस्थिति के अंतर्गत ही काम करना पड़ता है। समाजवाद के पराभव के बाद हम देख रहे हैं दुनिया के देशों के तमाम अंतराष्ट्रीय बहुपक्षीयवार्ताओं तक आकर सिमट गए हैं। अमेरीका की धींगामस्ती के चलते, कई मचों पर द्विपक्षीय विरोध भी सामने आते जा रहे हैं इस विश्व परिस्थिति में हमारे लिए करनीय क्या है, भारत का क्या कर्तव्य है ? क्या इन तमाम प्रतिकूल परिस्थितियों में भी हमारे सामने कोई विकल्प नहीं है जिससे कि हम भारत की सार्वभौमिकता, भारत की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा कर सकें। मैं माननीय वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहूंगी कि आज अमेरिका जिस तरह से हमें धमकी दे रहा है, सुपर 301 के जरिए, उस संदर्भ में भारत सरकार की भूमिका क्या है ? अमेरिका क्या चाहता है भारत से ? क्या भारतवासियों के सामने इस प्रश्न का खुलासा नहीं किया जाना चाहिए क्या अमेरिका का निशाना भारत का पेटेंट कानून नहीं है ? भारत का 1970 का वह पेटेन्ट कानून जिस कानून ने हमारे देश के आर्थिक विकास में, हमारे देश की आर्थिक सार्वभौमिकता को बनाए रखने में, हमारे देश के शोध कार्यों को आगे ले जाने में अहम भूमिका अदा की। उस पेटैन्ट कानून के चलते हमने दवा उद्योग में अभूतपूर्व सफलता हासिल की, आज वही पेटेन्ट कानून उनकी आंख की किरकिरि बना हुआ है। लेकिन हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्रालय की ओर से कोई खुलासा नहीं किया जा रहा है। हमारा वाणिज्य मंत्रालय क्यों नहीं हमारे देश की जनता को अपने विश्वास में लेता, क्यों नहीं हमारे देश की जनता की शक्ति पर भरोसा करते हुए वह अमेरिका से खुले आम यह कहता कि यह सरासर भारत के अंदरूनी मामले में हस्तक्षेप है। जब एक तरफ बहुपक्षीय वार्तायें चल रही हैं, उरुगुए राउंड चल रहा है उस समय भारत को इस तरह धमकाये जाने का तात्पर्य क्या है ? अमेरिका जो लगातार अन्तराष्ट्रीय संहिताओं का; अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मान मर्यादाओं का उल्लंघन करता रहा है पेटेन्ट कानून के संदर्भ में, वही अमेरिका आज हमें धमका रहा है। लेकिन हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्रलय की ओर से सिर्फ नतमस्तक होकर इस बात की प्रतीक्षा की जा रही है कि नहीं, हम उनको समझा लेंगे, हम उनको मना लेंगे। हम अमेरिका से कहेंगे कि हम आपकी बातें मानने को तैयार हैं लेकिन हमारी कुछ समस्याएं हैं। आप उनको देख लीजिए। इस तरह के रवैये से क्या साम्राज्यवाद के हमलों के समक्ष हम अपने देश की आर्थिक सार्वभौमिकता की रक्षा कर पायेंगे ?

डंकल प्रस्ताव के बारे में हमारी सरकार का क्या रुख है ? हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्रालय का क्या हाल है ? मैं भारत के कन्ट्रोलर एण्ड ऑडीटर जनरल, भारत के नियंत्रक और महालेखा परीक्षक की गत तीन वर्षों की रिपोर्टें देख रही थी। उनकी रिपोर्ट को देखते हुए मुझे पता चला कि किस प्रकार से वाणिज्य मंत्रायल में भ्रष्टाचार का बोलबाला है। आयात शुल्क की वसूली के मामले में,

निर्यातकों को इंसेटिव देने के बारे में जिस तरह लगातार भ्रष्टाचार चल रहा है उस ओर वाणिज्य मंत्री ध्यान न देकर वह अपने मंत्रालय की अकुशलता पर पर्दा डालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं । हमारा वाणिज्य मंत्रालय क्या काम कर रहा है ? हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्रालय ने साम्राज्यवादियों के पिट्ठू आर्थर डंकल द्वारा तैयार किये गये प्रस्तावों के पक्ष में प्रचार का काम शुरू किया है । हमारे किसानों से कहा जा रहा है कि डंकल प्रस्ताव उसके हितों के विरुद्ध नहीं है, डंकल प्रस्ताव तो किसानों के हित में है । आश्चर्य है कि जिस तरह से साम्राज्यवादियों के दबाव के सामने हमारा वाणिज्य मंत्रालय घुटने टकने की नीति अपना रहा है उससे क्या वह देश को आर्थिक सार्वभौमिकता क रक्षा कर पाएगा, वह देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा कर पाएगा । अभी हफ्ते भर पहले की बात है, वाशिंगटन में आई.एस.एफ. की बैठक में फण्ड के मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर केमडेएस ने कहा था कि विकासशील देशों ने अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था में वाणिज्यक नीतियों में काफी सुधार किया है, लेकिन विकसित देश कोई रेस्पोन्ड नहीं कर रहे हैं । सच्चाई से श्री केमरेक्स भी इंकार नहीं कर सके । लेकिन वित्त मंत्री और वित्त मंत्रालय के बैण्ड पार्टी के सदस्य जिनके अन्तर्गत वाणिज्य मंत्रालय भी आता है उन्हें इस सच्चाई को देखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है । वे सच्चाई की अनदेखी कर सच्चाई से आखें चुराते हुए हमारे किसानों को समझा रहे हैं कि डंकल प्रस्ताव किस प्रकार से उनके हितों के पक्ष में है । इस उदारवादी नीति का परिणाम क्या हो रहा है । इन प्रस्तावों के अन्तर्गत जो उदार नीति उन्होंने अपनाई है उस उदार नीति ने हमारे देश का बटवारा किया है । देश के उद्योगों को नुक्सान पहुंचाया है । हालत यह है कि हमारे देश में अभी से विदेश माल डम्प होना शरू हो गया है । केरल से यह रिपोर्ट आई है कि रबड़ उद्योग के लाखों किसानों की जीविका पर संकट आ गया है । जम्मू में रेसिन के कारखाने बंद होने के कगार पर आ गये हैं । हाल में जो इनके मंत्रालय की स्टेडिंग कमेटी है उस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में इस बात की ओर मंत्रालय का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है कि किस तरह से विकसित देशों द्वारा बार्ड अमोनियम फासफेट, फर्टिलाइजर, पी.वी.सी. रेसिन बड़े पैमाने पर भारत के बाजारों में डम्प किया जा रहा है । इसके अलावा हमारे इंटेग्रेटड सर्किटस, कोस्टिक सोडा, पेराकिजलीन बैनजीन तथा पैराफीन वैक्स की जो हमारी स्वदेशी ईकाइयां हैं वे प्रभावित होने लगी हैं । मशीन निर्माता उद्योग पर भयंकर संकट आ गया है । 1992–97 की आयात निर्यात नीति के प्राक्कथन में चीफ कंट्रोलर आफ एक्सपोर्ट एंड इम्पोर्ट ने जो लिखा है कि :—

"The fundamental feature of the new policy is freedom."

माननीय वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से मैं पूछना चाहूंगी कि आपकी स्वतंत्रता का तात्पर्य क्या है ? क्या इस स्वतंत्रता का तात्पर्य हमारे देश के उद्योगों और हमारे किसानों को आत्महत्या की स्वतंत्रता से है कि तुम चाहो तो तुम्हें मरने की छूट है ? स्वतंत्र बाजार के अलमबरदार बाकी दुनिया को इसके अलावा कुछ नहीं दे सकते हैं । उनके लिये मरने की छूट है । अगर जीना होगा तो साम्राज्यवादियों के इशारों पर जीना होगा । इसलिए मैं वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से सिर्फ दो एक सवाल करना चाहती हूं कि अगर वाणिज्य मंत्रालय को हमारे देश की आर्थिक सार्वभौमिकता, हमारे देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करने में कोई भूमिका निभानी है क्योंकि वाणिज्य मंत्रालय को अगर जिन्दा रहना है तो वाणिज्य मंत्रालय का अस्तित्व हमारे देश की आर्थिक सार्वभौमिकता और आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है । इसलिए मैं वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगी कि साम्राज्यवादियों के दबाव का जवाब दया और भीख मांग कर नहीं दिया जा सकता है और न ही शुतुरमुर्ग की तरह बालू में सिर डालकर आप उनके दबाव का सामना कर सकते हैं । अगर आप साम्राज्यवादियों का सामना करना चाहते हैं तो हमारे देश की जनता की शक्ति को आपको विश्वास में लेना होगा और संसद को विश्वास में लेना होगा । अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर तमाम विकासशील देशों को आपको एकजुट करना होगा । इन साम्राज्यवादियों के दबाव के विरुद्ध हम एक वैकल्पिक नीति तैयार कर सकें, साम्राज्यवादियों के विरुद्ध विकासशील देशों की आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता और सार्वभौमिकता की रक्षा करने के लिए भारत नेतृत्वकारी भूमिका अदा कर सकता है बशर्ते कि वाणिज्य मंत्रालय इस बात को स्वीकारे । इसलिये उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अंत में सिर्फ वाणिज्य

[श्रीमती सरला महेश्वरी]

मंत्री जी से इतना ही कहना चाहूंगी कि वाणिज्य मंत्रालय की पार्लियामेंटरी स्टेंडिंग कमेटी ने अपनी प्रथम रिपोर्ट से जो सवाल किये हैं कि भारत में जो डंपिंग हो रही है उसको रोकने के लिए आप कौन से कदम उठा रहे हैं, आपके मंत्रालय में जो भ्रष्टाचार है, उस भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए आप कौन से कदम उठा रहे हैं ? अंत में मैं कहना चाहूंगी कि जिस निर्यात पर यह बल दे रहे हैं कि निर्यात ही हमारे देश की अर्थ-नीति की बुनियाद है, हमारा निर्यात बढ़ेगा तो हमारे देश की आर्थिक उन्नति भी बढ़ती जायेगी , निर्यात हमारे आयात पर केन्द्रित होगा, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, पिछले दिनों में इकोनोमिक एंड पोलिटिकल वीकली में ढोलकिया बन्धुओं के लेख को पढ़ रही थी, इन ढोलकिया बंधुओं ने विभिन्न उद्योगों के सर्वे के बाद निष्कर्ष निकाला, उस निष्कर्ष का कुछ अंश मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूं । ढोलकिया बंधुओं ने कहा है --

"If the export promotion measures are followed without the overall framework of planned development as it appears to be the case in the new Exim policy and the Eight Plan documents, we are most likely to experience the phenomenon of 'growth-led exports' rather than 'export-led growth'. If this happens our export markets would still remain as unreliable as ever. Our exports would continue to decline relatively so also our share in the world market. It is high time that we devote special attention to export promotion and integrate it meticulously in our overall developmental strategy."

इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वाणिज्य मंत्री जी से इतना ही कहना चाहूंगी कि सिर्फ आप निर्यात पर जोर दे रहे है लेकिन इस निर्यात को हमारे देश के उद्योग-धन्धों के साथ नहीं जोड़ेंगे तो इस निर्यात का कोई मूल्य नहीं होगा । इसलिए हमारे देश के सर्वांगीण विकास और औद्योगिक विकास को ध्यान में रखते हुए आप नीति अपनाएं न कि आप इस उल्टे रास्ते पर चलें जिससे हमारे देश के उद्योग-धन्धे तबाह हो जाएं और हम आपके वाणिज्य मंत्रालय का मरसिया पढ़ने के लिए मजबूर हों । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu); Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the working of the Commerce Ministry. Thus Ministry is more or less the backbone of the nation and, is a life-saving drug for this Cabinet. After the liberalisation takes place we must first know where we stand. Then we can come to the functions of this department.

Sir, exports and imports are among the important functions of this Ministry. To reach the target set out in the Five-Year Plan our exports should register a 13.6 per cent growth in rupee terms or a 15—16 per cent gowth in dollar terms Only then we can keep our current account deficit at 1.5 per cent of our GDP. But what is the reality? The reality is that the exports will not increase by more than six per cent At the same time, our imports will increase by 22 per cent. In the last financial year, 1991-92, our imports increased by 16.5 per cent. This year, the expectation is 22 per cent. When the import is going to be increased by 22: per cent and the export is 6. per cent, how are we going to achieve the target? Only God knows it. We have passed so many Acts. For exam ple, the MRTP, the FERA the Capi tal issues Control, the Reserve Bank Regulations, the Import-Export Con trol Taxation Acts either repealed or remodifled. The Reserve Bank of In dia has given some instructions to the Commercial Banks to improve our export. For example, they have given clear instructions to the Com mercial Banks that the export credit should at least be 10 Per cent of the net credit or the total credit of the Commercial Banks and when they

are determining the maximum permissible financial assistance to any parly, whatever export credit has been given to a party should not be included. Also, the rate of interest was reduced by one per cent only to see that export is increased. But in spite of all these things, I don't think that we are going to achieve the target. What is the position? Where do we stand when we talk of glo. balisation on the globe? We must know where we stand. The recent United, Nations Developlment report has ranked the nations of the world with reference to human development. According to this report, India is placed at serial number 121 out of 160 countries. This is where we stand after nearly 45 years of independence.

