

PRIVATE MEMBERS' RESOLUTIONS

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up Private Members' Business (Resolutions). Further discussion on the Resolution moved by Shri K.N. Balagopal on 21st February, 2014. Shri Balagopal could not complete his speech on 21st February. Shri K.N. Balagopal to continue his speech.

**Recent complaints against levying of inflated bills by public private projects
and licensed service providers in different service sectors and
need for streamlining their functioning – (contd.)**

SHRI K.N. BALGOPAL (Kerala): Sir, I had moved the Private Members' Resolution on 21st February, 2014. I will just say a few words on the subject. I am very thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak. This is a very serious subject. Especially, the present day Indian condition warrants a serious intervention and discussion by the Government on Public Private Projects. There are a lot of complaints about the licensing procedure, the way of conducting the business and the way of levying fee by Public Private Projects. In my Resolution, I gave six broad categories. One, when we are giving sovereign functions to the private sector, for example, electricity in Delhi and water supply, when the sovereign power is with the private sector, they are having the monopoly right. They can charge any amount of fee. So there should be some regulation. There should be some restriction to calculate the actual cost of sovereign functions. Now, in Delhi, electricity charge has become a very big issue. It is in the news even today also. Last time, the Aam Aadmi Party mainly used it for its campaign, and they came to power because of the resentment among people against huge electricity charges. So, this is one area of sovereign functions. Second, while allotting natural resources, we are involving the private sector. Whether it is 2G spectrum or coal or gas prices or petroleum prices, these are the areas which require Government's intervention. There should be a level playing field for selecting Public Private Projects. Contracts should be transparent. Therefore, we should be very specific in this area also. Then a specific regulatory mechanism is needed. A lot of agitations are going on in different States. Even Ruling Party Members have gone on hunger strike against huge fee charged at different tolls. For example, last year, one Congress Member of Parliament from Mumbai went on indefinite strike against huge toll fee. So, there should be a regulator for fixing toll fee and user development fee. The allocation of Public Private Projects should be done under the supervision of Parliament. Finally, Public Private Projects involve a lot of money in the day-to-day business. We have brought some small organization, aided schools or other institutions, which are getting

funds from the Government, under the purview of the Lokpal. But the institutions which are getting thousands of crores of rupees have not been brought under the purview of the Lokpal. So, they should be brought under the Lokpal. These are the main points. Sir, this is not only the opinion of mine. In the Budget Speech, there is one specific paragraph on PPP. In his first Budget Speech, the hon. Finance Minister said on page 20, Chapter V, paragraph 110, "India has emerged as the largest PPP market in the world with over 900 projects in various stages of development. PPPs have delivered some of the iconic infrastructure like airports, ports and highways which are seen as models for development globally. But we have also seen the weaknesses of the PPP framework, the rigidities in contractual arrangements, the need to develop more nuanced and sophisticated models of contracting and develop quick dispute redressal mechanism. An institution to provide support to mainstreaming PPPs called 3P India will be set up with a corpus of Rs. 500 crores."

Sir, in the Budget speech, the Minister has said that PPP in India is necessary, and I am also of the opinion that we cannot avoid PPP. Maybe, we need it. But it should be streamlined. The Finance Minister himself is saying that he wants to set up an institution called 3P India to control the PPP models in the country. But, unfortunately, practices, which are being followed, are against the expectations of the country. He said that India is the largest market of PPP projects. No doubt, nine hundred PPP projects are there. But, when we look at the PPP, Public Private Partnership, the 'P' that stands for private is very big. Public is small and the Partnership is small, but the Private is very big. That is the issue in India. As a matter of coincidence, when we are taking up this discussion on PPP projects, in today's newspaper, 'The Hindu', there is an editorial on the same matter. They have also talked positively about the need for PPP projects. But in the final sentence, 'The Hindu' says, "The Government and its agencies must work on a new framework for PPPs to make them attractive to investors and, at the same time, affordable to users or consumers." Many news items and editorials are coming up about PPPs which are not running in a proper way. Sir, the same day, when we are speaking about PPPs, today, we have got the CAG Audit Report about the Mumbai Airport. The Mumbai Airport and the Delhi Airport are very important Airports and they have been developed through PPP models. Sir, in Mumbai, the CAG Report, in Page 7, has stated, under the head 'Gap in Funding and Development Fee' that the original project cost estimated for the Mumbai International Airports Limited (MIAL) was Rs.5,826 crores. Then, after two or three times of cost escalation, instead of Rs.5,826 crores, it went up to nearly Rs.12,000 crores. It is all given in the CAG Report. Earlier, there was no condition for levying Development Fee. But with the Airports Economic Regulatory Authority's approval to the levy of the

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Development Fee in December, 2012, they introduced a new Development Fund and they collected nearly Rs.3,400 crores. The original private partner's contribution was only Rs.888 crores for the total project, and this was not increased. But the funding from the Government as Development Fee has increased. So, we can see how * is going on in the country, and this is what is happening. The CAG also talks about the commercial exploitation of 190 acres of land. One hundred and ninety acres of land in the heart of the city of Mumbai has been given for commercial exploitation. The original developer of that company brought in only Rs.880 crores, and now, it is being said that the total cost is Rs.12,000 crores. But they are not giving any single penny more. They are collecting Rs.3,400 crores from poor passengers who use these airports. In addition to that, if they are getting 190 acres of land in Mumbai, it means that the value is nearly Rs.35,000 crores. An amount of Rs.2 lakhs per acre is not a huge amount in Mumbai. So, these experiences show what is happening in the name of PPP in the country.

Sir, you are frequently looking at the clock. I have not finished yet.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, you proceed.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: I will not take much time because the other learned Members are going to speak.

Sir, if you look at '*The Business Standard*' of 15th July, it has mentioned about monetization of Delhi land for the GMR Airport. I just now spoke about the MIAL and what happened in the case of the Mumbai Airport, and the CAG Report is there. In respect of the Delhi Airport, I had, personally, moved a Statutory Resolution when the Government took a decision to allow them to collect the Development Fee. Without any proper Contractual Agreement, the Government allowed them to collect the Development Fee. This Airport has collected some money which is illegal. There is no rule. Then I asked a question in the Parliament as to how much money they had collected. It is revealed that Delhi Airport collected Rs. 1481 crores without any proper law. Immediately, I wrote to the Prime Minister not to allow that. The former Civil Aviation Minister is sitting here. I wrote to them. Then what did the Government do? Immediately, the Government brought a rule, amendment allowing Airports Economic Regulatory Authority (AERA), to allow them to collect and they collected. From the facilities, it was revealed that they had already collected Rs. 1,481 crores and after three years they collected more than Rs. 5,000 crores. That was the actual cost of Delhi project. It was Rs. 8,000 crores. Rupees 8,000 crores was the original cost for Delhi Airport. Then, because of time-lag they again assessed it as Rs. 12,000 crores. For making this gap of Rs. 8,000-12,000 crores, they decided

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

to collect development fee and they collected it already. But what is new in this, Sir? It is quite astonishing that GMR is saying that 200 acres of land is with them. They have already sold 45 acres of land. Forty-five hotels are already constructed there. They sold that for around Rs. 2,000 crores. Now, GMR's spokesperson spoke to Business Standard. They are saying that for 200 acres, they will get at least Rs. 100 crores per acre. If it is Rs. 100 crore per acre, they will get Rs. 20,000 crores in addition to that. Sir, they spent less than Rs. 1,000 crores only. They built an airport with Rs. 8,000 crores as estimated. Without any analysis or study they finally said that our cost is Rs. 12,000 crores and they allowed to collect development fund, development fee from the passengers. International passengers are giving Rs. 1,500 per head for trial and they have collected that and they have a land mass with them which can be sold by them. It costs around Rs. 40,400 crores as market value.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are they allowed to sell that freely?

SHRI K. N. BALAGOPAL: Yes. They are allowed. ...*(Interruptions)*... As per their contract, they can allow that. This is Rs. 40,000 crores. In the name of poor people....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Somebody from the Government should take note of this.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING; THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STATISTICS AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION; AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO): Sir, I am taking note of it. Regarding Delhi Airport, Sir, I will check it. We don't know as yet. The agreement between them and the Government is still to be seen by us. Only after that we can give the information.

SHRI K. N. BALAGOPAL: Today in the morning I made a Special Mention. The poor people who are workers are going to Gulf and other countries from the international airport. They are getting Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 8,000. They are going in a group. When we are travelling, in the airport we can see these people going for tea. Even when we go for tea or coffee, the cost of tea or coffee is Rs. 150 or Rs. 200. Now only those kinds of shops are there. Earlier in airports we used to get tea for Rs. 10 or Rs. 30. Now even in the premises of the airport, coffee is costing more than Rs. 150 or Rs. 200. They are charging this much amount and are making money over this and in the name of PPP development we cannot

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allow this. It is not a profit. We cannot say that 1000 per cent or 10,000 per cent is not profit. They are siphoning the State Exchequer for their own profit. This is happening. On the same day, "The Business Standard" has published 'Government imposes 579 million dollars fresh penalty for Reliance Industries'. That is also about gas. Nothing has to be elaborated. Even the CAG Report is there about Rs. 35,000 crores. When they started their excavation, there were some charges by the CAG. So this is happening in the name of PPP. Take the example of 900 PPP projects. In Kerala we don't have many PPP projects, but there are a lot of agitations going on there. They are getting 100 or 200 per cent profit on the investment they are making. Every National Highway project is like that. When we discussed in a casual talk with one person from a famous company, there was a partner with us for making power project. But, finally, the partner ditched. Even then we are getting 100 per cent profit. They are getting 300 per cent. This is an example of road work going on in the country. So many cases are coming to light in the name of PPP. This should not be done. This is the general issue. We have an example of Delhi before us. I am concluding.

Coming to electricity, there is huge electricity charges hike. We have the UMPPs. Under UMPP, they bid, at the time of tender, that they would provide power for less than Re. 1 or Rs. 1.50 per unit. But, what is happening on the ground? Today's newspapers reported about hike of electricity charges. It is very huge.

Secondly, the audit of CAG is going on. Earlier the company said that CAG audit cannot be done. But the hon. Supreme Court said, 'When the Government funding is involved and Government is involved, CAG audit can be done.' So, audit by CAG is going on. In spite of that, they have increased the electricity charges here. So, Sir, CAG audit can be done for airports, National Highways and other PPP projects.

So, what we request the Government is to streamline PPP. Hon. Railway Minister is sitting here. He always smiles, but Kerala people are thinking that they are deprived in the recent Railway Budget. I should not speak about the Railway Budget now. But, even though he is smiling, we are not getting anything from him.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At least, there is a good smile.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: Yes, Sir. We are getting a good smile.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI D.V. SADANANDA GOWDA): I am sorry to interrupt. Sir, he took my name.

Sir, practically, the routes in Kerala are so congested that I am unable to get even a new train on track. There are also other constraints, such as feasibility, etc.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Minister, try to complete doubling as early as possible.

SHRI D.V. SADANANDA GOWDA: I made up my mind. I will call all the Members of Parliament from Kerala, sit with my officers and sort out and see that there will be no discrimination against Kerala. Instead of discrimination, I will have more and more projects for Kerala in future.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Minister, you should concentrate on doubling of the lines ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI D.V. SADANANDA GOWDA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will, certainly, take care of it once the Budget Session is over. I told Shri Rajeeveji that I will talk to them.

