

## INTRODUCTION OF MINISTERS

THE PRIME MINISTER (DR. MANMOHAN SINGH) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with your permission, I wish to introduce to you, and through you to this august House, my colleagues who have been inducted in the Council of Ministers recently but who could not be introduced to the House earlier.

Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

Smt. Krishna Tirath, the Minister of State (Independence Charge), in the Ministry of Women and Child Development.

Shri Ajay Maken, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

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## MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS --- *Contd*

**श्री राम नारायण साहू** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : धन्यवाद उपसभापति महोदय।

**श्री उपसभापति** : आपके पास सात मिनट बचे हैं, यह मैं आपको पहले ही बतला रहा हूँ।

**श्री राम नारायण साहू** : हम पूरे अनुशासन का पालन करेंगे।

उपसभापति महोदय, पहले तो मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय को धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने अपना अभिभाषण हिन्दी में दिया, जो सभी लोगों को बहुत अच्छा लगा। यह दूसरे नेताओं के लिए भी उदाहरण है कि जो लोग अच्छी हिन्दी जानते हैं और हिन्दी बोल भी सकते हैं लेकिन वे फिर भी इंग्लिश में बोलते हैं। उन लोगों को यह बात ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए। जो लोग अच्छी हिन्दी नहीं बोल सकते उनकी बात दूसरी है। लेकिन जो लोग हिन्दी जानते हैं उनको हिन्दी में जरूर बोलना चाहिए। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, दूसरी बात यह है कि कल जिस तरीके से इस अभिभाषण पर यहां बहस स्टार्ट हुई, चुनाव के बाद में राज्य सभा में यह पहला भाषण था और यहां पर पहला भाषण जिस तरीके से प्रारंभ किया गया उसमें गोले बरसने लगे। इस अभिभाषण पर बोलने वाले प्रथम वक्ता श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी जी थे और उन्होंने इस तरीके से बोलना शुरू कर दिया कि शुरुआत में ही हलचल पैदा हो गई। जब अभी शुरुआत ऐसी है तो यह पांच साल कैसे चलेगा। तो हम लोगों को अनुशासन में ही रहकर बोलना चाहिए, चतुर्वेदी जी तो बहुत पुराने आदमी हैं और हम नए आदमी हैं। उनको इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए। वैसे चुनाव से पहले जो कुछ भी हुआ और अब हमको नए तरीके से संबंध स्टार्ट करने चाहिए और सद्भावना के साथ चलना चाहिए। जब कोई बात आती है तो हमको उस तरीके से उत्तर देना चाहिए। लेकिन जिस तरीके से भाषण दिया गया वह दरअसल सदन के खिलाफ है।

उपसभापति महोदय, एक बात बहुत अच्छी हुई है कि भारत के इतिहास में लोक सभा में पहली बार एक महिला को अध्यक्ष बनाया गया है, वह भी दलित महिला को बनाया गया है, उसके लिए मैं बहुत-बहुत बधाई देता हूँ। भारत ही एक ऐसा देश है जहां पर हमारी राष्ट्रपति महोदय राजपूत हैं और उपराष्ट्रपति मुस्लिम समुदाय से आते हैं, प्रधान मंत्री जी सिख समुदाय से आते हैं और लोक सभा के जो उपाध्यक्ष बनने वाले हैं वे एस.टी. से संबंधित हैं। इस तरह से यह एक बहुत अच्छा मिश्रण है तथा सभी लोग बधाई के पात्र हैं। लेकिन इसी तरीके से महिला आरक्षण बिल आने वाला है, उसके अंदर भी उस बात को ध्यान में रखा जाए। जिस तरीके से बिल लाया जा रहा है अगर उस तरीके से बिल लाया गया तो वह बिल्कुल काला दिन होगा। इसके अंदर बैंकवॉर्ड को, दलित को, एस.टी. को और

अल्पसंख्यक को बराबर का स्थान मिलना चाहिए। अगर 80 परसेंट जनता को नजरअंदाज कर दिया गया तो वही हालत होगी, जिन हालात को जो सरदार पटेल जी ने खत्म किया था, वे हालात फिर पैदा होंगे। इसलिए इसमें 80 परसेंट जनता को नजरअंदाज न किया जाए, यह भारत के हित में होगा। यह मेरा आपसे अनुरोध है। प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूंगा कि इस बिल को जल्दबाजी में सौ दिन के अंदर पास नहीं किया जाए। अगर सौ दिन के अंदर बिल पास करने हैं, तो जो जनता से जुड़े हुए मुद्दे हैं, उनको पास करिए। लेकिन इस बिल को बहुत सोच-समझ कर पास किया जाए। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिनके बारे में यहां पर कहा जा रहा है, उनकी एक कमेटी बना दी जाए और वह कमेटी क्या रिपोर्ट देती है, उसको ध्यान में रखा जाए और उसके आधार पर काम किया जाए। इसको एक तरफा तरीके से पास नहीं किया जाए। यह देख लिया जाए कि हमारा बहुमत है या नहीं है। जो पार्टियां इस बिल की वकालत कर रही हैं, वे पार्टियां जरा अपने एम.पीज से पूछ लें कि इस बिल के बारे में उनके क्या विचार हैं। अभी इसको पास करने के लिए कहा जा रहा है, लेकिन पार्टियों ने अपने सदस्यों के विचार नहीं पूछे हैं। इधर वाले और उधर वाले पूछ रहे हैं कि उनके जो मेम्बरान हैं, उनकी क्या राय है? कहीं ऐसा न हो चौबे जी गए थे छब्बे जी बनने और रह गए दूबे जी बनकर। इस बात का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाए।

जो सत्ता दल कांग्रेस है, उसकी तरफ से कई बार सदस्यों ने नीति और नीयत की बात को बार-बार दोहराया है। जहां तक नीति की बात है, वह बात तो ठीक है, जो नीयत की बात है, वह नीयत सही है, इसके बारे में बात करना बहुत नाइंसाफी होगी। जब कोई भी आदमी किसी का एक गिलास पानी भी पी लेता है, तो जिंदगी भर उसका अहसान नहीं भूलता है। यहां पर ऐसा हुआ कि पानी भी पी गए और शुक्रिया भी नहीं किया। इस बात को ध्यान में रख लेना चाहिए कि हम लोग सत्ता के भूखे नहीं हैं। अगर सत्ता के भूखे होते, तो जिस समय हम लोगों ने मदद की थी, उसी समय हमें सत्ता में आने के लिए कहा गया था और हम लोगों ने उसी समय मना कर दिया था कि हम लोग सत्ता में नहीं आएंगे। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि जो नीयत की बात है, हमारा पानी पीने के बाद में और पानी पीने से पहले तो यह हालत थी कि हमारे लोगों की बात को इस तरीके से लिया जा रहा था, हमारे लोगों की बात को इस तरीके से देखा जा रहा था कि इतना स्वागत तो दामाद का भी नहीं होता है, जितना स्वागत उस समय समाजवादी पार्टी के लोगों का हो रहा था, उसके बाद में इतनी निगाह बदल ली कि जिसका कोई जवाब नहीं।

उपसभापति महोदय, समाजवादी पार्टी सत्ता की भूखी नहीं है। जय प्रकाश नारायण जी को और डा. लोहिया को बहुत पहले सत्ता का ऑफर किया गया था, लेकिन उन्होंने जिंदगी भर सत्ता को नहीं स्वीकार किया। समाजवादी पार्टी हमेशा संघर्ष के ऊपर विश्वास करती है। अगर आप अच्छी नीति पर चलेंगे, तो हम आपका समर्थन करेंगे। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... सर, समय खत्म हो गया?

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपकी पार्टी का समय खत्म हो गया।

**श्री राम नारायण साहू :** सर, अगर समय समाप्त हो गया है, तो हम अनुशासन को ध्यान में रखते हुए और राष्ट्रपति अभिभाषण का समर्थन करते हुए, अपनी बात समाप्त करते हैं। धन्यवाद।

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I request you to adjourn the House after I complete my speech...*(Interruptions)*....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no. He will stick to the time allotted to his party.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir provided I am not interrupted by anybody.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It all depends on you.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, this is the second Address of the hon. President to Parliament this year. The first Address was on February 9, 2009, on behalf of the UPA Government and, now, the second one is on behalf of the Congress-led Government. Last time, when the hon. President addressed the Parliament at the fag end of the 14th Lok Sabha, there was an entity called UPA, there was a UPA-Left Co-ordination Committee, there was a Common Minimum Programme. Now, after four months, in the 15th Lok Sabha, we have a Congress-led Government. There is no trace of UPA. There is no co-ordination Committee and there is no pretence of any common minimum programme. The main reason for this shift is that in these elections the Congress Party has crossed the 200 mark. You have a positive mandate, there is no doubt about it. In fact, after 1991, it is for the first time, in the last two decades, that the Congress Party has shown an upward swing. In 1991, the Congress party won 219 seats. In 1996 had 140 seats; in 1998, 142 seats; in 1999, 112 seats; and in 2004, 147 seats. So, in the current Lok Sabha elections, after long years of waiting, you have crossed the 200 mark -- 206, to be precise. In 2004, the Congress Party was nearly half of the half mark for the majority. You had a ragtag coalition of 17 parties, with desperate ideologies. Added to that, Left parties were supporting you from outside. Hence, you had lots of limitations. The Prime Minister is a good man, an honest man. But his hands were tied. He had no say in the Cabinet-making. In fact, when the names of the Ministers and their portfolios were announced from Chennai, the Prime Minister was helpless and he could do nothing. You had \* Ministers. You had Minister with \* But you, the Prime Minister, could do nothing because of the compulsions of the coalition politics. At least, that is how the country satisfied itself....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, it is not fair...*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, I cannot speak for them. I can speak only for myself...*(Interruptions)* Everybody knows that...*(Interruptions)* I can show you the reports...*(Interruptions)* I can show you the reports...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, it is not a maiden speech...*(Interruptions)* If there are any unparliamentary words, I will remove them...*(Interruptions)* I will examine the record and if he has said any unparliamentary words, I will remove them..*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : Sir, this is not unparliamentary, but...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Then, what should I do?...*(Interruptions)* That's why, when he said that he would complete in the given time if it was without interruptions, I said that it depended on

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\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

him...(Interruptions) So, I am not removing his interruption time because depends on him...(Interruptions) Please sit down...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Nobody announced anything. It is surprising that he is making \*a statement...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have already said that I will examine it and if there is anything unparliamentary, I will delete it...(Interruptions) Now, why are you standing?...(Interruptions) Please sit down...(Interruptions)

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Now, it is 2009, not 2004. You have a clear mandate...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will examine it and will delete out if there is anything unparliamentary ... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Sir, even though you will examine it and will act accordingly, but it is not correct to use the floor of the House to make a \* statement...(Interruptions)

DR. V. MAITREYAN : But it is not ... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I cannot decide anything at this stage...(Interruptions) Mr. Dhinakaran, you cannot talk to a Member directly...(Interruptions) You have to address the Chair...(Interruptions) Please sit down ... (Interruptions)

DR. V. MAITREYAN : But, now, it is 2009, and not 2004. You have a clear mandate. You have enough elbowroom to flex your muscles. Parties after parties are competing with each other to support you. So, the people of the country expected that Dr. Manmohan Singh, the honest PM that he is, a man of integrity, would be firm and assert himself in the Cabinet formation. Initially, the Prime Minister showed his determination not to be given to blackmail-politics and was courageous to assert 'take it or leave it'. In fact, the people of Tamil Nadu were all praise for the Prime Minister when news appeared on the TV channels that two of his erstwhile ministerial colleagues will not be taken in because of their indictment in the ... (Interruptions) But in the next three days ... (Interruptions) ... Sir, I cannot speak to please them ... (Interruptions) ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no.... (Interruptions) .. See, these are the prerogatives of the Prime Minister... (Interruptions) ...

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, I am only giving him all the credit ... (Interruptions) .. I am giving him all the credit .. (Interruptions) ... But in the next three days, what happened? वही होता है, जो मंजूर-ए-खुदा होता है। .. (Interruptions) ...

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\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.



SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : Are you speaking on the Motion of Thanks? ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Yes, yes, this Motion was ratified by the Cabinet....*(Interruptions)*.. This Motion was ratified by the Cabinet; that is why, I am speaking about the Cabinet ...*(Interruptions)*... The result today is that the Government led by Dr. Manmohan Singh a \*Government. ...*(Interruptions)*

श्रीप्रकाश जावडेकर (महाराष्ट्र) : आप सुनिए तो सही ...*(व्यवधान)*...

DR. V. MAITREYAN : It is a Government with some Ministers with \* ...*(Interruptions)*.. Unfortunately, some of the colleagues of yours, at least from Tamil Nadu, do not bring credit to the Prime Minister ...*(Interruptions)* The Union Government has got nine Ministers from Tamil Nadu -- Navratanas. They are nine jewels in the Cabinet of Dr. Manmohan Singh, चमकते सितारे । The President, in her Address, congratulated the Election Commission for conducting smooth and largely peaceful elections to the 15th Lok Sabha. However, in spite of the tall claims made by the Election Commission in India about free and fair elections\* in very many places. But the use of muscle, money and State power, in a systematic and organized fashion was first witnessed in an Assembly by-election in Thirumangalam in February, 2009. Everybody knows who was responsible for what we in Tamil Nadu call Tirumangalamisation of the electoral process. That is the shorthand for money, muscle and State power interfering in the electoral process. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : Sir ....*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : The Tirumangalam effect was in full force in the entire State in the 15th Lok Sabha ...*(Interruptions)*. There was money distribution; there was spectrum money distribution; there was ...*(Interruptions)*... तुम हमें वोट दो, हम तुम्हें नोट देंगे।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is not for the Parliament to take up ...*(Interruptions)*... You are talking about the Election Commission.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Yes, Sir, I am speaking on the conduct of elections ...*(Interruptions)* What happened? ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no. It is for the Election Commission to look into all these things. ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : But I can make a statement about what happened, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, the President mentioned about the Election Commission process ...*(Interruptions)*.. She commented that there had been successful and peaceful election...*(Interruptions)*... We are a progressive State. Naturally, we hope to progress. But unlike what the great philosopher Bertrand Russell said, "All progress in Tamil Nadu need not be ethical". Therefore, the progress in these elections, apart from the liberal use of muscle, money and State power, has been the suspected manipulation of the Electronic Voting Machines. Naturally, when the

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\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

result were out, it left us in no doubt. Elections in Tamil Nadu are, as reported by Tom Stoppard, not about voting but about counting and one who manipulated counting in Tamil Nadu emerges victorious. And, the whole country knows...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan) : Sir ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You are directly charging the Election Commission, I will not allow that ...*(Interruptions)*... The conduct of the Election Commission cannot be discussed here, because it is notified ...*(Interruptions)*.. It has to be by a substantive motion...*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : I have not even mentioned the name, Sir. I have only mentioned about the allegation. I have not mentioned even the name of the Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think this provokes.....*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : The whole world knows who the Minister is...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA : You are...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bagrodia, Please sit down..*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY (Bihar) : What about...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rudy, let us maintain certain restraint. The Parliament can discuss about electoral reforms, what is to be done, what you are saying, but it is not correct to say "after the election is conducted, this is the..."

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, this is the first official forum available for us to say..*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rudy, that is the prerogative of the House. We can discuss on electoral reforms. My advice is to please restrain yourself.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : My Party General Secretary Puratchi Thalaivi has expressed reservations about the Electronic Voting Machines several times in the past. In the recent Parliamentary elections also, we strongly believe that there had been large-scale manipulations. Several advanced countries have tried out Electronic Voting Machines and then they have reverted back to the ballot paper after finding the Electronic Voting Machines unreliable. Does the voter have any means to find out to whom his vote has actually gone? No. After a person casts his vote, there is a beep sound and red light glows next to the symbol of the candidates for whom he had voted. But has the vote actually gone to the person he voted for? There is no means of knowing it. Contrary to this, in a paper ballot, the voter knows exactly to whom he had voted by stating his choice. On behalf of AIADMK, I urge all parties that are genuinely concerned about democracy to analyse the Indian electronic voting machine system to ensure that there are no misgivings about it. I urge that we revert back to the paper ballot system and dump the Electronic Voting Machine system.

For the last two years, this House has witnessed tense moments and serious discussions on the alleged irregularities in the 2G spectrum licence allocation. The loss to the nation due to this mega spectrum scandal is nearly Rs. 100,000 crores.. *(Interruptions)*.. The concerned was even indicated by the CVC. The concerned Minister flatly denied the charges...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No; no; please...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. V. MAITREYAN : The concerned Minister flatly denied the charges...*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI A. RAJA : Sir, I am the concerned Minister...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can reply...*(Interruptions)*... You can reply to that ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, I am also saying that he has flatly denied those charges and put the blame on his predecessor who also happens to be from his own party. Now, both are back in Dr. Manmohan Singh's Government and they took oath on 28th May, 2009. The very next day, on 29th May, the Delhi High Court paid rich tributes to the Prime Minister. Furious with the way the Government allotted the spectrum, the court observed, "We are utterly disgruntled and astounded that the spectrum was sold like cinema tickets." With the Minister back in the Cabinet, business will be usual, cinema tickets will continue to be sold...*(Interruptions)*.. The election manifesto of the Congress Party in page 16 pledges to bring the fruits of IT revolution to more cities and towns. But it has ended up in delivering the fruits of IT revolution to Gopalapuram, Chennai, so much so that ...*(Interruptions)*... BSNL now probably ...*(Interruptions)*... denotes "Brother, Sister, Nephew Limited." ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : \*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, Gopalapuram is a place in Tamil Nadu where Lord Krishna...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No; please sit down...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down...*(Interruptions)*... What is it that you expect me to do? ...*(Interruptions)*... Why Gopalapuram...

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, Gopalapuram is a place where there is a grand temple of Lord Krishna...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Siva, you please go...*(Interruptions)*... Please go...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : \*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will examine all that ...*(Interruptions)*... You asked me to remove Gopalapuram. How can I remove Gopalapuram?...*(Interruptions)*... If you want to raise objections, raise valid objections and I will consider it. What can I do? You tell me, under what rule, I can delete

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\* Not recorded.

it...(Interruptions)... Please ...(Interruptions)... No; no; you can't speak from here. You speak from your seat ...(Interruptions)... Please, Mr. Siva ...(Interruptions)... See, I am not going to certify that all what he is speaking is the truth...(Interruptions)... Please go ...(Interruptions)...The Chair is not going to take responsibility of what the Member said. Only if it is unparliamentary or it is against the procedure or against the rules, I will remove it...(Interruptions)...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA :\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You deny it when you speak...(Interruptions)...

DR. V. MAITREYAN : To cap all these, the latest -- there was a news item ...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Tell me. Yes, tell me, what is the rule?

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : Sir, it is Rule 238A ...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA : Sir, the Rule says, "No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a Member against any other Member or a Member of the House unless the Member making the allegation has given previous intimation to the Chairman and the ...(Interruptions)..."

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, I have only appealed to the hon. Prime Minister...(Interruptions)... Sir, I have not taken the name of any Minister or any Chief Minister ...(Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Sir, the point is, he is referring and you also referred to 'Gopalapuram'. Everybody knows, the hon. Chief Minister resides there ...(Interruptions)... Let me raise my point of order ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA :\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Siva please sit down ...(Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Sir, the point is, whether you are going to allow this totally malicious and wrong allegation against the Chief Minister ...(Interruptions)... Are you going to allow it? ...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No; no; I will not allow any allegation against anybody. But how do I know that he has made an allegation against the Chief Minister?...(Interruptions) Please tell me and I will remove it. ...(Interruptions) I am going to allow any allegations...(Interruptions).. Please sit down ...(Interruptions).. I am not going to allow any allegation ...(Interruptions) What is this? ...(Interruptions)... Whatever he is speaking, he is speaking without my permission. It is not going on record. ...(Interruptions)...Without the permission of the Chair, whatever you speak it does not go on record.

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\* Not recorded.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : There was a news item in headlines a couple of days ago. 'UPA Minister run medical college wants Rs. 20 lakhs donation for MBBS admission and that too in cash, I do not want to elaborate anything more. The above illustrations clearly show how \* your Government is, Sir.

Going through the election manifesto of my party and the Presidential Address to the Parliament, I find that several issues are mentioned in both they are :

- \* Early passage of Women's Reservation Bill.
- \* Zero tolerance towards terrorism.
- \* Chip-embedded National Citizen identify Cards.
- \* Action to bring back black illegal Indian money lying unproductively in international tax havens.
- \* Welfare of armed-service personnel and the issue of one rank one pension.
- \* Food Security to BPL families.

The Women's Reservation Bill has been pending for the past decade or so. We have a woman President and a woman Speaker and it is gratifying to note that the Government has assured early passage of the Bill with the targeted period of the next hundred days. As a party that has been championing the cause of women in the last two decades, my party AIADMK led by Puratchi Thalavi Amma will wholeheartedly support the Women's Reservation Bill.

On the issue of controlling terrorism, given the track record of the UPA Government, the less said the better. On the issue, I am reminded of the manifesto of my party wherein, we had stated after consulting economists and experts that we need to ban Participatory Notes as they had the calculated effect of providing easy route to fund terrorists. Any first step to fight terrorism, in my considered opinion, stems from the direct action of the Government. And in this effort, it shall have to be substance over form, action over rhetoric and sincerity over tokensim. I am tired of listening to vague assertions of the Government that Participatory Notes are not, in any way, fuelling terrorist money when repeatedly it has been proved in the courts of law that neither the Government nor the SEBI or for that matter the RBI is having the names of those Participatory Note investors.

The Participatory Note issue was at the core of the recommendations in the JPC report of 2001. And I note that the Government has been brilliantly obfuscating the very recommendations of the JPC by clever use of jargons and theatrics. Tracking Participatory Notes will be the first step of the Government to combat terrorism and not anything else. I would request the hon. Prime Minister of reply to this point specifically.

The rise of naxalism in over 150 districts of our country is indicative that it is not merely a law and order problem but needs a direct yet sympathetic treatment. It requires vision and courage to tackle

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\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

this situation. I am afraid the Union Government fails to demonstrate either of the two in even symbolic doses in the Address of the President of India.

Now, let me come to the management of economy. The hon. Members may well recall that they have been witnessing three stimulus packages from the Government in the past six months or so, but what has been its impact on the Indian economy? I would have been happy, even if the effect had been minimal or worse still negative. But what I understand from my economist friends is that the Government's diagnosis of the entire crisis had been completely awry. Naturally, the prescription has been out of sync with the requirement of the day.

The age-old prescription for any downturn in growth has been to ensure that the Government of the day steps in and increases the spending. This has been referred to in the President's address too as proposed counter-cyclical efforts to deal with the extant situation.

I have two reservations on this. Firstly, any substantial increase in the expenditure of the Government at this point in time is sure to increase the fiscal deficit. Effectively this borrowing programme of the Government crowds out the private initiative and hence runs counter-cyclical to the private initiatives of the citizens of this country and not counter-cyclical to that of the recession faced by the country.

In effect, we would be left with only a burgeoning debt for the next generation, not prosperity for them. Secondly, elementary mathematics teaches us that anything multiplied by zero is zero. Countercyclical policies are acceptable when the Government's expenditure reaches the intended target, not otherwise. When the people in the Government confess that not more than 5 per cent of the expenditure reach the people of this country and look around helplessly, I am not sure as to what the Government means by such vague intentions. Or in the absence of any clear-cut programme, is vagueness a deliberate strategy?

Now, I come Kachchatheevu. I have only two more points. The gifting away of Kachchatheevu to Sri Lanka under the agreement of 26th June, 1974, was not only flawed under constitutional law, but also created a myriad problems for Indian fishermen operating from the Rameswaram coast. Secession of Kachchatheevu was unconstitutional. In the Berubari case of 1960, the Supreme Court decided that an agreement involving the ceding of a part of territory of India in favour of a foreign state could be effected only through an amendment of the Constitution of India which had to be ratified by the Parliament. My Party General Secretary, Puratchi Thalaivi, has already moved the Supreme Court to rescind the agreement with Sri Lanka relating to Kachchatheevu. The AIADMK urges the Centre to retrieve Kachchatheevu from Sri Lanka and alleviate the problems of the fishing community in South India.

Three weeks ago, the Sri Lankan Government claimed that the war in Sri Lanka was over. The end of the war does not signify victory for anyone. No one has reasons to gloat over it. On the contrary, this is the time for serious introspection. I am reminded of the sayings of the Great Chinese philosopher Tsun-tzu several centuries ago that "war was for peace". Now that the war is over in Sri Lanka, strangely, we do not find peace even in the horizon. The situation in Sri Lanka is a new foreign policy challenge for this Government.

