

- (c) Statement giving reasons for the delay in laying the papers mentioned at (a) above. [Placed in Library. See No. L.T.-3906/01]

### SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

#### Economic slowdown, fall in GDP rate and deteriorating financial condition of the country in the context of mid-term appraisal of Ninth Five Year Plan -- *Contd.*

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय सभापति जी, हम लोग अपने देश की आर्थिक दशा जो दयनीय होती चली जा रही है उसके ऊपर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, हमारे देश में इस समय औद्योगिक विकास में भारी कमी आ गई है और कृषि में बहुत ज्यादा कमी आ गई है। हम लोगों की स्थिति तथा हमारा जो आर्थिक ढांचा है वह एक बार तो ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे पूरी तरह से चरमरा गया है। बावजूद इसके कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी 7 प्रतिशत अपना सकल घरेलू उत्पाद करने का ऐलान करते रहे हैं हर बजट में जो भी उनके बजट हर साल आ रहे हैं और माननीय प्रधान मंत्री 8 प्रतिशत सकल घरेलू उत्पाद को करना चाहते हैं इसकी विकास दर को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि वह केवल 5.2 प्रतिशत है और यह स्थिति केवल आज की नहीं है पिछले लगातार 5 सालों से गिरावट दर्ज हो रही है, हमारी विकास दर घरेलू सकल उत्पाद में घटती चली जा रही है। कृषि में जो स्थिति है, औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जो स्थिति है वह और भी भयावह है। कृषि में 2000 में 0.7 प्रतिशत हमारी विकास दर रह गई और आज की तारीख में केवल 0.2 प्रतिशत उसकी विकास दर है। औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में भी जो हमारी औद्योगिक विकास दर 7.1 प्रतिशत थी वह अब 3.4 प्रतिशत रह गई है और इस समय तो वह 1.9 प्रतिशत है। दूसरी तरफ भी स्थिति बहुत खराब है। हमारा जो सार्वजनिक कर्जा है वह इस साल हमारे सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का 70 प्रतिशत है। सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में हमारा सार्वजनिक कर्जा 70 फीसदी से भी अधिक हो जायेगा। इतना ही नहीं, जो हमारा वित्तीय घाटा है वह हमारा सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में 10 प्रतिशत से भी ज्यादा हो जायेगा। अगर इन सारी चीजों को पूरे देश के परिदृश्य में देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि 10 करोड़ से ज्यादा लोग बेरोजगार हैं, इनमें से साढ़े चार करोड़ नौजवान रजिस्टर्ड हैं और बाकी लोग अपना नाम रजिस्टर्ड नहीं कराते हैं, ऐसे लोगों की तादाद भी बहुत है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इसको केवल पांच साल के प्रबन्धन की कमी नहीं मानता हूँ। जैसा कि माननीय प्रणब मुखर्जी साहब ने कहा कि तीन साल के प्रबन्धन की कमी के कारण या आंकड़ों के हिसाब से या उसके घट-जोड़ के हिसाब से ऐसा हुआ है, मैं इसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। इसका बीज तो 1990-91 में पड़ गया था जब हमने यह तय कर लिया कि हम विश्व व्यापार संगठन के जरिये से उदारवाद लायेंगे, भूमंडलीकरण करेंगे, खुला बाजार करेंगे, यह उसी दिन निश्चित हो गया कि हमारी स्थिति ऐसी होती चली जायेगी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि 1990-91 में जो सब्जबाग दिखाये गये उस समय की सरकार द्वारा जो उस समय हमारे यहां के बुद्धजीवियों ने, उच्च मध्यम वर्ग ने, हमारे उद्योगपतियों ने, हमारे राजनेताओं ने, हमारे नौकरशाहों ने बड़े-बड़े कशीदें पड़े इस योजना के लिए कि हम उदारवाद में आ रहे हैं, हम खुले बाजार में आ रहे हैं, अब हमारी तरक्की होती चली जायेगी, लेकिन आज वह भ्रम दूर

हो गया है। आज तमाम इंडस्ट्री वाले इस बात को कह रहे हैं, आज एसोचेम कह रहा है कि पिछले 10 वर्ष के उदारवाद के दौरान जो हमारी विकास की रफ्तार रही है, वह कम रही है, हम उसमें कामयाब नहीं हो पाये हैं और हमारी विकास दर गिरती चली गई है। आज यह स्थिति है। एक बात जरूर कही जाती है, बड़े जोर-जोर से कही जाती है कि मुद्रास्फीति स्थिर है, मुद्रास्फीति नहीं बढ़ रही है। जब कि हकीकत यह है कि मुद्रास्फीति में जिन चीजों को शामिल किया जाता है उनमें हेरफेर करके सरकार मुद्रास्फीति को स्थिर करने की बात करती है। कम्प्यूटर उस क्मोडिटीज में आ गया है जिसमें मुद्रास्फीति तय होती है, जो आवश्यक वस्तु है वह नहीं, जो उपभोग की वस्तुएं हैं वे भी उसमें आ गई हैं। उपभोगवाद हमारी इस सरकार ने और पिछली सरकारों ने भी चलाया है। उसने हमारे देश की सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को नष्ट-भ्रष्ट कर दिया है। अभी हमारा देश ऐसा नहीं है कि हम उपभोगवाद की बात करें। आप चीन की मिसाल ले लीजिए। उन्होंने दो पीढ़ियों तक अपने लोगों को लबादा पहनाया है, साइकिल पर चलाया है। जिस देश में 35 करोड़ लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हों, 10 करोड़ लोग बेरोजगार हों और 70 फीसदी लोग काश्तकारी पर निर्भर करते हों तो उस देश में आप उपभोगवाद कैसे चला सकते हैं। पिछले साल की मिसाल ले लीजिए। दो साल पहले इस सरकार ने आयात शुल्क जिन चीजों से हटाया वे कौन सी चीजें थीं - लिपिस्टिक, बढ़िया साबुन, तेल, इत्र आदि चीजें थीं। यह उपभोगवाद नहीं तो क्या है? हमारे देश की जो स्थिति है, जो वास्तविकता है उस वास्तविकता को नकार दिया गया है।

सन् 1991 से जो नीतियां चलायी गईं, इनकी एक पहल 1980 से शुरू हो गई थी। 1980 से लेकर 1996 तक 6161 चीजों पर से, 1996 के बाद 1905 चीजों पर से और फिर 714 चीजों पर से मात्रात्मक प्रतिबंध हटाया गया था। इस प्रकार से हमारे यहां सारे बाहर के माल से मात्रात्मक प्रतिबंध हटाकर हमारे बाजार को उससे पाट दिया गया था।

सभापति महोदय, मैं यहां पर एक बात यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि केवल इसी परिदृश्य से हम अपने देश की आर्थिक स्थिति का मूल्यांकन नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम केवल औद्योगिक विकास के जरिए से अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति, सामाजिक स्थिति को परख सकते हैं, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता हूं। मान लीजिए, आज जो औद्योगिक प्रगति है वह चार दशमलव कुछ है या तीन दशमलव कुछ है या एक दशमलव कुछ है, लेकिन कल 4.3 थी, अगर यह और बढ़ जाती तो क्या हो जाता। आप सन् 50 में देखिए। सन् 50 में हमारी खेती का हिस्सा हमारे सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में पचास फीसदी था। आज वह 24 फीसदी है। इसमें यह तर्क दिया जा सकता है कि हमने अपने उद्योगों के जरिए से ज्यादा उत्पादन किया। हमने अपने उद्योगों को बढ़ाया। यह तर्क देना अपनी जगह सही है लेकिन इसके नतीजे अच्छे नहीं निकल सकते क्योंकि 70 फीसदी लोग खेती पर निर्भर हैं। अगर वह संख्या घटे तब तो यह तर्क अच्छे नतीजे निकाल सकता है कि हमने अपने औद्योगिक उत्पाद को बढ़ाया है इसलिए हमारा कृषि का जो हिस्सा सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में था, वह कम हो गया है लेकिन साथ ही अगर संख्या कम होती तो उसका असर पड़ता। मान्यवर, हमारी जो कृषि की आमदनी है, वह तो सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में कम है किन्तु हमारी कृषि पर निर्भरता जहां की तहां है। ऐसी स्थिति में अगर आप अपने उद्योगों को बढ़ा भी लेंगे तो उनसे उत्पन्न उत्पाद को खरीदेगा कौन? क्या वे 70 फीसदी किसान - जो खेती पर निर्भर हैं, जिनके पास छोटी छोटी खेती है - उस उत्पाद को खरीदेंगे? क्या आपका उद्योग इस तरह से आगे बढ़ेगा? मेरे विचार से इंटरनेशनल बाजार आपको अभी मिलने वाला नहीं क्योंकि अभी

आपकी कार्यशैली ऐसी नहीं है, आपके यहां कार्य की संस्कृति ऐसी नहीं है, आपके पास वह तकनीक नहीं है कि आप प्रतिस्पर्धा के बाज़ार में टिक पाएं। अभी आप बाहर के बाजारों में नहीं टिक सकते और वे आपको टिकने भी नहीं देंगे। वे किसी न किसी बहाने से आपके उत्पाद को रिजैक्ट करते रहेंगे। वे ऐसा करते हैं, आज भी करते हैं और कहते हैं कि जो मिर्जापुर का कालीन है, वह लड़कों के द्वारा, बच्चों के द्वारा बनवाया गया है, वह हम नहीं लेंगे। इसमें पर्यावरण का दोष लगाएंगे। दूसरे भी बहुत से बहाने हैं, वे करते रहेंगे लेकिन फिर भी हम अपनी कृषि की उपेक्षा करते जा रहे हैं। कृषि में निवेश नहीं है। आज कृषि की विकास दर केवल दशमलव 2 प्रतिशत है। आप कहते हैं कि डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. कहता है कि सब्सिडी मत लगाओ। किसानों को सब्सिडी मत दो और उनके यहां सब छूट है। मैं आपको सिर्फ एक ही मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ कि अमेरिका ने पिछले वर्ष अपने किसानों को जो पैसा दिया है - उसने 90 हजार करोड़ रुपये की सब्सिडी दी है और चैक के जरिए दी है। इसको कहते हैं - प्रोटेक्टिव सब्सिडी है।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम (उत्तरांचल):** डॉलर में दी होगी ?

**श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक :** 90 हजार करोड़ रुपये। मैंने रुपये में हिसाब लगाया है। उन्होंने यह पैसा यह कहते हुए दिया कि यह प्रोटेक्टिव सब्सिडी है, इस पर डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. की कोई शर्त नहीं है, कोई नियम नहीं है, पूरी छूट है। यूरोप के तीस देश हैं जो ऑर्गेनाइजेशन फॉर इकॉनॉमिकी को-ऑपरेशन एंड डेवलपमेंट के नाम से जाने जाते हैं, उन्होंने 16 लाख 20 हजार करोड़ रुपये की सब्सिडी अपने किसानों को दी है। 16 लाख 20 हजार करोड़ रुपये की सब्सिडी क्या मायने रखती है और आप कहते हैं कि सब्सिडी हमारे देश में चलेगी तो लोग आत्मनिर्भर नहीं होंगे। आप कहते हैं कि हम चीजों को इसलिए मंगाते हैं कि उपभोक्ता उसका इस्तेमाल करे, विदेशों की अच्छी चीजें उन्हें मिलें, सस्ती मिलें। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे कौन से उपभोक्ता हैं ? क्या वे उपभोक्ता हैं जो 70 फीसदी किसान हैं या वे उपभोक्ता हैं जो 35 करोड़ लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं ? महोदय, केवल डेढ़-दो करोड़ या पांच करोड़ लोगों के लिए आप उपभोग की अच्छी चीजें बाहर से मंगाकर अपने बाजार को लाद देंगे और कहेंगे कि हम उपभोक्ताओं के हितों का संरक्षण कर रहे हैं। आप किसके लिए संरक्षण कर रहे हैं ? केवल पांच-सात करोड़ लोगों के लिए आप संरक्षण कर रहे हैं और बाकी लोगों को भुखा मारने के लिए तैयार कर रहे हैं। आज किसान की हालत बहुत खराब है। आप कहते हैं कि किसान विदेशों से प्रतिस्पर्धा करे। महोदय, जहां इतनी सब्सिडी दी जा रही है, वह उनसे प्रतिस्पर्धा कैसे करेगा ? दूसरा, क्या आप किसान को अच्छे बीज समय पर देते हैं ? क्या आप उन्हें सस्ती खाद देते हैं ? क्या आप उनके लिए पानी की उचित व्यवस्था करते हैं ? आपकी कोई भी योजना, किसान को पानी देने की या बिजली सुनिश्चित करने की नहीं है, फिर भी आप कहते हैं कि वह उनसे प्रतिस्पर्धा करे। कैसे प्रतिस्पर्धा करेगा ? वह प्रतिस्पर्धा नहीं कर सकता। ऐसी स्थिति में जब आप इस ढंग से काम करेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से जो नतीजे होने थे, वे नतीजे हमारे सामने हैं और ये नतीजे और खराब होते चले जाएंगे। महोदय, हमारे यहां सन् 1948 में और उसके बाद सन् 1956 में जो मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था की बात कही गयी थी, वह हमारी सामाजिक स्थितियों को देखकर, हमारी आर्थिक स्थितियों को देखकर, हमारे यहां क्षेत्रीयता को देखकर - हमारे यहां विभिन्न क्षेत्र हैं, हमारे यहां विभिन्न समाज हैं, हमारे यहां विभिन्न आर्थिक समुदाय हैं, हमारे यहां आर्थिक स्थितियों के हिसाब से, सामाजिक स्थितियों के हिसाब से बड़ी विषमताएं हैं,

क्षेत्रीय विषमताएं हैं, उस स्थिति में बाजार के भरोसे अगर आप लोगों को छोड़ देंगे तो नतीजा यही होना था, जो हो रहा है और इससे भी भयावह होगा। आप कहते हैं कि हम बाहर से दूध मंगाएंगे। डैनमार्क से दूध मंगाया गया और वह पंजाब में शून्य आयात शुल्क पर आया। उस पर कोई आयात शुल्क नहीं है। उसका पाउंडर हमारे यहां से 16 प्रतिशत सस्ता है और यहां पर उसकी कीमत 1400 डालर है। जबकि उसकी वास्तविक कीमत उससे एक हजार डालर प्रति टन ज्यादा है लेकिन 1400 डालर प्रतिटन के हिसाब से बेच रहे हैं, जो कि 16 प्रतिशत हमारे यहां से सस्ता भेज रहे हैं। ऐसे ही बटर आयात आ रहा है। मैं आपको बताता हूं कि यूरोप की सरकारें एक किलो बटर आयात पैदा करने वाले को 120 रुपए नकद सब्सिडी देती हैं। यदि वह आपके यहां 70 रुपए में बेचे तो क्या फर्क पड़ता है। हमारे यहां काश्तकार घी बनाता है, जो कि उसको 130-140 रुपए में एक किलो पड़ता है, 150 रुपए किलो बाजार में बिक जाता है तो उसे कुछ फायदा हो जाता है। आज उसकी कीमत भी घटती जा रही है। कृषि के मामले में यह सरकार कुछ नहीं सोचती है, केवल यह सोचती है कि हम केवल उद्योगों को कैसे बढ़ाएं। मैं इसके खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। उद्योगों का उत्पादन भी बढ़ना चाहिए लेकिन अगर काश्तकारों का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा, हमारी जमीन पर काश्तकारों की संख्या नहीं घटेगी तो निश्चित रूप से उद्योग बढ़ने से आपको कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। आज जब हम अपनी तरक्की का हिसाब देखते हैं तो केवल यह देखते हैं कि शेयर-बाजार का उतार-चढ़ाव क्या है, मुद्रास्फीति की बात सोचते हैं, उद्योग उत्पादन की बात सोचते हैं। ये भी जरूरी हैं, मैं इनके खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। लेकिन अगर केवल यही दृष्टिकोण रखेंगे और जो हम अपने समाज को सुधारना चाहते हैं तो इससे यह संभव नहीं हो सकता है। हमारे देश में लघु उद्योगों का बड़ा महत्व है चूंकि बेरोजगारी है। इसमें दो राय नहीं है कि हमारे यहां की बेरोजगारी की समस्या को खत्म करने के लिए हमारे लघु उद्योग भी सक्षम हो सकते हैं। पिछले रिकार्ड को देख लीजिए 1990 से लेकर 2001 तक हमारे यहां नौकरियों की संख्या बहुत कम होती चली जा रही है। संगठित क्षेत्र में निगुक्तियां बहुत कम होती चली गईं तब भी हमारे लघु उद्योग ने 46 लाख नए लोगों को रोजगार दिया। आज हमारे देश में 31 लाख इकाइयां हैं जो लघु उद्योग कहलाती हैं। लेकिन उनको कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। सारा माल बाहर से आ रहा है, लघु उद्योग बन्द होते जा रहे हैं। कई लाख बन्द हो चुके हैं और कई लाख बीमार हैं, बन्द होने के कगार पर हैं लेकिन सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर नहीं है। हमारे देश के उद्योग उत्पादन में हमारे लघु उद्योगों का हिस्सा 40 प्रतिशत होता है, निर्यात में 35 प्रतिशत हिस्सा होता है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी यह सरकार किसी प्रकार की सहायता देना नहीं चाहती है।

**श्री सभापति :** कौशिक जी, आपका टाईम खत्म हो गया है।

**श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक :** श्रीमन्, बस दो मिनट में समाप्त करता हूँ। उनकी कार्यशील पूंजी मानी जाती है। वह उनकी सालाना बिक्री की केवल 8 प्रतिशत मानी जाती है। कार्यशील पूंजी केवल सालाना बिक्री का 8 प्रतिशत है। अगर उसकी कार्यशील पूंजी का प्रतिशत नहीं बढ़ाएंगे तो किस प्रकार से वह ऋण ले, कैसे अपना काम चलाए। उसको कम से कम 20 प्रतिशत तो मानना चाहिए। उद्योग घरानों को जो बैंकों से पैसा मिलता है, उसको देखा जाए तो छोटे उद्योगों को, लघु उद्योगों को केवल 15 प्रतिशत हिस्सा मिलता है। वह बढ़ना चाहिए। ये 812 निर्धारित क्षेत्र हैं, वहां पर केवल इन्हीं का वर्चस्व रहेगा, वे ही उसे पैदा करेंगे। ये घटते चले जा रहे हैं। इस सरकार ने इस साल के बजट में 14 चीजों पर पाबंदी हटा ली, जो बड़े उद्योगों को

बढ़ाने के लिए थी। बाहर से आने वाले 14 वस्तुओं पर से पाबंदी हटा ली, सारे खिलौने चाइना से आ रहे हैं। नेपाल के मार्फत आ रहे हैं, नेपाल के जरिए आ रहे हैं, वैसे भी आ रहे हैं क्योंकि आपने उस पर से प्रतिबंध हटा दिया है। लघु उद्योगों के लिए जो क्षेत्र निर्धारित था उसे कम करते चले जा रहे हैं। मेरा यह कहना है कि अगर आप यह बात मानते हैं कि हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी की समस्या दूर होनी चाहिए तो आपको निश्चित रूप से लघु उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन देना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए जरूरी है कि उनके लिए जो क्षेत्र निर्धारित हैं उनमें अतिक्रमण नहीं होना चाहिए, उनमें न तो बड़े उद्योगों का प्रवेश होना चाहिए और न ही बाहर से चीजें आनी चाहिए। आज आपका लघु उद्योग बुरी तरह से प्रभावित है, कुप्रभावित है, उनकी पैदावार घटती चली जा रही है और इसी वजह से बेरोजगारी की समस्या भी दुर्लभ होती चली जा रही है। लघु उद्योग में आज भी दो करोड़ लोग नौकरी पा रहे हैं लेकिन पिछले कई सालों में उसमें निरन्तर कमी होती जा रही है। वहां से लोग निकाले जा रहे हैं क्योंकि लघु उद्योग बंद हो रहे हैं। कई लाख लोग जो बाकायदा रोजगार में थे वे बेरोजगार हो गए। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसी स्थिति में सरकार को इन सारी बातों पर सोचना चाहिए। ये कहते हैं कि साहब, हम खराब नीतियों को अपना रहे हैं क्योंकि पिछली सरकार ने ये मानी हैं तो क्यों नहीं आप उन नियमों का पालन करते? डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. के नियमों में भी यह बात है कि अगर बाहर के माल के कारण आपका कोई उद्योग ठप्प होने की कगार पर पहुंच रहा है, डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. की शर्तों के कारण तो आप डब्ल्यू.टी.ओ. के ही किसी नियम के तहत उस पर पूरी तरह से प्रतिबंध लगा सकते हैं। लेकिन यह सरकार पता नहीं किस सोच में है, किस ख्याल में है कि हम बाहर का माल लाएंगे। वैसे ये तर्क देते हैं - एक बार वित्त मंत्री जी से वित्तीय सलाहकार समिति की मीटिंग में वार्ता हो रही थी, उसमें उन्होंने खुद कहा कि हम तो यहां के उपभोक्ताओं को अच्छी और सस्ती चीजें देना चाहते हैं इसीलिए बाहर से माल मंगा रहे हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे कौन से उपभोक्ता हैं जिनके लिए आप यह सब कर रहे हैं? सभापति जी, ऐसी स्थिति में मेरा इस सरकार से यही निवेदन है कि यह इन नीतियों पर विचार करें। जो मात्रात्मक प्रतिबंध खत्म किए गए हैं उन्हें फिर से लगाने की सोचें, आयात शुल्क बढ़ाएं, बेरोजगारी दूर करने के लिए छोटे उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन दें, उन्हें पूरी तरह से बढ़ाएं, कृषि क्षेत्र के लोगों की संख्या कम करने के लिए उन्हें दूसरे रोजगार मुहैया कराएं ताकि हमारा काश्तकार, जो इस समय सकल घरेलू उत्पाद में चौबीस फीसदी का योगदान दे रहा है उसका उत्पाद बढ़े, उस पर लोगों की निर्भरता कम हो और हमारे देश का जो पूरा समाज है जिसमें पिछड़े, दलित, गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले लोग, काश्तकार हैं वे तरक्की कर सकें, उनकी आर्थिक दशा सुधर सके। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the mid-term review, in the context of the economic situation in the country, is the matter of discussion, and I am happy that the hon. Member also happens to be the Liaison Officer, so far as Parliament is concerned. So, he will have to reply taking into account the conditions, as they are prevailing. I think, we will have to seriously consider as to what is to be done. Things are really going from bad to worse, and a day is going to come, when these things are going to be uncontrollable. I do not think the situation is such that the Government can possibly claim that it has control over the entire economy.

The concept of Performance Budget is there. The way the concept was evolved definitely had in mind the financial allocations relating to the physical assets which were going to be created. Now, if you look at the performance budgeting, I think, it is only in name. It has hardly anything to do with performance budgeting. There is no meaningful exercise being done. I request the hon. Member to kindly apply his mind and try to find out whether some kind of change can be brought about.

By merely doing paper work, I don't think we are going to produce results. Therefore, in order to make it more meaningful, it will have to be done in such a manner that it becomes a useful instrument in the hands of those who would like to see our economy progresses on proper lines. Nowadays, our economy is in a very bad shape, both in terms of overall deficit and revenue deficit. The revenue deficit has, particularly, increased to a great extent.

Now, the amount that we have to pay as interest on both internal and external borrowings is very high. It is not 70%; it is even beyond that. And, within a very short time, you will find that there is hardly anything left for the development of the country. It is only for payment of salaries that the entire planning will have to be done. I don't think the people, who, in fact, are paying very heavy taxes, can expect any kind of development taking place out of the activities that have been undertaken. If you see the resource mobilisation, both of the Centre as well as of the States,--things are very obvious-- you will find that every year, there is a shortfall. And, almost 75% of the States are expecting some kind of an assistance from the Central Government. That is the position. In spite of all the devolutions that we have resorted to, the State Governments have come to this stage. I do not know how we are going to find a way out. I am clearly of the opinion that the Centre has to be very strong. I don't subscribe to the view that we can afford a weak Centre and that all the resources should be given to the States. But, at the same time, we cannot also afford the States to be in a very weak position. They also need to be strengthened. There should be a proper exercise between the Centre and the States. It is only when they come together, we will find the entire economy improving. But there is one short-cut. We find that whenever there is a deficit, we resort to what we call 'public borrowing.' The public borrowings have gone to such an extent that, I don't think, any country, for that matter, would, possibly, say that India is a country where investment needs to be done.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU) in the Chair]

The investment climate has been totally vitiated. No country can, possibly, think in terms of investing in India. And we, in the Parliament, as a whole, have never considered this kind of an issue. It has to be considered whether the time has come for the Government to come out with a proposal of putting some kind of a ceiling on the total borrowings. There are countries where, unless it is approved by the Parliament, the total borrowings as well as annual borrowings are not made effective. I do not know whether the time has come for the Government to consider putting a ceiling on the total borrowings, if not the annual borrowings, in the interest of the country. I think, this kind of an issue needs to be seriously considered, to keep the borrowings in a proper shape. In all the European Parliaments, this kind of a procedure is being followed. I do not know whether we are, in fact, seriously considering this kind of an issue or not.