SHRI P. RAJEEVE (Kerala): Sir, we have already handed over land for Palakkad coach factory about 3-4 years back. We are waiting for that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. Now, come to your subject, Mr. Balagopal.

SHRI K. N. BALAGOPAL: Sir, I thank the hon. Railway Minister for his generous intervention. We are very thankful to him. I hope that we can also smile like him in the future.

Secondly, Railways is also now announcing a lot of PPP projects. The Defence Ministry is also announcing a lot of PPP projects.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. Now, you have to conclude.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: Sir, this Government should learn from the UPA-II. The earlier Government took up a lot of PPP projects. That is why they failed in the examination. But, they should not act like UPA-II. The examination which gave result to them should be kept in mind.

The present Government should not follow the same path.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: So, you want them to pass in the next examination?

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: That is why I am requesting the Government...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Balagopal, that means you want them to pass in the next examination.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: As students, they should work for that. But, people of the country may not allow that. That is the point.

So, I am requesting the Government to accept this resolution. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. RAJEEVE: Sir, it all happened during the tenure of the former Civil Aviation Minister who is sitting here...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: Sir, my request is this. This is not a political issue. My request to the Government is to accept this Resolution

which contains the basic principles. Thank you.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support my friend, Comrade Balagopal, for the position that he had placed before the House, except for the very last words which I think, unfortunately, indicted the previous Government. But, the fact of the matter is, India has become the world's biggest market for PPP, because the private sector within India and outside knows that they can make any amount of money with virtually no regulation, riding on the back of the Government and doing whatever they want. That is why we are so popular. If we were to introduce a proper regulatory regime, if there were to be conditionalities applying even to the expression 'PPP', things would have been different. After all, in terms of today's language, the private investor can put in Re. 1 and if the Government puts in Rs. 10,000 crores, it still becomes a PPP! Therefore, we have to understand: if we are going to move out of the model that Jawaharlal Nehru gave us which, I think, is a very unfortunate thing that our country is doing but, leaving that to one side, if we are going to move out of the Nehruvian model, we must understand what is the new model that we are going into. We assumed, I think, in the UPA Government, as we were only very tentatively moving in the direction of PPP, that on the basis of the experience gathered, we could progressively make laws, provisions, regulations that would enable us to attract private money into these projects, but, at the same time, enable the State to keep a strict watch and strict regulation over what is happening. I think, beyond our expectations, the way in which the private sector, both foreign and Indian, rushed into this new avenue of operation was

because they spotted, as the private sector usually does, opportunities for making money which innocent Government servants and even more innocent Ministers could not have dreamt of in their wildest dreams. And, that is probably why they are bureaucrats and Ministers and not businessmen. But, now that we have this experience of the examples that were cited by Comrade Balagopal, they are really alarming that with very small amounts of investment they are able to corner the bulk of the profits that arise and to do so at the expense of the people. Now, surely, Sir, in a Private Public Project, there ought to be also a fourth 'P' added, the People. The people ought to be taken into account in determining the PPP model.

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA, in the Chair)

Sir, now that we have derived from our experience what happens with the PPP model, can we not determine (a) which are the limited number of sectors into which we should encourage PPP? (b) What are the conditionalities that will be imposed on those wishing to take advantage of PPP? (c) How is the big P, to use Comrade Balagopal's argument, to be the public and not the private?

Sir, the Nehruvian model was based on the commanding heights of the economy being controlled by the Government, by the State. Now, the State, for the last 20 years, virtually, has abandoned the commanding heights of the economy thinking that you can leave a vacuum at the commanding heights; but because the commanding heights don't allow a vacuum, the very big oligopolies in India have entered into those commanding heights and apart from being at the commanding heights of the economy, they are now determining the commanding heights of our politics; and, our present Government is a very good example of that.

In these circumstances, I think, it is extremely necessary that in the guise of Public Private Partnerships, we don't get an unnecessary and undesirable domination of our politics by the corporate sector either on its own or with its comprador friends in the Government. That unfortunately is the consequence of abandoning the socialist ideology which has been mentioned as a sacred constitutional duty in our Constitution. We have given up the socialism that is in our Constitution. In consequence of that, we are getting not capitalism, we are getting crony capitalism. Now, the State is increasingly becoming a partner of that crony capitalism without putting in place all the conditionalities, regulations, laws that are required for controlling this beast. I use the word with the utmost caution. I call it a beast because it is capable of devouring our economy, it is capable of devouring our people; and, its first desire, unlike human

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beings who like a nice fat animal to eat, they devour first the lean and hungry Indians. Therefore, it is absolutely vital that when the Finance Minister presents his first Budget and goes on repeating PPP, PPP, PPP, as if it was some sort of a Mantra, and completely forgets to mention two words, Panchayati-Raj - they don't exist in his vocabulary although they constitute Parts IX and IXA of the Constitution. Therefore, this kind of mentality has come to dominate the Treasury Benches, when they have forgotten Gandhi, they have forgotten Nehru and they have never learnt Marx, that they should allow themselves to become the agents of a small body of people who wish to control and exploit our economy, when they have even forgotten all the business of *swabhimaan* and *swadeshi*, which we used to hear from them in the happy old days. In these circumstances, what Shri Balagopal has asked for is that we insist upon all those conditionalities being introduced into this PPP Model that I think rather unfortunately, we have adopted. It may be necessary, but if this is necessary, it is a necessary evil, and should be leached of its evil before it is made only necessary. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA): Now, Shri Anil Desai. ...*(Interruptions)*... There are some other names. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANIL DESAI (Maharashtra): Sir, I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak on the Resolution moved by Shri K.N. Balagopal in this House. Sir, with your permission, I would like to place before the House a few facts that are analysed by me. Sir, the PPP Model has been of great importance in these days, and it is being very much ascertained by the present Government under hon. Modiji. The previous speaker criticized the stance or the stand being taken by the NDA Government on this subject, I think, that does not go well because these are the very measures which were initiated by the UPA Government. But failures on their count to really take this measure forward has, to some extent, caused mess in the economy, and we are left with what we are today. But, certainly, under Modiji's leadership, this Government would take this on a very high scale drive and the people of India would certainly be experiencing the progressive India in time to come.

Sir, as far as the licensing and levying of fees are concerned, with major Departments like Water Supply, Electricity Supply, infrastructural projects which are coming up with levying of fees, where people, at large, are concerned, things need to be checked. This is not a big deal or this is not a very complicated task, if you have proper checks at proper places. I think, where we failed yesterday, today, we can rectify all those mistakes, and

we can put proper checks, stricter watch, social audits, wherever it demand, especially in projects like a hospital, a big school or even a university or infrastructural projects like building up roads, where levying of the fees is involved. Shri Balagopal correctly said about development of airports. What happened in Mumbai is this. The project came up with some Rs.6,500 crores spent on development of the airport by private parties. Where did things go wrong? Why was the delay there? Why was the project which was given a stipulated period of time not completed? And, why cost variations took place? What happened ultimately? Passengers are being taxed in the name of Development Fee. All the facilities — coming up at the airports because of their refurbishing and renovations, which should have been provided at affordable rates — are being charged exorbitantly. They are beyond the capacity of passengers. These days, air travel is not a luxury item. It is a necessity. It has, now, become a regular mode of transport. Passengers are not averse to spending on air travelling. But beyond that, any type of fee, makes their travelling dearer. Of course, it does not affect the upper strata of the society, but it does affect the medium class people and the upcoming people who really contribute to the nation.

We have to be really careful, as far as the Water Supply Department and the Electricity Supply Department are concerned. You know what is happening in Mumbai. The Reliance Energy and the Tata Power Production are there. They need to be checked, as far as distribution is concerned. And, the consumer cost should be regulated in a proper manner. If these checks are put in place in a proper manner and if these checks are ensured by the State Government, with the directives from the Central Government, I think, the consumer cost can definitely be regulated. And, the people will feel that the Government stands by them.

Today, the CAG Reports have come. A lot many CAG Reports will be tabled. One of these reports will, of course, be regarding the prices of petrol and petroleum products. The petroleum pricing policy had been a faulty pricing policy between the period 2007 to 2012. And, because of that faulty pricing policy the State-run companies, the public-owned companies have made huge profits. If the faulty petroleum pricing policy is properly checked, in the times to come, the petroleum prices can effectively be regulated and can be put under check. That will definitely put a halt to the spiralling and rising prices of petrol and petroleum products in the country.

In the Budget Speech, the hon. Finance Minister has put immense trust on the PPP projects. Rupees five hundred crores have been provided for this purpose. It should really be seen in what kind of field the private players come in. Their antecedents

[Shri Anil Desai]

should be checked. It must also be ensured that the social cause is really adhered to. All these things should be kept in mind before awarding contracts to these people, so that the people do not suffer.

Now, I come to Mumbai airports, where the land acquisition took place. When we go for the CoPU meeting, during our discussions with the officials of the Airport Authority of India ...(*Time-bell rings*)... A lot many things have taken place. Not only passengers, as such, but employees have also to suffer because of the misgivings in handling the issues of airports. That needs to be addressed to because it is not just one segment of the people that suffers, but public, at large, suffers on a lot many counts.

Now, I come to other sectors, like the banking insurance. In the insurance sector also, it is learnt that the FDI is being increased from 26 per cent to 49 per cent. I am sure, the NDA Government would seriously think what impact it will have on the insurance sector in India. Sir, I will just conclude in a minute. FDI in the insurance sector was opened with a view that—periphery or the radius of the insurance sector—penetration should be done, because India has got a very good scope as far as insurance sector is concerned. The point is whether that was done by these private players. No, Sir. It was not so. They stuck to only urbanized areas. Only in urban cities, they did their insurance. And, where they were supposed to do insurance in rural areas, they didn't do. Because, in rural areas, there was much more of a social responsibility factor, which was involved and there was not much of a premium. So, there was not much profitability as compared to the urban cities. So, they remained at a traditional insurance and that resulted into failure. That is because the level-playing field was not given to the State-owned companies. So, that is the grey area and that is the biggest area of concern for the Government. I would like to know whether the increase in the FDI limit from 26 to 49 per cent is going to help the country. Or, are we going to be stuck there where we were yesterday? Or, really, it is going to take us back where the regression will take place. This is to be seen. With these words, I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA): Now, Dr. Keshava Rao wants to leave to catch his flight. If the other Members who have given their names agree, the floor may be given to him.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Okay, Sir.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I thank first of all, not only Mr. Vice-Chairman but also the Members who are yielding their time for me. Thank you all.

