

(Interruptions) Please do not show it. (Interruptions) It has to be examined. (Interruption) Please do not show it. (Interruptions)

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, it is gross violation. (Interruptions) It is gross interference in our affairs. (Interruptions) The Government should respond on this issue. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Minister, are you responding on this?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJIV SHUKLA): Sir, you should only believe what the External Affairs Minister has said on the floor of the House. You should go by that....(Interruptions) Why are you quoting media reports?... (Interruption) There will be hundred media reports....(Interruptions) You should not believe the media reports....(Interruptions)

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: That is not the issue. There is an interview...(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV SHUKLA: When the external Affairs Minister has said something on the floor of the House, you should go by that....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Siva, you have raised it. It has to be examined because it is an issue between the two countries....(Interruptions) It is a Sensitive issue. Okay, you have raised it.

Now, Shri M.Venkaiah Naidu.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, yesterday, I just started the discussion on the President's address. The Address of the hon. President ignores the most vital question the country is asking. Do we have a Government? Who is governing us? The essence of the Government, particularly, Sir, in the age of coalition politics is leadership, decisiveness, credibility and trust between allies. The development of the last few days has shown that this Government has failed on all these counts. One Minister in this Government from Uttarakhand has submitted his resignation; his whereabouts are not known; he has not come to the House also.

Sir, yesterday, another Minister, after presenting the Railway Budget, is reported to have resigned. We do not know about it. Just now, the parliamentary Affairs Minister is saying that the Prime Minister has not received any resignation. The entire country is agog with the news that the Minister has resigned after presenting the budget. It is because the congress party wanted to implement its agenda by enticing its allies. It has broken the dharma of the coalition by enticing a member of the ally, and now, the crisis has been created. Sir, it is not known whether the Railway Budget, which is the property of the

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House, is continuing in its original form or whether it is becoming a subject matter of some intrigues of political negotiations.

Sir, the other day, the members of another ally from Tamil Nadu went to the Well of the House. They were greatly agitated; naturally so on an important issue. This all shows that the foundations of this Government are being shaken brick by brick. There is no governance. It is a theatre of the absurd because this Government and this Prime Minister do not know how to run a coalition.

Sir, we have run a coalition Government of 23 political parties. For five years, there was a stable Government under an able leader. But what is happening now? Sir, the President's Address is like a lacklustre speech. It is like a grocery shop list, listing out what has been said earlier, and also even on earlier occasions. There is nothing new in this. There is no vision in the President's Address.

Sir, I would like to tell the Government that it is losing the confidence of the nation, certainly of the Opposition, and, of course, of your allies also. Why? It is because the leadership has two power centres. Take the recent example of a Cabinet Minister who declared in the midst of campaign in Uttar Pradesh that the youth leader is more suitable to become the Prime Minister of India; and if he wants, he can be made the Prime Minister of India in the midnight itself. It is degrading the Prime Minister under whom you are working as a Cabinet Minister. This never happened. There is a Prime Minister, and his Minister says the 'x' is more suitable than the present Prime Minister; if he wishes, he can become the Prime Minister in the midnight.

Sir, your ability to govern the country is questioned by the Congressmen, not by the Opposition. Sir, the talk of even mid-term poll has not emanated from the Opposition benches. It has come from your own allies. There is a stability of graveyard now practically because the Government is saying that they are stable; they have the numbers. They have the numbers but they do not have the Members with them. One day it is the TMC which goes to the well, one day it is DMK which goes to well, one day it is RJD which goes to well and gets the House adjourned also. This is happening continuously. Sir, if it is on an isolated incident or some emotional incident, one can understand. But practically it is happening regularly. We have seen also last time that even the Rajya Sabha had to be adjourned because a member of the RJD had gone to the well of the House and created problems. The RJD is an ally of the Government, DMK is an ally of the Government, TMC is an ally of the Government. Sir, it is not opposition which is obstructing the functioning of the House or creating problems for the Government but it is your own allies. That means you are not following coalition dharma, which means you are not having free and frank discussions on issues

and challenges faced by the nation and you are not able to evolve consensus among your allies before taking major decisions. That is why things are happening like this. Sir, that being the case, what is the guarantee that you will be able to implement the promises you have made in the Presidential Address. Sir, there is no vision in the presidential address, there is no road map; it is only end of the road. That is very clear and visible also. Sir, the joke of the decade is para No.4 of the Presidential Address which says, "My Government has remained committed to providing an honest and more efficient Government and has taken several further important steps towards that end." Sir, I am underlining the words 'honest and more efficient Government'. Sir, how many scams have happened in this Government, during the regime of this Government? Never before in the history of the country since independence this many scams have happened. This is not an allegation made by opposition. Sir, in the CAG, even in the courts, even in the media, everywhere these are being talked about and the entire world now is eagerly looking to India what is this which they are going to do with regard to these major scams. Sir, take the 2g telecom spectrum scam. Your Minister may go on roaming and taunting saying that there is zero loss. But the highest authorities have confirmed it. Rs.1,76,000 crores scam and what you are talking is honesty. Coal scam, coal allocation scam, Rs.85,000 crore, Commonwealth Games scam, Rs.70,000 crores, aircraft purchase scam, Rs.64,000 crores, rotten foodgrains, Rs.58,000 crores, Hasan Ali money laundering scam, Rs.54,000 crores, KG Basin ghotala, Rs.30,000 crores, S-Band Devas Scam, Rs.10,000 crores, Defence land scam of Adarsh, Rs.10,000 crores, LIC Housing loan scam, Rs. 10,000 crores...(Interruptions) They are all in public domain....(Interruptions) That is why you are blind to the reality. You are blind to the reality....(Interruptions) That is what is happening. Your Minister said the other day that there is zero loss even on 2G also. Finally, what has happened? He has to eat his work. The same thing will happen to you also. Try to understand this. Then the other day my friend, Shri Chaturvedi, said that ha has a graphic showing comparison between the NDA and the UPA about scams....(Interruptions) Your graphics are right because in the UPA all these things have gone up, all these scama and scandals have gone up. This graphic has gone up in UPA regime. Sir, as regards the black money issue, the Prime Minister promised a roadmap within 100days of coming to power. In 2009 you came to power second time. So far you have not done anything. In the past three years, the Government has stonewalled every demand by the opposition-come out with official estimates of Indian black money abroad, no answer, disclose the name of the account-holders, no answer, take effective steps to bring wealth back, so far no action. Sir, none other than the CBI Director while addressing a conference said Indians have stashed over 500 billion in the US Banks. Rs. 500 billion in the US Banks, this is what the CBI is saying. Then what is it that you are doing? What are the steps you have taken? This many numbers

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of years have passed. Even after Convention against Corruption, even after the resolution adopted, what is it that the Government has done? What is the roadmap you have laid for bringing back the black money? No action on that count also! Sir the Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)* They are trying to differentiate between the Prime Minister and the PMO. Can there be a PMO without Prime Minister? In the case of 2G with regard to granting prosecution sanction to Dr. Subramanian Swamy, it has been said the officials of the PMO do not sensitize the PMO about the urgency of the matter. Then, what sort of PMO it is ? If they are not able to sensitize the Prime Minister in time about an important issue, what sort of PMO IT IS ? The PMO was found fault on umpteen occasions. The Prime Minister is presiding over the PMO. That means, he is directly responsible to this. But for the effective intervention of the Judiciary, constant insistence by the Opposition and aggressive campaign by the media, Sir, the 2G scam would not have seen the light of the day. The CBI enquiry into the scam was instituted in 2009, but till 2010, the Prime Minister was openly backing the Minister who has, subsequently, to go tihar jail. The Prime Minister was always baching that Minister. Why it had happened? Is the Government sensitive to all these scams? Have you taken any steps? The people have gone to jail, be it the Minister of Communications, be it the chairman of the CWG, not because of the Government, it is not because of the Prime Minister or it is not because of the PMO's initiative, it is because of courts, it is because of monitoring of cases by courts. It is only then they have gone to jail. As far as the Government is concerned, you have not taken any action to get any person arrested in these issues. So, what is the question of your talking steps and providing honest administration!

Sir, I come to adarash scam. Yesterday, High court, on adarash scam, asked why you are not taking action against prominent persons. In each and every case, it is courts, courts and courts who have acted. The Government is not moving an inch; the political leadership is not doing anything. Sir, the President's Address speaks about bringing a new bill to fight corruption. What is required is not a new bill, what is required is a political will which is lacking in the Government. It is not there. You are trying your best to shield the culprits till the last moments otherwise, how could the Communications Minister say there is zero loss in the 2G scam when the entire country is talking about it? The court is monitoring and even the CAG has come out with his Report. You are trying to shield and cover up. You have not done anything. Now, you are just saying that, you would come out with another Bill. What is there? There are enough Bills. What is lacking is political will.

Sir, in the President's Address, there is not mention about the Sri Lankan Tamils 'plight'. It was only yesterday after the opposition and also some of the

ruling party member gave a notice, the hon. Minister of External Affairs made a statement. But, what about the living conditions of Sri Lankan Tamils. Are we not concerned/Being a neighbor, we have special relationship with Sri Lankan and even with Sri Lankan Tamils also. There is no mention about it in the President's Address. How this Government is functioning – One step forward, three steps backward and the situation is awkward? I will give you a number of examples. It is not that I am making a political comment and criticising the Government. I will tell you. Petroleum prices were hiked in November last. Due to pressure from your ally, you have taken them back. The FDI in retail was announced in December and taken it back from implementation because of pressure from your ally. Sir, Teesta Water Accord was planned, discussed with Bangladesh and decided to sign, but, finally, it was given up. You know what the reason is. We know how you dealt with Lokpal. It was discussed and voted in Lok Sabha. Then, it came to Rajya Sabha. We discussed here and all Members had their say. But, at the end of the day, the Minister was answering and abruptly you ran away from the debate! That is why I said one step forward and three steps backward.

Sir, with regard to Anna Hazare Movement, you first praised him. The Government initially said that he is honest, to the core, from head to toe. ut, subsequently, they said he is dishonest from head to toe. What is this? If he is palatable to you, he is a great man. Otherwise *ultra* .

Even with regard to Baba Ramdev, the Government had sent four Cabinet Ministers under the leadership of Pranab Babu to go to airport, to receive him and rollout the red carpet. First you say, Baba Ramdev is a god and the next day you say he is fraud. What is this/Within 24 hours you change your stand!