There is another issue which I would like to specially mention because, conceptually, these are very important things --- WTO, throwing open our economy to the multinationals and the removal of quantitative restrictions. On the floor of the House, every Minister is saying 'we cannot put any kind of restriction on the imports.' All kinds of imports are allowed. ...*(Time-bell)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Mr. Chavan, we had 14 minutes for the Congress. I think, you have spoken for seven minutes, and there is one more speaker. So, it is up to you to decide as to how much time you want.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Sir, I will require another 5-7 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): I have just pointed out. I mean, this is the predicament.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: So, the W.T.O. has thrown open the total economy to the multinationals. All Quantitative Restrictions have been removed, and most of the Ministers, who have had an opportunity to say anything on this, say 'we are totally helpless in the matter.' The W.T.O. Agreements have been signed, and according to them, we cannot stop the import of any kind of goods. Sir, this is affecting the agriculture in a very bad way. The agricultural growth is almost coming to nil. The agricultural growth is very poor; and unless agriculture improves, you cannot get the reflected benefits in industry and other spheres of life. So, agriculture is the

basic issue on which we have to concentrate. But, somehow, it is not done. You are saying that we are the first in the world, in milk production. But, in the name of the total removal of Quantitative Restrictions on all kinds of products, even milk products are also being imported. It is said, "If they are subsidising to such a large extent, we can resort to some kind of anti-dumping measures." But our experience, in this regard, has been very sad. I do not think the Government will take any political decisions on this. The political will is not there. Things are drifting, and you are totally helpless in the matter. And, I think, anti-dumping measures is a kind of mere talk that we are having. I do not think you are going to do anything in this matter.

My request will be this. If you will recall that when the Uruguay Round negotiations were going on, it was promised that all the developing countries will be sharers in the open market, which is going to be available. It was promised that 'your exports are going to increase, you will have the new technology, and the poorer countries will get the total benefit out of this'. Recently, they had a meeting in America, Seychelles where, in spite of the intervention of Mr. Bill Clinton, who was then President of the U.S.A., all the developing countries refused to sign on the dotted line. They said, "No; we will not approve this. We are being exploited. We are being cheated." That is the expression of all the developing countries. They clearly expressed their views. Can India take advantage of the situation that is prevailing now, and make common cause with all the developing countries? With all the developing countries, India can prepare an alternate draft and remind them that at the time of Uruguay Round, they had promised all those noble sentiments? On that basis, I think, we have to get an alternate draft which will reflect the real problems of the developing countries, and converting this, in the interest of all the developing countries, will be a great achievement for India. India has the opportunity now to make common cause with all these developing countries, and put forth this kind of an alternate draft. Are we going to do it? If we lose this opportunity, then, of course, there is hardly any hope, and India will be the greatest sufferer even under the W.T.O. ...*(Interruptions)*... There are just two more points, and I have done. One is about the ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Mr. Chavan, will you just stop for a minute? May I take the sense of the House, because we have to adjourn for lunch at one o'clock? I think, we can sit for a couple of minutes more.



1.00 P.M.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Let him finish and then you can adjourn the House for lunch.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): I also think so.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Sir, infrastructure development is the point on which I would like to express my views.

Power, irrigation and communications are the three areas, which attract our attention. Unfortunately for us, for consecutive plans, we have been failing in these and, in spite of the promises that we have made, there has been hardly any improvement.

Another point is about the social services sector. While resorting to disinvestment, it was stated by Government that additional amounts are going to be made available for social services sector. If you were to look at education, it has been the worst sufferer. As far as the Ninth Plan is concerned, according to my information, in the name of the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*, all the schemes have not been coming up to the mark. Barring a few areas, in all the areas there is a shortfall. At the time of the Budget, huge amounts are provided. Thereafter, when there are revised estimates, these are drastically cut, and even the reduced amounts are not being spent. Even the Free and Compulsory Elementary Education Bill, which had to come before Parliament, has not been brought so far.

About public health, I have just two points to make. One is about the discrimination between the private doctors and the Government and CGHS doctors. If there is a negligence on the part of the Government doctor, he is not supposed to pay any compensation. I do not know how can we possibly justify it. If because of the negligence of the private doctor, a person becomes totally incapacitated or if he dies, the private doctor has to pay him the compensation. But, because of the negligence of the Government doctor or the CGHS doctor if the person were to die, according to present rules, there is no compensation that he is liable for. I do not know why it is so. I have been requesting the Minister in charge to do something in this regard, but there has not been any new effort on his part.

The second point is about the charges which the people have to pay when they go to private hospitals. These charges are different from what they are actually charging from the VIP and other people, who go

**2.00 P.M.**

there. Why should there be this type of discrimination? I have been requesting the concerned Ministries to go into these issues. It would be better if the hon. Minister were to look into these. If he cannot react to these at the time he replies, at least he can send me a written reply so that I may be assured that he is going to do something in this regard. Therefore, my request to the Hon. Minister would be to please consider the issue in a proper perspective. Lay emphasis on agriculture and see that agriculture improves. If agriculture were to improve, rest of the things are bound to follow. This is my request. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Now, we adjourn for lunch for one hour.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at five minutes past two of the clock,

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU) in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU) : We will resume the discussion on the economic slowdown with reference to the mid-term appraisal of the Ninth Plan now.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Where is the economic slowdown? MPs are going to get Rs.35,000/-! Where is the economic slowdown?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): That, we will discuss when the Bill comes. As of now, we will start with this discussion. Shri Prem Chand Gupta.

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA (Bihar): I thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity.

Sir, when the NDA Government took over the reins of power in the country, they ridiculed all that was done in the past. They made tall promises to the masses of this country, particularly the youth. But all that proved to be a complete farce. The results are totally contradictory. The nation is faced with a decline in the overall growth rate and a serious industrial slowdown, which has ultimately led to widespread unemployment. In addition to this, the surfacing of scam after scam, has totally belied the hopes of the common man. The people of this country feel that financially and economically, they are not safe.

Coming back to the point of growth rate, when we look at the mid-term appraisal of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, we find that the situation is quite alarming and disappointing. A growth rate of 6.5-7 per cent was projected and thereafter, it was revised to six per cent. But, ultimately, the Central Statistical Organisation revised it to 5.2 per cent only. In the last quarter of 2001, the growth rate declined to 2.8 per cent only. It is very alarming. It is not usual. It is very unusual. I do not know what the definite plans of the Government are to check this, to arrest the decline in the overall growth. Mr. Vice-Chairman, there has been a complete and all-round slowdown on all fronts.

There are three very important factors of an economy, which have a multiplier effect. One is power generation and distribution. In 1999-2000, the growth rate was 5.2 per cent whereas in 2000-2001, it was only 4.7 per cent. Sir, on the construction side, which is also an equally important factor, an indicator which indicates the state of the health of the country's economy, as against an 8.1 per cent growth rate achieved in 1999-2000, we had only a 5.5 per cent growth rate in 2000-2001. It is very alarming. I would deal with these figures in detail later on.

In the manufacturing sector also, there was a decline from 6.8 per cent to 5.6 per cent. In the power sector, even after 54 years of our Independence, our masses, our industries and cities do not have sufficient power. There is an acute shortage of power. We are thinking of sending our astronauts to the moon. But, on the power front, where we can easily achieve, we have done nothing except the nice invitation card from the hon. Power Minister, inviting all the M.Ps. for a dinner.

This is very unfortunate. Sir, the construction sector is a serious multiplier. It has widespread implications. If the construction sector is progressing, there is an overall progress on all fronts, like the cement industry, like the steel industry and like the employment front. And if we look at our construction sector, what have we done? It is totally a disappointing state of affairs. I give an example. We were in Sanghai some time ago. 20,000 sky-scrappers are planned to be constructed in Sanghai alone, during the next 20 years. The Chinese have provided 20 billion dollars for construction of houses for the poor people in China. What is our budget? What are we doing? That is a thing which all of us know, and it is a matter of serious concern. Sir, one serious important factor of the latest situation of country's economy is that there has been a slow down in the service sector also. The most buoyant sector of the post-reforms era was

the service sector. We were having a growth rate of more than ten per cent, twelve per cent or fifteen per cent. But if we look at the service sector, particularly, the IT sector, what is the ground reality? All of us want that there should be a growth in this sector. I would like to quote something from the report of the National Association of Software and Service Companies, that is, NASSCOM. It says: "IT softwares and service exports growth declined by 20 per cent at Rs. 5670 crores from Rs. 8600 crores in the same quarter last year." That means, there is 20 per cent decline in export of this important segment of the service sector. Millions and millions of youth were expecting to take up career in the IT sector. But today, there are no jobs. Sir, the revised estimate of GDP for 2000-01 is essentially due to the major de-escalation in the fourth quarter. The first two quarters of the year saw a growth of six per cent. In the third quarter, it declined to five per cent, and in the third and fourth quarters, it declined to 3.8 per cent. I am sorry, I earlier said, 2.8 per cent. But it is 3.8 per cent. I am sorry for this. Sir, when we are at 3.8 per cent., we can imagine what we are heading for, because this declining trend is continuing. It does not stop. It is still declining, and I do not know what the state of affairs is today. This de-escalation in growth is because of the complete slow down in manufacturing, mining, construction and major service sector. I do not know as to what the Government plans are in this respect. One thing more which we have to take into account is that the hon. Prime Minister has announced from the ramparts of the Red Fort that 1.4 lakh villages would see roads by the year 2007. Sir, providing roads to 1.4 lakh villages is not a joke. There has to be a complete coordination, there has to be funding, there has to be a will and there has to be a desire to do it. I do not know as to what the plan of the Government is to fulfil this announcement of the hon. Prime Minister which was made by the hon. Prime Minister from the ramparts of the Red Fort, because, without coordination, you cannot provide even 40,000 houses.

In the last 54 years, after achieving Independence, what has been done in the power sector or in the road sector is before us. Sir, it is nice and very easy to announce to provide roads to 1.4 lakh villages in five years, but it is very difficult to achieve the target. I would be very happy, and I would be personally grateful to the Prime Minister and his team if this target is achieved.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, one major sector of our economy is the management of foodgrains. This has been disastrous. On the one hand,

our godowns are stuffed with foodgrains. On the other hand, we are seeing people dying of hunger! I was yesterday watching t.v.; I saw 15 people died in Orissa because of hunger! It is a matter of national shame. It is a shame for all of us. We should all be ashamed of it. Sir, it is interesting to know that foodgrains worth 40,000 crores of rupees is either wasted or stolen or gets rotten every year, but we cannot provide it to the people who do not get food or who have no money to buy food! It is a matter of national shame, and I am sorry to say that all of us are responsible. I am not saying this side or that side; everybody is responsible. I am saying we are all responsible for this.

Sir, one thing is very important that the hon. Prime Minister while delivering his speech from the ramparts of Red Fort, made an announcement that additional storage facilities for foodgrains would be created on a priority basis. Last week, the hon. Food Minister in this House stated, "There is no shortage of food storage facilities!" I wonder, the Food Minister is either not aware of it, or, if he is aware, then he should not have misguided this House and the nation. I request that the PMO and the Food Minister should have a perfect coordination on this.

Sir, on the employment front, the Government promised to provide employment to 20 million people. That proved to be a non-starter. On the one hand, the employment opportunities are shrinking. On the other hand, the NDA Government has raised the retirement-age from 58 to 60. All the wings of the Government--banks, financial institutions and public sector undertakings--have raised the age of retirement from 58 to 60. This nation spends thousands of crores of rupees, every year, on VRS. Can the Government explain the justification behind increasing the retirement age? If they had to offer the VRS, what was the fun in raising the age-limit? (*Time Bell*) Sir, I request you to grant me two or three minutes more. I will not speak anything out of context.

Sir, defence is another sector. Here, I would like to tell the House something very interesting. The Government is claiming that it has been making constant efforts for indigenisation of defence equipment in its quest for self-reliance. I am sorry to say that it is not so. I raised an Unstarred Question, No. 2626, and the Minister of State for Defence had replied, "There is no recent report by the Ministry of Defence which has highlighted the need for indigenisation in armament capability." What sort of a joke it is! In this particular House, the Minister of State for Defence has said that there is no recent report. On the other hand, every year we are saying that

this Government is very keen to achieve self-reliance in defence! Has the Government ever taken into confidence the indigenous industry for taking up production of armaments? There are many countries which are thriving upon our defence business. Our Government does not want to take into confidence our local industry. We should be thankful to the young journalists who, through the Tehelka.com, exposed and shown to the nation the reasons why the indigenous industry was not encouraged and the foreign industry was encouraged. The fact of the matter is that everybody knows the background.

Coming to slow-down, Mr. Narendra Mohan, our hon. colleague, had stated that this economic slow-down was the effect of world-wide recession. It is not so. If it was so, why did not the world-wide economic slow-down affect the Chinese economy? It is booming. Why did it affect only us and some other countries like us, which are not very serious about their growth rate? We are talking about globalisation. Have we provided a level-playing field to our industry? No. Sixty per cent of our small-scale industries and medium-scale industries have become sick. They converted themselves into importers and traders. Why? Because they are unable to compete in the global and domestic market due to the large-scale imports that are taking place. Our financial institutions and banks do not support. They support only certain known business houses. The situation is so bad that sixty per cent of the loans advanced by these financial institutions and banks have become NPAs today. The NPAs are increasing year after year. We are not doing anything for our small-scale and medium-scale industries. Most of the resources available with our financial institutions have been looted by limited industrial houses and the Government has done nothing about it. When six crores of innocent investors were misguided and looted through the stock market, SEBI, the regulator, was sleeping. It is an irony of fate that today SEBI is headed by the same person. There is no change in SEBI. In the case of UTI, the person has been arrested, put behind bars and removed from the job. The head of SEBI, which is the most responsible authority for ensuring proper performance in the stock market, has gone scot-free and no action has been taken against him. (*Time Bell*). Just be kind, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): You have to wind up now.

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA: Sir, I am concluding. I have done a lot of hard work. If you kindly permit me, I will just take two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU) : I have no doubt about your hard work.

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA: You are very kind, Sir. You always fight for me. Today you can be kind to me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU) : But kindness has its limits.

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA: Sir, today, the situation is that the project cost of a steel plant is inflated by 100 per cent. The project cost of a steel plant was Rs.1,200 crores. It was raised to Rs.2,300 crores. The IDBI was generous enough to provide Rs.580 crores to this company.

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : That is a private sector company.

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA: I am not going into private sector or public sector. I am saying that our project costs are inflated, whether it is private sector or public sector. Public sector is not less corrupt. It is equally corrupt. The project cost was raised from Rs.1,200 crores to Rs.2,300 crores and the IDBI was generous enough to provide Rs.580 crores. The promoters of this company have now been charged by the CBI. If the IDBI and other financial institutions do not provide finance to this tainted group, Rs.580 crores would be lost. This is the state of affairs of our financial institutions. Most of them are heading for sickness. The NPAs are increasing. On revenue side, if you look at the income-tax side, on 31<sup>st</sup> March, 2001, the recovery was slated to be Rs.59,425.17 crores. Out of this, Rs.31,197.82 crores were waived or struck down by the appellate authorities or by the Tribunals or by the courts. In the case of the remaining Rs.25,000 crores, appeals are pending at different places. Ultimately, the recovery will not be more than 10 per cent. I would first take up the Central Excise and then come to the status.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Please wind up in two minutes. I have already given you seven minutes in excess.

SHRI PREM CHAND GUPTA: Sir, on the excise front, as on 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1998, 77,849 cases were pending and the recovery was slated to be Rs. 11,865 crores. So far only 9,951 cases have been sorted out and the recovery is less than Rs. 1,000 crores. Why is the recovery less than 10 per cent? Maybe, the assessing authorities had raised false demand. The hon.

Finance Minister in his speech said that the nation would respect the genuine taxpayers. Is this the respect which is extended to the genuine taxpayers? Less than 7 per cent is the recovery of excise duty and less than 5 per cent is the recovery of income tax demands. Nobody has bothered to know why it is so.

It is because of corruption. One thing is very interesting to know. A Delhi importer would import his cargo either through Ludhiana or Kanpur or Jaipur. He would not import it directly to Delhi. He would import it through Jaipur. The Customs clearance is done in Jaipur and then the container comes to Delhi because the importer is in Delhi. Why? Nobody has bothered to find it out. You have arrested the Chairman, Mr. Verma. You should have learnt a lesson. The corruption is rampant. If you want to see the degree of corruption, please look at these two Departments and then you will know what corruption is about which we are talking. The question is as to who is accountable for all this mess. The whole nation is keen to know about this. Now the time has come when we should rise to the occasion by leaving petty party politics on important national issues. We have to ensure that timely and corrective actions are taken so that the nation does not suffer any further.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am beholden to you for having provided me this opportunity to participate in this debate. I have heard my predecessor speakers talking on the subject. They have quoted a number of figures and facts. If we look at the economy in a superficial way we can definitely come to the conclusion that things are bad. There has been a general slowdown. The manufacturing sector has suffered. We have a fall in the Index of industrial production. Naturally, the GDP growth rate would also be less. The Markets have been in a spin and the financial institutions are in a mess. If we look on the surface, we would naturally come to a conclusion that the Indian economy is in a tailspin. It is in a mess. But if we take a balanced view and see as to what is happening around us, maybe, we will change our opinion. The Indian economy was globalised 10 years back and we are part of the global system. We know that there has been a recession all over the world. If we look across our borders, we will find that the economies of Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia and South Korea are all in a mess today. And, if you go by the IMF declaration, the world economy is close to recession. What does it mean? It means, the growth rate in the world economy this year would be around 2.5 per cent or even less. You



can compare it. The growth rate of the Indian economy for the year 2000-2001 is estimated at 5.6 per cent. I would say that this is a remarkable performance in a situation where there is recession the world-over and when the Indian economy is a part of the global economy. Sir, *The Economist*, which is a highly respected magazine, had recently carried out a survey of 25 top economies of the world and it came out with some very interesting facts. As per this survey, despite the slow-down in the growth rate of GDP in India, India is still the third fastest growing economy of the world. In fact, only one industrialised economy, Switzerland, had a higher growth rate than India last year. In spite of the fall in the industrial production index in May, 2001, this growth rate was exceeded by only 10 other economies of the world. I am not quoting all these things so that we become complacent. But we must have a balanced view, look at the things as they are, and we should not undermine the confidence within our system and the confidence of the world in us. Sir, a lot of concern has been expressed in the House and in the Press about the fall in the industrial growth rate. Somehow, an impression has been created that when we talk about industrial growth rate, we are talking about the economy, and that if the industrial growth rate has fallen, then, it means the total economy is in a mess. In short, we treat the industrial growth rate synonymous with the economic growth rate. But the fact is that in the last 10 years, the profile of the Indian economy has changed. Earlier, a major part of our Gross Domestic Product was contributed by agriculture. Then, a large part of it was contributed by industry. But, in the last few years, a large part of our Gross Domestic Product is being contributed by the services sector. Industrial activity does not have that sort of a profile or percentage in our economy as it used to be. In fact, today, agriculture and industry contribute only 53 per cent of the GDP, but 78 per cent of the labour force of the country is employed in these sectors. Sir, there is a sweeping distribution of income. This is a disturbing fact and it needs to be corrected. But the industrial activity, as a whole, doesn't define the economic health of the country as such. As such, at the moment, agriculture is responsible for 26.8 per cent of the GDP, and it employs 60 per cent of the workers. Industry contributes 26.5 per cent of the GDP and it employs 18 per cent of the labour force. Sir, the service sector is expanding; it contributes 46.6 per cent of the GDP and employs 22 per cent of the labour force. Sir, in the developed economies, normally, there is a perfect match in the contribution of various sectors to the GDP and to the labour force, and, as a result, incomes are evenly distributed. I can quote any number of examples. I have figures with me about the U.S.

The share of the farm sector is 1.8 per cent of the GDP and it employs 2 per cent of the labour force. The share of the industry is 25.3 per cent of the GDP and it employs 26 per cent of the labour force. The rest of the sectors contribute 73 per cent of the GDP and 72 per cent of the labour force is employed in these sectors. So, there is an even distribution of the contribution of various sectors to the GDP and to the labour force. Unfortunately, in this country, the incomes have moved to the services sector, but the share of the labour force has not gone up accordingly. In spite of these distortions, the fact is that the fundamentals of the Indian economy are quite strong. I will just list a few of them.

We all know that the percentage of people living below the poverty line has fallen to 26.1% in 1999-2000 from 36% in 1993-94. Over the same period, the rural poverty has fallen to 27.1% from 37.3%, and I would say, it is quite an achievement. Sir, inflation has been under control and the Wholesale Price Index last year had fallen to 5.5% from 6.8% in 1999-2000. It is currently running below 5%, and it means a lot to the common man. We all know, and it has been stated here and also outside, that our granaries are overflowing, and so are our foreign exchange reserves. At the moment, we have \$ 43 billion in our foreign exchange kitty, which is good enough to meet our seven months' demand of imports. The rupee has been stable. In fact, it has gained in strength against most of the currencies, except the dollar. I think it was doing very well. It has held its ground and it has improved, compared to many currencies of the world. Last year, exports grew up by 26%, and non-oil imports actually fell down compared to the last year. The merchandised trade balance improved by 10%, despite an increase in the price and value of oil imports.

A lot has been said in this House and outside about downgrading of India by two external credit rating agencies. One of my esteemed colleagues on the other side, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, in fact, had said, "The downgrading has been to the extent that it is worse than the humiliation that we suffered in 1991". Why has this downgrading taken place? The principal reason given for the downgrading has been the inability to carry forward the so-called second-generation reforms and the lack of willingness to implement the proposals contained in the Budget. May I ask: what are the reforms? What are the second-generation reforms which have been held up and because of which India has been downgraded by Standard and Poor's and the second credit rating agency, called Moody's. Sir, they are in the legislative domain -- the legislation for Fiscal Responsibility Act, the legislation to amend the labour laws, the legislation relating to improved

management of the food economy, the legislation to improve bankruptcy and foreclosure procedure. Sir, who is responsible? We all know that these laws can be implemented only if both the Houses of Parliament agree on these. And we all know how the Parliament is constituted today. No legislation can be passed in this House, particularly, without the cooperation of the friends from the other side. This is how the situation is today and these legislations have been held back, and we know, friends from the other side have frequently expressed opinions against these very measures; they are opposed and they are blocking these very legislations which the rating agencies have cited as reasons for their downgrading India.

Sir, that brings up the basic issue: what is the attitude of the main opposition party to the reforms? We all know, for the first forty years of independent India, the *mantra* was socialism and a generation- and-a-half of the Indians were wasted and, in the process, no debate was possible inside the House or outside the House; I mean a genuine, frank and objective debate. The sheer intellectual terrorism of my friends in the Left was so much that if you objected to providing the commanding heights to the public sector, if you questioned the rationale behind the nationalisation of banks, if you questioned the half-baked ideas of Garibi Hatao, you were called a 'dalal of capitalists' or a 'CIA agent'! For forty years, there was no objectivity on economic issues in this country. In 1990, we all know, the Soviet Union collapsed. In 1991, this economic fundamentalism being practiced in this country brought India to an economic collapse.

Sir, in 1991--I don't want to go into the history--the inflation rate went up to 17%. The growth rate was down to 1%. The international banks had lost confidence in us. The foreign banks were not willing even to advance us any money. We had foreign exchange left only for 15 days of import. Gold had to be shipped out overnight, as collateral security. India was on the verge of an economic collapse. We were going to default on our international obligations. At that time, Sir, our friends in the Congress had, certainly, thought of reforms, of reforming the economy, without answering the question as to who had deformed the economy, in the first place. You deformed the economy for 40 years and then you suddenly thought of reforms. Sir, it was a tragedy.

Right from the days of Jan Sangh, we have been for a liberalised economy, we have been for a competitive economy, we have been for an economy free of controls, free of corruption, free of permit raj, and we have a genuine belief in reforms. But the Congress has brought in the reforms, in

1991, under compulsions, under the dictats of the IMF and the World Bank. The reforms were not born out of conviction; they were born out of compulsion. They were basically crisis-driven. There was no consensus even within the Congress or even within the country; there was a system which was being practised for forty years, and it was thought to usher in a new system. The result was obvious; the fiscal correction achieved in 1991-92 was mainly the result of cutting Plan outlays and capital expenditure, affecting the infrastructure and the social sector. No genuine or sustainable correction in the non-Plan expenditure was made and the problems were merely postponed.