Now, I come to the function of the department. Regarding the Director-General of Supplies and Disposal. some three years back, I had raised an issue here regarding the purchase of material from the small scale in dustries region-wise. You see. South India has been neglected for years when the purchases are made. The northern sector as well as the west ern sector are given preferential treatment. Therefore, J fought ag ainst this discrimination. I raised this matter by way of a special mention and I requested the Ministry of Com merce to see to it that this error is rectified. Then I got a letter from the department stating that they have consituted a Committee to go th rough the issues and they will see to it that the error ig rectified. But now I came to know that the purchasing policy itself has been changed. I quote —The review of pollicy of the Central Programme "Consequent upon the review of the policy of the centrali sed purchase of store and equipment by the DGS&D in 1991, the Govern ment decided that the procurement work against the ad hoc indents may be transferred from the DGS&D to the indenting Ministries and depart ments along with the corresponding number of offices ad staff of the DGS and D dealing with the work. It also decided that the procurement of freights and running of contracts of the common users' items which are required by move than one Ministry or department will continue to be done by the DGS and D except pro curement of POL products for the Ministries of Railways and Defence which may be transferred to these Ministries along with officers and staff." When the Director-General of Supplies and Disposal makes pur chases for all the departments, at least, we are able to compute the mode of purchase. We can make out what mode of purchase is there, whe ther they are given any prefertial treatment or not. But with this change of policy, we cannot make out as to from which section or which region they are buying, how they are buying and all this. We are unable to do that. The complaint made ag-ainst the DGS and D is that South India and eastern India are discrim inated against in this respect. I pres ume that" the Government has changed the policy in order not to find out the truth. If this is so, they can hide the truth to some extent. But that is not going to solve the problem.

The next point is regarding the quality control and pre-shipment inspection. You see liberalisation is taking place everywhere, including this sphere also Actually it should be tightened. But liberalisation takes place in the inspection section also. The inspection is being, more or less reduced slowly and slowly. What I fear is, if we allow the liberalisation poicy in this particuar quality control area, we may lose the export trade. The Government has to look into it because quality control has an important bearing on our exports. Already there are so many complaints being made. When we export things, complaints are bound to occur. I can tell ou how they are reduced. At page 38 of the Performance Budget for 1993-94 it is stated; "Grants-in. aid, Export Inspection Council, non-Plan Expenditure 1992-93 Budget estimates. — 56 lakhs: 1993-94 Budget

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estimates — 58 lakhs. for Plan Ex. penditure the Budget estimates as well as the revised estimates in 1992-93 50 lakhs. 1993.94 — nil." From *this* you can find how much importance the Government of India has given to quality control and pre shipment inspection. Therefore, I request the Government, through you, Sir, that they must review this pol icy and see that inspection is tighten ed; otherwise, they may lose ex ports.

Then I come to another point reg arding the Madras Export Processing Zone (Plan). I want to tell you about the expenditure on the construction and development of Madras Export Processing Plant. Under the Budget estimates it is 250 lakhs, under the revnsed estimates it has com$_e$ down to 225 lakhs. But fortunately in 1993.94 Budget estimates it is 700 lakhs. When inflation takes place at the rate of 8 per cent, when Budget estimates show it as 250 lakhs real expenditure ought to have gone up to 270 lakhs? It means there is slackness in the adminstration of the Commerce Ministry. Sir, through you, I request the Government what they have left out in the last year should b$_e$ added in It means there is slackness in the coming year.

Another matter relating to this thing is the total cost of construction. The Minisry of Commerce has stated that the Demands for Grants are Rs. 4,330 lakhs, i.e. Rs. 43 crores. Out of Rs. 43 crores, so far they have spent about four crores and seventy five lakhs of rupees When this is the case, what will happen? I think it will take a decade to complete this project. Therefore, I request that the Commerce Ministry should expedite this project and see that it is actually completed within a quinquennium.

Then regarding this Super 301 and Special 301. The U. S. Government has named India under the Special 301. They have declared that India comes under the purview of Special 301. What is the position of the United States itself? Now their eco. nomic growth has come down from 3.6 per cent to 1.8 per cent. And to offset this, they want to punish the oher countries. The Government thinks that this lis a unilateral decision. The Government of India is not going to have any bilateral talks with the United States. It should be on multinatiional basis. I agree with what the Government thins, if it actualy stands for it. What is our past experience? When India was placed under 301, the American Government has stipulated some condi. tions on India. Number one is the abolition of the practice of forced export obligations on joint ventures. (2) Abolition of time-bound programme of indigenisation *ot* the pro. ducts manufactured by these ventures. (3) Opening up of the insurance sector for the foreign investors. These three conditions they put under Super 301. But we have not replied to it. We said that we were not going to respond so that. We told them that. What really happens is that once the national trade estimate report is submitted to the US Government, within 30 days the USTR has to take decision on that When it is so, we said that we were not going to respond to that. But what has happened? In our industrial policy we have conveniently forgotten about what they had insisted on. We left that out in the industrial policy. As •regards the insurance sector we have already constituted a high level committee to go through it. What I want to say is that Un this way wo have succumbed to the pressures exerted by the United States.

Now, I come to the problems of tea industry. The tea industry has been heavily affected because of the disintegration of the USSR. In 1991-92 the tea export was 173 million kgs. while this year it is 139 kgs. up to now. In the CIS areas our export has come down to 26 million kgs. From 74 million kgs. Nearly 20 million kgs. were offset in the non-CIS areas. I feel the tea industry is going to be affected. There are some very important reasons for that. The latest Standing Committee report men. tions something with regard to export of tobacco to China. Ten years back we had very good relations with

China as far as tobacco export is concerned. What happened ten years ago was that we had sent nine con. signments of tobacco to China. All the consignments attracted complaints. What was done was that the exporters sent substandard tobacco and not according to the specification made. Therefore, there was a fight between China and India. Subsequently, they stopped importing from India. What was the consequence of this? Two officials of China had been hanged to death for this offence and six officials of India were actually suspended. But one case is still pending. I want to know whose company is that which has not settled it so far. Who are the proprietors of that company? Are they connected with the Commerce Ministry? I would like to know whether the Commerce Ministry is patronising such persons. Why I am asking these vital questions is that I came to know that one of the persons who indulged in this type of actions lis one of the directors of the Tea Board. If such a person whose action was responsible for the stop, page of tobacco exports to China is one of directors of the Tea Board, I fear, the tea exports will also be affected.

Now *I* come to sugar. The price of sugar has been increased considerably for the local consumers. The Government is aware that more than 50 lakh tonnes of sugar are stock-piled here. Why then, do they want to increase (he price? I dont know. They may say that they are doing something to the agriculturists. Agriculturists are not benefitted. Consumers are not benefited.. Only intermediaries arc benefited. The Government must completely review the policy and protect the consumers and the people of India. With these words f conclude. Thank you.

SHRI S. MADHAVAN (TAMIL NADU): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the new economic policies of the Government delicensing, decontrolling, taking away the discretionary control have created an impression that it will boost our economy and help industry and trade in our country. The Gov ernment's subsequent action of allow, ing free import has caused a fear complex among our indigenous industrial units. This has been pointed out more than once to the Government. The Com merce Ministry is responsible for the import policy. The Finance Ministry is responsible for the customs duty structure. Sir import duty is being increased on raw materials to be purchased by our indigenous indust ries. At the same time mport duty on finished goods is being reduced. This is a new situation which our indige nous industries have to face. In the recent Budget presentation the Finance Minister has enunci ated a new policy that we should go in for imports wherever imported goods are cheaper. By that our over industries have to be closed down because of the import of cheaper finished products. I don't know whether the Commerce Ministry is going to accept that policy and implement it. After Independence, the Congress leaders, the Congress Government, have followed a stern policy of self-reliance to boost our indigenous production. But now the new policy is for imported finished goos .For example, n'ee import policies have allowed import of DAP fertilizer because it is cheaper in the world market. We know why the multi-ntaionalg are dumping these goods at cheaper rates, below the cost of production in their own country, below the price at which they are selling to their own people. Sudden decontrol of DAP fertilizer, withdrawal of subsidy to our own production here, the cost of imported raw material at the market rate of exchange have pushed up the cost of production of indigenous DAP. This has put our indigenous industries in a very difficult situation. If this policy continues[1], 17 inusitries producing DAP fertilizer have to be closed down. Due to that this country will face large-scale unemployment The maior dumping is coming from the USA.

[Shri S. Madhavan]

They are dumping their goods in India to see that our indigenous indus-ries are closed down. If the policy of the Finance Ministry that we will go for imports, is followed, what will happen to these 17 industries which were being helped by the Congress Government? What will happen to the employees working in these factories? I would like to give one more example. The international price of caustic soda has come down. Now, they have liberalise the import policy. What will happen to our own units which are producing castic soda for so many years? The Congress Government has strengtheened these industries. But now they have to face this difficulty.I would like to know whether the Government wants to close down these industries. The caustic soda industries have represented this matter to the Government. The Commerce Ministry is taking some steps but the Finance Ministry is against it. They say that import of caustic soda is cheaper. The same policy i_s going to affect our own pub-. lie sector units. For example, liberalisation of import of benzene. It is a chemical product. The benzene project costing Rs. 350 crores by the Cochin Refineries has to be dropped as Iimported benzene becomes cheaper. The Cochin Refinery is a public sector undertaking. They have to drop that project because of the liberalised import policy of the Government of India. Then, another public sector undertaking, the IPCL which produces paraxylene will have to close down *its* project. They have got a capacity to produce 46,000 tonnes. This was also approved by the Government of India but because of the liberalised import policy, they have to close down. What about the electronic indistry? Now, we are producing intergrated circuits in our country. At the came time, the Government has reduced the import duty on

this finished product from 110 per cent to 50 per cent. But then. the Impart duty on the raw . material whi is used for the production of this integrated circuit, is 75 per cent. That means, we have to close down our own indigenous industry. This liberalise policy is going to affect our indigenous industries. This hag been proved. I hope that the Commerce Ministry will fight it out with the Finance Ministry and save our Indigenous industries. Uncertainty and instability in our export policy will cause great damage to our industries. The Government has to pronounce that their liberalised and open policy will continue for at least five years. And, it is being said that we have to cultivate export culture. But, why do we always speak about the fhrust *on exports and why not we* speak about the thrust on curbing the import facilities? That will be the most important thing that we have to have in order to save our economy in future Another point that I want to emphasise is about the various schemes that the Commerece Ministry had taken to help our exports but because of the opposition from the Finance Ministry, the Ministry will have to drop them. One of those schemeg is the International Price Reimbursement Scheme for encouraging our engineering exports. Recently, this scheme has been dropoed all of a sudden. Most of the engineering units are small scale units mo«tly from the southern part of our country. Now. because of the sudden decision taken by the Commerce Ministry under the pressure of the Finance Ministry, these engineering units have to close down their capa-citv. They were started and installed at the encouragement of the Policy Statement of- the Commerce Ministry-I understand that the Committee of Secretaries has 'recommended to the Government, - which the Commerce Ministry has also endorsed that this seheme should continue at least till 1995. But we do not know as to what is going to happen. Another aspect of this scheme is that there is a large amount of arrears for repayment, under this scheme to the claimants, in this country.. The Commer-

ce Ministry admits that more than Rs. 300 crores are to bt paid under this scheme. There is no provision for this scheme There is no provision for this. The Finance Ministry is objec ting and this scheme is in doldrums. We do not know as to what the Com merce Ministry is going to do. It is the Commerce Ministry which is concerned with the disbursement in various schemes. 30, reimbursement is the main job of the Commerce Ministry. I must point out that crores of rupees are pending and though the claims have to be met by the Commerce Ministry they are not able to pay them. Various High Courts and even the Supreme Court have given the judgement that these amounts will have to be paid immediately but the Government has not been able to pay those arrears and they are pending. Sir. I want to stress on one more point. In order to increase our export activities, we must encourage the State Government's participation in the export activities. The Government of India should not only ask the State Governments to create infrastructural facilities or reduce the State Government's taxes to some export activities but also they must set aside some portion of the export earnings to be disbursed to the State Governments so that the State Governments will be interested in the export activities of this country. The Standing Committee on Commerce has recommended that at least five per cent of the export earmings must be set aside to be disbursed to the State Governments as an incentive and +0 provide for the infrastructural facilities which help our exports because without creating such infrastructural facilities. We may not be able to achieve the targets fixed. So. the Commerce Ministry has to fight with the Finance Ministry to implement these schemes to help and encourage the State Governments in this regard.

श्री जगन्नानन मिश्र : (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कामर्स मंत्रालय की स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट सदन के सामने है और चूंकि मैं उसमें था, इसलिए सिर्फ उन बातों को मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मैं जैसा समझ रहा हूं कि हमारा देश एक कठिन परिस्थिति में पड़ गया है। सोवियत संघ के टटने के बाद जितना हमारा व्यापार होता था टोटल ट्रेड का करीब 1/4, वह स्टॉप हो गया। व्यापार इराक, लीबिया वगैरह से जो व्यापार हो रहा था, उसमें भी धक्का लगा गया। अमरीका से दूसरा 1/4 व्यापार होता था या हो रहा है, वह रोज-रोज 301 की धमकी देता है और हमारे मंत्री महोदय रोज उससे प्रेम वार्तालाप करके तय करना चाहते हैं लेकिन धमकी तो है। तो हम एक डिफिकल्ट सिचुएशन में है और इसमें हमको ऐसा लग रहा है कि भारत सरकार की जो नीति है, वह देश-विरोधी साबित हो रही है। मैं एक-दो उदाहरण देना चाहूंगा। इस साल का हमारा ट्रेड डेफिसिट गया 3-5 बिलियन डॉलर। जो कमिंग टू ईयर हैं उसमें डेब्ड सर्विसिंग 1993 का 1994 का और जोड़ इंटरेस्ट वह 9 बिलियन डालर का है दोनों मिलाकर 12.5 बिलियन डालर हो जाएगा।

अब यह प्रश्न उठता है कि अगर हम मान भी ले, वैसे मानने का कोई रीजन नहीं है क्योंकि जो टारगेट सरकार ने तय किया था एक्सपोर्ट करने का, उसमें सिवाय दो चीजों के किसी चीज का भी एक्सपोर्ट का टारगेट पूरा नहीं हुआ, फिर भी मान लीजिए थोड़ी देर के लिए कि व्यापार घाटा पूरा हो जायेगा तब भी हमारा जो यह 12 बिलियन यानी प्रति-वर्ष 6 बिलियन डालर का व्यय बढ़ता चला जाएगा। इसीलिए खतरा है, वह है कि

What is at stake is the very independence of India.