AN HON. MEMBER: Thank God.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: May God bless you. Sir, you rollout red carpet, you praise him, Pranab Babu, number two in the command, goes to airport – I don't know what is the protocol – to receive him and suddenly when he is not palatable to you, next day you call him fraud and make all sorts of allegations. Your Congress General Secretary speaks whatever comes to his mind...sometimes with out mind also. That is what is happening. Then, you attack the demonstrators; there is midnight coup, police go there and beat mercilessly the women, senior people, youngsters and children, as if there is no right to protest in a democracy. They were not doing anything against the law. They were simply lying there. But, at midnight, you go and attack them. What is this?

On homosexuality, the Additional Solicitor General submits something in the supreme court. But, within hours, the Home Ministry issues a statement, completely differing with what had been submitted in the supreme court.

With regard to the NCTC, you had given a date of March 2nd, but, then, because of protests you have postponed its implementation. Acting in haste and

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repenting in leisure has become your habit. who had asked you to do it in such a hurry? In a federal setup, is it not your duty to consult the states and take their views on an important legislation like this? But you don't do it and you suddenly announce it and, then, withdraw it or keep it pending. First you make an announcement and, then, you hold discussions. पहले शादी, बाद में मुहूर्त देखना और ग्रह कैसा है, ठीक है या नहीं है, इसके बारे में चर्चा करना, क्या यह कोई तरीका है? यह सरकार ऐसा क्यों कर रही है, हमें समझ में नहीं आ रहा है? Home Minister is supposed to be very intelligent. He just avoids the states and issues the orders. Even the Standing Committee had made a unanimous recommendation to the Home Ministry to keep it in abeyance till it is discussed with the states and a consensus is evolved. But the Home Minister says that there is nothing wrong in the NCTC. If there is nothing wrong, then, what is that you are discussing? Then, ten Chief Ministers have protested on this issue. This has never happened in the history of the country that 10-12 Chief Ministers have come out openly to state their stand on an issue.

Similarly, take the ban on cotton export. My friend, Shri Anand Sharma, is sitting here. On 5th March, you impose ban on cotton export; on 12th March, you lift that ban. What is this *tamasha*? Whom do you want to benefit? At whose behest did you do it/ Sir, when i use words, Icarefully chose them to use – one step forward three steps backward. You impose a ban on 5th March; on 12th March, you lift that ban. What had happened in between? Why this tamasha is happening? And, same thing is going to happen in the Railway Budget also. It is because, in this Government, what left hand is doing, the right hand is not aware. The right hand proposes, the left hand opposes and the mind disposes. दाएं हाथ से propose करते हैं, बाएं हाथ से oppose करते हैं, दिमाग खराब करते हैं। That is why all this is happening. All this is happening because there is no unity, there is no clarity in this Government. There is no meeting of minds in this Government. Two Cabinet Ministers went on hammer and tongs against the Election Commission. Later, they backtracked and apologized to the Election Commission. You circulated a Cabinet Note and the GoM discusses to curb the powers of the Election Commission. Subsequently, on public reaction, you backtrack and keep it in cold-storage.

Sir, the Government is not functioning effectively. The Government is not functioning democratically. The Government is not following its coalition *dharma*. Otherwise, all these things would not have happened at all, whether it is ban on cotton export or it is FDI or it is NCTC or it is Teesta Water Accord. I have not chosen these examples or picked these examples just to criticize the Government. These are the realities. What will happen to the image of the Government? You brought forward the issue of FDI and said that it was good for the country. If

it was good for the country why did you keep that in cold storage? If the NCTC is good for the country, why did you keep that in cold-storage? If the ban on cotton exports was good for the country, then, why did you lift the ban? What is happening? Is it the way the Government should function? We want straight answer from this Government. This Government has no answer; it is clueless. As i told you, because it has no clarity, it has no unity.

Sir, another important aspect in this President's Address is assault on the federal structure. The biggest crime committed by the UPA Government is an assault on the federal structure of the Constitution and the federal system of the country. Sir, the federal principle is not a luxury. It is a constitutional mandate and is held to be a basic structure of the Constitution. It is not at the mercy of anybody. Sir, in fact, you are doing everything to compromise with it. There is an increasing tendency to centralize powers rather than decentralizing them. We are in an era of decentralization. But you are trying to centralize everything, be it taking over the functions of the state by imposing extra-legal measures or transferring the states' functions to the con current List or misusing the constitutional powers to withhold Bills passed by the States Assemblies. Take the case of Gujarat. GUJCOC Bill has been waiting for four years to be approved by the Central Government. Terrorist activities are on the rise. You are saying that there is a need for NCTC, Anti-terror Mechanism. Gujarat is a state which is having border with Pakistan, our unfriendly neighbour, but you don't allow that state to go for a firm legislation. Why are you keeping the GUJCOC Bill pending for four years/ It is because you don't believe in a federal system. You want to weaken the federal system.

Sir, with regard to NCTC's overriding powers against the federal structure, I would say that it is a step towards autocracy and further encroaching upon the law and order powers of the State Government. Let the Prime Minister call a meeting, discuss it with the Chief Minister and, then, arrive at a consensus. But what is it that you have done? You have just called a DGP's meeting. What can the poor DGP's do? Sir, just see the way they have treated the DGPs. With your permission, I am giving this newspaper to you. It is The Indian Express. The caption is: Don't be CM's Stenographers'. ...(Interruptions)...The Home Secretary tells the DGPs, 'Don't be CMs' Stenographers'. It is height of arrogance. Does it mean to say that the Home Secretary is a Stenographer of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister? Is this the way you should take it? Can you take the Centre and State relations so lightly? What is this? Prime Minister is an elected person. He should be respected by one and all. He has been given authority. The same is the case with the Chief Minister, and the Chief Secretaries are supposed to follow the decisions of the State Government and the Chief Minsiter. And you just give a lecture here saying them, 'Don't be Stenographers.' What is this non-

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sense? It is atrocious, I should say. It is an atrocious comment by a responsible person. It is because of the mindset. It is not the fault of the Home Secretary or some other officer. It is the mindset of this Government. 'We care a hoot for federal structure', that seems to be the mood of this Government.

Then I come to Railway Protection Force (RPF) Act – another recent attempt to undermine the Police functions of the State. Then The Public Services (Protection and Regulation) Bill, 2010 is a prime illustration of how the Centre plans to further interfere in the state matters.

Then I come to appointment of Lokayuktas. You have seen the example of Gujarat Lokayukta. The Gujarat Governor appoints the Lokayukta without consulting the Chief Minister. If that is the case, Sir, then, tomorrow, the Central Government with the help of its agent Governors in different States can have their nominees as Lokayuktas in respective States, and if these Lokayuktas find fault with the Chief Ministers, then all non-Congress Governments should go. Is it the spirit of the Constitution? Is it the spirit of the federal structure? The Centre wants to be a silent spectator or a promoter of this sort of behaviour by Governor. What is this? There is an elected Chief Minister. He has the mandate of the people. The Governor should consult him. Without that, you cannot do it. But they have done it. This Government is just a silent spectator to that because this Government is also a party to that. The Centre also is a party to this. Otherwise, the appointment of Lokayukta is a classic example of how the Governors' institutions are being misused in this country. Sir, take the case of Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence Bill, 2010. This is another instance of assault on the secular fabric of the country. The NAC group of persons who have drafted this Bill has its own agenda to take the powers of the State Governments. Sir, Section 20 of the proposed Bill is a direct assault on the autonomy of the State. This Section is against the very spirit of the Constitution and against the recommendations of various Commissions, including the Sarkaria Commission which had sought greater autonomy for the States. It is totally against the recommendation of this Commission. And then, they want to bring such Bills before the Parliament! It is a draconian law. This Bill is another blatant attempt to tally bypass the State Governments. Then, they want to put one community against the other. This is a 'communal Bill'! I would call it a 'communal Bill' and not a Bill meant for prevention of communalism. If this Bill becomes an Act, there would be demands for further division of the country, which is a very dangerous trend. For God's sake, please do not pursue such Bills because this would divide people on a permanent basis of 'minority' and 'majority'. They want to put one section against the other. Did the Muslims ask

you at any time to bring such a Bill? Why are you trying to show them in a poor light, as if the minorities are not safe in the hands of the majority and the majority always commits assaults on minority communities? This is because of the pre-conceived agenda of the Congress Party that the NAC has drafted such a Bill, and such a draconian Bill has been sent for our recommendation.

Even on NCTC, the Home Minister had said that it is a shared responsibility. Fighting terrorism is a shared responsibility. We are one with the Government on fighting terrorism. But is it not the responsibility of the Central Government to share it with the States? Why has he not done it? What happened to his wisdom? This is the second point.

The third point I want to make is about discrimination towards non-Congress States. From the day the Government came into power, they have wanted to centralize everything. They want to take the entire credit. They have removed the photographs of Atal Bihari Vajpayee from the National Highways scheme and instead put photographs of people who are not connected with the Government in any way, at an extra cost. Then, they are changing the names of various schemes and using the names of their Congress leaders. There is no dearth of leaders in this country who have made sacrifices for the sake of the country. (Interruptions) Yes, Subhash Chandra Bose is nowhere because he has no relatives who are in the Government now. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Balgangadhar Tilak, Lal Bahadur Shastri – these are all examples. Why just one family's names are being used? What is this? Don't they feel ashamed of doing such things?

Sir, talking of discrimination, whether it is Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat, Bihar, or even Odisha, for that matter, there is discrimination by the Central Government towards the non-Congress States. Be it allocation of coal, allocation of thermal power, allocation of foodgrains, allocation of NREGA funds or allocation of National Highways, there is a totally partisan approach adhered to by our Ministers and our Government. Sir, I would just give you a few examples. The coal fields in Madhya Pradesh produce 167 million tonnes. Madhya Pradesh needs 70 lakh tonnes, but they have been allotted only 11 lakh tonnes. Their production is 167 million tonnes, they need 70 lakh tonnes, but they have been allocated only 11 lakh tonnes. The National Highways roads in Madhya Pradesh are in a very bad shape. The Chief Minister had written to the Centre asking it to hand over those National Highways roads back to the State Government so that they could carry out repair works, but they have not done it. Then, there are 37 lakh families in Madhya Pradesh which are homeless. The allocation of homes made under the Indira Awaas Yojana is only 70,000. Madhya Pradesh has got a large number of families belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There are 68 lakh BPL families in Madhya Pradesh, but the

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Centre has made food allocation to only 41 lakh families. Then, ground frost had destroyed the entire Rabi crop in Madhya Pradesh and the State Government needs to spend Rs. 1400 crores. The Central Government had sent a team there and there was a GoM, but not even one rupee has been released so far. So, Rs. 1400 crores have to be spent by the State Government. Is this the respect they give to the federal system? There is a popular government elected by the people there. Does the Government want to punish the people in Madhya Pradesh because they have elected the BJP Government there?