Sir, the confusion we saw in 1991 continues even today. You find the Congress swinging from one end to the other. In December last year, Smt. Sonia Gandhi, the Congress President, addressed the AGM of the FICCI. Sir, I quote from her speech: "We are concerned that the Government is unnecessarily mesmerised by the so-called new economy." I quote her further: "We view it with great disquiet. The blind assault that has been launched on the public sector, the public sector whose record of backward areas development, of technology, and human resource development..." Then she says further: "We are categorically opposed to the insensitive and indiscriminate manner in which the subsidies have been cut." That was in December last. Then, in March this year, the AICC met in Bangalore and it opposed disinvestment and insisted on no disinvestment where the public sector undertakings have been making profit, and it wanted a 51% stake to be held by the Government. It said that there should be no disinvestment in profit-making units. The Congress President herself had condemned the BJP-led Government for destroying the edifice of the public sector. Sir, it was in March. Firstly, it was in December last year; and then it was in March this year. Then, three months later, Smt. Gandhi goes to New York. I quote her; she said, "We are convinced that there is no alternative for us, but to pursue economic reforms with vigour."

In June, you commit yourself to carry on the reforms with vigour, because you are in New York, you are at the headquarters of the IMF and the World Bank, you are at the seat of capitalism. So, you know your commitment to reforms and you want them to be carried on with vigour. But when you speak in Bangalore, when you speak in Delhi, then you reiterate that you want to go back to pre-1991 days. I don't understand, Sir, what is the reason for this sort of duplicity and where this country would go if you continue to be confused on such issues of importance and vital economic matters?

Sir, I want to compliment Congress Chief Minister, Mr. Ajit Jogi for a very intelligent statement which he made very recently. He said that there were 29 public sector units in Chhattisgarh and 14 of them are profit-making. He raised a very relevant question that why the State should be running these units. He said, "We are going to disinvest all of them." It makes a lot of sense. Then he made a very interesting statement. He said, "There are 300 buses run by the State Road Corporation in Chhattisgarh and there are 3300 employees. That means 11 employees for a bus. He has asked a very relevant question, "Is it sustainable?" Sir, I would like to share with the House that we have Air India which has just 23 planes and it has 18,000 employees. That means 680 employees per plane. I will ask a question: Is it sustainable? You want to privatise 29 public sector units in Chhattisgarh, including 14 of those which make profit. But, Sir, they raised BALCO deal here, they brought Parliament to a halt, they organised a strike at BALCO for two months, and there is a production loss of Rs.200 crores. ..(Interruptions)..

**श्री राजू परमार (गुजरात):** छत्तीसगढ़ में जब बाढ़ आई तो कितना रुपया आपने दिया ? और जगह देते हो, वहां क्यों नहीं देते हो ? ...**(व्यवधान)**... उड़ीसा गये, वहां जो नज़दीक वाला स्टेट है, वहां क्यों नहीं देते...**(व्यवधान)**... ऐसा रवैया है आपका छत्तीसगढ़ के लिए...**(व्यवधान)**...

**SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ:** सुनने की हिम्मत रखिये !...**(व्यवधान)**... I am complimenting your Chief Minister. ..(Interruptions).. Why are you objecting to it? ..(Interruptions).. I am complimenting your Chief Minister, Ajit Jogi for his honesty for accepting all this. ..(Interruptions).. You bring Parliament to a halt. ..(Interruptions).. You organised a strike at BALCO. ..(Interruptions)..

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU):** Mr. Punj, will you yield for a moment? I think we are moving away, including yourself, from the subject which is the economic slowdown in the background of the Mid-term Appraisal. . . .(Interruptions)..

**SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ:** I think this is the most important issue to show how people have been talking in two different languages on economic matters. They say that you cannot disinvest. . . .(Interruptions).. I do not know how they can disinvestment in 29 units in Chhattisgarh and oppose privatisation of BALCO in Delhi. How can they rationalise, advocate privatisation of State Road Corporation in Chhattisgarh and oppose disinvestment of Air India in Delhi? It is just beyond me. ....(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Mr. Punj, there were 31 minutes for the BJP before you started. You have spoken for 20 minutes. There is one more speaker. If you want to continue, I have no problem. But this is for your information. . .(Interruptions)..

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: Sir, thank you for reminding me. I will try to be brief.

डा. महेश चन्द्र शर्मा (राजस्थान): पूरा समय जो बचा है, वह पुंज साहब ले लेंगे।... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नीलोत्पल बसु) : आपकी पार्टी से दूसरे वक्ता नहीं बोल रहे हैं।

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: I want to congratulate another Congress Chief Minister, Ashok Gehlot. Sir, for three months the State Government employees were on a strike. He stood up to their blackmail and did not yield into their demands because in a democracy Government servants must be accountable to their master, that is, the public and should not be allowed to hold the Government of the day to ransom. But, Sir, when we talk of downsizing at the Centre, all sorts of things are said. You do well by standing up to the blackmail of the employees in Jaipur. But when we talk of downsizing at the Centre, you oppose. Sir, I could have given more examples but you have reminded me that I am short of time. ... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): Since the Chief Whip of your Party has made it clear, you have absolutely a lot of time. ... (Interruptions)..

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: I am complimenting your Chief Minister. Why are you objecting to it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU) : You have 8 or 9 minutes more. . . (Interruptions)... I have no problem.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ : I was talking about the State Electricity Boards. Last year, the State Electricity Boards suffered a loss of Rs. 22,000 crores. Their transmission and distribution losses were put at 23 per cent. I was going through the Mid-term Appraisal; I must compliment Mr. Aurn

Shourie for the very wonderful and a very objective assessment made of the economy. In a survey that has been conducted in Orissa, it was found that the real losses were as much as 50 per cent. How does it happen? Free electricity, which is meant for agriculture, is transferred and used by unscrupulous, dishonest, commercial organisations and industrial houses. So, electricity consumed by them is shown as if it has been consumed by agriculture. As a result, your transmission and distribution losses virtually stand at 50 per cent. What is the way out? In fact, if you look at the Mid-term Appraisal of the Ninth Five Year Plan, you will know the reality. I am quoting from this. On the power sector, it says, "Against the planned target of 40,245 MW capacity addition, the anticipated achievement is expected to be only 24,309 MW. So, there is only 60 per cent of achievement. The capacity addition in the Central sector would be 6,714 MW -- 56.4 per cent -- against the target of 11,909 MW." In fact, if you look at any of the targets that have been fixed, we are not meeting them. And, one of the reasons is, we need to revise the tariff. But we are all bound by populist policies. None of us will raise the tariff. When we propose the revision of tariff here, you oppose us here. When you do it elsewhere, then we oppose you there. You stop us here and we stop you there. In the process, India gets stopped. I think we have to get out of this mind-set. If we do not stop this process of our stopping you elsewhere and your stopping us here, we are not going to get out of this economic mess. When we are indulging and treating this economy as a game of football, by kicking it from one side to another, the fact is that this country, as such, will be with a whole lot of problems. I do not want to go into all of them. Many of the earlier speakers have dealt with them in detail. Sir, 40 per cent of our villages are without road connection; 60 per cent of our households are without power, and 40 per cent of our villages have no access to drinking water; that too, after 54 years of our independence.

On Friday last, my esteemed friend, Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee, referred to Thopan Thengadi's article which appeared in a weekly -- *Organiser*. I compliment him for that. It is good company. I am sure, if he keeps reading the *Organiser*, his understanding of the situation will improve. But, I wish, he had referred to the Chinese economy also. In fact, Mr. Prem Chand Gupta, who was speaking before me, referred to the Chinese example. My honest confession is that Mr. Dipankar's understanding of the Chinese economy is bound to be better than me. His knowledge is going to be better than me. Sir, if we drive from Palam airport, we hardly see any Indian billboards. They are, normally, of multinational companies. And,

today, if you go to the shops, either in Khan Market or in Connaught Place, they are normally stocked with Chinese goods. If we are not able to compete with China within India, how do you think we are going to compete with China at the international level? It is not only in the case of small-scale goods that the Chinese have overtaken us, but also in others. I have some statistics with me which I would like to share, through you, with the House.

How have the Chinese gone ahead of us in many areas? For example, Sir, China's steel production is three times more than ours. In Cement production, China produces 650 million tonnes, we stand at 96 Million tonnes. China produces 418 million tonnes of foodgrains, we produce 208 million tonnes. China produces 116 million tonnes of crude oil, we stand at 30 million tonnes. China produces 1300 million tonnes of coal, we stand at 300 million tonnes. China has 220 million connected telephones lines, we stand at 27 million. China has 400 million TV sets in households, our figure is 75 million. China has 105 million mobile and cellular phones, our figure is less than 4 per cent of the Chinese figure. China has 35 million internet connections, we have just 3 million. Then, China has an FDI inflow of 46 billion dollars, we stand at 2 billion dollars. Then, China has 32 billion dollars FDI from non-residents, we stand at 0.2 billion dollars. Mr. Arun Shourie is here. He is the Minister of Planning. I have to make a very sincere request to him that if he could throw some light on as to what is the mystery behind China's success, not only in case of small items, like locks, chocolates, battery cells and other such things that we see in markets, but also in other areas. (Interruptions)

SHRI SURESH A. KESHWANI (Maharashtra) : I am glad that you put this question. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: Thank you, Sir. (Interruptions) Sir, all the same... (Interruptions) Well, I don't know, I will expect the hon. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: China does not have the BHEL. ... (Interruptions)... China does not have a Bharat Heavy Electricals. China does not have an organization like the Bharat Heavy Electricals. So far as power manufacturing companies and power equipments are concerned, we are ahead.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: Sir, that is why I said, "Your knowledge about China is much better." ... (Interruptions)...



**3.00 P.M.**

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: No, no. Not China. I am talking about my own country. We have one BHEL; we have one NTPC. Very, very few developed countries in the whole world have such organizations.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: Eighty eight thousand foreign companies also. ...*(interruptions)*... That is the difference.

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: The credit goes to whom? When I say all this, this is what, I think, is on your threat list -- the BHEL, the NTPC. I would like to know how many such companies are there in developing countries and developed countries.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: This is a very sensible question. Then, finally, let me say, Sir, that my earnest understanding is that the present sluggish phase of the economy is a passing phase. Given the impact of a favourable monsoon, a revival from agriculture sector and given the strong fundamentals, such as, continuation of the Government's initiatives in infrastructure, particularly, in power, roads, telecom, posts, etc., there is no reason to doubt a strong revival before the end of this year. The prophets of gloom and doom, I am sure, would be proved wrong. With these words, I once again thank you for giving me this opportunity.

\*SHRI R.KAMARAJ (Tamilnadu): Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, a leftist poet of Tamilnadu, Comrade Jeeva, who lives amidst us even long after his death, once said:

*No footwear for our barefoot  
No gruel for our hungry stomach  
All our labour in vain  
Comrade! This is our plight!*

Though the dreams of the poet for a better deal to the poor could not be realized in the 9<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan, I am happy that a comrade wedded to similar ideology is presiding over the House now.

Sir, though the growth target of GDP for the year 2000-2001 fixed in the 9<sup>th</sup> plan was 6%, the actual growth was only 5.2%. This is what the C.S.O. report says. Prior to 1999, the

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\* English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

industrial growth, which was 6.7%, has come down to 4.9% during 2000-2001; the power sector has slipped down to 4% from 7.3% during the same period.

We keep saying that India has an agrarian economy and agriculture is the backbone of our country. But certain available data provide a disturbing picture.

During 1951-52 the share of agriculture in the GDP was 55.3%. But during the year 2000-2001 the share of agriculture came down to a meager 28%. It is a highly regrettable trend. I would assertively say it is time we took effective measures to save agriculture and farmers. We should first take steps to contain the damage done to agriculture. Increasing the import duty on agricultural produces could do this. This will contain import of agricultural produces into India. I wish to cite an example for driving home the point. In Tamil Nadu, tea is grown in Nilgiris and adjoining areas. Lot of farmers depend on the tea crop for their livelihood. But tea is imported from other countries and only 70% import duty is levied on tea import. This has cast a shadow on the future of tea growers in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere. If this import duty is hiked to 150%, the domestic tea growers will be saved. I appeal to the Government to increase the import duty on tea. To help the tea growers of Tamil Nadu, the Hon'ble Chief Minister and the Goddess of our heart, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi has directed the Cooperatives to go in for direct procurement of tea from the growers in order to mitigate their sufferings. But I once again urge upon the Centre to hike the import duty on tea to 150% and save the tea growers.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is an apprehension in the minds of the farmers these days. They apprehend that green revolution might come to an end very soon. The Centre owes a duty to allay these fears. I appeal to the Government to take steps to provide hybrid seeds of good quality and good fertilizers to the farmers in the country so that the rural India throbs with life. This is the need of the hour. Agriculture needs immediate attention because while average annual growth of agriculture on GDP is only 1.4% the average annual growth of population is 1.9%.

Sir, we feel proud in talking about our great nation, about the nuclear experiments and so on. We say India is a nuclear power, a super power. But the other side is too dark to look at. Today 32 crore people are below poverty line. They live in hunger and misery. It is pathetic that 27% of the population live in poverty. People living in eighty thousand villages

do not have even the basic amenities like, potable water, electricity, and shelter. Then what have the five-year plans done? We talk of 8<sup>th</sup> five-year plan and 9<sup>th</sup> five-year plan. I would like to ask, whether the fruits of these plans have reached the poor, the common man?

I wish to refer to a statistics provided by the Union Government. It says the per capita rice availability in the year 1995 was 220 gms per day, that is 80.3kgs per year. During the year 2000 it came down to 205.7 gms per day, that is 75.1 kgs per year. In 1995 the per capita consumption of wheat was 172.6 gms. Whereas in 2001 it came down to 160 gms. The foodgrains consumption, which was 180.8 kgs in 1995, has come down to 160.2 kgs in 2001. What is more disturbing is yet another information. While an idle person without doing any work requires at least 460 gms of foodgrains per day, a person who puts in lot of hardwork gets only 426 gms of foodgrains. This is the information provided by the Union Government itself. It is a fact that over 20% of our population do not get even a single meal a day. They are virtually starving. They starve not for the want of food grains production. Foodgrain stock is enough. But they have no purchasing power. The purchasing power of the poor is continuously diminishing. On behalf of my AIADMK party, I appeal to the Government to take steps to increase the purchasing power of the poor. Then alone people will not starve.

During the year 1991, out of the total expenditure, 54.3% was allocated for plan expenditure. But now, the allocation for plan expenditure is only 38.7%. That is to say 61.3% is allocated for non-plan expenditure. This is the situation today.

Sir, I want to say a word about education. I come from Tamil Nadu. I speak Tamil. Hon'ble Members speak in Hindi and English as well. There are Hon'ble Members who speak in their mother tongues such as Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. Education is the basis for thinking and expression. For such a vital area like education, the Government has allocated just 4.1% of the budget estimate. On the other hand even more backward nations than India allocate over 5% of their budget estimate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTPAL BASU): I think you will wind up now, Mr. Kamaraj.

SHRI R.KAMARAJ: Sir, the employment generation scenario is very grim. During the 8<sup>th</sup> plan period, the employment generation was 2.1%. But during the 9<sup>th</sup> plan period it is as low as 8%. If this is the situation, I am

sorry to say that the disappointed youth would join the company of anti-social elements. There are undesirable elements who whip up passion in the name of caste and religion for vested interest. These unemployed youth could be misled by them and become anti-social elements. It is not enough to say that we are an independent nation. The Government is duty bound to generate employment opportunities for the youth and guide them in the right direction.

Tamil Nadu's share in the GDP is 5.5%. The population of Tamil Nadu is 6.6% of the population of the country. During 1987-88, Tamilnadu had a major share of the people below poverty line in the country. During the period 1991-1996, my leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma, as the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu launched various schemes to eradicate unemployment and poverty and to uplift women and also to take care of child welfare. Because of such efforts Tamilnadu has made great progress. During the last 20 years, there has been lot of progress; but because of this progress, Central assistance to Tamil Nadu is diminishing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTHPAL BASU): I think now you have to wind up. Even the extra time I gave you is over.

SHRI R.KAMARAJ: Yes sir, I am winding up. The Centre should not slash the funds provided to Tamil Nadu. There are some projects pertaining to Tamil Nadu pending with the centre. Setting up of second International Airport at Chennai, increasing royalty for the ores, reducing the price of cement, second phase development of Ennore Port, LNG based power project, Nagarjuna Oil Corporation's Refinery Project and expansion of Mahanagar Telephone Nigam to Chennai are some of such projects.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NILOTHPAL BASU) : Mr.Kamaraj, I am sorry. For raising these issues you will get better opportunities subsequently. I think we are also moving away from the topic. Now, please conclude.

SHRI R.KAMARAJ: Sir, I appeal to the Centre to clear these projects at the earliest. Thank You.

श्री सतीश प्रधान (महाराष्ट्र) : पार्लियामेंट का इंफार्मेशन बुलेटिन जो निकाला गया है इसी विषय के सम्बन्ध में उसमें से कुछ चंद लाईन मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहूंगा।

"Even as a Government is charting plans to achieve an 8 per cent growth during the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07), the Central Statistical Organisation revised downwards the

GDP growth for 2000-01 to 5.2 per cent against the earlier estimate of 6 per cent."

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) पीठासीन हुए]

इसमें आगे बताया गया है कि सेक्टरों ग्रोथ रेट इन एग्रीकल्चर 1999-2000 में 0.7 परसेंट था, 2000-2001 में 0.2 परसेंट हो गया। माइनिंग में 1.7 था, यहां कुछ बढ़ोतरी हुई और 3.7 हो गया। मैन्युफैक्चरिंग सेक्टर में 6.8 था तो 5.6 हो गया, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी में 5.2 था तो वह 4.7 हो गया, कंस्ट्रक्शन में 8.1 था जो 5.5 हो गया। ट्रांसपोर्ट में 8 था जो 6.9 परसेंट हो गई, फाइनेंसिंग में 10.1 थी जो 9.1 हो गया। सोशल सर्विसेज में 11.8 था वहां 7.8 हो गया। मतलब जीडीपी 6.4 से 5.2 परसेंट नीचे आ गया।

इंडस्ट्री सेक्टर में, "Industrial growth, as measured by the Index of Industrial Production (IIP), during 2000-01 was 4.9 per cent compared to 6.7 per cent in 1999-2000. The slowdown in industry was conspicuous during the last quarter of the year when the IIP was barely 2.8 per cent, compared to 7.1 per cent in the same quarter of 1999-2000."

आगे बताया गया, "IIP had slowed down to 4.1 per cent in 1998-99 after posting a growth of over six per cent in each of the preceding four years. It improved to 6.7 per cent in 1999-2000, only to fall again to 4.9 per cent in 2000-01."

The manufacturing sector, which accounts for the highest weight of 79.36 per cent in the IIP, grew by 5.2 per cent during 2000-2001, compared to 7.1 per cent in the preceding year. The electricity sector also slowed down, recording a growth of 4 per cent compared to 7.3 per cent in 1999-2000. Growth of the mining and quarrying sectors improved to 3.4 per cent, from one per cent in 1999-2000."

This is the position. Why I said this कि यदि कभी किसी देश की सम्पन्नता देखनी है तो वहां का किसान और वहां का कर्मचारी किस ढंग से सुस्थापित है यह देखने की आवश्यकता है। हम देखेंगे किसानों के बारे में तो पता चलेगा कि हमारा किसान बहुत बड़ी तादाद में मेहनत करता है। मेहनत करने के बाद वह फसल पकाता है और उस फसल का उसको ठीक से दाम भी नहीं मिलता है। यह परमानेंट शिकायत है। उसने जो भी धान निकाला है उस धान को रखने के लिए फूड कारपोरेशन ऑफ इंडिया के पास अभी तक ठीक ढंग से जगह नहीं है। पिछले साल काफी तादाद में धान निकाला, लेकिन उस धान को रखने के लिए जगह नहीं थी। बड़ी मात्रा में वह धान था। हमारे सांसदों की एक कमेटी उधर गई थी उसने सजेस्ट किया था कि इस धान को अभी फैक दो, समुद्र में डुबा दो। लेकिन उसके बदले में उन्होंने उसको जानवरों को खिला दिया या और किसी जगह पर काम में लगा दिया। अगले ही साल हमारे पास 50, 60 करोड़ क्विंटल धान इकट्ठा था। .. (समय की घंटी)... सर, मैंने अभी तो बोलना शुरू किया है। मेरा छह मिनट का समय है। मेरा छह मिनट का समय हो गया ?

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** छह मिनट का समय हो गया। छह मिनट से ज्यादा समय हो गया। आप खुद ही कह रहे हैं कि आपके बोलने का छह मिनट का समय है। लेकिन छह मिनट से ज्यादा समय हो चुका है।

**श्री सतीश प्रधान :** सर, मैं छह मिनट से दो-तीन मिनट ज्यादा लूंगा, उससे ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं बता रहा था कि यह 60 करोड़ क्विंटल धान हमारे पास स्टॉक में था। अगर हिसाब लगाया जाय तो हमारी आवश्यकता 23 करोड़ क्विंटल धान की है जो कि हमारे पास होगा तो वह सालभर के लिए काफी है। अकाल की स्थिति आयी, अकाल आ गया। बहुत सारी स्टेट्स में अकाल की स्थिति थी। वहां पर भी हम लोगों ने धान देने का पूरा बंदोबस्त नहीं किया। चावल और गेहूं के बारे में इस सदन में मैंने स्पेशल मेशन में बताया था। फूड कारपोरेशन ऑफ इंडिया ट्रेडर्स को 6 रुपये किलो के हिसाब से अच्छा चावल बेचती है और राशन की दुकान पर, जो सब्सीडाइज्ड है - शौरी जी, मैं आपका ध्यान चाहूंगा - राशन की दुकानों पर फूड कारपोरेशन ऑफ इंडिया धान देती है और वही धान राशन की दुकान पर 13 रुपये 80 पैसे के हिसाब से ग्राहक को मिलता है। मैंने इस संबंध में आदरणीय मंत्री जी से बात की तो उन्होंने कहा कि आपने जो भी बात कही है, उसमें कुछ तथ्य हैं, हम उसकी इन्वॉयरी कर रहे हैं। उसके बाद मैंने फूड कारपोरेशन ऑफ इंडिया के चेयरमैन से भी इस संबंध में बात की तो उन्होंने मुझे बताया कि हमने जो धान ट्रेडर्स को दिया है, वह पुराना चावल था। महोदय, जहां चावल बनता है, मैं उस क्षेत्र से आता हूँ और मैं जानता हूँ कि पुराने चावल का दाम ज्यादा होता है। यह बात मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। लेकिन पुराना चावल बताकर उन्होंने उसे कम दाम पर बेच दिया और यह कह दिया कि चावल अच्छा नहीं था, इसलिए बेच दिया। फूड कारपोरेशन ऑफ इंडिया के चेयरमैन जब यह बताते हैं तो आपको इस संबंध में सतर्कता बरतनी चाहिए और वहां पर जो कुछ हो रहा है, उसको आप कृपया रोकने की कोशिश करिए। महोदय, वहां की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत बुरी है। अगर समय रहते आप इस पर ध्यान देंगे तो आप इसमें से बाहर निकल पाएंगे, वरना इससे बाहर निकलना बहुत मुश्किल हो जाएगा, यह मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। इसके अतिरिक्त महोदय, इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोटेक्शन की स्थिति बहुत बुरी हो गयी है। क्यों बुरी हो गयी? यह देखने लायक बात है। ऐसा बताया जाता है कि हम इंडस्ट्रीज़ को संरक्षण देते हैं। हर वक्त हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी बताते हैं कि हम उसे सुरक्षा प्रदान करते हैं लेकिन आप किस प्रकार उन्हें सुरक्षा प्रदान करते हैं? क्या इम्पोर्ट ड्यूटी में उनको सुरक्षा प्रदान की गयी है तो जवाब मिलता है कि सब इंडस्ट्रीज़ वाले उसको मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं इसलिए सुरक्षा नहीं मिलती है। इसके अतिरिक्त महोदय, आप रेट ऑफ इंटरस्ट को देखिए। विदेशों में वहां के इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को 3 से 5 प्रतिशत तक इंटरस्ट देना पड़ता है लेकिन हमारे यहां उन्हें 15 से 18 प्रतिशत के हिसाब से इंटरस्ट देना पड़ता है। इस संबंध में हमें विचार करना पड़ेगा। इसके अतिरिक्त महोदय, जो भी हमारे रोज़ाना इस्तेमाल की आवश्यक वस्तुएं हैं - हम हमारे देश में बनी हुई वस्तुएं ही खरीदें, क्या इस संबंध में सरकार कोई आवश्यक व्यवस्था कर रही है या इस प्रकार की कोई कोशिश सरकार द्वारा की जा रही है? ऐसा नहीं हो रहा है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे प्रदेश की जो इंडस्ट्रीज़ हैं - हमारे यहां ठाणे एक शहर है जो पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं, एशिया में एक अच्छी इंडस्ट्रियल इस्टेट करके जाना जाता था। आज की तारीख में ठाणे की एक-तिहाई से ज्यादा इंडस्ट्रीज़ बंद हो गयी हैं। इन इंडस्ट्रीज़ के बंद होने के कारण वहां पर सवा लाख लोग बेरोज़गार हो गये हैं। यह ठाणे की स्थिति है और जब मैंने इसी संबंध में और जानकारी लेने की कोशिश की तो मुझे पता लगा कि पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में पचास प्रतिशत इंडस्ट्रीज़