I will not take up more than three minutes. Sir, this is very important. I rise to join not only a concern but coupled with it is the caution of Mr. Aiyar. We must understand that whenever we are talking about PPP, it is not because we have to put all the eggs in one basket. Read the Railway Budget or read the General Budget or read the entire campaign of yours. There is a perception of the people about you as a business-oriented party. I am not criticizing you, but it is a perception. Quite possible, it is wrong. But there is a Left and Right feeling in this country, so this could be one. Against that background, when we read about PPP, we find that the Finance Minister goes all about it, right from the first sentence to the last sentence with which he ended. He goes on drumming up the PPP, not to say what exactly the economics of the PPP is, which I would not like to make academic and tell you later. But the question today is, putting all the eggs in PPP is going to lead to some kind of a disaster. Please understand. I would not take much time because I am just sitting on other's time. The question is, Mr. Balagopal, hon. Member, has raised three-four issues. It is not the first time; we did talk about this earlier in this very House. I raised it as a Ruling Party Member at that time. We asked what was happening to GMR. We gave Rs.5,000 acres. What did you do? You didn't build only an airport. Let us understand that. About five kilometre stretch is its own private property. Then, he would not have hotels anywhere around. He will thus sell tea for Rs.100/-. That is a service charge, I mean, some kind of a user's charge. He will sell a shirt for Rs.2,000/-. I can give the list. Now, later, what did he do? He just took some part of the land and built up hotels, not one but three hotels. ...*(Interruptions)*...

AN HON. MEMBER: 45.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: I am not going into that. I am talking about the five star hotels which he has built. Now, he would like to go for other projects like conventional halls, then malls, etc. Let us leave them. How did they all come about? It was because of the contract that you entered into, because of the agreements that you have entered into. Today, the Finance Minister gets up and says, "Rigidities in contracts very much have to be looked into." What are the rigidities in your view, Mr. Minister? It is the sophisticated models of contracting and developing a quick dispute redressal mechanism. What is the dispute redressal mechanism? People are not going to disputes. It is the one who joins you in the PPP, one who has come as a partner through PPA, one who has joined you with some kind of land which is my land and not were Government land, taken through acquisition. They gave the price, all right, we got four times more. But do you get only

[Dr. K. Keshava Rao]

four times more when you build up an airport on it? It becomes 40 times. What we sold for Rs.4,000 crores to GMR is today Rs.50,000 crore and that too according to their own accounts. Whose money is this? You have taken it from us. You acquired it from us. So, it should be ours. I always thought 'public private projects' should also mean 'people' because public means the people. Government is a trustee. But here it is not happening like that. The Prime Minister is, again, on record saying that we will add another 'P' to this, *i.e.*, 'People'. I don't know what is going to actually happen to public and people. Whatever it is, the six points that Mr. Balagopal has raised deserve your serious consideration. I don't know whether all of you see it or not, notwithstanding our protests. But I am sure notwithstanding genuine popular protests in this country, the poor man's urges will go into wilderness. You will go your own way. Do go. But please understand that the 'development economics' is still a concept. It is not a fulfilled concept. Development is empirical. What is potential output, what is hidden, what is inherent, that are not. Today's development economics must look into it. If you are giving the land, it may be four times according to your calculations. But, it could be 40,000 times once the development reaches there. That is the concept which we have to understand. So, as far as PPP is concerned, you are saying that we will get into it and we will have a re-look. All that the hon. Member has asked is, please have a re-look from the people's point of view. The sovereign right is there. But we are transferring these rights to increase the charges as they like. Sir, I will give another example of Andhra Pradesh. We have highways, big highways. I know it because all of us use them. Most of our MPs at that time were contractors. They bid for road projects. Today, what is happening, Sir? The kind of money they collect, as toll Mr. Balagopal has said, that, Rs.3,000 has become Rs.30,000 or Rs.40,000. But they would go on collecting the charges. There is no end to it because agreement did not speak of it. There has to be some kind of a monitoring, some kind of an overseeing machinery. That kind of a thing, according to him, should come through this Parliament. I do not know whether the Parliament would directly be able to do it or not but a Parliamentary empowered Committee should look into that. You need to involve the people in an issue where you take our name but deal with something which is only done at the cost of the people. It is always taken as if it is for the people. But these projects are at the cost of people. I don't want to speak about 2Gs or CWGs and all that he has referred to. But there cannot be greater scandalous projects than the PPPs that we have today except a few of them which are there. Certainly, I require strength and certainly I require development particularly when you are asking for 8 per cent GDP. For that, certainly, you need this. But please have a look at it so that they do not scandalize the very economy and ruin us. Thank you, Sir.

डा. अनिल कुमार साहनी (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय, श्री के.एन. बालगोपाल द्वारा लाए गए गैर-सरकारी संकल्प पर बोलने के लिए जो आपने मुझे समय दिया है, उसके लिए आपका

धन्यवाद। इसके साथ ही मैं श्री के.एन. बालगोपाल जी को भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ, जिन्होंने इस माननीय सदन में गरीब-गुरबा, शोषित, उपेक्षित लोगों की बात को रखा है और गरीबों को जो निजी क्षेत्र के माध्यम से लूटा जा रहा है, उसे इस माननीय सदन को और देश को भी बताने का काम किया है। आज जिस प्रकार से पी.पी.पी., पब्लिक प्राइवेट पार्टनरशिप के माध्यम से हर चीज के दाम को बढ़ाया जा रहा है, हर क्षेत्र में जो उनका प्रभाव बढ़ता जा रहा है, उससे ऐसा लगता है कि आने वाले दिनों में यहां का जो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र है या जो यहां काम करने वाले लोग हैं, उनकी उपेक्षा होने जा रही है। जिसके कारण, आप देख लीजिए कि किस प्रकार से आज देश में नक्सलवाद और माओवाद बढ़ रहा है। प्राइवेट कंपनियों के आने से हर जगह पर दाम बढ़ाए जा रहे हैं, चाहे वह एयरपोर्ट हो, बिजली हो या शिक्षा का हो, हर क्षेत्र में प्राइवेट सेक्टर को बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पी.पी.पी. के माध्यम से प्राइवेट सेक्टर वाले ही कमाते रहें और जो गरीब हैं, वे पी.पी. यानी पीते ही रहें? वे लोग पीते रहें? शराब पीते रहें? सर, आपको इस पी.पी.पी. में आरक्षण देना चाहिए। जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर है, उसमें आप आरक्षण देने की बात कर रहे हैं या नहीं? जिस प्रकार से आप सरकारी संस्थाओं में आरक्षण दे रहे हैं, उसी प्रकार प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी जो लोग काम करते हैं, उसमें आरक्षण की व्यवस्था की जा रही है या नहीं? मंडल कमीशन के आधार पर उसमें आरक्षण लागू किया जाना चाहिए, हमारे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स/शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को जो आरक्षण मिलता है, वही आरक्षण इस पी.पी.पी. में लागू होना चाहिए, तभी आप इनको काम करने की मान्यता दें।

सर, जिस प्रकार से दाम बढ़ाए जा रहे हैं, अभी जब हमारे बालगोपाल जी बोल रहे थे कि 10,000 करोड़ रुपए और 35,000 करोड़ रुपए बी.पी.एल. को आपने दिए हैं, और 9,900 बी.पी.एल. प्रोजेक्ट्स यहां पर काम करने के लिए आ रहे हैं, जो क्या इनमें आरक्षण देने की व्यवस्था आपने की है? जो गरीब, शोषित, उपेक्षित हैं, हमारे नौजवान जो अभी तक बेरोजगार हैं, उनको काम देने के लिए आप इनमें आरक्षण कर रहे हैं या नहीं? और जो बिजली क्षेत्र में आ रहा है, चाहे हवाई जहाज में हो या एयरपोर्ट में हो, उसमें आप क्या कर रहे हैं? उसमें हमारे बी.पी.एल. के लोग जो हैं, उनके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं? एक तरफ जो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में बी.पी.एल. हैं, उनको भी आप इसमें सुविधा दिलाइए, ए.पी.एल. वाले की भी सुविधा दिलाइए। जिसका काम निचले स्तर पर चल रहा है, जो सबसे निचले स्तर पर गरीब है, उसको भी जब उसमें आप भागीदारी देंगे, तब आपका यह काम आगे बढ़ेगा। दोनों को मिलकर आज इसको आगे बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है। इस देश में जो निजी क्षेत्र को बढ़ावा देने की बात चल रही है और हर क्षेत्र में निजी क्षेत्र की सुविधा देने की बात चल रही है, तो मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बिल जो चर्चा के लिए लाया गया है, यह एक तरह से हमें गुलामी की ओर ले

[डा. अनिल कुमार साहनी]

जा रहा है। इसके द्वारा सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के सभी उद्यमों को बंद करके प्राइवेट सेक्टर को आगे करके, एक तरह से शोषण करने की बात इस देश में हो रही है। मैं इस चर्चा के माध्यम से आप लोगों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें गरीब को भी हक मिले। मैं ज्यादा नहीं बोलते हुए सिर्फ यही विचार रखना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप प्राइवेट सेक्टर चलाना चाहते हैं, तो उसमें आप जांच करें कि इसमें आरक्षण लागू हो रहा है या नहीं? जो आरक्षण लागू नहीं करता है, उसे आप लाइसेंस न दें, उसे काम करने की परमिशन न दें, जब तक वह इसमें आरक्षण न दे। मंडल कमिशन के द्वारा, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स/शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को इसमें जगह मिलनी चाहिए, इन्हीं चंद शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः श्री बालगोपाल जी को, जिन्होंने पूरे देश और सदन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित किया है और पूरे देश को एक संदेश दिया है, इसके लिए मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देता हूँ, जय हिन्द!

चौधरी मुनवर सलीम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाई बालगोपाल जी का जो मतालबा है, जो बिल है, अच्छा तो यह होता कि पूरा सदन भरा होता, क्योंकि यह पूरे देश का बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। मैं सोचता हूँ, मैं अपनी बात को यहां से शुरू करूँ - “खाके वतन का मुझको हर जर्ग देवता है।”

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान जब आजाद हुआ था, तो उसमें मोहनदास करमचंद गांधी ने एक ख्वाब देखा था कि एक ऐसा भारत होगा, जिसमें ग्राम स्वराज्य होगा। एक ऐसा भारत होगा जिसमें खादी होगी, एक ऐसा भारत होगा जिसमें छोटे-छोटे उद्योग होंगे। गांधी जी ने कहा था, ऐ हिन्दुस्तानियो, शहर बसाए हैं इंसान ने और गांव बसाए हैं भगवान ने। यानी जब भगवान की बस्ती सुंदर होगी, तभी देश सुंदर होगा। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था की ‘शुरुआत होती है लोहिया के चौखंबा राज्य से। अभी मेरे माननीय साथी बोल रहे थे, मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, वे बड़ा क्रांतिकारी भाषण दे रहे थे और प्राइवेटाइजेशन की व्यवस्था को शौतान तक कह रहे थे। अच्छा होता कि वे अपनी पार्टी के अंदर इस तरह की बहस को चलाते। जब इस देश में डंकल की आहट हुई तो मेरे नेता श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव ने पूरे हिन्दुस्तान से कहा कि ऐ हिन्दुस्तानियो, तुम्हें मुनाफे का आइना दिखाकर ये लूटकर ले जाएंगे, यह विकृत पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था है, इसको मत आने दो, लेकिन फिर भी डंकल आया। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज मेरे साथी श्री के.एन. बालगोपाल का जो दर्द है, वह हिन्दुस्तान के सौ करोड़ लोगों का दर्द है। अगर किसी क्षेत्र में फायदा नहीं है तो प्राइवेट कम्पनियां वहां क्यों आती हैं? कभी कोई प्राइवेट कम्पनी देहात में नहीं गयी, सब शहरों में आती हैं, वे वहां इसीलिए आती हैं क्योंकि उन्हें मुनाफा होता है। हम सोचते हैं कि जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ था तब कपड़ों की दुनिया में टेरेलिन और टेरीकॉट का बहुत जलवा था, बहुत दिन तक वे कपड़े चलते थे, लेकिन इसके बावजूद जब अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी में महात्मा गांधी ने कहा कि अंग्रेजी लिबास जलाओं तो तारीख गवाह है, पहाड़ बन गया था अंग्रेजी लिबास का,