The unrest in Sri Lanka was triggered off only because the Eelam Tamils were relegated post-independence to the status of secondary citizens in their own homeland. The decimation of the LTTE or the killing of its leaders will not wipe away the injustice meted out to this large community that has as much roots in Sri Lanka as the Sinhala majority. It was not Prabhakaran who created the ethnic conflict, rather the ethnic conflict spawned Prabhakaran.

Now, we read widespread reports of atrocities and war crimes committed by the Sri Lankan Army in the final weeks of the conflict. Aerial photographs, official documents, witness accounts and expert testimony all present clear evidence of more than 20,000 Eelam Tamil civilians massacred by Sri Lankan Army during those fateful three days. The condition of lakhs of civilian refugees in the concentration camps is appalling. Food is short, sanitation is non-existent, wounded and traumatized civilians are in desperate need of help and medicines are not available. The UN Secretary General has called for a proper investigation into the credible allegation of violation of International Humanitarian Law.

The Government of India should demand an immediate probe into the Lanka war crimes. However, the role of India's Permanent Representative to the U.N. in Geneva during these discussions is highly deplorable. The Government of India should revise its diplomatic policy which should be in accordance with the letter and spirit of the norms of human right and credibility so as to reflect the wishes and aspirations of the people of Tamil Nadu and India.

The AIADMK, in its election manifesto had promised that if voted to power, it would prevail upon the Indian Government to sanction Rs. 10,000 crores as a rehabilitation package for the Eelam Tamils. Even though not part of the power equation at the Centre, as the leader of an alliance that has the backing of over 1.5 crore people in Tamil Nadu, my party General Secretary, Puratchi Thalaivi, had, in her statement dated 21st May, 2009, called upon the Government of India to immediately set in motion the process of massive rebuilding and rehabilitation efforts for the Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka. Today, on behalf of my leader, Puratchi Thalaivi, and my party, AIADMK, I reiterate this appeal to the Government of India. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned for lunch till two o'clock.

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

2.00 P.M.

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

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) in the Chair]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : We shall resume discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Now, Shri N.K. Singh.

SHRI N.K. SINGH (Bihar) : Madam, it is a real privilege for me to participate in this important discussion on the President's Address to the Joint Session at the beginning of the new term of this Government.

I have ten points to make and considering the paucity of time, I will endeavour to make them as quickly as possible.

Let me first say that it is sometime easier to begin with the conclusion than to begin with the introduction; to begin with apologue than prologue.

In the last paragraph of the President's Address, the President urges India move to an innovation decade. So, we need to ask ourselves how does India move to an innovation decade, how do we begin to empower people to think creatively, to get out of old mindsets, to change our social ways, to change the curriculum in schools, to change the format of public policy, so that -- what the President would like us to see -- India ushers an innovation decade.

In asking ourselves this question, we are always reminded of what the eminent economist John Maynard Keynes had said, "the problem is not so much with the new ideas, the problem is one of skipping from old ideas, which occupy most parts of our mind."

So, I think, in attempting to usher this innovation decade, first and foremost, on the social side, parents would need to be taught awareness not to push kids into safe professions, don't punish term from exploring what they believe is good act.

On the school side, we need to move away in the curriculum and method of teaching from a rote system emphasising memorising into thinking analytically and creatively. We need to allow higher education to use whatever entrance examinations and whatever tests they believe would foster this kind of creativity. We need to protect intellectual property rights not the mere litigious way in which we understand private intellectual property rights, but intellectual property rights like creative commons, open source of development and all those kinds and attributes which affect the overall social conditions which foster this kind of a creative instinct. We need to reward people and we need to reward them for inventions, for research by protecting their intellectual property rights. On the public policy side, we need to protect intellectual property rights of innovative companies to foster forms of organisation technology transfers. So, therefore, this requires a host of action if the President's vision in the concluding paragraph of the Address is to be realised. I urge the Government to come up with a vision paper on innovation and how and what kind of steps they believe will enable this country to leap frog in the typology of development, to leap frog various processes to be able to foster patents and to be able to foster an innovation culture. That was my first point.

My second point relates to poverty. On poverty we have seen all kinds of varied numbers. The Planning Commission's last estimate on poverty suggested that poverty numbers in India have



tended to come down to just 260 million people which really means that 260 million people earned 356 rupees in the villages and 538 rupees in urban pockets. But, if you look at two recent studies, they are quite alarming. What are these studies? The first study is by the World Bank itself on poverty. What does it say? It says that looking at price increases which have taken place internationally move up the benchmark of extreme poverty, from just 1 dollar to 1.25 dollars based on averaging of 11 countries across continents dealing with extreme poverty. The Asian Development Bank trying to do the same has moved the index of poverty on extreme poverty from 1 to 1.35 dollars. If you look at these revised kind of benchmarking on poverty, you get an alarming stage. What do we get? If we go by the World Bank's kind of 1 to 1.25 then 456 million people are really in extreme poverty and the poverty numbers of the Planning Commission begin to climb up from just 24 per cent to 41 per cent. If we adopt the Asian Development Bank method of computing poverty then, of course, it climbs up to 625 million constituting 54.8 per cent of the entire population. By any estimate, these are alarming figures. We have also been cautioned by the Food and Agriculture Organisation that given the fact that prices increase all over in 2008, 120 million people all over the world went back into deep poverty. If you compute all this, the poverty numbers remain exceedingly alarming. If you look at the global hunger index, we find from the FAO's global hunger index that India ranks 66th among 88 countries. In that index, all Indian States are in serious levels of hunger and 12 are in the alarming category. Now, if you look at kind of a conflicting definitions, look at conflicting methodologies, look at different ways in which the numbers are being computed, we need to arrive at a robust national conclusion. We definitely need to know how many people and by what definition are really in extreme poverty in this country. I, therefore, propose that the Government can consider the constitution of a National Commission on Poverty amelioration and on poverty methodology. And, given the fact that poverty is embedded as much in the economics of poverty as in the politics of poverty, I urge that such a commission which may be constituted should be a bipartisan one to arrive at realistic conclusions.

My third point is, there are too many anti-poverty schemes. We know that. We know the duplication; we know the leakages; we know the fact that very small percentage of all this reaches the intended beneficiaries. The President's Address, fortunately, contains a lot of references on having a citizen's index card. Mr. Arun Shourie reminded the Prime Minister of the fact that he had spoken 23 or 25 times on distortion of subsidies.

I have two specific suggestions to make. My first suggestion is, continue all anti-poverty schemes; find out what the numbers are; have a proper methodology of determining who the poor are to whom the entitlement should be given; open a bank account in the name of beneficiary; and have a direct cash transfer directly in the name of the beneficiary. It would have eliminated leakages; it would have eliminated multiplicity of departments. You would have one quantum change that

reflected our concerns to the people whom we want to be benefited. Has this been tried elsewhere in the world? Is it the first time that India would be attempted to do so? No.

Look at, for instance, the Bolsa Familia Scheme started by Brazil. In 2003. It is the world's single largest anti-poverty scheme, it had been a roaring success. It has dramatically saved the expenditure which Brazil was incurring on the kind of anti-poverty schemes which we seem to be proliferating in multiple ways. You could also have a much better quantum change in addressing the needs of poor.

My second suggestion on poverty is this. We applaud the Government for wanting to bring a Right to Food Act. I, however, want to ask myself this question. I have been reading some literature on poverty. Among the first definition of poverty was given by Dadabhai Naoroji who first attempted to define poverty even before we gained independence. And what did he say? The poverty was not only about the minimum amount of energy, which we need to survive, which is how the nutritional component in which we have computed poverty means, but some little bit for his education, some little bit for his medical needs, and he, of course, added, which I would not like to add, some little bit for his moments of sorrow and his moments of happiness. What I urge is that in the definition of poverty, when this Commission or whichever body looks at it, we look at poverty beyond the narrow food requirement, into a broader nutritional requirement, into computing health, into computing education, that which gives dignity to life. And, therefore, we changed the nomenclature of Right Food Act to Right to Livelihood Act. And the Right to Livelihood Act will begin to have some degree of weight being attached to some of these important indices.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Mr. Singh, I am sorry to interrupt you. How much more time will you take?

SHRI N.K. SINGH : Five minutes. I will move on very quickly. I move on to the fact and lament that agriculture, which is expected to grow at least at four per cent, has been comparatively neglected in the Joint Address of the President. If agriculture has to grow at four per cent, we need to do various things; recommit ourselves to implementing the National Agriculture sub-plan. But, most importantly, we need to provide formal access to agricultural credit. I, therefore, propose constitution of a group for access and disbursement of agriculture credit as a compulsory thing without looking into titles and land records and it should be given at four per cent rate of interest for which a Special Fund needs to be created.

My fifth point relates to Centre-State relations in which I propose the restructuring of the Planning Commission, to convert this into a Ministry of Planning and Economy and the National Development Council to be given a statutory status. That is the only way in which we can have meaningful Centre-State consultations.

I want to move on to the sixth point which is relating to the paragraph seven of the President's Address on the backward regions grant. If you really want to be serious about the backward regions

rant, we need to come up with a paper on what to do and what the Government proposes to do to redress regional inequalities which has been mentioned in the prefatory part of the President's Address. You also need to address the question of how a long pending demand of a State like Bihar which has low per capita income, poor infrastructure, and low energy availability be formally considered for granting it a special category status.

My seventh point relates to disinvestment. I entirely agree with my friend Mr. Arun Shourie that we need to clear the prevarications that we have. Is it a fiscal measure? Is it a productivity enhancing measure? Is it about saving losses on account of closing the sick units which are perennially bleeding? What is it about? And what is it that we need to do? We need to have transparency. I wish to add here that when I think of reconstituting the Disinvestment Commission, its findings should be openly discussed. I move to my eighth point which is about energy reforms to say a critical thing that on energy, we need to implement seriously the Integrated Policy. There are too many Ministries, too many organisations, too much overlapping. The Prime Minister could consider constituting a National Energy Board to be able to take on board because what you do for energy is directly connected with what you do for environment. You cannot have a sensible environment policy unless you have a sensible energy policy. About infrastructure in public private partnership, I share the view that we need to restructure. Why hasn't the public private partnership worked? What has failed in implementation of infrastructure projects? We need to review all those things in empowering the implementing agencies much more.

Finally, I wish to address one important question on which the Prime Minister has kept speaking repeatedly, namely the need to make a new beginning and the need to have a constructive beginning. Let us not repeat past history. Let us not repeat what happened in the case of civil nuclear deal. There are many important international negotiations which are ahead of us. There is the WTO negotiation which is ahead of us. There is the Copenhagen negotiation on climate change which is open to us. Will Parliament be taken into confidence and not confronted with a *fait accompli*? That would be a genuine proof of constructive partnership. That would be a genuine proof engaging Parliament and not inflicting on Parliament a *fait accompli*. Constructive cooperation, we all recognise, is always a two-way process. I certainly would urge all my colleagues on this side to extend that constructive cooperation is reciprocated in which complex negotiations which have high international nuances and sensitivity which are to be handled by the UPA Government in the course of the next year or so. Thank you very much.

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu) : Thank you, Madam, Chairperson. The President's Address is considered to be the policy statement of the Government as claimed by the Congress Party. That way, the President's Address is a kind of CMP for the UPA-II government. Since we are all here after the elections, all the political parties should understand the meaning of the mandate properly and the responsibility the mandate gives to each political party. I understand the mandate of the people is not for two party system in our country. It is not a mandate for bipolarity in Indian politics. This mandate

gives definite responsibility to each political party. I think, it has given a mandate to the CPI and the entire Left to work as constructive opposition in the Parliament. We will do that. While the President has hailed the election of a Dalit woman as the Speaker of Lok Sabha unanimously, I also join the President to hail that unanimous election. But, I hope, this will be an indication that the Government will stand by its commitment to bring the 33-per cent reservation legislation for women as it has promised that it will be done in first 100 days.

Madam, I have gone through the President's Address and within 100 days, the Government has promised to implement some 25 tasks and how far the Government will be successful, we will have to wait and see. But, I must say a few things about the elections. Elections are great festivals of democracy. Thanks to Dr. Ambedkar and galaxy of leaders, we have a Constitution, a Republican Constitution. We have a democracy which is a multi-party plural democracy. We have Parliamentary Democratic system, but it is a matter of concern that the voting percentage has not increased substantially, and in many parts, the voting percentage was very low, and out of this, the winning candidate has to win the maximum number of votes. That is the system which we have today, and the time has come that political parties will have to put their heads together to go for comprehensive electoral reforms that includes, in my opinion, proportional representation system, a part of proportional representation system. And also I must underline the need for State funding. There was a Committee constituted by the NDA Government. It was headed by comrade Indrajit Gupta. That Committee has given a report on State Funding. But the Parliament has not debated on this question of State Funding. Why I am raising this issue. Money power, muscle power, even misuse of other powers, as earlier raised by several Members, could be seen in these elections. It is time that we ensure level playing field to all the political parties. Otherwise, on the one side, we will be failing to address the serious concerns, the pitfalls we witnessed during elections. If we have to have free and fair elections, we need to go for electoral reforms, including the State funding. We will have to seriously consider that issue.

Having said this, I must move on to certain issues raised by the President in her Address and many Members have spoken about them. Now, the corporate sector is very happy about the U.P.A. Government coming to power without the Left support. Even I understand that my good friend, Mr. Arun Shourie, is happy that the present Government does not have the so-called impediment of the Left. We were an impediment when the country's interests were compromised. We did not allow that. But we were never an impediment for the progress of the nation. But the corporate sector is pushing the Government. They want all economic reforms, all kinds of reforms, pension reforms, banking reforms, all to be done rapidly without any delay, and this is where I find a new beginning between the Congress-led Government and the BJP. If that is not so, I will be happy. If that is the new beginning which both parties try to tell the people, then I cannot say anything. If that is not so, I will be happy. But this is what is being done. The corporate houses or the big business houses are

trying to push the Government. Otherwise, in paragraph 34 which was rightly mentioned by my friend, Shri Arun Shourie, it has been stated that our fellow citizens have every right to own part of the shares of the public sector companies while the Government retains the majority shareholding control. Who are these fellow citizens? I would like to know this thing from the Government. Do you mean to say the big business houses? Do you mean to say the corporate houses? Make it clear as to who are these fellow citizens. It is very deceiving one. Our fellow citizens have the right to own part of the shares of the public sector companies. After all, public sector companies are the property of the people, property of the nation. If you say, fellow citizens, who are the fellow citizens? Are they dalits? Are they agricultural workers? Are they tribals? Are they employees? Who are these fellow citizens? So, this is a very deceptive statement which really makes it clear that the Government stands for privatization and the Government claims that it will not allow the Government equity to fall below 51 per cent. We debated this issue in this very House several times when Mr. Chidambaram was the Finance Minister. We argued that it is not the question of percentage. It is the question of policy whether this Government stands for public sector or not..whether this Government is allowed for privatisation of the existing public sector undertakings. And in the wake of global recession, the economic meltdown that is prevalent all over the world, the Government talks about this kind of a reckless disinvestment, privatisation. That should be a major concern. I don't take it as a partisanship. I agree, let us not discuss certain things in a partisan spirit, in a narrow spirit. I address this issue in the interest of the country, in the interest of the working people. How can we sell out our public sector undertakings like this? Is it a proper thing to do? Even in Western countries, including the USA, they are taking every possible step to recover the economy, which is called 'nothing short of nationalisation', 'nothing short of Government's direct intervention'. That is what they are doing. But, here, in a country like ours, this is what is being said by the Government.

Now, coming to agriculture, I agree that the agricultural sector needs priority; all the reforms will have to be re-examined in the context of the current world economic situation; all the reforms which the Government has pursued in the past need to be re-examined. And I must underline here: "The key to India's economic development is revitalisation of our economy, the strengthening of our economy." Our friend, Mr. N.K. Singh, is sitting here. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said : "Anything can wait, not the agriculture." But see what is happening today. If you take the total cultivable land of India, only one-third is irrigated. If we make efforts to implement the irrigation projects, if we irrigate two-thirds of the cultivable land, which is not irrigated, India can become a food power in the world. It can become a global food power. If India emerges as a global food power, we won't need nuclear weapons as you think. Nuclear weapons are not the strength of the economy. India can become a global food power. That type of India we want to see. Has the Government that perspective to look for such a future? We compare our position with China all the time. But in 1949, the Chinese

revolution was accomplished. In 1947, we got independence. Compare India with China. Compare the agricultural development of India with that of China and see how China could emerge as a self-dependent, a self-reliant country. Why are we facing this crisis? This is where, we think, the agriculture sector needs to be given 'priority'. The Government will have to address many issues including the crop insurance, cattle insurance and providing credit facilities to our farmers.

Madam Vice-Chairperson, there are other issues which are, really, matters of concern. We all know that our country suffers from the practice of discrimination against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in all spheres. The Government neither spells out the existence of such discrimination nor has any concrete plan to cover such discrimination within the concept of 'inclusive growth' because the Government claims that it has a mandate for 'inclusive society', for 'inclusive growth'. It is the vindication of Congress mission. And the Government claims that it should go ahead with inclusive growth, equitably development, secular and plural India! If that is so, there is no mention of discrimination within the concept of inclusive society'. The flagship programmes need to be focussed. And make explicit provisions to counter discrimination and make programmes 'inclusive'. There, I must tell, through you, Madam Vice-Chairperson, this House, that the reference to 'Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' is found only at three places in this entire President's Address. We are all for NREGA. In fact, the Left, the CPI, wanted that 120 days's work should be given to the people. To begin with, a period of 100 days' work and a wage of Rs. 80 were accepted. Everything was to begin with. Now, the people don't get 100 days's work and the people don't get the minimum wage, as prescribed, in several parts of the country. These are the issues that the Government should look into. My point here is that through this NREGA and the Government can take up certain constructive work. The Government can distribute land to the SCs and the STs, and through this NREGA even the fallow lands and waste-lands can be made cultivable lands, and the Dalits and the Adivasis will have the ownership also. This is a question of land distribution, a question of land reform. The NREGA can be implemented with an enhanced perspective and vision on how you can really help the Dalits and the Adivasis.

Here I can talk about certain other things. When Mr. K.R. Narayanan was the President of this country, there was a conference of Governors and that conference constituted a committee which was headed by our former colleague, Dr. P.C. Alexander. It acknowledged the question of distribution of land to the SCs and the STs. And what happened? Why can't it be done through the NREGA? On the one side, you can provide jobs and, on the other, you can make the landless farmers as land-owners. I think this is apart of progressive land reform. It is a progressive level of implementation of the NREGA also.

Then, the Government will have to think of making a legislation for urban employment guarantee. It is a demand made by various sections of our society. When the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was conceived, we all said that it should be a universal one and it should not be confined only to rural employment. The entire Scheme, the entire Act, Should be a universal one. Now we have the NREGA, Why can't we have an Urban Employment Guarantee Act? If such a legislation is

brought, my party will support it and the entire House will support it. I don't think that there will be any party which will oppose such a positive legislation. This is another issue that the Government will have to seriously address.

When I was talking about the SCs and the STs, I also meant the lower rung of the society. How do you measure the SCs and the STs? There is no mention about any specific programme for the SCs and the STs. We talk about the sub-plan, the tribal plan and everything for the SCs and the STs. But nothing has been mentioned here, even about the BPL. Our hon. colleague, Mr. N.K. Singh, was talking about poverty, how to define poverty and how to define BPL. This is time when we will have to redefine the poverty line. We will have to redefine the BPL also. In the name of BPL and in the name of poverty line, a vast section of the poor people is excluded. Even if you have a patta land, you will be excluded. You are above the BPL. This is how the BPL is defined. It is a very defective concept. It is a very defective understanding. This needs to be corrected.

Then, Madam Chairperson, again, I would like to stress the question of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because the whole Address talks about inclusive society. The advertent ignoring of crucial aspects relating to provisions of reservation for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the OBCs in the Address clearly indicates that the agenda of the Government is also to undermine the reservation for these communities. The Parliament, through the Ninety-second Constitutional Amendment, has created article 15(5) of the Constitution, which is a historic provision enabling the Government to provide equality in access to education in both public and private institutions. After the Parliament made the provision in the article, the Government which is to enable the provision by making a law has not made any attempt to ensure equal access to education for the SCs, the STs and the OBCs. Now, not having enabled the SCs, STs, and OBCs equal access to education by law as is required under the Constitution of India, the Government is getting ready to push in the Right to Education Bill. As per the media reports....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Please conclude. Your party was given 20 minutes. You have already taken seventeen minutes.

SHRI D. RAJA : Madam, I am concluding. As per the media reports, even the Government is trying to push through the Foreign University Bill. This means these Bills would comfortably ignore reservation to the marginalized sections of the society, as the Government is not bound by reservations under these two Bills. The President says that it is a continuation of the last Government. If that is so, at the fag end of the last Government's tenure, the SC/ST (Reservation in posts and Services) Bill, which provides reservation in services, was passed by the Rajya Sabha and it was about to be passed by the Lok Sabha. But because of shout protests inside and outside, the Government could not go ahead. Now what is the stand of the Government of this issue? Is the Government willing to reconsider this issue? Is the Government willing to guarantee reservation to SCs, STs and OBCs? What is the stand of the Government? It has not been made clear.

Madam, I would like to raise one more issue. The President's Address talks about the Yashpal Committee. It says, "My Government will initiate steps within the next 100 days on the following measures - A National Council for Higher Education as recommended by the Yashpal Committee and the National Knowledge Commission to bring in reforms of regulatory institution." Where is the report of the Yashpal Committee? If there is any such report, is it an interim report or a final report? What is that report? Does Parliament know about that report? Has that report been placed before Parliament? Nobody knows it. I do not understand how the Government has come to know about the recommendations of the Yashpal Committee. I can't understand how the Government can go ahead with such a crucial matter, in such a hurry, which has got far reaching implications so far as future of higher education is concerned. But what is the Yashpal Committee report? Is it a unanimous report? Is it a partial report? Or is it a report of the Chairman? We do not know this. Unless it is placed before Parliament, unless there is a comprehensive debate on that report, the Government should not go ahead with this. Even many recommendations of the National Knowledge Commission are against the interests of SCs and STs. They are openly against the reservation policy, the affirmative policy of any Government, even your Government or any other Government. This is a serious issue.

Finally, I would like to mention two more issues. One issue is regarding the Kachchativu Agreement. My colleague also spoke on the Kachchativu Agreement. I have spoken many times on the Kachchativu Agreement in this august House. I demanded that the Government should reopen and renegotiate the Kachchativu Agreement. Now the Government agrees with whatever the Rajapakse Government says. If the Rajapakse Government says that access to Indian fishermen to Kachchativu does not come under fishing rights, our Government agrees. I can't agree to this. That is not the promise the previous Governments gave to the Indian fishermen or the Tamil Nadu fishermen. Now the reports are coming that Kachchativu is becoming a military base for Sri Lanka. What is the Government going to do if a military base is set up in Kachchativu? Already the US is taking interest in the Indian oceans. If Kachchativu becomes Military base for Sri Lanka, it will be a threat to the Indian security, it will be a threat to the Indian fishermen. I would request the Government to take this issue very seriously.

Finally, I would like to talk about Sri Lanka. Many People would like to talk about Sri Lanka. I wanted the Leader of the Opposition to speak on Sri Lanka.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand) : He spoke.

SHRI D. RAJA : He mentioned it in a different way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Please conclude. Your time is over.

SHRI D. RAJA : I am concluding. The point here is that during the last few days of war, around 20,000 people were massacred in Sri Lanka. It was genocide, and the issue was raised in the Human Rights Council of the United Nations at Geneva. But the role played by India was atrocious. India



joined China, Egypt and all other countries to justify what the Sri Lankan Government has done. It is genocide; it is a war crime, and it needs to be thoroughly probed. I would like to quote here what the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, has said. He says, "Any inquiry, to be meaningful, should be supported by the Members of the United Nations and it should also be very impartial and objective." I would like to ask the Sri Lankan Government to recognise the international call for accountability and full transparency. But, Madam, the international media has not been given access to the concentration camps, which are worse than the Nazi-camps that were set up by Hitler. People are undergoing such unimaginable sufferings and are being subjected to such tortures...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Kindly conclude now.

SHRI D. RAJA : How can India remain a mute spectator to what is going on there? India talks about rehabilitation and reconstruction. But...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Please co-operate, Mr. Raja.

SHRI D. RAJA : India will have to pressurise the Rajapakse Government not to go in for Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil areas, being the homeland of the Tamils there. Now, the Tamil people have been displaced, and the Sinhalese population has taken over those places. That is where the role of the Government of India must be subjected to questioning. And, what is the role of the Government of India?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : MR. Raja, please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA : That is why I would make the appeal to the august House, irrespective of political parties. It is not a party issue; it is no an issue of the Tamil people living in Tamil Nadu, but it is an issue for the entire nation...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Mr. Raja, please conclude now. You have really exceeded your time.

