

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for lunch for one hour.

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

The House re-assembled after lunch at twenty-one minutes past two of the clock,

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

#### **SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (RAILWAYS) 2009-10**

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants (Railways) for the year 2009-10.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Statement by the Minister of External Affairs, Shri S. M. Krishna.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI S. M. KRISHNA): Sir, I would like to make a statement on the Prime Minister's recent visit to Saudi Arabia.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: The copies are not circulated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have not the copies been circulated?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): You are aware of the practice that before the Minister makes a statement the copies have to be circulated.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA: Okay. I will make the statement after the copies are made available.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have they not been circulated? इसकी copies आने के बाद आप अपना statement दे दीजिएगा। After the copies come you make the statement.

Now, we will continue with the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Shri Sitaram Yechury.

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#### **MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - *contd.***

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Thank you, Sir. I think, I have to change my timetable. You always call me just immediately after lunch when the hon. Members. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will be fresh.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Not only will I be fresh but also there is an advantage because not many Members will be there to interrupt me. That is also an advantage. I hope you would not interrupt me for the External Affairs Minister to make the statement.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will be after your speech.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: It means that he will be a bonded slave waiting for me to finish. So, I sympathize with him.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is duty-bound to be there.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I sympathize with him. Please count my time from now.

Thank you, Sir, for calling me to speak on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address and I am participating in that. The President's Address is the customary annual Address. That is a balance-sheet of the Government's work in the past year and what it intends to do in the future. Before I come to the main thrust of it, there are certain issues, which the hon. President raised, on which there can't be any dispute.

In para 2 she talks about the consensus on terrorism and that is of extreme concern for all of us and, I think, in this House I must reiterate that the fight against terror is non-negotiable and there can be no compromise on it. But it should be a fight against all manifestations of terror. Terror can't be bracketed with any one religion or any one region or any one area. We had all these expressions of terror from various angles in our country and all of them will have to be fought, and I would like the Government to make sure that there is no discrimination between the various terrorist activities that take place. Terror must be fought as terror. It is anti-national. As I have said, in para 2 itself the hon. President has referred to a certain incident in West Bengal, an attack by the Maoists, and the need for the country, as a whole, to rise to fight this menace. It is very correct. I have heard the hon. Member from the principal opposition also raising this concern and, I think, the House, on this aspect, appears to be completely united. The Prime Minister has, repeatedly, stated that Maoist violence is the single largest gravest threat to internal security in our country. But, Sir, what we now want to know from the Government and what has not been referred to by the hon. President is the fact that there are members of the Union Cabinet themselves who have actually said that that incident which the hon. President has referred to in her Speech, was not committed by the Maoists. They have gone on record to state that. They have gone on record to state that stop this military operation, not military but the operations against the Maoists in our country and ask them to come for talks even without abjuring violence. Now this discordant voice coming from within the Cabinet itself does not augur well for the country. The hon. Prime Minister is not present at the moment. But

the Government will have to give an explanation to this country and to this House. How can this Government survive with such a major contradiction, where the Prime Minister who heads the Cabinet says that Maoist violence is the gravest threat to India's internal security and you have a member of the Cabinet who actually denies that the Maoists have perpetrated this attack that the hon. President refers to in para 2? Now this contradiction cannot coexist. This has to be settled and we are waiting for the Government to answer how they are going to settle this contradiction and what is the explanation for this contradiction. That is something which the august House would like to know; otherwise, the sincerity of the Government in fighting this Maoist menace itself will come under a question mark, which is not good for the future of our country and our nation.

Having said this, Sir, I would like the Government to once again remember that you can't hunt with the hounds and run with the hares. You can't do both. In this, what is the collective stand of the Government? It must be brought out very clearly and we are expecting that answer.

There are many other aspects that the hon. President has covered, but because of lack of time I may not be able to explain our position on all of them. I will mention some of the important issues before I come to the main thrust of the hon. President's Address.

In para 15, for instance, the hon. President talks in terms of the Armed Forces, but there is no mention of what progress has been made on this vexatious issue of 'one rank one pension'. This is something all the political parties have espoused in the past. But on that issue, there has been no clarity.

In para 55, the hon. President talks in terms of delivery of justice. A very important issue, Sir, for the credibility of our nation rests on, the credibility which must be there in our people, that we have a system that delivers justice. That has come under very, very severe question mark in our country. In major disturbances and riots, whether it is anti-Sikh riots, whether it is communal riots, many of the perpetrators have gone unpunished; many of the Commission reports have gone unimplemented. So, in this connection, I wish there was a mention, the concern expressed by the hon. President should have been followed up with some plan of action by the Government, which unfortunately we do not see. There is also not a mention of the fact that there is a need for a National Judicial Commission, which all of us have agreed at one point of time or the other. But why isn't the National Judicial Commission being constituted which should take into account very important issues concerning the integrity and independence of the judiciary, the appointment of judges, the issues of complaints that come against the hon. judges which need to be disposed of as soon as possible

because the more you keep them lingering, the greater are the doubts on the integrity of the judiciary which we cannot afford? So, on these issues, I wonder why there was no mention of the National Judicial Commission.

In para 71, the hon. President talks in terms of the contribution of the Non-Resident Indians to our country. In that connection, unfortunately, there is no reference, at all, to the problems being faced by our NRIs, particularly in the Gulf areas, particularly those who come from Kerala. There has been a list of demands that they have raised with the Government for a number of years and the money collected from them by the Central Government which should be used for their future and their post-retirement benefits, that is not being done. There is no mention of that list either.