आज बंद हैं। मैंने सरकार से इस विषय में जानकारी लेने की कोशिश की। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से शौरी जी से पूछना चाहूंगा कि ये जो इंडस्ट्रीज बंद हो गयी हैं, क्या इस विषय में सरकार के पास कोई जानकारी है? जैसे महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने मुझे बताया कि ठाणे की एक-तिहाई इंडस्ट्रीज आज बंद पड़ी हैं, जिस प्रकार से मैं वहां से रिकार्ड निकाल सका, उस ढंग से क्या केन्द्र सरकार के पास ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था है, ऐसा कोई डिपार्टमेंट है जो यह बता सके कि पूरे देश में जो इंडस्ट्रीज चल रही हैं, उनमें से कितनी इंडस्ट्रीज बंद हो गयी हैं? ऐसी कोई भी जानकारी देने की व्यवस्था सरकार के पास नहीं है, ऐसा मुझे प्रतीत होता है। महोदय, मैं गलत हो सकता हूँ लेकिन मंत्री जी अगर इस संबंध में प्रकाश डालेंगे तो मैं उनका आभारी रहूंगा।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** अब कृपया समाप्त करें।

**श्री सतीश प्रधान :** इसके अतिरिक्त मैं यह भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि कई कामगार बर्बाद हो गये।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** प्रधान जी, अब कृपया समाप्त करिए।

**श्री सतीश प्रधान :** सर, मैं दो तीन मिनट में समाप्त करता हूँ। बहुत सारे कामगार बेकार हो गए। जो कर्मचारी बेकार हो गए, इस विषय पर भी पूरी जानकारी रखने की व्यवस्था हमारे पास नहीं है, ऐसा मुझे पता चला है। शौरी जी, आपका डिपार्टमेंट डिसइंवेस्टमेंट से संबंधित है। मैं डिसइंवेस्टमेंट के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, हमने आपका समर्थन किया है। लेकिन मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि डिसइंवेस्टमेंट करते समय क्या जो कम्पनियां मुनाफे में नहीं हैं, लॉसेज कर रही हैं, वे कम्पनियां पहले डिसइंवेस्टमेंट करें या जो कंपनियां प्रोफिट में चल रही हैं या प्रोफिट में आ सकती हैं, ऐसी इंडस्ट्री, डिसइंवेस्टमेंट करें, इस विषय पर जरा सतर्क होकर आपको विचार करना पड़ेगा, नहीं तो बहुत बुरी हालत हो जाएगी। सर, मैं आखिर में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे केन्द्र सरकार के बारे में बात है, इसी ढंग से जब मैं पूरे देश के बारे में, अलग-अलग राज्यों के बारे में सोचता हूँ तो पाता हूँ कि हर स्टेट में हर महीने पगार, सैलरी देने के लिए, ओवर ड्राफ्ट लिए बगैर वे चल नहीं सकते हैं और सैलरी नहीं दे सकते। यह जो बात चल रही है इस विषय पर भी नियोजन आपके पास है, उसको कंट्रोल करने की आवश्यकता है। नहीं तो यह परिस्थिति बहुत विकट होने वाली है। महाराष्ट्र की बात है, महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने बहुत सारी यूनिट्स बन्द कर दी, यह बहुत बुरी बात है। वहां जो योजनाएं शुरू की गई थी, उनमें से बहुत सारी योजनाओं को बन्द कर दिया है। वहां पर झुनका भाकर योजना शुरू की गई थी, वह भी बन्द कर दी गई, बेरोजगारों को भत्ता देते थे, वह भी पूरा बंद कर दिया है। जिला परिषदों को जो अनुदान दिया जाता था, उसमें से 40 प्रतिशत अनुदान बंद किया गया है। जिन जीवन आवश्यक वस्तुओं को निर्धारित मूल्य पर दिया जाता था, उनके लिए दिया जाने वाला अनुदान भी बंद कर दिया गया है। कृषि विद्यापीठों को जो अनुदान दिया जाता था उसमें से 32 करोड़ का अनुदान बंद किया गया है। ग्रामीण पानी पुरवठा योजना में दस प्रतिशत लोगों को पैसा देना था, ग्राम पंचायतें उतना पैसा नहीं दे सकती थीं तो इसके लिए सरकार अनुदान देगी, ऐसी योजना थी, उस योजना को भी बन्द कर दिया गया। प्रौद्योगिक शिक्षकों को दो महीने तक पगार नहीं दी गई, वृद्धाश्रम की योजना बंद की गई। सैनिक स्कूल चलते थे, वे भी बंद किए गए, एनसीसी

चलती थी उसको भी बंद किया गया। यदि ये सब परिस्थितियाँ निर्मित हो गई हैं तो आपको राज चलाने का अधिकार नहीं है।.....(समय की घंटी) ....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** कृपया आसन ग्रहण करें।

**श्री सतीश प्रधान :** सर, मैं एक ही बात बतलाकर खत्म कर दूंगा।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** कई बार से आप एक ही बात बता रहे हैं।

**श्री सतीश प्रधान :** सर, जब इंडस्ट्री ठीक ढंग से चलानी है और वे वही हमारे फंड जनरेट करने के साधन होंगे तो हम भी डब्ल्यूटीओ के माध्यम से जागृति स्पर्द्धा में उतर रहे हैं। उस स्पर्द्धा में यदि टिकना है तो हमारे यहां समान प्ले ग्राउंड का निर्माण करने की आवश्यकता होगी। इसके लिए आपको जगह-जगह वातावरण का भी निर्माण करना होगा। हमारे यहां की एक गांव की इंडस्ट्री दूसरे गांव की इंडस्ट्री के साथ कम्पिटिशन नहीं कर सकती, प्रतिस्पर्द्धा नहीं कर सकती। हमें इन परिस्थितियों को बदलना पड़ेगा। आपने सभी स्टेट के चीफ मिनिस्टर्स को बुलाकर कहा कि सब जगह सेल टैक्स समान होना चाहिए। पंत जी ने मीटिंग ली थी और निर्णय हुआ था। लेकिन निर्णय होने के बाद भी एक साल हो गया है, अभी तक उस पर अमल नहीं हो रहा है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** सतीश जी, आप आसन ग्रहण करें। माननीय श्री सुरेश ए. केसवानी।

**श्री सतीश प्रधान :** इतना ही मैं बताना चाहता हूँ। आपने मुझे समय दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

SHRI SURESH A. KESWANI (Maharashtra): I thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me time to speak on this very important issue. The issue has arisen out of the Mid-term Appraisal of the Ninth Plan, which has been forwarded to us. It is a document which has generated enormous amount of debate and a cause for serious rethinking on allocation of our Plan priorities, allocation of our resources, re-examination of our entire administrative mechanism, whether we are capable of dealing with the issues which are before us, whether we are able to overcome the obstacles that we are likely to face and how we are going to face the emerging situation.

Sir, as our leader here, Pranab Da, has pointed out, one must concede that the Government has been able to maintain stability of our exchange rate; there has been a relative control of the rate of inflation and there is also comfortable foreign exchange reserve position. There have also been miscellaneous plusses which have been mentioned by various speakers, and, therefore, I do not wish to consume my time on them.

Sir, the issue that I would like to highlight here is what has been the achievement of our much-trumpeted, the so-called second generation of



reforms that this Government presented. Today, the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, one remembers our great, late, leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who ushered us into the information-age with a total revolutionised thinking. He produced technology missions, he created a scientific temper, he talked about a tomorrow, a promise of tomorrow, which all young people like us wanted to work for and bring for our future generations. Sir, today, what does the Mid-term Appraisal of the Ninth Plan say? There is a fall in the growth rate of GDP, there is a significant drop in the growth performance of agriculture, mining, industry, and what not! There is a fall in domestic savings, there is a fall in investment. The investment in public sector has dropped. There are serious leakages in the tax-revenue that we are collecting. The tax-GDP ratio is down from 10.4 per cent to 8.5 per cent. The budgetary support to the Plan is, therefore, bound to drop. What will be the effect? The public investment is unlikely to reach the targetted figure. What are going to be the consequences? There is going to be a fall in output, there is going to be a fall in employment, there is going to be a fall in incomes, there is going to be a fall in investments, and all cumulatively will further push us down into a further economic downfall. Consequently, the public investment in physical and social infrastructure will also drop, thereby, further weakening the growth rate during the Tenth Plan period. Why has this happened? What is the reason for this? We must examine that. This has happened because we have so quickly forgotten the twin objectives of the Government and the governance, which were enshrined by my late leader, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. What were those two objectives? The first objective was the eradication of poverty, and the second objective was playing our rightful role in the international arena.

For instance, a family of 100 persons goes to live in a small village, which has a population of 500. Now, this hundred members become one-sixth of the total population of that village. Suppose half the members are weak, they will concentrate on these twin objectives. They will balance these two things. On the one hand, they will strengthen the weak; they will feed the weak; they will make them capable of performing; on the other, they will not neglect their performance in the international arena. What is the international arena? We have signed the GATT. We are one of the signatories to the GATT. We have certain obligations under the WTO. We were quite conscious of the fact ten years ago that we would have, in ten years time, a totally new environment where we would be having international trade at our doorsteps. What did we do? Did we prepare for that? Today, what is happening is that we are finding ourselves suddenly

inundated with Chinese goods, which, as somebody has mentioned, are so cheap that they are driving our industries to sickness. Our small-scale industries are closing down. Our medium-scale industries are closing down. Our large-scale industries are facing competition. Why is it happening? I think, we have to re-examine some of our policies, some of our programmes and some of our administrative methods. What do we do? We have a chain of various links of production. The judgement on the entire productivity link is based on, perhaps, the weakest link; and, on that basis, we change our policy and we affect the fortunes of the strong link that we have. As a result, we have caused unbelievable loss and handicaps to our own investors.

Sir, I am going to take some more time. We must clearly understand what real India is. What is the percentage of GDP that is collected by way of taxation? It is only eight per cent. In other words, whatever we do here, whatever we plan here, the bulk of the population of this country is not affected by what we do. When we rejoice when our stock markets are going up, when we find that there is an atmosphere of bullishness and *teji* everywhere, 90 per cent of India is not even experiencing that euphoria. Today, when we are talking about despondency, the heaven is falling, the GDP is going down and the growth rate is falling, I can assure you that 80 per cent of India does not even know about it. What is happening in reality is that the level of poverty is becoming more acute. Things are taken away from the hands of those few. That brings me to the question: How are we going to really face the challenges which are before us, instead of going on talking endlessly about what has gone wrong? We must know that the education level of the bulk of our population is very low, and, as a result, the productivity is very low. Now, this is happening both in the organised sector as well as in the unorganised sector. There is low productivity, low income, low saving ability as also lower contribution to the growth rate. Now, this spells the need to upgrade the skill levels. How do we do this? How do we upgrade the skill levels of our bottom layer? This is the real challenge that lies before us.

When our leader, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, spoke in the Lok Sabha last week, she talked about the education policy and about the need to cultivate a scientific temper. We are very nostalgic about our past. But what is standing before us as a challenge is our future. We need to find ways whereby there can be convergence of science from the rich to the poor. How do we do it? We can have more technical and skill-oriented

trade, craft and art institutes which can develop the skill of the people. How much expenditure do we require for doing this on a massive scale? There is also a need to enhance public expenditure by allowing to borrow more from the RBI, compared to the cap which we ourselves had evolved at one point of time. This has to be done to create possibilities of making investment in infrastructure assets. But this needs to be done very carefully and in a very balanced manner. Simultaneously, we will have to take into account certain other things also. I do not have enough time to elaborate these issues. I can discuss at any point of time the areas which will have to be taken care of so as to kick-start the economy, so as to generate more employment, so as to generate more income, so as to generate more savings and so as to generate more investment. Poverty alleviation and employment programmes and generating more employment and income are the key to reverse the downtrend. Good monsoons are going to be of great help. If you take timely steps, you would be able to take help from the positive factors and you will be able to significantly improve the GDP growth rate. There is also a need for improving savings and investments. The banking sector needs to be reformed. There is an alarming rise in the NPAs. There is an alarming fall in the quality of investments and assets. There are a number of mind-boggling scams which are waiting to be discovered. The last three years have given rise to a number of rumours and allegations about corruption, scams and so many other things. I do not wish to go into the details. There are newspaper reports that a corporate warfare is going on. There are allegations that the bureaucracy, the banking sector, the Government and the politicians are being used as tools to downgrade each other resulting in a lot of loss to the country. Take the case of stock exchanges. The SEBI, merchant banking, mutual funds, financial institutions, etc. have driven out the investors from the primary market. How have they done it? What is being done to recapture or reestablish the confidence that the public was having in the financial system? The latest example is of the Unit Trust of India. The manner in which we have handled this issue, needs a lot to be desired. Many things are happening in the IDBI. For the last six months we have not been able to decide on the Head of the IDBI.

And, every day, there are different rumours. This is not conducive to generating confidence in the financial system of the country. The role of the RBI, which inspects various banks, has also not been fully satisfactory. Sir, who has been inspecting the RBI? Do we know what is the quality of these inspectors who go to inspect various places? Are they just issuing

circulars? Are they just going and making interferences in the administrative system or are they experts in the banking business? Importantly, are they able to help the banks overcome their problems? This is a matter which needs a detailed discussion and this is something which, I think, the Government must take into account. The need of the hour is, sustainable and viable restructuring of debts in financial institutions and banks. We have to have the setting up of Asset Management Company, professionalisation at all levels and restructuring of our pay packets to attract talents. If we pay peanuts, we will only get monkeys. And, our financial institutions, which are playing a very critical and crucial role, need to be restructured accordingly.

Sir, lastly, I must mention about SEBI. The SEBI has failed; the way the SEBI has conducted themselves leaves a great deal to be desired. And the first thing that we must do is, we must make sure that we do not make these institutions the places to rehabilitate or re-employ the superannuated bureaucrats or superannuated politicians. We must make sure that these institutions become independent, and unless we have independent institutions which are capable of saying, 'No' where they must say, 'No', only then will we be able to safeguard the equilibrium of the financial system. That is critical...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** आप कृपया समाप्त करें।

**SHRI SURESH A. KESWANI:** I am just concluding.

Sir, the world is divided into three broad divisions. The first is technology innovators; the second is technology absorbers and the third is technology deserts. Luckily, our educational system has been good. We are classified as a country which in parts is technology absorbers. All through we are not technological investors. As long as we do not take that into account, it is unlikely that we will be able to come out of the morass in which we find ourselves. Investment in agriculture is the second most important thing in which we must come to the level that we did during our First Plan period. Sir, agriculture is going to be the key to our success because 70 per cent of our people depend for their living on agriculture and agriculture is an area which needs technological upgradation, which needs land reforms, which needs investment in irrigation, which needs power in those sectors.

Sir, I still have a very long and exhaustive list of items to talk about. But I think I would conclude by saying that we need to take into account the world markets; the whole world is fast becoming smaller.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) in the Chair]

We are having situations where the IMF is going to become something like a super Reserve Bank for the whole world. We must learn that in the process of globalisation which is irreversible, we convert our weakness into new opportunities. Sir, I belong to a community which is placed in all parts of the world. We are practically in every principal market in the world. The success that we have achieved abroad tells me that all that we have to do is, we have to be determined to achieve it; and it is this country which can then find its rightful place in the comity of nations. I gave the example about a hundred persons going to a village where there were 500 inhabitants and how those hundred people found a useful role to play. So, it is an exchange with the world, exchange of international trade that has to become our mainstay, without which we will not be able to have sustainable development, sustainable progress and sustainable growth.

**श्री गांधी आज़ाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** महोदय, मैं आर्थिक मंदी को प्रदर्शित करने वाले आंकड़ों के मकड़जाल में समय न गंवा करके, इसके प्रभावों की ओर, आपके माध्यम से, सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। महोदय, हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है। देश की 76 प्रतिशत जनता कृषि कार्य में लगी हुई है। मैं स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि में लगी हुई 76 प्रतिशत जो जनता है, उसके 50 प्रतिशत लोगों के पास एक इंच भी जमीन नहीं है। वे दूसरों के खेतों में काम करते हैं और खेतिहर मजदूर के रूप में जाने जाते हैं। इन खेतिहर मजदूरों को साल के 365 दिन में से, मेरी राय में केवल 65 दिन का काम मिलता है और 300 दिन वे बेकार रहते हैं, जिसके कारण ये भुखमरी के कगार पर हैं। वैसे सरकार कहती है कि गोदामों में अन्न का भंडार प्रचुर मात्रा में है। अभी 17 तारीख के राष्ट्रीय सहारा में आया है कि गरीबी व कलह से त्रस्त माने 5 बच्चों के साथ आत्महत्या की और इस तरह से देश के हर कोने में कहीं न कहीं भुखमरी के कगार पर पहुंचने के कारण आत्महत्याएं हो रही हैं। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि उनको रोकने के लिए वह क्या प्रयास कर रही है? महोदय, इन श्रमिकों के पास खेत न होने के कारण और खेतों में मशीनीकरण के कारण ये श्रमिक सस्ती से सस्ती दर पर वहां भी बिकते हैं और वहां जब काम नहीं मिलता तो वहां से पलायित हो कर शहरों की ओर आ रहे हैं लेकिन शहरों में भी यह हालत होने के कारण उन हाथों को काम नहीं मिलता है, जिसके कारण पहले की जो यह कहावत है कि अगर हमारा हाथ और ठियौना मजबूत रहे तो हमको काम की कहीं दिक्कत नहीं होगी तो आज वह कहानी भी झूठी साबित हो रही है। इसलिए महोदय, मैं इस बढ़ती हुई जमात को रोकने के लिए या बढ़ती हुई कतार को रोकने के लिए, सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज जितने क्षेत्र में कृषि हो रही है उससे ज्यादा क्षेत्र की कृषि योग्य भूमि बेकार पड़ी हुई है। मैं सरकार से निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि ऐसे खेतिहर श्रमिक मजदूरों को वह भूमि आवंटित कर दी जाए जिससे कि उनको रोजी-रोटी का सहारा मिल सके और देश के विकास में वे योगदान कर सकें।

महोदय, मैं अब शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आता हूँ। अभी जुलाई के महीने में स्कूल चलो अभियान चलाया गया था। लेकिन जिन बच्चों को दो जून का भोजन, दो जून की रोटी मयस्सर

नहीं है वे स्कूल कैसे जाएं और उनके गार्जियन लोग जो उनसे कहते थे कि चलो स्कूल, वे कहा करते थे कि कहां सब लोग कलैक्टर हो रहे हैं, कहां सब लोग लॉट साहब बन रहे हैं और आज उन पढ़े-लिखे लोगों की हालत यह है तो मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आज अनपढ़ मजदूर ज्यादा बेहतर है। वह 50 रुपये से ज्यादा पारिश्रमिक कमा लेता है। लेकिन आज पढ़े-लिखे बी.ए. बी.एड., जो निजीकरण क्षेत्र की शिक्षा हो रही है स्कूलों में, दस से तीस रुपये रोज पर काम करने के लिए मजबूर हैं। इसलिए मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करते हुए निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह शिक्षित बेकारों की बेकारी दूर करने के संबंध में कारगर कदम उठाए।

महोदय, हमारे कृषि क्षेत्र से लगे कुटीर, दस्तकारी और शिल्पकारी के जो उद्योग थे, वह भी आज बेकार होते जा रहे हैं जिस कारण आज ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में बेकारी होती जा रही है। मेरा मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध है कि इस क्षेत्र की बेकारी को दूर करने के संबंध में भी कदम उठाए जाएं।

महोदय, औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में चल रही प्रतिस्पर्धा, उदारीकरण और देश में विदेशी कंपनियों के आने के कारण देश के उद्योग बंद होते जा रहे हैं। उन में तालाबंदी हो रही है जिस कारण बेकार मजदूरों की एक तरफ लंबी कतार बढ़ती जा रही है और दूसरी तरफ विदेशी चमचमाती कारों की भी भरमार होती जा रही है। इस क्षेत्र में विदेशी कंपनियों के आने के कारण दलित और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों के लिए जो आरक्षण की व्यवस्था थी, वह भी चरमराती जा रही है। एक तरह से इस क्षेत्र में वह खत्म होती जा रही है। महोदय, हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री महोदय ने बहुत ही दयालु भाव से अति-पिछड़े और अति-दलित को आरक्षण देने की बात की है। मैं उन के इस प्रस्ताव का स्वागत करता हूँ, लेकिन यह आरक्षण वह कहां देंगे? क्या 10 प्रतिशत की जो कटौती नौकरियों में की जा रही है, उस छंटनी में से वह यह आरक्षण देंगे? यह आरक्षण कहां देंगे, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है। कहीं वह इस आरक्षण के बहाने मदारी द्वारा सांप, नेवले की लड़ाई के बहाने अपनी दवा बेचने वाली बात की तरह अति पिछड़े व अति दलित को आरक्षण देने की बात कहकर कोई राजनीति तो नहीं कर रहे हैं? महोदय, मैं उन की इस बात का स्वागत करता हूँ क्योंकि हमारी पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष मान्यवर कांशीराम जी और उपाध्यक्ष सुश्री मायावती का तो नारा है 'जिस की जितनी संख्या भारी, उस की उतनी भागीदारी।' संयोग से अभी यहां हमारी उत्तर प्रदेश भा0ज0पा0 के अध्यक्ष भी बैठे हैं, नौकरियों की बात तो काफी दूर की है। अभी तो विज्ञापन निकाले जाएंगे और बहुत समय लगेगा तब वह पता चलेगा, लेकिन अगर उन की यह तमन्ना सही है तो चुनाव में विधान सभा के लिए जो टिकिट दिया जाएगा, उस में उन की भागीदारी वह आबादी के अनुसार कर दें तो भी मैं उन का स्वागत करूंगा।

महोदय, सरकार की उदारीकरण की नीति के कारण बेरोजगारों की भरमार होती जा रही है और साथ ही विदेशी कर्जा भी लगातार बढ़ता जा रहा है। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशी कर्जों को रोकने के लिए क्या सरकार ने कोई कारगर उपाय किया है। इस के अतिरिक्त विदेशों में राज-नेताओं, राज-घरानों और पूंजीपतियों का धन जमा होने की प्रवृत्ति और होड़ बढ़ती जा रही है। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि उन की इस प्रवृत्ति और होड़ को कम करने के लिए आप के पास क्या उपाय है? इसे रोकने के लिए क्या सरकार ने कोई कारगर

4.00 P.M.

उपाय किया है ? महोदय, इस के अतिरिक्त आज देश में एन0पी0ए0 इतना ज्यादा बढ़ गया है कि अगर इसे वसूल कर लिया जाय तो इस की वसूली से राजकोषीय घाटा भी पूरा किया जा सकता है और देश को विदेशी कर्ज से भी उबारा जा सकता है । महोदय, जौनपुर में कई महीनों पहले की एक घटना मैं आपको बताता हूँ । वहाँ एक छोटे काश्तकार को 10,000 रुपए या 5,000 रुपए बकाया की वसूली करते समय इतना मारा गया कि उसकी मौत हो गई । मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि करोड़ों रुपए जिनके ऊपर बकाया हैं, उन्हें वसूल करने के लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है ? मेरी समझ में तो सरकार उनका प्रोत्साहन देने का काम करती है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाजपा के अध्यक्ष यहां विराजमान हैं । पहले जब इनकी पार्टी जनसंघ के नाम से जानी जाती थी तो ये बड़े लुभावने नारे दिया करते थे । इनका एक नारा यह था कि -

"हर हाथ को देंगे काम, हर खेत को देंगे पानी ।  
दुलहन बनकर फिर से सजेगी अपनी धरती रानी" ।।

महोदय, मैं इनसे और सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप कुछ करने लायक नहीं थे तो आप इतने सुहाने गीत गाया करते थे और आज जब आप कुछ करने लायक हैं तो आप ये नारे क्यों भूल गए ?

श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आज सर्वाधिक उत्पादन उत्तर प्रदेश में हुआ है, यह इसी नारे को क्रियान्वित करने के कारण ही हुआ है ।

श्री गांधी आजाद : जब लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं ?