हमने सस्ती खादी धारण कर ली थी और यह कसम खाई थी कि आधी रोटी खाएंगे, भारत को आजाद कराएंगे। अब मुनाफे के नाम पर जो कुछ हो रहा है, विकास के नाम पर जो कुछ हो रहा है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह केवल मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए हो रहा है। बज तक देश के हर व्यक्ति के हाथ में काम नहीं होगा, जब तक समग्र विकास नहीं होगा, तब तक भारत विकसित नहीं होगा। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि शरीर का कुछ हिस्सा बलवान हो जाए और कुछ हिस्सा कमजोर रहे, ऐसे में शरीर कमजोर ही कहलाएगा, ताकतवर नहीं कहलाएगा। इसलिए जो प्राइवेटाइजेशन की व्यवस्था है, इस पर लम्बी और बड़ी डिबेट होनी चाहिए। जब भारत आजाद हुआ, तब हमारे नेता डा. लोहिया ने कहा था कि उपनिवेशवाद से हम जीत चुके, लेकिन नव-उपनिवेशवाद अर्थव्यवस्था के पुल पर सवार होकर आएगा, ऐ हिन्दुस्तानियों, तुम्हें अब आगे उससे लड़ना है। आज आजादी के 67 साल बाद हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारी नव-उपनिवेशवाद से लड़ाई हो रही है। वर्तमान सरकार तो स्वदेशी के नाम पर बनी है, वर्तमान सरकार के जो कार्यकर्ता हैं, जो कैडर हैं, उनमें पिछली सरकार से ज्यादा स्वदेशी और भारतीयता का नारा लगता रहा है, लेकिन अर्थव्यवस्था में, जब हम देखते हैं तो विदेशी का कब्जा है। सिर्फ मुट्ठी भर लोगों के विकसित होने से भारत विकसित नहीं होगा। भारत को विकसित करने के लिए उन देहातों में जाना होगा, जो देहात हमारी तकदीर हैं। वे देहात जिनके बारे में गांधी जी ने कहा था कि वे भगवान की बस्ती हैं। जब तक वे विकसित नहीं होंगे, जब तक वे सुविधा-सम्पन्न नहीं होंगे, जब तक उनका माइग्रेशन नहीं रुकेगा, जब तक पूंजी लगाने वाला देहात के क्षेत्रों में पूंजी नहीं लगाएगा, ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पूंजी नहीं लगाएगा, तब तक वह सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान को लूटकर ले जाने वाला है। इस पर पूरे 120 करोड़ भारतवासियों को जागना चाहिए क्योंकि यह आर्थिक गुलामी का मसला है। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज नीम हमारा नहीं रहा, भारत की धरती पर पैदा होने वाला नीम, जिससे बनने वाली दवाएं हमारे शास्त्रों में लिखी हुई हैं, आज उस नीम का पेटेंट हो गया है, आज विदेशी हमसे उस नीम को छीनकर ले गए हैं, पीपल को छीनकर ले गए हैं, हल्दी को छीनकर ले गए हैं। भाई बालगोपाल जी को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि आज इस विषय को लाकर उन्होंने ऐसा सवाल छेड़ा है, जो सौ करोड़ भारतवासियों का दर्द है, जो भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था से जुड़ा हुआ है। कुछ लोग कह रहे थे कि नेहरू जी का समाजवाद एक मुकम्मल समाजवाद था, कुछ लोग कह रहे थे कि जो वर्तमान अर्थव्यवस्था है, इसी से भारत विकसित होगा। मैं अपनी बात को मुख्तसर में यहाँ अंत करता हूँ कि जब तक ग्राम समाज का सपना नहीं देखोगे, जब तक हर हाथ को काम नहीं दोगे, जब तक लोहिया के चौखंबा को नहीं पढ़ोगे, तब तक भारत विकसित नहीं होगा। भारत का कुछ हिस्सा विकसित हो सकता है, कुछ एयरपोर्ट्स सुंदर हो सकते हैं, कुछ स्टेशन सुंदर हो सकते हैं लेकिन जब तक साढ़े सात लाख गांव सुंदर नहीं होंगे, तब तक भारत सुंदर नहीं होगा। इसलिए भारत की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की खूबी यह होनी चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान के 120 करोड़ लोगों को उसका फायदा मिले। जो प्राइवेट कम्पनियां यहां आई हैं, मैं अपने बिहार

[चौबरी पुनव्वर सलीप]

वाले साथी की बात को और आगे बढ़ाता हूँ, उन्होंने कहा कि पिछड़ों को आरक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए, एस.सी./एस.टी. को आरक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जस्टिस सच्चर कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है कि मुसलमानों की हालत इस मुल्क में दलितों से भी बदतर है, आर्थिक रूप से, सामाजिक रूप से, शैक्षणिक रूप से जो प्राइवेट कम्पनियाँ यहाँ आई हैं, जिनमें यहाँ आने की इजाजत मिल गई है, उनमें पिछड़ों के लिए आरक्षण होना चाहिए, मुसलमानों के लिए भी आरक्षण होना चाहिए ताकि संपन्न विकास हो सके। आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

† [जोधरी منور سليم (اتر پردیش) : ماننے آپ سبھا ادھیکش مہودے، بھائی بال گوپال]

جی کا جو مطالبہ ہے، جو بل ہے، اچھا تو یہ ہوتا کہ پورا سدن بھرا ہوتا، کیوں کہ یہ پورے دیش کا بہت اہم وشے ہے۔ میں سوچتا ہوں، میں اپنی بات کو یہاں سے شروع کروں۔ ”خاک وطن کا مجھ کو ہر ذرہ دیوتا ہے“

ماننے آپ سبھا ادھیکش مہودے، ہندوستان جب آزاد ہوا تھا، تو اس میں موہن داس کرمچند گاندھی نے ایک خواب دیکھا تھا کہ ایک ایسا بھارت ہوگا، جس میں گرام سوراجیہ ہوگا۔ ایک ایسا بھارت ہوگا جس میں کھادی ہوگی، ایک ایسا بھارت ہوگا جس میں چھوٹے چھوٹے ادھیوگ ہوں گے۔ گاندھی جی نے کہا تھا، اے ہندوستانیوں، شہر بسائے ہیں انسان نے اور گاؤں بسائے ہیں بھگوان نے۔ یعنی جب بھگوان کی بستی سندر ہوگی، تبھی دیش سندر ہوگا۔

ماننے آپ سبھا ادھیکش مہودے، میرے دیش کی ارتھ-ویوستھا کی شروعات ہوتی ہے لوہیا کے چوکھمبا راجیہ سے۔ ابھی میرے ماننے ساتھی بول رہے تھے، میں نام نہیں لینا چاہتا، وہ بڑا کرانتی کاری بھاشن دے رہے تھے اور پرائیویٹائزیشن کی ویوستھا کو شیطان تک کہہ رہے تھے۔ اچھا ہوتا کہ وہ اپنی پارٹی کے اندر اس طرح کی بحث کو چلاتے۔ جب اس دیش میں ڈنکل کی اہٹ ہونی تو میرے نیٹا شری ملانم سنگھ یادو نے پورے ہندوستان سے کہا کہ اے

ہندوستانیوں، تمہیں منافع کا آئینہ دکھا کر یہ لوٹ کر لے جائیں گے، یہ وکرت پونجی-وادی ویوستھا ہے، اس کو مت آنے دو، لیکن پھر بھی ڈنکل آیا۔ ماننے اپ سبھا پتی مہودے، میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج میرے ساتھی شری کے۔این۔ بال گوپال کا جو درد ہے، وہ ہندوستان کے سو کروڑ لوگوں کا درد ہے۔ اگر کسی حصہ میں فائدہ نہیں ہے تو پرانیویٹ کمپنیاں وہاں کیوں آتی ہیں؟ کبھی کوئی پرانیویٹ کمپنی دیہات میں نہیں گئی، سب شہروں میں آتی ہے۔ وہ وہاں اسی لئے آتی ہیں کیوں کہ انہیں منافع ہوتا ہے۔ ہم سوچتے ہیں کہ جب ہندوستان آزاد ہوا تھا تب کپڑوں کی دنیا میں ٹیریلن اور ٹیری-کاٹ کا بہت جلوہ تھا، بہت دن تک وہ کپڑے چلتے تھے، لیکن اس کے باوجود جب علی گڑھ مسلم یونیورسٹی میں مہاتما گاندھی نے کہا کہ انگریزی لباس جلاؤ تو تاریخ گواہ ہے، پہاڑ بن گیا تھا انگریزی لباس کا، ہم نے سستی کھادی دھارن کر لی تھی اور یہ قسم کھائی تھی کہ ادھی روٹی کھائیں گے، بھارت کو آزاد کرانیں گے۔ اب منافع کے نام پر جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے، وکاس کے نام پر جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے، میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ صرف مٹی بھر لوگوں کے لئے ہو رہا ہے۔ جب تک دیش کے ہر شخص کے ہاتھ میں کام نہیں ہوگا، جب تک سمگر وکاس نہیں ہوگا، تب تک بھارت وکست نہیں ہوگا۔ ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا کہ شریر کا کچھ حصہ بلوان ہو جائے اور کچھ حصہ کمزور رہے، ایسے میں شریر کمزور کہلانے گا، طاقتور نہیں کہلانے گا۔ اس لئے جو پرانیویٹائزیشن کی ویوستھا ہے، اس پر لمبی اور بڑی ڈبیٹ ہونی چاہئے۔ جب بھارت آزاد ہوا، تب ہمارے نیتا ڈاکٹر لوبیا نے کہا تھا کہ اپ-نوشواد سے ہم جیت چکے، لیکن نو-اپ-نوشواد ارتھ ویوستھا کے پل پر سوار ہو کر آئے گا، اے ہندوستانیوں، تمہیں اب آگے اس سے لڑنا ہے۔ آج آزادی کے 67 سال بعد ہم دیکھ