Likewise, Sir, there are many other issues that the hon. President has touched, which, if time permits, I will get into. In para 73, Sir, the hon. President talks about our space programme. All of us, with pride, congratulate our scientists for the tremendous achievements that we have achieved. But in that context, Sir, the achievements that we have achieved, I think, will need to be tempered with a warning which the former President of India, Shri K.R. Narayanan, gave to us on the 50th Anniversary of our Republic. When he was addressing the Parliament in the Central Hall on that anniversary, he made a very evocative speech. But I am reading out only that part which is connected with our space scientists. I quote, and he said, "Our satellites shoot up from the midst of the hovels of the poor". And this brings me to the thrust of the President's Address that we have all these achievements but 'these satellites shoot up from the hovels of the poor'. And what is that main thrust that the hon. President has made which I think we need to very deeply consider? That, I think, comes in the end when she quotes Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. Sir, my generation has grown up watching the jottings of Pt. Nehru and one of those was the famous one from Robert Frost's poem which he had noted down on his desk, "The woods are lovely, dark and deep but I have miles to go before I sleep". We have all grown up reading those jottings. That was sixty years ago. The miles have become longer and before we go to sleep, we seem to be having longer and longer miles to cover. And then, the President says, and I quote from her Address, "We have taken decisive strides towards reaching these goals. Still, much remains to be done. The road is long but our journey is in progress". The question is: in which direction is the journey in progress? Which direction are we moving in?

When the draft of the Constitution was presented by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on 25th November, 1949, these were the words he used. I thought this is something that comes to our mind now, and after all these years, since 1949, 60 years of our Republic, this is still as relevant as it was then. I

quote Dr. Ambedkar, "On January 26, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognising the principle of one man-one vote, one vote-one value; in our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man-one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove these contradictions at the earliest moment, or else, those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has laboriously built up". This was said over 60 years ago and today, hearing the President's Address, we come back to this fundamental contradiction, and this fundamental contradiction is: in which direction are we progressing? What we have seen in these two decades of neo-liberal economic reforms, what we have been seeing, of late, is essentially the creation of two Indias within our Bharat - the illusion of a shining India which they gave us, and the reality of a suffering India that they are giving us, and this is what I have been repeating in this House. And it is this hiatus between the two, the shining and suffering India that is growing. Now, we have gone through those figures earlier and I do not want to burden the House with those statistics. All of us know that while we have the largest number of billionaires today in US dollar terms in Asia, including Japan, in India, we also have 77 per cent of our population living on less than 20 rupees a day. You had various estimations of poverty that have come up. You had the Suresh Tendulkar Committee's report, which has now given us the poverty figure of 37.2 per cent. But if you compare it with 1991, the number of poor in our country - the statistics and percentages are good for analysis but, in real life, you see absolute numbers - there are today 10 crore more people below poverty line in India than there were 20 years ago in absolute numbers. These are figures from the Planning Commission.

The NSS latest round data has given us 3.9 crores or nearly 4 cores of people have slipped into poverty. That was the latest figure we have for 2004-05. In that year alone, 4 crore people have slipped under poverty only due to health expenditures. Because of privatisation of health services, they cannot afford their health expenditures, 4 crore of people have gone into poverty in one year alone. This is the National Sample Survey, I am telling you, Sir. So, the creation of these two Indias, Sir, and that is the reality that we have today, and we are moving in a direction where it is not my India i.e. Bharat as our Constitution says, but it is my India that is divided into two Bharats or my

Bharat divided into two Indias, a 'shining India' and a 'suffering India'. And that the hon. President in para 5, para 7 and para 3, in the initial lines, I mean, when she outlined the whole thing, she has given the basic thrust of this UPA Government, and that basic thrust that has been given is, one, the impact of the global recession, how to protect our people; and two, to work for inclusive growth and in paragraph 7, she talks of the question of price rise. Now, the question again that comes up here is that in this Budget also, the direction of the progress I am talking about, is the creation of two Indias. And what have we done in this Budget, Sir? In this Budget, that was presented, you have given a concession of Rs.26,000 crores to the direct taxpayers, which is essentially the corporates and the high-end income-tax payers, and you have collected Rs.46,500 crores through indirect taxes, which is, what will be burdened on the common people. So, the shift of resources again continuously keeps taking place towards the rich, and the whole Budget has planned for a nominal increase in expenditure of eight per cent. If you discount the rate of inflation in real terms, the expenditure this year by the Government of India would be less than what it was last year. And, if it is going to be less than what it was last year, where is the thrust for growth, where is the stimulus for growth? And whatever growth you are giving, you are giving it through such lopsided policies where the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. And on top of that.

Sir, the question that does come up is, here is a Report which the hon. Finance Minister has presented to the Budget, and this Report says Statement of Revenue Foregone. Sir, the Statement of Revenue Foregone says Rs.5,02,299 crores is tax foregone. This is the legitimate tax which could have been collected. Okay, even if I were to give the benefit of doubt and say the foregone taxes in terms of indirect taxes were meant for economic stimulus given the global recession, if you minus that, what is the tax foregone, as far as the corporate income tax is concerned? It is Rs.79,554 crores, nearly Rs.80,000 crores has been foregone from the corporate sector. From the high-end payers of the income tax what is foregone is, Rs.40,929 cores. Put these together, you have Rs.1,20,000-odd crores of the legitimate tax that the Government could have collected, that was not collected. If you had collected this amount and utilised this through public investment, building your economic and social infrastructure that is much needed in our country, we would have been able to generate jobs at a very high level, and that, in turn, would have generated demand within the economy, which, in turn, would have provided the impetus for manufacturing and industrial growth in the country. But, instead of adopting that path, you adopt path of giving concessions to the rich, to the corporates and impoverish the rest or the suffering India, as I have just explained to you. So, this direction, the direction in which we are progressing, like the hon. President has said, that is the