श्री कलराज मिश्र : मैं उड़ीसा और महाराष्ट्र की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मैं उत्तर प्रदेश की बात कर रहा हूँ ।

श्री गांधी आजाद : आपने बहुत से लुभावने नारे लगाए थे, आपने स्वदेशी जागरण का नारा लगाया था । जब आप कुछ करने लायक नहीं थे तो आप "स्वदेशी लाओ और विदेशी भगाओ" का जागरण भोर में किया करते थे लेकिन आज जब आप कुछ करने लायक हुए हैं तो आप ये नारे क्यों भूल गए ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश के विकास की गति बढ़ानी है तो हमारी मांग है कि खेतिहर मजदूर जिनके पास खेती के लिए भूमि नहीं है, उनको शीघ्र कृषि योग्य भूमि आवंटित की जाए और आरक्षण की व्यवस्था आबादी के हिसाब से की जाए । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ और आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया, इसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ ।

SHRI PRAFUL PATEL (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on an appraisal of the 9<sup>th</sup> Plan, we are now seeing that all is not well in the state of economy and there are many areas which require serious consideration of the Government. Tall claims have been made by the Government, past

and present, and, many a time, many a Minister of the Government has time and again assured us in the House and outside that things are on the upturn, things are improving and things are under control. I cannot resist from at least narrating my own visit to China, as part of CII and Parliamentary Delegation and also Trade Union Joint Delegation. It was my first visit there. I have been many a time abroad to many a country, but I can assure you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for the first time in my over-seas travel, when I came back I was truly depressed and that depression was after seeing China, a country which 25 years ago was comparable in terms of economy, in terms of population problem, in terms of literacy and illiteracy, in terms of poverty, a similar benchmark -- could be compared to India at one time.

And, whatever little we saw there really shook all Members of the delegation. I am sure, for many of us who will have an opportunity to see these things in person, in future, it will raise many questions and many an eyebrow. Dr. Manmohan Singh started the process of liberalisation in 1991. It has always been said that India could not live in isolation. India needs to integrate itself with the rest of the world economy. And that was the right decision that we took. India cannot live in isolation. And, in that process, we joined the GATT and the WTO. Today, India is trying to integrate itself with the rest of the world economy. In 1991, it was universally accepted that the Government should withdraw itself from the process of doing business or investing in a lot of areas, and the private sector should gradually be brought in. Mr. Shourie is here. He is gradually overseeing the process of the Government getting itself out of doing business which could, otherwise, be gainfully done or more professionally done by the private sector. Well, in principle, I myself had agreed to it and we were part of that process. Since 1991, till today, especially in the area of infrastructure, one really feels whether we have gone ahead. Have we even really started the process of getting out business and getting the private sector involved? I am looking at things since 1991. Whether a single new airport has been made in the country where the private sector is involved? Well, Cochin is a stray example. I cannot say that it is really a roll model for the process of privatisation in the infrastructure sector. The Enron Project came in Maharashtra. It is mired in a lot of difficulties and a lot of problems...*(Interruptions)*... No, no. It is all right. We can agree and disagree. There are many issues. But, I am just trying to lay the principle that we talk of infrastructure and privatisation of power projects. Enron is a classic example where we got stuck up. We are not able to go forward.



Basically, we built one or two ports in Gujarat, by the private sector. Otherwise, if you look in totality, we have not achieved anything. The hon. Prime Minister's ambitious Golden Quadrilateral Project, I think, has started. But, actually, the way we have started and what we have really achieved in real terms is something where we really need to sit back and find out whether we have gone in the right direction. In totality, the infrastructure development of the country, which is the core sector, the backbone for any further development of a nation, itself has been put on the backburner. It is all being said on paper. We are repeating it time and again. Everybody reiterates, in the past and in the present -- whichever Government is in power. But, actually, in terms of achievement, we have virtually been a non-starter. Sir, ten precious years have gone. While, in ten years, the private sector did not do anything, the Government got itself out of business. Had it been there, the capacity increase would have taken place on account of its own involvement. The problem is that the Government stopped and the private sector has not been able to take its position and fill the vacuum that has been left by the Government. As a result, the entire economy of the nation is suffering. Neither the Government is spending nor the private sector is spending. Your steel industry, your cement industry and your core sector industries; are they going to take off? This is the biggest employment generator in the country. And, today, your entire steel sector, your cement sector and your coal sector, is suffering. Mr. Birla is here. He is associated with the core sector and he is an industrialist of repute. He will bear me out...*(Interruptions)*...Sir, I am just trying to draw your attention, not in any other sense. You are an eminent industrialist. You would bear me out as to why the core sector is suffering in the country. That is why you will find unemployment, which is the bone of India today. I come from Mumbai. Mr. Pradhan was talking about Thane industrial area.

Why Thane only? You look at any industry. Virtually all the industry today is sick. Our friends were talking about NPA. Mr. Azad was also talking about NPA. Mr. Keswani was talking about it. So many others were talking about NPAs. Ultimately, the largest borrower from the institutions has been the core sector of industry. And if they are going to go sick, automatically, your banks or your institutions are going to go sick. It is a chain reaction. In the last 11 years, on this front -- my friends here didn't talk about it -- there has been no concrete action; no remedial action has ever been taken. I sincerely urge upon the Government to take these matters very seriously. Employment can be generated. Yes; there are other ways of generating employment. But your brick and mortar

economy cannot be ignored or sacrificed, at the expense of what you talk of. Yes; IT is a line of the future. But IT also has ceased. We are seeing recession in the IT sector. Our young engineers who used to flock to the United States on HM visas. But, today, I believe the United States is sending almost 30,000 of our young engineers who are working there back to India. We were in China, and my colleague, Mr. Rajiv Shukla, was also there. The Chinese leadership was vexing eloquent about India's pre-eminent position in the IT sector and they said there was a challenge for China to compete with India in that sector. I can assure you, Mr. Minister, from what we saw there and what we hear from other sources also, China is doing its utmost to catch up on that front. The lack of knowledge of English was the only impediment in their way to compete with India. They are removing those handicaps very fast. In fact, I would just like to bring to your notice that there is an Institute of English in Hyderabad. I have not seen it, but my friends from Andhra Pradesh know about it. It was shocking for me to know that out of the three thousand students studying in that Institute, 2,600 students come from China. They come here to learn English. Their only objective in learning English is basically to see to it that China emerges as a super power in the information technology sector, one of the sectors which we are really taking as a lead sector for giving employment to our youth; and, here also, if we have to face competition from them, God forbid what will happen. I don't want to hazard a guess.

Then, take tourism. Tourism should be one of the largest employment generation sectors in the country. We have seen it in many a country. Today, India has barely two and a half million tourists, out of which, I am sure, a million plus are basically Indians who are settled abroad and are coming on holidays or back to their homes, and they are also classified as tourists. But what is the real quantum of tourists who come to India to travel, to stay in our hotels and use our taxis and other facilities? I would say that that percentage would be very, very negligible. You look at countries like Singapore, a city-state. They are attracting twenty million tourists. I am not talking of bigger countries. I am talking of a single city-state; they are taking in so many tourists. You can imagine the kind of services they generate, the kind of employment they generate. Today, if we are just going to talk of a brick and mortar economy, or, if we are just going to talk of information technology as the key of our thrust areas, are we going to create employment? I think, this is a very sorry state of affairs. I think, it needs a serious consideration of the Government as to how things can be improved on that front.

So far as the unorganised sector is concerned, everybody, here in the Parliament, is concerned about it. There are lot of jobs in the unorganised sector. But most of rural India is really crying. Even in a place like my earlier constituency which I had represented in the Lok Sabha -- I come from the State of Maharashtra which is supposed to be one of the most advanced States in the country, the most industrialised States in the country -- what is the position? Minus Mumbai, Thane, Nasik or Pune or this belt which is identified as a very progressive belt, most of Maharashtra is facing as serious a problem as we could find in the backwaters of Orissa.

Mr. Chavan, my erstwhile leader, would also back me up, as he also comes from Maharashtra, when I say that we are not in a very happy state of affairs. If we are faced with such a situation in the most advanced parts of India, how can you really say that the benefits of whatever we are doing or achieving are really filtering down or going down to the last person, whom we are all concerned about. So, it is only paying a lip-service. Though the percentage of GDP in respect of agriculture, the real employer of the nation, the real employment generator of the nation, has gradually gone down, still, agriculture is the mainstay of India. And, today, Mr. Pradhan rightly said that rice was being sold by the Food Corporation of India at Rs.6/- per kg. to a trader; and, at the same time, you expect the farmer to be remunerated by a trader for his produce. It cannot happen because if you are getting a ready-made produce at a certain price, the farmers will not get the commensurate price because nobody is going to incur a loss while selling his product. Ultimately, I think, there are many serious issues, and agriculture is one of them. Yes, we have a Food Board in Haryana and Punjab. God has been kind enough, and they have been working effectively. That is fine. But, today, in most parts of rural India, agriculture is in a very pitiable situation. With the WTO in force and certain food products or commodities being imported, I think, Indian farmers will be put to a serious situation. It would be a real competitive situation.

AN HON. MEMBER: Farmers are committing suicide in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI PRAFUL PATEL: Yes; farmers are committing suicide. Not only in Andhra Pradesh, in our State also, they are committing suicide. Our farmers are in a very pitiable situation. Therefore, it is an issue on which, I think, all of us need to put our heads together. We should work unitedly to find a solution for that. Today, we were talking of the various financial institutions - the Unit Trust of India, the IDBI and the IFCI. Many of my

friends mentioned about them in the past. Until and unless the Government of India really stands up to them, provides support to them, instils confidence among the people, our institutions are going to face a serious erosion. Today, the cooperative banks, one after the other, -- we have seen the examples of Madhavpura Bank, the Krushi Bank in Andhra Pradesh and so many other banks -- are being closed down. If our Government is going to be only a helpless onlooker, if our institutions, which are regulatory authorities, are not going to act in time, I think, the entire confidence in the system will get eroded. The Unit Trust of India was as good as the vault of the Government of India. That was the kind of confidence the people used to repose in the UTI. Charitable and religious trusts and institutions used to put their money in the UTI. It was a certified institution by the Government of India. Today, the capital market which is the propeller of any economy,-- because if you want to establish a new industry, if you want to build up infrastructure, you must have a buoyant and healthy capital market -- is facing a serious crisis. But that is not the only solution to build up any new ventures. We need to have a judicious mixture of equity and debt. Today, equity is not at all forthcoming in the country; today, no new project, no new industry, can come up, unless there is a substantive support from the equity markets. And, that is also facing a serious crisis. I am sorry to say that the Government of the day has not responded adequately, has not instilled adequate confidence in the people of India. It never said 'yes' things are under control; things could be worked out to the advantage of the common man of India." Absolutely, they have not. As a result, it has led to a serious crisis. I am sorry to say that nobody has taken it seriously yet. The Finance Minister has come here many a time, explained many things and assured the House, but, I think, nobody has really done anything to seriously address this problem. Now, I come to disinvestment. Mr. Minister, I am not talking of any A, B or C. But, I think, there has to be some clarity. In the morning, we were discussing certain things. We were not trying to bring you to book or hold you responsible for something. But the point is, disinvestment has to be done judiciously.

It is the country's wealth. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee was saying in the House, the other day, that you are using your disinvestment proceeds basically to bridge your budgetary gap. That is going to be the order of the day. I think, no country can afford this. It is like selling your assets and trying to buy your food for today. That will not take you very far away. It may buy you temporary reprieve, but it is not really a solution. Our

disinvestment programme ought to be phased in a way where you get the right price. Today, we were talking about Air India. We are not talking of Air India, *per se*, as a PSU. But if you want to get a good price for Air India, you must also say that it is healthy and you must try to do whatever possible. It is under your control. While you are having it, you have to see that it does not lose its eminence, its position and, therefore, its right valuation. We have systematically seen that if we do not have money and if it is not doing well, chill it. Let it go down the drain and, therefore, tomorrow when the buyer comes, he will say, "Well, I have heard, Mr. Minister saying 'we require so much money for Air India's upgradation, and there is so much of loss; therefore, we will not probably get the right valuation, the right price that we expect.' You have said all these things. Why are you going to the market and saying yourself 'we will not get the right price.' Maybe, you have tried enough to shore it up, but while you are having the ownership of the airlines, at least, do not kill it. I am not talking of Air India alone. Please do not misunderstand me, because a lot of controversy gets generated only because of Air India. I am talking of the total disinvestment programme, in general. Therefore, I seriously urge upon the Government to look into all these details. As far as infrastructure is concerned, I again say that infrastructure is the backbone of the economy; and, in that area, the Government has seriously been lacking, and a lot needs to be done. And if you address those problems, those concerns, I think, we can definitely see an upturn and upswing in the economy. At the same time, much needs to be done, and I would urge upon the Government of the day to take all these issues very, very seriously. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Shri Fali S. Nariman. But before you speak, I would like to tell Mr. Praful Patel, in all fairness, the system is that you should speak from your own place. I will request the other hon. Members to speak from their places.

SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, I quite frankly did not intend to make any speech because my knowledge of facts and figures and economics is extraordinarily poor. But having heard, Sir, the enlightened debate from both sides of the House, which was initiated by Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, and having heard all the stalwarts from both sides, there were two-three impressions that are left with me, and, as a non-party man, I would like to share them with the hon. Members. The first thing is that nobody challenged the facts and figures given in the Mid-

Term Appraisal of the 9<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan. The second thing is that the situation is grim; everybody admits that the economic situation is grim. The third is, as far as I can see, I do not find much divergence in the economic policies of the present Government, or, of those on the Opposition benches, and I refer, particularly, to the Congress Party. My suggestion, Sir, which I make in all humility, is that, this being a time of economic crisis -- whether you call it a crisis in the world or a crisis in this country; it, certainly, is a crisis in this country as well -- I do not know, why you cannot forget your political rivalry. Why you cannot forget your U.P. elections and join forces to save the country? Whatever you have to contribute, you should contribute. I do not mean that you should join the Government. Please do not misunderstand me. I am not on 'a National Government.' I am asking this in all seriousness. Members from both sides, who have no great divergence of views in policies or in attitudes, owe it to this country they claim to represent. We must try to come forward. All that we have been hearing with great distress is the blame put on one side by the other side, saying that it is not so bad a situation. Ultimately, the hon. Minister will reply and everybody will go back with one's own opinion, and this debate will be like all other debates. Pardon me, my saying so may be unparliamentary. I hope it is not. In a matter of this magnitude and seriousness, particularly, when we have got this Appraisal, which everyone says is a free and frank mid-term appraisal of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, I do not see any reason why the economic experts on this side and on that side cannot pool their resources together. I respectfully beseech you to try to have some sort of a think-tank by which you can go forward. I think this country will benefit if we do this. Political parties will also benefit because, all through, we have been hearing voices of recrimination from each side of the house, which is not benefiting anyone. So, though my contribution to this debate, particularly, is, perhaps, absolutely nil, in terms of substance, I do beseech all of you to re-orient your approaches, if you have no objection, and put your shoulders to the wheel at the hour of this national crisis. In other countries, during a national crisis, they form a national Government. You don't form a national Government, if you do not want to, but, for God's sake, when you are on economics and when you are all one, by and large, because that is what was started by Dr. Manmohan Singh in 1991 has been continued till now, let us leave recrimination aside and make positive suggestions as to how this country can go forward on economic plane.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Mr. Nariman, you have given a fatherly advice. So, you have contributed to the debate. Now, Shri Rajiv Shukla.

**श्री राजीव शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसमाध्यक्ष जी, जब पहले दिन यह बहस शुरू हुई थी तो हमारे सत्तारूढ़ दल के एक सदस्य ने तर्क दिया था कि पूरे विश्व में आर्थिक मंदी आई हुई है और उसकी वजह से अगर भारत में भी है तो इतनी महत्वपूर्ण बात नहीं है। मैं इस तर्क से बिल्कुल असहमत हूँ। जिन देशों की बात हो रही है, अमेरिका की या दूसरे डेवलेप्ड नेशन्स की उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति, उनकी रीढ़ हमसे बहुत मजबूत है। हम पहले से ही उनके मुकाबले में दस और एक की स्थिति में हैं। कहां वे और कहां हम? अगर उनके यहां रेसेशन है और हमारे यहां भी इकॉनॉमिक रेसेशन होती है तो दोनों की परिस्थिति में जमीन-आसमान का अंतर होगा। जो बात उनके संदर्भ में कही जा रही है, अमेरिका के संदर्भ में, जो सिर्फ स्टॉक मार्किट को लेकर है तो वह भी टेक्नोलॉजी शेयर्स को लेकर कही जा रही है। स्टॉक मार्किट में तो हम पिटे ही हुए हैं बाकी दूसरे मोर्चों पर जो हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति है वह भी उतनी ही दयनीय है। आज जो चीन की बात हो रही है, श्री बलबीर पुंज ने कही, प्रफुल्ल पटेल ने कही और लोगों ने उदाहरण दिए तो हमें यह सोचना होगा कि चीन इस हालत में कैसे पहुंचा। वह भी पंद्रह-बीस या पच्चीस सालों में। यह बात तो सोचने की है कि चीन ने यह कर लिया, वह कर लिया पर कैसे कर लिया? यह हम क्यों नहीं कर सकते? इतने लोग हैं, एक से एक इंटेलेजेंट हैं, सारे पढ़े-लिखे हैं, हमारे यहां भी वही नीतियां बन सकती हैं लेकिन हम क्यों नहीं बना पा रहे हैं? मैं चाहूंगा कि इस बात पर अरुण शौरी जी सरकार की ओर से बैठकर प्रकाश डालें। हम वह क्यों नहीं कर पा रहे हैं जो चीन ने किया है? एक मॉडल है चीन हमारे सामने। उस मॉडल की हम कापी कर लें। क्यों नहीं उसको हम कर पा रहे हैं? मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। चीन की यहां पर बात की जाती है। चीन का सबसे ज्यादा थ्रस्ट है मैन्युफैक्चरिंग पर। एक से एक कारखाने यहां आ रहे हैं। एक से एक उद्योग वहां आ रहे हैं। एक से एक मैन्युफैक्चरिंग यूनिट वहां पर बनती चली जा रही हैं। लेकिन हमारे यहां उल्टा हो रहा है। उद्योग धंधे सब बंद हो रहे हैं, कारखाने बंद हो रहे हैं, मैन्युफैक्चरिंग यूनिट्स बंद होती जा रही हैं। इसकी वजह से कुछ भी हो सकता है। हमारे यहां एमपीज के पास फिक्की के रिप्रजेंटेटिव्स ने चार-पांच बातें रखी थी, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि हमारे यहां बिजली की दरें बहुत ज्यादा हैं, हमारे यहां रेट आफ इंटररेस्ट, जो हमें बैंकों से या फाइनेंसियल इंस्टीट्यूशन से दिया जाता है, बहुत ज्यादा है। हमें इन्वायरमेंट के लोग बहुत तंग करते हैं, उन्होंने लेबर प्राब्लम बताई, ट्रेड यूनियन प्राब्लम बताई और भी बहुत सारी चीजें बताई। लेकिन कुल मिलाकर अगर हम देखें तो हमारे यहां इंडस्ट्री का विकास पहले हुआ है लेकिन आज वह सब ठप्प होता जा रहा है। इसके बुरे परिणामों को पूरे देश के लोगों को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए। अगर हमारे उद्योग बंद होंगे, हमारी मैन्युफैक्चरिंग यूनिट्स बंद होंगी, लोग बेरोजगार होंगे तो क्या होगा? जब लोग बेरोजगार होंगे और उनकी संख्या बढ़ती चली जाएगी तो उससे जो एक भयावह स्थिति पैदा होगी उसे आप समझ सकते हैं। हो क्या रहा है कि डाउन साइजिंग दि गवर्नमेंट, लोगों को निकालो, खर्च कम करो, यह चल रहा है। डाउन साइजिंग दि गवर्नमेंट, सरकार रोजगार दे नहीं रही है हर एक स्टेट में जाब्स प्रीज हैं, प्राइवेट सेक्टर के कारखाने बंद हो रहे हैं, कंपनियां बंद हो रही हैं तो लोग कहां जायेंगे? रोजगार मांगने वाले लोगों की संख्या बढ़ती चली जा रहा है। जैसे जैसे जनसंख्या बढ़ रही है वैसे ही नए रोजगार मांगने वाले लोग पैदा हो रहे हैं और आप पुरानों को

निकाल कर सड़क पर फेंक रहे हैं। इससे क्या हालत होने वाली है ? एक मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा, मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहूंगा कि 6-7 साल में यह नौबत आने वाली है कि सड़कों पर लोग आपका सामान खींच लेंगे। कह रहे थे कि मुझे बहुत डर लग रहा है। ला एंड आर्डर की प्रबलता जिस तरह से बढ़ रही है वह हमारी एकानामिक सिचुएशन से लिक्ड है। हम उनके लिए जाब नहीं क्रिएट कर पा रहे हैं। रोजगार के अवसर उनके लिए नहीं जुटा पा रहे हैं। यह हम सब के सोचने की बात है। चाहे वह गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया हो और चाहे स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स हो, सब के लिए एक बड़ी भयावह सिचुएशन पैदा होने जा रही है। इसकी वजह से ही हम ग्लोबल कंपिटिशन को फेस नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। चाइनीज गुड्स की बात यहां पर हुई। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि दो बड़ी पंखा बनाने वाली कंपनियां, उनको आप सब जानते हैं, उनका नाम लेने की जरूरत नहीं है, उन्होंने अपने कारखाने बंद कर दिए हैं। वे चीन से सस्ता पंखा मंगा रहे हैं और उस पर अपना ठप्पा लगा कर बाजार में बेच रहे हैं। उनकी कंपनी का माल मौजूद है लेकिन उनकी फैक्टरी बंद है। जो काम करने वाले थे वे बाहर हो गए हैं जिसके कारण देश का कोई फायदा नहीं हो रहा है। यही स्थिति सब तरफ आने वाली है। इसलिए हमें देश का जो पूरा औद्योगिक वातावरण है उसकी तरफ देखने की जरूरत है।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि माहोल बनाने के लिए, वातावरण बनाने के लिए बहुत जरूरी है कि लोगों में विश्वास पैदा किया जाए। अभी मैं मुंबई गया था। वहां लोग डरे हुए हैं, जैसे वे डिप्रेशन में हों, चाहे वह स्टॉक मार्केट से जुड़े लोग हों और चाहे दूसरी बिजनेस कम्युनिटी से जुड़े लोग हों, सब घबरा रहे हैं कि न मालूम क्या होने वाला है, एकानामिक सिचुएशन क्या होने वाली है, किसी को कुछ पता नहीं है। अगर हम भारत-पाक रिश्तों में कांफिडेंस बिल्डिंग मेजर्स की बात कर सकते हैं तो जो हमारी एकानामी है, जो हमारे उद्योग हैं, जो हमारा बाजार है उसके लिए हम कांफिडेंस बिल्डिंग मेजर्स क्यों नहीं एनाउन्स करते ? सरकार को कांफिडेंस मेजर्स इसके लिए भी बनाने चाहिए ताकि उद्योग जगत, व्यापार जगत के लोगों में कांफिडेंस फिर से लौट सके, जो मैं समझता हूं बिल्कुल जीरो पर पहुंच चुका है, जो लो स्टेप पर है। तो इसको देखने की जरूरत है। महोदय, मैं यह मानता हूं कि श्रम सिस्टम बनाना पड़ेगा, ऐसा श्रम सिस्टम जिसमें गड़बड़ी या घाटाले न हों। वरना रोज एक दरोगा बिठाना, रोज सीबीआई बिठाना, रोज इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बिठाना, इससे जो मारल है वह नीचे जाता है और काम ठप्प हो जाता है। रोज दरोगा बिठाना या सीबीआई बिठाना इससे व्यापार जगत, आर्थिक जगत ठीक नहीं होने वाला है। इस सिस्टम को फूलप्रूफ सिस्टम होना आवश्यक है इस पर सोचने की जरूरत है। सरकार को इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। महोदय, हमारे यहां जेपीसी बनी हुई है तो यह जेपीसी कोई ऐसी चीज स्टॉक मार्केट के मुत्तलिक, फाइनेंसियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस के मुत्तलिक निकाल सकती है जिससे इसमें गड़बड़ी करने की कोशिश ही न हो। वरना आप कहां तक इस तरह की जांच करायेंगे और यह सब करेंगे। इससे तो बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाएगा और पोलिटीकल लेवल पर ऐसी-ऐसी चीजें होने लगे, क्योंकि मैं मुंबई में देख रहा था कि एक पोलिटीकल पार्टी की तरफ से होडिंग लगी हुई है कि फलां-फलां कंपनी की जांच हो। आठ कंपनियों के नाम दिए हुए हैं। इस तरह से अगर यह शुरू होगा तो बिल्कुल एक ब्लैकमेलिंग का वातावरण हो जाएगा। अभी फाइनांशेल इंस्टीट्यूशंस की बात आई और यह बात बराबर होती थी। कुछ लोग हैं जो एफआईजी की वजह से बिलियनेयर्स हैं, जिन्हें फाइनांशेल इंस्टीट्यूशंस ने क्रिएट किया, बाद में एनपीए हो गए। तो फाइनांशेल इंस्टीट्यूशंस के लिए भी इस तरह की गाइडलाइज हमें बनानी पड़ेगी कि मिनिमम एनपीए हो, नॉन परफॉर्मिंग एसेट्स हों, डाइवर्जन ऑफ फंड्स न हो। यह एक बड़ा मज़ाक कहा