Sir, in Gujarat, as I told you, GUJCO has been waiting for four years. They have a sensitive border. They don't want to allow Gujarat to enact a Bill, thereby challenging the very federal structure of the Constitution. Then, in the case of cotton, they have now announced withdrawal of the ban but they have put some conditions. I do not understand why such conditions were put. If that is the situation there, then why was the ban imposed at all in the first instance? The Government needs to explain this. With regard to discrimination, I told you about coal, thermal power, foodgrains, NREGA Fund, National Highways and then Indira Awas Yojana. In all these schemes, there is a total discrimination against non-Congress States. I am ready to provide the figures. Let the facts speak for themselves. But for paucity of time, I am not taking the details of other States. Same is the case with Karnataka, Bihar, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and other States which are ruled by either BJP or BJD or JD(U) or other parties. The same is the attitude of the Central Government. This will weaken the federal structure of the Constitution of India. Prime Minister, this will really make the people to lose belief in democracy and federal structure of the Constitution.

Coming to the way you are misusing the Central institutions like CBI, Income Tax, IB, etc. Sir, the CBI's misuse is an indication that the Congress wants to use CBI to stay in power and destabilize the Opposition, to manoeuvre the neutrals and keep the allies under control. Four points programme of the CBI is to demoralize and destabilize the Opposition, keep the supporting parties under control, manoeuvre the neutrals and harass the opponents. Be it the case of Mulayam Singh Yadav or Mayawati or the case of Gujarat, the way the CBI is behaving and functioning is a shame. A primary organization of the country is forced to act in such a partisan manner. It has become a political tool. Even the day before yesterday, the High Court had asked why prominent people named in the Adarsh case were not arrested. This is the question put by the High Court. CBI does not function there because the ruling party people are involved. Most of the Opposition leaders are harassed by the CBI, Intelligence Bureau, Income Tax Department and other investigating agencies. Even the CVC and the Election Commission are not spared. They were criticized. Motive has been attributed to

them. The Government of India should strengthen these constitutional and statutory bodies. On the other hand, you are trying to weaken them. I don't want to give detailed examples of who spoke what. One of the Ministers said, 'Even if I am hanged, I will not go back.' He has been hanged in election and is then banged also by the people. And, then the Election Commission writes to the President of India; this has not happened in the recent days.

With regard to price rise, less said the better. There is no mention of the price rise. There is only one line in the President's Address that the 'Prices are under control'. We would like to know in which bazaar, in which are, in which item prices are under control. In every item, prices are going up. They are rising whether you take tea powder, coffee powder, rice, wheat, sugar, turmeric or tamarind. From turmeric to tamarind, everything is going up. So far as vegetable prices are concerned, I do not want to blame the Central Government for that. It is a seasonal problem. However, vegetables have become one of the heart-burning problems for the common men. The farmers who are producing onion are crying in Nasik, in Maharashtra and in parts of Andhra, and the consumers in Delhi are forced to pay very high prices. When we were in power, I am proud to say, there was no line, no queue, no waiting list, no shortage and no black-marketing for five years. Under Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, prices were under control and the Rupee was strong. When we were in power, one Dollar was somewhere around 44 Rupees. Today, what is the position of Rupee? It is 50 and it has gone to 52, 53 or 54 in between. That is how we have governed the country. Come on, let us have a debate on the price rise, then you can understand what is the reality today. Sir, whenever there is a problem, you blame the international position. Then, how is China safeguarding itself? How do events in America and Britain impact India? After so many years of independence, are we not able to have Swawlambana? Can't we stand ourselves against these developments? You have increased the interest rates 13 times. And, you still want prices to be under control. It has never happened that in 19 months, interest rates have been increased 13 times. 'Hike' seems to have become the word of the year with everyone fearing as to when the next hike will come. When people meet you, they ask, "When is the next hike?" There is hike in petroleum prices, hike in interest rates, hike in fertilizer prices and hike in EMIs. All of these hikes are turning *aam admi's* budget into a nightmare. आपने यह वादा किया कि 'कांग्रेस का हाथ, आम आदमी के साथ'। लेकिन, 'कांग्रेस का हाथ, आम आदमी के साथ', ऐसा हो गया। सचमुच यह * हो गया। Sir, I don't want to go political. But, at the same time, I must tell you that the very slogan of the Congress Party was 'कांग्रेस का हाथ, आम आदमी के साथ'।

What is happening to *aam admi*? What are the steps you have taken to control the prices?

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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Sir, now, I come to fiscal deficit. Fiscal deficit was targeted at 4.6 per cent, which was impossible to achieve from the day one. In the last three years, expenditure has increased by 18 per cent every year. Current year's Budget Estimate is 3.5 per cent. No steps have been taken to control the expenditure. This is just done to look good. It is a * on the nation. You are not able to control the expenditure. Disinvestment target was Rs. 14,000 crores. What is the achievement? It is Rs. 12,000 crores. The target for GDP was 8.4 per cent. The Presidential Address states that 7 percent has been achieved. In the last quarter, GDP was at 6.1 per cent. The Presidential Address claims it to be 7 per cent. Sir, in the current quarter, it may fall further. I wish that it should not happen. That is the reality of the situation. Sir, this is all on account of flip-flop in policy. Investors are losing confidence – both domestic and international. Capital flight is taking place; migration is taking place. People want to go out and invest. That is, unfortunately, the other problem. Even the Member from the ruling party, who spoke yesterday, said that enough had not been done for manufacturing sector. What are your policies? What is happening to the infrastructure, which the hon. Prime Minister always keeps close to his heart? Infrastructure is the basis of a country. What is being done to increase power supply and power production in the country? What is the progress of various power projects in various parts of the country? Let there be a White Paper on that so that people can understand it.

Then, with regard to subsidies for gas, subsidies for NREGA, subsidies for food, subsidies for fertilizer, all of them have been cut down. For each one of them, allocations have gone down resulting in increase in prices. That is one of the reasons for prices rise. Fertilizer prices have increased two-fold. DAP was at Rs.446. It has now gone to Rs.1,035. What can a poor farmer do? How will you be able to bear the burden when agricultural implement prices are going up and input costs are going up? How do you expect the farmer to survive by the mere announcement of your MSP?

Sir, in NREGA, Rs. 1,48,000 crores have been spent. Sir, the Government is talking about the input, that is Rs. 1,48,000 crores. But, I am asking about the output. How much assets have been created? Let the Government respond to this. Sir, the farmers are in distress. They want that, at least, in the sowing season, during the agricultural operations, the NREGA should be linked with agriculture so that the farmers can also get labour at affordable cost and the cost can be met from NREGA. That is one suggestion I have for the Government. Let the Government consider it.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Sir, with regard to infrastructure, as I told you, the North-West-South-East corridor, initiated by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, was supposed to be completed in 2007. What is the progress? You were elected to power for the second time in 2009. The project has gone nowhere. During the NDA regime, we completed 11 kilometres per day on national highways. You said that you would complete 20 kilometres per day. You have not been able to complete even three to four kilometres. I am told that for more than three years, there has been no Chairman in the National Highways Authority of India. If I am wrong, if I am corrected, I will be more than happy. The National Highways Authority of India is an important institution which oversees the laying down of the national highways across the country. These are prestigious projects and we do not have a Chairman. The NHAI has no Chairman. What happened to the civil aviation sector? It is in a big mess. What happened to the Delivery Monitoring Unit set up by the Prime Minister to monitor flagship programmes? What is it doing? What happened to the Bombay blast case? What happened to the German bakery blast case of Pune? What happened to the Delhi High Court blast case in the capital itself? Sir, terrorism is raising its ugly head even in the capital itself. I would like to know from the Prime Minister as to what happened to the Women Reservation Bill. The President's Address is silent on such an important issue. Have you forgotten it? Have you given it up, and, is that the reason that you have not mentioned the Women Reservation Bill here?

Sir, in the Presidential Address, there is no reference to the linking of rivers. Even after the Supreme Court gave a direction to the Government of India has not moved an inch. During our regime, under the chairmanship of Mr. Suresh Prabhu, a committee was set up. Estimates were taken, and, it was found to be a feasible scheme involving Rs. 5,60,000 crore. This Government, after it has come to power, has not done anything. I would like to request the Prime Minister and this Government to please initiate step even now to take up the scheme of linking of Ganga, Cauvery and other major rivers in the country.

Sir, there is no reference to farmers' suicides in the country. Farmers' suicides are taking place unabated in the country. What happened to the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission? In 2006, Swaminathan Commission recommendations were made. We are now in 2012. Six years are over, and, you have not acted on the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission. It is a burning problem.

Sir, today, every producer of every agricultural produce is in distress because the input costs are going up and the agricultural prices are stable, whereby the farmers are not getting remunerative prices. Please consider Swaminathan Commission's recommendations, take the House into confidence and inform as to what are you going to do. In the agriculture sector, migrations are

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taking place. Forty-two per cent of agriculturists do not want to remain in agriculture and want to migrate to other professions. It is going to pose a very dangerous problem to the county. I am not saying this for one party or one Government. It is a larger issue. Sir, there are many issues, which are pending with the Government of India. What happened to the request of Karnataka for amendment to article 371 of the Constitution to give special status to districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka for their development? It is also pending with the Government of India. There is no mention about it in the Presidential Address.