direction which, we think, is not the direction which was envisaged at the time of Independence, at the time of adoption of our Constitution and the Republic. On top of this, Sir, comes the very unfortunate, I think, I have called this unfortunate, reference of the hon. President when she says that this price rise is inevitable. I mean, we are told, "Sorry, you have to suffer. The price rise is inevitable." Why it is inevitable, she tries to explain it. But, Sir, we must understand what does the price rise mean. The price rise normally means that there is a shift in income.

The more expensive an item becomes, the consumer pays more; that is, the working people who earn salaries pay more; and, the people who produce these products earn the profits and they gain greater profits. Sir, even the Prime Minister once referred to it and what we call it crony capitalism. In India, when price rise takes place, it is not the producer who gains, it is the middleman who gains. You have our peasantry being impoverished, you have the common people suffering from high prices. Who are the people who are making this money in between? We have been raising it and many issues have contributed to the price rise that have been referred to by my colleagues from the other Opposition parties, so I am not repeating those points. One point we must understand, who are these middlemen who are gaining? When we always raised this issue and say to stop this speculation in commodities exchanges on essential items, stop or ban this forward trading, futures trading in these commodities, we were always told that that does not contribute to the rise in prices. Then what is the reality, Sir?

Here is from the Commodities Exchanges annual reports. The value of trade in agricultural commodities during the fortnight ending January 31 was Rs.52,313.63 crores. Compared to last year's, of the same period, it has gone up by 65 per cent. For the whole year from 1st April till 31st January, it was Rs.10,13,379.97 crores. For the comparable period of the last year if you see, it has gone up by a whopping 102.59 per cent! If the value in forward trading and futures trading goes up by a 102.59 per cent, what does it mean, Sir? There are profits there. How can forward trading give you profits except when the prices rise? There is no other way forward trading can give you profits. The prices have to rise. If the value of trading is going up so much, there is a natural pressure to make the prices go up; otherwise, they would not make the profits. If they do not make the profits, they would not invest in such big numbers.

What is the other evidence that you have that they are making profits? Here is the report that I am reading out to you. This is from the media, but based on the reports by Investment Advisors and the corporates engaged in commodity trading. It writes a very sarcastic comment, Sir. It says, 'Investors in food stocks are laughing their way to the bank.' I would not name the company because

I do not think it is correct to name, the last year, there is one company which made a net profit of Rs. 69 crores for the quarter ending September 30, compared to a loss of Rs.87 crores it made for the same period last year! What are the ranges of profits? Those involved in sugar have got a profit of 341.62 per cent! Sugar profit was of the level of 341 per cent in this one year. Then, what else does the Investor Advisors say, Sir? 'I am positive on sugar stocks. The best days are yet to come. There is a similar story in tea as output in major tea producing countries like Sri Lanka and Kenya is affected. It should not be a surprise if tea prices double from the current levels.' They are warning you, they are telling you that they have made all these profits, they made their killing, but it is the people who have to pay the price with an inflation rate of more than 20 per cent. So, in this background, Sir, hon. President's reference to say that this is inevitable is actually very, very tragically unfortunate. So, what needs to be done is ban the futures trading and forward trading in all essential commodities.

Secondly, Sir, we say that if the public distribution system can be improved, you can actually contain prices. It is not inevitable as the hon. President says. And, what is the state of your stocks, Sir? Your Economic Survey tells you that as of January, 2010, as against the buffer norm that you require, as against 200 lakh tonnes of buffer that you require, you have today 474.45 tonnes in your godowns.

This is your Economic Survey. What are you doing sitting with this stock, Sir? Why don't you release rice and wheat to the Public Distribution System so that prices can be controlled? Instead, on the other hand, you have reduced your allocation for APL category by huge amount of nearly 75 per cent. You have reduced by a huge amount your allocation for APL categories to the States when you have all those buffer stock lying with you. So, what is this Government doing, Sir? Why is it inevitable? Why is price rise inevitable? You release these stocks and on that basis let us see you control these prices. But then that is something that is not being done. What I say here is that the President talks of food security, in fact, last year the hon. President spoke of many things that the Government would initiate in the first 100 days. One of those initiatives was the Food Security Bill, we have not yet seen the shape of it, and the other one was reservation for women. You said within 100 days it would come. I remember the Leader of the Opposition and me both making the same mistake when we talked of instead of 100 days, we talked of 100 years. It was last year on the Bill for reservation for women. By mistake, inadvertently, both of us made the same mistake but somehow now it appears, hopefully, that would not happen because the Government assurance for this has come for March 8, on the International Women's Day. So, let us wait for that. But the food security, that promise was made last year, is repeated this year. Calculations have shown that if you give to all



families in our country 35 kg per month per household of foodgrain, the extra amount that would be required from the existing food subsidy which is of Rs.52,490 crores, in addition, you would require Rs.84,399 crores to eliminate hunger from our country. What is the concession you have given to the corporate sector last year in the form of tax forgone, it is Rs. 80,000 crores. Instead of doing that, if you had spent that for food security you would have eliminated hunger in India. So, it is not inevitable. People have to pay the price. It has become inevitable because of the policies that are being followed and it is these policies which are creating a situation in our country where there is plenty but that plenty is not being distributed and that is because of the priorities that this Government has. Therefore, I will only request them not to go back, harping back Pt. Nehru because many priorities that Pt. Nehru set, they are dismantling today, Sir.