जाता है कि हमारे यहां उद्योग डूब गए, उद्योगपति बचे हुए हैं और वे मजे में हैं। ऐसी हालत में ये लोग जो हैं अपनी कंपनी से फंड डाइवर्ट करते हैं। इस तरह के बहुत से केसेज हैं और कोई लगता है कि जांच भी हो रही है। हम कितनी जांचें बैठायेंगे? अगर हम पहले से ही कोई ऐसा सिस्टम लागू कर दें तो शायद यह बात न आए। गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे की बात होती है, मुझे जैसा पता है कि अरुण शौरी जी ने सुझाव रखा है, उनका विचार है कि 35 से 40 हजार करोड़ रुपये हमने पॉवर्टी इलिमिनेशन के लिए रखे हुए हैं। पॉवर्टी इरैडिकेशन के लिए हर साल सरकार देती है। पांच करोड़ परिवार ऐसे हैं जो गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं। अगर उस तरह से जोड़ें तो 8 हजार रुपये आता है। वही अगर सीधे मनिआर्डर उनके घर पर भेज दें, पूरी ब्यूरोक्रेसी और गवर्नमेंट सिस्टम को बीच में से निकाल कर, तो वे उस पैसे से साल भर का तीन किलो चावल रोज के हिसाब से खरीद सकते हैं। और यही पैसा जब पूरे सिस्टम के माध्यम से जाता है तो फिर वही बात होती है जैसे कि राजीव गांधी जी ने कहा था कि 100 रुपये में से 15 रुपये ही पहुंचते हैं, 85 रुपये बीच में गायब हो जाते हैं। .....(व्यवधान) और आटोमैटिकली वे लोग अब्ब द पॉवर्टी लाइन हो जायेंगे जब उन्हें खाना मिलने लगेगा। तो यह स्थिति है। हमारे यहां काफी कुछ कहा गया कि आस्टैरिटी मेजरज लागू हों, लेकिन आज तक मुझे तो नहीं लगता कि कहीं ये मेजरज लागू हैं। मिनिस्ट्री ऑफ़ एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स के मुत्तलिक दो खत हमने लिखे हैं कि अमरीका ने जिन कंट्रीज में मिशंज नहीं खोले हुए हैं, अमरीका की जिन कंट्रीज में पोस्ट नहीं हैं; वहां हमने बनाए हुए हैं। हमारे यहां रिप्रेजेंटेशन ग्रांट्स का डिप्लोमेट्स ओपनली वायलेशन करते हैं। इतना जबर्दस्त पिलफ्रेज है कि पूछिए मत। नॉन प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर में खास तौर से मैं उस एजेंसी का नाम नहीं लूंगा लेकिन नॉन प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर के नाम से साढ़े सात सौ करोड़ रुपये एक एजेंसी को जा रहे हैं लेकिन उसका आउटपुट बहुत कम है। यह मेरे ख्याल से मिनिस्ट्री ऑफ़ एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स को देखने की जरूरत है। लेकिन अगर इसका फाइनांस मिनिस्ट्री, मिनिस्ट्री ऑफ़ प्लानिंग जो पूरा इनका साल में एलोकेशन करते हैं उनको इस तरफ बहुत ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। प्रफुल पटेल जी ने एनरॉन का जिक्र किया। आप देखिए, चीन में एक लाख अरसी हजार विदेशी कंपनियां हैं और चीन का कुछ नहीं बिगड़ा है। वहां सोशलिस्ट इकोनोमी है और वह फल-फूल रही है, पनप रही है। कहीं किसी को कोई दिक्कत नहीं। न उसे कोई गुलाम बना रहा है। जो यह उदाहरण दिया जाता है कि एक ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी आएगी और हम गुलाम हो जायेंगे, तो यह रोना-धोना कब तक करेंगे? मैं चीन में देख कर आया हूँ और मैं वहां दो बार हो कर आया हूँ। चीन कहीं कोई गुलाम नहीं है। खूब फल-फूल रही हैं कंपनियां और उनके साथ काम कर रही हैं तथा चीन एक खुशहाल देश है। हमारे यहां एक एनरॉन को लेकर इतनी ज्यादा पोलिटिकल कंट्रोवर्सी है कि पूछिए मत। मुझे जो कुछ पता चला, उस दिन पॉवर मिनिस्टर ने डिनाई कर दिया, लेकिन असलियत यह है कि एक सजेशन गया था फाइनांस सेक्रेटरी की तरफ से कि आप जो है अगर वह साढ़े तीन रुपये, 3.60 रुपये या 3.70 रुपये पर बिजली देने को तैयार हैं तो आप उस बिजली को नेशनल ग्रिड में लाइये सैकंड फेज का जो है, एनरॉन सैकंड, नेशनल ग्रिड में लाने के बाद उसको पॉवर ट्रेडिंग कार्पोरेशन के जरिए जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स चाहती हैं उनको बांट दीजिए। यू.पी. में इंडस्ट्री को साढ़े चार रुपये घर यूनिट के हिसाब से बिजली दी जा रही है, मध्य प्रदेश में भी इसी रेट पर दी जा रही है। ज्यादातर स्टेट्स में साढ़े चार रुपये प्रति यूनिट से नीचे किसी इंडस्ट्री को बिजली नहीं दी जा रही है। अगर साढ़े तीन रुपये में एनरॉन आपको बिजली देता है, बीच में प्रॉफिट ले गवर्नमेंट और इंडस्ट्री को बिजली बेच दे, इससे एनरॉन भी रह जाएगा, बदनामी भी विश्व में नहीं होगी और

हमारी कुछ पॉवर की प्रब्लम भी साल्व होगी । लेकिन यह सब कौन करे ? इसके लिए कोई सार्थक प्रयास नहीं है । सब एक तरह से हताश और निराश होकर बैठे हैं । इस हताशा और निराशा के वातावरण को हमें कम करना पड़ेगा और कांफीडेंस बिल्डिंग मेजर्स बनाने पड़ेंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अभी पब्लिक डैट को लेकर बहस चल रही है कि हम इसे कब तक लेते जाएंगे ? वर्ल्ड बैंक से, ए0डी0बी0 से और आई0एम0एफ0 से हमारे ऊपर कर्ज का भार बहुत बढ़ता जा रहा है और अब तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स उन से सीधे कर्ज ले लेती हैं । फिर उसे कुआं खोदने के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाता है । अरे भाई, रूरल डवलपमेंट का पैसा कुआं खोदने के लिए लगाओ, हैंडपंप लगाने के लिए लगाओ, लेकिन मैं ब्यूरोक्रेसी और इंजीनियर्स की साइकॉलोजी जानता हूं । वर्ल्ड बैंक का पैसा स्टेट्स में इसलिए आता है कि उस को खाओ । वर्ल्ड बैंक का पैसा कभी जमीन पर नजर ही नहीं आता । वह सोचते हैं कि बाहर से खैरात आ गई है और इसे खत्म करो । लेकिन वह भूल जाते हैं कि वह एक-एक पैसा गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया को देना पड़ेगा क्योंकि भारत उन देशों में से है जिसे मल्टी-लेटरल एजेंसी कहते हैं और इन का वह सारा पैसा वापिस करती है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरे ख्याल से हमारे चिदम्बरम् जी का सुझाव माना जाना चाहिए कि जितनी भी रकम हमें डिस-इनवेस्टमेंट के जरिए प्राप्त हो रही है, चाहे वह बहुत छोटी हो, उसे हमें अपने लोन रिपेमेंट पर खर्च करनी चाहिए । अगर हम ने उसे डवलपमेंट के लिए और स्टेट फाइनेंस के लिए दे दिया तो आप जानिए कि यह पैसा भी उसी तरह डूब जाएगा जैसे कि वी0डी0आई0एस0 का डूबता चला गया और आज तक उस का पता नहीं चला । अगर रोज कमाने और रोज खाने के लिए उस पैसे को लगाएंगे, जैसे कि प्रफुल्ल पटेल जी ने कहा, तो यह उचित नहीं है । इसलिए पब्लिक डैट के मामले में सरकार को बहुत कड़ाई का रुख अपनाना चाहिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैंने भी आंकड़े इकट्ठे किए हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि उनको देने से और यह बताने से कोई फायदा नहीं है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स की क्या पोजिशन है और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का कितना फिस्कल डेफिसिट है । उन आंकड़ों को देने के बजाय मैं ने अपनी चिट्ठी में जो दो-तीन बातें कहीं हैं, उन की ओर मंत्री जी का ध्यान चाहूंगा । जो फॉरेन डेट्स हैं, वह रेअरेस्ट ऑफ रेअरेस्ट केसेज में अलाउ किए जाने चाहिए । जो हमारी फॉरेक्स पोजिशन है, वह आज की तारीख में ठीक है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कल एक खबर आई थी कि यह हमारे पास करीब 44 बिलियन डॉलर्स है, लेकिन खासतौर से गवर्नमेंट सेक्टर में फॉरेक्स एक्सपेंडीचर पर हमें रोक लगानी चाहिए, fix a ceiling on borrowings and restrict the period to the minimum. यह मल्टी-लेटरल एजेंसी के मुताल्लिक है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, डिस-इनवेस्टमेंट वाली बात मैंने पहले भी रखी है । इसके अलावा effective and real cut in administrative expenditure, both in Government and PSUs. यह चिट्ठी मैंने फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को लिखी है जिस के कुछ पॉइंट्स मैंने अपनी स्पीच में भी इनकॉर्पोरेट किए थे और मैं समझता हूं कि ये सारे कदम अगर लिए जाएं और सरकार की तरफ से एक सार्थक प्रयास हो तो निश्चित रूप से स्थिति में सुधार हो सकता है । इस के साथ ही कांफीडेंस बिल्डिंग मेजर्स आप को पाकिस्तान के साथ लेने में भले ही हिचक हो, लेकिन देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था सुधारने के लिए, आर्थिक जगत के लिए, व्यापार जगत के लिए ऐसे कदमों की घोषणा तुरंत होना बहुत जरूरी है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अगर यह विश्वास नहीं लौटा तो स्थिति बहुत खराब हो जाएगी । फायनेंस मिनिस्टर ने भी कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में भी यह बात रखी थी । इसलिए मुझे लगता है कि स्थिति बहुत गंभीर है ।

इसी कारण हमारे सदन में इस विषय पर बहस हुई और मुझे लगता है कि सरकार निश्चित रूप से इस ओर ध्यान देगी। धन्यवाद।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया) :** श्री आर.पी. गोयंका। आप की पार्टी का समय पूरा हो चुका है, इसलिए आप 5-7 मिनट में अपनी बात कह दें। धन्यवाद।

SHRI R.P. GOENKA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the state of the economy of the country. But I am going to digress a little bit because an hon. Member from the treasury benches mentioned that the Congress President said something in India, particularly, in Bangalore, and another thing in Washington. I think, the Member concerned needs to be educated.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया) :** गोयंका जी, आप बोलिए। उन की बात मत सुनिए।

**श्री आर.पी. गोयंका :** उन्होंने रिफॉर्म्स के बारे में कांग्रेस प्रेसीडेंट का यहां जिक्र किया था, मैं भी उसी का जिक्र कर रहा था। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बात यह है कि बंगलौर में बहुत जोरों से हमने कहा था कि 1991 में हमने रिफॉर्म्स चालू किए थे, कांग्रेस पार्टी ने चालू किए थे और हम उसको फौलो-अप करना चाहते हैं और वाशिंगटन में बिना इस सरकार की आलोचना किए हुए, उनको सपोर्ट करते हुए हमने रिफॉर्म्स के बारे में कहा था। आपने ऐंप्रीसियेशन तो किया नहीं, अनजाने में हमें क्रिटिसाइज़ कर रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)...यह बैनिफिट ऑफ डाउट में उन्हें देने को तैयार हूं...(व्यवधान)...

आप हमारी इकॉनमी का हाल देखिए। अभी पिछले दिनों जब मुझे यह पता लगा कि सदन में यह डिस्कस होगा तो मैंने सोचा कि मैं सही आंकड़े कहां से लाऊं, इसलिए मैं अरुण शौरी जी के पास गया और उन्होंने कुछ किताबें और कुछ लिट्रेचर मेरे पास भिजवा दिया। उसमें से मैंने कुछ फैक्ट्स और फिगर्स निकाले हैं जो मैं इस सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। पिछले 3 साल में इकॉनमी दिन-प्रतिदिन नीचे जा रही है। अभी किसी ने कॉन्फिडेंस बिल्डिंग की बात कही। कॉन्फिडेंस बिल्डिंग कहां से होगा? केवल बोलने से कॉन्फिडेंस बिल्ड-अप नहीं होता। अगर इकॉनमी ठीक है तो अपने आप कॉन्फिडेंस आएगा, इसमें आपकी और हमारी जरूरत नहीं है।

मैं कुछ आंकड़े आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं। ऐग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन जो हमारी इकॉनमी का मुख्य आधार है वह 3.9 परसेंट से घटकर 2.7 परसेंट हो गया है, मैनुफैक्चरिंग सेक्टर का शेयर 8.2 परसेंट से घटकर 4.9 परसेंट हो गया है, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी का शेयर 9.3 परसेंट से घटकर 7.9 परसेंट हो गया है, हां माईनिंग का शेयर जरूर एक परसेंट से बढ़कर 3.3 परसेंट हो गया है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसके लिए आप बधाई के पात्र हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सब ऐग्रीकल्चर की बात करते हैं। आज ऐग्रीकल्चर का सवाल एक पैराडॉक्स बन गया है। ऐग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन कम होने के बावजूद हमारे पास 60

मिलियन टन का बफर-स्टॉक है और अगर पूरी ग्रोथ के साथ यह बढ़ता रहता जैसी कि हमें उम्मीद थी तो हमारी क्या हालत होती ? न उसे रखने की जगह हमारे पास है, न खाने के लिए आप देते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कोटा सिस्टम की बात ट्रेजरी बैंचेज ने की थी । इन्होंने फूड में कोटा सिस्टम लगा रखा है कि 20 किलोग्राम से बढ़ाकर 25 किलोग्राम देंगे, 22 किलोग्राम देंगे । जब आपके पास इतना अनाज है तो उसको फ्री क्यों नहीं कर देते हैं ? आप जितना लेना चाहें, जितना खाना चाहें, जिसकी जितनी हैसियत हो, ले जाए, लेकिन आप ऐसा नहीं करते हैं । सर, मैं रामायण की एक चौपाई बोलना चाहता हूँ । मैं तुलसीदास की रामायण से कोट कर रहा हूँ । रावण से मंदोदरी ने पूछा कि -तुम सुबह से शाम तक सीता के सामने अपना गुण क्यों गाते हो । उसने कहा कि -मूर्ख, यह तो ऐसी बात है कि अगर एक हजार वक्त हम कौवे के सामने कोयल की बोली बोलेंगे तो कौवा भी कोयल की बोली बोलने लगता है । इसी तरह यह लोग कोटा सिस्टम, कोटा सिस्टम किए जा रहे हैं और फेर कोटा सिस्टम में बिलीव करते हैं ।

**श्री ललितभाई मेहता (गुजरात) :** गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले ले सकते हैं इसीलिए यह प्रावधान रखा है ।

**श्री आर.पी. गोयनका :** सर, आपने कोटा सिस्टम क्यों रखा है? गरीब जितना लेना चाहे वह ले तो उसमें आपको क्या आपत्ति है? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्री राजू परमार (गुजरात) :** जब आपका नम्बर आए तब बोलना ।...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्री आर.पी. गोयनका :** सर, हमारी फूड की पोजिशन देखिए । इधर कोटा सिस्टम कर रखा है और उधर रखने की जगह नहीं है । एक्सपोर्ट के लिए हमने फूड का क्या किया? बातें करते हैं उसको अरेबियन सी में डाल देंगे, बे आफ बंगाल में डाल देंगे । यह कोई बात हुई । शर्म आनी चाहिए ट्रेजरी बैंच को इस तरह की बातें करते हुए । ...**(व्यवधान)**...

सर, हम लोग तो आपकी तरह ट्रेजरी बैंच में नहीं बैठे हैं । रोज अखबार पढ़ते हैं और रोज उसका ज्ञान प्राप्त करते हैं कि आप लोग क्या सोचते हैं । बात यह है कि आप लोग बड़ी जल्दी नाराज हो जाते हैं क्योंकि आप लोगों की आदत खत्म हो गई है कोई क्रिटिसिज्म सुनने की । इसलिए कुछ सुनो, कुछ सीखो ।...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पुराने जमाने में यह कहा जाता था कि जो क्रिटिक हो उसको लाकर अपने घर पर बीच में स्थान देकर रखिए, फिर उसकी इज्जत करिए, उसका सम्मान करिए । लेकिन यहां ऐसा है कि बात करने से सब लोगों के तेवर बदल जाते हैं । यह तो हाल है ट्रेजरी बैंच का ।...**(समय की घंटी)** ...**(व्यवधान)**...सर, डेढ़ मिनट और लूंगा । कहीं वे लोग नाराज न हो जाएं इसलिए मैं आपकी तरफ देख कर बोल रहा हूँ ।

1.1 परसेंट जी0डी0पी0 का खर्चा करते थे केपिटल एक्सपेंडिचर । उसकी जगह 6 परसेंट कर दिया । यह चाहें सेमसन हों या उनके गुरु लॉर्ड कीस हों, दोनों इस चीज को मानेंगे कि एम्प्लॉयमेंट कम होगा तो सेविंग कम होगी और अगर सेविंग कम होगी तो इन्वेस्टमेंट कम होगा । यह जानी पहचानी थ्योरी है, कोई मेरी थ्योरी नहीं है । सर, एक्सपोर्ट की बात करते हैं, क्या एक्सपोर्ट की बात करते हैं? चीन गए हुए लोग अपनी-अपनी राय दे रहे थे । अपना 20

परसेंट एक्सपोर्ट था वह अब माइनस 4 परसेंट हो गया है और आप एक्सपोर्ट की बात करते हैं। सर, मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस जगह पर हम लोग इकानॉमी को ध्यान में रखते हुए आगे बढ़ रहे हैं? यह एक सवाल करके मैं अरुण जी से कहूंगा कि आप जवाब देते समय इस बात को ध्यान में रखिएगा कि हम किस तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं? देश में अन-एम्पलाइमेंट बढ़ा है। अब मैं ज्यादा बोलूंगा नहीं क्योंकि मेरा गला थक जायेगा। धन्यवाद।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया) :** श्री ललितभाई मेहता । आप भी पांच-सात मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिए। आपकी पार्टी ने भी काफी समय ले लिया है।

**श्री ललितभाई मेहता :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश में आर्थिक विकास की गति मंद होती जा रही है इस पर सारा सदन चिन्ता व्यक्त कर रहा है। इसके लिए सरकार भी चिन्तित है, सारा देश चिन्तित है। यहां पर जिक्र किया गया कि हमारे देश की परिस्थिति कैसी है और विश्व में परिस्थिति कैसी है। विश्व में जो जीडीपी पिछले साल बढ़ी है, वह सिर्फ 1.6 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। यूनाइटेड स्टेट ऑफ अमेरिका की जो जीडीपी ग्रोथ थी वह सिर्फ 0.7 परसेंट रही और पिछले आठ साल में यूनाइटेड स्टेट ऑफ अमेरिका में यह सबसे कम है। इसका असर हमारे दक्षिण पूर्व एशियाई देश जैसे - मलेशिया है, सिंगापुर है, इंडोनेशिया है, ताईवान है, हांगकांग है, फिलीपींस है, इन सब पर पड़ा क्योंकि इन देशों से 40 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा साफ्टवेयर की चीजों का निकास अमेरिका में हो रहा था। अर्जेंटीना में जो परिस्थिति हुई है उसका असर चिली और ब्राजील पर पड़ा है। यूरोप और जर्मनी में ग्रोथ रेट नहीं बढ़ा है। रूस भी अपनी ग्रोथ रेट को प्राप्त नहीं कर पा रहा है। इस परिस्थिति का असर हमारे देश पर होना स्वाभाविक था। आज हमें कुछ बातें ध्यान में रखनी होंगी। हमारे यहां रोजगार के अवसर घटते जा रहे हैं। इसको हम कैसे बढ़ा सकते हैं, इसके लिए हम कारगर उपाय क्या कर सकते हैं? कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो विनिवेश हो रहा है वह कम हो रहा है। उसके बारे में जो कुछ तथ्य मेरे पास हैं मैं उन्हें बताना चाहूंगा। वर्ष 1960-61 में कृषि के क्षेत्र में 6300 करोड़ रुपये का विनिवेश हुआ था, 1977-78 में 18200 करोड़ का विनिवेश हुआ और बीस साल बाद 1998-99 में करीबन 20000 करोड़ का विनिवेश कृषि के क्षेत्र में हुआ है। यानी कृषि के क्षेत्र में विनिवेश में जो बढ़ोत्तरी होनी चाहिए थी वह नहीं हुई है। उसका कारण है कि हमारा जो पूरा विनिवेश हो रहा है उसमें से कृषि क्षेत्र का जो विनिवेश है वह घटता जा रहा है। इसलिए कृषि क्षेत्र पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए जिससे कि हमारे यहां रोजगार के अवसर बढ़ सकें। हमारे यहां पर मुद्रास्फीति काबू में रखी जा रही है। कैपिटल मार्केट में जो परिस्थिति हमारे यहां हो रही है इसको ध्यान में रखते हुए कैपिटल इन्वेस्टमेंट कैसे बढ़े, इसके लिए भी कारगर उपाय किये जाने चाहिए। मैं कुछ बिन्दु आपके सामने विचारार्थ रखना चाहूंगा। हमारे यहां जो विदेशी ऋण का प्रमाण है - जो हमारा सकल घरेलू उत्पाद है और जो हमारा निर्यात है - उसको देखते हुए हम उसे सस्टेन कर सकते हैं। हमारे जो शॉर्ट टर्म विदेशी ऋण हैं वह हमारे विदेशी मुद्रा के भंडार से काफी कम है, उसको अगर हम ध्यान में रखें तो उसे भी हम सस्टेन कर सकते हैं। प्रपोर्शन ऑफ पोर्टफोलियो कैपिटल इक्विटी में है, वह भी हमारे लिए प्लस प्वाइंट है। हमारे सॉफ्टवेयर की रैमीटैसिज जो एक्सपोर्ट से आती हैं, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए करंट अकाउंट डेफिसिट हम कंट्रोल में रख सकते हैं। यह भी हमारे लिए प्लस प्वाइंट है। ऐक्सचेंज रेट मैनेजमेंट की जो हमारी स्ट्रेटजी है, वह भी काफी प्रैगमैटिक है। इसके अतिरिक्त आज भी जो हमारे देश में पूंजी आती है और जो धन हमारे देश से जाता है, उस पर हम कंट्रोल कर सकते हैं। खास कर डोमैस्टिक रेज़ीडेंट्स की जो बातें हैं,

उस पर हमारा पूरा अंकुश है इसलिए मेरे विचार से ऐसी कोई चिंता की बात हमारे सामने नहीं आनी चाहिए कि हमारे देश में आर्थिक स्लो डाउन के कारण कोई गड़बड़ी पैदा हो जाएगी। घन्यवाद।

SHRI P. PRABHAKAR REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to participate in the discussion on the subject which is causing worry to everyone in this country. We have had a very illuminating and a most enlightening discussion in the last three days. When the Budget was presented this year, there was a very high expectation, particularly, about industrial growth and flow of foreign direct investment. But, unfortunately, Sir, there is a deceleration in the growth, not specific to a particular sector, but almost all the sectors have suffered badly. Many Members have given the statistics. I don't think, at this point of time, I need not really reel out the statistics. But I will just cite a few examples.

If you see agriculture, the targeted growth in the Ninth Plan was 3.9%. But we could achieve only 1.5%. In manufacturing, the targeted growth was 7.1%, but we could achieve only 4.29%. These are the two main sectors where we have failed very badly. In this background, even the revised target for the Ninth Plan, that is, 6.5%, is very difficult to achieve, unless we achieve a growth of 8.7% in the next year, which looks highly improbable.