رہے ہیں کہ ہماری نو-اپ-نوشواد سے لڑائی ہو رہی ہے۔ حالیہ سرکار تو سودیشی کے نام پر بنی ہے، حالیہ سرکار کے جو کارنے-کرتا ہیں، جو کیڈر ہیں، ان میں پچھلی سرکار سے زیادہ سودیشی اور بھارتیتا کا نعرہ لگتا رہا ہے، لیکن ارتھ-ویوستھا میں، جب ہم دیکھتے ہیں تو ودیشی کا قبضہ ہے۔ صرف مٹھی بھر لوگوں کو وکست ہونے سے بھارت وکست نہیں ہوگا۔ بھارت کو وکست کرنے کے لئے ان دیہاتوں میں جانا ہوگا، جو دیہات ہماری تقدیر ہے۔ وہ دیہات جن کے بارے میں گاندھی جی نے کہا تھا کہ وہ بھگوان کی بستی ہے۔ جب تک وہ وکست نہیں ہوں گے، جب تک وہ سویدھا-سمپن نہیں ہوں گے، جب تک ان کا مانگریشن نہیں رکے گا، جب تک پونجی لگانے والا دیہات کے حصوں میں پونجی نہیں لگائے گا، گرامین حصوں میں پونجی نہیں لگائے گا، تب تک وہ صرف ہندوستان کو لوٹ کر لے جانا والا ہے۔ اس پر پورے 120 کروڑ بھارت-واسیوں کو جاگنا چاہئے کیوں کہ یہ ارتھک غلامی کا مسئلہ ہے۔

مائنے اپ-سبھا ادھیکش مہودے، آج نیم ہمارا نہیں رہا، بھارت کی دھرتی پر پیدا ہونے والا نیم، جس سے بننے والی دوائیں ہمارے شاستروں میں لکھی ہوئی ہیں، آج اس نیم کا پیٹینٹ ہو گیا ہے، آج ودیشی ہم سے اس نیم کو چھین کر لے گئے ہیں، پپیل کو چھین کر لے گئے ہیں، ہلدی کو چھین کر لے گئے ہیں۔ بھائی بال گوپال جی کو میں مبارکباد دیتا ہوں کہ آج اس وشنے کو لاکر انہوں نے ایسا سوال چھیڑا ہے، جو سو کروڑ بھارت-واسیوں کا درد ہے، جو بھارت کی ارتھ-ویوستھا سے جڑا ہوا ہے۔ کچھ لوگ کہہ رہے تھے کہ نہرو جی کا سماجواد ایک مکمل سماجواد تھا، کچھ لوگ کہہ رہے تھے کہ ورتمان ارتھ-ویوستھا ہے، اسی سے

بھارت وکست ہوگا۔ میں اپنی بات کو مختصر میں یہاں ختم کرتا ہوں کہ جب تک گرام سماج کا سینا نہیں دیکھو گے، جب تک ہر ہاتھ کو کام نہیں دو گے، جب تک لوبیا کے جوکھمبا کو نہیں پڑھو گے، تب تک بھارت وکست نہیں ہوگا۔ بھارت کا کچھ حصہ وکست ہو سکتا ہے، کچھ انٹرپورٹس سنڈر ہو سکتے ہیں، کچھ اسٹیشن سنڈر ہو سکتے ہیں لیکن جب تک ساڑھے سات لاکھ گاؤں سنڈر نہیں ہوں گے، تک بھارت سنڈر نہیں ہوگا۔ اس لئے بھارت کی ارتھ ویوستھا کی خوبی یہ ہونی چاہئے کہ ہندوستان کے 120 کروڑ لوگوں کو اس کا فائدہ ملے۔ جو پرائیویٹ کمپنیاں یہاں آئی ہیں، میں اپنے بہار والے ساتھی کی بات کو اور آگے بڑھاتا ہوں، انہوں نے کہا کہ پچھڑوں کو آرکشن دیا جانا چاہئے، ایس سی، ایس ٹی کو آرکشن دیا جانا چاہئے۔ آپ سبھا ادھیکش مہودے، میں بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جسٹس سچر کمیٹی نے اپنی رپورٹ میں کہا ہے کہ مسلمانوں کی حالت اس ملک میں دلتوں سے بھی بدتر ہے، آرتھک روپ سے، ساماجک روپ سے، تعلیمی روپ سے۔ جو پرائیویٹ کمپنیاں یہاں آئی ہیں، جنہیں یہاں آنے کے اجازت مل گئی ہے، ان میں پچھڑوں کے لئے آرکشن ہونا چاہئے، مسلمانوں کے لئے بھی آرکشن ہونا چاہئے تاکہ مکمل وکاس ہو سکے۔ اپنے مجھے بولنے کا موقع دیا، اس کے لئے آپ کا بہت بہت شکریہ۔

SHRI P. RAJEEVE: Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by hon. Member, Shri K.N. Balagopal. He has raised a very important issue regarding the PPP projects. Mr. Balagopal and other Members also have mentioned about the Budget Speech of our hon. Finance Minister. The Finance Minister declared that India became the largest PPP market. How did India become the largest PPP market? Sir, the capital flows from one country to another country, wherever it gets more and more profit. That is the basic principle. We are ready to surrender all this. We are ready to submit the conditionalities espoused by these private players. Actually, it is not profit-making, it is *. In economic times, this is the primitive accumulation of capital. All these PPP projects are sort of primitive accumulation of capital. Whenever we go through these private partners of PPP projects, we will see that most of these companies were not there before 1991. Most of the players of these PPP projects are waste products of crony capitalism after 1991. How do they manage all these things? As per my opinion, one thing is escalation of

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri P. Rajeeve]

costs - the gold-plating mechanism. Today, the Government submitted the CAG Report. Mr. Balagopal has already mentioned some points. I have just gone through this CAG Report. In project financing, it was very surprising to see the escalation in project costs.

In October 2010, the Estimate Cost was Rs.7,982 crores. In October 2011, it became Rs.9,172 crores. Within one year, the escalation in this Estimate Cost is nearly Rs.2,000 crores. In 'Other Costs', in October 2010, it was Rs.1,820 crores. In October 2011, it became Rs. 2,366 crores. Normally, we all expect escalation under the head 'Additional Projects'. But here, the cost is as it is. In October 2010, it was Rs. 651 crores, and in October 2011 also, it was Rs. 651 chores. Now, if we see the total escalation, the initial estimate in October 2010 was Rs. 5,826 crores and in October 2011, it became Rs. 12,380 crores. There is more than hundred per cent escalation in these PPP projects. Is there any mechanism with the Government to evaluate whether this is true or not, whether these are real estimates, or, whether there is any manipulation? Is there any mechanism with the Government to evaluate all these things? We have no regulations; we have no regulators to oversee all these things. Actually, this is *. Hon. Member, Shri K.N. Balagopal, mentioned about Delhi Airport. I would not like to take that point. Second is the land issue. Regarding Delhi Airport, he has mentioned that the GMR could get over Rs. 100 crore per acre. This is the *Business Standard* report. The Government gave the land on lease for a token amount. They got Rs. 100 crore per acre. That is their own estimate. It would be more than this estimate. This has also happened in Mumbai project. But one other point in the CAG Report is encroachment, which has increased over time from 147 acres to 308.96 acres. As per the records, in the beginning, it was only 147 acres, and, now, they have 308.96 acres. Getting this land at a token amount and encroaching upon other Government lands at the rate of more than 100 per cent is a very serious issue. This is the style of functioning of our PPP projects in our country. Now, I come to the point of how they are * this country. Sir, it is the concession period. The CAG Report correctly stated this. This is open-ended. Technically, it is not open-ended, but *de facto*, it is open-ended. There are some specifications. One such specification is that after 30 years, they can review and then continue for another thirty years. The CAG stated that it gave the right to operate the airport for a period of sixty years with the terms and conditions frozen in the OMDA. Actually, it is only for thirty years but there is a condition that it could be reviewed. This is *de facto* open ended. They got the total control for a period of sixty years, which is a very serious thing. It is not applicable only to this project. This is the reality for most of the PPP projects running in our country.

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA): Mr. Rajeeve, you mentioned the word*. It is unparliamentary, and, so, it won't go on 'record'.

SHRI P. RAJEEVE: But it is a reality, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA): It is to be expunged.

SHRI P. RAJEEVE: Sir, I will try to find out some other proper word, which is stronger than this word.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA): That word will be expunged.

SHRI K. C. TYAGI: Sir, this is the right word.

SHRI P. RAJEEVE: Sir, I will try to find out a stronger word than this. It is true because this word is not suitable to address the existing process of PPP. I will try to find out a stronger word.

Sir, coming to the Chennai Airport, the Government had spent money. Hon. Chair is well aware of that. After spending all this money on modernization and after the modernization process is over, now, they are going in for PPP projects or privatization.

I don't know whether privatization is an unparliamentary word or not. I would like to use another word, and, that is 'denationalization'. It is actually denationalization. In most of these projects, the Government spends money using national resources and goes in for denationalization.

Sir, coming to the KG Basin case, Reliance itself quoted in a global tender of NTPC that it was ready to give gas at the rate of two dollars per MMBTU. They themselves quoted this amount in a global tender. Thereafter, the Government said, no, no; not two dollars, you please sell it at four dollars. Thereafter, you constituted another Committee, the Rangarajan Committee, which said, no, no; it has to be 8.4 dollars. Sir, they themselves quoted two dollars per one MMBTU in a global tender. The Government constituted a Committee. That Committee submitted its Report and the Government agreed for 8.4 dollars. What is this, Sir? Actually, Sir, it is — that Government or this Government — by corporate, for corporate. This is one point, Sir.

Now, I come to the NHAI. The NHAI is there. The National Highways department, which is controlled by the Government, is also there. In Kerala, the NH department is not ready to maintain the existing national highways because they want to impose PPP or the BOT projects. NHAI is ready to take over these roads. The NH department of the Government is not ready to spend even a single rupee for

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri P. Rajeeve]

maintenance of these existing roads. They are compelled to accept the conditions by the State Government and the people of Kerala. There is no mechanism to evaluate either the actual expenditure or the amount which they have been collecting as toll. There should be a regulator for the NHAI projects. While concluding, for this PPP, we have a Kerala model, Sir. Nedumbassery Airport, the Cochin International Airport, is a PPP model. But the big 'P' is public. Private share is there, but the Managing Director is appointed by the Government. The Government has representative in its Board of Directors. It is PPP, but the big 'P', the controlling 'P', is the Government. We need PPP in this era, but there should be a Government control, there should be regulators, there should be regulations to evaluate all these things, to monitor all these things. So, I support the points raised by Comrade K.N. Balagopal. It is an important Private Members' Resolution, Sir. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPINDER SINGH (Odisha): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, hon. Member Mr. Balagopal has brought a Resolution at a right time when the CAG Report on the subject has been tabled in the House. First of all, I confess that I am a socialist; I believe in socialism. This country cannot think beyond socialism and through our Chief Minister, Mr. Naveen Patnaik and our Government, we are pro-poor, we are pro-laboure, we are pro those who do not have yet a house to stay. But, Sir, we are in the 21st century, in the second decade of the 21st century. Where do we stand with regard to the rate of development in comparison with the developed countries? We must realize the size of our population better late than never. Only after 1991, we talked about globalization. Whoever has come, either on your right or on your left, they have all accepted it. We may accept, we may not accept, but we do not have the choice but to accept the reality that no Union Budget can meet the requirements that the country needs. We may accept, we may not accept, but every man and every woman today in India is international man and woman. We have to compete ourselves as a world champion. That is our destination. That is our mission. If we have to reach that mission, it has to be materialized through the Parliament and through the Legislatures. There is no other way in our system of democracy. That is why, Sir, it is very important that Mr. Balagopal, hon. Member, has raised this point. He has not totally disapproved the PPP, but he has only pointed out on a very serious note on the way the public, which is a big 'P' here, should have the real control over it. I just cannot think how, for example, the GMR has been given 200 acres of land in Delhi to improve the international airport. Every individual today, as per our Constitution, is the property of the state. Every State in our Union is a welfare State and the Union is also a welfare state. The property which my grandfather, my father, had earned is not my property. Every inch of land owned by me, owned by you, is the property of the state. We have to

be very serious about that. We have been going on signing MoUs for PPP. But how can we dispose of or sell out land? Land always belongs to the State. If it has happened, the CAG Report has pointed that out. It is examined by the Public Accounts Committee, the apex Committee which was headed by great leaders in the past. Whatever has been pointed out today in the Report has come up before the Public Accounts Committee. Through you, Sir, I would like to submit to the Government and the concerned Minister to immediately react to those points before it comes up before the Public Accounts Committee. We all know the reality, Sir, that the Public Accounts Committee will sit to examine it. There are many paras pending for years together. The Public Accounts Committee cannot dispose of all the paras pertaining to the irregularities that have been pointed out by the CAG and different Departments of the Government.