The President of India talks about disinvestment. In Para 38 talks of disinvestment and the pretext is that it will give a higher monetization or a market value for your public sector enterprises. The Budget has estimated a disinvestment of Rs.40,000 crores plus. Now any economist worth the salt will tell you Sir, selling your assets to meet your expenditure makes neither economic sense nor common sense. This is something which defies logic. Okay, even accepting the plea of the Government, giving them the benefit of doubt, that we will use this money for social sector expenditures, even then they are saying that we are going to allow people to become partners of the public sector by selling shares so that its market value will increase. When are these shares going to be sold? They are going to be sold this year vide the Report of the Public Enterprises. The Annual Report of the Public Sector Enterprises, its Performance Review of 2008-09, tells you that 41 public sector companies listed in your stock exchange, every one of them lost their value in market cap over the last year. Every one of them! All 41 put together have lost a minus 27.41 per cent of their market cap last year, that is, when they are losing, when the shares are at a lower price, that is when you are going to sell the shares in the market. What is the meaning, Sir? You are selling your public sector for a song. You are selling your public sector for a song to allow private capital and foreign capital to gain from you. Don't sell our country's asset which is the property of the people of our country. Please remember, public sector is not the Government's property. The Governments come and Governments go, the Governments only are the managers. The public sector is the property of the Indian people and a manager cannot sell the property without the agreement of the people of our country who are the owners of the public sector.

And if any manager wants to sell the public sector without the consent of the owner, i.e. the people of India, then, the people of India will change the managers when the time comes. They will get better managers. So, don't sell your public sector for a song to the private sector and to foreign capital because that is not what Pandit Nehru said. So, don't go on invoking him and, then, demolish

whatever he tried to build. We have our criticism of how he tried to build. That is a separate issue. But, this is something I think, which is a great disservice that the President of India is doing. She should not go back to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to justify what they are planning to do now. But, Sir, since we talked about the future of India and after sixty years that we are talking of, what sort of India that our youth will inherit, please remember Sir, 54 per cent of Indians are below the age 25. Two-thirds of India is below the age of 40. We are one of the youngest nations in the world. What are they going to receive as a legacy is what we are determining today by our policies and what are they receiving? Today, it is a great pride and very justifiable pride amongst the Indian youth and Indian intellectuals saying that they are dominating the world's knowledge society. It is very true. Whether it is the IT industry, whether it is your software industry, yes, Indians dominate. Virtually in every field of science and advances, in every laboratory in the world you will find at least one Indian who will be one of the top people working. We are very proud of that. The whole of Europe is actually a little afraid saying that if this continues, then, India is producing annually more trained and educated people than the whole of the European Union put together. That is the reality. But, then, when is this happening? This is happening when only nine per cent of my youth which is eligible to go to higher education enter higher education. You increase this number to 25 per cent, Sir, then, you will see that India will legitimately, rightfully, be the leaders of both the knowledge society and intellectual development in the world. Are we capable of doing that? No. What is required is our priorities and where you will invest and that is where instead of giving these concessions you invest these resources in a proper direction and that is when we can build a better India which is possible. So, the result of these policies today, is neither are we gaining, neither are we able to reach and achieve our potential nor are we able to prevent the burdens on the people and it is this direction that is something that needs to be reversed, and, I hope in the course of this debate, if not in this debate, in the course of the discussions the Government will seriously reflect on some of these issues. There are some issues of concern.

Sir, yes, with regard to the foreign policy. We have always explained. The President of India has laid down through many paragraphs on the issue of our relations with other countries. Yes, India has a pride of place in the world. That needs to be maintained and our independent foreign policy cannot and should not be compromised and there we have our apprehensions in certain areas. Since some changes are not in the interest of our country, whether it is on the question of climate change, whether it is on the question of the Doha Round of talks that are taking place in the WTO and on all these issues, Sir, there is a certain shift, a direction that is changing, where I think, there is greater and greater emphasis in our strategic relationship with the United States of America. We want our country to have good relations with everybody, undoubtedly. But in para 64, the traditional foreign

policy that the President invokes and talks about, there is unfortunately not even a reference to the Non-Aligned Movement. There is not even a reference to the fact that the Group of 77 and India moving towards the IBSA and that triangle-India, Russia, China, how are we going to bring these two together into one BRICS that we are talking about, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa? If that is the thing that we are working out, unfortunately, that articulation is missing and that is why it makes us suspicious that there is greater emphasis on strategic relations with USA. I would like to go on record that that is something that is not acceptable to any one of us that India's foreign policy has to remain supremely independent in the interest of our country and not as a second fiddle of anybody else, particularly of the United States of America. Finally, Sir, since we talked of Robert Frost and Nehru, since we began and our President has also quoted from Nehru, of what he said in the midnight of 14th August, 1947, I would only like to say that just before Robert Frost died he philosophically summed up his experiences of life.

He said, "You ask me what life is, I will tell you in three words." He said, "It goes on." That is life. It goes on. But, how it goes on? What is the quality of life? That is the important thing we need to discuss. That is the important thing that we want to discuss. Mr. Venkaiah Naidu is not here. He has quoted from a Telugu poet. There is a very famous Telugu nationalist poet called Gurajada Appa Rao. He once said, 'A country does not mean its soil, its bricks or mortars; a country means its people.' It is the quality of life of people that is the most important aspect. If you measure it from that point or yardstick or the Talisman that Mahatma Gandhi had given us that in the final analysis to wipe every tear from every eye, I think, the President's Address does not, in any way, give us the confidence that India is moving in that direction.