यह मामला नहीं है कि सिर्फ ट्रेड में कैसे होगा, नहीं होगा या क्या होगा? यह कर्ज ग्रस्तता इतनी बढ़ जाएगी कि भारत बंधक बन जा गा और तब हमारे सामने कोई रास्ता नहीं रह जाएगा। इसलिए हम यह जानते हैं, ठीक है हम कांग्रेस पार्टी के ऊपर दोषारोपण करते हैं और उसकी वजह भी है क्योंकि हमें समझ नहीं आता है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी कभी

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

बोफोर्स पर सती होती है, कभी रामास्वामी पर सती होती है, कभी हर्षद मेहता पर सती होती है और क्लिंटन की एक-एक मुस्कान पर हमारी सरकार नाचने लगती है और हमारे मंत्री महोदय डंकल पर फिदा हैं, कुछ समझ में नहीं आ रहा है । इसलिए हमको लग रहा है कि जिस डेंजरस सिचुएशन में कंट्री जा रही है हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी सरकार के लिए एक देशभक्तिपूर्ण काम यह होगा कि सभी पार्टियों के लोग बैठकर तय करें कि भारत जो इतने कर्ज में फंस गया है, उसको री-पे करने के लिए हम लोग एक पंचवर्षीय, दसवर्षीय योजना, कोई एक्शन प्लान बनाये कि कैसे हम कर्जा री-पे कर सकेंगे। लेकिन सरकार उसी में बहादुरी दिखलाती है कि कितना कर्जा लिया, पेमेंट का क्या होगा उसको कई सरकार ने कोई नहीं देखता है । कामर्स मंत्रालय का और फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री का रिश्ता वही है जो भीम और शकुनि में था । भीम खाता था और शकुनी क्या करता था, वह आप जानते ही हैं । तो इसी तरह से वित्त मंत्रालय कर्जा लेगा और यह सोचेगे कि कहां से यह कर्ज चूकता करें। हम चाहते हैं कि मौजूदा वक्त में अगर सरकार देश हित में काम करना चाहती है तो कम से कम कुछ बिन्दु हम दे रहे हैं, जिन बिन्दुओं पर काम करना चाहिए। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने बताया उदाहरण दिए, इसलिए मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहूंगा। रिपोर्ट में भी है कि नई पोलिसी के मताबिक डम्पिग का देश में बहुत बड़ा खतरा है । फर्टिलाइजर के केस में तो बिल्कुल साबित हो गया कि अमेरिका के अन्दर खुद जिस फर्टिलाइजर की कीमत 240 डालर पर टन है और इण्डिया में वह बेचता है 170 डालर पर टन। स्पष्ट है कि माल हमारे यहां डम्प करते हैं। सरकार ने डम्पिग के बारे में कोई समुचित कानून नहीं बनाया और न मोनिटरिंग करने के लिये कुछ रखा। जब-जब केस आता है हाऊस में उठता है या अखबार में उठता है तो फिर सरकार बयान देती है कि हम इस पर कारवाई करेंगे। तो हम चाहते हैं कि जैसा कि हम लोगों ने सुझाव दिया कि मोनिटरिंग करने के लिये सरकारी स्तर पर कोई स्टेंडिंग कमेटी हो । दूसरा अपने देश का तेल का उत्पादन थ्री-फोर्थ घट गया है। जिसका उत्पादन बढ़ाने का प्रयास करना है। लेकिन तेल का दाम दुनियां में बढ़ने ही जा रहा है घटने की कोई उम्मीद नहीं है । कम से कम ऐसी स्थिति में तेल की फिजूलखर्ची रोकने के लिये हमारा ख्याल है कि जितनी बड़ी-बड़ी कम्पनियां हैं पब्लिक सैक्टर्स में हैं, खुद सरकार है, वह कम्पलसरी 5 परसेंट का इसमें कट करें । इससे कोई भी इन-एफिसिएंसी नहीं आएगी, हम आपको कह सकते हैं कि क्योंकि ट्रेड यूनियन में रहने के कारण हमारा विभिन्न उद्योगों से व पब्लिक सैक्टर्स से हमारा सम्बन्ध रहा है । वहां बहुत सी फिजूलखर्ची होती है, बरबादी होती है, इसको आप रोकिए । दूसरी, हम आपसे यह कहना चाहेंगे कि तेल का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये जो समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम चाहिए, वह भी सरकार के पास नहीं है। इसीलिये यह भी डुबोने वाला काम सरकार कर रही है और देश बरबाद हो रहा है। इसी तरह हम यह चाहते हैं कि जो हमारे लिये जरूरी नहीं है, जो लक्जरी आईटम्स हैं या नॉन-एसिशियेंशल हैं, उनको हम लोग क्यों इम्पोर्ट कर रहे हैं, यह हमारी समझ में नही आता । अचानक, भारत का कोयला इतना खराब हो गया कि तमिलनाडु इलैक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड, चूंकि जब कांग्रेस के साथ रिश्ता अच्छा था, तो उसके लिये आपने इम्पोर्ट करने का अधिकार दे दिया था । जब इण्डियन कोल पर देश के बाकी सभी इलैक्ट्रिसिटी प्लांट चल रहे हैं, तो फिर वही एक क्यों ऐसा कर रहा है । होड़ लग गई है, मंत्रालयों में आयात से रुपया कमाने की और वह जगह-जगह लोग ले रहे हैं। सिर्फ कॉमर्स मंत्रालय के अन्दर ही नहीं है । हम जो आपको कहना चाहेंगे कि कर्जा देश पर है, बंधक यह देश होगा । इसीलिये अगर

इस समस्या का निदान करना है तो एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ा करके ही किया जा सकता है। अगर इस काम को करना है तो अकेले एक मंत्रालय से यह होने वाला नहीं है। पूरी सरकार अगर इसके लिये कोशिश करे और सारा राष्ट्र इसके लिये प्रयास करे, तभी हम कर्ज के फंदे से निकल सकते हैं, वरना हम नहीं निकल सकते हैं। अनेक माननीय सदस्यों ने उदाहरण दिए और कॉमर्स स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में भी है---फर्टिलाइजर, कोल, पैराफिन वैक्स वगैरह के बारे में इसलिये मैं इसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं। अब एक और बात हम कहना चाहते हैं कि देश की क्या ऐसी हालत है और क्या इतनी खुशहाली है कि हम यहां विदेश से कार मंगायें। माना कि एक हजार ही कार आप मंगा रहे हैं। लेकिन, क्यों मंगाइएगा, सो हमको बतला दीजिये। जहां देश में भूख से आदमी मर रहे हैं, तो उस देश का नागरिक क्या विदेश की कार पर चलेगा और वह अपने देश की कार पर नहीं चल सकता है? एक स्वदेशी वातावरण बनाना चाहिये। हमारे मनन साहब कह रहे थे कि निर्यात कल्चर होना चाहिये। कल्चर तो सरकार की विदेशी हो गई, यह तो गांधीवादी कल्चर है नहीं, गांधी जी वाली कल्चर है नहीं। यह लोग सब चीज ही विदेशी पसन्द कर रहे हैं और उन्हें विदेश की ही सारी चीज अच्छी नजर आ रही है। इस तरह से देश बरबाद हो जाएगा, क्योंकि जब तो आजादी की लड़ाई हुई थी, तो कुछ असूल थे, जिस पर हम चले थे। दूसरे, मैं आपसे कहूंगा कि चायना, वह तो कम्युनिस्ट देश है, पब्लिक सैक्टर भी उनके यहां काफी है। वहां दूसरे तरीके से उसने अपनी नीति तय की है। उनका जितना एक्सपोर्ट प्रमोशन जोन है, उसने इतना अच्छा काम किया है है कि अगर अमेरिका थ्रेटनिंग देता है तो चायना कहता है कि आपको भी इसका मजा भुगतना होगा। उसके पहले प्रेजीडेन्ट ने कहा था कि अगर चीन पर हम कार्यवाही करेंगे तो एक लाख अमेरिकियों की रोजी बरबाद हो जाएगी। तो एक वैसा भी देश है। भा.ज.पा. के वक्ता हमारे माननीय सदस्य अभी यहां नहीं हैं। वे बोल रहे थे कि आपने बड़ी समाजवाद की चर्चा की, इसीलिए देश बरबाद हो गया। एक देश है, जो अभी भी समाजवादी है, कम्युनिस्ट भी है और अमेरिका से भी मुकाबला कर रहा है। जोशी जी ने उस दिन चर्चा की थी कि जायज कहा था कि बड़ी तेजी से चाईना में प्रगति हो रही है। हम यह भी आपको बता दें कि चाईना के पास अगर हांगकांग चला जाता है और ताईवान से उसका सैटलमेंट हो जाता है, तो दुनियां में सबसे ज्यादा सरप्लस देश वही होगा।

हमारे यहां तो हर जगह भ्रष्टाचार है। मंत्री महोदय की बात हम नहीं कह रहे हैं कि आपके ऊपर ही यह चार्ज है।

It stinks from every poor.

हमारी कमेटी के सामने बहुत से उद्योगपति आए, उनके संगठन के लोग आए। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने चर्चा की, निर्यातकों का बकाया बरसों पड़ा रह जाता है। कोई सुनता नहीं है। रुपया लेना है तब कमीशन दो, देना है, तब भी कमीशन दो। लैटर आफ क्रेडिट आ गया तो उसका रुपया लेना है, तो इस पर भी 5 परसेंट कमीशन दे दो। यह कमीशन राज कब खत्म होगा, यह हम लोग जानना चाहते हैं। अगर ऐसा रहेगा, तो हम कैसे सुधार सकते हैं? इसीलिए कमेटी ने कई चीजों के बारे में सुझाव दिया है कि आपको विभिन्न स्तरों पर लोक अदालत कायम करनी चाहिये। नयी परम्परा कायम हो....(समय की घंटी)। छोटी पार्टी के लिय आप जल्दी ही घंटी बजा देते हैं....(व्यवधान)।

SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL (Madhya Pradesh): It began with our party also.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: It began with the BJP?

[Shri Chaturanan Mishra]

मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि विदेशी मार्केट का सर्वे नहीं होता है। कोई पूछता है, तो वे बताते हैं कि एनुअल रिपोर्ट आती है? जब ट्रेड को बढ़ाना है, तो डेली रिपोर्ट आनी चाहिये और आज के कम्प्यूटराइज्ड युग में तो कहां क्या हो रहा है, इसकी तुरंत रिपोर्ट आनी चाहिए ओसिनिया, कैरेबियन और लैटिन अमरीका के साथ व्यापार बढ़ाने का कोई इंतजाम नहीं है। न तो इन देशों के साथ व्यापार बढ़ाने की कोई सुविधा है।

अभी कई सदस्यों ने हैंडलूम और हैंडीक्राफ्ट्स के बारे में कहा। उसके लिए न तो इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर है, न कच्चा माल उपलब्ध होता है, न वे लोग अंतराष्ट्रीय स्तर का सामान तैयार कर पाते हैं। पोलिशिंग कैसे होगी, अच्छी क्वालिटी का कैसे बनेगा, कोई इंतजाम नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि ज्यादा खर्चा तो हम लोग करते हैं इंडस्ट्री पर और इम्पोर्ट का भारी हिस्सा भी लेता है उद्योग। लेकिन ज्यादा एक्सपोर्ट तो करता है कृषि क्षेत्र—चाय भी कृषि क्षेत्र में है, काफी भी है, लैदर भी है। कृषि क्षेत्र ने ही, हमारे देश के किसानों में ही यह देशभक्ति का काम किया है कि एडिबल आयल में विदेशों पर निर्भरता समाप्त की, अन्न के मामले में विदेशों पर निर्भरता समाप्त की, दलहन के मामले में विदेशों पर निर्भरता समाप्त की। किसान तो ये काम करते हैं लेकिन हमारी सरकार के हाथ में क्या लकवा मार गया है कि वह निर्णय नहीं कर पाती है कि जहां ज्यादा लम्बी पूंजी लगी हुई है वह क्यों नहीं निर्यात करते हैं, यह आप हमको बता दीजिए। जब छोटी-छोटी इंजीनियरिंग कंपनियां इतना निर्यात कर सकती हैं तो बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियां क्यों नहीं कर सकती? क्या आप बड़ी कंपनियों को बाध्य नहीं कर सकते हैं कि बिक्री का कम से कम 10 परसेंट आपको निर्यात करना पड़ेगा। पब्लिक सैक्टर वाले उचित निर्यात क्यों नहीं करते हैं, हमारी सबसे ज्यादा पूंजी लगी हुई है। एक्सपोर्ट कौन सबसे ज्यादा करेगा—कृषि का क्षेत्र और मार कौन खाएगा—किसान। उसकी सारी सब्सिडी वापस हो जाएगी। यह तो यही कहावत हो जाएगी—खेत खाए गधा और मार खाए कोई।

फिर यह जो नई बात देखने में आ रही है जैसा अभी आपने सुना तंबाकू के बारे में कि हमारे जो निर्यातक हैं तम्बाकू के उन्होंने उसमें भरा हुआ सांप भेज दिया चाइना को, तंबाकू के नाम पर ईंट का टुकडा भेजा गया ऐसे महानुभावों का क्या होगा? आपने लाइसेंस परमिट खत्म कर दिए हैं, इससे हमें दुख नहीं है, हम इसके पक्ष में नहीं हैं, वह चला गया बहुत अच्छा है। लेकिन हम इस पक्ष में हैं कि हमारे माल का भी अंडर इनवाइसिंग होता है या ओवर इनवायसिंग होता है उसको रोका जाए जैसी रोज खबर आ रही हैं। यह आप कैसे रोकेंगे? अगर नहीं रोकेंगे तो हम भी कहेंगे कि आप भी कमीशन लेते हैं। इसलिए हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि ऐसा हम करें।