If you look at history, you will find that no country can progress without communications. Communication is the best thing. What was Japan in 1948? I visited Kobe in 1991 as the Chef de Mission of the Basketball Federation of India with players. It's an island. If you apply for a telephone connection in the morning, it will be made available to you by the evening. It was in 1991. Communication does not mean some Delhi Transport buses or State Transport buses. Sir, I will take just two minutes more.

Sir, irrespective of our 'ism' or 'ideology,' we should all see to it that India must compete as world champion. But we have to accept certain realities. The public sector undertakings of the Government of India should not be neglected. We should not encourage PPP mode at their cost. There are some sectors where we are not competent. We have not equipped our public sector undertakings to deal with these challenges. Every moment technology is changing. It is growing very fast. Now it is not about the age of information technology. We have already entered the age of biotechnology. Where do we stand as a country when we talk about biotechnology? We cannot wait for eighteen months in cities like Delhi or Mumbai for a flyover. It has to be completed on time.

While concluding, I would tell the Government that we should not be penny wise and pound foolish. "Time is money". That concept is very essential for our country. We may accept it or we may not accept it. I hope the Government will take note of it. Thank you, Sir.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair)

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN (Kerala): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by comrade K.N. Balagopal.

Sir, it is a very serious issue and all of us are concerned about what is going on in the name of PPP. I think the time has come to assess or review the very concept of PPP. What is going on now? We have heard the comments of the CAG on it. PPP is a shortcut to get Government land or public land and other natural resources. It is public finance given to corporates in India. That is what it is in reality. Take the case of airports or any other project, the Government land, the public land, is being handed over to private parties. From where do they get finance? They are getting finance from public sector banks, from LIC and other public financial institutions. That money is being used to make not only profits but windfall profits. That is the problem. There is no regulation and no control. What is the result? Two days back, hon. Transport Minister, Shri Nitin Gadkari, said that in highway projects, PPP is a failure and that he cannot take PPP in highway projects. That's what Mr. Nitin Gadkari has publicly stated. Out of 160 highway projects under implementation, 65 projects have made no progress. That is what he said. He said that the Government will set up some other machinery to implement these projects. That is the effect of PPP mode in respect of highways. In the name of PPP, people are being charged. Usage is charged or tolled without any norms. The owners, who are managing the company, can charge any amount. There is no control, no regulation. This is going on and still the Government takes a view that PPP is a panacea for all the ills in our economy saying that we can progress, or economic progress depends on PPP and FDI. This is the thinking of the Government. This was the thinking of the previous Government. Now, the new Government is implementing it more vigorously. The price which the people have to pay for it is heavy and the PPP projects will be a big burden to our economy. Sir, the Railway Minister is here. What has the CAG pointed out in respect of projects in the Railways? CAG has pointed out that there is a violation of rules. Without a model concessionaire agreement, PPP project has been awarded in the Railways. In respect of all these projects, in the Railways or airports or highways, it has no proper agreement, no proper control and no proper monitoring. The Government, the Parliament and the public have no control. I cannot use the word used by him because it has been ruled that it is unparliamentary. Anyway, I would use the word 'grabbing' and the people are deprived of their rights. So, we have to be very careful and the very concept of PPP is disastrous for a country like India. We must have a re-look at PPP mode. Thank you.

श्री के.सी. त्यागी (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं श्री के.एन. बालगोपाल के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

उपसभापति जी, जब हमने राजनीति शुरू की थी, तो हम नारा लगाते थे, “लूटने वाला जाएगा, कमाने वाला खाएगा और नया जमाना आएगा।”

जहां कानून बनते हैं, वहां पर आपने* शब्द पर ही रोक लगा दी और कह दिया कि it is unparliamentary. It means to exploit the natural resources of the people and the nation. अगर इसका इस्तेमाल संसद में होगा, तो यह अनपार्लियामेंट्री हो गया। किन भद्र लोगों ने इस शब्द को निकाल दिया और कह दिया कि * शब्द अनपार्लियामेंट्री है? मैं यहीं से अपनी बात शुरू करना चाहता हूँ।

अब से 35-40 साल पहले मैंने तीन शब्द नहीं सुने थे, हालांकि कम उम्र में ही मुझे बड़े लोगों के बीच बैठ करके राजनीति करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हो गया था। मैंने ‘disinvestment’ शब्द नहीं सुना था, मैंने ‘PPP’ नहीं सुना था और मैंने ‘FDI’ भी नहीं सुना था। पिछली से पिछली जो सरकार थी, उस समय हमारे साथी भी मंत्री थे। तब डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ़ डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट बन गया, जो कि संविधान की धारा के खिलाफ है। संविधान में डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट मिनिस्ट्री का उल्लेख नहीं है, लेकिन यह बन गयी। यह जो पी.पी.पी. है, इसका मैं कई दिनों से अध्ययन कर रहा हूँ, चूंकि जो नयी सरकार के दोनों बजट आए हैं उनमें इस शब्द का बहुत उल्लेख है। 60 और 70 के दशक में जब वियतनाम वॉर के चलते अमेरिका की अर्थव्यवस्था बैठ गयी, तो वह पी.पी.पी. शब्द वहां आया। अमेरिका की जो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट थी, वह फंड लाकर योजनाओं को पूरा करने में असफल हो गयी, तो जो सेंट्रल प्रोजेक्ट्स थे, उन्हें और ज्यादा रेवेन्यू कलेक्ट करने के लिए राज्यों को शिफ्ट किया गया। तो पी.पी.पी. शब्द अमेरिकन वर्ड है। लेकिन, 40 साल पहले पब्लिक सेक्टर का जिक्र करो, राष्ट्रीयकरण का जिक्र करो, पूंजीवाद के विरोध का जिक्र करो, तो सामाज में इज्जत बढ़ती थी। यह कैसा जमाना आ गया है कि डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट का विरोध करो, पी.पी.पी. का विरोध करो और फॉरेन डायरेक्ट इन्वेस्टमेंट नहीं आना चाहिए और अगर आए तो भारत की शर्तों पर आए, इसका जिक्र करो तो आप दक्षिणपंथी हो जाएंगे। यह कैसा जमाना है? मेरे 35-40 साल के राजनीतिक जीवन में इतने उतार-चढ़ाव हो गये कि ऐसी दुनिया किसकी दुनिया बनाने के लिए आप चले? जब से यह पी.पी.पी. आया है, उसी के बाद यह 2जी हुआ है, जब से डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट आया है और एफ.डी.आई.आई. है, उसी के बाद कॉमनवेल्थ हुआ है। कुछ और कॉमनवेल्थ और 2जी इन प्रोसेस हैं, होने वाले हैं। माननीय मंत्री महोदय और मैं लगभग एन.सी.आर. के हिस्से के हैं। एन.सी.आर. के अन्दर कैसे-कैसे लोगों के पास 20-20, 30-30 और 40-40 हजार करोड़ रुपये के एसेट्स हो गये। सिर्फ इसी दिल्ली के चारों तरफ के इलाकों में गरीब किसानों की जमीन औने-पौने दामों पर लेकर जो आभामंडल आपने बनाया है, पुल के ऊपर पुल, पुल के ऊपर पुल और पुल के नीचे पुल, ऐसी आपने दुनिया बना दी, यह दुनिया हमारी नहीं है। आपने मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए सुख-सुविधाएं इकट्ठा कर दीं।

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[श्री के.सी. त्यागी]

सर, मैं बहुत प्रगतिशील आदमी हूँ, दक्षिणपथी या दकियानूसी नहीं हूँ। नेशनल हाईवेज पर किसका माल जाता है? क्या आपने कभी इस पर बैलगाड़ी गुजरती देखी है? कभी राव साहब का ट्रैक्टर इस पर गुजरते देखा है? जैसे बड़े-बड़े हाईवेज हैं, क्या आपने कभी इस मुल्क के अन्दर नेशनल इरिगेशन हाईवे बनाने की सोची? चूँकि उसमें पी.पी.पी. के जरिए कॉन्ट्रैक्ट मनी-जो आवारा पूंजी है, जिस पर मेरे दोस्त श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद ने तीन महीने पहले मेरा विरोध किया कि आवारा पूंजी क्या होती है? This is crony capitalism. कुछ मत करो, दलाली करो, गरीब किसान की जमीन खींचो, लोगों से पैसा लेकर उस पर लगाओ और अरबपति बन जाओ। किसान गरीब बन जाए और बीच वाला जो आदमी है, वह crony capitalist हैं, lumpen capitalist है, जिसके पास न कोई सम्पत्ति थी और जो न तो पूंजीपति थे, यह वही है। यह जो लेन-देन की दुनिया आपने बनाई है, उसी का पी.पी.पी. है, उसी की एफ.डी.आई. है और उसी का डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट है।

जो पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग हैं, वे मुनाफे के उपक्रम हैं। They are running in profit. मैं एयरपोर्ट अथॉरिटी ऑफ इंडिया का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ। मुम्बई-गोवा के साथी जानते ही होंगे कि गोवा का एयरपोर्ट, एयरपोर्ट अथॉरिटी ऑफ इंडिया ने बनाया है। यह जी.एम.आर. और टी.एम.आर. से कम अच्छा नहीं है, लेकिन उसका जिक्र नहीं होगा। उधर की सरकार और स्वदेशी जागरण मंच के समर्थकों की सरकार, दोनों सरकारों के नजरिए एक जैसे हो गए कि इस पब्लिक सेक्टर को खत्म करो। मुझे वह जमाना याद है जब बैंकों को राष्ट्रीयकरण हो रहा था और पूरे देश में एक हवा चल रही थी कि एक गरीब आदमी को भी, किसान को भी मजदूर को भी वहां से ब्याज मिलेगा। इन लोगों ने एक कमेटी बिठायी है और उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को स्वदेशी जागरण मंच वालों की कमेटी इम्प्लीमेंट करेगी। वह Denationalisation of the banks है। प्रस्ताव वहां से आया है और अमल वहां होगा और इन सारी चीजों की बुनियाद इन्होंने रखी है। And, implementing agencies on my left, not 'Left' ... (समय की घंटी)... इसलिए, सर, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बहस है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