Sir, what happened to the rehabilitation of Air India? Sir, it is a pathetic case. We have a cash-strapped Air India. Figures do not matter, whether it is 41,000-crore debt, 18,000 crore losses, 20,000 crore working capital loan, and, other debts of airport operators. Oil companies, vendors, caterers, hoteliers, and, even the salaries of the employees are not properly paid. National carrier! You are not paying the salaries in time. When we go to the airport to board a flight or when arrive at Delhi, the airport staff comes to us with a pathetic face, and, they say that their salaries have not been paid for three months. What are you doing? What is your action plan? What is your roadmap for Air India? What happened to Mission to clean Ganga? By 2020, you are supposed to clean Ganga. The Government is not doing anything. In the last three years, Sir, the National Ganga River Basin Authority held only two meetings. In three years, only two meeting were held, and, in disgust, Mr. Rajendra Singh, the Magsaysay Award winner has quit. What is the Government doing? What is the Government doing with regard to the resignation of Roddam narasimha, the great scientist? No response. No explanation from the Government as to why these people have left. So, Sir, it is not only the people, political parties or its allies, but also the scientists and social activists, who are losing confidence in the Government. Sir, my point is that there is neither unity nor clarity on any issue. चलती का नाम गाड़ी है, ऐसा हो गया है। ऐसा समय चल रहा है।...**(व्यवधान)**...गाड़ी चलती है या नहीं चलती है, यह मालूम नहीं है। इसका कारण यह है कि brake is not in the hands of the driver. Brake is in somebody else's hands. Today, one of the newspapers has reported that the Minister crosses the signal, and, somebody pulls the emergency chain. The chain is in the hands of somebody else. Somebody is sitting in the driver's seat, gears are in the hands of somebody else, and, brake is in the hands of somebody else. Government does not know how to go, where to go. That is the situation today. How long would you allow this Government to continue? Is it good for this Government to continue? Then, why has this talk of mid-term polls come? There is inbuilt instability in this Government. In the very creation of this Government, there is inbuilt instability because there is no ideological cohesion. There is no leadership which can command respect of all the parties. They are all there because of their own compulsion. You have seen how the political parties are

behaving. Some of the alliance partners want to take the role of the Opposition also. They want to be in support and also in Opposition. My point is, if the ruling party friends themselves go to the well of the House, the ruling party itself disturbs the functioning of the House, then what is meant by the Government; what is meant by democracy; what is meant by parliamentary system? You used to blame the Opposition party that it is not allowing the House to function. Please introspect and find out who are the people responsible for that. Is it the Opposition? We are here to give constructive support to the Government on vital issues, on major challenges. We have given support on the Cooperative Bill. On umpteen numbers of times, we have come forward. But, you are not ready; you are not steady because you don't have confidence in your own allies. You don't discuss with them. I am really wondering to see that you don't discuss with you allies. You don't discuss with your allies on the Sri Lanka problem. Why is this communication gap there? I have seen Tiruchi Siva the other day. He was talking in an emotional tone. He was saying that there was no question of Parties. I do agree that there is no question of Parties. But, at the same time, we have go a Party system. The Parties are running the Government. They should discuss, they should consult with each other, writing letters from Chennai to Delhi. Sir, there is a lack of communication; there is lack of conviction and that is why the present situation has arisen in the country. I don't know how long this Government is going to continue. I only wish something concretize and then if the Government is able to take everybody along with it, let it govern, otherwise, get out. Thank you very much.

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, the Prime Minister is here. ...*(Interruptions)*... We demand the Prime Minister's reply on the resignation of the Railway Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Pramod Kureel. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: Sir, this is a very important issue. ...*(Interruptions)*... The Prime Minister is here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That reply has already come from the Government. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: No, no ...*(Interruptions)*... Just after placing the Railway Budget, the Railway Minister ...*(Interruptions)*... This is the UPA-II's Railway Budget. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN (West Bengal): Sir, the Leader of the House is present here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have already taken up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The discussion is going on. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: Yes, but what about that? ...*(Interruptions)*... Everybody requested ...*(Interruptions)*... Even the Leader of the Opposition also ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has been told that..*(Interruptions)*.. He has already said that the Minister has not resigned. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद (बिहार): देश का रेल मंत्री कौन है, देश यह जानना चाहता है, सर।...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री उपसभापति: बताया न !...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री बलबीर पुंज (ओडिशा): दिनेश त्रिवेदी ट्रेन में बैठे हैं कि उतार दिये गये?...*(व्यवधान)*...एक बार प्रधान मंत्री जी कह दें, तो बहुत अच्छा रहेगा।...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN: Sir, we are asking the leader of the House ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You see, whatever you have raised, the answer to that has come from the Government. Beyond that, the Chair cannot allow. कुरील साहब।...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: No answer has come from the Government. ...*(Interruptions)*... The Prime Minister is here. He must clarify. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Kureel.

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL (Uttar Pradesh): Thank you, Sir. First of all, I would like to thank hon. Deputy Chairman for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I feel honoured and privileged to be speaking in the august presence of our hon. Prime Minister, Manmohan Singhji. This Presidential Address was delivered on 12th of March by the President of India. First of all, I would like to congratulate the Government for coming out with such a beautiful piece of fiction. It is a beautiful piece of fiction. I have gone through this Address two-three times. I read all the details, various policies and programmes and the so-called achievements which the Governments claims they have been able to achieve in the past two years or during the last seven years. There are many points on which I would like to speak, but there are certain salient features, salient aspects of this Presidential Address which I would like to especially focus on.

Sir, since our hon. Prime Minister is an eminent economist of world repute, I would start by taking economic issues first. I would talk about the condition of our economy in the last seven years or, generally speaking, in the last 60 years our country has progressed. There have been areas where we have not progressed to our desired extent. Our rate of growth is around six or seven or eight per cent. It is a remarkable feat. There is no doubt about it. At the same

1.00 P.M.

time, I want to focus on the economy of India and the economy of Bharat. I think there are two different rates of growth of economy. One is that of India and the other one is of Bharat. India represents 10-15 per cent of the population of the country. It is Bharat which is nowhere near this seven or eight per cent of growth. This dichotomy is very much visible if you step out of the limits of capital city of Delhi of big cities like Mumbai etc. The moment you step out of these big cities, you see the real condition of Bharat, the real face of Bharat. While we are talking of this six or seven or eight per cent of growth, I think this growth rate reflects the growth of India, not the growth of Bharat. What is this Bharat? Bharat is 85-90 per cent of the population of this country, a major portion of which belongs to the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the backward classes, and the minorites. We all feel very happy and in a self congratulatory mood we say that we have been able to achieve 7-8 per cent of growth, whereas in other parts of the world, even bigger economies have not been able to achieve this kind of growth. But I dare say that this growth is fake; it is false; it is fictitious. I would elaborate this by quoting certain points. Just now Venkaiah Naiduji was speaking about the condition of farmers and small-scale industries.

Sir, in our country, after agriculture it is the small-scale industries which employ the largest number of people. It gives employment to small entrepreneurs, semi-skilled people, and poor people. But what is the condition of these people? The growth of our small-scale industries is very bad. They don't get easy loans. They don't get good technology. There is an promotion. There is no protection of their rights in this important sector of our country. The Government came to power on the plank of *aam aadmi*. Now, look at its priorities. It is now working for the *khas aadmi*. It came to power in the name of poor people. But consistently, during the last seven years, it has been working for the rich people. I would give you one or two examples. In the last session I had put an Unstarred Question to Finance Minister.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, you can continue after lunch.

Now, the House is adjourned for lunch till 2.00 p.m

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

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

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pramod Kureel is to continue his speech.

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL : Thank you, Sir. Before the House dispersed for lunch break, I was talking about a great piece of fiction of Shakespearean proportion called "the President of India's Address to the Members of both

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Houses of Parliament". I don't know which part of Shakespeare's huge literature should I refer to while talking to the UPA Government and its performance. I can see the traces of "Macbeth" in the working of this Government; I can see the traces of "Julius Caesar;" I can see the traces of "Comedy of Errors;" and, most importantly, I can see the traces of "Hamlet" in this Government. As far as the condition of our hon. Prime Minister, who is a very learned man, a very honest man, a very nice man, is concerned, I can see the traces of Hamlet in him.

Sir, I was referring to the economy of this country and the dichotomy which exists between India and Bharat. By "India" I mean the five-ten per cent of the people who are super-rich and super-privileged enjoying all the benefits, all the rights and all the privileges. There is another India which is called "Bharat", who are poor, illiterate, suffering from mal-nourishment, suffering from diseases and being denied human rights. This is the condition of the ninety per cent of India which is called "Bharat". The UPA – the UPA-1 and the UPA – is in power for the last seven years. The Congress Government has been in power at the Centre for as good as fifty years out of the last sixty years. I think, this UPA Government and the Congress Party have to take the blame for the pathetic condition of Bharat. Sir, I was referring to the attitude of the Government towards the rich and the poor. I will give you an example. In the last Session, I put a question to the hon. Finance Minister about Non Performing Assets, NPAs. My question was, "How much is the total NPA?" I had also asked the names of 100 top defaulters, those rich people, industrialists who have gobbled up crores and crores of rupees of the public exchequer. I had asked the names of such people from the Finance Minister. The hon. Finance Minister, in his reply, refused to divulge the names of these rich people who have gobbled up as much as Rs. 1,19,120 crores. The Government itself admits that this much amount is lying there as Non Performing Assests, which has been gobbled up by these rich people. Sir, this is as far as the rich people are concerned. What about the poor people? What is the attitude of this Government towards the poor people? Just as the Government gives loans to rich people to the tune of Rs. 100 crores or Rs.200 crores or Rs.500 crores or Rs. 1000 crores, it also gives loans to poor people to the tune of Rs. 50,000 or Rs.1 lakh or Rs. 2 lakh. I am holding in my hand an advertisement printed in a leading newspaper, The Times of India, just last week. This advertisement has been published by the State Bank of India. I do not know whether I am allowed to show it. Sir, this is the advertisement which I am holding in my hands. In this advertisement, the State Bank of India has given the names of three defaulters who have failed to pay the dues to the State Bank of India. They had taken some loan. These three persons had taken a loan of Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 1 lakh. The total outstanding amount is not more than Rs.2 lakh. In the

case of these poor people, the Government is printing their names, photographs and addresses in newspapers saying that these people are defaulters, who have refused to pay the money, which they owe to the Government. But so far as these rich people are concerned, who have gobbled up Rs. 50 crores or Rs.100 crores or Rs. 200 crores, the Government is refusing to divulge their names. This is attitude of the Government. They talk of *aam admi*, but they work for *khas admi*. They talk of poor people, but they work for rich people. This is what we have to understand very deeply as to where the priorities of this Government lie. Moreover, Sir, in the last 65 years, ever since our country got independence, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing day by day. Just two months back, there was a big controversy created by some comment made by one of the Ministers. He commented that those who earn Rs. 27 per day are above the poverty line. If a person is able to get Rs. 27 per day, that is enough for him to be above the poverty line. Of course, there was a lot of controversy and a lot of opposition to this definition of poverty. The Government has probably retracted. I do not know what the current position is. But we all know what is the meaning of Rs. 27 in today's time. Forget about one day, you can't even get one time meal in Rs. 27. Venkaiahji was referring to price rise in the recent past. We all know what is happening. We all go to markets. We all purchase our daily need items. The way poverty is increasing, the way the prices are rising, the scale of poverty in this country is increasing and the purchasing power of the country is decreasing day by day. And who is responsible for this? It is the pro-rich policies of the UPA Government. Sir, yesterday, the hon. Home Minister, in reply to one of the questions in the Question Hour, was referring to the menace of terrorism, and he admitted that one of the prime reasons for terrorism and this kind of activity is lack of development and acute poverty in many parts of the country. We all know, and it is true, that nobody wants to become a terrorist, that nobody wants to take a gun in his hand, unless and until he is compelled to do so. Why are these poor tribal's, poor Dalits, of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Bihar taking guns in their hands? It is because of poverty, because of exploitation, that they have been compelled to do so. They have been pushed to such a level of existence that they have no other way out except to take guns. But what is the policy of our Government? It is doing nothing to eradicate poverty. It is doing nothing to eradicate discrimination. It is doing nothing to eradicate exploitation. Sir, this is a very serious problem which our hon. President should have mentioned in her Address.