SHRI D. RAJA : When the entire Tamil community is massacred, the nation has the moral responsibility and the moral right to stand up and tell the neighbouring country to stop this massacre and give the Tamils a political solution, give them equal rights and give them enough scope to live with dignity. They cannot be treated like this. This is my final submission. I do not know what the new Government is going to do...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Kindly resume your seat. You have exhausted your time.

SHRI D. RAJA : Madam, I conclude and thank you for giving me this time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Dr. Chandan Mitra. You have thirteen minutes. Please co-operate with the Chair.

DR. CHANDAN MITRA (Nominated) : Madam Deputy Chairperson, I stand, and to begin with, to endorse the Government's commitment to improve the quality of life of the ordinary citizens of India, which was reinforced in the Address to Parliament by the hon. President on the 4th June. She has outlined, in considerable detail, the various ongoing and proposed schemes intended to benefit the people, particularly, the under-privileged sections. The experience of the past five years, however, suggests that while some of these programmes indeed to have a transformational quality, but the fact is that their implementation on the ground leaves much to be desired because they are littered with loopholes and have not been implemented with due sincerity and commitment which was expected out of these schemes. As a result, we find that good intentions have not, in many cases, translated into tangible gains for the intended beneficiaries. I speak, in particular, about the NREGA and the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana, where there has been huge outgo from the Centre, but there has been insufficient translation of that financial largesse into durable asset creation in the countryside. I will however, come to that later.

I have decided to focus only on two aspects of the President's Address where, I think, there has either been inadequate attention paid, or worse there has been an act of omission. My first point is that I fail to find a sufficient political vision in the hon. President's Address, which I had expected, considering that, after this mandate, a Government has been installed which will be in power for five years. And one had expected that it would go beyond detailing some of the programmes that it intends to carry out over the next few years. We had expected a vision; we had expected a roadmap for India, not just globally, but also domestically. It does not, for instance, address some of the festering sores that have gone on in India for many, many years; solutions to these have not been outlined.

I refer, in particular, Madam, to the case of Jammu and Kashmir which, unfortunately, finds extremely passing mention in the hon. President's Address. There are only two references to it, and in both cases, these have been dubbed with the 'North-East and Other Disturbed Areas of the country'. But Jammu and Kashmir is not just 'a' disturbed area in the country; it is much more than that. It is not just 'a' State in our Union of 28 States and UTs. There is a far bigger problem because a large part of the State is occupied illegally by a neighbouring country, and there has been an internal problem that has gone on for many, many years.

Madam, following the successful conclusion of the State Assembly elections last December and, subsequently, the Lok Sabha election in April-May. I somehow feel that amnesia has gripped the Government, and probably a very large section of the political class in this country, about the state of affairs in Jammu and Kashmir. Now, I had expected the President's Address to dwell on some of the issues that are still outstanding and also outlining a roadmap of how to proceed in this matter and

bring about permanent peace in the State. Even as we assemble here is this House, Madam, the Kashmir Valley is on the boil. There has been a sustained agitation for more than seven days over the alleged rape and murder of two women in Shopian. Since then, we have had a series of *bandhs* and normal life in the State is completely paralysed.

Madam, I was myself in Srinagar when the news of this incident broke. It is a measure of the failure of anticipation both of the State Government and the Centre. I do not wish to comment on the State Government; law and order is a State Subject. But I think it is much more than just a law and order issue. But nobody has paid sufficient attention and, therefore, clashes between the protestors and the Police have become a daily affair in the State. There has been no initiative on the part of the Centre in this matter. I do not expect the President to take into account the latest developments in the law and order situation. But, certainly, what is going on in Jammu and Kashmir today is symptomatic of the larger malaise which has not been addressed in the Address, which I find as an act of omission, which reinforces the fact that elections alone are not a panacea; there is something more than mere conduct of elections in the State which needs to be addressed. And I would urge the Government and the Prime Minister to address this issue when he replies to the debate and take this matter into account. Particularly what causes some concern, Madam, is that in Jammu & Kashmir you have...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : I made a mistake; there is one more speaker, Ms. Kapila Vatsyayan. So, you have seven minutes.

DR. CHANDAN MITRA : That is not fair, Madam. You gave me 13 minutes. I have...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : There was a slight communication gap. You can take a couple of minutes more.

DR. CHANDAN MITRA : But she is not here, Madam. I think I can get her time. Anyway, Madam, I wish to point out that in the State you have a coalition government in which there are two parties. One of the parties, the dominant party in the coalition, is of the view that the situation in the State should return to the pre-1953 status. This, I find has not been accepted by the party which is the junior partner in the State coalition but the senior partner at the Centre. Now, when the party, namely, the National Conference, which is the dominant party in the State, was last in power, they passed a resolution in the Assembly calling for autonomy. The autonomy resolution was passed when Dr. Farooq Abdullah, who is now the Minister for New and Renewable Energy at the Centre, was the Chief Minister of the State. Now, I would like to know, through you, Madam, what is the status of that Resolution. Now, that the Ruling Party at the Centre and the National Conference are in coalition in the State, does this mean acceptance of the Autonomy Resolution, as it stands adopted by the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly? I think there has to be some clarity on this issue so that we know where we stand.

Another further point on the State, before I move to the second aspect of my observation is that for nearly two years, the last UPA Government conducted a series of dialogues with various sections and parties in the State, and the Round Table Conferences were held under the aegis of the person who is now the Governor of the State. Now, what happened to those dialogues? What is absolutely meaningless? Where is the Report of the Dialogue? What did the various parties say? Did we make any progress or the talks were held for the sake of holding talks? If a Report has been prepared, which I understand is true, that a Report is already there, why has that Report not been tabled? Is it because the Report was not unanimous? Is it because some parties presented dissenting notes? I think the nation has a right to know about it. The Parliament certainly has a right to know to what happened to the Round Table Dialogue and what was the progress on that? And I do wish that not only the issue of the Jammu and Kashmir should have been addressed by the President and the Government, and I do wish that not only the issue of the Jammu and Kashmir should have been addressed by the President and the Government, and I do wish to have categorical replies on these particular issues.

Madam, I now turn, very briefly, to my other point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Please make your concluding point.

DR. CHANDAN MITRA : I will be brief on this. The second issue which I say is an act of omission and quite unrelated. I am distressed that the issue of highway construction and rural roads has received a very cursory mention in the President's Address. In paragraph 33 of the hon. President's Address, there is just a passing mention along with other infrastructure issues like ports and so on and so forth. Now, Madam, I believe if there was one area which marked the abject failure of the previous UPA Government it was on the question of highway construction. The Leader of the Opposition, in his speech on Friday, had outlined some of the delays that have been caused. You Madam Chairperson, in your speech earlier today, had mentioned in some detail refuting that argument. You have talked about 197 per cent increase during the UPA period over the NDA period. That may be so, but it is still a fact that nearly 200 kilometres of the Golden Quadrilateral has now been abandoned; not just incomplete, abandoned! Now, just about 40 per cent of the North-South-East-West highway has been constructed. The NHDP Phase-III is in the doldrums. Now, there are media reports that one rupee per litre cess is going to be added further to build roads in the coming Budget. We understand that there are media reports to this effect. Now so much money has been collected, why has there not been sufficient progress of the roads? This is such a major project which should have had the attention of the Government.

Madam, the final point I would like to make is the *Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana*. I have been a Member of the Standing Committee on Rural Development for the last nearly six years, and as a result, I have had the opportunity to examine at first hand the implementation of the PMGSY. Wherever PMGSY has been successfully implemented in some of the States, the progress has been tremendous. Farmers receive remunerative price because they are connected to the market,

unemployed youth have opportunities because kiosks have opened up, business opportunities have started, *dhabas* have been built and the PMGSY has brought untold benefits to the interior villages. But, why is its implementation so patchy? Why does it vary so much from State to State? There are detailed reports of the Committee on Rural Development, but these have not been acted upon, and I do wish that in view of the emphasis the Government lays on the Bharat Nirman and progress that this is a matter that ought to be given top priority. I add finally that with the completion of the PMGSY, you would have one more scheme which has not found mention. The 108 Ambulance Scheme has been a tremendous success where forward-looking States have implemented it. It has brought immense health benefits. It has taken care of pregnant women, it has improved the nation's health record to a very great extent because of the implementation of 108 Ambulance Scheme. Now, first of all, 108 Ambulance Scheme should have been included by the Government in its over all national Ambulance Scheme will be able to reach every nook and cranny of this country and bring about tremendous benefits. I submit this as my suggestion, Madam, and I thank you very much for giving me the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : The next speaker is Smt. Kanimozhi. Before that I just would like to inform the Members that in this category there are 25 speakers, the time allotted is 2 hours and 27 minutes; so six minutes for each of the speaker.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI (Tamil Nadu) : Thank you Madam, for giving me the opportunity to speak on Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. I would like to appreciate and thank the Presidents for her Address which puts a coherent set of priorities for the Government over the next five years and I also take this opportunity to congratulate the UPA for coming back to power, with the people's mandate, in a very democratic way. I am particularly happy and thank the President for the focus given to the women's issues and marginalised sections of the society. The Address has the courage and conviction needed to change the age-old practices against the women of this country. Thanthai Periyar, the grand old man of Dravidian movement, has throughout his life, fought for the equal rights between men and women; of course, we have a long way to go to before what he spoke about and what he wanted to achieve is going to be achieved. But, the UPA Government seems to be determined to start, and I would like to congratulate the Government again about it. The President's address talks about introducing the women's reservation Bill in hundred days. But, we already have stumbling blocks. We have people threatening and they say that it should not be implemented. There is a lot of opposition. The DMK has been a staunch and strong supporter of the women's reservation Bill.

I just would like to bring to the notice of this august House that the sad state of affairs is that in the Lok Sabha, out of 543 Members, this time, only 58 are women. That is, only around 10 per cent. In the Rajya Sabha, we have only 22 women Members and that is around 9.6 per cent. So, steps

have to be taken and this Bill should be through to make sure that 50 per cent of the population is not left out when major decisions are taken on the policies, on how the country is going to be run. We also must ensure that this reservation Bill, which is going to be passed, will really empower women.

There are a lot of criticisms. One of them is that they are just a proxy. Women will come to power as just proxies to male counterparts. I think, we have to make sure that women who come to positions are really empowered.

The next important thing the President's Address talks about is the women's education. I think, one important thing which we can do nationwide is what the Tamil Nadu Government had done. Education for the girl child is made free till graduation in Tamil Nadu. We could think of implementing this throughout the nation because the first casualty when there is economic problem at home is the girl child's education. So, if her education is made free, then, I am sure, it will go a long way in ensuring that women are literate and educated in this country.

We have been talking about inclusive growth. I would like to draw your attention, Madam Vice-Chairman, to one section of society which has always been discriminated against; that is the transgender and transsexuals. They face discrimination of all kinds. They are not allowed to use public places like hospitals or educational institutions. They are unable to use public transport system because of social ridicule. They lack political voice as they are often disenfranchised. Their penury, illiteracy, lack of employment opportunities force them into sex work, begging and some times, into illegal activities. Therefore, the Government must take up steps to recognise them as the rightful citizens of this country. A nationwide campaign must be launched to change public attitude towards them. Above all, the benefits of the Government schemes must be extended to them, and, if necessary, by reserving some percentage exclusively for them.

Our voters have given a clear mandate in favour of inclusive growth, equitable development, and a secular and plural India. At this moment, I would like to talk about the Sethu Samudram project, which a lot of political parties are trying to stall under different pretexts, under different notions and by giving different reasons. But we have to understand that it is a dream of every Tamilian; it is a dream, which we wanted to see implemented. It is a 150 years dream. This scheme can provide employment to over two lakh people and this project would go a long way in ensuring the security of the coastline of Tamil Nadu and regions around and protect the fishermen who are really affected because over 400 shooting incidents have happened over the past few years around the coasts of Tamil Nadu and many hundreds of them have been killed or injured. So, the Sethu Samudaram project will ensure that these fishermen are protected and the coastline is also protected. There will be a lot of developmental activity along the coast, and a lot of industries can come in and the ports along it will

also be developed. I think it is very unfair to the State and the Southern Region to stop this Sethu Samudaram project.

I am happy that the Government has given due recognition to the 25 million strong Indian Diaspora as an important social, economic and cultural force. (*Time-bell*) When we are talking about it, I would like to bring to your notice the plight of the Sri Lankan Tamils. The war is over but the struggle is not over because the people over there have been denied their rights. The people there, who have lived there for centuries are being denied rights to live there, to be treated as equal citizens. So, after the war is over now, I think, it is the responsibility of India to play a major part, a very important part in making sure that the people are rehabilitated back to their homes, their traditional homes, and a durable political solution is reached.

I would also like to bring to the notice of this House that climate change and other issues related to that affect the fishermen. We all have welcomed the loan waiver because it has helped the farmers in a big way and eased their problems a lot. But we have excluded fishermen who have been affected by climate change because the water level is rising. Even in Tamil Nadu, recently there have been high tides, and houses have been washed away and they have not even been able to go to the sea for fishing. Repeatedly these people have been affected and we have not done much. They are still a completely ignored lot economically and socially and when you talk about education among the community, I think, it is around one to two per cent only. So, I think we have to give a lot of emphasis on education for this community and try to do a lot for this community so that the inclusiveness and growth we talk about includes them also.

One more important thing I would like to bring to your notice is the sharing of river water between riparian States. Tamil Nadu has been affected in a large way but it is not the case of just one State, which has been affected. We should look at this problem in a more holistic way. I would like to bring to your notice that the Supreme Court has also stated that the rights of the lower riparian States have to be protected. The Government can form a national policy on this issue and also constitute a river valley authority to make sure that the rights of all the States are protected and there is equitable distribution of water.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : You have to conclude now.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI : Madam, one more thing I would like to bring to your notice which others have also mentioned. It is about disinvestment in PSUs. I welcome that the UPA Government had laid a lot of emphasis on welfare schemes and on social sector spending. But we also have to keep away from the temptation of generating revenue by disinvesting our PSUs. It will not help, especially, to a country like India where socialist model is very important to us. So, we cannot think of disinvestment in the PSUs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Mrs. Kanimozhi, time allotted to your party is over.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI : Madam, I am concluding.

People have voted for a stable and secular Government. I would also like to say that people have voted in favour of regional parties as well so that their voice is also heard. So, it is important to understand about the autonomy of the States and what the States and regions need. Thank you.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK (Goa) : Madam Vice-Chairperson, I stand here to support the Motion of Thanks moved in this House on the hon. President's Address.

Madam, the hon. President of India deserves our congratulations for giving an Address which is quite different from the past Addresses. In fact, the hon. Members from the Opposition should have taken note of this different type of Address and congratulate the hon. President. As I said, this Address different from other Addresses for the simple reason that the hon. President of India has committed to 25 items which have been specifically mentioned in her Address. The hon. President said in her Address, "My Government will initiate steps within the next hundred days on the following measures." The Address said, 'will initiate steps'. Some hon. Members want to get the Government by saying that you have committed to 100 days. It is not that. We said that will be initiating steps in these areas. but, nevertheless, since we are in the Government, we have the responsibility. We will try to see that we will fulfil these goals at the earliest. Madam, ten priorities have been mention, apart from 25 points which I had mentioned. Therefore, I am saying that this is a unique President's Address.

On the contrary, the hon. Leader of the Opposition – I wish he would have been here; anyway, since Mr. Javadekar is here, I expect he will convey my feelings to the hon. Leader of the Opposition -- has taken exception to various things in the Address. I can understand the mover of the Motion, emotionally, had some words to express while moving the Motion. The hon. Leader of the Opposition – has said that the Congress should be humble. I don't know in what respect he said that and what does it mean. Presumably, his words were a little powerful. But, the hon. Leader of the Opposition, in a very soft tone sugar-coated his words and criticised the Government left and right ...*(Interruptions)*.. I presume you are right. So also, you presume that he also had a right irrespective of the President's Address, to say things in a manner which he could understand as the mover of the Motion. You can criticise; but, Mr. Javadekar, to what extent? I can tell you that the voice of the hon. Leader of the Opposition was unheard, practically. I was listening to him very carefully. He pointed out a very serious thing. He said that investigation in Kasab's case is being questioned internationally and, thereby, the hon. Leader of the Opposition himself questioning the impartiality in the investigation. What message are you giving to the world? Everybody knows that investigation or judicial process in India is the fairest of all. In fact, our people in India saying, 'how much fairness required to be given? People are, actually, questioning that 'fairness' Here, the hon.



Leader of the Opposition is saying that the probe being questioned. Meaning thereby, your party is questioning the judicial process in Kasab's case. You are denigrating our own judiciary which is held in high esteem all over the world! Not only that, you will bear with me, the Public Prosecutor who has been engaged in this case has a very good track record. Out of 123 accused, the succeeded in convicting 100 and out of these 14 are death sentences and several are life imprisonments. The Public Prosecutor, engaged in this case, has to his credit, in the Bombay blast case, the conviction of 100 accused out of 123. Out of these 100 convictions, 14 were death sentences and several were life imprisonments. He has to his credit such a history of conviction...*(Interruptions)* That is a judicial process.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

In spite of that you are demonstrialising an eminent Public Prosecutor. You please enlighten your Leader of the Opposition because you are aware of it. Please enlighten him about the abilities of the Public Prosecutor. Please don't try to denigrate him in such a sensitive case when he is trying to prosecute Kasab. It is not a small things. It has been seen that prosecuting in such cases is not that easy. Your party should encourage all those who are dealing with this case instead of denigrating them. Earlier, one of your Chief Ministers also openly supported the stand taken by Pakistan in this very case. Then, Pakistan ridiculed India saying, "According to your Evidence Act, the statement of Kasab was not admissible. So, why should we read it." Your Chief Minister quoted the Prime Minister of Pakistan and said he was right in saying so. Thereafter, the Prime Minister of Pakistan came on TV and said, "One of your Chief Ministers is also appreciating our stand." This is the role played by you in such a sensitive matter! Please review your role. Please do some introspection.

**श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर :** मालूम नहीं है कि इस केस में मकोका क्यों लगाया गया। कसाब का जो confessional statement है, वह भारत के वर्तमान कानून में admissible नहीं है। इसीलिए उस केस में मकोका लगाया गया ताकि वह admissible बने।...*(व्यवधान)*...

**श्री शान्ताराम लक्ष्मण नायक :** उसकी भी एक वैल्यू होती है, जो आप समझ सकते हैं।...*(व्यवधान)*... In the matter of our relationship with the United States, the hon. Leader of the Opposition virtually created a scare in the minds. I don't know what was his objective. I myself got scared for a moment when he was narrating our relationship with the United States. Mr. Shourie also acted in the same way. Both the leaders created a scare that something serious was going to happen by way of pressurisation by the United States. They gave so many instances what type of pressure can be there; and it appeared as if after one year we would not be a free India. The two leaders of the BJP spoke in that tone. It is very unfortunate. They should have also mentioned what steps they would have taken had they been in power. But neither Mr. Shourie nor Mr. Jaitley mentioned even a single step which they would have contemplated in such a situation. As a responsible Opposition, I think, it was their duty to suggest what steps should be taken. Shourieji criticised the disinvestment. But when one of the hon. Membres put him a counter question, he was mum. It is being investigated as

to what his role in disinvestment was. It was being investigated for a likely criminal offence. he failed to mention that. Therefore, Shoureji should restrain himself while speaking on the issue of disinvestment.

Then, Sir, I would like to mention one or two points raised by Yechurji, whom I respect very much. He referred to the Food Security Act. He said that since some States were giving more than 25 kg wheat, what was the need for the Act. Your Food Security Act is nothing. Some States are giving even more. But the simple point is that this is a National Act. Under the National Act, you have to feed the entire people of the nation, those who are concerned with it. States can afford to give little more. In fact, even after enactment of such an Act, many States will contribute extra like Mid-day Meal Scheme and give more food. So, this is a concept which should have been well understood by Yechurji. In the very beginning, he attacked an Act which everybody should have appreciated, namely, the Food Security Act.

Referring to the point made by Rajaji, he was appreciating China very much. No doubt. I have no problem with that. He was appreciating the progress made by China. But he forgot that in China there is a tenement and how the agitations made in China are dealt with. They have got the stringent laws. But here, at Jantar Mantar, we have made all the provisions for our Leftists to say whatever they want to say in more humility and whatever they say is taken up in Parliament. Parliament also appreciates that. So this is the point. Unlike China, there is a delay here.

Hon. Member, Dr. Maitreya, made some points. I will not touch all the points except the point which stuck me, which is in bad taste, in the sense that he wants us to go back to the ballot box days. I do not know what is the reason. There is a saying in Hindi, नांच न जाने, आंगन टेढ़ा।

Since their party candidates were defeated, now, they are finding fault with the machines. He said that since some countries have reverted to the ballot box system; therefore, India should go back to the ballot box system. What a submission! Therefore, such thoughts somehow make us worry that some body can think at this stage of going back to ballot box system. The point is that we expect the Opposition to cooperate with the Government in the next five years. Whatever good measures we take, all Parties should cooperate with the Government.

Here, I would like to mention that if you recollect the last day of the last Session, on the last day of the Session, the Government had tried to bring a beautiful legislation, an amendment to the Land Acquisition Act and Land Settlement Policy. That law taken together contained beautiful provisions, namely, in future, land will not be acquired under the provisions for private purposes, except in certain cases. In future, before acquiring a land, impact assessment will be made as to how the people will be affected. Unless a report is made available, no land will be acquired. Number three, if a plant or an industrial unit comes on that land which is acquired, priority in jobs will be given to those whose land has been acquired. If the land acquired in agricultural land where people have been

cultivating, an alternative agricultural land will be given. If somebody resides on the land to be acquired-- today what we do is to calculate the price of that house and give the amount to that person and he is rendered homeless-- under the new policy, he has to be given a separate plot for constructing the house. This was a beautiful law. Who prevented this law from passing in this House on the last day of the Session? What would you have lost if you had just given a waiver of the Notice. But that law could not be passed because you opposed passing of that legislation. We do not expect from you this type of cooperation. In future, we expect better cooperation from you.

Then, Sir, I would like to mention -- in the past also I gradually mentioned this aspect -- that we are fighting for others. We are fighting for the people, we are fighting for the causes, we are passing legislations, but there is a time for restoration of our own powers. If we examine ourselves, we will find that our powers have been eroded. Now, we don't have powers which we used to enjoy some 25 years ago. Most of our powers have been partly taken by the Judiciary and partly by the Election Commission. Today, our every legislation that is passed is being scrutinized. I have no problem with that. There is no problem in scrutinizing a legislation. But, sometimes, even directions are given as to what type of legislation we should pass. Secondly, the contention of the court is that because Legislature is not acting, so we are acting. This argument has to be demolished. If this argument is carried forward that because the Legislature is not acting and so the Judiciary can act, then, tomorrow, the Executive can say, the Prime Minister of India can say, lakhs of cases are pending in a particular court and since they are not being disposed of, I will dispose them of. Can the Prime Minister of India say this? A Chief Minister will say that thousand of cases are pending in the High Court and I will dispose them of since the High Court is not passing the judgements. Can they say? So, each organ has to respect the sovereignty of other organs and no organ can encroach upon the jurisdiction of the other organ just because that other organ is not acting. If under the Constitution, you have the power to act, you act. But if you don't have a power, even if the other organ does not act, you have no power to act. This should be the approach. I think, there must be a debate on this. Similarly, a debate on electoral reforms as to what you can do should be there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Naik, there are eight more Members from your Party. So, please also keep that in mind.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK : Okay; Sir. Secondly, Sir, the Right to Information is an important legislation which is being stressed now from time to time because this is a weapon which we have given in the hands of people, irrespective of constituencies. Today, Right to Information Act is being utilised by many people even against the Ruling Party, even against the Central Government. But we don't mind. The only thing is that it has to be cautiously used. It requires to be further amended. In fact, I am saying that under the Right to Information Act every citizen has got a

status of an MP or MLA. How is it? It is because under that Act, any information, which cannot be denied to a Member of Parliament or to a Member of Legislative Assembly, cannot be denied to an applicant under Right to Information Act. Therefore, this is the status given to an average applicant. I think, we should fortify this Act. But how can we fortify that? There are several judgements. Now, we don't need what the judgement say, we need only texts. But there are some pronouncements in these judgements. So, these principles which are good should be incorporated in the Act by way of amendment. Otherwise, a common man would not know what has been decided with respect to a particular article or with respect to a particular Section. Therefore, this has to be done.

Sir, my learned colleague -- I think, Mr. Chandan Mitra -- has said that as far as infrastructure is concerned, the President has made a passing reference. It is not a passing reference. An entire paragraph has been devoted to infrastructure development. In fact, certain lacunae which are there or weaknesses in infrastructure development have also been indirectly mentioned. This is the greatness of the President of India that this has been mentioned and everybody thinks that the progress is slow as far as infrastructure development is concerned. I would even venture to say that any corruption which takes place in the infrastructure projects should be dealt with more vigorously than the corruption taking place in other cases. It is because if the infrastructure development is not speeded up, if the speed of the third phase of Golden Quadrilateral does not pick up, then we will suffer, and therefore, on that plank, the Government of India has to take necessary action.