श्री के.सी. त्यागी : इसके अंदर जो पारदर्शिता है, that is the first casualty. इसमें सारे काम पर्दे के पीछे होते हैं। गोयल साहब बड़े विद्वान आदमी हैं, इनकी प्रतिभा से हम भी प्रभावित हैं।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री के.सी. त्यागी : सर, बस समाप्त ही कर रहा हूँ। यह जानकारी महत्वपूर्ण है, इसलिए इसको जानना चाहिए। जो मेरी जानकारी है, उसके अनुसार इस सरकार को लगभग ढाई लाख करोड़ रुपए डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट से, इस देश की जितनी भी पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं ... (व्यवधान) ... उनसे इकट्ठे करने हैं। तब जाकर 70 हजार करोड़ रुपए की छुक-छुक की बजाए चूक-चूक करने वाली जो रेल है, जो अहमदाबाद से मुम्बई जाएगी, वह तैयार होगी। देश में

बिजली के लिए, इरिगेशन के लिए बजट में एक हजार करोड़ रुपए का प्रोवीजन और छुक-छुक वाली चूक-चूक करने वाली गाड़ी बनाने के लिए सत्तर हजार करोड़ रुपए प्रोजेक्ट! यह किसकी दुनिया है? उसमें आप किसको रखिएगा? मुझको एक बार टोकियो से हिरोशिमा-नागासाकी जाने का मौका मिला, मुझे पता लगा कि छुक-छुक का जो किराया है, वह ज्यादा है और जहाज का किराया कम है यह आप कैसी दुनिया बना रहे हैं, किसकी दुनिया बना रहे हैं? ...**(समय की घंटी)**...

"कैसी मशालें लेकर चले तिरगी में आप,
जो रोशनी थी वह भी सलामत नहीं रही।"
"हिम्मत से सच कहो तो बुरा मानते हैं लोग,
रो-रोकर बात कहने की आदत नहीं।"

बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री विशम्भर प्रसाद निषाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं बालगोपाल जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत किए गए संकल्प पर चर्चा के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। महोदय, अभी हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने इस पर बहुत चर्चा की है। मान्यवर, हमारा देश पहले सोने की चिड़िया कहलाता था। जब हमारा देश संपन्न था, तो यहां तमाम विदेशी शासक आए और हमारे देश पर राज किया। आज हमारे देश की हालत यह बन गई है कि विदेशी कंपनियों से समझौते हो रहे हैं, प्राइवेट कंपनियों से समझौते हो रहे हैं। इससे हमारे देश की स्थिति बहुत खराब हो रही है, हमारी वित्तीय स्थिति बहुत खराब हो रही है। विदेशी कर्ज से तमाम निजी कंपनियों को लाभ पहुंचाने का काम हो रहा है। अगर हम व्यापार में देखें, आज चाइना बाजार हमारे पूरे देश में छा गया है। यहां पर जितनी भी कपड़ा मिलें थीं, वे धीरे-धीरे बंद होती जा रही हैं, क्योंकि हमारे देश की कपड़े की जो क्वालिटी है और विदेशी कपड़े की जो क्वालिटी है, उनमें अंतर है। जितनी भी पेपर मिलें हैं, वे भी बंद हो रही हैं।

हमारी जनसंख्या 120 करोड़ की है। हमारे यहां बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है। जब बेरोजगारी बढ़ेगी, तो बेरोजगार लोग क्या करेंगे? मान्यवर, जितनी भी विदेशी कंपनियां आ रही हैं, ये अपने देश में डिफॉल्टर हैं, इसलिए वे हमारे देश में घुसे रहे हैं। आप देखेंगे कि आज जगह-जगह शॉपिंग मॉल्स खुल रहे हैं। यहां पर सब्जी, सोना-चांदी, कार आदि एक जगह पर बेचे जा रहे हैं। इससे हमारे देश का व्यापार चौपट हो रहा है। बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियों के साथ समझौते हो रहे हैं, जे.पी. गुप ने नोएडा से आगरा तक जो रोड बनाई, उन्होंने अपनी शर्तों में कहा था कि हम ये-ये सुविधाएं देंगे, लेकिन वे उससे हट कर किसानों की जमीन लूटने का काम कर रहे हैं। यह अपने देश के लिए बहुत ही घातक है। मान्यवर, हम चाहते हैं कि इस पर सरकार को चिंता करनी चाहिए। अगर इसी तरह हम लोग विदेशी कर्ज से देश के प्रति खिलवाड़ करते रहे, तो हमारे देश की स्थिति बहुत खराब हो जाएगी।

[श्री विशम्भर प्रसाद निषाद]

हमारे देश में 70 प्रतिशत लोग किसान हैं और गांव में बसने वाले लोग हैं, उनके प्रति चिंता होनी चाहिए। हमें किसानों पर ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए। विदेशों में जहां 10 परसेंट लोग खेती करते हैं, वे आज दूसरे देशों को अपना खाद्यान्न देते हैं। यहां जब सूखा पड़ जाता है, तो हम 70 फीसदी किसानों करने वाले लोग दूसरे देशों से खाद्यान्न आयात करते हैं। यह चिंता का विषय है। हम चाहते हैं कि माननीय सदस्य, बालगोपाल जी ने संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया है, वह बहुत अच्छा संकल्प है, इस पर विधिवत चर्चा हो और सरकार इस पर ध्यान दे।

आज आप बुलेट ट्रेन चलाने की बात कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आपकी पटरियों की क्या क्षमता है? क्या इसमें भी विदेशी कंपनियों से समझौता होगा? हमारे देश में नीलगाय इतनी ज्यादा हैं कि नीलगाय का एक भी झुंड टकरा जाए, तो एक्सीडेंट हो जाएगा। इस तरह से तमाम घटनाएं हो रही हैं। इसके लिए अलग से कोई ट्रैक नहीं है, उसके लिए अलग से कोई बाउंड्री नहीं है। **...(समय की घंटी)...** हमारे देश की क्षमता अलग है, इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि सरकार को इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। यह संकल्प बहुत अच्छा है और मैं इस संकल्प का समर्थन करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Minister.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL (Maharashtra): Sir, can I just intervene as a private Member, as a Member of the House?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have no objection to it. But there is time constraint. You have to limit your speech to five minutes.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: You know me, Sir. In five minutes, I don't even create the background for my speech. Give me a few minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will tell you the position. What is left is 28 minutes. In 28 minutes, the Minister should speak and the Mover has the right to reply. As you are speaking as a private Member, you can take time as any other Member. I will give you a maximum of seven minutes.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. I am missing talking in the House ever since I moved here...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me see how a Minister can talk as a private Member.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: Sir, I am really very amused and amazed to see the competitive Socialism in the House today, and the enthusiasm amongst all Members to try and show themselves more Left than, possibly, even the Left today. But the biggest

amusement was when my colleague, who, of course, has left, Mr. K.C. Tyagi, was speaking and he called us the Swadeshi Jagran Manch people. I am very proud to be associated with the Swadeshi Jagran Manch, and I have no hesitation in saying that I believe that India should be self-reliant, that we Indians should be proud of our heritage and if at all he believes that as Swadeshi Jagran Manch, he can pass comments on us, I think, it only makes us feel more proud today. Of course, I am also very conscious of the fact that Mr. Tyagi does not travel by *rail gaadi* and he does not even travel by ordinary cars. He uses good cars which are made by modern technologies that have come to India. He travels by air when he goes to the State of Bihar which, today, is deprived of all development, probably, because of the kind of thinking that he brings to the table which, of course, the people of India have outrightly rejected in the last election, and that is evident. But the fact of the matter is that what Shri Balagopal has raised does evoke a lot of sympathy and a lot of interest in the common man because there are certain anomalies that have come into the system. इस पब्लिक प्राइवेट पार्टनरशिप का जो पूरा कार्यक्रम है, उसमें कुछ विकृतियां जरूर आई हैं, but the fact of the matter is that it has become the vehicle to take India, out of an under-developed and a backward country that it was once upon a time called, to a progressive country and to a country which is, today, the pride of the world. Sir, we started on the path of Socialism after Independence, probably because it was appropriate for the times then. But then we saw an era of nationalization of banks, mines, etc. The people of India thought that better times would come for them. But over a period of time, what did we see? We saw that the Government ran telecom, railways, airlines, even hotels and housing projects with DDA-type companies, power, coal, water, etc. Almost every aspect of common man's life was run by the Government. And what was the quality of service that we were giving to the people of India? Did they get good quality water in adequate quantity? Did this country generate enough power plants or enough power capacity for the teeming millions and billion people? Did we, actually, give housing to people or did we take them into slums and, more often than not, homelessness? Did we create sanitation? Did we give them good quality of rail service? Did the Airlines perform any better as a monopoly of the Government or did it do better when there was more competition in the market? I think the country today is yearning for better quality of service at more competitive prices. It is unfortunate that a section of society believes that just because something is done by the private sector, it, necessarily, has to be bad or it, necessarily, has to be crony-capitalism. The reality shows that there have been instances which have reaped out of corruption, which have reaped out of the misuse of PPP models but, more often than not, it has happened because of political corruption, bureaucratic inefficiency and, maybe, at times, also because of complacency or involvement of the private sector.

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But just to castigate a good programme because there were certain inefficiencies in the programme, I think, will be throwing out the baby with the bath water. Today we have a land where we get telecom. This is the cheapest in the world, and in the same telecom sector we have Government companies which are languishing with losses. We have airlines which have given good service, but we have an airline which all of us resolve every year to fund another five to six thousand crores and are given Rs. 30,000 crores of tax payers' money. We have so many inefficiencies coming into the system whether it is in coal production, whether it is in the area of state-run discoms. Not to say that the other side is necessarily the best but we will have to find solutions to the problem, not just criticize the programmes that are going on. The fact of the matter is, Sir, post-liberalisation the country has seen large investments coming into good quality of services, costs have come down in a variety of sectors. I would like to quote an example of the Mumbai-Pune Expressway. Typically, the Mumbai-Pune Expressway would have, probably, taken years and years to construct a huge cost overrun. An honest Government constructed that well within PWD estimates, in fact, saved Rs. 200 crores out of the Rs. 1,800 crores, constructed it in time and had 15 years after it was completed. Even today it was one of the finest highways of India, done by the public sector, done by the Government. But under an honest leader, under an honest Government it could be done efficiently. And at the same time, we have dishonest Governments which have probably indulged in massive corruption. Being *sub judice*, I will not go into those details. But whether it is the telecom sector or whether it is the coal mining sector, we have seen problems in the highways programme. But I don't think those problems emerge necessarily because the mode is public, private or joint. It emerged because of political corruption; it emerged because of laxity of the bureaucrats. ...(*Time-bell rings*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please conclude.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: I think the better solution for all of us is to focus on what Mr. Balagopal has rightly said, we need to have strengthened regulatory mechanisms. We need to have strict monitoring of allocation of natural resources. We certainly need to do improvements in the system, but if we kill the PPP mode, if we bring in over-controls, if we bring in too much of Government interference, I think we will be doing disservice to the people of India, who are looking for a better quality of their lives, who are also looking at more affordability, which unfortunately, the public sector by itself has failed to give to the people of India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the responsibility is on your shoulders.