Sir, besides the economic angle, there is also the caste angle. Who are these people who are branded as terrorists in the country? If we look at the social profile of these so-called terrorists, who are these people? They are the Dalits, the tribal's, the backward people, the Muslims, the Christians, the Buddhists or the

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North-East people. If we see closely, seventy to eight per cent of the people of this country are branded as terrorists. Why have they taken guns in their hands? It is not just economic discrimination, but it is also social discrimination. They are not only exploited economically, but they are also discriminated against socially. So, unless we are ready to understand this problem in a deeper sense, I don't think it will be possible for us to eradicate terrorism or eradicate this kind of social unrest which we are seeing all over the country.

In the last few months, I had a chance to go to Jammu and Kashmir many times. I went to the heart of Srinagar. I went to the villages of Srinagar. I talked to the people there, the youth there. I asked them what their problem is. And, wherever I went, people openly admitted and said, "We have nothing against India. Our main problem is economic backwardness. We have no jobs." I found many students, many young people who have done their Ph.Ds. and B.Tech., but they have no jobs. There is rampant unemployment, poverty, backwardness, and, most importantly, corruption. Corruption today is the single largest factor which is contributing to the social unrest that we are witnessing in Jammu and Kashmir. But our government is only doing a lip-service. The Prime Minister goes there and announces some packages. But nothing happens on the ground. They remain confined to files. Nothing is happening on the ground. So, even this peace, — some people say that Kashmir is returning to peace — I want to warn this Government that this peace is only temporary. This peace is very temporary. The way things are boiling up, the way things are not changing, the way basic problems of people are not being addressed, I am afraid, it may erupt again. Sir, this is something that we need to understand and address at the earliest.

Sir, another important point which I would like to raise here is this. I just talked about discrimination against the poor. The poor belonging to the dalit, backward and minority communities are facing discrimination everywhere. And sadly, it is not only the poor people amongst these sections who are facing discrimination. I wish to draw the attention of the House towards the attitude of the Government in the non-fulfillment of the reservation quota for SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities. I have a lot of data with me which I have collected through the RTI. The reservation quota for SCs, STs, OBCs, especially in Class I posts and academic institutions is not even one per cent. In one of my speeches made last year on the IIT Bill, I spoke about how in IIT, Delhi, there was only one Scheduled Caste and one OBC Lecturer out of a teaching faculty of 478 people. Even in JNU and other Central Universities all over the country, there are thousands and thousands of SC/ST and OBC students with the highest qualifications and good academic records, but they are roaming in the streets without jobs. The Government says that they are not able to fill those positions

because they don't get qualified candidates. I fail to understand the meaning of 'qualification'. The maximum qualification is Ph.D. or NET. Even with these two qualifications, our SC/ST, OBC and minority students are not able to get jobs in universities as Lecturer. So, I feel there is a design behind all these things. The Government talks about safeguarding the interests of SC/STs and OBCs but what they say and what they do are diametrically opposite. This Government is very high on words but hollow in deeds. This is very clear, especially, from the point of view of implementation of reservation for SC/STs and OBCs.

I wish to cite another example here, Sir. Last year, sometime during the Budget Session, the issue of diversion of SC Special Component Plan funds to the tune of Rs.734 crores for Commonwealth Games was raised and the Hon. Home Minister stood up and gave a commitment that this money would be reverted back to the SCP fund account at the earliest. Nothing happened for five-six months. In the Winter Session, I had put a question to the Government as to when this money was going to revert to the SCP. They didn't give a clear-cut reply. Even today, Sir, when it is more than a year, that money has not reverted back to the SCP fund.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, you have taken about 22 minutes. Your Party has 51 minutes. There are two more Members.

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: No, no. One more Member. Shri Narendra Kashyap is not here, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Then, I leave it to you.

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: Sir, yesterday, Shri Satyavrat Chaturvedi was talking about the welfare schemes started by the UPA Government for the welfare of the Muslims community, minority communities, on the lines of the Special Component Plan. But, this is an example of diversion of the funds meant for SCs. The same is the condition of tribals' sub-plan. Their money is being diverted. Sir, in JNU, there was a big news. The funds meant for OBC students' welfare were diverted for foreign visits of professors. The money was meant for welfare of OBC students, but it was diverted for some other means. Everywhere, all over the country, this kind of a thing is happening. The funds meant for the Scheduled Caste people, the funds meant for the OBC people, and the funds meant for the Tribal people are being diverted for some other purpose. I see the same kind of thing which would happen to this fund also, which the Government proudly claims that it is a separate fund meant for minorities and Muslims. Sir, with this kind of an attitude, I do not think the President's Address has any meaning. That is why I said that it is a beautiful piece of fiction.

Sir, in any country or society, a Human Being is the primary unit. The Government is meant for increasing the value and worth of a human being, his

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existence. A human being can exist as a daily wage-earning labourer; A human being can also exist as an enlightened man or as a highly educated man. This is the question which we have before us. Every now and then, our people in media and on other forums compare India with China, where China was 50 years back and where India was 50 years back, where China stands today and where India stands today. China is 50 years ahead of us because they have invested in the development of their human resources. That is why, in science, technology, military, economy, sports – you name any field – and in all fields they are 50 years ahead of us because they have invested in the human resources. They do not look at a human being just as a labourer. Our Government congratulates itself repeatedly on the MGNREGA scheme. What is MGNREGA? A human being who has the potential to become a scientist, an academician, an engineer, or a doctor, has been reduced to the level of an animal. The work which an animal could do, the human being is put on that, and we proudly claim that we are giving a job to him! This is not the meaning of a job, working at Rs.100 per day is not a job. That too, you are giving for just 100 days a year. It is not a job. You are reducing the level of a human being to the level of an animal. A job is something which gives him dignity and honour. Only then he would find a sense of fulfillment in his life. That is a job. In MGNREGA, you have wasted Rs.1,50,000 crores! A sheer waste it is. This money has not gone for the development of human beings. Unless the development of human resource is done, how can we grow?

You talk of making India a super power by 2020. I think, we need to understand the meaning of being a super power. We are in 2012 now. After just 8 years, we would be in 2020. I can only laugh at the proposition of India becoming a super power by 2020, at our level of economy, with the infant mortality, with the kind of education and literacy, and the health facilities. Many studies have been there to show the level of India being even below the sub-Saharan countries, African countries. Then, we proudly claim that by 2020, we will become a super power! I do not know what to say to this.

I remember; maybe it is 1986 or 1987 when the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister. He gave a beautiful slogan, “Health for all by the year 2000”. In 1986, we had 14 years to reach 2000! We thought, maybe, by 2000, we will be able to achieve this target as we still had 14 years. After those 14 years, another 12 years have passed as we are in 2012. ‘Health for all’ still looks like a distant dream; it looks like a mirage. The more we go towards it, the further it runs away. Though I must really congratulate the Government for doing something in the field of polio eradication. It is a commendable job which the Government has been able to do. I must appreciate it. But a lot more needs to be done, and the Government is paying no attention to it. Most of the victims of this health

problem are the poor people living in villages and small cities. These are Dalits, Muslims and backward people only, again, the inhabitants of Bharat and not India. This document, this fiction does not tell us what the Government is planning to do in this direction.

Sir, there is one more thing. Now, I take the Land Acquisition Policy of the Government. In the last few months, the Government has said a lot about the Land Acquisition Policy. A few months back, one big and youth leader of the Congress Party took up the issue of land acquisition on a very big scale. I want to tell the House, by live examples, about the attitude of this Government towards land acquisition. Sir, I will give two examples about the Land Acquisition Policy of this Government, and I think these two examples should open the eyes of everybody. In Tamil Nadu State, there is a place called Madurai. In the year 1973, the Madurai Airport was constructed. At that time, land was acquired from the village called China Udippn near Madurai, on which this Airport stands today. Sir, 600 acres of land was sought to be acquired by the Government. All these 600 acres of land belonged to the Dalit people. When the Government officials approached them, the Dalit people said, "We are ready to give this land free to the Government provided you name the proposed airport in the name of Dr. Ambedkar." That was a small condition which they put before the government. The Government said, "Yes, okay, we will do it." The land was acquired, and not even a single paisa was given to these Dalit villagers. But after that, when the Airport came up, there was no mane of Ambedkar. The people protested over this issue. They asked the Government that if you do not name it after Dr. Ambedkar, then, give us our money. Nothing happened. Some 10 years back, Sir, for making this Airport an international Airport another 400 acres of land was acquired. The villagers said, "If you want to acquire our land, then, give us money for that". No money was given to them. The land was forcibly acquired. Sir, last year, when I went to that place, the villagers told me about this thing. I raised this issue in Parliament through a question. I put a question to the hon. Minister about land compensation. I have a copy of the answer given by the hon. Minister. The Government informed that they have paid about Rs.3.46 crores and another Rs.1 crore. This is the reply of the Government that they have paid about Rs.3 crores and Rs.1 crore under different heads. The fact is, till today, not even a single rupee has been given to the villagers. When my question which must have reached the office of the hon. Minister, it may have been given further to local authorities, at that time, there was some activity and the SDM and Tehsildar went around the village, gave some piece of paper to the people, "Okay, we will give you some money." They were given some piece of paper and till today not even a single rupee has been given to these people. This incorrect and misleading reply is coming from the Government. This is the attitude of the Government. This land is worth crores of rupees. But these *dalit* villagers have not been paid the price

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for about one thousand acres of land which has been forcibly acquired from them. Another example I will give, Sir. Last year some time in February, hon. Prime Minister went and inaugurated a big container terminal in Cochin at Vallarpadam. Incidentally, the day he was inaugurating it, I was also there in Cochin, I was present there, Sir. I saw his speech on television. Hon. Prime Minister was very proudly saying that –“this is a very big step for our country’s development and we are proud to have this thing.” Sir, I am not against the container terminal, I am not against development. But what happened, Sir, was that the same evening I went to that place, Vallarpadam, I met 250 families, poor fishermen belonging to Latin fishermen community. For the approach road leading to Vallarpadam container terminal, their houses were forcibly bulldozed. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am coming to that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Kerala): It was immediately settled. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: I am coming to how it has been settled, I will open it now....*(Interruptions)*... I will open it. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am giving you only an example. Both of you can go and verify it on the spot. These fishermen were having two-storeyed houses, pucca houses, good houses. I saw a CD of demolition. Local people showed me a CD, how the police came, how all the people were pushed into a community centre and it was locked from outside, bulldozers came and all these houses were demolished. I can give you the CD, Sir. Not just that, in the CD also I saw another thing, what the then Chief Minister of Kerala State said. He was saying that those people who were opposing, who were asking for their rights or for compensation of their land are Naxalites. I can supply the CD.