Sir, another cause for worry is the fall in revenue receipts. In the first quarter, the direct taxes have fallen by 28% and indirect taxes by 7%. The revenue receipts, as a percentage of GDP, have fallen from 11.3% in 1989-90 to a mere 9.3%. It is not a happy augury. As our senior Member, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, has said, any Government should be careful about its revenues because the revenues have to be deployed for creating assets. We can't just depend on borrowings for creating assets. Therefore, the Government has to take utmost care in seeing to it that the revenue is improved.

Sir, an even more worrisome area is the flow of FDIs. The current FDI flow into the country is merely 2.2 billion U.S. dollars, whereas China could attract 38 billion U.S. dollars. Many a speaker in this House has compared the economic situation of our country with that of China. When China is able to attract 38 billion U.S. dollars, why are we not able to attract more than 2.2 billion U.S. dollars? If you see, for the last 20 years, China attracted 330 billion U.S. dollars, whereas India could attract only 18 billion

U.S. dollars. Where is 330 and where is 18? China's exports in the last twenty years were 249 billion U.S. dollars, whereas Indian exports were merely 38 billion U.S. dollars. Any investor who wants to come to this country, what would he be looking for, principally?

Sir, according to me there are three or four important factors. One is, he will see whether the country in which he is going to invest has got any long-term economic policy. The second is the role of the bureaucracy. The third is the infrastructural facilities and whether the country has an investment friendly climate. These are the issues which an investor see. It is for the Government to examine because this Mid-term Appraisal that you have brought forth, in my opinion, is a very, very honest appraisal. You have not hidden anything. It is an utmost transparent appraisal. So in the same vein, I want the Government to examine as to why we are not attracting foreign direct investment as compared to China.

Another area is agriculture. Sir, agriculture is the main sector which is responsible for the slowdown in the economy and fall in the GDP. For the last two years, there was an increase of only one per cent. That means virtually there is stagnation. Sir, today farmers are suffering on many counts. There is no proper storage facility. There is poor quality of seeds. There is no proper market prediction system. The minimum support price which the Government is offering is done on a very, very *ad hoc* basis. It has no relevance to the cost of production. Sir, the farmers are suffering on multiple counts. I am not blaming one Government for this. It is an accumulative effect of neglect of farmers in the last 15 or 20 years. Sir, another factor is the rural credit. All of us know, there is a primary lending commitment on the part of the nationalised banks and 18 per cent they have to lend. But this is followed more in breach than in practice. Why should it not be lent? Some bankers have more ingenuity. They are just lending it to the State Governments for spending it in the rural areas and are washing off their hands from this responsibility. If you want farmers' interests are to be protected, then this 18 per cent primary lending commitment should be honoured because then only can farmers get some relief. Sir, we cannot neglect farmers because 73 per cent of our population is dependent on agriculture. We have set a very high target of GDP growth for the next Plan and that is 8 per cent. Unless farmers lot is improved, I do not think it will be possible. It will remain only a pipedream. Another thing is infrastructure. Sir, we are very poor in infrastructure. This is one thing which will propel the economy. This will generate employment.

This will get foreign direct investment. It has got so many advantages. But it is suffering a total neglect. The classic example is the power. Sir, about 80,000 villages are still not having access to the electricity even today. The estimate is that in the next ten years, we have to generate about one lakh MW of power and for that we require about 8 lakh crores of rupees for generation and distribution. Sir, where are we going to get the money from? Our policies are so confusing that electricity sector is still groping in the dark. Instead of attracting investment, investors are fleeing away this sector because of the non-clarity on the part of the Central Government and the State Governments. So, the infrastructure has to be developed. Sir, the other thing, the other important aspect is that the States must be made more powerful because they having the delivery mechanism. It is the States which are the agencies for taking up the welfare activities and developmental activities. Sir, the States must have more funds and they should be given power to borrow money from the market. Right now there is article 292 which prohibits borrowing money. This article has to be amended. The other thing is that there are 210 Centrally- sponsored scheme. In your Mid-term Appraisal you have said that all the schemes are going to be a waste because there is no proper control and there is no proper supervision. It is the top-down approach which is affecting. The State Governments are not owning this. It is high time that all these Centrally sponsored schemes were scrapped at once and the State Governments were given the liberty to choose their priorities. If this is done, I think, it will benefit the country and the poor people.

The last point is: I fully agree with hon. Nariman. Though he has touched upon only one point, he has given a very valuable suggestion that there must be political consensus on broad economic policies because, for any businessman or any industrialist to draw long-term business plans, long-term economic policies of the Government are required. I know many industries which have become sick due to a sudden change in the policies of the Government. Today, we are talking about the NPAs. Many of them are because of the change in the policies of the Government. That aspect has to be examined. I do not want to take more time. At the end, I would say that the political parties should rise above the narrow political considerations. Separate politics from economics; politicisation of economics is what is affecting country the most. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.



THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DISINVESTMENT, MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING, MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF STATISTICS AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND PUBLIC GRIEVANCES OF THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS (SHRI ARUN SHOURIE): Sir, it is a comment on our times that I had to look up the records to see as to when was the last debate on planning and on plan took place. It is really a comment on our times. The last time the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha discussed this subject was in December, 1985. Today, we are discussing the Mid-term Appraisal of the Ninth Plan. The Ninth Plan document was never discussed in the House. The Eighth Plan Mid-term Appraisal could not be finalised. We are discussing, in effect, the Ninth Plan document and the Mid-term Appraisal, when there are just eight months left for the Ninth Plan to be over. Sir, I will follow the standing advice of my dear friend, who has been my shield in the past, Mr. Nariman, and what Mr. Prabhakar Reddy has just now told us. I do not want to get into the lame game. We are told that everything that has gone wrong has come about because of the last three years. And we just say, 'No, no. We are just continuing the policies of the last forty-five years.' I do not want to do that at all. Because the situation is really very serious. I will not underplay that at all. I would not say anything to lull any one to complacency. My intention is quite the reverse. I believe, it is to open our eyes to the reality and to ignite the sense of urgency. If we do not act, I assure you, we will fall into or we will stumble into an abyss whose depth we do not know. It is not a question of what has happened in the last three years or what has happened in a much longer period. So, my only request and my only urge to this House is really going to be prepared uninterrupted, unrelenting strife and hardship, not just for the next year, not to see ourselves out of the slowdown, but for the foreseeable future.

The first point is: Yes. There is a comprehensive slowdown. Shri Goenkaji was mentioning that; 'Yes, in mining and in quarrying there is a higher rate of growth.' Sir, mining and quarrying account for only 2.3 per cent of the GDP. I do not want to take any credit for it. Nor am I complacent with that figure. There are many explanations for this slowdown -- two bad monsoons, whatever. But the central point is, as Mr. Balbir, Mr. Narendra Mohan and others from all corners have said, there is a general slowdown in the world. There is no more comfort to us than in the phrase

that was there in the mid-70's when it was said, 'corruption is a world phenomenon.' That did not confront us. Similarly, recession being a world phenomenon or slowdown being a world phenomenon should not comfort us in any way. It is true that the fundamentals of our economy are strong. Several figures have been given. But I want to alert the House that the fundamentals of Indonesia did not suddenly turn bad. And, yet, today, within a period of three years, Indonesia is now a question mark -- whether the country will continue as one country is not entirely certain. Yes, we have many strengths. We are in space technology, where many strengths have been recounted here, and narrated many times. But strength and potential do not automatically turn into performance. We must improve our performance much better than we are doing at present. Sir, there are many specific points that have been raised, from coal gasification to Birla *Saheb's* point about unutilised money in Ministries, what our posture is going to be in Doha, etc. Various other points have also been raised. Mr. Virumbi had talked about the duties on textiles, the duties on corrugated boxes for textile exports, and so on. Sir, because there is not that much time today - we are at the end of three days of discussion, with 26 Members participating in it -- if you permit, and if hon. Members permit, I will send detailed written answers to each one of the specific points raised here. Instead of going through it piece by piece, I will do that. The point on which I will focus is -- I think a very studied juxta position in the motion that you have put before us -- the slow down has been linked with the mid-term appraisal of the Plan. I will, therefore, focus on the lessons which come from the mid-term appraisal and which relate to the slowdown and what are the ways in which we can combat it, and so on. Sir, a good point was made about restoring confidence in our economy. Goenka *saheb* said that, "बात करने से कान्फिडेंस नहीं आता । मगर रियलिटीज को नजरन्दाज करने से भी डिस्करेजमेंट आता है ।" It is not a small achievement that at a time of great turmoil -- Balbirji was mentioning a figure -- we are among the three highest. Our standards have changed. We used to be very happy with a 3.5 per cent growth. Today, we are not happy with a 5.5 per cent growth. It is a testimony to the fact that because of our leadership, because of the changes made by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Narsimha Rao, that have been continued, the changes which have been made in Andhra, in Karnataka, today, and because of all these things, the expectations of our governance are higher. When we fall from 6.5 per cent to 5.5 per cent, we say, "Oh! There is a big crisis. A catastrophe has happened." It is not a small achievement for the country at a time of grave buffeting in international

markets because of speculations in foreign currencies, I think we don't realise how the world has changed. Today -- Goenka *sahab* will know; Birla Sahib will know; we always profess on export and import of goods -- the total trade in goods is about 900 billion dollars a year. But the speculations in foreign currencies -- merely the speculations -- unrelated to trade in the world market of today are more than one trillion dollars a day. That means, such great typhoons come which can buffet, and have buffeted, the economies of South-East Asia and others. During these periods of turmoil, your country, our country, with or without any particular Government there, with great expertise in financial management, has been able to stay the course, and, today, you have foreign exchange security because you have reserves of 43 billion dollars. Of course it is much smaller than China. It should be a warning to us. China's reserves are 265 billion dollars. But that you are up from less than one billion dollars to 43 billion dollars, is not a mean achievement for the country. Sir, the range of products, ten years ago, when economic reforms were started, we had not even heard. Yes, the computer had been made a symbol, but as such we had not caught on to information technology.

Today, we regard that as one of our prime movers. The country has begun to talk about biotechnology. So, if you see the range of production in India, it is really growing quite a lot. And, an even more impressive factor, Sir, is that all this has happened at the time of great structural changes taking place within the economy. Again, I feel, it is a tribute to Indian industry and to others. It is really a tribute that you have at last started getting out of the old economy, which was an economy of growing and keeping competition out by manipulating the levers of State, by manipulating the levers of the licence-quota-raj. Today, you are really competing; and you are competing at a time when the country, because of the commitments that were made, is bound to go on exposing you to more and more competition. Sir, at this very time, between 1991 and now, the unweighted tariff level, in India, has come down from 125% to 35%. The Indian industry has stood up to that competition. The weighted average has come down from 87% to 20%. So, this is not a main achievement for the country, this is not an achievement, which I am claiming for the Government, but successive Governments have stayed the course on this matter, and Indian industry, Indian workers, Indian scientists, have met the challenge in this. Sir, an even more important thing which we try to confuse because one Government is in power and not another Government. I think, it has less to do with Governments as to do with the country. Now,

about reforms. Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee is right. In each party, there is a discord on this. You are absolutely right. In all parties, there is a re-thinking, there should be an intense debate within each party; that is not happening. There is just sloganeering within each group. It is a fact that at the last-NSS Survey, in 1973-74, 55% of the people were below the poverty line; in 1993-94, 35% people were below the poverty line; in 1999-2000, one lakh and twenty thousand households were surveyed and it showed that poverty ratio came down to 26%. I will tell you, as a person, -- in the morning, Mr. Basu was complaining that I have studied economics and he has not studied -- as an economist, it is my firm belief that this is an overestimate of the persons below the poverty line. Why? If you compare the NSS consumption data with the Central Statistical Organisation consumption data, from which we derived this 5.2% growth rate; you will find that the NSS consumption data for the country, as a whole, is 40% less than that of the CSO data. That means, if I am underestimating consumption by 40%, I am overestimating poverty by some figure comparable to that. And this is borne out by the fact that when you compare NSS surveys with surveys of National Council of Applied Economic Research and so on, their figure comes out to be not 26%, but closer to 15%. I am not going into all this, I am certainly not claiming credit for the Government and saying 'this Government has reversed the trends in the future.' I believe, these are achievements of the country as a whole. We should keep them in mind as we proceed with the current problems. Sir, these are the problems of today and those are the ones I shall touch on. I will document for you what Mr. Nariman was saying, and what, in essence, Shri Pranab Mukherjee started the discussion with. I will mention five things that need to be done, whether it is in regard to China or Mr. Chithranajan's point about Vietnam. I will tell you an easy way to look up these facts and what we need to do. I will put them in the context of slowdown and how to combat it with the lessons of mid-term review. Sir, the main fact which many speakers said was the decline in investment and, in particular, the fall in public investment. The shortfall in public investment has come to almost about 23% from what was anticipated. Now, Sir, we must go into the reason for this. We must see how, by stopping each other, we are not allowing these investments to be raised. Investments cannot be raised from the air. We want public investment to be higher, but we will not allow any change in the strength of the Government servants. We are the votaries of the Pay Commission. The Pay Commission has cost the Public Exchequer, I am told, Rs.35,000-40,000

crores. And, the then Government decided that all the pay hike features of the Pay Commission will be accepted, but all their recommendations on rationalising the Government strength will not be accepted. This had a cascading effect from the Centre to each of the States. Now, I come to the pension amounts. Sir, it will surprise my friends. I studied the figures -- actually, the Secretary to the Planning Commission studied the figures for 15 large States. In 1974-75, the pension figure was Rs.100 crores. That was the amount being spent. It has risen since then by two hundred times. Today, it is Rs.20,000 crores; and it is not a contributory pension. In every other country, there is a contributory pension. The morient you say 'contribution', agitations will start and many of us will support them. अभी इसी सेशन में आप को याद होगा, जो डिस्कसन हो रहा था, उस में कहा गया, Sir, I want to draw attention to one thing. Earlier, when there was a 'strike by Central Government employees, several Members got up and said that one-and-a-half-crore Government employees are on strike today. No Government office had stopped on that account. The next day, when you looked up the newspapers, you found that -- I measured it -- it was less than one-and-a-half-inch item of a single column. But, in the House, the Members were expressing great sympathy for the very persons on whom we are saying that expenditure should be curtailed. Where will public investment, in that case, come from? Sir, I point out to you the gravity of the situation. Just now, Reddy *Sahab* was mentioning the figures about expenditure. I will tell you how grave the situation is. Sir, the total tax revenue of the Central Government is Rs.1,63,000 crores; and more than 70 per cent of this amount is eaten up by payment of interest on past loans, not payment of past loans. If you take tax and non-tax income, it comes to Rs.2,31,000 crores, but the repayment of past debt -- only the principal, forget the interest at this time -- is Rs.2,85,000 crores. It is Rs.50,000 crores more than the total tax and non-tax income of the Government of India. That is the situation. But we do not want to proceed. Look at that. In the States, which all of us represent, the situation is far, far worse. Sir, I will give only one figure. The total plan which you are reviewing, the total expenditure of the 9<sup>th</sup> Plan, was supposed to be Rs.2,02,000 crores in those five years. The States were supposed to contribute from their own resources only Rs.3800 crores. Out of Rs.2,02,000 crores, they were supposed to contribute only Rs.3800 crores. We have completed the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Plan. I would be astonished, if any Member can guess what the contribution of the States has been. They were supposed to contribute only 1.8 per cent of their total outlay. Instead of that meagre amount of Rs.3800 crores in the first four

years, the States have contributed minus Rs.1,05,000, which means, they have made a negative contribution to the Plan outlay. And these State Governments which are bankrupt -- to the astonishment of everybody -- have been giving guarantees left, right and centre, for others to borrow from the banks. And there was a report on this. In 1999, the Reserve Bank was so alarmed that it had prepared a report on the guarantees being given by Governments.

We have not had the time to discuss that. And what is the result? As per my figures, till today, the bankrupt States have guaranteed the borrowings of other States to the extent of Rs.110,000 crores. Mr. Prabhakar Reddy rightly asked to whom are they giving guarantees? They are giving these guarantees to the same financial institutions, which Member after Member have been saying that their health has gone bad. Sir, as on March 2001, there was a default in respect of 118 cases financed by the IDBI, which had been guaranteed by the Government, involving an amount of Rs.1,000 crores. Today you would have seen that the IDBI has come to the Government with a request of Rs.1,400 bail-out package. In IFCI, for which the Government had to give a bail-out package of Rs.1,000 crores just a week or ten days ago, there has been a default of Rs.720 crores involving 126 cases. All these cases, except one, relate to State Government guarantees. So, I say, yes, there is a real problem. So, we should focus on the reasons why investment is not increasing. To state that investment is not increasing sufficiently is merely to state the problem. But, these are the reasons.

My friend, Mr. Balbir was just mentioning in a single sentence that in all utilities, we and the other House, have ensured that they go bankrupt systematically. Every time a Railway Budget is put up, all of us insist that passenger fares should not increase. The result is that you have cross-subsidisation from freight to passenger fare. The result is, as Mr. Rajiv Shukla was just now saying, that freight rates in India are crippling the competitiveness of the Indian products. Worse of it is that freight is now being shifted from rail to road, and we are using the imported oil for moving that freight and are wasting the precious foreign exchange for things, which we could have moved by our own railways, but are not doing so because we perpetuate that cross-subsidisation.

In the State Electricity Boards, the figure, as Mr. Balbir was pointing out, is that in just 1991-92, the loss was to the tune of Rs.4,000 crores. But for the policies we have collectively followed or adopted like

giving free power to agriculture, today that loss of Rs.4,000 crores has become Rs.22,000 crores every year. Where will you get investment from? So, we must reverse this process. Even in the Rajya Sabha, when the Railway Budget was discussed, Member after Member was saying: इस कांस्टीट्यूयेंसी में रेलवे लाइन नहीं है, उस कांस्टीट्यूयेंसी में रेलवे लाइन नहीं है।

Sir, in the Department of Programme Implementation, I had 461 projects on the monitor. We monitor their mile-stones how much there are delays, cost over-runs, time over-runs and so on. I was curiously studying this. I noticed that out of 461, for 85 projects there was never any delay. ये कैसे प्रोजेक्ट हैं ? It turned out that these 85 projects had no date of commissioning! So, there was no delay! And 61 of these are railway lines, which we had insisted the successive Railway Ministers to include. So, what did they do? They put in Rs.1,00,00,000 or Rs.30 lakhs, and the Railway line is not completed, but the public money is locked up there. We insist that projects be taken up, we will not allow the rates to go up, and then we will complain साहब इन्वेस्टमेंट नहीं हो रहा है मैं दूसरे गोयनका जी का शागिर्द हूँ आर.के. गोयनका जी का, जो हमें मारवाड़ी की एक कहावत सुनाया करते थे कि - "ऐसे आदमी हैं जो साहूकार को कहते हैं कि तू जाग, चोर को कहते हैं कि तू लाग और कुत्ते को कहते हैं कि तू भौंक"। हम तमाशा देखते रहते हैं और उसमें कन्द्री का क्या सत्यानाश होता है।

**श्रीमती जमना देवी बारपाल (राजस्थान) :** मंत्री महोदय, जब आपने यह बात कही तो मेरे मन में एक बात आ गई। जब कोई पति अपनी पत्नी को घर में ब्याह कर लाता है और उस वक्त वह कहता है कि मेरे पास तो रोटी खिलाने के लिए नहीं है, तो क्या फिर उस पत्नी को छोड़ देना चाहिए? तो अगर आपने राज चलाने की जिम्मेदारी ली है तो किसी तरह से जनमानस की भावनाओं को पूरा करना पड़ेगा, यों हाथ हिलाने से हिन्दुस्तान नहीं चलने वाला है। सर, आप बुरा नहीं मानें।

**श्री अरुण शौरी :** ठीक है, Sir, I mentioned to you just on the question of electricity rate, the same cross-subsidisation is going on. Rajiv was saying while in China he learnt that our industry doesn't get power at the rate at which Chinese industry gets it. Why does that happen? Because in India, industrial tariff is 218 per cent of the household tariff. In other countries with which we are competing, it is 45 per cent to 60 per cent. Household consumption is penalised so that industry can compete elsewhere. We do the reverse and then we complain, "Industry is not able to stand up." The subsidy to passenger traffic on Indian Railways is now Rs.3000 crores every year. If you had Rs.3000 crores, then, you would not complain against the Railways for not having sufficient funds for safety, or, for track expansion. Members from West Bengal are always saying, "Wagon shortage." बिरला साहब

ने भी कहा कि वैगन के लिए आर्डर नहीं दिए जा रहे हैं। But you are not allowing the Railways to earn the money by which they would earn the surpluses, by which they would make the orders for wagons.

Sir, I could go on with various facets, but two points I would like to deal with. The first point that comes out is, investment has to be increased. For that, we must reverse all the things that we have been forcing the Governments to, do; and we have to stand by Governments, whether it is Mr. Gehlot's Government or any Government, which does the right thing in these matters.

I also feel that at some stage, the House should consider all our allocations. We have got into the habit of insisting that the allocations should be made. "I am poor. हमारे यहां फलट हो गया है इसलिए एलोकेशन दो" But actually the allocations have to be shifted under the Gadgil-Mukherjee's formula, under the Finance Commission's formula. I sincerely feel they should be related to performance. It does not mean that a poorer State cannot perform as well, because you start from a lower base. Actually, it is easier to come with 20 per cent performance from a lower base than for a Government like Maharashtra to improve its performance, when it is already 75 to 80 per cent up to the targeted levels.

Sir, the second thing that I would urge is, what has been urged by several Members, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee, Mr. Prem Chand Gupta, Mr. Suresh Keswani and Mr. Praful Patel, on institutional reforms. I do feel, Sir, under the erosion of successive decades, institutions have rotted at the core from loan melas till now. You were talking only of IDBI, one single appointment being delayed. But it is very necessary that UTI, the Madhavpura Bank, Krushi Bank, bail outs to the IFCI, bail outs to the IDBI are all warning signals. Unless we heed them now, I can assure you that all the apprehensions that have been expressed will come true soon, and heeding them would mean that you have to take very strong and very difficult measures that will cut across, in many ways, the interests of many people.

The second area to which I would like to turn which the mid-term appraisal...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: Why don't you have succession planning so that no public sector undertaking remains headless?



SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: That is a very good idea. I will put it to the Finance Minister. I feel that should be done in the case of the public sector enterprises. It should be done in the case of judges. After all we know when the judges are retiring. Why is it not possible to plan ahead and ensure that they would get that kind of replacement in time?

Sir, I want to tell you another thing. It is very interesting that for the first time our minds are being focussed by fairs. I have never heard a debate, at least in the three years that I have been here, in which speaker after speaker has said, "Are, China is doing this!" Many speakers asked, "Why is China able to do this? And why are we not able to do this?" Sir, I will just take you through two or three facts on this, the central facts why they are able to do these things. One is that their investment is 32 per cent and ours is 24 per cent. The second is that in the last ten years they have been able to attract a foreign direct investment of 323 billion dollars; we have got only 17 billion dollars! And again, we are being asked, "Why is this the case?" Sir, I will give you some reasons. One of the reasons is, while their wages are twice the wages of Indian workers, their productivity is four to five times that of ours. And there are good reasons for that. I would like to know how many of us would support similar changes in India. In China, in the special economic zones, no unions are allowed. I took this up only from their web-sites. Second: Can the employer fire any worker with a 30-day notice, if the worker remains incompetent after retraining on a rearrangement of duties? This is the phrase: "A 30-day notice, out!" Third, the civil servants: the number of civil servants has been halved in the last two years. That means, the number has been reduced from 8 million to 4 million! Forty lakh workers have been thrown out of jobs in Government! Then, in workers themselves, 20 million have been laid off to be redeployed by restructuring. In the special economic zones--again from their web-sites--there is a 7-day week. A 7-day week with only two holidays in a month! That is, of the 30 days, the workers must work for 28 days. There will be a normal shift--the site says--which will be an eight-hour shift, but the worker has to agree, in writing, to work 10 to 12 hours a day, when needed, at the same rate! No overtime! Third, around Labour Day, only one week is allowed, and that is the only annual leave that the worker is allowed! Sir, if you see, the foreign direct investment does not come just on its own. हमारा क्या ब्यू है, हमने परमिट कर दिया। चितरंजन साहब ने कहा कि आप परमिट करते रहते हो। "You keep changing your policies, but you are getting only 2 billion dollars!" When a small country like Vietnam is getting more, what is the problem?" I will tell you what the problem is. China, ten years ago, targeted 300

companies. They said, "These fellows have more than 5 billion dollars, each, to invest in China." To them, they made presentations at the level of not just Ministers, but Deputy Prime Ministers of China. My own brother-in-law is a senior executive in Nestle in Switzerland, not a great, critical, company for China. When I asked him this very question that Mr. Chitharanjan posed--I posed it to him--he told me, "Imagine India having a Deputy Prime Minister or a Governor of that rank. Would you think of sending him to Nestle for one full day with a team of 20 officers and selling the investment opportunities that India presents!" "No." We would think, "Are, Deputy Prime Minister of India, Governors and Chief Ministers of India, trying to get investment! This is not their job!"