Finally, Sir, I would only like to conclude by asking the hon. Prime Minister and the Government to seriously reflect upon some of these issues and it is possible to have a course correction and that course correction should be done in the interest of the people. So, let us not widen this hiatus between the shining and suffering India. But, let us together build a better India which is possible, which is completely achievable and I hope this course correction will be done. Therefore, we have moved some concrete amendments to the hon. President's Address and we will take them up when the time comes. Therefore, we have these reservations on the President's Address that she has delivered this time. Thank you.

**डा. अखिलेश दास गुप्ता** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, सर्वप्रथम मैं अपने और अपने दल की ओर से आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर मुझे अपने और अपने दल के विचार रखने का सुअवसर प्रदान किया। मान्यवर, यह कहते हुए मुझे बहुत कष्ट है, खेद है कि महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का

यह अभिभाषण कांग्रेस की यू.पी.ए. सरकार की दिशाहीनता और सभी मोर्चों पर उसकी विफलता की स्पष्ट कहानी कहता है। यू.पी.ए. सरकार का हाल अगर एक कविता में कहा जा सकता है:

"खेत-खेत में खड़े विजू के कपड़े पहने घास के,  
आदमकद बाहर से लेकिन भीतर से अजहद बौने।  
निर्भय चरे जा रहे फसलें हिरनों के नन्हें छौने,  
पात्र दया के निपट विजू के या फिर हैं उपहास के।  
भय के समय प्रतीक इरादों से बिल्कुल शाकाहारी,  
उतने ही असहाय कि जितनी अपने युग की बेकारी।  
चौतरफा के दृश्य अदेखे देख न पाते पास के,  
खेत-खेत में खड़े विजू के कपड़े पहने घास के।

श्रीमन्, इस अवसर पर मुझे एक कहानी याद आती है कि सूखे से निपटने के लिए एक गांव में बहुत सारे लोगों ने एक सामूहिक प्रार्थना की। बहुत अरसे से सूखा पड़ा हुआ था इस कारण वहां लोग इकट्ठे हुए। प्रार्थना सभा के बाद लोगों ने देखा कि एक छोटा सा बच्चा हाथ में छतरी लिए हुए खड़ा है। तो लोगों ने कहा कि हम लोग यहां सूखे की वजह से इकट्ठे हुए हैं और बेटा, तुम यहां छतरी लेकर क्यों आए हो? तो बच्चे ने जवाब दिया मुझे विश्वास था कि हम सब जब प्रार्थना करेंगे तो पानी जरूर बरसेगा और लौटते में छाते की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। मान्यवर, इस कहानी में बड़ा मर्म है। विश्वास का अनुपम उदाहरण है यह कहानी। कौन है यह छोटा बच्चा? यह समाज का वह उपेक्षित और शोषित वर्ग है, गरीब है, दलित है और पिछड़ा है, जो प्रत्येक वर्ष विश्वास का छाता लेकर आता है कि इस बार बादल अवश्य बरसेगा। बरसते बादल भी हैं, लेकिन सिर्फ कुछ वर्गों तक बरस कर रह जाते हैं और कुछ विशेष दिशाओं में बरस कर चले जाते हैं।

श्रीमन्, मुझे अफसोस है कि इस अभिभाषण का जो सार लगता है कि आम आदमी का मतलब सिर्फ अल्फांसो आम खाने वाले सिर्फ आम आदमी तक ही सीमित रह गया है। मान्यवर, इस पूरे अभिभाषण से उस उपेक्षित और शोषित वर्ग का विश्वास एक बार फिर से टूटा है। आज इस अभिभाषण से उत्तर प्रदेश के लोगों को बहुत ही उम्मीदें थीं और ये उम्मीदें इसलिए भी थीं कि समय-समय पर उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर वहां के कांग्रेस पार्टी के और बहुत सारे वरिष्ठ नेता गए तथा बहुत वर्चस्व वाले नेता गए। इन लोगों ने बहुत तरह-तरह के भाषण उत्तर प्रदेश में दिए और कहा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में तरह-तरह का विकास होगा - योजनाएं आएंगी, परियोजनाएं आएंगी, नए-नए कारखाने लगाए जाएंगे। लेकिन अफसोस की बात है, सांसदों की संख्या भी बढ़ी, 22 लोगों की संख्या हो गई, इनसे उत्तर प्रदेश की जनता को बहुत उम्मीदें थीं, पर इस अभिभाषण में या तो उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए कोई जिक्र नहीं है और न ही किसी बड़े कारखाने या किसी बड़ी योजना का जिक्र है। अगर है भी तो केवल दो जिलों तक सीमित होकर रह गया है। हमें खुशी होगी कि उन दो जिलों में बहुत कुछ दिया जाए, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है कि जब आप 22 तक पहुंच गए तो कम से कम 22 सांसदों के यहां ही कुछ दे दीजिए।

उत्तर प्रदेश के लोग दुआएं देंगे और कहेंगे कि आपने कुछ करके दिखाया है। हमारी आदरणीय मुख्य मंत्री जी ने, जो देश की एक ऐसी सजग महिला हैं, जो अपने दम पर उत्तर प्रदेश में एक सक्षम सरकार दे रही हैं, उन्होंने बिना केन्द्र की मदद के उत्तर प्रदेश को अपने पैर पर खड़ा करने का प्रयास किया है। उन्होंने 80 हजार करोड़ की