THE MINISTER OF OVERSEAS INDIAN AFFAIRS (SHRI VAYALAR RAVI): I have a point of order. He should name the Chief Minister because then only we can answer. We come from Kerala, we know the situation. He is living in some Northern part of India. He is speaking on the basis of some hearsay. He should tell us who the Chief Minister was.

श्री ब्रजेश पाठक (उत्तर प्रदेश): उनको बोलने दीजिए...*(व्यवधान)*...जब आपकी बारी आएगी, आप तब अपनी बात कह लीजिएगा...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: Do you want his name? His name is Mr. Achuthanandan....*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not take the name. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: I did not tell it on my own. He asked me the name.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: He never said it. We are asking it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not here to defend himself.

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: Sir, I can supply him the CD.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Kerala): Will you just yield for a minute?

श्री ब्रजेश पाठक: उपसभापति जी, यह क्या हो रहा है...(व्यवधान)...यह कैसे हो सकता है...(व्यवधान)... जब आपकी बारी आएगी, आप तब बोलिएगा...(व्यवधान)...

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: You see, Mr. Achuthanandan does not belong to my party....(Interruptions)... He yielded. ...(Interruptions)... चील्ड कर दिया ...(Interruptions)... He does not belong to my party. But everything what he said was reported in the Press and never such a report has been seen. This is what I want to tell you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can answer that when you speak.

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: I will get 250 CDS of that incident. ...(Interruptions)... Post luch you have to start it again, Sir. ...(Interruptions)... Please don't count that time. Sir, I will get 250 copies of the CD and will be given to all the hon. Members of this august House. It is a promise which I am making on the floor of the House. Their Houses were demolished and they were given land. Shri Vayalarji rightly said that they were given land. It was lowland and it was ultimately filled with loose soil. They were given a 1000-2000 square fet. plot and they were also given Rs. 2-3 lakhs for the two-storeyed Pucca houses. With these two laks rupees they can't even fill the foundation of that land because to fill land you have to go five or six or eight feet down to get to the solid ground and even if you go there today, these people are still living in shacks. The people who had two storeyed houses are still living in shacks. This is the land acquisition policy of this Government! Again I would say, the attitude of this Government is favoured more towards the rich people as compared to the poor people.

Finally, Sir, Venkaiah Naiduji was comparing this Government by giving an example of an automobile. In this Government, the driver is somebody, the person who is having his foot on the brake is somebody else, somebody is putting his foot on the accelerator, somebody is navigator. So many people are guiding this vehicle. That is why it is not going anywhere. It very aptly summarizes the pace and working of this Government. I would slightly modify what Venkaiah Naiduji said. This Government, Sir, is playing a very beautiful game. What it is doing is, it is pressing the accelerator, and engine is making a noise. You feel that the vehicle is moving at a very fast pace. You get that feeling, but there is another leg of the Government which is pressing the clutch completely. So, engine is moving. It is consuming power. It is making a lot of noise as if it is moving at a very fast pace, but the vehicle is not moving because the design and the mentality of this Government is that it does not want the vehicle to run. They want to give an impression that this country is running at a very fast pace

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because it is making a lot of noise. But till the engine get engaged with the gear box, the vehicle will not move and unless you remove your leg from the clutch, the gear box and the engine will not come into contact and the vehicle will not move. Sir, I think this Government is not inclined to remove the leg from the clutch. They want to give an impression that they want development but they are not interested in development at all and especially they are not interested in the development of *Bharat*. With these words, I thank you, Sir, for giving me time and an opportunity to speak in this subject.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have finished within your time limit!

SHRI PRAMOD KUREEL: Thank you, Sir. Still twenty minutes are left.

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी (बिहार): धन्यवाद उपसभापति महोदय। हम सब लोगों ने राष्ट्रपति जी के सम्बोधन को सुना है, उसको पढ़ा है। मुझे बहुत आश्चर्य लगा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस सरकार की पीठ कैसे थपथपाई! अगर सरकार के काम को देखा जाए, तो राष्ट्रपति जी को इस सरकार का कान पकड़ना चाहिए था। यह सरकार बिना पतवार के नाव की तरह है। दशाहीन, दिशाहीन और अर्द्धमूर्च्छित सरकार है यह। इस सरकार ने ऐसा कोई काम नहीं किया है, जिससे इस सरकार की पीठ थपथपाई जाए।

उपसभापति महोदय, क्या हालत है इस मुल्क की, यह दूसरे के कहने की जरूरत नहीं है। इसी साल जनवरी में भूख और कुपोषण पर एक रिपोर्ट जारी करते हुए हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि इस देश में जन्म लेने वाले 42 परसेंट बच्चे कुपोषित होते हैं, **underweight** होते हैं और यह राष्ट्रीय शर्म की बात है। मैं नहीं समझ पाता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री जी यह जो राष्ट्रीय शर्म की बात कह रहे हैं, उसका क्या अर्थ है? ये जो 42 परसेंट बच्चे कुपोषित पैदा हो रहे हैं, क्या इनके मां-बाप को शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिए या इस देश में जो लगभग 70 परसेंट लोग किसी तरह से जीवन बसर कर रहे हैं, उनको शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिए? मुझको तो लगता है कि अगर किसी को शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिए, तो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी को शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिए। हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री जी नामी अर्थशास्त्री हैं। 1991 में वित्त मंत्री के रूप में इन्होंने देश को एक नयी आर्थिक नीति दी, जिसके बारे में कहा गया कि यह उदारीकरण की आर्थिक नीति है और देश का जो रोग है, वह इस मनमोहनिक आर्थिक नीति से दूर हो जाएगा। आज 1991 से लेकर 2012 तक मनमोहनिक आर्थिक नीति को देश में चलते हुए 21 बरस हो गए, लेकिन उपलब्धि क्या हुई? प्रधान मंत्री जी खुद शर्मिन्दा नहीं हो रहे हैं, वे कह रहे हैं कि देश को शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिए, राष्ट्र को शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिए! यह बहुत बुरी हालत है।

हमारे यहां लगभग 2 करोड़ 16 लाख या 18 लाख बच्चे हर साल पैदा होते हैं। इनमें से आधे से अधिक, लगभग 1 करोड़ 83 लाख बच्चे कुपोषित पैदा होते हैं। इन कुपोषित पैदा होने वाले बच्चों का भविष्य क्या है? इनका कद नहीं बढ़ता है, इनका दिमाग नहीं बढ़ता है। स्वामीनाथन साहब यहां बैठे हुए हैं, इन्होंने कहा कि यह क्रूरतम किस्म की गैर-बराबरी है। इन बच्चों का कोई कसूर नहीं है। इनका कसूर सिर्फ यह है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी जो अर्थव्यवस्था चला रहे हैं, उस अर्थव्यवस्था के कारण उनकी मां को भरपेट भोजन नहीं मिलता है। जब वे गर्भ में आते हैं, उसी समय से उनको जो खुराक मिलनी चाहिए, या गर्भ में आने से लेकर 1000 दिन तक ढाई बरस की उम्र तक उनको जो खुराक मिलनी

चाहिए, वह उनको नहीं मिलती है। इससे उनका पूरा भविष्य अंधकारमय हो जाता है। इस क्रूरतम किस्म की गैर-बराबरी के लिए शर्मिन्दा तो प्रधान मंत्री जी को होना चाहिए। एक-दो नहीं, आपको ऐसे कई सर्वेक्षण मिल जाएंगे।

अभी वेंकैया नायडु जी बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने महंगाई के सवाल को उठाया। हम देख रहे थे, एक सर्वेक्षण हुआ – "Save the Children". 15 फरवरी, 2012 को ही इस सर्वेक्षण की रिपोर्ट जारी हुई। इसकी रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि नाइजीरिया के बाद भारत एक ऐसा देश है, जिसके एक-चौथाई अभिभावक यह कहते हैं कि उनके बच्चों को अक्सर भूखे रहना पड़ता है। यह बात बच्चों के गार्जियन स्वयं कहते हैं। सर्वेक्षण में 24% लोगों ने कहा कि उनके यहां 16 साल से कम उम्र के बच्चे अक्सर भूखे रहते हैं। 29% लोगों ने कहा कि उनके बच्चों को पर्याप्त भोजन नहीं मिलता है। 29% लोगों ने कहा कि महंगाई के चलते हमको राशन में कटौती करती पड़ती है। 17% लोग स्कूल छुड़वा कर, अपने बच्चों को रोटी के इंतजाम में भेजते हैं। यह देश की हालत है और राष्ट्रपति जी इस सरकार की पीठ थपथपा रही हैं! मुझे इस बात पर बहुत आश्चर्य होता है।

भूख और कुपोषण की समस्या हमारे देश में नयी नहीं है। आजादी के पहले, हमको याद है, हमने महात्मा गांधी जी को पढ़ा था, गांधी जी ने कहा था कि अगर गरीब आदमी को भगवान दर्शन देना चाहेंगे, तो वे रोटी के रूप में ही दर्शन देंगे। गांधी जी ने यह भी कहा था कि हम नहीं चाहते कि आप गरीब लोगों को रोटी दीजिए। उनका कहना था कि हर आदमी ह्यूमेन डिग्निटी के साथ अपनी रोटी कमा सके, इसका इंतजाम होना चाहिए।

हमारे यहां मनमोहनिक आर्थिक नीति से देश का जो विकास हो रहा है, यह किस तरह का विकास हो रहा है, यह जॉबलैस विकास हो रहा है। विकास तो हो रहा है, जी.डी.पी. का ग्रोथ तो हो रहा है, लेकिन रोजगार का सृजन नहीं हो रहा है। बेरोजगारी के चलते लोगों के पास क्रय शक्ति नहीं है, रोटी खरीदने की ताकत नहीं है।

उपसभापति महोदय, जिसके पास रोटी खरीदने की ताकत नहीं होती, उसका कोई ईमान-धर्म नहीं रहता। यह जो फूड सेक्योरिटी बिल है, यह जो सब्सिडी है, इस सबका क्या मतलब है? इसका मतलब तो केवल यह है कि आप स्वयं दाता बने हुए हैं और जनता को आपने याचक बना रखा है। दाता बनने का बहुत सुख होता है। जो दाता होता है, अपने सामने भूखे आदमी के हाथ में रोटी देखकर उसे आत्मसंतोष का अनुभव होता है कि देखिए, हम कितने दयालु हैं कि हमने भूखे आदमी को भोजन कराया। आज यह सरकार भी दाता बनी हुई है और जनता को इसने याचक बना कर रखा हुआ है। उनकी ह्यूमेन डिग्निटी की इन्हें कोई परवाह नहीं कि याचक की क्या स्थिति होगी।