SHRI PIYUSH GOYAL: This I am saying as a Member of the House because I passionately believe that we have to evolve more and more public-private joint partnership and, as Mr. Narendra Modi says, we have to bring the people also into that and I would urge upon Mr. Balagopal, Mr. Rajeeve and Mr. Tyagi to participate in this movement, bring in probity. Otherwise, the nation will be left with States like Bihar and with States like West Bengal which for a large part was run by his own party ... (*Time-bell rings*)... which has remained over the years deprived of the benefits of liberalization, probably on development.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Government should consider all these suggestions.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: I find myself in the enviable position of agreeing with most of the speakers here, whether they are from my party or whether they are from any other party on this side or the other side.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That means not much reply is needed.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: Sir, the Eleventh Five Year Plan had a total of Rs. 24,24,000—odd lakh crore for infrastructure. The Twelfth one, which is going on now, has, more or less, doubled it to Rs. 55,74,000—odd lakh crore. In the Eleventh Plan, 36 per cent of the money that came in for this infrastructural development came in through the private sector. In the Twelfth Plan, we are envisaging that up to 48 per cent of funds that are going to come from private sector and the balance will come from the Government sector. Now, I don't think anybody has out rightly rejected the PPP model. I think, everybody understands that India is a developing country. And, as a developing country, when you don't have enough funds for various social sector schemes, how are you going to be able to build up your infrastructure. Now, PPP projects are mainly envisaged to ensure that your infrastructure comes up to a standard which is not only within all States of the country but also it comes up to a standard when you compared it with the Western countries or the developed countries.

Today, everybody here has, I think, recognized the need to have private participation. The only thing that has gone into the hon. Members, as I understand it, is that why are you going in for public-private participation. There must be a review. There should be an institutionalized process by which all model concession agreements are drafted and entered into between the concessionaire and the regulatory authority or the Government. When there is no institutionalized mechanism, there is a scope for corruption as I understand it.

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Sir, a mention was made here of a few public-private infrastructure projects. For example, the project cost is, say, Rs.4,000 crore. By the time it ended up, the project cost enhanced up to Rs.12,000 crore. This is a lot of enhancement. How has it enhanced so much? I think, the basic thing that needs to be address is whether a concessionaire should be given a project on a cost plus basis. Or, whether it should be institutionalized in such a sense that tariff is fixed and then concessionaire works towards making his project viable according to predetermined tariff which will be given to him by users. So, he has to work within a framework and his input costs cannot be allowed to escalate, This way the Government benefits, the country benefits and we get infrastructure project with private participation and the concessionaire does not lose money, because he has not put in more money than was earlier envisaged under agreement.

Now, Mr. Balagopal, I think, needs to be congratulated. Frankly speaking, he has brought before Parliament an issue not because the CAG Report has come in but also because a new Government has come in. Over the last 10 years, there has been a problem with these public private partnerships in some sectors. As my Minister colleague was saying that PPP in most sectors has done well for the country, for the concessionaire, for the Government and for the user. But, there are sectors where there has been an anomaly and airports is one of them. This and others need a redressal. As a new Government, I think, these issues are going to be taken on board by the Government and then a framework will be decided. So, I must say that Mr. Balagopal is the one who moved this Resolution, and then Mr. Aiyar, from the Congress side, apparently agreed with what Mr. Balagopal said. But, then, thereafter, he went on to criticize this Government which is in position only for the last fifty days. For ten years, his Government was in position; when all these projects costs were escalating on money belonging to public. At that time, he could not raise his voice against his own Government. But, even though this Government is new, he has thought it fit to criticize this Government. I, as a Member of the Lok Sabha, cannot understand this tendency of Nominated Members, not elected hon. Members of this House. But, a Nominated Member, who has to earn his food by being...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. There is a provision under the Constitution. You cannot criticize that.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: All right. But, the Nominated Member
...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. There is a constitutional provision. You know the politics of that. He is now sitting there. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I just don't understand how you can go around criticizing a Government which has been here only for fifty days, totally not thinking about the earlier Government which has not touched this issue. He didn't speak about it, at all ...*(Interruptions)*...

Apart from Mr. Aiyar, who, as I said, has to earn his living by various means to remain here in the Parliament, he has to do this kind of thing, but, the other Members, Mr. Anil Desai, Dr. Keshava Rao, Munavver Saleem Sahab, Rajeeveji, Achuthanji, Tyagiji, Bhupenderji, and Nishadji, all these Members have, by and large, said that they wish to have the PPP re-evaluated. This is Rajya Sabha and, in a sense, the Upper House is considered as having more brains as Members than, maybe, the Lok Sabha Members have. If anybody here can tell us that there is a better model than the PPP, then we will agree. After all, we have an open mind. We are only 50 days old. We are young. If you give us a good suggestion, we will accept it. So, if there is no other model, and in certain areas if the PPP model has succeeded, then, I think, PPP model should be given a chance. To ensure that there is no ambiguity...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They would only want to correct infirmities. That is all.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, please permit me. To ensure that there is no ambiguity in the Government's stand, Mr. Balagopal, Mr. Rajeeve, may I suggest that...

SHRI P. RAJEEVE: This is a Resolution moved before this Government came into being.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: All right, I accept that. The old Government, perhaps, was not listening ...*(Interruptions)*... This Government is listening diligently, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Might have thought that the UPA may be coming again. So, maybe, that is (why) the Resolution.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: The UPA will come in when only the people will give you a chance. It is not for you and me to decide. It is up to the people to decide. We are in a democracy now.

Now, if I may read the Government's stand: "Sir, I have deliberated over the Resolution moved by the hon. Member and have also listened carefully to the hon.

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Members who have expressed their views on issues of critical importance for the growth and welfare of our country, of our people.”

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How many more minutes do you want?

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: Just five more minutes and I have only two pages to read. I will finish this and then answer questions, if any. I wish to assure the House that the Government is keen to address these issues and we are committed to qualitative and quantum improvements in the present state-of-affairs. We are conscious of the fact that private participation, at times, work to the disadvantage of the Government and users. This seems to have happened in the past in some cases. But, we are committed to a fair, transparent and competitive approach towards PPP for ensuring that the superior services are procured at the lowest possible costs.

I wish to emphasise that we need to enhance the inflow of private investment because our capital requirements for bridging the infrastructure deficit are far too large to be financed by public investment alone, specially because Budgetary resources have other competitive demands such as health, education and rural development. For ensuring rapid growth, we have to rely increasingly on private investment. But, we will need to ensure that this will only be on the terms that benefit the economy as well as users.

On regulatory reforms, I recognize that the present legal framework needs some rethinking. The regulatory commissions in different sectors follow very divergent practices and require a re-examination to have a uniform framework. A serious problem with our regulatory framework is that our regulatory commissions are neither accountable to the Government nor are they accountable to Parliament. In order to make them effective and answerable, we need to undertake regulatory reforms. Our Government will go into all these matters and take suitable steps and while doing so, the views expressed by Members today will receive utmost consideration. Since we are committed to reforms on a much wider scale, which would consider the important issues raised by the hon. Members today, I don't think it is necessary to adopt the proposed Resolution. While assuring the Members of our fullest consideration of all these issues, I would request the hon. Member to please withdraw his Resolution.

Before I finish, Sir, there are just two or three things that I further wish to point out to the House. Since the Members have spoken about it here...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Be brief.

SHRI INDERJIT SINGH RAO: Sir, just two minutes. Number one is his point 4; strengthening of regulatory mechanism in sectors such as highways, shipping, airports, power, telecom, banking, insurance, finance, etc. Now, banking, insurance and finance are three sectors which, perhaps, should be addressed to the Finance Ministry because that is the Ministry which is concerned with these sectors.

The other thing is, point 5, which says about parliamentary approval for all future Public Private Projects or private involvement in key sectors such as defence, airports, ports and national highways. It says that all such projects should have parliamentary approval. Now, if I may suggest, Sir, these are executive functions. They cannot be considered as parliamentary powers. So, this is one area where, as a Minister, I beg to differ. But with most of the issues that I have spoken about earlier, we are in the process of reviewing the whole regulatory mechanism for Public Private Partnership, and we will ensure, in the times to come, that people who are the users of this infrastructure are the gainers by these measures which we enforce in our policy. Therefore, I would request the hon. Member — the Minister and everybody is concerned — to kindly withdraw his Resolution on the Public Private Projects.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Balagopal, would you like to say something? Yes, you can.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: Sir, this is a positive discussion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, the Minister was also positive.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: Sir, the hon. Minister replied to the questions which we raised. The House unanimously took the seriousness of this issue. I am fortunate that a Minister also took part in this discussion as a Private Member. He could have participated in this discussion very positively, if this discussion had happened in February, when I moved this Resolution. I am saying this because he was very strongly supported it all those days. When the GMR issue, the Statutory Resolution which we discussed came up, he was there and discussed it in great detail. So, he knows what happens. Actually, Sir, this Resolution was moved in February.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Change of roles.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL: So, there is the bad experience — I think, 'bad' is also parliamentary — of the earlier Government, when the PPP Model was introduced and finally they ended up in lot of problems, and the CAG Report was there. Then, the

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PAC, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi discussed a lot of reports, including the CAG Report about the GMR Airport involving Rs.1,36,000 crores. So, everything was discussed there. That is why when I moved this Resolution, my experience was with me. Mr. Aiyar said very correctly that the private business people are very wise or they are very intelligent in doing their business, and the Ministers and the bureaucrats may not understand what they intend to do at that time. Sir, what I suggest is this. I am not against the PPP. Basically, in principle, we have many differences. We know that involvement and investment by the private sector is very important and relevant, and we are not against that. Unfortunately, Tyagiji was not here, when the hon. Minister spoke as a Private Member. He scored something against the Government in Bihar. Unfortunately, he was not here. That is their internal politics about their former allies.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Come to the point.

SHRI K.N. BALAGOPAL : I am not going into that, Sir. I am not saying that PPP is not needed. What I am suggesting is, in the case of PPP, there should be transparency, there should be some control, and there should be some legal framework.

Sir, today, we got the CAG Report about the Mumbai Airport. The CAG is saying that Rs.880 crores is the total investment by the concessionaire. But not even a single penny was not brought in by the concessionaire. And, he is getting the total investment, either the added one or the increased one, through the Development Fee. ...*(Time-bell rings)*... Piyush Goyalji knows the price of land in Mumbai. In addition, they got 190 acres of land in Mumbai. 190 acres of land at Mumbai Airport means more than 50,000 crores of rupees. So, these kinds of things will not help the country. All the businesses are like this. ...*(Interruptions)*... We have to strengthen the ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, some assurances for example, some regulatory mechanism — have been given very positively. So, I am not pressing my Resolution. But I do hope the Government will fulfil the assurance given here. It is a positive thing.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Dr. T. Subbarami Reddy to move a resolution on the continuous shortage of power and its adverse impact on the economic development of the country.

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD: Sir, such a serious issue, raised by such a serious Member, has come at 4.30 P.M.