...(व्यवधान)... उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश के विकास के लिए केन्द्र सरकार से 80 हजार करोड़ रुपये की मांग की, इसके लिए समय-समय पर प्रयास किया, लेकिन आपने उस ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया। बुंदेलखंड को लेकर बहुत राजनीति की गई, बहुत से वरिष्ठ नेता वहां पर पहुंचे, वहां पर वर्चस्व वाले नेता भी पहुंचे, कांग्रेस के प्रभावशाली नेता गए, बुंदेलखंड के नाम पर राजनीति की गई, बुंदेलखंड विकास प्राधिकरण भी बनाने की कोशिश की गई और केन्द्र के एक वरिष्ठ अधिकारी को उसका अध्यक्ष भी बनाने का प्रयास किया गया। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की स्वायत्तता को नकारने की कोशिश की गई। आज बुंदेलखंड दो बूंद पानी के लिए तरस रहा है। यह वह बुंदेलखंड है, जहां पर 1857 में लड़ाई लड़ी गई थी, जो कि आप सबको याद होगी। बुंदेलखंड के लोगों के लिए, महारानी लक्ष्मीबाई के लिए लिखा गया है, "बुंदेले हरबोलों के मुंह हमने सुनी कहानी थी, खूब लड़ी मर्दानी वह तो झांसी वाली रानी थी।" आज बुंदेलखंड के लोग वहां से पलायन कर रहे हैं। वे झांसी की रानी की बात नहीं कर रहे हैं, वे लोग दो बूंद पानी की बात कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि उनको दो बूंद पानी नसीब नहीं हो रहा है। केन्द्र सरकार का ध्यान बुंदेलखंड की ओर नहीं जा रहा है।

उपसभापति महोदय, यहां पर गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा और सरकार के जिम्मेदार लोगों ने कहा कि आप तेलंगाना प्रदेश बनाने जा रहे हैं। यह बहुत खुशी की बात है। उत्तर प्रदेश की ओर भी आपने इंगित किया कि उत्तर प्रदेश का विकास तब तक नहीं होगा, जब तक कि उसके छोटे-छोटे प्रदेश न बनाए जाएं। मैं अपनी नेता मुख्य मंत्री मायावती जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूं, उत्तर प्रदेश में हमारी सरकार है और वह एक स्थिर सरकार है, पूरे उत्तर प्रदेश में हमारी सरकार का शासन है, लेकिन उन्होंने इस बात की परवाह किए बिना कि चाहे उनकी सरकार चली जाए, उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश को चार हिस्सों में विभाजित करने का प्रस्ताव आपके पास भेजा। उन्होंने माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को चिट्ठी लिखी और सार्वजनिक रूप से कहा कि आप उत्तर प्रदेश के छोटे राज्य बनाइए, हम उत्तर प्रदेश के चार हिस्से करने के लिए तैयार हैं। आप हर बात को सिर्फ नारा देना जानते हैं, आप काम में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। हमें आपसे यही शिकायत है।

उपसभापति महोदय, अभी हरिद्वार में इस सदी का सबसे बड़ा कुम्भ का मेला चल रहा है। हरिद्वार टेक्नीकली उत्तराखंड में आता है, लेकिन वहां के सारे पहुंच मार्ग उत्तर प्रदेश से ही होकर जाते हैं। अगर आप में से किसी को हरिद्वार जाना पड़े, तो आपको उत्तर प्रदेश होकर ही जाना पड़ेगा। ...(व्यवधान)... मैडम, हिमाचल से बहुत लम्बा रास्ता पड़ेगा और बहुत पेट्रोल का खर्चा होगा। सरकार ने पेट्रोल और डीजल के इतने दाम बढ़ा दिए हैं कि आप उधर से नहीं जा पायेंगी।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि छह माह पहले उत्तर प्रदेश के PWD विभाग और केन्द्र सरकार के बीच में एक सहमति बनी थी कि सेंट्रल रोड फंड से पैसा दिया जाएगा। कुम्भ के मेले में देशभर के लाखों-करोड़ों लोग जाते हैं, लेकिन आज छह महीने हो गए हैं और केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ से उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को एक भी पैसा नहीं दिया गया है।

उपसभापति महोदय, बिजली के मामले में न तो उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की आबादी का ख्याल रखा गया है और नहीं क्षेत्रफल का ख्याल रखा गया है। यहां के लिए जो बिजली आबंटित की गई, उसमें लगातार कटौती की जा रही है। थोड़ी-सी भी अधिक बिजली लेने पर अर्थ दंड लगा दिया जाता है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में किसी भी बिजली परियोजना के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। इतना ही नहीं, अभिभाषण में राजीव गांधी ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण

परियोजना का जमकर बयान किया गया है, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर हमारी सरकार ने अल्ट्रा मेगा पावर हाऊस लगाने की मांग की थी, जिस पर केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की गई है। यह प्रदेश के साथ भेदभाव नहीं है, तो और क्या है?