Sir, then, e-governance is another great feature of this country. Some people will say, what is e-governance? They would say, it is an elite matter. It is not an elite matter. If e-governance is realised in proper manner, tomorrow, at every information centre in a village, in a corner, in a *nukud*, you will get one small *gada*. Pay five rupees or ten rupees and you will get information on any form under any scheme or information on any loan you want. This is the structure of the e-governance, taking the Government directly to the doorsteps of the people. In fact, I do not know whether in Delhi an official gazette is put on the Net. In my State, the official gazette is put on the Net. If an official gazette is put on the Net every week, it would be better. We would directly get all the information relating to the Government of India within 24 hours. I think this attempt has to be made.

Then, coming to devolution of powers, we are all concerned about devolution of powers. I think an examination has to be done. My Leftist friends may not like it; they may say that it is an encroachment on the State's powers. Devolution of powers has to be there and everybody agrees on that. MPs and MLAs have to show that they are not really against devolution of powers. In some States there is a charge against MLAs that they do not want devolution of powers because their

powers may be seized. They are there to positively show the people that they are not against it. Therefore, I would like the Government of India to examine whether by constitutional provisions devolution can be made mandatory. If such devolution is not made mandatory and if it is kept optional, then I do not know how many years or decades it would take for State Governments to give full powers to the Panchayat.

Coming to reservation, I would like to make only one point. We are moving ahead; there is no doubt about it. Now, we have a woman President of India and a woman Speaker in the other House. But the case of one third reservation in the matter of jobs has to be expedited. There must be one-third reservation in all Government committees and boards, State's or otherwise. There are several boards, corporations and committees of the Government of India and State Governments, where we can accommodate women on the basis of one-third reservation. If we do this, this would prove to be a boost to all.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to make a submission which is relevant to all of us. Sir, if our rule has to be effective, if our functioning has to be effective, then we must get a response to the letters we write to the Ministries at an early date. It takes three to four months to get replies even to Special Mentions that we make. Thereby, our rule is affected. Here I appeal to you to give necessary direction to all Ministries to reply to Members of Parliament within fortnight queries on issues raised by them. Similarly, as far as Special Mentions are concerned, we must be responded to within 15 days so that we may know the actual position.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Guidelines are already in place for that.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK : Thank you very much, Sir. Kindly see to it that it is observed. So far, I have not seen that being observed.

**श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** आदरणीय उपसभापति जी, 15वीं लोक सभा के गठित होने के पश्चात महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने जो संयुक्त अधिवेशन को उद्घोषित किया है, उसमें एक तरह से पांच वर्ष के लिए इस सरकार के एजेंडा को प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। सामान्य तौर पर हर वर्ष बजट सत्र के दौरान राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा संबोधन किया जाता है और वर्ष के अंदर क्या-क्या एजेंडा सरकार के द्वारा पूरा किया जाएगा, इस बात को इंगित करने की कोशिश की जाती है, लेकिन 15वीं लोक सभा के गठित हो जाने के पश्चात पांच वर्ष का एजेंडा यहां प्रस्तुत किया गया है और उसमें दस बिंदु प्रमुख रूप से रखे गए हैं, जिनमें कहा गया है कि इनके आधार पर हम देश के अंदर विकास की प्रक्रिया को तेज करेंगे। उन दस बिंदुओं में जो पहला ही बिंदु इन्होंने भाषण के दौरान सरकार की प्रतिबद्धता के बारे में बताया है, वह है - आंतरिक सुरक्षा और साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव बनाए रखना। यह पढ़कर स्वाभाविक रूप से यह लगा कि पांच वर्ष का जो काल था, उस काल में सरकार ने जो कार्य किया, उसका लेखा-जोखा क्या है, जो इस प्रकार की घोषणा की गई है, इस घोषणा के अनुरूप काम हुआ है या नहीं हुआ और जब यह पहला बिंदु देखा गया कि आंतरिक सुरक्षा और साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव पर ज्यादा जोर दिया जाएगा, इसको बनाए रखा जाएगा, तो इसको पढ़ते ही लगा कि आंतरिक सुरक्षा तो गत पांच वर्षों के अंदर सर्वाधिक बाधित रही है। बाधित इसलिए रही कि जहां देश के अंदर नक्सलवाद, माओवाद, आईएसआई, सिमी-इस प्रकार के तत्त्व उपद्रव

करने में शामिल थे, वहीं आतंकवाद का प्रकोप भी बड़ी तेजी के साथ बढ़ा था। उसके अंदर पोटा समाप्त कर दिया गया, जिसके कारण आतंकवादियों के मन में जो भय बना हुआ था, उस पोटा कानून के समाप्त होने के कारण उनके मन के अंदर प्रोत्साहन प्राप्त हुआ और उन्हें लगा कि अब तो ऐसी सरकार आ गयी है मानों वह किसी न किसी रूप में हमारे प्रति मुलायमियत बरत रही है। उसी का परिणाम हुआ - 26 नवम्बर को मुम्बई की घटना। मुम्बई में सीधा-सीधा हमला था। उसका कई तरीके से लोगों ने वर्णन किया है, उस पर मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन इतना जरूर रहा है कि केवल देश में ही नहीं, विदेशों में भी लगा कि भारत सरकार की इस संबंध में जो नीतियां रही हैं, वे नाकाबिल साबित हुई हैं, अक्षम साबित हुई हैं क्योंकि सारी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था, सारी गुप्तचरीय व्यवस्था, सारी पुलिस से संबंधित व्यवस्था, सबको धत्ता बताकर आतंकवादी मुम्बई में सशरीर घुसकर खुले आम हथियार चलाते हुए सैंकड़ों लोगों की जान के साथ खिलवाड़ कर गए। पूरे देश को उन्होंने स्तब्ध कर दिया था और सचमुच इसने हमारी आंतरिक सुरक्षा संबंधी व्यवस्था की अक्षमता को साबित किया है। इस पर निश्चित रूप से गंभीरता से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। इसलिए अगर यह मांग की जाती है, यह कहा जाता है कि मुम्बई में जो घटना घटित हुई, इस घटना पर सम्पूर्णता से विचार करना चाहिए कि कहां खामी रही - केन्द्र सरकार की खामी रही, प्रदेश सरकार की खामी रही या और किसी प्रकार की कमी रही। इस पर सम्पूर्णतया से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। इस संबंध में सम्पूर्णता से विचार करने के लिए अगर एक जांच आयोग गठित किया जाए और उसके द्वारा जानकारी प्राप्त की जाए तो मैं समझता हूं कि काफी चीजें सामने उभरकर आ जाएंगी। उस हिसाब से सही मायने में हम कुछ व्यवस्था कर सकेंगे। अन्य बहुत सारी घटनाएं घटित हुई हैं, उनके संबंध में हम नहीं बोलना चाहते। दूसरा, साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव की बात कही गयी है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि दुर्भाग्य यह रहा है कि जब यह कहा गया कि योजना के विकास के संसाधनों पर प्राथमिकता, तो एक सम्प्रदाय विशेष का नाम लेकर कहा गया है, बाकायदा मुसलमान शब्द का नाम लेकर कहा गया है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। गरीबी के साथ मजहब को नहीं जोड़ना चाहिए। जब गरीबी के साथ मजहब जोड़ दिया जाएगा तो किस मजहम का आदमी गरीब होगा और किस मजहब का आदमी अमीर होगा, क्या इस तरीके से हम गरीबी और अमीरी को परिभाषित करेंगे? इस तरीके से गरीबी और अमीरी को परिभाषित नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन भारत के प्रधानमंत्री ने इस शब्द का प्रयोग करके साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव नहीं बनाया, बल्कि साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव के अंदर आक्रोश पैदा करने की कोशिश की है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि इसमें सीधे-सीधे वोट बैंक की राजनीति की गयी है क्योंकि जब मैंने देखा कि इसके लिए कितने जिलों को प्राथमिकता के आधार पर रखा गया तो पाया कि 121 जिलों को प्राथमिकता के आधार पर रखते हुए उन जिलों में संसाधनों को, जो प्राथमिकता देने की बात कही गयी है, वहां प्रस्तुत किया जाएगा - उनमें से 42 सांसद कांग्रेस के जीत कर आए हैं। मेरा कहना है कि वोट बैंक की राजनीति करने की साजिश की गयी थी। साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव बनाने के नाम पर एक सम्प्रदाय विशेष का उल्लेख करते हुए देश के अंदर साम्प्रदायिक आक्रोश पैदा करने का और एक सम्प्रदाय विशेष को अपनी तरफ आकर्षित करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। इससे साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव का निर्माण नहीं हो सकता है। मान्यवर, गरीबी इस देश के लिए एक अभिशाप है और यह एक ऐसा अभिशाप है कि अगर इससे प्रभावी तौर पर निपटने की कोशिश नहीं की गयी और केवल भाषण मात्र दिए जाते रहे तो गरीबी नहीं मिट सकती। अभी विश्व बैंक की तरफ से एक रिपोर्ट आयी है, Global Economic Prospectus for 2009 उसमें यह चेतावनी दी गयी है कि 2015 तक भारत की एक वंश्यायी आबादी वरम निर्धनता का शिकार हो जाएगी। और इसमें यह भी कहा गया है कि 2007 तक दो करोड़ से ज्यादा गरीबों की संख्या में बढ़ोतरी हुई है। फूड सिक्योरिटी के नाम पर यह घोषणा जरूर की जा रही है कि हम तीन रुपये किलो खाद्यान्न देंगे। लेकिन तीन रुपये

किलो खाद्यान्न देने से यह गरीबी समाप्त होने वाली नहीं है। गरीबी तो जिस तरह से बढ़ती जा रही है, ऐसा लगता है, इस रिपोर्ट को देखकर, कि आने वाले समय में एक ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो जाएगी कि अमीरी और गरीबी के बीच में हिंदुस्तान के अंदर संघर्ष चलेगा और इस प्रकार की स्थिति का निर्माण होगा जिसको जल्दी बचाया नहीं जा सकेगा। इस प्रकार की इतनी भयंकर स्थिति निर्माण हो गई है। गरीबी को केन्द्र में रखते हुए जिस तरीके से उनके अनुरूप योजना बनानी चाहिए, उस योजना का जबर्दस्त अभाव है। मान्यवर, मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि योजनाएं तो इतनी अधिक बनी हैं कि अगर योजनाओं का उल्लेख किया जाए तो लगेगा कि इतनी योजनाएं बनीं और उनके बावजूद भी गरीबी खत्म नहीं हो रही है, आखिर उसका कारण क्या है? मान्यवर, खाद्यान्न के क्षेत्र में आत्मनिर्भर होने के बावजूद भी हम गरीबी को दूर नहीं कर पा रहे हैं और गरीबी वाली जो ग्लोबल हंगर इंडेक्स में 119 देश हैं, उसमें हिन्दुस्तान का 93वां नंबर है। इस गरीबी को दूर करने में हम पूर्णतया अक्षम हुए हैं। योजनाएं भले ही हमने बनाई होंगी लेकिन उन योजनाओं को हमने कार्यान्वित नहीं किया, सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली और खाद्यान्न सुरक्षा योजनाएं ठीक से काम नहीं कर रही हैं और जन सामान्य के लिए जो योजनाएं हैं वह मैं बतलाना चाहूंगा। जनसामान्य को खाद्यान्न उपलब्ध कराने के लिए खाद्य एवं नागरिक आपूर्ति विभाग है, महिला कल्याण विभाग है, ग्रामीण विकास है, शहरी गरीबी उन्मूलन कार्यक्रम है, राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार गारंटी योजना है, काम के बदले अनाज आपूर्ति योजना, मध्यान्ह भोजन कार्यक्रम, अंत्योदय अन्न योजना, अन्नपूर्णा योजना, राष्ट्रीय पारिवारिक हित योजना, राष्ट्रीय वृद्धावस्था पेंशन योजना, राष्ट्रीय प्रसूति लाभ योजना, इतनी सारी योजनाएं संचालित हो रही हैं। लेकिन इन योजनाओं के संचालन में मैं आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि इन योजनाओं के संचालन में अलग-अलग पैसे खर्च हो रहे हैं, अलग-अलग तरीके से जा रहे हैं, लेकिन उनका समन्वय नहीं है। अगर उनका समन्वय होता तो समन्वित ढंग से इन संसाधनों पर सुनिश्चित एजेंसी काम करती तो शायद पर्याप्त मात्रा में हम गरीबी का उन्मूलन कर सकने में सक्षम होते। लेकिन यह राजनीतिक इच्छा शक्ति का अभाव है। UNDP में श्रीमती अरुणा शर्मा ने प्रशासनिक सुधार के संबंध में एक रिसर्च की है। उनका यह कहना है कि बावन हजार करोड़ की अगर कोई विकास योजना है और समन्वित ढंग से संसाधनों का सुनिश्चित एजेंसी के माध्यम से कार्यान्वयन किया गया तो निश्चित रूप से बारह सौ करोड़ रुपया प्रत्येक गांव को प्राप्त हो सकता है, जहां पर योजनाओं को कार्यान्वित किया जा सकता है और गांव विकास के क्रम में आगे बढ़ सकता है। लेकिन इस दिशा में राजनीतिक इच्छा शक्ति के अभाव के कारण गरीबी का नाम तो जरूर लिया जा रहा है, लेकिन गरीबी का उन्मूलन नहीं हो पा रहा है, गरीबी की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है और जब गरीबों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है तो वे भुखमरी के शिकार होते जा रहे हैं, उनके घरों में बच्चों की पढ़ाई नहीं हो पा रही है, वे शिक्षा नहीं प्राप्त कर पा रहे हैं और शिक्षा नहीं प्राप्त कर सकने के कारण जिस तरीके से आत्म-निर्भर होकर लोगों के बीच में स्वाभिमान के साथ सिर उठाकर चलने की मानसिकता बननी चाहिए, आज हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर 35 करोड़ से ज्यादा लोग ऐसे हैं, जो इस हालत में नहीं हैं। कहा जाता है कि साक्षरता अभियान चलाया गया और अभी जो यह चुनाव हुआ है उसमें कहीं-कहीं 85 फीसदी वोट पड़े हैं। लेकिन मान्यवर, शिक्षा की दृष्टि से हालत यह है कि अंगूठे छाप ज्यादा हैं। आंकड़ों में तो कहा जा रहा है 75 फीसदी से ज्यादा साक्षर हो गए हैं, लेकिन मैं आपको कहना चाहूंगा कि लेकिन मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि 30 करोड़ से ज्यादा ऐसे लोग हैं। हमने 35 करोड़ की बात बताई, इतने लोग हैं, जो अंगूठा छाप के आधार पर ही सारा काम कर रहे हैं। लोकतंत्र के नाम पर वोट देकर शासन तो उन्होंने स्थापित किया, गद्दी पर तो उन्होंने लोगों को बैठा दिया, लेकिन लोकतंत्र का

आर्थिक दृष्टि से, उनके जीवन के अंदर जो सदुपयोग होना चाहिए, उस प्रकार की योजना के अभाव के कारण वे लाभान्वित नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। इसलिए गरीबों की विकराल संख्या बड़ी तेजी के साथ बढ़ती जा रही है। यह सरकार कही रही है कि हम करेंगे। कैसे करेगी यह सरकार? सरकार ने जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था का चित्रण किया है, हमारे कई सत्तारूढ़ दल के मित्रों ने उसके संबंध में बताया। मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि 4 करोड़ का राजकोषीय घाटा है। 34 लाख करोड़ डोमेस्टिक कर्जा है और 221 करोड़ डालर विदेशी कर्जा है। इतने कर्ज हैं और सात फीसदी का ग्रांथ रेट है। यह हालत, यह आर्थिक स्थिति हमारे सामने उपस्थित है। केवल इतना ही नहीं, मैं तो यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि जिस प्रकार के हालात उत्पन्न हुए हैं, पिछले तीन महीने के अंदर औद्योगिक उत्पादन ही नहीं घटा है, बल्कि निर्यात में भी 30 से 35 फीसदी की कमी आई है। अर्थव्यवस्था में मजबूती का मुख्य आधार बिजली का उत्पादन है। यह गत वर्ष 6.4 प्रतिशत था, उसकी तुलना में अब यह 2.3 प्रतिशत रह गया है। बिजली का उत्पादन कहां से होगा? यह स्थिति बहुत चिंताजनक है। इतना ही नहीं, सरकार जो प्रोत्साहन पैकेज दे रही है, वह अपर्याप्त है। इसमें कुछ नहीं चल सकता है। 65 हजार करोड़ रुपये का कर्ज माफ करना, विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में दिए जाने वाले ऋण को आसान बनाना, शुल्कों में कमी करना और कुछ क्षेत्रों में स्वयं खरीददारी करके, अनेक कदम उठाकर उत्पादन तथा बिक्री को प्रोत्साहित करने की कोशिश की गई है, लेकिन अर्थ-व्यवस्था पटरी पर नहीं आ रही है। इसका कारण क्या है? पिछली बार अंतरिम बजट पास किया। उस अंतरिम बजट के अंदर 5.6 प्रतिशत घाटा आंका गया था, लेकिन इस बार जो बजट पास होने वाला है, जो आकलन आया है, उस आकलन के आधार पर 13 फीसदी से ज्यादा घाटा बढ़ जाएगा। आप आर्थिक स्थिति कैसे सुव्यवस्थित करेंगे? इससे भयंकर स्थिति तो आम आदमी पर कर्जा है। यह कर्जा आम आदमी पर, जो गरीब आदमी है, उसका जो दस माह का खर्चा है, उस गरीब आदमी पर उस उसकी दस माह की आय के बराबर कर्जभार है। केन्द्रीय सांख्यिकी संगठन के ताजा सर्वेक्षण के आधार पर 115 करोड़ की आबादी वाले इस देश में प्रति व्यक्ति आय 38 हजार रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति बताई है। अर्थ व्यवस्था को मंदी से बचाने के लिए सरकार जिस तरीके से बाजार से उधार लेकर सार्वजनिक निवेश बढ़ाने में लगी है, उससे अनुमान है कि मार्च, 2010 तक प्रति व्यक्ति सार्वजनिक ऋण का भार 30 हजार रुपये तक हो जाएगा। सरकार पिछले कुछ वर्षों से हर साल करीब 3 लाख करोड़ रुपये उधार ले रही है। अगले साल मार्च तक यह कर्ज 34 लाख करोड़ से अधिक हो जाएगा। कर्जा का ब्याज भार वर्ष 2008-09 में 1 लाख 92 हजार करोड़ रुपये से बढ़कर 2009-10 में सवा दो लाख करोड़ हो जाएगा। यह हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति है। ऐसी आर्थिक स्थिति में आप क्या करेंगे? किसानों की जो दुर्दशा हो रही है, उसे बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। जो राष्ट्रीय अपराध ब्यूरो है, उसने बताया कि 2007 में एक लाख 22 हजार से अधिक आत्म-हत्याएं हुई हैं और जिसमें 14.7 फीसदी किसानों ने आत्म-हत्याएं की हैं। किसान के कर्ज माफी की बात तो कही जाती है, लेकिन किसान की जो आम सुविधाएं हैं, जिससे उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है, जैसे छोटी जोत है, उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। 11 करोड़ 50 लाख परिवार ऐसे हैं, जो किसान परिवार हैं, जो कृषि पर निर्भर हैं और एक करोड़ 70 लाख ऐसे परिवार हैं, जो भूमिहीन परिवार हैं। इनकी ऐसी हालत है जो भी योजना सुनिश्चित की जाती है, उससे लाभ प्राप्त नहीं हो पाता है। बाहें किसान कर्जा लेकर आत्महत्या करने के लिए मजबूर होता है, बाहें उसका समुचित उत्पादन न होने के कारण तथा पेट भरने के लिए अन्न न मिलने के कारण, वह आत्महत्या करने के लिए मजबूर होता है, बाहें जो महंगाई आसमान छू रही है, उसके कारण आत्महत्या करने के लिए मजबूर होता है। कहा गया है कि महंगाई घट गई है, मुद्रास्फीति .48 परसेंट हो गई है। यदि मुद्रास्फीति .48 परसेंट हो गई है, तो फिर महंगाई आसमान क्यों छू रही है? दाल 60 रुपए किलो



बिक रही है और नमक का दाम 10 रुपए किलो हो गया है। सरसों के तेल का दाम 90 रुपए किलो गया है। जो लोग ये चीजें खरीदते हैं, वे बताते हैं। अभी उस दिन जनेश्वर मिश्र जी सब्जी के दामों के बारे में बता रहे थे कि आलू का दाम 14 रुपए किलो हो गया है। आम आदमी भोजन करने का मोहताज हो गया है। मान्यवर, हमारे यहां कहा जाता था कि भूल गया राग-रंग, भूल गई छकड़ी, तीन चीज याद रही, नून तेल लकड़ी। आज लोगों के सामने नून, तेल, लकड़ी की समस्या खड़ी हो गई है। आज लोगों के सामने नून, तेल लकड़ी की समस्या खड़ी हो गई है। इसके साथ ही ईंधन और बाकी के सभी सामानों की समस्या भी खड़ी हो गई है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपकी पार्टी के तीन वक्ता हैं और 30 मिनट बचे हैं। यदि आप चाहें तो पूरे तीस मिनट भी ले सकते हैं।

**श्री कलराज मिश्र :** महोदय, मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूं।...(व्यवधान)... मैं पांच मिनट में समाप्त करता हूं। इसीलिए मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि राष्ट्रपति अभिभाषण के ये बड़े-बड़े पन्ने पढ़ने के बाद तो यह लगा कि शानदार चित्र दिखाया गया है और बताया गया है कि हमें जनादेश प्राप्त हो गया है, लेकिन यह तो Fractured Mandate है, विखंडित जनादेश है। मैं इसका विखंडित जनादेश इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि कांग्रेस 206 सीटों पर जीती है और यूपीए 261 सीटों पर जीती है। यह कोई सिम्पल मैजोरिटी नहीं है, ये जो इतने इतरा रहे हैं, गर्वोक्ति कर रहे हैं। ऐसा लग रहा है कि हम लोगों ने पाप किया है और उन्होंने बड़ा पुण्य कर लिया है। जिस तरह से प्रस्ताव कर्ता ने भाषण दिया था, उससे लगता था कि क्या कर रहे हैं। आप तो दो बार बहुमत में थे, लेकिन हम तो एक बार ही सरकार में थे। आप Fractured Mandate प्राप्त करने के बाद भी इस तरह की बातें बोल रहे हैं, लेकिन आपके हालात तो ऐसे हैं, फिर इन हालातों को कैसे सुव्यवस्थित किया जाए। आपने सौ दिन का कार्यक्रम बनाया है। इस सौ दिन के कार्यक्रम में कहीं पर भी...(व्यवधान)... गरीबों के बारे में कहीं कुछ नहीं है, किसानों के संबंध में कहीं कुछ नहीं है, राजकोषी घाटे का प्रबंधन कैसे होगा, इसके बारे में कहीं कुछ नहीं है। आप इस सौ दिन के कार्यक्रम में कुछ ऐसा करके दिखाते, ताकि गरीब को भी लगता, किसान को भी लगता और आम आदमी को भी लगता है कि हमारे जीवन में उन्नयन लाने के लिए सरकार कुछ कर रही है, लेकिन आपने ऐसा कुछ नहीं किया। मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि हम एक रचनात्मक विपक्ष की भूमिका का निर्वहन करने के लिए खड़े हुए हैं। हम आपके सामने जो चीजें रखेंगे, तथ्यों के आधार पर रखेंगे। जो कार्यवाही की गई है, उसकी समीक्षा करने के बाद रखेंगे और अपेक्षा करेंगे, उसको सकारात्मक दिशा में लेकर...(समय की घंटी)... उसके लिए कैसा कदम उठाया जाए, ताकि आम आदमी लाभान्वित हो सके, यह प्रयत्न करेंगे, तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। मैं इतनी ही बात कहकर माननीय उपसभापति महोदय की आज्ञा से अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

**श्री उपसभापति :** मंगल किसन जी आपके बोलने के लिए पांच मिनट हैं।

**श्री मंगल किसन (उड़ीसा) :** उपसभापति महोदय, सरकार राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के माध्यम से, आम जनता के लिए और देश के लिए, क्या करना चाहती है, इस बारे में उसने सदन में प्रस्ताव रखा है। जब राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपना अभिभाषण पढ़ा, तो हमने उसमें यह पाया कि अर्बन इंडिया और रुरल इंडिया के बारे में कुछ प्रोग्राम और योजनाएं दी गई हैं.. मगर हिंदुस्तान की 7.5 प्रतिशत आबादी, जो ट्राइबल आबादी है, वह जंगलों और पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में रहती है। उनके डेवलपमेंट के बारे में भारत सरकार का क्या रवैया है, क्या प्रोग्राम है, उसके बारे में राष्ट्रपति जी