We consider it infra dig. But the Chinese team, led by a leader of that rank with 20 officers, had gone there. When the meeting began, the Minister, in a written statement, said, "I want to know what are the things you want".

**श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक :** आप वहां चले जाइए ।

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Just one minute. That is how the question was and that is how it is dismissed. That is why we are where we were. Then we need not lament that we have got only 2 billion dollars a year and they have got 42 billion dollars a year.

They said, "What are the things that you want? You tell me the 15 things that you want to come to my province". The Nestle team had not prepared this. He said, "We will meet you in the afternoon". The Nestle people gave them their list. They said, "Yes, my 20 officers are here. This is the proof. This is the proof. This is the proof. I want your team in China in 15 days, not in one month". My brother-in-law, who was leading the team for Nestle, asked the Minister, "What do you want?". He said, "I only want that in that province your Nestle should increase the income of the agriculturists by 65 per cent or whatever it is. I want you to guarantee that increase". He said, "Yes, of course, that will happen". The Minister said, "Fine, on the 15<sup>th</sup> day we will meet you in Shanghai and these things will be settled". They gave up their plants in India and went to China. In 1993--many senior people are sitting there--Motorola came to India. You are using their cell-phones and computer chips. They are the biggest manufacturer of computer chips in the world. They wanted certain things to be done for their computer hardware industry to flourish in India. Among them was a condition--not a condition but a policy statement--that we

should make efforts to make Bangalore an international airport. We said, "No, no, we wouldn't do that". They picked up their bags and went to Malaysia. Today, guess, who is the third largest exporter of computer chips in the world? Malaysia. The largest exporter is Motorola. We are buying from them. Today, we are making Bangalore an international airport. But ten years later, when we have missed the bus!

SHRI RAJEEV SHUKLA: It was due to corruption.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will come to corruption.

Mr.Chitharanjan asked, "What about Vietnam?". I request you to go to the library at your home today and please access the site on Vietnam in the computer provided by the Rajya Sabha. They have about 50 pages--I downloaded them myself because you had put the questions--on Vietnam as a destination for foreign investors. Actually, the figure is only 2.2 billion dollars since 1998. It is still quite small. Six per cent of this, one-sixteenth of this, has come in agriculture. We don't allow foreign direct investment in agriculture. They allow in fisheries. We don't allow. They allow in garments. We don't allow. It is a small-scale sector. They allow in footwear. We don't allow. They allow in food-processing which is a small-scale sector. We don't allow. The general tax rate in Vietnam is 32-45%. But for any enterprise having foreign capital, it is 10-25%.

SHRI RAJEEV SHUKLA: It is 4 per cent in China.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Mr. Rajeev corrects me that it is 4 per cent in China. If the firm earns repatriable profits and reinvests them in Vietnam, there is 100 per cent tax refund. Land rents have been reduced by ten times. The site says, it is a few dozen cents per square metre per year. Labour permits foreign investors to acquire 30 per cent equity in State-owned enterprises. But we are continuing the debates on disinvestment. Their site says, I am quoting the sentence, "We have made dramatic changes in the administrative procedures, specially, in post-licence period, in which business inspection and examination are reduced greatly".

Foreign investors are assured in writing of protection against legislative changes detrimental to their interests. That is about a small country, Vietnam. Now what happens is this. When a country like China

gets 323 billion dollars, they use that money to modernise one sector after the other. If this year textiles, the next year it will be telecom and then it will be infrastructure. Therefore, their whole thing becomes so competitive that you will get alarmed. The Ministry of Commerce has done a study on the competitiveness of Chinese products. Sir, kindly permit me to narrate certain things here. We kicked out the Monsanto. Monsanto is one of the biggest genetically modified seed producers in China today. The day before yesterday, we were having arguments about the BT cotton. Most of the Chinese cotton crop is genetically modified cotton. In China, the productivity of paddy is 217 per cent of India. In the case of wheat, it is 154 per cent. In the case of maize, it is 281 per cent. In the case of groundnuts, it is 261 per cent. I am talking of per hectare productivity of China and India. In the case of cotton -- you want to compete with them -- it is 294 per cent per hectare of Indian productivity. But we will not allow this. The labour productivity in industry -- you want to compete with them -- ranges from 156 per cent to 244 per cent in different products. What is the result? If you see their price, please do not think that China is only dumping. We are fooling ourselves if we feel that they are only dumping a few products and we can compete with them or save our industry merely by imposing anti-dumping measures. I don't think it is possible. See the price at which they are selling their products in China. Our per unit price of a wristwatch is 18 dollars and their price is one dollar and six cents. It is not only in India, but the world over. Our price of an electric alarm clock is 4.9 dollars and their price is 37 cents. I can quote many things. You just access to the site of the World Economic Forum. They have just concluded their session in China, which was held from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2001. Every page bristles with determination to improve their competitiveness. Their aim is seven per cent growth by improvement in productivity. But our labour practices and others will not allow us to do it. As was very rightly mentioned the other day, many of our laws -- I will illustrate it to you just now; I talked about labour laws -- come in each other's way. A phrase has been used in some other context of conceptual clarity. Birlaji scolded the Government by saying that the Finance Minister in his Budget speech promised that he would reform the labour laws, but nothing has been done in that regard. I will read out a document and you tell me now, whether it is the Congress party or anybody else -- I do not want to be partisan because I am following Shri Nariman's advice -- whether this House will allow those changes to be made or not. I have just read out to you what the Chinese laws are. The document talks about the proposed changes. It says, "The

Industrial Disputes Act will be amended to limit the applicability of Chapter 5(b) to industries employing, let us say, 1,000 or 300 workers; the condition of prior Government permission for retrenchment under Section 25 (n) will be waived."

Again, it says: "Section 9 (a) will be amended to obviate the need for giving notice of change unless the change affects the number of hours of work, holidays or emoluments of workers" -- but not firing. Then, it also says about complete conceptual clarity. Then, it says, 'the Contract Labour Act to be amended';. But, we do not allow this amendment. Now, take the case of Air India. We were talking about it in the morning. We have 23 planes and there are 18,000 workers, which means 680 workers per plane. पुश करने से भी नहीं उड़ेगा वह। Do you know one reason why this is so? It is because we do not allow Air India to outsource even the service of transportation of pilots or anybody else to the airports. We say, "No, that must also be done by the permanent staff of the Airlines." If you allow just the canteen service or the taxi service to be outsourced, then this figure would come down -- I calculated it -- to 418 from 680, and you would be taking a giant step towards making it a competitive airline. पर नहीं, वर्कर्स का सवाल है। आज सुबह भी कहा गया कि 18,000 वर्कर्स का सवाल है। And, do we know the average emolument of a worker of Air India? It is Rs.7 lakhs per year. 16,000 रुपीज के लिए आपका बिचारा दिल इतना पिघल गया मगर आप एक एम्प्लाए की प्रोटेक्शन के लिए कांस्ट्रिक्ट लेबर को, एंटी एम्प्लोएमेंट लेबर लॉज को

परपेच्युट कर रहे हैं।

Sir, a committee has been appointed to comprehensively review the recognition of trade unions and prevent unfair labour practices. The process of inspections under various labour laws will be rationalised and the number of such installations will be reduced and regulated. Now, would we agree to complete conceptual clarity?

SHRI P.N. SIVA (Tamil Nadu) : Dipanker Mukherjee has to say....

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Not Dipanker, but the whole House ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKER MUKHERJEE: Don't talk like that. Mr. Shourie does not have to go before the workers. We have to go there. I know the case of Tamil Nadu as well. Don't say like this ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, the Minister is trying to say as if the whole problem is because of surplus workers...

6.00 P.M.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: No, not at all ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKER MUKHERJEE: Remove all the workers and run the country...*(Interruptions)*... What is happening here? There is only anti-workers' propaganda ...*(Interruptions)*... You don't talk about unregistered companies. You don't talk about companies which have taken the money and gone away. You are not talking about them. It is only against the workers that you are going on talking...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I would like to illustrate one point...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPANKER MUKHERJEE: If they want to have a discussion on land reforms, then, we are prepared for it. According to you, only the industrialists are working in this country. पैसों वाले काम करते हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Let him complete...*(Interruptions)* Please sit down.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will tell you what I was reading. I was going to read from the Industrial Policy Statement of the Government of Maharashtra before you started shouting at me. When the Government of Maharashtra proposed to do it, we opposed it; there was a bandh by the RSS and the BMS, and we stopped it. When we propose it, you were just now shouting at me to stop it.

श्रीमती सरला माहेस्वरी (पश्चिमी बंगाल): यह सब कुछ जानते हैं इसलिए मालूम नहीं हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री रविशंकर प्रसाद : आप भी तो बंगाल में वही कर रहे ह...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE : Sir, I want to return to the point made by Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee. *(Interruptions)* I entirely agree with Mr. Dipankar. Sir, do you want me to continue because there are many points to be taken up? I will take them up tomorrow, if you like.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Let him finish, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): How long will you take?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will take up the question of WTO which has been mentioned by several Members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) : It is better to finish today.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: It is a very important point, to which I will draw the attention of Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee because he knows more about it than any of us. First, a point was made by Shri S.B. Chavan and he said whether we should not work towards the question of implementation of the Uruguay Round, rather than going in for a new round. That has exactly been the position of the Government of India and we have been trying to mobilise everyone in Geneva and other quarters and that will also be the main focus of our presentation in Doha. It was said that we should focus on implementing the promises that were made in the past, many of which Mr. S. B. Chavan was recounting, rather than just going in for a new round. But there was another point that was made by many Members. इब्राहीम साहब ने बहुत जोरशोर से कहा कि अगर नहीं होता तो हमको डब्लूटीओ छोड़ देना चाहिए। I think we do not comprehend the consequences of becoming a Myanmar. China is panting to get in. It has been panting for twelve years to get into international trade and we want to step out of it! And the thing that is said is that we should become the leaders; we should mobilise the developing countries to do this. I will give you the real situation of the developing countries. There was a very good speech made in this very House by Mr. Pranab Mukherjee when he was the Commerce Minister. At that time, many Members from our side had said, "Look here! Why don't you mobilise the developing countries on the textile agreement". Shri Pranab Mukherjee, at that time, narrated what had actually happened. He said we made all efforts. I am speaking from memory. He said that at that time 30 countries were with us; one by one, they were picked up by the developed world; in the end, we were two countries left, Pakistan and India; and then, Pakistan also crossed over; we were left alone and the textile agreement went one way rather than the other. So, academic exhortations like 'why don't you do this', 'why don't you become the leader', 'why don't you walk out of WTO' are really statements that can just disrupt the national effort by confusing the people.

The third point that is really an important lesson, which comes out of our Mid-term Appraisal, is on the question of foreign direct investment and the attitude that is necessary to get it. But there is a very important consideration and that is the speed at which and the market savvy with which countries like China are going. We do not associate market savvy with what Mr. Goenka or Mr. Birla or Mr. Praful Patel associate it

with. But you should see how they do it and the speed with which they do it. Sir, I had presentations made from the same advisers who are advisers to China. They had come for disinvestment purposes to be our advisers. I said, "You forget this. But you tell me what you are doing in China". They said that one of the reasons China is able to raise all this money is that they act with immediate swiftness. Three years ago, as you remember, IT stocks were the rage. They went in for IT stocks and raised several billion. Then, as you know, oil companies' stocks became a big thing. No, I am sorry. It was the telecom. They raised another 15 billion dollars or so, if my memory is right, on telecom stocks by placing all Chinese companies' shares, the Government shares, in New York Stock Exchange. Then, last year, you remember, we had the oil price hike. We are still debating whether the Diesel Cess should be there or not and whether diesel price can be raised or not. China called the same Morgan Stanley, J.P. Morgan and so on for presentations and they said -- because these people have reported to me and given me presentations on this -- "We want to get back this money which the oil companies are sucking out of our country. How do we get it back? We will place shares of SINOPEC", which is like our ONGC, "in Exchange abroad".

Their ONGC in New York Stock Exchange. We must complete this deal in 3 months. हम रोते रहे गये कि हमारा इम्पोर्ट बिल 90,000 करोड़ का हो गया। Rs.90,000 crores on oil! They didn't give up and beat their chest. They called these very American and British consultants and other consultants and said, "We are going to have an international issue by disinvesting in Chinese oil companies." Immediately, in three months, they raised the money, got all the money back from the oil companies, and we are still debating! आई.ओ.सी. का डिसिजन कि 10 परसेंट रिड्यूस होगा, was taken two years ago. हम अभी देख रहे हैं कि मार्केट कब ठीक होगी। Just see the speed and the market savvy. When the IT stocks were high, they sold the IT stocks. When the telecom stocks were high, they sold the telecom stocks. Now, as you know, the IT is down, the telecom is down, all over the world. They sold petroleum and took away the money, and we are gaping! Once the money gets lodged there, you can be certain that it is not going to be available for us. Sir, the question of IT was just being mentioned. श्री राजीव शुक्ला जी ने कहा कि कैसे और कितनी तेजी से वह इंग्लिश वगैरह को, मास्टर कर रहे हैं। In the last two years, China has imported 20,000 English teachers. हमारे यहां अंग्रेजी हटाओ आन्दोलन चल रहा है।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री दीपांकर मुखर्जी : संस्कृत पढ़ाओ भी चल रहा है ...(व्यवधान)...



श्री अरुण शौरी : संस्कृत पढ़ाओ भी । अंग्रेजी हटाओ पर तो मुलायम सिंह जी ने जर्नलिस्ट्स को पैसे भी दिये हैं ।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री राजीव शुक्ल : उनके बेटे ने साथ दिया है... (व्यवधान)... Ashim Premji is just crying today that we are not paying attention to hardwares. China invited the companies of its enemy, Taiwan, which it wants to gobble up, to invest in China in computer hardware. It is, today, the third largest exporter of computer hardware in the whole world. I will give you the conversation.

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक : आप अपनी आर्थिक दशा पर भी बोलिये ।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री अरुण शौरी : I will give you the conversation of one of the biggest... आर्थिक दशा के सुधार के लिए क्या करना चाहिये, यही मैं आपको बतला रहा हूँ । आपने यह पूछा था कि क्या करें ।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री राजू परमार : आप करप्शन पर भी बात करिये ।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री अरुण शौरी : करप्शन पर तो मैंने 20 साल तक काफी बात की है । आपके सहयोगियों को याद होगा ।... (व्यवधान)... एक ही सूत्र में मैं आपको बतलाता हूँ । China executes 12 persons a day on corruption charges. It is a UN figure. Two weeks' trial.

श्री राजू परमार : वही हम बोल रहे हैं ।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री अरुण शौरी : मैं तो उसी मत का बिलकुल हूँ । आप ही अलाऊ नहीं करेंगे ।... (व्यवधान)... ज़रा सुनिये तो ।

श्री राजू परमार : अभी इन्व्वायरी तक नहीं हुई ।... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will give you the conversation with the Chief Economic Advisor, Mr. Rakesh Mohan, one of our principal IT entrepreneurs. He was saying just last week: "Yes, I can raise and invest half a billion dollars in IT today." This will create, he said, "25,000 jobs immediately." But, he said, "If I create these jobs, I am stuck because this will be a permanent workforce and I can't retrench them. I can't change them, I can't outsource. What is the result? In an industry which requires flexibility overnight, I will be saddled with a permanent staff of 25,000 members. I am not going to invest in India." Do you know where he is searching for an opportunity? In China. Yes; he is an Indian and you give him awards as the best so-and-so of the year. On each one of these matters, what is required is not a mystery at all; it is just that we are not getting any one of these things done.

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक : आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं यह तो बताइये ।

**श्री अरुण शौरी :** यही सब चीजें प्रोपोज करेंगे । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

**श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी (उत्तर प्रदेश):** आपका सहयोग चाहिये ।...*(व्यवधान)*...

**श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक :** सरकार क्या करने जा रही है ? यह तो बताएं । चाइना की क्रान्ति को लाना चाहते हैं, क्या करना चाहते हैं, यह तो बताइये न ? ...*(व्यवधान)*...

**श्री सुरेश पचीरी (मध्य प्रदेश):** या तो सदन की अनुमति ले लें या फिर तय हो जाए कि यह कब तक उत्तर चलेगा ।...*(व्यवधान)*...

**श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी :** आपका सहयोग तो है ही...*(व्यवधान)*...

**श्री अरुण शौरी :** सर, अगर मुझे 10 मिनट दें तो मैं अभी खत्म कर देता हूँ ।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA):** Just one second. ...*(Interruptions)*... I would like to take the sense of the House. Before I take the sense of the House, I would like to know how much time you will take.

**SHRI ARUN SHOURIE:** Ten minutes, Sir.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) :** For ten minutes, I do not think I should take the sense of the House. Let him speak ...*(Interruptions)*... You can speak for ten minutes more. For that, I think, I need not take the sense of the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

**SHRI ARUN SHOURIE:** Actually, I will just make two points, because on many of the details, I will send the answers to the individual Members. Sir, on agriculture also it illustrates how we must think a new, that is whatever the Mid-term Appraisal shows and is what we feel, the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan itself should address itself because that is far.

In the last 30 years, since the Green Revolution against which the same sort of propaganda against was done at that time when Mr. C. Subramaniam and others led it. Agricultural growth in India has actually come to mean foodgrains and foodgrains have come to mean wheat and rice. And wheat and rice in this compact area of Punjab, Haryana, Western U.P. parts of Andhra. This has in my view, has reached a saturation point. It has now led to poisoning of the soil by chemical fertilisers, by fertiliser subsidy which this House does now allow Governments to cut, even as it complains about poisoning of land by chemical fertilisers.

Secondly, by over-exploitation of groundwater. So, now agriculture has to shift to other crops. Therefore, the programmes will have to be crop-specific and much more specific to the areas which have not grown till now like Bihar. They talk of India becoming a big milk producer.

Actually, one of the success stories in Indian milk production is in Bihar. But people do not have facilities to transport the milk to the market. That is why a new programme for rural connectivity which the Planning Commission is pushing forward, the Rural Development Ministry is pushing forward and which the Prime Minister is keen on, is exactly directed to that new pattern of agricultural growth. So, we have to shift from growth patterns of the past, which were of subsidies to water, power, individual power, fertiliser, and do investment in infrastructure. Praful Patel was reminding us that infrastructure is the key. But unless we cut subsidies, there is no money at all to build the infrastructure which is required. The last point that I would address myself to is this; if that comes true, it pervades everything. It is necessary for turning around the country today it is necessary for the future, and that where Ambika had misread me when in reply to the question on disinvestment from which this discussion originates, I had mentioned governance, the failure of governance and she said, "O, you have confessed to the failure of the present Finance Minister." No, Sir, I feel this is much more important. You know Balbirji was giving figures of transmission losses in East Delhi-- not of KBK Districts of Orissa. It is a marvel of the law of physics that between the generation of electricity and its reaching the consumer, 55 per cent disappears. The transmission and distribution losses are 55 per cent. The official statistics showed transmission losses at 23 per cent. It is an euphemism for theft; it is just theft. We have seen wherever actual reforms of electricity have begun, the transmission and distribution losses have turned out to be not 23 per cent, but nearly 40 per cent. In China, it is just 6.8 per cent. If you have 40 per cent theft by corruption and we do nothing about that, then naturally the user, the industry has to pay more. In the Delhi Vidyut Board, the balancesheet has not been finalised since 1991-92. The balancesheet has not been finalised for the last ten years. That is the failure of governance. On page 163 of this, I would just draw your attention to only one figure.

All of us talked about the Public Distribution System. If there is any change, Mr. Shanta Kumar is always trying to explain that it is still for the benefit of the poor. इतना हम ज्यादा दे रहे हैं। आप यहां देखिए, एक टेबल दी गई। Diversion from the States and the National stocks. Sir, there is diversion of wheat, rice and sugar from the States and the National stocks. At the national level, according to the official estimates, 36 per cent of wheat is being diverted and sold in black market; 31 per cent of rice and 23 per cent of sugar is being diverted. नागालैंड में व्हीट शायद खाते नहीं, मगर 100 per cent of wheat that is allotted to it is sold in the Delhi market ....(Interruptions)... Just

one second. In Delhi, there is 53 per cent of wheat diversion. There is 53 per cent diversion of rice and 25 per cent diversion of sugar from the PDS. I am on the point. This is not the fault of any particular Government or of anybody. But it is a question of governance.

An important point on the question of corruption has been made. My remedies on that are quite drastic. There is no secret on this matter. I will just conclude by stressing the points in the end. The first one is: Yes; this slowdown will go away. There is no doubt. There is already turnaround signs in America and in other places. Because of a good monsoon this year, the foodgrains production will, probably, exceed 200 million tonnes. You have buoyancy of foodgrains from kind of a situation. I draw little comfort from that because this kind of a slowdown will come three years later and we would be unprepared and will again find explanation for that. Therefore, I would urge that it is a situation that requires an urgent attention. We have the capacity to turn these difficulties to our advantage. But that can happen only if -- it has euphemistically been referred to -- the second-generation reforms are pushed through. There is a discord in all groups about that. And there is a difference between the first generation reforms and the second-generation reforms. That difference is: those reforms were done merely by announcements. We gave up licensing. Today, the reforms require legislation. They will affect the lives of lakhs of persons for whom alternative arrangements will have to be made. But that is the task of this House, and all of us have to work together. The obstacle to this is only 'we.' We are in each other's way. And, therefore, as has been urged by Mr. Reddy, by Mr. Nariman and others, we should all get together for this purpose. Secondly, we should focus on implementation; not on passing laws and other great announcements. And the most important thing is to focus on improving the quality of public expenditure. We are spending enormous amounts. Just now, Mr. Reddy was saying about greater powers for the States. I say that only a few of us can even imagine the figure of devolution to the States this year. Sir, Rs. 124,000 crores are being devolved from the Centre, under different schemes, Finance Commission, Plan, Centrally-sponsored schemes, and so on, to the States. Sir, it is Rs. 124,000 crores. To Kashmir, we have given Rs. 5,000 crores. And, you go to any village in Kashmir and see whether that amount is reaching there. So, it is an urgent task. It is within our grasp. We have the resources for it. But it requires the co-operation of all of us and I do hope that debates of this kind will make us rise to the occasion. Thank you very much.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): Sir, the hon. Minister has very eloquently explained that the Chinese Government is quite efficient and our governance is quite bad. Leave it aside. At the same time, regarding the solution, he said, that the second stage or second phase of reforms would have to be implemented. There is a different on that. Our opinion is, based on the experience, let us have a review and let us come to some understanding on the basis of an objective fact. And, you are not prepared for that.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR : Quota of Nagaland during his speech, the hon. Minister mentioned that hundred per cent wheat is utilized, which is sold from Delhi. I would just like to know the source of this information because, I think, it is too simple to say that 100 per cent has been sold. That casts a negative picture not only on Nagaland, but also on the whole of North-East. We are, time and again, faced with this problem. We are being put on the negative side. So, on that aspect, I just wanted seek a clarification.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I had absolutely no such intention. I have known him and his father. I have got to know them well, and I just don't want any reflection of that kind. I was quoting a figure from the mid-term appraisal of the Planning Commission itself. It is at page 163. It is not a reflection on the Nagaland people or Government at all. I am on the point of collective responsibility of all of us. We are all responsible. I was just reading out you the figure that is there. It is a collective job of all of us to overcome it. Please do not take it otherwise. Please don't take it as a reflection at all. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJU PARMAR: But that sends a wrong signal. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: But, my friend, what should I do about the figure that is printed? We are always thinking of giving signals. Are we not going to correct the situation? I can read out the figures for other States also, if you like. ...*(Interruptions)*... No, no. I will read out the figures for all the States. ...*(Interruptions)*... Okay; Delhi is 53 per cent; Haryana is 53 per cent; Himachal Pradesh is 47 per cent; Jammu & Kashmir is 28 per cent; Punjab is 69 per cent. I can go down the list. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: Regarding States, why don't you review it in the National Development Council? Are you calling a meeting?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Yes; on 1<sup>st</sup> of September. That's a very good point, Sir. The National Development Council is meeting on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September. All the lessons incorporated here, and the points, raised arising from here, I am sure, the Deputy Chairman would be putting before the NDC. The Prime Minister would be putting to the NDC, where all the Chief Ministers are represented. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Now, the short Duration Discussion is over. The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. on Tuesday, the 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2001.

The House then adjourned at twenty-three minutes past six of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2001.