इसके साथ ही हमारा यह कहना था कि मनपावर के बारे में कि जो आपका मैनपावर है लेबर का उसमें से आपको फारेन एक्सचेंज मिलता है। फार्चुनेटली इंडिया के लोग काफी इटलिजेंट हैं, सरकार ने तो इंटलिजेंट नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं कि टैक्निकल जो लोग हैं सांइस वाले हैं, डाक्टर हैं उनको आप सुविधा दीजिए। इनको विदेश जाने दीजिए, इनके लिए स्पेशल सुविधा दीजिए विदेश जाने की। हमारे यहां किसान तकनालॉजी की पढ़ाई में खर्चा भी कम है। मेनन साहब अभी कर रहे थे सांइस के बारे में, इंजीनियरिंग के बारे में। उन्हें भेज सकते हैं दूसरे देशों को। आप पालिसी बना लीजिए। मैनपावर की पालिसी बनवाइए। उसको लागू कर सके तो अच्छा होगा।

इसके साथ ही आर० एंड० डी० की बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सबसे ज्यादा खर्चा आर०एड० डी० पर होना चाहिए। प्राइवेट सैक्टर इस पर खर्चा नहीं करता है। आप उनको बाध्य नहीं करते हैं। आपने टैक्स रिलीफ किया फिज को, एयर

कंडीशनर को, टी.वी. को वह भी निर्यात के लिए नहीं लेकिन मैडिसन को नहीं दिया क्योंकि उसमें से गरीब का फायदा होता है । निर्यात में भी दवा उद्योग में सबसे अच्छा काम किया उसको आपने प्रोत्साहन नहीं दिया । आपका यह जो तरीका है, वह सबसे खतरनाक है । जिस बात की हम चर्चा करना चाहते हैं वह यह है कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की पालिसी और आपके मंत्रालय की पालिसी देश के लिए इस विश्व लिबरलाइजेशन की पालिसी के डिक्लेरेशन के बाद जो आप कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं, वह देश विरोधी साबित हो रही है । आज देश को कर्ज में डुबाने के लिए काम कर हैं इसलिए नई आर्थिक नीति जो आपने अख्तियार की है और कर रहे हैं तो इसके परिणाम-स्वरूप जो कदम होने चाहिए वह आप नहीं उठा रहे हैं । आप इस बात को याद रखिए कि जो विदेश के लोग यहां आना चाहते हैं वह इस देश में जो 10–12 करोड़ लोग खुशहाल हैं उस बाजार के लिए आना चाहते हैं । उनको लूटने के लिए आना चाहते हैं । उनका और कोई आकर्षण यहां पर नहीं है । आपको तो कम से कम इस बात को सोचना चाहिए कि हम इसके लिए इस तरह का वातावरण बनायें, इस तरह का एक्शन लें कि हमारा देश आर्थिक आत्म-निर्भरता की दिशा में आगे बढ़े । आत्म निर्भरता से हमारा यह कतई मतलब नहीं है कि आप बिदेशी टैक्नोलोजी को मत लीजिए । आप विदेशी टैक्नालाजी के नाम पर आउट-मोडेड टैक्नोलाजी यहां का अंक लेकर न आए । इंडिया शुड नाट बी दि जंक्स गोडाउन । इसका भी कोई रास्ता आपको निकालना चाहिए ताकि हम इसको रोक सकें ।

हम इंपोर्टस के बारे में आपसे एक लफ्ज कहना चाहते हैं । ऐसा नहीं है कि हम तमाम इंपोर्टस के खिलाफ हैं । हमने आपसे कहा कि आप लक्जरी और नान-एसेंशल आइटम्स का इम्पोर्ट करें, ऐसा हम चाहते हैं । निर्यात बढ़ाने के लिए आयात करना ठीक है लेकिन ओवर-आल पालिसी क्या होनी चाहिए । आप सालाना छः बिलियन डालर का कर्जा लेकर किस चीज में अपना उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं । आपको अगर उत्पादन बढ़ाना है तो आपके लिए एक ही रास्ता होगा कि कौन से लोग रोजगार में लगेंगे । तब आप एक्जिट पालिसी क्यों चिल्लाते हैं । अगर एक्सपोर्ट ज्यादा बढ़ाना है, घर के लोगों को खिलाना है, उत्पादन का और ज्यादा बढ़ाना है तो इस तरह के प्रोग्राम कीजिए । आखिर में मैं इस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूं कि देश एक आर्थिक संकट में फंस गया है इसलिए सरकार को चाहिए कि विभिन्न राजनीतिक पार्टियों के साथ बैठकर एक एक्शन प्लान बनाये जो कारगर हो कि हम विदेशी कर्ज को कैसे चुकायेंगे । यही मेरा कहना है । धन्यवाद ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Dr, Yelamanchili Sivaji.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh); Sir, how long are we going to sit today?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): There are only two more speakers.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM; I find from the List of Business that there are two statements on which clarifications have to be sought. Are we going to take up the clarifications on these two statements also?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD SALIM): As I said, there are two more Members to speak. Then, we have to take up the clarifications on the Commerce Minister's statement. The Minister will reply to them together.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: There is nobody in the treasury ben-ches. Are we to seek clarifications from the empty treasury benches?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You have to seek clarifications from the Minister. (Interruptions)

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI) (Andhra Pradesh); Sir we can continue the discussion tomorrow. Let the clarincations be completed today.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE) : Just one point. The reason why *1* wanted to reply today itself is because the Prime Minister of Belarus is coming and I will be bus" the whole day tomorrow in a series, of discussions. In that case, the reply will have to foe day-after -tomorrow. Either we should complete it today, or, the reply will be day-after-tomorrow,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM); Let us complete it today.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: That means, the Minister's reply will also be over today.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE; On 301, most of the Members have spoken. If Members want any further clarifications, while replying to the discussion, I can reply to the clarifications also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM); Those Members who have taken part in the discussion have already sought clarincations on this. There are some Members remaining. If they are interested in seeking clarifications, they can put pointed questions. The Minister will reply to both the things together.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: There are only two more Members. Let them speak and let us complete it today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Dr. Sivaji, please.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVA JT; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am afraid that instead of building up an export culture, we have only been building up an import culture in the country during the last two years. It is very disturbing to see that during the last two years, our imports have gone up. Particularly, in the case of bulk items, during last year, the increase in the import content is to the tune of 42.4 per cent.

The bulk items are capital goods and they require services and tney also require the attention of other countries. As a result of this, it is expected that during the coming two years, we will be requiring an additional 6 billion dollars for the purpose of servicing and another 3 billion dollars to meet the interest component on the same. Therefore, it is not possible, as per the targets fixed by the Government, to meet this challenge of making available 9 billion dollars for servicing of the capital goods and for meeting the interest component.

Sir, it is a fact today that foreign trade is becoming restrictive Throughout the world, other countries are grouping themselves into various zones, entering into pacts, etc. But in our country, there is no effort worth-mentioning. Our exports are dwindling. The main factor for our losing on the export front is—as has been pointed out by earlier speakers—we are completely lacking the culture to export. The quality control mechanism is conspicuously absent. Our certifications, whether it is the I.S.I. certification or the Agmark certifica<-tion, do not carry any weight in the international market. The goods exported are quite different from what is mentioned in the certification, quite different from the samples. Some Members were mentioning about China and its success story in the export market. Mention was also made of Japan.

Sir to give an example here, about a decade back, China purchased a huge quantity of tobacco from our country. But the quality of tobacco exported was quite different from what was mentioned in the certificate. Thereby two officials in China were hanged to death. But the same exporters are ' being harboured by the Commerce

Ministry here and because of the per formance of the Commerce Ministry which is working hand in glove with those cheat traders, we lost the Chinese market once for all. The hon. Minister in the course of his reply yesterday mentioned that there were some claims and counter-claims between China and India to restore the market, but precious little has been done in the last 10 years, to settle those claims. Sir, I do not know why they cannot settle the claims with China so that we can restore the market of our export of tobacco to China. Our Government is not serious. This has figured in the discussion of both the Houses many a time. It has been discussed outside Parliament also, but I do not know what extraneous fac~ tors are coming in the way of the Ministry of Commerce to settle the problems. Neither the Ministry of Commerce nor the Tobacco Board is serious to settle the problem and augment our export.

We are witnessing in Andhra Pradesh that the tobacco growers are suffering a lot. The prices have come down. Almost all Members from the tobacco growing areas, including Mr. Patil from Gujarat, have repres-ented to the highest authority of this country, to the Prime Minister, to settle the claims with China. It appears, the Prime Minister gave some indication, but the Commerce Ministry is not serious. Even the advice of the Prime Minister is not being properly taken care of by Udyog Bhawan. That is how Udyog Bhawan is functioning. There is lack of coordination between Udyog Bhawan and North Block. The Finance Minister says that the initiative has to come from Udyog Bhawan for imposing one per cent levy on the sale of cigarettes. The Tobacco Board passed a resolution on 15th of last month. Already more than 3 weeks have gone, but no action has been initiated from the Commerce Ministry side. The Finance Minister in the course of his reply last evening on the Finance Bill mentioned that he has yet to receive a proposal from the Commerce Ministry So, there is lack of coordination between various Ministries. It takes a month or a little more than a month to pass on a paper from Udyog Bhawan to North Block. They are just at a stone's throw distance from each other.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: The Ministers are far apart.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: The Ministers are very close.

The so-called liberalisation policy has also not percolated to lower levels. It has not touched the agricultural sector. For example you take sugar I industry. All our industries including I motor cars, refrigerators, ACs, wash-l ing machines are delicensed. About 92 applications from Andhra Pradesh are pending for installing sugar units in Andhra Pradesh, but the same have not been cleared. They are pending there for the last more than 2 years. About Rs. 4000

[Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji] crores have been pumped into sugarcane sector, but for extraneous considerations they art not clearing them. The dairy industry was delicensed along with other industries, but Mr. Balram Jhakhar, as a saviour of the agricultural sector, came out with a Milk and Milk Products Order stating that the dairy industry could not be delicensed. He brought the order through the Animal Husbandry Department stating that no dairy in dustry is to be installed without registration from the Animal Husbandry Department. So, the Industry Department delicensed it, the Department of Industrial Development delicensed it and then came the Animal Husbandry Department through the backdoor. That is how no decision is being taken even at the Cabinet level. The file is moving from pillar to post without any decision in the matter. This is how the Ministries at functioning. If such drawbacks are not rectified, I am afraid, we are going to face a serious crisis.

Coming to other aspects, Mr. Chaturanan Mishra was also mentioning about export of our cotton and other products. How our consignments were held up in several ports of other countries. It is reported in a section of the Press that the cotton that was exported from this country contained not only substandard material but also something like mice, something like dead snakes, dead cobras, chappals, rats etc. etc. So unless there is some system of quality control in this country, I am afraid that we will not be in a position to catch the international market. Every other country is competing in this. China is alos competing in this, and it is foolish to compare ourselves with China.

For shady deals in tobacco exports two officials in China were hanged to death. Bui this Government honoured a person who was involved in this, with a cabinet rank and in their party. I am doubtful if the Government is serious about augmentation of our exports. They are having extraneous considerations. I charge this Government that they are having extraneous considerations. They are not serious about solving the problem. The person was responsible for the hanging of two officials in China because of the shady deal of exporting 28,000 tonnes of tobacco to that country, for which we lost the market once for all, but the Government is honouring the same man. We are not going to settle the claim, but at the same time we are honouring him with a cabinet rank. This is how the Government is working.

The Minister may be honest. He may be a new-comer from the Yojana Bhavan to the Udyog Bhavan. If he continues the same drama we will be compelled to charge him also that he is also guilty of harbouring criminals in the Udyog Bhavan. I have told many a time that these fellows are loitering around the Minister in the Udyog Bhavan. I warned the Minister to keep them at a respectable distance so that such things, such shady things, such shadow may not extend to the Minister who is honest. This is how this Government is functioning.

Sir, our friends were also mentioning that the agricultural sector and the export of agricultural products have peen completely neglected.

About the rupee-payment area, the Govtrnment is yet to make up its mind in regard to technical credii. We offered several concessions to Russia in settling the rupee-rouble exchange rale though it had a dele terious effect on the interests of the country, and we settled it expeditiously. It is a fact and it has been reported in a section of the, Press all over the world that the rate is 860 roubles per dollar, and they are considering to raise it to 1,000 roubles by the end of this month. But we are paying through our nose. We axe paying at Rs. 37 for a rouble. In spile of this drain of our money to Russia in the form of exchange, we are not catching the market in the rupee-payment area. We lost about 64 per cent of the market last year. What does the Government propose to do? About 30 per cent of our agro products are exported to the R.P.A., and what are your plans? What are your contingency plans? Every day, day in and day out, both the Ministries, the Finance Ministry and the Commerce Ministry, are sending some telex messages to Moscow. ... (Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAIN (SHRI MD. SALIM); Please conclude.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Our Ambassador is there, but they have received no communication. So, what are you going to do about export of our agro products like tea, tobacco coffee or pepper or other materials to the R.P. areas? Are you having any contingency plan or not? I would like to suggest that something should be done in this regard. I hope that the Minister who is almost two-month old in the Ministry...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: He is an old hand. I think he is one of the senior-most Ministers we have now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please conclude.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: The former Commence Minister, Mr. Chidambaram as Minister, produced a document. He said that it was a strategy for the coming five years. We expected that there would be no more changes in the export market, no more amendments in the export policy, no more tinkering from the red book to the green book. But the Minister, as soon as he came into the Ministry, announced a number of policies. He added something to the policy. Everyday there is some proposal or the other. On several occasions the import of raw materials or intermediate components is much costlier than the import of finished goods. That is how we are working. For example in the case of the integrated circuits, the Finance Minister had said that he had reduced the import duty from HO per cent to 50 per cent, but our indigenous manufacturers have to pay 75 per cent import duty; thereby the finished goods imports are costing much less than the intermediate goods. This is how we are working.