के अभिभाषण में कुछ नहीं है। मेरे ख्याल से मेरे देखने से जो हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता के क्यूँ का आखिरी हिस्सा है, वह ट्राइबल है। ट्राइबल से ऊपर शैडयूल्ड कास्ट और आम आदमी रहते हैं। मगर आजादी के 60 साल बाद भी जो शैडयूल्ड कास्ट और शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब आबादी है, उसके पास न घर है, न पीने के लिए पानी है, न उनके गांवों को जाने के लिए कोई रास्ता है, न हेल्थ सर्विसिज के लिए कोई व्यवस्था है, न एजुकेशन के लिए कोई व्यवस्था है। कुछ नहीं होते हुए भी वे लोग देश के साथ, मैनस्ट्रीम के साथ जुड़े हुए हैं। अभी तक, आजादी के 60 साल बाद तक वे लोग सरकार से अपेक्षा कर रहे हैं, इंतजार कर रहे हैं कि उनके लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है। आजादी के 60 साल बाद भी आबादी के जो सेक्शंस जोर से आवाज उठाते हैं और विभिन्न फोरम में दौरे रखते हैं, सरकार सिर्फ उन्हीं की बात सुनती है। जो जंगल-झाड़ में रहते हैं, उनकी न आवाज है, न शक्ति है, न कुछ करने के लिए, लड़ने के लिए उनके पास कोई सहयोगी है। मेरे ख्याल से इस एरिया के लिए, शैडयूल्ड एरिया, जो संविधान के फिफ्थ शैडयूल में हैं, उसके डेवलपमेंट के बारे में राष्ट्रपति जी और सरकार कुछ व्यवस्था रखते, तो अच्छा होता। हमारे सीनियर मैनबर डी राजा जी आदिवासी और शैडयूल्ड कास्ट का क्या हाल है और वे कितने पीछे हैं, उनके बारे में अपनी बात रख चुके हैं। मेरे हिसाब से उड़ीसा जैसे स्टेट, जहां शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब का परसेंटेज 23 भाग से ज्यादा है, शैडयूल्ड कास्ट का परसेंटेज 16 भाग से ज्यादा है और गरीब आदमियों का, जैसे ओबीसी वगैरह, इन लोगों का 52 परसेंट से ज्यादा है, तो मेरे ख्याल से भारत सरकार कम से कम इस गरीब स्टेट, उड़ीसा के डेवलपमेंट के लिए स्पेशल कैटेगरी स्टेट के बारे में विचार करे, तो अच्छा होगा। उड़ीसा के मुख्य मंत्री और उड़ीसा सरकार दस साल से दावा करती आ रही है, जिसके बारे में एनडीए के समय भी दावा किया गया था, अभी यूपीए के टाइम में भी उड़ीसा सरकार के जरिए यह दावा किया जा रहा मेरे ख्याल से अगर सही में यूपीए सरकार गरीब जनता के लिए काम करना चाहती है, उनकी भलाई चाहती है, तो उसे उड़ीसा को भी स्पेशल कैटेगरी स्टेट में रखना चाहिए, जिससे वहां की आम जनता, जो तकलीफ में है, उनको सहायता मिले। ...*(समय की घंटी)*... सर. मैं एक मिनट और चाहता हूं। सर, उड़ीसा, बिहार एवं बंगाल, ये प्लड अफेक्टिड स्टेट्स हैं। हर साल प्लड एरियाज में जो भी डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम्स शुरू होते हैं, प्लड आने पर वे समाप्त हो जाते हैं। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के पास इतना धन नहीं है, जिसके चलते उड़ीसा सरकार अपने धन एवं अपने रिसोर्सिज से उनका रीऑर्गनाइजेशन कर सके। इसलिए उड़ीसा के कोस्टल डिस्ट्रिक्ट में, बिहार के कोस्टल डिस्ट्रिक्ट में और वेस्ट बंगाल के कोस्टल डिस्ट्रिक्ट में हर साल प्लड के कारण जो नुकसान होता है, भारत सरकार को उसके लिए कोई स्वतंत्र प्रोग्राम या योजना बना करके, उनकी दुर्दशा एवं गरीबी दूर करने के लिए कोई प्रोग्राम तैयार करना चाहिए। धन्यवाद।

**श्री राजीव शुक्ल :** उपसभापति जी, धन्यवाद। माननीया राष्ट्रपति महोदया के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर समर्थन करते हुए मैं माननीय राष्ट्रपति महोदया को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने न केवल अपनी सरकार के सौ दिन के एजेंडे को बल्कि उसकी प्राथमिकताओं को भी रेखांकित किया है। मैं इस देश की जनता को भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ, जिसने काफी सालों बाद डिसाइसिव मंडेट की तरफ एक कदम उठाया है, जिसमें काफी कुछ एक पक्ष को बहुमत के आंकड़े की तरफ पहुंचाया है, ताकि इस देश में सरकार को एक स्थायित्व प्राप्त हो सके। मैं अपने मित्र, नेता विपक्ष, श्री अरुण जेटली जी को भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने न केवल यह पद भार ग्रहण किया, बल्कि बहस की एक परम्परा भी शुरू की, जो कि निश्चित रूप से सराहनीय है। मुझे याद है कि 2004,

4.00 P.M.

जब दुर्भाग्य से राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा तक नहीं हो पाई थी। प्रधानमंत्री जी के अनुरोध के बावजूद भी उस पर सदन में चर्चा नहीं हो पाई और शोरगुल के बीच ही धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव को पारित करना पड़ा था। इस तरह यह जो सकारात्मक रवैया सामने आया है, मैं उसकी सराहना करना चाहता हूँ।

मान्यवर, वैसे तो दूसरे सदन का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहिए, लेकिन अभी मैं दूसरे सदन के सदस्य का भाषण सुन रहा था। उन्होंने जिस तरह से उलाहना देकर पूरे भाषण की शुरुआत की कि कौन से मंत्री हारे, कैसे सरकार हारी, यह युद्ध है, युद्ध में हम भले ही इस बार हार गए हों, लेकिन अगली बार जीतेंगे, 114 पाकर अगर आप सत्ता में आ सकते हैं, तो मैं 116 पाकर क्यों नहीं आ सकती हूँ। मुझे नहीं लगता कि ये सब चीजें राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के दायरे में आती हैं और ऐसी बातों को लाकर हमें भाषण के स्तर को इतना नीचे पहुंचाना चाहिए। जब इस तरह के विचार और बातें सामने आती हैं, जिससे आपस की कटुता की बातें उठती हों और मंत्रियों के नाम ले लेकर कि कौन हारे और कौन जीते, वह क्यों हारे और वह क्यों जीते, इन सब बातों से अच्छा असर नहीं पड़ता है। लोकतंत्र में कोई हारता है और कोई जीतता है और इसे उसी ढंग से लेना चाहिए। मैं अपनी तरफ के मित्रों से भी कहता हूँ कि हमें इसे उसी ढंग से लेना चाहिए, क्योंकि यह हार-जीत तो लगी रहती है। हम इसको कोई बड़ी चीज नहीं मानते। इस तरह के भाषण से उठ करके, राज्य सभा में यह डिबेट इस स्तर पर पहुंची है, मुझे लगता है कि यह एक बहुत अच्छी शुरुआत हुई है।

मान्यवर, राष्ट्रपति का जो अभिभाषण है, उसमें पैरा आठ में उन्होंने बहुत विस्तार से यह बताया है कि सरकार की प्राथमिकताएं क्या होंगी, चाहें वह आंतरिक सुरक्षा का सवाल हो और चाहें कम्युनल हार्मोनी का सवाल हो। इसी तरह यह सरकार दंगा रोकने के लिए एक बिल लाने का भी प्रावधान करने जा रही हो। आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत करने के लिए कृषि, मैन्युफैक्चरिंग और सर्विसिज, इन तीनों ही एरियाज को लिया गया है। अगर हमें इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत करना है तो प्रथमतः हमें एग्रीकल्चर पर बहुत ध्यान देना होगा। दूसरा, क्षेत्र मैन्युफैक्चरिंग इंडस्ट्री का आता है। हमारे जो कल-कारखाने हैं, जिन पर हमारा उत्पादन निर्भर है, ये पिछले कई सालों से, शायद 20-25 सालों से संघर्ष कर रहे हैं। इनके सामने तरह-तरह की दिक्कतें आती हैं। जो लघु-उद्योग वाला है और जो भारी उद्योग वाला है, सभी के सामने तरह-तरह की समस्याएं पैदा होती हैं। अब एक उद्योगपति के लिए इंडस्ट्री को चलाना आसान नहीं रह गया है। इसी तरह से उसमें जो वर्कर्स होते हैं, उनको भी तरह-तरह की दिक्कतें रहती हैं। अगर यह सरकार मैन्युफैक्चरिंग इंडस्ट्री पर ग्रस्ट देती है, जैसा कि इस अभिभाषण में कहा गया है, तो न केवल रोजगार बढ़ेगा बल्कि इस देश की अर्थव्यवस्था और आर्थिक विकास दर निश्चित रूप से ऊपर जाएगी। हमने जिस विकास दर का अनुमान लगाया है, वह हम निश्चित रूप से 7 से 8 परसेंट के बीच प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

महोदय, इंडिया सर्विस सेक्टर में लगातार आगे बढ़ रहा है। मुझे लगता है कि इसमें वह कई मुक्तियों से ज्यादा आगे निकल चुका है। इस पर भी गवर्नमेंट का जोर रहेगा, क्योंकि यह बहुत अच्छी चीज है। इसके अलावा जो flagship programmes हैं, चाहे वह इमप्लायमेंट, एजुकेशन, हेल्थ, रूरल इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर, अरबन रिन्युअल स्कीम हो या नरेगा, राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना, इंदिरा गांधी वृद्धावस्था पेंशन योजना, भारत निर्माण योजना हो, इन

सारे कार्यक्रमों को जारी रखने के लिए और बेहतर ढंग से जारी रखने के लिए जो आश्वासन राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में मिलता है, उससे यह पता चलता है कि सरकार कितने सुदृढ़ ढंग से इन नीतियों को लागू करना चाहती है।

मान्यवर, कई वक्ताओं ने अपने भाषण में सौ दिन के कार्यक्रम का मजाक बनाया कि सौ दिनों में कोई सरकार कैसे इसको पूरा कर सकती है। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि सौ दिनों में पूरा करने या नहीं पूरा करने की बात पर हमें बहस करनी चाहिए। सवाल यह है कि अगर सौ दिनों में हम तमाम कार्यक्रमों को पूरा करना चाहते हैं, तो यह सरकार की उत्सुकता को दर्शाता है। यह इस बात को दर्शाता है कि सरकार कितनी तेजी से काम करना चाहती है। इसी बात की सराहना की जानी चाहिए कि उसके अंदर इन सारे कार्यक्रमों को पूरा करने के लिए एक उत्कंठा है, एक उत्सुकता है। इसके साथ-ही-साथ कुछ ऐसी चीजें हैं, कुछ ऐसे नए कार्यक्रम हैं, जिनके बारे में सरकार ने बात की, जैसे-फूड सेक्योरिटी। गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले जो लोग हैं, उनको किस तरह से भोजन की सुरक्षा प्रदान की जाए। हर व्यक्ति को 35 किलो गेहूं या चावल देने की जो बात है, वह अपने आप में ही एक बहुत बड़ी योजना है। यह उसी तरह की योजना है, जो यू.पी.ए. की वेयरपरसन श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी और प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह जी ने जिस तरह से नरेगा, राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना बनाई। जिस तरह से किसानों की कर्ज-माफी की गई, उस समय इसकी बहुत आलोचना हुई, लेकिन उन्होंने देश में गांव तक नीचे पहुंचने का काम किया है। उसी तरह से गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले जो करोड़ों लोग हैं, उनके भोजन की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था करके मुझे लगता है कि यह कितने बड़े पुण्य का काम होगा। यह इतना कल्याणकारी काम होगा कि इसका असर सदियों तक लोगों के दिलोंदिमाग में रहेगा।

महोदय, इनर्जी सेक्योरिटी अपने आप में एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। अभी कलराज जी वही बोल रहे थे। मैं उनकी बात से सहमत हूँ कि ऊर्जा का और बिजली का संकट देश में बहुत है। इस संकट को सभी राज्यों की सरकारें भी झेल रही हैं। हर जगह बिजली की खपत करने वाले, उसे इस्तेमाल करने वाले लोगों की संख्या बढ़ रही है, क्योंकि लोग गांवों से शहरों की तरफ और कस्बों की तरफ जा रहे हैं, लेकिन, बिजली का उत्पादन उस अनुपात में नहीं हो पा रहा है, उतने स्तर का नहीं हो पा रहा है। जहां-जहां थोड़ा बहुत बिजली उत्पादन बढ़ भी रहा है, वह इस देश की ऊर्जा-जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए नाकाफी है। इसलिए सरकार ने अगर इनर्जी सेक्योरिटी की बात रखी है कि वह युद्ध स्तर पर काफी कार्य कर के ऊर्जा सुरक्षा प्रदान करेगी, बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ाएगी तो मुझे लगता है कि इस मामले में प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो कदम न्यूक्लियर डील के जरिए उठाया है, उसको राजनीतिक विवादों से अगले कर के अगर हम देखें तो न्यूक्लियर डील के जरिए हम बिजली उत्पादन को बहुत आग बढ़ा सकते हैं। इससे बिजली उत्पादन बढ़ाने का जो हमारा लक्ष्य है, उसको प्राप्त करने में हमें आसानी होगी, जोकि हमारे लिए एक बहुत सुविधाजनक कार्य होगा।

मान्यवर, अगर मैं यहां तमाम भाषणों पर जाऊँ तो कई बातें अरुण बंधुओं ने उठाई हैं--विपक्ष की तरफ से श्री अरुण जेटली जी और श्री अरुण शौरी जी के दो सिग्निफिकेंट भाषण हुए हैं-- तो इनकी कुछ बातों पर मैं निश्चित रूप से प्रकाश डालना चाहूंगा।

एक बात मुम्बई में आतंकवाद की घटना को लेकर हुई और उसमें पाकिस्तान के साथ जोड़ने की बात है। मुम्बई की घटना निश्चित रूप से एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना थी। उस समय भी मैंने इस सदन में कहा था कि आज हम भले ही यह बात करते हैं कि पाकिस्तान में जो आतंकवादी संगठन हैं वे हमारे लिए संकट बन रहे हैं, लेकिन कुछ दिनों में

वही आतंकवादी संगठन पाकिस्तान के लिए संकट बन जाएंगे। उस भाषण में मैंने यह कहा था कि कुछ दिनों में आप देखिएगा कि तालिबान की निगाहों में अब अफगानिस्तान नहीं है बल्कि अब उसकी निगाहें इस्लामाबाद पर हैं। वह पाकिस्तान पर कब्जा कराना चाहता है। उस समय सदन में कुछ लोग हंसे भी थे कि यह संभव नहीं हो सकता, लेकिन आज क्या हुआ? आज तालिबान की धीरे-धीरे इस्लामाबाद पर कब्जा करने की योजना स्वयं पाकिस्तान सरकार ने स्वीकार कर ली। आज आए दिन भारत में जो आतंकवाद की 1/10 परसेंट भी घटनाएं नहीं हुईं, जबकि पाकिस्तान में जिस तरह से रोज बम फट रहे हैं, उससे कहीं पर 50 लोग, कहीं पर 60 लोग तो कहीं पर 100 लोग हताहत हो रहे हैं। वहीं आतंकवादी संगठन पाकिस्तान में आम जनता को जिस तरह से मार रहे हैं, उस पर खुद पाकिस्तान सरकार काबू नहीं पा रही है। उस समय पाकिस्तान की सरकार ने जिस तरह से उनको शह देने की कोशिश की थी, protection देने की कोशिश की थी, आज उसी का खामियाजा उनको खुद भुगतना पड़ रहा है और वे इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं। शौरी साहब ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि हमने पाकिस्तान को evidence सॉपकर बड़ी गलती की, अब वे जज बनकर evidences पर अपना निर्णय दे रहे हैं। महोदय, मैं यह बात यहां रखना चाहता हूं कि वे evidences हमने सिर्फ पाकिस्तान के सामने नहीं रखे, वे सबूत और दस्तावेज पूरी दुनिया के सामने गए। इससे पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ एक माहौल बना। आज पाकिस्तान सरकार भले माने या न माने, अमेरिका उसको भले आतंकवादी राष्ट्र घोषित करे या न करे, लेकिन पाकिस्तान पूरी दुनिया के सामने एक आतंकवादी देश घोषित हो चुका है। उनके छात्रों को कोई वीजा नहीं देता, वहां के व्यापारियों को बाहर जाने के लिए वीजा नहीं मिलते, वहां की कंपनियों को लोग बाहर उनके दफ्तर नहीं खोलने देते। इससे आज जितना नुकसान पाकिस्तान का हुआ है शायद किसी देश का नहीं हुआ होगा। तो वह देश अपने बुने जाल में खुद ही फंसा है और यह इसलिए संभव हो सका क्योंकि लगातार जिस तरह से भारत सरकार ने उनके विरुद्ध पूरी दुनिया के सामने वे सारे दस्तावेज और सबूत पेश किए, उससे पाकिस्तान को भी कबूल करना पड़ा कि, हां यह हमारे यहां का आतंकवादी था। तो कहने के लिए यह भले कहें कि हमें सबूत नहीं देने चाहिए थे, लेकिन उन सबूतों का बहुत असर हुआ है। हो सकता है उनकी घरेलू मजबूरी हो कि वे खुलकर सारी बात न मानें और उन्हें अपनी posturing ऐसी करनी पड़ती हो, जिसकी वजह से वहां की सरकार pro India stand न ले सकती हो, लेकिन वहां की सरकार में भी इस बात का realization है कि कितनी बड़ी गलती उनकी तरफ से हो रही है और उसका खामियाजा उनको भुगतना पड़ रहा है। आज भारत ने पाकिस्तान की छवि को जिस तरह से पूरे विश्व में एक आतंकवादी राष्ट्र के रूप में निर्मित किया है, उसका लाभ भारत को निश्चित रूप से मिला है और आगे भी मिलेगा। आज पूरी दुनिया जान गयी है और अमेरिका को भी यह कबूल करना पड़ा है। अरुण शौरी साहब बार-बार कह रहे थे कि हम मम्मी के पास भागकर क्यों जाते हैं? अभी तक तो हम अमेरिका को अंकल सैम बोलते थे, अंकल से अमेरिका, मम्मी कब हो गया, यह मुझे शौरी साहब के कथन से पहली बार पता चला। मैं उनको यही आग्रह करना चाहता हूं कि हम मम्मी के पास नहीं जाते हैं, मम्मी खुद इस एरिया में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उससे चिंतित है, अमेरिका खुद भारत का सहयोग लेना चाहता है और इसीलिए प्रधान मंत्री जी से अमेरिका सरकार बात करती है। हम न तो उनके पास जाते हैं, न कोई मदद मांगते हैं, लेकिन अमेरिका का एक रोल पूरे विश्व में है और उनके सामने हम सारी बातें रखना चाहते हैं। हम उनके सामने बातें रखते हैं, लेकिन उसमें कहीं से किसी प्रकार से बदलने का कोई प्रश्न नहीं है, कहीं किसी बात पर समझौता करने का प्रश्न नहीं है। वहाँ पाकिस्तान से मुताल्लिक हमारी नीति हो और वहाँ अफगानिस्तान से मुताल्लिक नीति

हो, उसमें कहीं झुकने का प्रश्न नहीं है। अगर उस समय के श्री प्रणब मुखर्जी के लगातार दिए गए बयान आप उठा लें, वे इतने स्पष्ट और कड़े बयान थे कि मुझे खुद शोरी साहब ने कहा कि मैंने पिछले 60 सालों में किसी सरकार के किसी मंत्री से इतना सख्त बयान पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ नहीं सुना था। पिछले सदन में उनका यह भाषण है और आज यह कहना है कि हम डरते हैं, हम मम्मी के पास भागते हैं, यह मुझे लगता है कि उन्हीं की बात का खंडन करता है और मुझे यह समझ नहीं आता कि उन्होंने ऐसी बात यहां पर क्यों रखी क्योंकि जितना कड़ा व सख्त रुख भारत सरकार ने अपनाया हुआ है, मुझे नहीं लगता कि इसके पहले किसी सरकार ने अपनाया होगा। शोरी साहब चले गए हैं, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। मैं अगर कहूँ कि appeasement of Pakistan, हमारे ऊपर बी.जे.पी. की तरफ से appeasement का चार्ज बहुत लगता है, लेकिन appeasement of Pakistan का चार्ज बी.जे.पी. पर लग सकता है। जब उनकी 6 साल की सरकार थी तो उन्होंने पाकिस्तान का बहुत appeasement किया जो कभी इंडिया ने नहीं किया। लाहौर बस लेकर कौन गया? हम नहीं गए। जिन्ना की मजार पर मत्था किसने टेका? हमने नहीं टेका। बगलिहार डैम पर soft policy किसने ली? हमने नहीं ली। मुशर्रफ को आगरा बुलाकर जिस तरह से भारत का उसमें अपमान हुआ, वह हमने नहीं कराया और पाकिस्तान के साथ जितने भी मोके आए, उसमें अगर देखा जाय तो सबसे ज्यादा नरम रुख, अगर किसी सरकार ने लिया, चाहें वह वहां के आतंकवादी संगठन जैश ए मोहम्मद को ताकत देने का हो, वह सब उसी सरकार का किया हुआ था। अपीजमेंट ऑफ पाकिस्तान, हमारे ऊपर आप अपीजमेंट ऑफ मुस्लिम्स का आरोप लगाते हैं, अपीजमेंट ऑफ पाकिस्तान का आरोप आपके ऊपर बहुत आसानी से लग सकता है, लेकिन हम उस बात को नहीं रखना चाहते हैं। चूंकि शोरी साहब ने इस बात को रखा था, इसलिए मैं उसका जवाब देना चाहता था। यह पाकिस्तान पर नरम रुख रखने का काम किसने किया? सबकी निगाह में यह बात एकदम साफ है।

महोदय, जहां तक न्यूक्लियर डील का प्रश्न है, मैं सदन में कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार किसी भी तरह किसी भी दबाव में झुकने वाली नहीं है, न पहले झुकी है और न अब झुकेगी। मझे याद है, यहां न्यूक्लियर डील के पहले सात बार डिबेट हुई थी और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यहां एक बार नहीं, चार-चार बार स्टेटमेंट दिया। हर बार यहां तमाम बातें उठाई गईं कि आप यहां समझौता कर रहे हैं, यहां अमरीका के हाथों में भारतीय हितों को गिरवी रखा जा रहा है, ऐसा हो जाएगा, वैसा हो जाएगा। इतना जबरदस्त हमला था और उसके बाद जब दस्तावेज सामने आए, तो सबने यह महसूस किया कि भारत ने अपनी संप्रभुता के साथ कहीं भी समझौता नहीं किया, भारत की सोवरनिटी पर कहीं कोई धब्बा नहीं आया। हर जगह हमने यह कोशिश की है कि भारतीय हितों को पूरी तरह से संरक्षण हो और उनको हम पूरा सुरक्षित रखें। इस तरह चाहें सीटीबीटी पर सवाल हो, चाहें एनपीटी पर सवाल हो चाहें एफएमसीटी पर सवाल हो, कहीं हम इस तरह से नहीं झुकने वाले कि कहीं भी भारतीयों हितों के साथ कोई समझौता हो। जहां तक पाकिस्तान की बात है, हमारे विदेश मंत्री एस. एम. कृष्णा साहब ने परसों बोल दिया है कि जब तक आतंकवाद पर पाकिस्तान काबू नहीं करेगा, तब तक हम उनके साथ कोई वार्ता नहीं करेंगे। भारत का रुख इन मामलों पर बहुत कड़ा है, बहुत साफ है और बहुत स्पष्ट है। यह बात मैं आप लोगों के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अमरीकी विदेश मंत्री हिलेरी क्लिंटन ने अपने बयान में क्या कहा हो, क्या न कहा हो, उसकी बहस में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता।

महोदय, कुछ सुझाव शोरी साहब ने बहुत अच्छे दिये हैं, जैसे कि इन्क्विजरी कमेटी, जो तमाम पैनल्स की रिपोर्ट हैं, उन पर जितनी जल्दी अमल हो सके, होना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से आग्रह करूंगा कि उनके इस सुझाव को