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं नक्सलवाद की समस्या, जो पूरे देश की समस्या है, उसकी तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश के झारखंड से लगे हुए इलाके में, झारखंड और मध्य प्रदेश के नक्सलवादियों से निपटने के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने कई बार मदद के लिए केन्द्र सरकार से अनुरोध किया है। हमारी बहन, हमारी नेता पूरी ताकत से नक्सलवाद की समस्या से निपटने का काम कर रही हैं, वे आतंकवाद से जूझ रही हैं और कई बार राज्य सरकार ने इस संबंध में केन्द्र सरकार को प्रस्ताव भेजा है। केन्द्र सरकार इस नक्सलवाद, आतंकवाद से लड़ने में हमारी मदद करे, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इसका कहीं कोई प्रस्ताव नहीं दिया गया है। मान्यवर, हम सभी जानते हैं कि भारत और नेपाल में नदियों को लेकर कई अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समझौते हुए हैं। यह बहुत खुशी की बात है। नेपाल ऊंचाई पर बसा हुआ है और उसका पानी पूर्वांचल की तरफ बहकर आता है। वहां पर घाघरा नदी ऐसी नदी है, जो कई बार समुद्र का विकराल रूप ले लेती है। हर साल हजारों, लाखों एकड़ जमीन बर्बाद हो जाती है, किसान बर्बाद हो जाते हैं, लोग बर्बाद हो जाते हैं, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में उसका कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं है। भारत-नेपाल हजारों किलोमीटर सीमा की रक्षा उत्तर प्रदेश पुलिस कर रही है। यह अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा है, इसकी रक्षा करने का केन्द्र सरकार का दायित्व है। यह सब जानते हैं कि चीन नेपाल का करीबी है और पड़ोसी देशीय गतिविधियां नेपाल से होने के बाद प्रदेश सरकार बार-बार नोट करने के बाद भी केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ से कोई मदद नहीं है। मैं अपनी महान नेता बहिन मायावती जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, जो दृढ़ संकल्प तरीके से इस आतंकवाद से निपट रही है, लड़ रही है, जूझ रही है। उन्होंने यह फैसला किया है कि हम इस आतंकवाद के लिए किसी के आगे झुकने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

श्रीमन्, आज महंगाई के बारे में बहुत चर्चा हुई है। सारा देश महंगाई से परेशान है, खास तौर से गरीब, दलित, उपेक्षित, शोषित वर्ग परेशान है। जिस तरह से महंगाई है और जिस तरह से केन्द्र सरकार के मंत्रियों ने जान-बूझकर बयानबाजी की है, उससे यह महंगाई और अधिक बढ़ी है। आपने नरेगा को लेकर अपनी बहुत तारीफ की है। आपने कहा कि नरेगा बहुत अच्छी स्कीम है। आपकी बहुत पीठ थपथपाई जाती है। मैं आपको नरेगा के बारे में जानकारी देना चाहता हूँ कि नरेगा में 59 परसेंट उन गरीब, दलित, पिछड़े लोगों को आप मजबूर करते हैं कि वे दस-दस घंटे चिलचिलाती धूप में जमीन खोदते रहें। आप चाहते हैं कि वे जिंदगी भर जमीन खोदते रहें और तब उनको एक जून की रोटी मिले। आप यह चाहते हैं। आपने यह कोशिश नहीं की कि गरीबों का उत्थान करें। जहां तक समाज के वंचित वर्गों को तेजी से विकसित और सफलता दिलाने की बात है, इसकी सफलता की कहानी सिर्फ इतनी है कि आप चाहते हैं कि अमीर और अमीर हो जाए और गरीब और गरीब हो जाए। इसके विपरीत हमारी राज्य सरकार ने, बहिन मायावती ने उनको सम्मान देने के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश मुख्य मंत्री महामाया ने गरीब आर्थिक योजना संचालित करके वंचित लोगों को तीन सौ रुपए प्रति माह आर्थिक मदद देने की कोशिश की है। एक सम्मान देने का प्रयास किया है। यह सम्मान उन गरीबों के, वंचितों को, दलितों को, पिछड़ों को, अपेक्षितों को, जिसके लिए संविधान में बाबा साहेब भीमराव अंबेडकर जी ने कहा था। मुझे दुष्खंत जी की कविता याद आती है, "सामान नहीं है, फटेहाल है, सामान कुछ नहीं है, फटेहाल हैं, मगर लोगों में उनके पास एक संविधान है, उस सिरफिरे को अब नहीं

बहला सकेंगे आप, वह आदमी गरीब है, पर सावधान है। यह सावधान उसको डॉ. भीमराव अंबेडकर जी ने किया है, संविधान के रचियता बाबा साहेब ने किया है। आज उस कदम को बहिन मायावती आगे बढ़ा रही हैं। वे सिर्फ उत्तर प्रदेश ही नहीं, बल्कि देश के कोने-कोने में अलख जगा रही हैं, गरीबों को, अपेक्षितों को आगे बढ़ा रही हैं, उनका हक दिला रही हैं, उनको बता रही हैं कि यह तुम्हारा ही देश है और इस देश पर वास्तविक हक तुम्हारा है।  
...(व्यवधान)... क्या उत्तर प्रदेश हिंदुस्तान का भाग नहीं है?

**श्री राम नारायण साहू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** ये कह रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

**डा. अखिलेश दास गुप्ता :** अब राम गोपाल जी भी बोलेंगे क्यों ऐसा बोलते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... महिला आरक्षण में ...(व्यवधान)... 8 तारीख को महिला आरक्षण के संबंध में बहुत गंभीर फैसला लेने के लिए बिल प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है। कैबिनेट से अप्रूव्ड है। हम महिला आरक्षण बिल का स्वागत करते हैं, महिलाओं को उनका हक मिलना चाहिए, लेकिन उसमें क्या प्रावधान है? शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब, ओ.बी.सी. की महिलाओं के लिए आपने क्या प्रावधान किया है? इनके लिए उसके अंदर अलग से प्रावधान होना चाहिए। यह हमारा आपसे अनुरोध है। माइनोरिटीज के बारे में ...(व्यवधान)...