In regard to promotion of exports, several things in several areas have to be done. For example, for the market development assistance, an allocation of Rs. 60 lakhs has been made to market development agencies. Rs. 60 lakhs means hardly $ 2 lakhs. If the Government of India can find some market with this amount, hats off to their performance! That is how we lost our share in the international market. Our share in the international market is hardly 0.4 per cent. I am very much afraid that it may go further down to 0.1 per cent or it may even be negative. This is how we are working.

[Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji]

In our ports we have yet to develop some culture for exports and imports. A lot more needs to be done in regard to loading and unloading of the snips. Moreover it is very difficult to reach the ports through roads and through bridges. It is also very difficult to pass through all the technicalities of the Ministry and its departments. So, I would like the Government to see that all these formalities are simplified and that the infrastructural facilities like roads, container services, banking services etc. are modernised and upgraded. While all other countries are competing in the world to get external markets, we are competing for our extraneous gains or small favours to this man or that man. So, I would like to say that proper justice should be done by this Government to our exporters.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal) -. It is not very long since the current Government came to power in Delhi. Certain, semantic confusion has been created. It is not peculiar to India alone. It is almost a global phenomenon. For example, we hear of liberals and conservatives in the erstwhile Soviet Union, which is now called Russia. Those who are advocates of the market economy are liberals and those who talk even now of Communism are conservatives. Here also we are hearing of new economic policy right in the Leninist terms We hear of liberalisation. Liberal in which sense? From whose point of view? That is not clear. Even "market economy" has been widely used as if India had anything but the market economy since independence or its pre-independence days. Let me take the ' present Minister of Commerce in his earlier incarnation and in his present incarnation. So far as the policy is concerned, there is much difference. But perhaps from the point of view of market economy there is hardly any difference. The particular field of Commerce is more or less, wedded to market economy. It goes without saying. But the economy, as a whole, :s veering round to market economy under me able guidance or helmsman-ship of Dr. Manmohan Singh. It is a preposterous solution, in spite of the word "socialist" ,an the Preamble *ot* the Constitution describing the Indian State, india did never have a socialist system of production in recent times. Therefore, reversal to market economy is something which is completely out of context and aimed at creating some contusion to guard the real intention of the economic reforms.

The Ministry of Commerce, whose working is under consideration here is pernaps a true index of the attitude of the present Government of India, in the sense that if in a capsule form the policy of the Government of India in the field of export and import may be described, it amounts only to this that instead of what was the traditional economic policy in the sense of protection for indigenous industries and some countervailing protection for the imports to the country, Government has made a total turn about. The other day this word "turnabout" was used in the case of the .Textile Policy by the Minister concerned. A total turnabout, in the sense, for exports, no protection is available but for imports, goods which come from abroad, all protection is being extended in the form of reduction of import duties and other concessions. It started with partial convertibility of the rupee. Now it has come to cent per cent convertibility of the rupee. The devaluation of the rupee led to the fall in the value of exports and increase in the value of imports; and that policy has now been stabilised into a national policy. If this is not suicidal for the nation, then, what else is? An intricate theory may be brought about in order to defend this policy, I do not know. An hon. Member, I think, Mr. Madhavan has made a call to the hon. Commerce Minister to counter the Finance Minister's bad policy or pernicious policy or whatever it is called. But it is well known that that is not the

way the Government functions. There are pulls and counter-pulls even within collective functioning. There may be stresses and strains. Whatever may be the opinion of the individual Minister, it is not possible for any individual Minister to stand up to the policy deliberately enunciated by the Gov-3 ernment in the country. And it must be said that the Narasimha Rao Gov-ernment very deliberately chose a policy which has led to the sure dep-endence of India on foreign, U.S. and other imperialisms, on multinational companies on Fund-Bank and other foreign agencies. Incidentally, per-haps, if my memory serves me right, one phase of the IMF loan was con-tracted during the finance-minister-ship of Shri Pranab Mukherjee. But it is not an individual question. It is a question of the policy of a Government. What is objectionable is the way the IMF loan is being, in. advance, contracted by the Foreign Minister of the country. The way the Prime Minister of the country was going world over to find investors in our coutry and in the process his telling foreign industrialists capitalists, that they could be saved from being pestered by the unreasonable demands of indigenous labour, led the *capitalists into India* to invest money and exploit the cheap labour of India. Things like that. It is a deliberate policy that way. Liberalisation means investment of foreign capital in our country. We know, everything has been dismantled, whether good, bad or indifferent. The MRTP is almost a thing of the past; the FKRA is almost a thing of the past. And in this way any check or balance in the matter of foreign investment in our country has completely been shattered. An unfettered right to the foreign investors to repatriate their profit from this country to their own country is what we are heading for. The report of the working of the Ministry as presented before the House shows how exports have increased only by 2.2 per cent whereas imports have increased by 13.2 per cent, without taking into account their ad valorem prices. This is the situation, this is the policy frame within which the Ministry of Commerce will have to work. There is no option. There is no scope for the fight suggested by Mr. Madhavan It is perhaps confidence in the Commerce Minister that he is also the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commissios having a wider range of functioning. But, perhaps, after becoming the Commerce Ministery he has to a certain extent, been marginalised so far as his function as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission is concerned. And, in the Commerce Ministry, he is functioning within the policy framework of the Government of India, Many facts and figures have been cited by Members, beginning from Mr. Yashwant Sinha and lastly by my predecessor, Dr. Sivaji, mostly from this side, who are even now greater in number in the House than the Treasury Benches, which are comparatively empty unless what is going on in the other House comes over to this House. Then their conscience will be roused and they would be here. There is no doubt about that. Whether their conscience will be roused for some other bondage, that is entirely a different matter . The question is, with this instrument, what can be done is being done by this Government. This is a force of social and political liberation and that is what is being done by this Government and all the instruments of this Government are directed at that, the *Commerce* Ministry being no exception. What is expected of them. we are getting that out of them. Corruption is embedded in our body politic and the entire country is steeped in corruption and hot a single issue of corruption could be dealt with effectively under the Congress regime so far—whether it is Bofors or whether it is the JPC. The JPC is sort of sub judice. But eve«i then the facts that have come up show that while we are unable to touch the apex, the lower levels of the administration remain equally unaffected by any high talks of honesty or dutiful-ness. This is a situation, this is a

culture which has been developed during these long years of our independence. By whom? It is for everybody to see. In this situation we get from the Ministry of Commerce what can be best expected or best apprehended from the Minisiry, as in the case of any other Ministry. Dr. Sivaji pointed out agriculture. Industry will come for scrutiny by us and we will see that everything is X-rayed. The same picture will emerge out of it. I do not know whether in the ruling party there will be some introspection regarding the developments which have taken place and which have led the country into this morass. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM); Now, we will take up clarifications on a statement made by the Minister of Commerce. Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare. I will request the Members to put pointed questions because already we are discussing the working of the Ministry of Commerce and a number of Members have already put their questions from this statement.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Sir, you have given a direction that we should ask pointed questions. But this is a matter of great significance. It involves clarifications not by way of one or two questions. But I shall try to be very, very brief because this question of Special-301 raises a very important • and a wider issue in the context of the emerging world order. I thought that after the withering away of the winter of cold war, the world is entering into a democratic world and according to me, since the nuclear deterrent is no longer there, I was expecting that this is also going to be what our Father of the Nation conceived os a non-violent world. Now all this presupposes that it will bo an equal world where the sovereignty of ations will be respected, the freedom and choices of the people will be there to be exercised by them and the will of one power will not be imposed on others. I am, therefore, very much pained because both of us, USA and India, are great democracies of the world. We have travelled a long distance together on many issues like human rights, democracy, anti-drugs and even meeting terrorism or trying to eliminate religious intolerance. Therefore, I think that it is up to the USA, and particularly to President Clinton, to remember that it is too late in the day to impose one nation's will on the other.

Tht other issue is this. Should there not be an equitable distribution of resources? Should it go the same way, namely, the resources should always flow from the poorer nations to the richer nations and there should be only one way traffic, without the traffic also coming 'from the other way?

Well, they talk of leberalisation for us but indulge increasingly in policies of protectionism. Are these double standards really to be permitted? They talk of our being required to take urgent structural adjustments. Do they also not need to do some structural adjustments in their economy? Do they not realise that whatever they may do with their structure as it is, they have become uncompetitive and that they will never be able to compete with the Asian countries. The Asian countries will always produce at one-tenth the price at which- a thing is being produced by the West and the USA.

Now I come specifically to the question which has been raised because it happened earlier in 1988-89 and it is happening again. Sir, I don't like the statement of the hon. Minister in which he says that rhe Government does not believe in bilateral thing but it should be done at

multilateral fora, for the simple reason that things have changed since the days when india used to bathe in the sunshine of multilateralism. 1 still remember the day when China was isolated in multilateral fora. I now see that in spite of that isolation what China has done. This is only to show that if we were to be a little sure of ourselves, we should not be worried about isolation because now the way the Uruguay Round talks are going on the pain will be the same, if not worse in the multilateral fora as well as in the bilateral 'fora. May I ask the hon. Minister as to whether he has evalua ted this threat and what calculations have been made to meet the threat? Unless we do these calculations, we cannot really face the serious threat which has come under the the U.S. Omnibus Trade and Correctiveness Act of 1958.

One or two things ... *(Interruptions)* ... I particularly want to know as to how far it will affect our textiles, how far it will affect our drugs. Personally, I fell it will not, because whatever they may do—it is only their imagination—, U.S.A. must not forget that our patent law is the result of the legislative will of the people. We have studied the problem in depth. We have had a Joint Parliamentary-Committee which produced the report. It was debated extensively and then we adopted our legislation. Still the fact remains that today the prices of drugs in India are one-fifth of the prices elsewhere in-developed countries. But what is worse is that they are one-tenth of the prices in African countries. So, I don't want our country to get into the same trap. I would like to ask the lion. Minister as to how firm we will stand against this threat, what policies and strategies will be evolved to meet this threat and what he proposes to do to see to it that in the proofs? we maintain our sovereignty. Fvery nation should respect our sovereignty and the legislative will and we should* not yield and we- should not bring misery to the people at large.

Since the Hon'ble Minister has mentioned about the multilateral fora, before 1 conclude I want to say something in that regard. I am worried about one aspect and let me have your indulgence to mention it. We will bring agriculture for the first time under international discipline. The Dunkel draft is a comprehensive one. It will not only affect our export subsidies and import substitution but it will also affect our domestic support. It is a trade issue for GATT but it is an issue of development for us. The GDP for agriculture is 2 per cent elsewhere but it is 30 per cent for us. The agricultural employment is li per cent of the population elsewhere but it is 63 per cent of the population for us. I *don't* have to say, more to impress about the seriousness of the issue when nation after nation is crumbling before the pressure of the mighty Super Power. Let this world not be a unipolar world. let it be a democratic and equal world.

DR NARREDDY THULASI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I straightway come to the clarifications because other hon. Members have already given the prelude. How much of our exports will be affected by this act of USA? What are the fields and the products that will be affected? Please give details sector-wise,

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, after reading this statement made by the hon. Minister I am constrained to state that it betrays a meek or weak-kneed response from the Government of India which is not what is expected on this particular issue. I am not saying this without taking note of the fact that on international relations a great amount of caution, restraints and diplomatic considerations are required. This particular initiative taken by the United States of America is nothing but an expression of their neo-colonial arrogance. This has to be viewed in the background of a series

[.Shri M. A. Baby]

of steps, measures and actions initia ted by the United States of America in the recent past. This has also to b_e viewed in the background of the very serious issues and problems in their reationship with even their al lies, namely, European Economic Community, in other areas. Sometime ago, the European Economic Commu nity has appointed a commission to study th«ir relationship with the United States of America in the context of the growing efforts by USA to impose its domestic legisla tions on other countries. This Euro pean Commission has come out iden tifying at least 17 legislations by the USA, which they wanted to get rati fied or accepted by other countries. Sir, You know this country, the USA, which speaks about free market eco nomy, free flow of capital and things]ike that, today is violating a UN resolution passed by the United Na tions Organisation against the USA blockade on Cuba. Last November, when the UN Council met in New York, they took up this resolution on the illegal. unjustifiable, inhu man blockade perpetrated by the USA on Ouba, on which the USA made another legislation which is known as Toricelli Bill—which is an Act now—which demands other countries to comply with this USA blockade on Cuba, failing which the USA has the right to take retaliatory measures on other countries for not falling in line with the American legislation. Where are we going? They are imposing this illegal block ade on Cuba against which the UN has passed a resolution. When the UN passes a resolution, which gives some power to the USA, they stretch it to the extent of undertaking mili tary operations. We know how on the issue of illegal occupation of Ku wait by Iraq, the USA behaved. They just hijacked the UN and went far beyond the stipulations of the UN re solution. Here is another UN reso lution which demands that the illegal blockade should be lifted by the USA. They are not complying with that, I don't want to go into all these details, i cited this case only to prove that the LS A behaves in a to tally arrogant and selfish manner notwithstanding the resolutions pas sed by the UN. They accept inter national bodies as and when it suits them. I don't want to give you ins tances where the USA has violated the judgements of the World Court in the case of Nicaragua, in the case of Contras by givng them aid. M*y submission is, this most high handed arrogant, neo-colonial stand of the USA has to be countered with national dignity and self$_r$respect which unfortunately is missing from the statement. This is my submis sion. The days of colonialism are over. But unfortunately, there are efforts to bring in supremacy by a particular country over other coun tries through the backdoor. There is economic imperalism. This is cul tural imperialism. There is informa tion imperalism. Making use of mo dern scientific and technological knowhow and its possibilities now the imperalism is free to condition the minds of millions and millions of people sitting in some remotest pla ces in Honk Kong or elsewhere. There'fore the whole gamut of issues must be taken into account. Inida, being a country with great traditions especially in its anti-imperialist strug gle, inspired other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And unfortunately, now we are found wanting in taking the initiative when it h most required in the present-day international context. I don't understand as to why India cannot take the init iative of having formal or informal discussion and negotitions with other Third World cuntries which have al ready been subjected to a similar vic timisation. And, I think, the people of our country should also oe educa ted which the present Government is hardly doing. Issues relating to a similar U.S. behaviour inspired a massive agitation in France where millions of peasnts reached the streets and, in a few places, Jt be-