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी स्वाभाविक रूप से देश के प्रधान मंत्री नहीं बने हैं। उन्होंने कभी हम लोगों की तरह गांवों में जाकर, नारा लगा कर, जुलूस निकाल कर राजनीति नहीं की है। वे तो एक नामित प्रधान मंत्री हैं। उनको तजुर्बा नहीं है कि गांवों की क्या हालत है। आप गांवों में जाइए, वहां लोगों की क्या हालत है। दौड़ कर बूढ़े आते हैं, बूढ़ी आती है और कहती है कि हमारी पेंशन दिलवा दीजिए, हमें इन्दिरा आवास दिलवा दीजिए और हमारा नाम अन्त्योदय में जुड़वा दीजिए। पूरे देश की अधिकांश जनता को कांग्रेस पार्टी, जिसका इस देश में लम्बे समय तक शासन रहा, उसने याचक बनाकर रखा है। आदमी की मर्यादा को खत्म करके रखा है। यह हालत है इस देश की। देश कैसे चला रहे हैं, भगवान मालिक है।

महोदय, हर मोर्चे पर देखिए। भ्रष्टाचार के मामले में तो सारे रिकॉर्ड्स टूट गए हैं।

[श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी]

उसके बारे में बहुत से लोगों ने कहा। मैं इस बारे में कुछ ज्यादा नहीं बोलना चाहता हूँ। एक बात पर मेरे जैसा आदमी बहुत चिन्तित होता है कि देश चलाने का यह कौन सा तरीका है? एन.सी.टी.सी. के बारे में अभी वेंकैया नायडू साहब बोल रहे थे। इसमें बहुत खतरनाक काम हुआ है। जब एन.सी.टी.सी. बना, उस समय देश के लगभग 17-18 मुख्य मंत्रियों ने इसका विरोध किया। प्रधान मंत्री जी का बयान आया कि हम मुख्य मंत्रियों की बैठक बुलाएंगे। लेकिन, बैठक किसने बुलाई? बैठक होम सेक्रेटरी ने बुलाई, जिसमें डी.जी.पीज और चीफ सेक्रेटरीज को बुलाया। इसमें विवाद का मुद्दा क्या है? विवाद का मुद्दा एक संवैधानिक व्यवस्था है। राज्य सरकारों ने कहा कि फेडरलिज्म के तहत संविधान ने जो हमें अधिकार दिया है, उसका यह उल्लंघन हो रहा है। स्वाभाविक रूप से मुख्य मंत्रियों की बैठक होती है, वह बुलानी चाहिए थी, लेकिन देश के होम सेक्रेटरी चीफ सेक्रेटरीज और डी.जी.पीज की बैठक बुला रहे हैं, इसका क्या मतलब है? ऑल इंडिया सर्विस के जो लोग हैं, उनको आप राज्य सरकारों की तरफ भड़काना चाहते हैं? अखबारों में भी इसे दिखाया गया। मैंने भी अगले दिन अखबार दिखाया था कि लोक सभा में गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा कि हमने गृह सचिव से पूछा तो उन्होंने डिनाई किया और कहा कि हमने इस तरह की बात नहीं की। लेकिन, उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपको स्मरण कराना चाहूंगा कि जब एन.सी.टी.सी. पर राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्रियों का प्रतिवाद आ रहा था, उस समय इन्हीं गृह सचिव ने कहा था कि राज्य सरकारों से सलाह लेने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। भला बताइए, एक नौकरशाह इस तरह की बात बोलता है। उस आदमी के बारे में होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि उसने ऐसा नहीं कहा है। मैं इसे नहीं मानता हूँ, क्योंकि इसके पहले उनका एक बयान आ चुका था कि राज्य सरकारों से सलाह की जरूरत नहीं है। आप यह कैसा राज चला रहे हैं?

अपने समय में जवाहर लाल नेहरू एक बड़े नेता थे, लोग कहते हैं कि अगर जवाहर लाल नेहरू चाहते तो डिक्टेटर हो जाते। लेकिन, उनको डिक्टेटर होने की जरूरत नहीं थी। 1952 में पार्लियामेंट का जो कॉम्पोजिशन था, उसे आप देखिए। उसमें कांग्रेस के बाद जो सबसे बड़ा दल था, जो कि विरोधी दल था, वह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी थी, जिसके 16 सदस्य थे और उसके बाद समाजवादी लोग थे, जिनके 12 सदस्य थे। उस समय पंडित नेहरू जो चाहते थे सो कुछ हो जाता था, इसलिए उनको डिक्टेटर बनने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ी। लेकिन, इस देश में एक ऐसा काल भी आया, जिसको भी हम लोगों ने देखा कि खबर छपती थी कि फलां प्रधान मंत्री मुख्य मंत्री को ऐसे बदलती हैं, जैसे साड़ी बदलती हों। एक यह काल भी आया और लगता है कि उसी टेम्परामेंट में यह सरकार चल रही है। क्या हालत है, भाई?

महोदय, मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। सन् 2011 की जनगणना की जो रिपोर्ट है, उसके हिसाब से हमारे यहां 82 परसेंट लोग किरासन तेल से अपने घरों में रोशनी करते हैं। अभी हमारे यहां एक ग्लोबल समिट हुआ था। सब लोगों ने कहा कि बिहार की तरक्की कैसे होगी, बिहार में बैंक इन्वेस्टमेंट कैसे करेंगे और अगर वे इन्वेस्टमेंट नहीं करेंगे तो सी.डी. रेश्यो कैसे बढ़ेगा? हमारे यहां 30:32 सी.डी. रेश्यो है। उन लोगों ने कहा कि इंडस्ट्री लगाइए। लेकिन, इंडस्ट्री कैसे लगेगी, बिजली नहीं है? हमारे यहां 82 परसेंट से ज्यादा लोग किरासन तेल से रोशनी करते हैं। ऐसा नहीं है कि बिजली किसी पंसारी की दुकान में बिकती हो, जिसे बिहार सरकार या नीतीश सरकार खरीद ले। वैसे हमने वहां बिजली खरीदी भी है। बिहार सरकार ने 500 मेगावाट बिजली खुले बाजार से खरीदी है, लेकिन हमारी हालत क्या है? 11वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में आपने हमें कोल लिंकेज नहीं दिया। बरौनी एक सरकारी पावर

स्टेशन है, उसकी क्षमता का हम विस्तार करना चाहते हैं, हम उसी कैम्पस में 500 मेगावाट की एक नई इकाई लगाना चाहते हैं। इसमें क्या बात है? तो आपको हम कोयला नहीं देंगे, कोल लिंकेज नहीं देंगे। वह सरकारी क्षेत्र का पावर स्टेशन है और उसको आप कोल लिंकेज नहीं दे रहे हैं। कैसे-कैसे लोगों को आपने मिनिस्टर बना रखा है। ऐसे ही लोगों के चलते उत्तर प्रदेश में आपकी दुर्गति हो गई। ऐसे ही लोगों के चलते आप पंजाब में सरकार बनाने का जो सपना देख रहे थे, वह सपना चकनाचूर हो गया। हमारे यहां एक सेन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी बनने वाली है, उसका प्रस्ताव गया हुआ है। इस संबंध में हमारे मुख्य मंत्री जी ने कहा कि मैं मोतिहारी गया हुआ था, वहां पर जन सभा हो रही थी, बड़ी जन सभा थी, मैंने मोतिहारी के लोगों को कहा कि अगर आप हमको एक हजार एकड़ जमीन दीजिए, तो हम आपके यहां महात्मा गांधी के नाम पर एक यूनिवर्सिटी खोल देंगे। तीन जगहों पर लोग एक-एक हजार एकड़ जमीन देने के लिए तैयार हो गए। हमारे प्रदेश में आबादी का घनत्व सबसे ज्यादा है। मोतिहारी जिले में लोगों ने तीन-तीन जगहों एक-एक हजार एकड़ जमीन दी। हमारे कपिल सिब्बल साहब मंत्री हैं, कैसे-कैसे नन-पॉलिटिकल लोग इस सरकार को चला रहे हैं, वे उसके एक नमूना हैं। उन्होंने कह दिया कि नहीं साहब, हम वहां यूनिवर्सिटी नहीं खोलेंगे, आप हमें इसके लिए पटना में जमीन दीजिए। प्रदेश सरकार का कहना है कि हम पटना में जमीन नहीं दे सकते हैं। इस संबंध में इसी सदन में हमसे हुज्जत भी हुई। आप कह रहे हैं कि बोध गया में खोलेंगे, वहां आर्मी का जो ट्रेनिंग सेन्टर था, वह खत्म हो गया है, इसलिए हम इसको बोध गया में खोलेंगे। मैंने परसों प्रधान मंत्री जी को कहा, जब प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां आए थे, तो मैंने यहीं पर खड़े होकर कहा कि यह क्या हो रहा है, तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम सेन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी को बढ़िया से चलाना चाहते हैं, इसलिए मुख्य मंत्री जी जहां कह रहे हैं, वहां सेन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी नहीं खोल कर कपिल सिब्बल साहब जहां कह रहे हैं, वहां पर यूनिवर्सिटी खोलेंगे।

मुझको याद आया कि जब इस देश में अंग्रेज आए थे, तो उन्होंने कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को अपना अच्छा-बुरा सोचने की तहजीब नहीं है, ज्ञान नहीं है, हम उनको यह तहजीब सिखाएंगे। बिहार के लोगों को यह मालूम नहीं है, वहां की सरकार को, नीतिश कुमार जी को, जिनके बारे में दुनिया भर के लोग बड़ी तारीफ कर रहे हैं, उनके अन्दर यह सलाहियत नहीं है कि सेन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी कहां खोली जाए। बिहार में कहां पर सेन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी खोलना अच्छा होगा, यह दिल्ली में बैठकर तय करेंगे, यह दिल्ली में बैठ कर तय होगा। क्या यही **federalism** है? क्या यही राज्यों का अधिकार है?