गंभीरता से लेना चाहिए और उन पर अमल होना चाहिए। मोनेटरिंग एजेंसी को लेकर उन्होंने जो बात उठाई है कि पहले भी मोनेटरिंग एजेंसी थी और साथ-साथ मोनेटरिंग एजेंसी बनाने की जरूरत क्यों पड़ी? मेरा यह मानना है कि जो स्कीम्स हैं, चाहे रूरल डवलपमेंट की स्कीम हो, या भारत सरकार की जो अन्य स्कीम्स हैं, इनमें सबसे बड़ी दिक्कत आ रही है नीचे जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी है राज्य स्तर पर, वह उसका बहुत लाभ लेती है और असली फायदा आम जनता को नहीं पहुंचता है। इसलिए अगर केन्द्र सरकार की ओर से मोनेटरिंग एजेंसी लगती है और उसके द्वारा यह कोशिश की जाती है कि वह पैसा नीचे तक पहुंचे, तो मुझे लगता है कि इसका बहुत बड़ा लाभ मिलेगा। तमाम विकृतियां, अबेरेंशंस हो सकते हैं, तमाम स्कीम्स से अबेरेंशंस होते हैं, एनआरजीपी के बारे में लोग बोल सकते हैं कि कई जगह पर सही ढंग से यह स्कीम लागू नहीं हो रही। यह मोनेटरिंग एजेंसी के जरिए इसका लाभ आम जनता को मिल नहीं सकेगा, इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि मोनेटरिंग कमेटी चाहे वह प्लानिंग कमीशन के अंडर में हो, या किसी के भी अंडर में हो, अगर वह होती है, तो यह एक बहुत अच्छी बात है।

जहां तक हमारी इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी का सवाल है, खुद पी. विदम्बरम, गृह मंत्री जी ने यहां कहा था कि हम पूरे सदन से हाथ जोड़ कर निवेदन करते हैं कि हमें अधिकार दें कि हम फैसले लें। क्योंकि यह होता है कि चाहे सीबीआई के डर से, चाहे कोई पीआईएल लगा देता है, कोई पार्लियामेंट से उठा देता है, कोई मीडिया में उछाल देता है, इस डर से सरकार के कोई निर्णय नहीं हो पाते हैं और खरीददारी नहीं कर पाते हैं। तमाम सालों-साल फाइलें पड़ी रहती हैं, किसी न किसी विवाद के चलते परचेज ऑर्डर नहीं जाते हैं, लोग डरे रहते हैं, मंत्री भी डरे रहते हैं, इसलिए उन्होंने कहा था कि हम आठ फैसले लेंगे, हो सकता है कि छह फैसले सही हों और दो फैसले गलत भी हों, लेकिन हम फैसले लेंगे। इसके बाद उन्होंने जाकर बुलेट प्रूफ जैकेट्स का फैसला लिया, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि हम टैंडर्स प्रोसेस में जाएंगे, तो बहुत लंबा वक्त लगेगा। सर, बस पांच मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूं। उन्होंने कहा कि बिना टैंडर्स के ऑर्डर पास करने जा रहे हैं, क्योंकि देश की सुरक्षा इम्पोर्टेंट हैं। आंतरिक सुरक्षा को मजबूत करने के लिए जो महत्वपूर्ण फैसले सरकार ले रही है, आप लोगों से मैं यही आग्रह करना चाहता हूं कि उसमें आप सहयोग दीजिए, क्योंकि ये ऐसे फैसले होंगे, जो देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा को एक संस्थागत रूप से मजबूती देंगे, ताकि इसमें आगे कभी दिक्कत नहीं आने पाए।

महोदय, अरुण जेटली जी ने भाषण में यह कहा था कि सरकार में अहंकार नहीं होना चाहिए। मैं उनकी इस बात से सहमत हूं और मुझे लगता है कि सरकार में अभी तक यह अहंकार नाम की चीज देखने में बिल्कुल नहीं है। कल जो प्रधान मंत्री जी का भाषण आने वाला है, उसमें भी उनको इस बात का आभास, इस बात का अहसास हो जाएगा कि सरकार की मूल रूप से मानसिकता क्या है? निश्चित रूप से यह बात कल उनके सामने आएगी और इसकी उन्हें पुष्टि हो जाएगी। एक बात IPL को लेकर उठाई है। चूंकि IPL के मामले में मैं खुद involve था और मैंने खुद होम मिनिस्टर से बात की थी, इसलिए यहां पर मैं उनको आग्रह के साथ बताना चाहता हूं कि गृह मंत्री जी उस समय IPL कराने के खिलाफ नहीं थे। उन्होंने यह कहा था कि मई की तारीखों में IPL करा लो। अप्रैल में IPL कराना हमारे लिए मुश्किल होगा, क्योंकि चुनाव है। ऐसा नहीं कि वह IPL कराने के खिलाफ थे। लेकिन जब उनको यह बताया गया कि मई में यह नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि 59 मैचों का आयोजन इतना मुश्किल हाता है कि सिर्फ 20-25 दिनों में इनको करा पाना मुश्किल होता है, तब उन्होंने कहा कि ठीक है, हम दो-चार दिन और नीचे कर देते हैं। 1 मई से आप इसको करा लीजिए। इससे उनकी नीयत का पता चलता है कि वह इसे कराने को तैयार थे। सिर्फ

तारीखों को लेकर विवाद था। इसलिए IPL को साउथ अफ्रीका में ले जाया गया। सरकार उसको कराने में पीछे नहीं हट रही थी। मैं इस बात को भी नेता, विपक्ष के नोटिस में लेना चाहता हूँ।

एक बात उन्होंने आस्ट्रेलिया में भारतीय स्टूडेंट्स पर हो रहे हमलों को लेकर भी उठाई। विदेश मंत्री जी यहां पर हैं। उन्होंने वहां के प्रधान मंत्री और विदेश मंत्री से already already बात की है। सरकार यहां से सख्त कदम उठा रही है। मेरा उनसे आग्रह है कि इस मामले में और सख्त रुख अपनाना चाहिए ताकि जो भारतीय छात्र हैं, उनके प्रति कोई अन्याय न होने पाए।

जहां तक ब्लैक मनी का सवाल है, इस देश में सब सहमत हैं कि काले धन को वापिस लिया जाए, काले धन को पकड़ा जाए। इसके लिए बराबर कई कदम उठाए जाते रहे हैं। चाहें आप सरकार में रहें या हम सरकार में रहें। ऐसा नहीं है कि आप जब सरकार में थे तो ला पाये या नहीं ला पाये, मुझे तो नहीं पता। आप तो नहीं जा पाये। वैसे इसके लिए भी सरकार कोशिश कर रही है कि जो चीज पता चलेगी, उस पर निश्चित रूप से कदम उठाए जाएंगे। एक बात जरूर मुझे यह पता चली है कि कुछ सरकारों के दरम्यान जो मॉरिशस रूट है, उसके जरिये पैसा कहां जाता है और कहां आता है, ये बातें आई थीं, लेकिन कोई कार्रवाई नहीं हुई थी। इसी पृष्ठभूमि में वह देखें कि उस कार्यकाल में क्या हुआ था? मॉरिशस रूट के बारे में क्या फैसला हुआ था? क्या किया गया था? तो शायद इस प्रश्न को उठाने के पहले लोग दो बार सोचेंगे कि कहां और कैसी गलतियां हुईं। इससे हम कुछ brief में सुझाव देना चाहेंगे।

100 दिनों के अंदर judicial reforms की जो बात कही गई है, यह बहुत अच्छा कदम है। इसे तत्काल करना चाहिए। Judiciary में भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता जा रहा है। अभी भी अखबार रंगे हुए हैं। Judicial reforms जितनी जल्दी से जल्दी हो सके, अच्छा होगा, क्योंकि यह बहुत जरूरी है।

इंदिरा गांधी वृद्धावस्था पेंशन योजना एक बहुत ही बढ़िया योजना है। इसका प्रचार-प्रसार निचले स्तर तक करके इसके बारे में सबको बताना चाहिए ताकि लोग इसका लाभ ले सकें। इस योजना के अंतर्गत 200 रुपये केन्द्र सरकार देगी और राज्य सरकार को भी 200 रुपये देने पड़ेंगे। गांवों में इस योजना के बारे में लोगों को पता नहीं है कि जो गरीब वृद्ध हैं वे इसका फायदा ले सकते हैं।

तीसरी बात यह कि अगर 100 दिन में एजेंडा हासिल करना है तो छुट्टियां कुछ कम करनी पड़ेंगी, क्योंकि छुट्टियां बहुत ज्यादा होती हैं। अगर सरकार में काम करना है तो इस तरफ भी कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे। हमारे जो administrative reforms हैं, उनमें देखना पड़ेगा कि हम उन्हें कैसे कर सकते हैं।

इंदिरा आवास योजना के बारे में मेरा एक सुझाव यह है कि इसमें सीधे पैसे देने के बजाय अगर घर बनाकर दिए जाएं तो ज्यादा बेहतर होगा, क्योंकि पैसे के वितरण में कई बार तमाम शिकायतें आती हैं और सही लोगों को पैसे नहीं मिल पाते हैं।

Higher education का जो loan है, उसे अभी एक-दो बैंक ही देते हैं। इसे देने के लिए सभी बैंकों को कहा जाए। अगर उच्च शिक्षा का loan गांव के लोगों, गरीब बच्चों और lower-middle class के लोगों को मिले तो बहुत फायदा होगा। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS (KARNATAKA) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have only a few points to make. I will not cover any of the points which have already been covered by others. In the instance, I am grateful to the hon. President for delivery her Address in *swadeshi* Official Language. Last time,



on the February, the President delivered the Address in the English language. I was a little bit perturbed particularly because she is well versed in Hindi. This time, she has delivered her Address in chaste Hindi. I am grateful and thankful to the President.

PROF. P. J. KUREIN (Kerala) : But you are speaking in English.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS : That is why I said, 'swadeshi official language'. We have two official languages, Hindi and English. Hindi is our swadeshi official language.

Sir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had made it very clear which is recorded in Subhash Kashyap's book Parliamentary Procedure at page 153 that the so-called Address of the President is nothing but a Statement of policy of the Government. The Government, which has come into office, places their policies and programmes, and these are put through the mouth of the President. We have got an institute called Vignyaneswara Research and Training Institute on Policy, in Karnataka. This Institute is doing a lot of research work, and they have consultations with the former Chief Justices and former and present Members of Parliament and with other experts on this basis. I have written a book; of course, I am not going to elaborate on it because things cannot be changed just now. The book is titled 'President's Address to Parliament and Governor's Address to Legislatures -- Changes Necessary'. To this, I have received a number of letters from Governors and eminent lawyers stating that the procedure should be changed as suggested in the Book. As per article 87, after every General Election, and at the beginning of the first Session every year, there should be a Joint Session of both the Houses and the President should inform the Parliament of the causes for summoning the Session. This is all. There is no requirement to include policies and programmes of the Government in the Address and make such a long speech. All that the President needs to say is the reason for which the Joint Session is convened, and that the Prime Minister will place the policies and programmes on the Table of each of the Houses and the Houses may discuss it. Then, the Motion of Thanks, according to me, must be unanimous there should be no question of discussion on the Motion of Thanks. The Motion of Thanks should be passed then and there unanimously. I am only mentioning this aspect. I am not pursuing that matter because that requires a change of existing procedure and a lot of discussions from all the among parties concerned.

The other point which I want to make relates to poor turnout in the recent elections. In the President's Address, there is reference to the General Election that has been held just now. I am on the point as to what was the percentage of voting was. I have got the statistics with me. I find that in as many as nine States, the percentage of votes is less than 55 per cent, and in four States, it is less than even 50 per cent. If our democracy is vibrant enough, then, in all fairness, the percentage of voting must at least be 65-70 per cent. This poor percentage does not really reflect the opinion of the people. If the voting percentage had been five or ten per cent more, there could have been a different

verdict. Therefore, this low percentage is a serious weakness in our democratic system. This time, particularly in urban areas, like, Bangalore, Mumbai and Delhi, the voting percentage has been less than 55 per cent. What is the reason for this? In the entire speech of the President, there is no reference as to why there has been the low percentage and what remedial steps should be undertaken for increasing this percentage. I have analysed the voting pattern right from 50s. I voted in 1952, in the first General Election, when I was a student, and I have participated in every General Election. One of the reasons for low percentage is frequent elections. People are fed up on account of frequent elections. For example, we now have the 15th Lok Sabha. This means that 14 Lok Sabhas are over which, normally, should have taken 70 years since the first General Elections. Similarly, if you take the case of Karnataka, in 2004 there was one General election; again, in 2008 there was another election And there was to election to Lok Sabha in 2009. Particularly, up to 1967, there have been elections every five years. Subsequently, in 1970, there was a break. Elections for Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas are held separately. As a result, every year, in one or the other State, there are elections. A lot of public money is wasted. I would share a few statistics with you. In Uttar Pradesh, in 40 years, there have been 11 General Elections which not could have been done in 55 years; in West Bengal, in 39 years, there have been 11 General Elections. In Bihar, in February 2005, we had one General Election; after February 2005, there was another General Election in October. This is all because of political untouchability, as Shri C. Subramaniam has stated in his book. In Gujarat, in forty years, there have been ten General Elections. In Haryana, in 30 years, there have been ten General Elections. I need not elaborate this more. But this is how General Elections have taken place so frequently.

The other thing reason for low voter turn out is the climate. Elections have taken place when there was either a cold wave in December-January or a hot wave in April-May sweeping across the country. The 2009 General Elections were held in April-May when there was a hot wave in the entire country. We celebrated the fifty years of our Parliament in 2002. For that, then Secretary-General had requested me to write an article. I had written an article in that, I had suggested that election months should be fixed mentioned in the Constitution; Neither the Election Commissioner or any political party in power should be allowed to alter the election months. I suggested that those election months should be February and March, the period when there is salubrious climate. When elections are held during the cold wave or during hot wave in the country, voter turn out is bound to be low. Further what is the amount of trouble caused to political workers across the country? And what about our political leaders? To whichever party our political leaders may belong to, they are all asset of our nation. When these leaders go for addressing rallies and canvassing, during such extreme climate their health is badly affected. Sir, many workers have died during the cold or hot waves. Therefore, this should be avoided totally. February and March must be fixed put in the Constitution as the only months when elections should be held in the country. Like in the case of election of the American President, we cannot fix the date. But we should fix these two months. Then, there should be an election holiday for five years for our voters. They should not be troubled for voting in Assembly and

Lok Sabha elections so frequently. The other thing that I have suggested is that the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections should always be held simultaneously. If we were to appoint a commission to find out how much money has been spent for holding these elections. It must be in thousands and thousands of crores. That is why I say that our economics have been adversely affected by our politics. If Lok Sabha elections and Vidhan Sabha elections are held simultaneously, and only in the months of February and March, then, crores of rupees can be saved. I feel, by and large, all the political parties agree to it. We should amend the Constitution to provide for simultaneous elections for Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas and also to fix the months of February and March for holding these elections.

Then, I come to para 46. Para 46 speaks of narrow domestic Walls *Interalia* of religion and sex and the Address mentions that the youngsters are tearing it down. But, as far as the Government is concerned, there is no proposal to end the gender discrimination. As you are well aware, Sir, there is discrimination against a section of women in the matter of marriage and divorce are concerned.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) in the Chair.]

Let me quote the Human Rights Declaration. Article 16 of the Human Rights Declaration made by United Nation on 10.12.1948, says "Men and women of full age without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion have the right to marry and to found a family. "They are entitled to equal right at marriage, during marriage and its dissolution".

Again, there is an international Covenant of 1966 to which India is a signatory, which says, "parties to the present Covenant shall take appropriate steps to ensure equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and its dissolution." Sir, article 15 of the Constitution says, "There shall be no discrimination on the ground of religion or sex." I am not referring to the Uniform Civil Code, which is required to be made under article 44 of the Constitution. The Uniform Civil Code consists of inheritance, minority guardianship, adoption and maintenance, wakf and so many other things. I am not touching all those things. I am touching only one point namely marriage and divorce, relying on the provisions of human rights and also under the article 15 of our Constitution. In view of article 15 read with human rights, no woman can be discriminated in the matter of marriage and divorce, but that is existing in our country. It is a matter of common knowledge that no woman tolerates that her husband having additional wife or wives. Despite this and in spite of article 15 and human rights, why such a legislation is not made? In the last paragraph of the President's Address, the President has talked about youngsters tearing gender discrimination. But there is no proposal for ending gender discrimination. Now, we have a woman as our Rashtrapati, a woman as Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the most powerful woman is the President of the Ruling Party. Therefore this is the proper time when this gender discrimination should be ended, and monogamy should be introduced for all the citizens of this country. Unfortunately, there is no such programme of the Government. Since it is inconsistent with the dignity of a woman, framing a law for giving equal treatment in the matter of marriage and divorce is very essential.

Sir, the next point I would like to mention is regarding paragraph 28 of the President's Address. Shri Kalrajji and Shri D. Raja have touched this point to some extent Paragraph 28 of the President's Address speaks of special provision for minorities. Chairman Sir, under our Constitution, there is a special provision clause (4) article 16 for providing Government jobs only in favour of Backward classes. There is the 15 Point Programme of the Prime Minister. The Tenth Point relates to job reservation in favour of the minorities. Article 16 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the ground of religion, race caste or sex, as far as appointments in the services of the State are concerned. And under that, the only exception given is, you can make a special provision for Backward Classes, provided they are inadequately represented in the State services. In *Trilokinath Kashav State of J & K* the Supreme Court Constitution Bench held that reservation to be valid there has to be a dual test, all in that firstly a section of the citizens must be identified as belonging to Backward Class. Then, further, there should be finding that they are not adequately represented in the State services. Then only can the State make reservation. But, how could the Government say in paragraph 28 that they are going to make reservation on the basis of religion? That is directly opposed to the oath we have taken that we will abide by the Constitution. Therefore, my submission is, kindly don't make any such provision. In this regard. Every one is aware that a provision made on the basis of religion was struck down by the full Bench of 3 Judges of the Andhra Pradesh High Court first. Again when such reservation was made for the second time, it was heard by a Bench of Five Judges. They also struck it down. Then, the third time, another attempt has been made, but this time it was not made on the basis of religion. (*Time-bell rings*) if certain sections of the Muslims are found backward, certainly, if they are really backward, irrespective of their religion, State can provide reservation to such class of persons. There is no objection about it. In Karnataka, I can ...(*Interruptions*)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : You have made your point.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS : The First Backward Class Commission, called the Havanur Commission identified certain sections of the Muslim community as belonging to the backward class and reservation had been made for them. But, don't make it on the basis of religion. यह साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव को destroy करता है। If you make reservation on the basis of religion, how would you maintain harmony between different religions? So, such a suicidal step should not be undertaken as it divides "We the People of India" on communal lines. Even regarding article 30, the Supreme Court said, 'No law can be made by the Government which is discriminatory between different religions'. It has been decided by the largest bench, eleven judges bench! On education namely in para 138 of the Judgement it needs para 138 In spite of that this type of making provisions on the basis of minority or majority! It being made. I would also quote what Mahatma Gandhi said.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : No time for quotation. Please conclude.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS : Just one minute, Sir. He said, in his book my picture of free India as follows. 'The poisonous favouritism in the foreign rule is dead and gone. Merit should now be the

sole test in a well lauded society, there should be no minority'. Then he says, 'Let all of us, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, live amicably as Indians, let to live and die for our motherland. Let it be our ambition to live as the children of the same mother, remaining our individual face and yet being one like the countless leaves of one tree. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians and others are equally the sons and daughters of India and have equal rights of citizenship. This is my picture of India...' This is the last will of Mahatma Gandhi. In his last book, he has said that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Please conclude with that fine statement of Mahatma Gandhi!

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS : Therefore, my submission is, para 28 directly opposes provisions of the Constitution.

My last point is about reforms in the judiciary. Earlier, the judiciary was held in highest esteem. One or two judges were considered as black sheep. But after a few decades the Chief Justice Bharucha painfully said that there were about 20 per cent corrupt people in the judiciary! In today's newspapers carry news as to what, has happened in Punjab, It is shocking for the entire nation. Therefore, in judiciary we must have judges who are absolutely honest full of integrity. If we want transparency amongst judges, there must be transparency in making appointments, this is the result...*(Interruptions)* In making appointments, no collateral consideration should be taken into account. Men with integrity and who have absolutely good record alone should be appointed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Yes, you have made all good points. Shri Mysura Reddy now.

SHRI M.V. MYSURA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me the time to speak. At the outset, I thank the hon. President for addressing both the Houses of Parliament. Sir, the Indian voter is very clever and mature though poor. He may not be knowing the growth rate, recession, economic reforms which are known by the elite, or the catchy words of the corporate sector and the industrial houses or economists who never vote in the electoral process. But, the common man voted with a broad vision and set the national agenda and also a road path to the nation. Why am I saying this? Neither the winner knows that he is winning, nor the loser knows that he is losing. But, the voter taught a lesson to the entire political class.

Regarding the flagship programmes, there is misuse of power in the selection of beneficiaries, there is no transparency in the schemes. The corruption is at the hilt. Because of this, the benefit of programmes is not percolating down to the common man or the target group effectively or at the desired level. Because of paucity of time, I am not going into the depth of the misutilisation of the schemes. One thing I should say, Sir, that even Rahul Gandhi said that just ten paise is reaching the targeted group in one rupee. That shows that there is misutilisation in these programmes. The food

security law is prominently mentioned in the President's Address. The Government is implementing a lot of subsidy programmes like Anganwadis, the NREGA, Mid-day Meal Scheme, Annapurna, Antodaya and so many other programmes are there in which subsidies are given. Now, subsidy is public money. When the subsidies are not going to the targeted groups or are not percolating to the targeted groups in an effective way and when pilferage is there, middleman is there, I suggest to the Government that they must think over it and all the subsidies should be put in one basket and the cash is transferred directly to the beneficiaries so that there is no pilferage and there is a check on this misutilisation also. This type of a programme was promised by the Telugu Desam Party to the people.

Sir, Land Reforms Bill, Judges Inquiry Bill, Forward Contracts (Amendment) Bill, Banking Bill and the State Bank of India Bill were introduced by the erstwhile Government in the Lok Sabha. After that they were sent to Rajya Sabha. Because of the dissolution of the 14th Lok Sabha, all these Bills were lapsed. So, I want to know from the Government what will happen to them because there is no mention in the President's Address about them. What is going to happen to the far-reaching effects of these Bills? I would like to know whether they are going to be introduced again or not. Similarly, in the President's Address, there was a mention about the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill. They were passed by the Lok Sabha and sent to the Rajya Sabha on the last day or the penultimate day of the 14th Lok Sabha. Sir, the Government should know about article 108 of the Constitution because once the Lok Sabha is dissolved, these Bills have lapsed. Why did get these Bill on 26th February, which was the last day of the 14th Lok Sabha? Did they want to deceive the people?

In the erstwhile Cabinet some of the Ministers without having any national outlook acted in a shortsighted way. I quote one example. I represented to the erstwhile Railway Minister regarding halting of some trains from Triupati to Delhi and the Sampark Kranti Express. But it has never seen light of the day while in Bihar veiled stops were provided to some trains without any norms. I am not against that. They have power and they have done that. Regarding NHAI also, the former Minister announced in 2004 that Hyderabad-Nandigram, Vijayawada=Machilipatnam, Cuddapah-Mydukur-Kurnool,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Mr. Reddy, sorry, your five minutes are over and only two more minutes are left. ...*(Interruptions)* What can I do? ...*(Interruptions)*... One second. There are 25 speakers in the 'others' category. So, each hon. Member will get only five or six minutes...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. M.V. MYSURA REDDY : I will take only two more minutes. I will complete in two minutes ...*(Interruptions)*... But even after 2009 also, they are still languishing like that only, Sir. At the same time, Dindivanam-Trichi, Trichi-Madurai and Madurai-Dindigal which were at the DPR stage in 2004 have been completed, Sir. Because of paucity of time because you are giving only two minutes, I am unable to mention all the injustices meted out by the Government. Only with a sense of disappointment and anguish, I would like to say that my State is getting a raw deal even though the

maximum number of Congress Party MPs sent for from my State. In the last Government they had 12-13 Members. At present, there are 33 Members from Congress Party and we are getting a raw deal for our scheme and programmes, Sir. Even in regard to Cabinet formation also, I would submit that our State has sent 33 Members from the Congress Party but we have got only one Cabinet Minister and five Ministers of State, and among these five one is from the State of Karnataka. So, we got a raw deal in the Cabinet formation also. There is no doubt and I have no hesitation to say that it is the prerogative of the hon. Prime Minister. I am not questioning that. But, why I am mentioning this is, if our State is properly represented in the Union Cabinet, without any raw deal, we can get projects, schemes and programmes. That is the reason why I mentioning this.