came even violent. In some places, they set the Coca-cola factory and some depots on fire. To this, in a comically brave way, the head of the Coca-Cola company said that he was very happy as his company had been recognised as the symbol of the United States of America. My pointed ques tion is, if America is going to go ahead with similar discriminatory le gislations and actions against our country, will the Government of In dia take retaliatory measures? We should take retaliatory measures. We should mobilise the people and a new Swadeshi movement might have to be launched where the Indian peo ple should be asked to boycott the goods made by American companies and their subsidiaries. When the Union Carbide massacred thousands of Indians, they were not even pre pared to pay compensation to the victims. I don't want to go into all those details. Sir, therefore, my first question is, will the Government of India consider taking retaliatory me asures following this high-handed attitude of the United States of America? Sir, this has direct relation ship with the Uruguay Round of Negotiations which are going on So much of disinformation is there regarding this. It is quite unfortunate that the sovereign Parliament of our country could not take up the Dunkel Draft Text and we could not And time to have an in-depth discussion on this issue. Now, this Session is coming to a close. Earlier, in the last Session, there was a very feeble effort at the fag-end of the Session, that is, on the last day at about 7.30 p.m.. to have a short dura tion discussion on this. We said that it would be a discussion for name sake only to technically claim that a discussion was held and to say that having discussed in both the Houses of Parliament, we were going ahead with that. Sir, many of th^ Dunkel Draft -proposals are having far-reach- ing repercussions. There are many issues which will affect the Centre state. relations. And. T do not know whether the Government propose to sign the Dunkel Draft, which would affect the economic sovereignty of the country, without taking Parliament into confidence and without taking the people into confidence. If the Government is going to accept this, we will be forced to make amend- ments in our legislations. Any number of law.3. legislations, passed by both the Houes of Parliament as well as the State Legislatures will have to be rewritten

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD, SALIM); Please be brief.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Considering the importance of the subject and the implications of this, I shall try to take as little time as possible. Therefore, the Government should not take Parliament for granted. We have de- manded that in order to go into the details of the Dunkel proposals, the Government should concede our' demand which transcends political differences and party affiliations. If a JPC is formed, it can call for experts. Ther are at least a few people in our country who claim that the Dunkel proposals will benefit various sectors of our country. Therefore, let us have a JPC appointed. Let there be sufficient opportunity given for all the sections to express themselves dearly before the JPC. When this demand was made during the last Session, the reply given was that there was no sufficient time. Now, there is a lot of time. Still there is sufficient time available because nobody expects now that the Uruguay Round would be concluded in another one or two months. At least till the end of this year, the negotiations will continue. There are clear signals for that. Therefore, with all the humility at my command, I request the hon. Mini-ter at least at this stage to consider the idea of forming a JPC. Even in this Session there is time. You should be in a position to consider this. I don't take much of your time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You have already taken. Please conclude now.

SHRI M. A. BABY. Sir, there has been a claim, especially propagated by Kargil Seeds, that they have a seed which will yield 16 quintals per acre if that seed is used With that propaganda, they sold these seeds in Karnataka and now it is well known that the yield was only between 4 and 5 quintals; against the claim of 16 quintals per acre. We have indigenous seed$_s$ which without any costly fer tiliser could yield $8^{1/2}$—9 quintals per acre. I have cited this example only to state that very tall and exaggerated claims are being made while speaking about the possible advantages of signing the Dunkel Draft. Nobody brothers how over-utilisation of chemical fertilisers would affect our biodiversity. If you accept their seeds, you will be forced to accept their fertilisers because only with their fertilisers, those seeds can be cultivated. As a result of this, there would be over-utilisation of chemical fertilisers which would have very harmful effects. In my own State, a mysterious disease has appeared in the fish and very many varieties of fish starred dying *Some* bodily marks resembling leprosy have appeared. Some scientists, including Mrs. Vandana Siva, undertook some research and came to the conclusion that heavy reliance an chemical fertilisers was the main reason for this mysterious disease. If we continue like th[s taking recourse to chemical fertilisers without any rhyme or reason, without any restriction, even the Homo sapiens may have to face similar mysterious diseases which may cause extinction of human beings. So, the whole gamut of environmental impact ecological impact, of this kind of measures should be taken into account. The United States of Amer-ca propounds the theory *that* whichever way you make profits- that is justifiable. But they are not thinking in terms of the future of humanity.

the future of the nations and their welfare. Therefore, this invoking the Special 301 by the ITS is nothing but their latent effort neo-colonial effort, with arrogance to bring the develop ing countries, the third-world coun tries, under their dictates. This has to be faced up to with all our might and a campaign or movement for national resurgence has to be started. The people should be made know ledgeable about the dangers which are there.. Many people are not very much aware of these things and there is so much pessimism as to who can nght America. But there are examples. When a small country like Vietnam was subjugated, this tiny country, with determination, could defeact the French imperialism in Dien Bian Phu and later ori, they could defeat the most powerful imp-erialism_ This is the experience of Vietnam. We have the experience of Cuba which is within the firing range of the United States of America, and which is a country, with a population of 11 million, standing together and not cowed down by the US imperialism. So, a great country like India should rise to the occasion and give leadership *to* the other developing countries, the thirdworld countries which, unfortunately, is not forthcoming from the powers that be.

With these obseravtions and with all sadness and agony, I would like to ask the honourable Minister whether the Government will take initiative to initiate retaliatory measures and to mobilise the Indian people and also whether the Government will consider the appointment, of a Joint Parliamentary Committee to go into the derails of the Dunkel Draft Text.

I would also like to know whether the Government will take initiative in bringing the third-world countries together to work out a strategy to face this onslaught, this neo-colonial onslaught, of the United States. Thank you very much, Sir, for your indulgence

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa)): Sir, this Special 301 has been invoked against India since 1991 when we liberalised our economic

policies and -the US Government has punished India, has taken punitive measures against India, by suspending duty-free treatment to imports by denying the GSP privileges to India. In the instant case, developing countries like Brazil, Thailand and India are brought on their priority list.

I would like to know wfaeibtr any (funitive measures have been taken by the clinton Administration in this case.

The main irritant for the US, who put the Special 301 on India, is because they think these laws basic ally apply to pharmaceuticals, Chemi cais, bio-technological inventions, methods of agricultural and horticul ture, process of treatment of animal and plant systems. I think the last one is not very much justified. So many of the Indian companies have collaboration with foreign compan ies and I think they are justified in having some apprehensions. In our country, we have also some reports like the Report of the Hathi Commit tes regarding drugs to avoid duplicity of trade marks. In view of this, I would like to know whether they will see to it that this Report is imple mented. Finally, Sir, the Indian Cha mbers of Commerce has made Us mind known that it will support the Paris Convention. That Convention is to accept the product patent. I wo uld like to know whether the Gov- * ernment also subscribes to this thinking, This is what I would like to know from the hon. Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri S. P. Gautam. Before Shri Gautam starts speaking, I think, the House will agree with me if I request Mr. Jagesh Desai to occupy the Chair.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes.

[The Vice-Chairman (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) in the Chair]

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी , मेरे बड़े सीधे सावल हैं । मंत्री जी ने अपने बयान में कहा कि हम संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका की सरकार से लगातार जोर देकर कहते रहेंगे कि ऐसे मामले बहुपक्षीय प्रणाली के जरिए हल किए जाने चाहिए और इस संबंध में अमेरिका की एक पक्षीय कार्यवाही अवांछित है । अगर ऐसा कहने के बावजूद भी अमेरिका नहीं मानता तो हमारी भारत की सरकार क्या कदम उठाएगी और अब तक जो कदम उठाए हैं, क्या इस सदन को उनसे अवगत कराया जाएगा ? मैं ऐसा समझता हूं कि अमेरिका ने यह धमकी इसलिए दी है कि भारत की सरकार मजबूर हो जाय डंकल प्रस्तावों को स्वीकार करने के लिए, तो मैं मंत्री जी से यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सरकार डंकल प्रस्तावों को नकारेगी और यदि नकारेगी तो आर्थिक स्वावलंबन के लिए विकल्प के रूप में सरकार ने क्या सोचा है ? यदि सरकार डंकल प्रस्तावों को स्वीकारेगी तो क्या स्वीकार करने के पहले इस देश की जनता को विश्वास में लेगी ? आप जानते हैं कि इस देश की जनता ने भी डंकल प्रस्तावों के खिलाफ किसानों की सकल में यहां देश की राजधानी में प्रदर्शन किया । इस बात को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए यदि डंकल प्रस्तावों पर इसी सत्र के अंदर बहस कराना आवश्यक हो जाय तो क्या सरकार इस सत्र को बढ़ाकर या यदि यह संभव न हो तो बीच में यदि आवश्यकता हो तो विशेष सत्र आहूत करके डंकल प्रस्तावों पर दोनों सदनों में चर्चा कराएगी ?

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN; Sir, I will b$_e$ very brief. Before I put my questions -to-the hon. Minister, I would like to make a comment. Sir, when the former Soviet Union collapsed, many in the country were very jub-iliam that "now we are going towards progress and democracy, now everything is freedom, and all dictatorships have gone." And, Sir, when Bush declared that he was going to create a New World Order, what did he mean by this New World Orders? And what is the meaninig of callapse of socialism in the Soviet Union? Sir,

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

it is very clear that the United Sta tes have a law of their own — Sp ecial 301 and they are applying that law against another country, which is India. So, the situation is very clear as to in what circumstances the United States hag come out with this attack on our country. Sir, what I would like to point out is that the Government of the United States have taken a unilateral action against a big country like India, of course, along with many other countries. But among them India is the biggest. And now they want that our patent laws should be changed. And in the name of rewarding investors or scientific inventions, what the US wants is that they want to patent science its elf. They want to patent the progress of science itself. Sir(if our country could not discover penicillin or strep tomycin, it is not our fault because under the colonial regime, etc., sci ence could not develop in our coun try. So, it was invented in other countries. Now, we have to buy their patents or what they pro duce at whatever cost they would like to sell. It means, a total ruining of our country. And they want to monopolise science. And they want to patent science itself. This is not a new development. It has been hanging fire for the last three years. And the Dunkel Draft is also not a new thing. It has been there for two years. What is the Government do ing about it? They speak with diff erent voices, sometimes. It is an insult to the dignity of the country and to the prestige of the country. It is a national issue. It is a new way of imperialist attck on India and on the Third World countries. This is not being realised by the Government of India and by those who are ruling this country It is most unfortunate that the United States dares to th reaten us that they will apply this Special 301 Legislation against our country. Now our country is in a great predicament unless the Govern ment makes its stand very clear. What is this statement made by the hon. Minister yesterday? It is an impotent statement against this onslaught. What does it mean? India should tell the U.S.A. that they have no right to apply their law against us. We will produce the medicines; we wil produce he drugs as we have been doing so far and we are not going to change our laws on patents. Our patent laws are in the inteerst of our country and we are not going to change them to suit their designs or to suit their economic interests. Why should the Government not take a forthright stand? Even with regard to Dunkel proposals, the issue could not be discussed in Parliament. Twice it was raised and there was a motion. But unfortunately the Government was not serious and that motion co uld not be discussed by Parliament. This is going to hamper our own progress. Why is the Government not interested in discussing the Dunkel proposals? On the contrary, Uruguay negotiations are continuing. What is the stand of our Government? What right has the Government got to sign something there without the approval of Parliament where the country's interest is involved?

I would, therefore, like to know from the Minister whether he is prepared to tell the U.S.A. that we are not going to change our patents laws because our laws suit our interests and they suit the interests of the Third World countries. Just to suit the interests of the U.S.A., we are not going to change our laws. Will the Government take the courage to tell this to the U.S.A. in a forthright manner?

Secondly, about the Uruguay nego tiations, what is the stand of our Government? You have never told Parliament what stand you are ta king although the negotiations are going on. We are absolutely in the dark. We have not discussed it here. I want to know whether' before fin ally signing the Uruguav negotia tions, ynu will discuss it in Parlia, ment, if not in this session, in the

next session. I would like to have an assurance that you are not going to make any final commitment in the Uruguay Round of talks Without king Parliament into confidence ana without the approval of Parliament. Are you prepared to commit yourself to this position?

SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL, (MADHY.. PRAKESH): I would like to ask a straightforward question from the hon. Minister whether the Government of India has already taken a detunie stand on the Dunkel proposals and whether the Minister is prepared to give an assurance — if the Government has not already taken a decision — that they will come before the House, take the House into confidence and get the approval o± Parliament before making any com mitment on these proposals.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JA GESH DESAI): Now, the Minister will reply to the debate on the wor king of the Ministry of Commerce and also clarifications on Super 301.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I am glad to have this opportunity of sharing my perception on some *ot* the issues when the House decided to discuss the working of the Ministry of Commerce. One way it is reward ing to me in the sense that I am replying to a discussion almost after 13 years. /

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN; You are welcome.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: If I remember correctly, in 1980, when I was the Commerce Minister, the working of the Ministry was debated in the House. After that, in 1981, it could not be taken up. Thereafter, I was not in the Ministry.