**डा. (श्रीमती) नजमा ए. हेपतुल्ला (राजस्थान) :** महिलाओं को भी लड़वाओ।

**डा. अखिलेश दास गुप्ता :** मैडम, हम लड़वाने की बात कहां कर रहे हैं, हम तो जोड़ने की बात कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... मान्यवर, महामहिम के अभिभाषण में अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति और परंपरागत वन निवासी एवं अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय का उल्लेख है। पंचायतों एवं शहरी स्थानीय निकायों में महिलाओं को 50 प्रतिशत आरक्षण देने की भी बात कही गई है। हम इसका स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन आरक्षण के बारे में अभिभाषण बिल्कुल मौन है। ऐसा इसलिए है, क्योंकि केन्द्र सरकार एक सुनियोजित तरीके से सरकारी सेवाओं में आरक्षण को समाप्त कर देना चाहती है। सरकार ने ऐसा प्रावधान किया है कि यदि कोई पद एक वर्ष तक नहीं भरा जाता है, तो वह अपने आप समाप्त माना जाएगा। सरकार खाली पदों को नियत अवधि में जान-बूझकर नहीं भरेगी और वे समाप्त हो जाएंगे। ऐसे ही पूरे साल में होने वाली रिक्तियों में से 10 प्रतिशत पद को surrender करना आवश्यक है। जब सरकार में भर्ती नहीं होगी और पद समाप्त होते चले जाएंगे, तो आरक्षण का क्या होगा! आरक्षित पद तो यही कह कर नहीं भरे जाते कि कोई उपयुक्त candidate नहीं मिल रहा है। नीयत साफ हो, तो सब मिल जाएंगे। लेकिन यह एक प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह है। वास्तव में सरकार की आरक्षण नीति डांवाडोल है। थोड़े समय पहले कार्मिक विभाग द्वारा de-reservation process शुरू किया गया था, दो-चार साल आरक्षित पदों को मत भरो और उसके बाद उसे सामान्य श्रेणी में बदल डालो। यह दलित वर्ग के साथ, उपेक्षित वर्ग के साथ घोर अन्याय है। मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि सारे पद भरे जाएं, आरक्षित पदों के backlog को वरीयता के आधार पर भरा जाए और de-reservation के कार्य को तुरंत बन्द किया जाए तथा आरक्षण को निजी क्षेत्र में तुरंत लागू किया जाए।

मान्यवर, वृंदा जी ने भी एक प्रश्न उठाया था कि समाज के सबसे कमजोर वर्ग यानी रिक्शाचालक, फेरी वाले, कबाड़ी, खोमचे लगाने वाले, साइकिल व अन्य वाहनों के मिस्त्री तथा दिहाड़ी मजदूरों का कहीं कोई उल्लेख इस अभिभाषण में नहीं है। आज देश भर में रोजगार की अत्यंत कमी है, जिसे विश्व की आर्थिक मंदी ने और विकराल बना दिया है। अभिभाषण में इसका कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, अन्त में कुल मिलाकर मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ और मैं सरकार से आपके माध्यम से अनुरोध करूँगा कि हमें सरकार से बहुत उम्मीद थी, लेकिन फिर भी जब जागो, सवेरा है, आप कोशिश करिए, आपने उत्तर प्रदेश की बहुत उपेक्षा की। यह अभिभाषण कुल मिलाकर-

यह रोशनी है हकीकत में एक छल लोगों,  
कि जैसे जल में झलकता हुआ महल लोगों,  
दरख्त हैं, तो परिन्दे नजर नहीं आते,  
जो हकजदा हैं, वही हक से बेदखल लोगों।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्रीमती वृंदा कारत :** एक विशेष शेर सुनाइए।

**डा. अखिलेश दास गुप्ता :** एक विशेष शेर सुन लीजिए। यह सरकार के लिए है, जो रामधारी सिंह दिनकर जी ने कहा है।

तो होश करो दिल्ली के देवों होश करो,  
- राजीव जी, सबको सुना दीजिएगा।  
तो होश करो दिल्ली के देवों होश करो,  
सब दिन तो यह मोहनी न चलने वाली है,  
लू लपट दिशाएं फेंक रही हैं लाल-लाल,  
फिर धरती कोई आग उगलने वाली है।

मान्यवर, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ और पुनः आपके माध्यम से इनसे अनुरोध करता हूँ कि शायद इनको सद्बुद्धि आए। आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the hon. Minister has to make a statement on the Prime Minister's visit to Saudi Arabia.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA Sir, he can lay it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay; if you want, you can lay it.

#### STATEMENT BY MINISTER

##### Prime Minister's visit to Saudi Arabia

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI S.M. KRISHNA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with your permission, Sir, I lay the statement on the Table of the House.

"I rise to inform this august House about the historic visit of the hon. Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from February 27 to March 1, 2010 at the invitation of His Majesty King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud.

The Prime Minister's visit to Saudi Arabia took place 28 years after the last visit by an Indian Prime Minister, that of late Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1982. Prime Minister was accompanied by a high-powered delegation consisting of Ministers of Health and Family Welfare, Petroleum and Natural Gas, Commerce and Industry and the Minister of State for External Affairs apart from senior officials.