Finally, I would like to mention only one thing. Sir, everybody knows Duryodhana is the symbol of arrogance. The actions and attitude of this Government is also symbolises Duryodhana. It did not reflect the broad vision of the common man. Sir, I am concluding my speech with one Sloka from Bhagwad Geeta.

“प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः  
अहंकार विमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते।”

It means,

“While nature has created all inclusive system and is responsible for all actions, an arrogant and immature mind claims the credit”.

With these words, I conclude my speech. Thank you.

**श्रीमती विप्लव ठाकुर (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :** माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव है, उसे चतुर्वेदी जी ने यहां पर रखा है, मैं उस पर बोलने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सबसे पहले मैं भारत के मतदाताओं को कोटि-कोटि प्रणाम करती हूं। उनकी समझदारी के ऊपर, उनकी दूरदर्शिता के ऊपर, उनकी मैजोरिटी के ऊपर, उन्होंने एक ऐसी सरकार लाने का फैसला किया, जो स्थाई हो, जो स्वच्छ हो और जो गरीब लोगों के बारे में सोचती हो और उन ताकतों को नकारा जो भारत को धर्म के नाम पर, जाति के नाम पर, क्षेत्र के आधार पर बांटना चाहते थे। ऐसे लोगों को जनता ने नकार दिया और उन्नति के लिए, विकास के लिए, उस पार्टी को सपोर्ट किया, जो आज तक हमेशा गरीब के बारे में सोचती आई है। मैं उनको प्रणाम करती हूं, मैं उनका धन्यवाद करती हूं।

आज राष्ट्रपति अभिभाषण पर यहां बहुत चर्चा हुई है, बहुत कुछ बोला गया है। इस पर विपक्ष ने अपने विचार रखे हैं, लेकिन मुझे कलराज मिश्र जी की स्पीच को सुनकर ऐसा लगता है कि इलेक्शन के दिनों में भी ये यही भाषण देते आ रहे हैं, यही कुछ बोलते आ रहे थे, लेकिन जनता ने वही किया, जिसे वह ठीक समझती थी। जनता पर उनकी इस तरह की बातों का कोई असर नहीं पड़ा और मतदाताओं ने इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस को 206 लोक सभा सीट दी और एलायंस को भी सीटें दीं...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री कलराज मिश्र :** मैंने कुछ और भी कहा है।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्रीमती विलस ठाकुर :** कलराज मिश्र जी, मैंने आपका भाषण सुना है। अब आप बैठकर मेरा भाषण सुन लीजिए। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो यह अभिभाषण है, इसमें जो प्रस्ताव रखे हैं, जो आने वाले समय का लेखा-जोखा है कि हमारी यूपीए सरकार क्या करने वाली है। मैं प्रधानमंत्री डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी का और यूपीए की अध्यक्ष श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी जी का भी धन्यवाद करती हूँ कि वे अपने एजेंडे पर अडिग रहे। उन्हें कई तरह की परेशानियाँ आईं, उनके लिए कई तरह की बाधाएं उत्पन्न की गईं, लेकिन वे अपने एजेंडे पर अडिग रहे और उसी का परिणाम है कि आज केन्द्र में एक स्थाई सरकार कांग्रेस के नेतृत्व में बनी है। यह ऐसी सरकार है, जो सब के लिए काम करना चाहती है और काम करेगी और लोगों को काम करके दिखाएगी। हमारा जो पिछली बार 2004 से 2009 तक का घोषणा पत्र था, हमने उसमें जो जनता से वायदे किए थे, वे हमारी सरकार ने पूरे किए हैं, जिसका उदाहरण नरेगा है। नरेगा के द्वारा आज गांवों में, गांववासियों की जो आर्थिक स्थिति है, वह बहुत अच्छी हुई है, सुधरी हुई है। गांवों की रूपरेखा बदल गई है। आज बिहार के गांवों के लोगों को पंजाब में नहीं आना पड़ता है, आज राजस्थान के लोगों को हिमाचल में नहीं जाना पड़ता है। उनको वहीं घर में रहकर नौकरी मिल रही है, वहीं पर बैठकर वे काम कर रहे हैं। वहां पर लोग गांवों का सुधार कर रहे हैं और अपना सुधार कर रहे हैं। यह सब नरेगा से ही हो रहा है। अभी कहा गया कि सरकार गरीबों के बारे में नहीं सोचती है। मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूँ कि यह यूपीए सरकार की ही सोच थी कि उसने गांव में ही वहां के लोगों को रोजी-रोटी के लिए साधन उपलब्ध करवाये। कांग्रेस पार्टी की जो नीति है, वह हमेशा से गरीब के लिए बनी है। और उसी का परिणाम है कि आज आपको जनता ने नकार दिया है। हमें पीड़ा बहुत होती है, दुख भी बहुत होता है, लेकिन जनता-जनता होती है, मतदाता-मतदाता ही है। लेकिन मैं यहां यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि जहां तक नरेगा का सवाल है, बहुत अच्छा प्रोग्राम चला है, लेकिन कहीं-कहीं इसमें कुछ कमियाँ हैं, जिनको दूर करने के लिए बहुत बार जब भी इस सदन में बहस हुई है, तो इसके ऊपर प्रकाश डाला गया है और उन कमियों को दूर करने के लिए, सुधारने के लिए जरूर कदम उठाए हैं। मैं सारी बातों में नहीं जाऊंगी कि इस अभिभाषण में क्या है, इस पर सभी ने बोला है। अभी इस पर राजीव शुक्ल जी भी बहुत अच्छा बोलकर गए हैं, लेकिन मुझे अरुण शौरी के भाषण को सुनकर बहुत दुख हुआ और मुझे ऐसा लगा कि उन्होंने ऐसी पिवचर पेंट की कि मानो चारों तरफ अंधेरा ही अंधेरा है। यह बात ठीक है कि संकट के बादल मंडरा रहे हैं, हम चारों तरफ से घिरे हुए हैं, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है कि भारत कमजोर है। आज भारत की कोई भी नीति कमजोर नहीं है। भारत जानता है और भारत की सरकार जानती है कि हमें कैसे मुकाबला करना है, 1971 की लड़ाई भी इसका एक बहुत बड़ा उदाहरण है। आज हमारे पास बहुत कुछ है। जब हम उस समय में थे, तब भी हमने दिखा दिया था कि भारत के नौजवान और भारत की आर्मी कमजोर नहीं है, तो फिर आज डरने की क्या बात है? हम समझते हैं और सरकार समझती है, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जानते हैं, हमारे विदेश मंत्री यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, वे भी समझते हैं कि कहीं पर क्या चक्रव्यूह चल रहा है, लेकिन इस तरह से बात करके, इतने pessimistic होने की बात नहीं है। मैं अरुण शौरी जी से यह कह रही हूँ कि हमारा फ्यूचर ब्राइट है, हमारा भविष्य उज्ज्वल है, और रहेगा। मैं एक बात और कहना चाहती हूँ कि मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि आज हमारे कुछ साथी इस सदन में नहीं हैं, लोक सभा के सदस्य हो गए हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने महिला आरक्षण बिल पर जो अपना भाषण दिया और ऐसी बात कह दी, जिससे उनकी मानसिकता का पता लगता है कि आज भी उनकी मानसिकता primitive है। आज भी वे औरत को एक चीज समझते हैं और उसके लिए उनके दिल में कोई आदर, मान नहीं है जो ऐसा स्टेप उठाने की बात कह गए। क्या यही उनकी



राजनीति है, जो उनको विरासत में मिली है और जिनको वे अपना लीडर मानते हैं। मैं यहां पर किसी का नाम नहीं लेना चाहती हूं, लेकिन मुझे खुशी है कि हमने इस बिल को राज्य सभा में इंटरोड्यूज किया था, ताकि यह बिल मर न सके। यह बिल जरूर पास होगा। हमें इस तरह की बातें इसके पास करने से रोक नहीं सकेंगी, यही मेरा कहना है। मैं दूसरी बात यह कहना चाहती हूं कि यहां पर सब कुछ कहा गया है और मुझे यह भी मालूम है कि मेरा पांच मिनट का समय है, अगर हमें सौ दिन में अपनी प्रोग्रेस दिखानी है, जिस तरह गांवों को सुधारने के लिए एक तड़प है, जैसा कि राहुल जी ने भी कहा है और कलावती का उदाहरण दिया, तो यह हमारी एक तड़प है। हमें अपने प्रशासन को मजबूत करना होगा और इसके लिए हमें काम करना होगा तथा हमें यह सिखाना होगा कि गांवों में जाइए और उनकी बातों को सुनिए। हमारी जितनी स्कीमें हैं, वे प्रशासन की वजह से पूरी नहीं हो पाती हैं, वे प्रशासन की वजह से लागू नहीं हो पाती हैं, इसलिए हमें अपने प्रशासन को चुस्त और दुरुस्त करना है। उसको यह बताना है कि यह सरकार क्या चाहती है और उससे क्या अपेक्षा करती है इसलिए देखने वाले आदमी को काम भी करना होगा, यह सबसे बड़ी जरूरत है। अगर हम इस बात को करेंगे, तो हमारी स्कीमें लागू होंगी। हमने जो इसमें कहा है, वह जरूर पूरा होगा। यही बात मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन रिफॉर्मर्स हैं, लेकिन फिर भी प्रशासन को चुस्त और दुरुस्त करने के लिए हमें कदम उठाने चाहिए।

महोदय, मैं अंत में एक ही बात कहना चाहती हूं, ऐसा नहीं है कि हमने विकास नहीं किया है हमने विकास किया है। भारत कहां से शुरू हुआ था और कहां तक पहुंचा है। मैं इसके इतिहास में नहीं जाना चाहती हूं। भारत का जो इतिहास आजादी के बाद का है, वह एक उन्नति और विकास का इतिहास है, लेकिन अगर हमने अपनी आबादी में कमी नहीं की तो अच्छा नहीं होगा। कोई भी पार्टी पॉपुलेशन के बारे में कुछ भी नहीं बोल रही है? अगर हमने अपनी पॉपुलेशन को कंट्रोल नहीं किया, आज हम कई सौ करोड़ तक पहुंच गए हैं, तो इसीलिए हमारा विकास नजर नहीं आता है। आज हम गरीबी रेखा की बात करते हैं, गरीब की बात करते हैं, तो पॉपुलेशन के लिए भी कुछ न कुछ होना चाहिए। यह आबादी एक मुद्दा है, जो हमारे सारे विकास को समाप्त करता है। इसी वजह से इसका कोई इम्पेक्ट नहीं हो पाता है। इसलिए मैं यह कहूंगी कि इसमें यह नहीं दर्शाया गया है, बल्कि पॉपुलेशन के लिए, एजुकेशन के लिए, हेल्थ के लिए महिलाओं के लिए और सब के लिए है। और न ही इसमें सशक्तीकरण के लिए कहा गया। जो कन्या भ्रूण हनन हो रहा है, एक बच्ची को पेट में ही मारा जा रहा है, *(समय की घंटी)* उसके लिए भी हम क्या कदम उठाना चाहते हैं, यह भी होना चाहिए। कानून बन गया, लेकिन कानून बनाने से बात नहीं होती। जब तक हम फील्ड में नहीं जाएंगे, तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। इसी के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करती हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Mr. Tapan Sen, your party has three minutes balance, but I will give you five minutes.

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN (West Bengal) : Thank you. Sir.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while making my observations on the hon. President's Address, I would like to emphasise two, three points and finish in a very brief manner. I understand that in the President's Address, poverty has been given a huge emphasis, for its eradication. The President in her Address has announced a number of schemes. But I understand that success of any programme depends primarily on the size of the targetted group of population, which is actual assessment. That

warrants a radical change in the definition of 'poverty'. At present, 'poverty level' has been officially estimated as Rs. 12/- per day per capita in the rural and around Rs. 18.50 per day per capita in the urban areas. As per the report of the NCUS, appointed by the Sen Committee, it is from Rs.12/- to Rs. 20/-. They constitute 77 per cent of the country's population. As per the official estimates, the below poverty level is 26 per cent of the population. Another 51 per cent resides below Rs. 20/-. So, the present 'poverty level' definition is a definition of a below destitution level, which, I think, is not warranted in a civilised society. So, I agree when my colleague, Shri N.K. Singh, suggested that a proper methodology and mechanism to define the actual extent of poverty in the human sense of terms, not only taking care of his biological needs alone, but also his needs to remain in the civilised society should be evolved.

My second point, Sir, is that it is really shocking that while referring to global meltdown and accompanying recession and its impact on our economy, the phenomenon of huge job losses, about more than three million workers including 1.5 million in the export sector alone, has not been given any reference at all. I think, in an industrial activity, in a productive activity, they are the people who work. There are a few who earn their bread, earn their profit out of the workers' toil. That has not been mentioned. And the Address draws satisfaction that the stimulus packages has started giving results. I am sorry, none of the stimulus packages has arrested the drastic decline in employment, in the wage cuts, in the job loss, in the form of various measures. However, the stimulus package acted in arresting the pace of declining their profit. It is a supplementary measure because the rest of the profit is being earned by chucking of employment and chucking of wasteland. I understand when stimulus package is being financed by the public exchequer, it warrants for protecting employment, banning retrenchment, lay off, wage cuts and any other cut in the earnings of the toiling people who contribute for the profit. I urge upon the Government to consider this.

Thirdly and my last point is that the President in her Address mentioned about the programme of disinvestments, under the pretext of expanding people's ownership. Better speak in clear terms. Some of my colleagues in this House have blamed the Government that why you should not go for whole-hog privatisation. So, on this side, it is a camouflage, on that side, there is an insistence for going on a total sale. At least, I think, Left, despite being isolated on this particular issue in the whole polity, on the issue of opposing privatisation...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KUREIN) : Mr. Sen, just one second... Hon. Members, now it is P.M. There are a large number of speakers. If the House agrees, we can sit up to P.M.

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN : Okay; Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Agreed.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Yes, yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Agreed. Okay; Mr. Sen, go ahead.

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN : Sir, I am just finishing. My submission is that, despite Left being isolated, the disinvestment has become an ugly world. Fine. But again don't try to camouflage. People's ownership in a country where 77 per cent of the people live below Rs. 20 ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI (Maharashtra) : Can we accomodate these speeches tomorrow morning? ...*(Interruptions)*..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Listen, we have already taken a decision to extend the House up to 6 p.m.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI : Why I am saying this is because by the time our turn comes, there would be nobody in the House....*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Listen, once a decision is taken, you cannot change it. I took the sense of the House; nobody objected and then only I said, 'it is extended.' Now, it stands extended.

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN : Sir, my concluding submission is that in a people's ownership, in a country where 77 per cent of the population live below Rs. 20 a day they are ...*(Interruptions)*... selling PSU shares to few individuals. It cannot ensure people's ownership. It is just a mockery to the very concept of 'people'. So, I suggest, if resource mobilisation is the goal by making one-time money by selling public sector shares, it cannot be a route. On the other hand, these public sector companies are having Rs. 4,60,000 crores of rupees as a reserve which can be harnessed for the same resource mobilisation, instead of starting the process of transferring ownership in a phased manner, in a gradual manner. So, I insist that this thing should be done away with.

With this, I conclude with thanks.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Now, Shri Sabir Ali. Okay; Mr. Sabir Ali is not there. Now, Shri Manohar Joshi.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on the President's Address. I am thankful to Her Excellency, the President of India for addressing the new Parliament on June 4th. She had tried to cover a number of important points in her speech. I compliment her for the same. But, at the same time, I must mention that some important points, very important points, have been missed in her speech.

Sir, I must bring to your notice...*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI : Would you prefer that we table our speeches and it may be taken as read?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No; there is no such procedure. No such procedure is there. You will get time. Everybody will get time.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : The President has given top priority to internal security and preservation of communal harmony. She has not mentioned about the security of the people of Mumbai. The people of Mumbai were feeling most unsafe during the tenure of the previous Government. The President has mentioned in para number 9 of her speech that 'my Government will maintain utmost vigil in the area of internal security. A policy of zero tolerance towards terrorism, from whatever source it originates, will be pursued. These statements gave a lot of happiness to Mumbaikars, but very unfortunately, the day on which the terrorists attacked different places in Mumbai, we did not find the words of Her Excellency, the President, coming true anywhere. She had said that a policy of zero tolerance towards terrorism would be exercised but we did not find that zero tolerance on the part of the Government. Sir, it must be noted that around the same time, there were bomb explosions in Mumbai; thirteen bomb explosions took place. There was no action from the Government side and, therefore, again on 26/11, the terrorists attacked. The number of terrorists was very small -- they were only ten in number -- but about 183 people were killed by the terrorists. Sir, I had expected that there would be a reference to this attack in the President's Address, but, unfortunately, she has not mentioned anything about it. The Express News Service has raised certain points which I would like to bring to the notice of the House. Sir, the tapes available with Express New Service talk about who financed the terrorists. I think this is an important question: how terrorists could enter the city and who financed them. Also, the name of Thamir Obaid from Dubai has been mentioned, who sent crores of rupees to India and, particularly, to the terrorists who attacked Mumbai. Secondly, it has also been said that the Standard Operating Procedure, SOP, was not followed. I tried to find out what the procedure is. The procedure is, as soon as an attack takes place, officers of the Police department must immediately take a series of meetings and instructions must be issued to police officers as to what they are supposed to do. But this was not done and, therefore, Mr. Karkare, Mr. Kamte and Mr. Satoskar, instead of attending such meetings, immediately rushed to the hotel. Thanks to their brave action, but it was the responsibility of the Commissioner of Police. The Commissioner of Police too, instead of going for SOP, rushed to the spot and did not take a strategy meeting. Thirdly, another responsibility was that the Chief Secretary, in the absence of a Chief Minister, must take a strategy meeting. It was not taken by the Chief Secretary, but he was informed one hour late about the attack. Therefore, Sir, it has become necessary that a thorough enquiry is made to find out what the defaults on the part of the Police department were, what the defaults on the part of Government were, and if that is done, I am sure that further attacks could be avoided. I would like to mention one more point in this regard.

Sir, it is known to everybody that the Government was not careful and, therefore, the terrorists were not afraid of the Police and our systems and procedures. The terrorists were from Pakistan. Zero tolerance should have been shown to them. They should have been scared but that, unfortunately, did not happen. They had the guts to come to India and attacks the city of Mumbai.

Sir, the case of Afzal Guru is known to everybody. People have given up talking about it probably because even after raising it a number of times in the House, no action has been taken against Afzal Guru. It was desired by many people of our country that once a culprit is sentenced to death by the High Court and the Supreme Court, the hanging to him should have been executed forthwith. But this is very unfortunate that it was not done in case of Afzal Guru. Now the Kasab's case is also going on in the court. I demand that it is high time that we immediately execute the punishment given to Afzal Guru and expedite the Kasab's matter in the court. If this is done, then the people may feel that there is the Government, which is very interested in the security of people. If this is not done, I am afraid that such incident may take place because terrorists might feel that they can get scot-free by doing an kind of activity.

Sir, there was also a reference made about Sachar Committee. I was happy when a Member from this side that Sachar Committee mentioned particularly about Muslim community at a number of places. Equal share for minorities in Government resources, jobs and plans will have to be given. Therefore, Justice Sachar was appointed for finding out how it can be done and he has given his Report. I would like to caution the House that this Report is particularly to safeguard the interests of a particular community. I said it last time and now I again repeat that Mr. Antulay, the then Minister, in his report has given that the welfare of Muslims in 90 minority-concentrated districts is to be seen. He has also said that measures to be taken to improve the civic amenities and economic opportunities in 338 towns.

SHRI MATILAL SARKAR (Tripura) : Sir, no Member from the ruling side is present...*(Interruptions)*...

**श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा)** : सर, सरकार की तरफ से कोई नहीं है, पेपर ले करा दीजिए और हाउस को एडजर्न करा दीजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Cabinet Minister is there...*(Interruptions)*... Why do you disturb? Cabinet Minister is there.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, nobody is present because they are convinced that whatever I am saying is right. Therefore, they don't want to listen to me. That may be the only reason.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Please proceed.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : To plan and monitor the programmes for entrepreneurship development, public sector banks have been asked to open new branches where Muslims are

concentrated and multi-pronged strategy will be adopted for addressing the problem of educational backwardness of Muslim community. These are all words used in the Report...*(Interruptions)*

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, the quota of nine MPs and one Minister should be implemented here also.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, you can issue strict warning to them that they must be present to listen to the Opposition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : You can, therefore, make your speech without any interruptions.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, I remember that when this Report came to the House, from this side everybody opposed it saying that giving facilities on religion basis to any community or any religion is bad. If the extraordinary facilities are to be given, they should be given to people who are economically weak, but not on religious basis.

Sir, one more point which has not been mentioned in the speech of the President is about SEZ. But, I found that in para, 29 hon. President has said that an amendment...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I request you to sit there. Then at least, one person will sit on the Congress side.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Mr. Chatterjee, there is quorum and hon. Cabinet Minister is also here...*(Interruptions)*. For the Chair, there is no difference between this side and that side...*(Interruptions)*. There is quorum and there is Cabinet Minister. Everything is in order. Please, proceed.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : In para 29 of her Address, hon. President has said that an amendment is proposed to the land Acquisition Act and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill prepared which will protect the farmers and other dependent on farming from unfair displacement. Sir, this is an important amendment. When it comes for discussion, we will discuss this in the House. But, this might take some time, therefore, my suggestion to the Government would be that it should immediately pass an order that in the meantime, whatever acquisition regarding SEZ is going on should be stopped and no land for SEZ should be acquired by the Government and given to anybody. Sir, the issue has come only because ten thousand hectares SEZ.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Please conclude within two minutes.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, within five minutes. I will positively conclude. Sir, near Mumbai, Maha Mumbai SEZ is coming up. There was a court case and the Supreme Court has said today,

that is, on 8th of this month, that they are giving extension for acquisition of land. This ten-thousand hectare land belongs to farmers and I would like to say, considering the Act that the Government is trying to bring forth, that it is necessary that the Government should immediately pass an order to stop further development of SEZ in Maha Mumbai. I come from the same area. The farmers from this area are strictly opposing the creation of a new SEZ.

Hon. President, in her Address, has given one idea. I seriously appreciate it but I doubt whether this idea can be implemented. The idea is of 'slum-free India'. Hon. President has said, in her speech, that the Government's efforts would be to create a slum-free India in five years through Rajiv Awas Yojana. Sir, this problem is really known to me very well because in Mumbai City, fifty per cent of the people are living in slum areas. And, this problem is created because of poverty, inaction on the part of the Administration and also political interference. Will the Government work, in this case, above the interference of politicians and do something? I have my own doubt in this regard. I think that if slum-free India is expected, then the Government will have to be strict and also they should see that firm action is taken. Then, it might be possible (*Time-bell rings*). Sir, I will mention only two-three points and finish my speech.

Sir, the influx of population in big cities must be stopped. In 1901, the population of Mumbai was 8,12,000. It has gone to almost two crores now. And, therefore, if the influx from outside is not stopped, I am afraid the civic amenities, which are given in Mumbai City today, will be insufficient and I think that if we want to take people from outside, the Government will have to give a lot of money for the development of the city of Mumbai.

**श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार) :** मुंबई में जाना बंद कर दें क्या? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्री मनोहर जोशी :** नहीं, मैंने यह कहा नहीं, आप वह क्यों कहते हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**... Sir, 95,000 crores of rupees is contributed by the Mumbai City by way of taxes. Our demand is that 25 per cent of the money from this should be given for the development of the city. Otherwise, if the influx is not controlled, this will become a serious problem. Sir, last year, the amount of direct taxes collected from the Mumbai city, was Rs. 27,955 crores and the total collection of direct taxes from the country was Rs. 82,206 crores. Around 34 per cent of the total direct taxes collected from the entire country were contributed by the Mumbai city. It is absolutely necessary that this problem should be looked into seriously and the city must be protected.

Sir, last time I raised a point, and, I would like to mention it again because it is important point. Sir, in every State, jobs should be given to the local people. I am not talking about the jobs involving expertise; I am talking about the small jobs of person or office clerks etc.

Sir, I have some figures of Western Railway...*(Interruptions)*..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Please don't go into the details.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, in the recruitment of 8,250 people, only is Marathi people were recruited. Sir, the agitated minds of Marathi should be understood. Also, in case of Central Railway, only 50 Maharashtrians in a total of 1500 workers were taken. This has created a lot of resentment to the people speaking Marathi. My last point is very important point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Joshiji, you are a senior Member of the House. I cannot ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Sir, I will only make a mention about it. Sir, the morale of the politicians should be increased. Unfortunately, it is not happening. A recently elected representative of the people to the Lok Sabha has been put behind bars by the CBI in a case against him of murder and Section 120B. What is going on, Sir? I would suggest that Member of Parliament to immediately resign, and tell the people, if there are allegations against him, he is prepared to resign, and that would set a good example...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : All right. Please ....*(Interruptions)*.. Now, Shri Rajiv Chandrasekhar..*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI : Finally, Sir, if these points are included, I think we will be able to support the speech of Her Excellency, the President. Thank you very much.