PROF: SAURIN BHATTACHARYA History is being repeated after thirteen years.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I find a lot of changes. At the same time, it is a real privilege for me to have this opportunity of listening to the Memoers ana Knowing their con sidered views on various issues which are agitating their minds.

As 1 understand, during the course of this discussion on the working of the Ministry, most of the Members have raised certain basic issues. The basic questions raised were: whether, as a result of the policies pursued by the Government, the country is being led into a debt-trap; whether as a result of pursuing these policies, we are giving a go-by to our concept of self-reliance; and whether the poor performance in the case of exports, particularly, this year, is going to jeopardise our balance of payments position seriously _ In that context, not only while seeking clarifications on the statement, but while making their observations on the working of i ha Ministry also, Members expressed their concern on India being redesignated as a priority foreign country unded U. S. Special 301 legislation.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Mr.Vice-Chairman, Sir, with your permission....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Baby, the Minister has heard you patiently. Let it be after his speech.

SHRI M. A. BABY. Sir, the point is this. This is an important reply being given by the hon. Minister, but the treasury benches have wholly let down the Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): What can be done about it? It is neither in his hands nor in my hands.

SHRI M. A. BABY; But for the full strength of the Secretariat, the Opposition and the watch and ward staff in the gallery, it is empty. It is quite unfortunate. This is a serious matter. This shows the sort of commitment and interest on the pan of treasury benches. This is a reflection. I am sorry to say that

SHRI PRANAB MURARJEE: Sir, first *of* all, I would like to clarify one pomt. Thus is about the Dunkel text. Most of the Members have referred to it. I do not know how I can do it here, in regard to a discussion on the Dunkel text, i had sent a notice to the Presiding Officer at the beginning of the Session itself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI); It is our fault.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: The commitment was given by my prede cessor on the floor of the Ho ice that this issue would be discussed in the House. Therefore, at the beginning of the Session itself, I had sent a notice seeking permission of the House to raise a discussion. It is for the hon. Members to decide. It is for the Business Advisory Committee to decide how they are going to do it, what subject they are going to take up. But if we are to be whipped hero as if we are evading it or avoiding it, it is not correct. This position 1 want to make clear. At the beginning of the Budget Session, 1 sent a notice seeking permission to raise a discussion on this subject on the floor of the House. Now, Sir, if the Members So desire, at any point of time, we will be glad to share ,our perception on the Dunkel text with the Members. I will be coming to this aspect a little later.

In regard to the strategy and the poicy which we are adopting with reference to export import policy I would like to clarify this point here it was said by one hon. Member that we were changing the policy. Dr. Sivaji was making a big issue of it. I would like to point out. that there is no. change in policy. Only certain sections have been amended. The basic policy remains the same for the period of five years. We do not want to have a 'switch off and switch on' so far as international trade policies are concerned. At the same time as we make a plan for the whole per-

iod of five years, at the operational stage, certain changes, additions and alterations are required in the annual time-frame. Similarly, in the case of Exim policy. It is worked out in a longer time-frame of five years. We make changes where amendments are called for within the overall annual timeframe.

Liberalisation can create an atmosphere where we can take advantage of certain situations. Liberalisation itself is not going to yield any results unless appropriate pollicies are worked out, taking advantage of the liberalised atmosphere. Why is it being brought? From our experience we found that after going to a point we cuold not go beyond that. Therefore, it was considered necessary that ki certain areas changes were called for. Too much regulation, too much protection, was not going to yield results. I would not mention the name—hon. Members are fully aware—a very vital sector which enjoyed near mono-poly condition for almost 2 decades. It could not improve the quality of its production. Also some protections were given to fit by putting physical constraint on import and by raising the tariff. Both ways we wanted to give protection to indigenous industries. In certain sectors they yielded good results, fin certain sector they could not yield good results Today all of us have to recognise the fact that the Government is not in a position to provide the type of support which the system called for. My good friend Yashwant Sinha was there for a short while but I know what tremendous efforts he had to put in the Ministry of Finance just to keep the country's nose above the water level and to ensure that the country did not become a defaulter. We reached that stage. You may abuse anybody you may condemn anyone, but by merely abusing or condemning, the situation is not going to improve. We reached that stage. The question is whether we should try to come out of that stage or not.

The second question which has to be kept in *-view* is, when you talk about export culture, export culture does not necessarily mean to earn some foreign exchange. 5t is impor tant^ but at the same time it indicates that there must be improvement in the quality of production. Production must be competitive in terms of quality, in terms of cost. In the shel tered market simply it is not avail able. In the sheltered market there is no urge for improving the quality, there is no urge for reducing the cost of production by updating the techno logy because the manufacturers know that the market is sheltered and what ever they produce will be bought. Therefore, export culture basically in dicates that there should be an atmos phere of competitiveness and compe titive atmosphere cannot be created in a controlled and regulated eco- nomy. This was an issue which was debated earlier.
A detailed debate had taken place and I am not going to add anything more to that. The simple point which I am trying to make is that in this atmosphere if we want to achieve the objectives, we shall have to prepare the level ground, as has been very correctly pointed out. While preparing that, unnecessary control and regulations were to b_e removed. And if we could do that, if we could provide the level ground for access to technology and other inputs required to expand our production base, there should not be any barrier to have that access. That is the policy which we are going to have and that is the essence of the liberalised policies.

Now in that context, in the export-import policy of the current year and for the full five years—it is true that we have indicated this as the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission—I have analysed the situation, I have made it abundantly clear that the type of BOP situation with which we are confronted, if we want to avoid that, then it is imperative on our part to have export growth at the rate of 13.6 per cent in volume term and import growth should be confined to 8.6 per cent so that ultimately at the end of the terminal year and during the Five-Year Plan period our external support as reflected in the current account deficit should not be beyond 1.6 per cent of the GDP. Assuming tnose targets, a basic question has been raised and correctly so. From the performance of the current year can we achieve this? Secondly, was it a tall order to have growth of 13.0 per cent in volume terms' cr 15 to 16 per cent growth in US dollar terms-, was it too high, impracticable and unrealistic? Rly submission is, \ apart from the requirement because if you want to avert the BOP crisis this is the requirement, this is the bottom-line, coming to the ground realities, even in the last three years of the Seventh Plan our actual performance in export in US dollar terms was 17 per cent. Therefore, to assume durting the Eighth Plan period from April, 1992, to achieve the target growth of 15 to 16 per cent, to my mind, is not unrealistic, apart from the absolute necessity of it.

Then, what is going to happen if the performance in the first year itself, from April to February, is 2.8 per cent? Here I request the hon. Members to go in a little detail into this break-up and not come to the conclusion of mere 2.8 per cent. From April to November the growth of export was 5.4 per cent. Unfortunately, there were certain extraneous considerations with which the trade policy had nothing to do. It affected some important areas like Bombay, Ahmedabad and Calcutta. So, suddenly we found when the December statistics came, that it came down sharply. Thereafter, again some unfortunate incidents took place, and it could not make up. Uultimately, perhaps, when the March figure is available we may end up with three, three-and-a-half per cent. That is quite insignificant even keeping in view the negative growth rate of the

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previous year. That is no satisfaction.

But there has been another factor, and simultaneously it came in the same year. Nearly one-fourth *of* our exports are directed towards the rupee-payment area, almost 27 per cent. During this period there was a sharp decline to the extent of 65 per cent negative growth to the extent of 65 per-cent in our export in rupee trade. Therefore, even if there was some improvement of aroUud 10.5 per cent export growth in general currency area, the sharp decline in the rupee-payment area could not make lie up, and we had to settle at amodest growth rate—not modest but I will call it "a very small growth rate"—in export for the first year. But this is not unusual. Even if my friend. Shri Yashwant Sinha, looks at the fie are he gave, ho will lind that in the first year of the Sixth Plan the export growth was very law. In the first year of the Seventh Plan there was a negative growth rate so far as export lis concerned. Somenow or other it happened. I do not say that there is a corollary, but unfortunately, again it happened, but with the policy ini-tiadves and with the improvement in the overall economic situation, we have been able to make it up. But we mast put serious efforts. Without serious efforts it cannot be done. Keeping that in view, as Mr. Sinha has very correctly pointed out, we are not having merely a global approach. We have identified the com-mod'ties. Thirty-four extreme focus areas have been identified where there is high growth potentiality, and what type of necessary support is required there, we are providing. That is the area where agriculture can play a very major role.

Ha the amended policy what I have indicated is that we would like to provide certain additional incentives to export-oriented units related to agricultural products compared to manufactured item. These export-oriented units will be able to sell 50 per cent of their products in domestic tariff area apart from the concessions for machineries and equipments which will be required -or augment ing their exportable capacity. If we can provide post harvesting techno logy necessary for infrastructural sup port, including the refrigerated mode of transportation; credit inputs and marketing inputs; then our farmers can do wonders. Keeping that in .view the formation of small farmer.3 forming consortia with indust ry, scientific organisations, cre dit institutions; private sec tor etc. is being worked out. These farmers will have an integrated ap proach, the basic objective being en hancing the income generating capa city of the farmers and at the same time producing enough so that we have enough exportable surplus. People are saying whether we are going to dodge the domestic market. We are the second largest fruit pro ducers, next to Brazil. We are the second largest vegitable producers next to China. Nearly 30 to 35 per cent of our products are simply wast ed. They perish because we cannot provide post-harvesting technlogy *to* improve self-life of these products. So, if we can integrate this facility and provide these inputs for arresting the substantial percentage of wastage, even if we do not have any quantum-jump in the near future, we can have adequate surplus to help us to overcome; at least in. the- medium term; the BOP crisis-

The second major point which has been raised is that import is expanding and all sorts of luxury items are being allowed to be imported. It is true. The negative list of import is very short. But, at the same time if you look at only one item—'Consumer goods—that is in the negative list. And the whole range of items, which we do not want to import are put in the consumer goods. Item is one, title is one; but the entire gamut of the areas of items which we do not want to import are

covered by one item i.e. consumer goods.

In reject of the objects about which Mr. Sinha was talking; yes, that should be the approach. Except safety, security and environment, you should allow it. We should not eye a be shy of importing and exporting the same commodities. There is noth ing wrong in export and import. Exporting onion from Nasik to Gulf countries is more profitable than taking that onion to the eastern part or instead of taking cereal from the western or the northern region to the north-eastern region, it is more profitable to import rice from Burma or from Vietnam Therefore, there is nothing contrary or inconsistent in trading, both ways in the same commodities . We can make profit that way. International relations and International trade does not depend merely on our points of view. Always there should be scope for accommodation. For example, recently we had to import some rice from Vietnam. They were to give us some money m respect of their debt, servicing. They said that they could not give us in cash; they could give in kind. They bad a surplus of rice and they said we should take it. We had to take it. Therefore, there is nothing wrong in it. This type of situation always demands-accommodation. If you look at the three years of imports, you will find that non-oil import has not increased substantially. For example, I will give just eleven months figure because for the current year, the figure for March has not come; that is why I am compelled to give April to February figures and I am not taking the rupee into account because in between rupee fluctuation has taken place, my unit is in U.S. dollars. You can look at non-oil imports. In 1990-91; it was dollar 16.61 billion.

In 1991-93 it came down. It was $12.89 billion. In 1992.93, April to February; it is $14.61 billion. Compared to 1991-92 it is more. But compared to 1990-91 it is less ia U.S. dollar terms, not in rupee terms. For indigenous oil production we have made some projections. But if we are to import more Oil, we are to import more fertilizers or certain essential items are to be imported, we cannot avoid it. But. in respect of other area&, non-oil import is not expanding, The same way some people are apprehending that it is going to hurt them.

The question of dumping is again coming. That is why we are making institutional arrangements. So long we could not have an effective ma chinery. I do agree in the Ministry of Commerce or in the Government of India there was no effective insti tutional arrangement to prevent dum ping because import was restricted both physically and by raising a high tariff wall. Now when we are redu cing the customs duty, when we are liberailising the imports; we felt the need to create an anti-dumping me chanism in the Ministry of Commerce and it has since been created. An officer has been designated. Normally from the date of receiving the com plaints; we are to finalise the reports within a stipulated period. We have already received complaints on two items. Action has already been initiated. Shortly the outcome would be made available. Here we have to think at what point at what level we have to-give protection. Today in most of the cases; effective import duty is 85 per cent. Do, you want more? With the protection of 85 Per cent import duty, whether the Indian industry cannot protect themselves or not. That is a matter which has to be decided. I do entirely agree that in our duty structure, on raw materials and equipment, the duty should be less and on finished products the duty should be more. If there are any distortions in certain areas, that should be corrected and corrective measures should be taken. But at what level would

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you like to give protection to the indigenous indusry; is a matter which has -to be seriously considered. Whenever there is- airy complaint i*n* respect of dumping under the Customs Act; adequate provisions have been made and we can initiate action under those provisions. In fact, on two or three items, we have already initiated action. But sometimes it so happens that indigenous industries to cover their own inefficiency; make noise and we have to look into it:

I will mention two more points on exports and then I will come to the Dunkel proposal and' Special-301. It ha§ been correctly suggested that States have to make some sacrifice to promote exports because they do not-levy local taxes. They are to provide the infrastructure. We are considering what arrangements we can make so that they can be involved; in a big way; for export promotion.