DR. K. MALAISAMY : Sir, I thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for having spread me a few minutes to join my colleagues to speak on this subject...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No, one second...*(Interruptions)*.. I called the name of Shri Rajiv Chandrasekhar. After that, I will call you...*(Interruptions)*

DR. K. MALAISAMY : Sir, I will finish as quickly as possible. ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : I have called him.

DR. K. MALAISAMY : Sir, I have no objection. Whichever way you want, we can...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : I will also give time to you to speak. ...*(Interruptions)* Please speak, Mr. Chandrasekhar.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR (Karnataka) : Hon. Vice Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak this evening. Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to Her Excellency, the President for her Address.

Sir, the Presidential Address at the beginning of the term of a Government is an important statement because it reflects the goals and the general architecture of its policies to reach these



goals, and, given that it occurs once in five years, it is a good opportunity for those of us, who are not in the Government, to comment and contribute to the shaping of governance and public policy for the next five years.

Unfortunately, Sir, as we all know, cynicism prevails when such a list of promises are made as they have been in the Presidential Address. Sir, with the greatest respect to the Prime Minister, his last term also started with a large number of promises of structural reforms in areas like regulation, governance and public policy, and, we all realise, precious little of them became reality. This has been explained away as a limitation of the complex coalition that you ran, and, the dependence on political support from people who ostensibly did not like these reforms. Be that as it may, this mandate in 2009 is widely seen as a far wider mandate for this Government with less political pulls and pressures, and, therefore, there should be no reason for some real changes not to occur.

Sir, the defining statement in the Presidential Address is, and, I quote, "The dreary desert sand of dead habit must be left behind". This is especially true in the critical aspect of reforms in governance on which I shall speak. Sir, my colleague, Shri Arun Shourie, said in his speech earlier that the challenge facing us today is not just about new spending programmes because economic growth is not about fiscal profligacy and spending alone. There is a need for new economic architecture, the centrepiece of which must be a more transparent and responsive governance model that focuses on outcomes as it is deliverable. Sir, across many debates we have all agreed in Parliament that economic growth is the panacea for the ills of deprivation and poverty that afflict a large part of our population. Addressing the declining or dysfunctional or compromised governance model that we have today should be priority number one because the biggest risk factor to seeking long term FDI and capital into our economy remains the issue of governance and the connected political and execution risk that is often associated with the Indian economy. Recent reports characterising India's bureaucratic and administrative machinery as the worst performing in the world does not add confidence to the investors whose capital is critical to ensure that we develop a sustainable economic model of growth.

Sir, this is not the first time that a reference to governance has found place in speech by the President. In June 2005, the President's Address said, "My Government is committed to the reform of Government and to making it more transparent, responsive and efficient. A model code of good governance is being drawn up."

Sir, as a recent editorial in a leading paper commented, if the Government is to slow that it means business, it must focus on governance reforms first and foremost. The focus must be on strengthening the institution of governance -- the administrative machinery, the regulators, judicial capacity and efficiency. Over the last few decades, while India has developed tremendously on the back of energy and innovation of private entrepreneurs, it is obvious that the state capacity has lagged significantly. We need both private entrepreneurship and efficient governance as the two critical elements of the long term equation for India's growth. If we are to fulfil the dream of India

becoming an economic super power, the state institutions of governance must improve dramatically in the coming five years. While the Presidential Address addresses governance in broad terms as has been the tradition in the past, I believe the following must be included in the governance plans in the next five years. Sir, the time clearly has come for reform of the subsidy delivery model. My friend, Shri Mysura Reddy, has already spoken about it. So, I will not take this up any further.

The entire area of independent regulators, a concept that is about a decade old in our country, needs reviewing and strengthening. Regulators currently are becoming parking spots for retired bureaucrats leading to numerous cases of conflicts of interest. The quality of independent regulation in our country has declined over the last many years with no sign or initiative of reversing that trend. After almost two decades of telecom liberalisation, our telecom regulator is unable to establish even today a transparent model for auctioning licences and spectrum. There is something clearly wrong in this picture. I strongly urge for a comprehensive review, including of laws and of the entire regulatory cadre by the Government at the earliest. The vision of independent regulators was to create and independent administrative/judicial bodies. Instead they are beginning to look and sound like parallel bureaucracies. Sir, the Administrative Reforms Commission under Shri Veerappa Moily has also made for reaching recommendations to make governance more accountable and responsive. I would urge the Government not consign this one to the dustbin like most reports and instead seriously start a time-bound programme of implementing these recommendations and transforming governance. *(Time-bell rings)*. Sir, I need five more minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No, no. I will give you only two more minutes. You have already taken six minutes.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : Okay, Sir. Let me briefly touch on a few more issues that are missing in the President's Address and I believe should find a place there. A comprehensive policy relating to monetization of assets like iron ore mines, spectrum for telecom, oil blocks or infrastructure projects should transparency and clearly benefit the exchequer and citizens of India in particular and in general private public partnerships should not imply that the public side of the equation loses and only the private gains.

In the area of national security, I wish to point out a glaring chink in our preparedness. Shri Arun Shourie briefly touched on that. This is the area of cyber security and cyber threat. This is a chink because no Department of the Government is tasked with this responsibility and it falls in the grey bureaucratic twilight zone of responsibility and it falls in the grey bureaucratic twilight zone of responsibilities among Home, Telecom and Defence Ministries. I would urge that this responsibility be squarely assigned to the Home Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Okay.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : Sir, I am concluding. What we need is a new deal for all of India – similar to what President Franklin Roosevelt unveiled in 1939 in the US -- resulting in a long period of unprecedented growth, progress, and transformation.

Sir, let me end by quoting from the Presidential Address. “Our young people are tearing down the narrow walls of religion, region, caste, language and gender. The nation must invest in their hope.” The only way the Parliament and the Government can do this is to work on this recent phenomenon of political consensus around the critical issues that face our nation and people. I am sure we are all happy to see this new spirit of cooperation in our politics. I would urge the Government to nurture this and grow this and let this spirit of consensus bloom. This time around, the Government has mandate with no excuses. Jai Hind.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Mr. Rahul Bajaj, please take only five minutes.

SHRI RAHUL BAJAJ (Maharashtra) : Sir, I will try to speak both in Hindi and English -- Hindi for my friends here and English for my doctor friends and civil servant friends.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Don't try to repeat. Either speak Hindi or English.

SHRI RAHUL BAJAJ : Sir, I can speak both.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : You can use both. But there should not be repetitions.

SHRI RAHUL BAJAJ : Sir, I can speak Marathi also. Sir, I stand here in support of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I congratulate the Treasury Benches and their coalition partners for their very impressive victory. But, as has been said before, Sir, हम सबको मालूम है कि इससे इनकी जवाबदेही बहुत बढ़ गई है। Not they have no excuses for failure. As they have been saying for the last five years हमने यह reform नहीं किया, क्योंकि लेफ्ट के लोग यहां बैठे थे और दूसरे लोग भी बैठे थे। अब यह बहानेबाजी नहीं चलेगी, इसलिए we want delivery, we want implementation. Sir, I will just take up six or seven points quickly. First, हमारी GDP growth अच्छी है। यह दुनिया में चीन के बाद सबसे ज्यादा है। पर, पिछले चार साल से जो average 8.9 परसेंट थी, वह कम हो गई है। वह अब घटकर 6.5 परसेंट हो गई है। हमारा जो last quarter January-March था, last quarter of the last fiscal, the index of the industrial production in that was negative. Inflation was less than half a per cent. But wholesale से हमको तो फायदा नहीं मिलता है, तो रिटेल में 9 परसेंट है। Prices are rising and exports are tanked. दुनिया में recovery is not going to be possible till early next year. इसके लिए हमारा export खराब रहेगा। Even our Commerce Secretary told us how many people lost their jobs. People are losing jobs. Even the IT Sector is not

creating jobs. So, I am happy that we still have 6.5 per cent growth. During the current fiscal, 2009-10, we may grow at about 6-6.5 per cent. But there is no room for complacency. The world is not going to recover before the end of this year. Hopefully, we will recover early. शायद हमारी recovery थोड़ी जल्दी शुरू हो जाए, but we cannot be complacent. I fully agree with those people who said this and with the President's Address that say that we need monitoring to ensure efficient implementation and delivery. उसके बिना कुछ होने वाला नहीं है, चाहे कितना भी speeches लिख दें, कितने भी प्रोग्राम बना लें, whatever number of committees that are formed, nothing will get done. Our experience of the past forty years, not just of one government, but of all the governments, shows inefficiency and corruption. Somebody said that we should have zero tolerance for corruption as we have zero tolerance for terrorism. I think the Government might have forgotten to put it in the President's Address. But I hope there is zero tolerance for corruption. That is a cancer. In our economy, it is worse than any other cancer.

I know it is not probably ready today, but to create employment, especially in the organised sector, for well paid employment under good conditions, you need some more flexibility in labour laws. It may not be extreme but some flexibility in labour laws is required. Otherwise, we are losing jobs in the organised sector. Nobody in the organised sector is employing people. Suppose there is no demand for my products tomorrow. What will I do with these people?

Power has already been mentioned. I will just mention it. The single biggest hurdle to industrial and agricultural growth is unavailability of power. We have to solve this problem. In Maharashtra, we are suffering because of this. In almost every State, we are suffering due to this. My next point is, we want to contain our fiscal deficit. We want to maintain fiscal prudence. If we spend money on infrastructure and create transfers from the Government of India, for our country, it's good. I don't mind that expenditure. But, not inefficient expenditure or non-merit subsidy. I support merit subsidy. For people living below poverty line, it's a must. But, सौ रुपया उसको मिलता ही नहीं है, पचास रुपया मिलता है। किसी-किसी स्टेट में साठ रुपया मिलता है। इसके लिए जो उन्होंने President's Address में लिखा है कि एक ऑडिट कमेटी बनाएंगे और grievance redressal mechanism बनाएंगे, इन दोनों चीजों का मैं welcome करता हूँ। Next point, Sir, is the question of disinvestment. यहां पर बहुत बात हुई। अभी मेरे मित्र अरुण शौरी जी यहां पर नहीं है, इस संबंध में मैं उनसे सहमत नहीं हूँ। I agree with him that objective should be known कि क्या fiscal deficit meet करने के लिए कर रहे हैं? किसके लिए कर रहे हैं? क्या efficiency बढ़ाने के लिए कर रहे हैं? Why are we doing disinvestment? I agree that we must be clear in our objective. But, I would say, still do it. For five years, my Leftist friends prevented it. My friend, Mr. Raja, will kill me now after I go outside for saying this. But, I am going to say something more. sir, we have to go ahead. For five years, we were stopped. Whatever is the objective, do it transparently and efficiently and go ahead. And, sir, why this per cent? The objective is to become efficient. Not only disinvestment, but also privatisation. I hope, people sitting on this side will support it if they have the courage. Not selling the family silver, not ONGC, not State Bank of India. But, there are 200

companies in the Ministry belonging to my friend, Mr. Vilasrao Deshmukh. It's not Government's job to run them. Please get rid of them but transparently and at the best possible price. Sir, privatisation is very important. GST still requires a lot of work. Centre and all the State Governments before 1st April, 2010 ...*(Time-bell rings)* I don't want any subsidy for the corporate sector. We will talk about it at the time of Budget. But, GST के लिए मेहनत करनी पड़ेगी...*(Time-bell rings)* Last point on education is very important.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : I have rung the bell. You are not hearing that.

SHRI RAHUL BAJAJ : Sir, I am concluding. I am always at your command. Whenever I have spoken, you have been in the Chair and you always press the bell three minutes before my time is up. Everybody else is getting extra time, especially Mr. Raja. Sir, I am limiting myself to higher education because of paucity of time. Today also, I read Mr. Sibal's statement in the press. Sir, I am very happy that he is the HRD Minister. I am in support of foreign universities coming here. Again, my friend won't like it. But we need to do it with conditions. They cannot teach me things I don't want to learn. There will be regulations. And when Harvard, Yale, Princeton, etc. come in Bajaj is also coming. Indian private sector is also coming. That's what he has said but, I could not understand that today, ethical and efficient colleges/universities are loss-making. \*unethical institutions which charge capitation fees are goldmines. I am running colleges. Thirteen thousand students are there. I can't do well because I don't charge capitation fee. Whatever salary I give to the professors, I don't take anything back. I can't charge proper fee because my expenses are not high. Sir, I can't inflate it. Mr. Sibal has said that he will look into even deemed universities. Please look into it. But, in deemed universities, we don't want everything with the Government. Why prevent private sector or deemed universities which have efficient and ethical management? Yes, if they are inefficient, you investigate and throw them out. Put them in jail if they are cheating. But, don't remove deemed universities and private universities. Why do capitation fee of Rs. 30 lakh or Rs. 40 lakh is being paid? Who is a fool? Which father is a fool? क्योंकि जगह नहीं है colleges में! इंजीनियरिंग, मेडिकल colleges नहीं है। गवर्नमेंट नहीं खोल सकती इतने colleges, तो गवर्नमेंट भी करे और पब्लिक प्राइवेट पार्टनरशिप भी करे। Private sector should also do it. That's the only way the capitation fee can be removed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Please. Now, conclude.

SHRI RAHUL BAJAJ : The last point is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No, no. That's enough.

SHRI RAHUL BAJAJ : Sir, we want brain gain in this country and not brain drain which has been happening. And, Sir, the last point is that we have had very good conditions in the world and in India in the last ten years. Now, things are going to be tough ...*(Time bell ring)*... We have to work together as Team India with excellent delivery and implementation and zero tolerance to inefficiency and corruption. Thank you, Sir.

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\*Not recorded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : If the hon. Member, Shri Rahul Bajaj, has used the word \* in Hindi, that is removed from the record. Now, Dr. Radhakant Nayak.

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK (Orissa) : Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I rise to endorse and support wholeheartedly the Motion of Thanks for the Address of the hon. President of India. Sir, if you take half a glass of water, you will always find two interpretations. Some say it is half full, and the others say, it is half empty, and I am sure it is the duty of the Opposition to say that it is half empty, and I would express the Treasury Bench's point of view, and in that, I will not be lagging behind in balancing this half-empty half-full glass controversy.

At the outset, Sir, I congratulate the U.P.A. Chairperson and the Prime Minister for having initiated a new chapter in the history of India, as reflected in this Presidential Address. The Address sets a new vision and a new mission for the first time in order to fulfil the aspirations of the people of this country and give substance to the Constitution of India set forth by the Founding Fathers. In fact, the Presidential Address outlines for the first time a new Social and Economic Charter for the country. It is a landmark document which sounds like the Magna Carta, the English Charter of the United Kingdom in its history. The President's Address to my mind intends to transform us from the unequal growth to equal development and from diversity to equality just as the Magna Carta transformed that country from autocracy to democracy. Sir, the emphasis in the Presidential Address is on inclusive growth and equitable development, which terms both taken together and separately, find place not less than 17 times in the 16-page long President's Address. Certain other synonyms have been used through terms like integrated, accelerated and even empowerment, which all are iconoclastic and make a clear departure from the past. The other emphasis which the Presidential Address gives is on rights-based approach to development with the focus on education following in quick succession, the right to information, a legislation which was promulgated and is being implemented since the last tenure of our Government. The President's Address thus appreciates and focuses on the need (a) for social and economic integration, and (b) removal of inequalities and disparities, the twin foundations on which a strong and prosperous nation can be built and the building process can also be initiated. The Presidential Address in fact, throws a big challenge to the Government and also to the Opposition who have assured us to offer constructive criticisms and behave as a responsible Opposition, opposition not for the sake of opposition, but for the purpose of putting into the action the vision presented by the President for the overall development of our country. This challenge appears in a varied form. Most of the challenges are formidable and multidimensional. Challenges are formidable because of the inbuilt structural inequalities and historic baggages, culminating in prejudicial and discriminating syndromes that pervade our society from time immemorial. These structural inequalities have influenced our systems and norms, institutions and

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\*Expunged as ordered by the chair.

processes, our cultures and conducts, our perceptions and even our value systems, and more so our attitude and motivations. All these need to be addressed lock, stock and barrel through our programmes not only at the macro level but at the micro level as well. The policy of inclusion should percolate to all levels of our society and economy, both at the State and civil society levels, through well-regulated participatory structure, both at the headquarters and at the grassroot levels, and in the cities as well as in the villages. The processes of inclusion needs to be dialogical and analytical, marked with objectivity and transparency, monitored through independent agencies which should be inclusionary themselves. In other words, Sir, we should meticulously implement the principles of 'inclusion' if we are professing that way, at the policy-making levels as well as at the process stage in the various para-statal institutions as well as at all the other grassroot level institutions. (*Time Bell rings*), Sir, I will take only one minute more.

In paragraph 25, the hon. President mentions that our Government is acutely conscious of providing greater opportunities for women, youth, other backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, minorities and the elderly as well as those specially vulnerable. I am sure the ensuing Budget will indicate how these sections of the society will get better attention in terms of investment and development in all sectors of development, be it energy or agriculture, industry or commerce (*Time Bell*) Incidentally, I must mention that providing a physical labour programme does not provide an honourable development. In fact, many social scientists and economists have said that physical labour is one of the most suppressive activities a country can embark upon although permissible at the initial stages.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Okay. That is enough.

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK : And it is in this respect, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No, no, no.

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK : I would take only half-a-minute, Sir.

And it is because of this, Sir, I would urge that skill development programme which is very necessary, which gets concentrated only at the elite levels and does not percolate for the grassroot levels and which, again, also divests us from equity to inequitous productivity ..(*Time Bell rings*)..., should Focus on the poorer sections.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Okay that is enough.

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK : Sir, I have only one more small suggestion. Sir, many of the European countries and the U.K. have an Inclusion Ministry, a Ministry constituted specifically to concentrate on inclusionary aspects of development. I would suggest that our Government should set up at least cells in each Ministry and Department if not a Department or Ministry separately. But, in the long run, we should have to embark upon creating a full fledged. Ministry for inclusion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Okay Thank you. Now, Dr. Barun Mukherjee ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK : Only then, Sir, it will be possible that whatever we are now saying or whatever the President's Address speaks of, in on inclusive growth can to a great extent become a reality. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) Dr. Barun Mukherji. Take only five minutes because one more speaker is there.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI (West Bengal) : Sir, I won't take much time.

Sir, on behalf of our party, All India Forward Bloc, I congratulate the people of India who have given their independent verdict, through ballot boxes, in the fifteenth Lok Sabha elections, belying predictions of many sophisticated experts. This reversal is only because the people have their own disappointments and aspirations which the political pundits cannot always realise, in advance through their conventional approach. Indeed, the Left have lost considerably in this election. We accept the people's mandate with all humility which, of course, reminds us the need for self-introspection. We are already engaged deeply in the process and hope to revive shortly taking people into confidence.

The primary question remains: What are the basic factors causing suffering to the poor and common people? Among many other reasons, the most talked-about factors are growing unemployment and poverty and, on the other, growing price rise of food articles and other essential commodities. Unfortunately, these two major factors are not among the UPA Government's priority list presented in the Address by the President of India. This disappoints our millions of unemployed poor people. But, on the other hand, it is noted with concern that the Government vows to further increase the FDI and go ahead with its pet economic reforms in banking, insurance and pension. Even the Government declares its intention to reintroduce disinvestment which was discarded by the UPA Government at the beginning of its last tenure from 2004. You may recall that it was a hot debatable issue against the last NDA regime before the UPA assumed power in 2004. But the UPA is now appears to be very jubilant as it happens to be free from all sorts of obligations, as well as, obstacles and opposition from the Left. And hence promptly takes up all its reforms agenda kept pending during its last tenure. But we oppose these reforms as we opposed before, primarily because these are anti-people and pro-rich policies. The public sector has an important role to play in strengthening our economy which was even recognised by the earlier Congress regimes led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. But under the impact of the present world-wide imperialistic privatisation and globalisation the earlier Congress economic policies are now being reversed. It will also not be generous on the part of the Congress Party to deny or minimise the any of contributions made by the Left during the first four-and-a-half years of the last UPA regime..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Only one minute more.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : Which was helped by the Left in assuming power in 2004. The Left took all the initiative to introduce many flagship programmes like NREGA, the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, right to Information Act and others. These can help inclusive growth. We want them to be further expanded like raising the ceiling of 100 day's work to 200 days' work and extending it to the urban poor also. But this has not been



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accepted by the Government. The President has very enthusiastically presented a long list of social welfare schemes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Yes, please conclude.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE : Just one minute. Hardly any measure has been suggested as to how this can be implemented.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Yes, please conclude.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : One minute more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : Malnutrition continues to be a major health challenge. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan has failed to increase female literacy. The Government still can't guarantee allocation of six per cent of the GDP for education.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Okay.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : It is good that the Government now ensures 25 kilograms of rice or wheat to BPL families at a subsidised rate of Rs. 3 per kilogram. But all that is needed is strengthening and universalising the PDS in its true sense. We welcome the Government's promise to pass the Women Reservation Bill in the next 100 days...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Okay.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : Which, in fact, could not be passed during the last 100 months. The Left is always for the empowerment of women in all respects...*(Interruptions)*.. But it is disappointing to note that the President's Address does not indicate the Government's plans..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Yes, Mr. Kumar Deepak Das.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : To further waive the loans of poor farmers who took loans from private banks and money-lenders also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Over. I called the other speaker. One more speaker is there. You took more than one minute.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : Lastly, I would like to mention about tremendous sufferings of the people of West Bengal due to the devastating Aila cyclone. The whole country should share the sufferings of the people. I appeal to the Centre to declare it a national calamity and extend all help, support and aid to the suffering people of the State. Thank you.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the hon. President's Address is a policy document of the agenda of the Government. We, the Asom Gana Parishad, strongly believe that every promise that is made will be followed through and implemented by the popular new Government. We have seen in the past that once elections are over, many of the promises that are made are not followed through.

I belong to such a region where indigenous people are rapidly being reduced to the State of minority by the influx of lakhs of alien illegal migrants. In addition, the perennial problems of devastating floods and erosion have divested our rural economy of any forward-looking possibilities.

The contemporary Assam cannot but appeal the entire country for the solution of its present day problems of illegal infiltration, terrorism, loss of demographic balance, ethnic clashes, large-scale corruption in the administration, the ever-growing unemployment. In this context, I would like respond to some of these issues. Before going to these issues, I, on behalf of my party, the Asom Gana Parishad, welcome the decision of the Government, commitment of the Government which it has made to pass the Women's Reservation Bill in Parliament in the next hundred days.

In para 40, the President talks of addressing the issue of climate change but in fails to mention its adverse effect on the hydrology and water resources of the Brahmaputra Valley which might ultimately lead to more serious floods.

So far as flood discharge is concerned, the Brahmaputra is the fourth largest river in the world. While it works as a life line for the North East States, frequent flooding and erosion have major adverse effects on the day-to-day life of the people, its economy and ecology, threatening key urban centers, basic infrastructure, industrial and agriculture areas and natural heritage sites. They are a major cause of poverty in the North East States. Addressing the problem requires a national policy on the matter, though water is a State subject. It is the demand of the people of Assam that the flood problem of this region should be considered as national problem. Only assurances have been made many times, but nothing has been done so far in this regard. The Government of India should come up with a proper institutional mechanism in line with the Mekong River Commission. In 1955, the Mekong River Commission was formed by an agreement between the Governments of Cambodia, Lao PDR, Thailand and Vietnam. Likewise, the Brahmaputra Basin concerns the lives and aspirations of the people of four countries-China, Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh.

In the President's Address, there is a mention of maintaining utmost vigil in the area of internal security and policy of zero-tolerance towards terrorism but the sorry state of affairs is that international Indo-Bangladesh border still remains wide open. There is stalemate in the fencing work along certain stretches of the border. The river on the border still remains a matter of concern and also the night vision devices are not adequate. On the other hand, the disputed border area of Latitila-Dumabari, about three kilometres, has yet to be resolved. The corridors which are being frequently used for infiltration could not be plugged by the border guarding Force. Those places are located in West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. It needed a new strategy through which a foolproof mechanism can be evolved to guard the border. It is a matter of great concern that the BSF has recently disclosed that 12 lakh Bangladeshi who had entered India between 1972 and 2005 with valid documents did not return after expiry of their visa and over 24,000 remained missing in 2006 when 4.84 lakh had entered with valid travel documents. What the hon. Supreme Court has observed recently is well known to all the Members of the House. Infiltration is a threat to the sovereignty of the country. So, Sir, these are matters that require serious consideration by the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF P. J. KURIEN) : The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11.00 a.m.

The House then adjourned at one minute past six of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 9th June, 2009.