Members will be happy to know that we have initiated a Centrally-sponsored scheme where we are going to establish a high technology indus trial park to provide infrastructural facilities to the export units which will be located in those areas. Here We are providing them not only the financial support at the initial stage to create those parks but we will also make arrangements so that they can impose certain levies in those areas and get some money to maintain these assets which they are going to create. So some Centrally sponsored schemes are being worked out. We have already received some encourag ing responses from the State Govern ments. The question of quality has been raised. Here also, you have to think basically. Simply by appointing some inspectors, you cannot (improve quality. Quality cannot be improved unless there is a total awareness, un less there is quality consciousness. We had all sorts of inspections. It did not improve quality. It only generated corruption at various levels. You should be aware that if your goods are not of good quality, if your goods are not of competitive prices, there will be no taker of your goods and services in the external market. Quality can be created only by creating an awareness about it by making people quality-conscious, by creating conditions where your goods will not be sold, will not be accepted in the international market, if they do not come up to acceptable standards. Merely by appointing some inspecting agencies, T am afraid, quality cannot be created. Had it been so, then, with the level of control and with inspections at various levels which we have, staring from the export inspecting agencies to various other regulatory agencies, we could have become the most quality-conscious. But, unfortunately, it has not taken place: Infrastructural deficiencies are, of course, to be rectified. And, I have already indicated one such programme.

Certain individual issues like tobacco exports have come up. What action we are going to have in this respect and the bilateral issues which we are having with China, are some points raised. Surely, I will look into these things.

On the rupee-rouble arrangement, Dr. Sivaji has mentioned that we are paying the Soviet Russia through our nose. It is true. At today's. dollar-rouble price you have to pay substan tially more. But if you want to take that figure into account, Dr. Sivaji should bear in mind the fact that we got our Bhilai Steel Plant, the BHEL, the Heavy Engineering Coropration, all in Rs. 70-80 crores. This is not the correct attitude. When we were in need, they helped us. They provided us assistance to build up the indust rial base; to build up the steel plants; to build up our capabilities in the basic industry. Today you want to take advantage of the position. That created problems. For one year, there was no trade. We have sorted out this issue. I think the House will appreciate that they stood by us in

times of our need and we have also tried to help them. We do not want to take undue advantage of a particular situation prevailing there at a particular point of time. We have Piade an arrangement. They have agreed that the debt-service which we are going to pay them, they will take in the form of goods and services. Therefore, exports worth Rs. 2400-2500 crores would be assured. But unfortunately, because of the change from one system to another, dismantling one system and creating a new system is taking time. Certain teething troubles are there and exporters and businessmen will have to bear with us. But I do hope... *(Interruptions,).*

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA; Can you yield for a minute?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Not now. Let him finish.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Sir, the Miinister is coming forward to answer any question put by hon. Members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI). That will be after his reply is over.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: After the reply is over, we may forget the points. That is the problem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JA GESH DESAI): You note them down.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: It is a quetion of action and reaction.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI J A GESH DESAI). He has listened to all of us patiently, without interrupting. Please hear him now.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE; Sorry, I am taking a little more time. At the same time, I would like to cover the teves which have been raised.

Coming back to Dunkel. I had the privilege of having discussions with the members ot various political parties. I am also going to have discussions with trade union representatives and farmers' organisations. It is not that we have accepted a position. So far as acceptance As concerned it will depend on the decision of the Government. Till now, negotiations are going on. I will just refer to three major issues on agriculture. As regards agriculture, it is being said that if we accept the Dunkel text, then our support to our farmers for agricultural development would be compromised; our concept of food security would be compromised because guaranteed import of agricultural pro ducts to the extent of 3 per cent will have to be ensured; subsidies will have to be at the level of 10 per cent—

threshold level—and patenting of seeds will cause harm to the farmers. I had explained it when I talked to the representatives of various politi cal parties. Let us take subsidies. There are two types of subsidies which probably we give and that has been accepted in the Dunkel text also. Pro duct specific subsidy and non-product specific subsidy. Product specific sub sidy we are giving on about 21 or 22 agricultural items and the rate of sub sidy is being determined from Sep tember 1988, the date from which the negotiations started and we find that excepting three items—tobacco, sugar and groundnut—in all other items, our subsidy is much less than 10 per cent and the aggregate measurement sup port, by the mode of computation which they have accepted, will be 5 per cent to 6 per cent while the thre shold level is 10 per cent. Now, some body may say that our computation is not correct. I am prepared to sit with experts. I am prepared to sit with other people, those who have a different mode of computation. So it can be worked out.

So far as the non-product specific subsidies are concerned, there too you calculate the type of support

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which you are giving in the form of subsidies on interest for agricultural credit, subsidies to the electricity changes and water charges. Aggregate of these are not coming to more than 5 per cent to 6 per cent. Therefore, the threshold level is 10 per cent and here too, there is a provision that In tjje case of those who are resource-poor farmers, according to their stand 3rd, the subsidies given to them frill be excluded. But we have not excluded them. For our purposes, we liave taken them into account. The total amount of subsidies which we »re providing—I made some calculations:—if you take the State Budgets and the Central Budget, our agricultural subsidies should have been 15,000 crores to 20,000 crores of rupees. We are not giving that much of subsidy anywhere. Therefore the question of saying that our subsidies will go down, is not borne out by facts But here also, I am subject to correc-tion. If soiiiebodyc has any ther made of calculation and computation, we are prepared to sit with him and examine it and if we are wrong we will correct at and this is the understanding we have given to them.

In respect of guaranteed import, so long as India is going to have the balance of payments problem, there will be no obligation to import. In respect of the patenting of seeds, farmers' rights, researchers' rights naturally occurring genes, patenting of those micro-organisms, we have made it abundantly clear that our stated position is that it will be difficult for India to accept this. And this point you will have to keep in view that most of the Latin American countries, the entire ASEAN group, the EEC they want the quick conclusion of Uruguay Round of talks on the basis of the Dunkel text. Nobody wants to reopen it. The United States of America wants to reopen it to suit their convenience.. "We also want to reopen lit because we want to get some advantages from the MFA on textiles because textiles integration is

, taking place at later years and we want the integration in the earlier ears because we have competitive advantages in textiles. We want pro-tection for plant variations, micro. organisms, patenting of seeds etc. in the Dunkel text. We want to make

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it clear that in the legal text, and the final position is yet to be taken. What did I suggest when the idea of JPC came? When the JPC comes, Indian Parliament the sovereign Parliament takes a firm po sition and if it is expressed fo the form of a Resolution, then which negoiator would have the right to go beyond *that brief? Your positon is sixiea.* There will be no flexibility. There will be no manoeuvrability, because when the highest sovereign body of the country formulates its views and gives that brief to the negotiator, the negotiator cannot go beyond that brief. But you should have the flexi bility in international negotiations. Multilateral negotiations would be extremely difficult if there is no flexi bility once Parliament takes a position then neither the Government nor any subordinates of he Government can go and make any changes in that. The Parliament of India will have to take a view at the end. Therefore, what we suggested is, our concern should be expressed, it should be debated in Parliament it should be debated out side Parliament. The concern of India should be expressed so that our nego tiators would have larger flexibility, that Indian Parliament may accept it or may not accept it, that Indian Parliament feels very strongly on this particular issue. That would strengthen the negotiating capacity and competence of the negotiators. But once you have taken a stated position, either tin. the form of a Resolution or in the form of a recom-mendation, it will be extremely difficult to come out of that position; not only difficult but it would be impossible to come out of that. You cannot come out. So this is the position we have to keep in view.

In respect of other patenting laws, in my statement I have suggested what should be our response to Special 301. What I have suggested is, even in the patenting there should be a combination of both the elements, rewarding of the inventors and at the same time meeting the requirement of public interest. And that is the compromise we would like to have. But the point which we have to keep in view is that already various countries have taken a position. Under the leadership of Argentina's President, 37 countries have written to the Japanese Prime Minister and the American President that they want to have a successful conclusion of the Uruguay .Round of discussion on the basis of the Dunkel text. That questios is; does he take that position? Does he want *to* reopen only in respect of agriculture or subsidies on agriculture between EEC and America? Asian countries as a group have taken this strategic position that' they want this. And, therefore, it is not that all the 108 countries talk and discuss! it. Some of the countries should negotiate some discussions. But at the same time I think we should have larger discussions. The countries should clarify our position because that is going to affect our interests. Surely, nobody would like to have any such thing. Coming to Special 301...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI; What about medicines?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE; No; I said that the Patenting Act is an area where we have real difficulty, I have no hesitation in saying that and T share it with my colleagues representing various political parties.

Even China has amended that Act in order to have access to GATT because in your trade relations either you will have to go through the multilateral route or you will have to go through the bilateral rotee. And when you have bilateral relations, what is your strength? Our export to EEC countries as a group us almost 30 percent, another 26 or 27 per cent with erstwhile Soviet Russia or rupee-payment area$_i$ 15 to 16 per cent with the United States and about 13 to 14 per cent with Japan, Suppose we do not go through the multilateral fora, then these are the countries with which we will have to go for bilateral arrangements and all of them are economically powerful compared to India. Therefore, in (he bilateral negotiations arm-twisting could be there and actually it happened in the case of China. That is why China wants to be a member of the GATT, In its anxiety to be a member of the GATT it has also amended its patent law. So, we have expressed our concern and this is the area where we would like to protect our national interests as far as possible. I don't mind if the Members of Parliament express their views very strongly because that will also have some impact. But at the same time we can not completely ignore the reality that in the international fora we are one of the players, we are not 'the player". Now I come to Special 301.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA: Are we the actual players or 'reserves'?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE; No, no we are players. These things you are telling me for the last 15 or 20 yesrs- When *1* borrowed money from the IMF, almost in the same language with the same introduction, I was criticised on the floor of this very House.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA: Today I relerred to that.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: None of you at that point of time, could believe that a situation may be created where we may not require the last instalment and every time it was pointed out that it was true. I do agree with the statistics quoted by Mr. Yashwant Sinha in respect of export asd import imbalance. But there too, you will Anal that in 1985 our trade gap was about Rs. 8,000 crores and after moving up and down

[Shri Pranab Mukherjee]

in the terminal year of the Seventh Plan again it came around that. So, there was some pattern. In certain areas, you will notice, because of the oil crisis our balance of payments situation is ki a delicate stage. Whenever there is a major oil crisis it affects our BOP areas. At one point of time 75 per cent of our foreign exchange was spent only to import what we used to call 'the three Fs'—food, fuel and fertilizer. Now food import is not -needed, but fuel and fertilizer are there. For a short while we had the advantage that our import requirement of hydrocar. bon sources of energy come down from 65 per cent or 66 per cent to less than 50 per cent. But that was for a short while. I think it wag possible between 1982 and 1984-85; otherwise that is difficult.

Now coming to the point of India being redesignated as priority foreign country under Special 301, this is for the third consecutive year that this is happening. Now in respect of working out a detailed strategy, they have not yet announced any punitive action. They have appointed a task-force. That task-force is going to determine what punitive action they would like to take. For example, in 1992 they wiithdrew the GSP and the value was about 60 million US dollars. In other words, Indian exporters in those areas had to pay duty worth 60 million US dollars. So far we have not heard much from the pharmaceutical industries. So, I think, they have profit and they have been able to absorb it or, perhaps, it may be that they are making some consideration and makling some balance, whether by making noise for the withdrawal of the GSP or continuation of the existing patent law, which would be beneficial to them, I don't know. But we have not heard much noise from that sector when the GSP was withdrawn. Now here, too, the GSP wast given by the country. These are certain areas where the country can give some faciliti&s and concessions to the developing countries. In our anxiety we should not forget that the USA is a leading partner in trade and investment. The USA has the largest investment and technical collaboration with us. As an individual country nearly 16 per cent-of our trade is with them. Therefore, we have stated our position that the issue should be sorted out at the multilateral level and unilateral action at this stage is not warranted. When the discussions are going on at the multilateral level they should not have taken this unilateral action. But. the question of retaliation or *what strategy we are going to adopt* or what individual action we are going to take will depend on what punitive actions they are going to take. So far as 1992 is concerned, they with drew the GSP. They did not go beyond that. But are they going to have some punitive duty in respect of certain other items? Certain items,

exportable items, they can bear. But if you withdraw your GSP on certain items, they cannot bear to that extent because their expors would be affeced. Therefore, this is a matter on which, I think, we shall have to discuss and explore the possibilities of settlement which would help us. I am hopeful that it would be possible to resolve the crisis. I would not say 'crisis'. I shall call it 'impasse' which has been created as a result of that. But it is true. I do agree. It is true that it has emerged. This scenario is emerging. It is no use telling them in how many areas they have violated and they have tried to enforce their own national law. Japan can do it because Japan has certain advantages At the same time I can remind my hon. friend Mr. Yashwant Sinha—I was an eyewitness—when the question of general capital increase in the Fund-Bank came, Japan wanted to have a higher share in the general capital increase. The USA put pressure to sort out another issue at the multilateral level. Therefore, it is not unknown. This cannot be desirable. But this is not unknown.

This is not uncommon. Sometimes it happens. We shall have to live with it. In that given situation we have to see how best we can take advantage of it. I don't have the privilege of using very strong words as the hon. Members have. That is why I had to be cautious. I don't know whether it is potent or impotent but the fact is that we have been able to express our views.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA; You have to be potent on patent.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I have to be both. I am referring to Mr. Sukomal Sen. He described the statement ' as an impotent statement. That is why I am saying mere strong words are not going to help us. We have to sort out these issues be cause certain other countries have been designated. I do hope that it would be possible to resolve the issues. At the same time we want to strengthen the multilateral arrangements because from our experiences we have seen, particularly in the case of India which is a founding member of the GATT and all other UN families, that we have received more advantage from the multilateral route than through the bilateral route. With these words I thank you. Mr. Vice-Ohairman.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA: The Minister said in reply to Mr. Sivaji that we should not forget that the USSR helped us in building our industrial set-up and it is a repayment thereto. My only submisstion to him would be that it is the dismantler of the USSR who are now receiving the gratitude for that. Perhaps that aspect did not come to Mr. Mukherjee's mind because even later he said, in the present-day context it is Soviet Russia. It is not Soviet Russia now.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: In the course of his reply, I expected the Minister to settle claims and counterclaims with China so that we dan restore our trade of tobacco.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That comes under the Finance Ministry.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I think claims and counter-claims can bo settled not compromising our own interest.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifteen minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 12th May. 1993.