संविधान में यह व्यवस्था है कि केन्द्र सरकार राजस्व की वसूली करेगी और फाइनेंस कमीशन जो पॉलिसी बनाएगा, उसके हिसाब से राज्यों में उसका वितरण होगा। आप संविधान की इस व्यवस्था से बाहर जाकर सेन्ट्रल स्कीम चला रहे हैं और पैसा भेज रहे हैं। संविधान के अनुसार वही राज्यों का हिस्सा है। उसका उल्लंघन करके आप संविधान विरोधी काम कर रहे हैं। आप राज्यों में सेन्ट्रल स्कीम चला रहे हैं। इसके बाद आप राज्यों में जाते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमने इतना पैसा भेजा, हाथी खा गया, हमने इतना पैसा भेजा, तीर खा गया, लेकिन लोगों ने सिखा दिया। यह जो गुमान है कि हम दाता हैं और राज्य याचक हैं, इस गुमान को जनता ने तोड़ा और 2014 ज्यादा दूर नहीं है। 2014 तो दूर की बात दिखाई दे रही है, आज जो हालत है, वह आपके बस में या हमारे बस में नहीं है। यह सरकार कब खत्म हो जाएगी, कब सरकार जाएगी, इसका कोई ठिकाना नहीं है। उपसभापति महोदय, यह हालत है। इस तरह से कहीं राज्य चलता है?

इनकी विदेश नीति को देखिए। बगल में हमारा पड़ोसी तिब्बत है, तिब्बत के साथ

[श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी]

भारत का हजारों वर्षों का संबंध है। आज भी सीमित संख्या में इस देश के लोग कैलाश और मानसरोवर जाते हैं, क्योंकि उनको लगता है कि हमारे जो आराध्य हैं शंकर, वे इसी कैलाश पर्वत पर बैठे हुए हैं। उस तिब्बत के साथ क्या हुआ? हमारे देश के सबसे लोकप्रिय प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने आंख मूंद कर, तिब्बत का जो **aggression** हुआ, चीन ने जो उसको अपने कब्जे में लिया, उसको मान्यता दे दी। उसको मान्यता दे दी, **sovereignty** लिख दी कि तिब्बत पर चीन की **sovereignty** है। आज वहां क्या हालत है? वहां पर 23 लोगों ने आत्महत्या की है। उन्होंने आत्महत्या नहीं की, बल्कि आत्मदाह किया है। अगर आत्महत्या करते, तो बात समझ में आती। जब आदमी की बर्दाश्त के बाहर हो जाता है, तभी आदमी इस तरह का कदम उठाता है। हमारे बगल में, तिब्बत में, जिस तिब्बत के साथ हमारा हजारों वर्षों का संबंध है, हमारा आध्यात्मिक संबंध है, हमारा सांस्कृतिक संबंध है, हमारा धार्मिक संबंध है, उस तिब्बत में लोग आत्मदाह कर रहे हैं और हम कान में तेल डालकर सोए हुए हैं। हमारी यही स्थिति है।

मालदीव में क्या हुआ? मालदीव में हिन्दुस्तान का समर्थक जो राष्ट्रपति था, उसको हटा दिया गया और यह अचानक नहीं हुआ, बल्कि इस संबंध में महीनों पहले से अखबारों में खबर छप रही थी कि मालदीव में बगावत होने वाली है। वहां की मिलिट्री वहां के राष्ट्रपति, मोहम्मद नशीद को बर्दाश्त करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। हम आंख बन्द करके सोये रहे, कान में तेल डालकर सोये रहे। नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहां राष्ट्रपति बदल गया और हम ऐसा दिखावा कर रहे हैं कि जैसे हमको कुछ नहीं मालूम, यह अचानक हो गया, रातोंरात हो गया।

उपसभापति जी, यह सरकार किसी भी मोर्चे पर चल नहीं पा रही है। यह सरकार कहीं से चल नहीं पा रही है। भूख की समस्या के बारे में मैंने शुरू में कहा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मैं बिहार में गंगा के किनारे वाले इलाके से आता हूँ। इस सरकार का यह दावा है कि हमने बहुत विकास किया, हमने बहुत तरक्की की। हम बहुत जमीन वाले नहीं हैं। हमारी जमीन बीघा में भी नहीं, बल्कि कट्टा में है, लेकिन हमको याद है कि बचपन में अपने खेत में मकई का बाल तोड़ने, चना का साग खाने हम लोग जाया करते थे। उस समय हमारे खेतों में रंग-बिरंगी तितलियां उड़ा करती थीं। एक से एक सुन्दर-सुन्दर तितलियां। आज हालत यह है कि हमारे जो पोते-पोती हैं, हमारे जो नाती-नातिन हैं, उनको हम फोटो में तितली दिखाते हैं। विकास इस तरह हुआ कि तितलियां खत्म हो गईं।

हमको याद है, अभी फागुन का महीना गुजरा, हम लोग जिस इलाके के हैं, हमारे समाज में यह परम्परा रही है कि शाम को चार-पांच बजे ढोलक पर थाप पड़ती थी और लोग रात भर ढोलक-झाल लेकर गांव के एक-एक दरवाजे पर फगुआ गाने जाते थे। आज के जो नौजवान हैं, उनको दो घंटे भी ढोलक नहीं बज पाता है, झाल नहीं बज पाती है। क्यों? इसलिए कि हम लोग बचपन में मोटा अनाज खाते थे? हम टांगुन खाते थे, मसुरी खाते थे, बाजरा खाते थे, सोंवा खाते थे, वे सब खत्म हो गये और आज स्थिति यह है कि हमारी थाली में सिर्फ गेहूं और चावल हैं। आज सब लोग यह कह रहे हैं, जो डायट-विशेषज्ञ हैं, वे यह कह रहे हैं कि यह जो रागी है, यह जो मिलेट है, उनमें जितना आयरन है, उसमें जितने दूसरे तत्व हैं, वे दूध से भी ज्यादा लाभदायक हैं, जबकि हमारी सरकार उन अनाजों को फिर से जिन्दा करने का उपाय नहीं कर रही है। ये **malnutrition** के लिए **ICDS** से आयरन के कैप्स्यूल्स बांट रहे हैं। ऐसा दिवालियापन कहीं नहीं हो सकता है।

3.00 P.M.

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) पीठासीन हुए]

आप 2011 का सेन्सस पढ़ लीजिए। इस देश में आधे से अधिक लोग अभी भी खुले में शौच करते हैं। गांव-देहात में जाइए, वहां महिलाओं को बैठे हुए देखिए, शर्म आती है। किसी भी गाड़ी की बत्ती उन पर पड़ती है, तो वे उठ कर खड़ी हो जाती हैं। हमको याद है, एक बार डा. लोहिया ने लोक सभा में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू को चुनौती देते हुए कहा था कि महिलाएं, जो बाहर शौच के लिए जाती हैं, उनके लिए अगर पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की सरकार उनके घर के अन्दर शौच करने की व्यवस्था करा दे, तो मैं इस सरकार से सुलह कर लूंगा, यह शर्त उन्होंने रखी थी। आज देश की हालत यह है कि देश की आजादी के 63-64 वर्षों के बाद जिस सरकार की राष्ट्रपति जी पीठ थपथपा रही हैं, उस सरकार के राज में आधे से अधिक लोग खुले में शौच करते हैं। करीब 20 परसेंट लोग आधा किलोमीटर दूर से पानी लेकर आते हैं। यह 2011 का सेन्सस कह रहा है, यह मैं नहीं कह रहा हूं। अभी भी एक बड़ी आबादी कैरोसीन तेल से अपने घरों में रोशनी कर रही है और आप कह रहे हैं देश आगे बढ़ रहा है, आप कह रहे हैं देश तरक्की कर रहा है। कहां है तरक्की? हम प्रधान मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री जी पहले सत्र में यहां थे। उस समय हमको बहुत खुशी हुई थी कि हमारी उनसे रू-ब-रू बात होगी और मैं उनको अपनी बात कहूंगा। अब यहां नारायणसामी जी बैठे हैं। पता नहीं, ये हमारी कितनी बात प्रधान मंत्री जी तक पहुंचाएंगे। आप बताइएगा, यह राष्ट्रीय शर्म की बात नहीं है, बल्कि यह मनमोहन सिंह जी के लिए * वे कोई पॉलिटिकल वर्कर नहीं रहे हैं। आज उनकी जो स्थिति है, उसमें * यह स्थिति इसलिए है कि जो प्रधान मंत्री होता है, वह देश का नैचुरल लीडर होता है, और जो नैचुरल लीडर होता है, उसका सब आदर करते हैं, इज्जत करते हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है। प्रधान मंत्री जी को रखा गया है। उनको लोक सभा से नहीं लड़ाया गया, यहां राज्य सभा में भेजा गया। यह पुरानी परम्परा है। पता नहीं, आप लोगों में से कितने लोगों को यह याद होगा। कांग्रेस की यह पुरानी परम्परा 1952 में शुरू हुई थी। उस समय मद्रास राज्य था और आन्ध्र प्रदेश वगैरह उसी में थे। 1952 के चुनाव में वहां यूनाइटेड फ्रंट को बहुमत मिला था।

कांग्रेस अल्पमत में थी। यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के जो लीडर थॉमस साहब थे, संविधान के अनुसार उनको बुलाना चाहिए था। लेकिन उनको नहीं बुलाया गया। किस को बुलाया गया? राजा जी को। संयोग देखिए कि राजा जी ने विधान सभा का चुनाव नहीं लड़ा था। गवर्नर साहब ने उनको बुलाया। उस समय गवर्नर श्री श्रीप्रकाश थे, जो नामी आदमी, स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के थे। बुलाया उन्होंने, कौंसिल में नॉमिनेट किया और मुख्य मंत्री के रूप में शपथ ग्रहण करा दी। तो कांग्रेस की पुरानी आदत है। यहां भी देश का प्रधान मंत्री अगर लोक सभा...(व्यवधान)

कार्मिक, लोक शिकायत और पेंशन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री तथा प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री वी. नारायणसामी): आप एक काम कीजिए, कांस्टीट्यूशन में थोड़ा चेंज करा दीजिए, उसके बाद ठीक हो जाएगा।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी: अब अगर लोक सभा का चुनाव लड़कर नहीं आता है तो उसकी ऑथोरिटी कैसे बनेगी। हमको लगता है कि पंजाब में कहीं से भी चुनाव लड़ते या दिल्ली

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी]

में भी कहीं से चुनाव लड़ते तो देश की जनता प्रधान मंत्री को चुनाव में हराती नहीं, उनको चुनाव में जितवाकर भेजती। फिर क्यों नहीं लड़ाया गया? इसलिए कि मुट्ठी में रहें, इसलिए कि कब्जे में रहें। अब वह जमाना गया, अब वह कब्जेदारी खत्म, अब खानदान के नाम पर कोई जीतने वाला नहीं है। हमको भी गलतफहमी थी कि अगर * फेल करेंगे तो * कांग्रेस के तरकश में एक ब्रह्मास्त्र है।...**(व्यवधान)** सुनिए...**(व्यवधान)** उनकी इसी पर दुर्गति हो गई।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्रीमती विप्लव ठाकुर (हिमाचल प्रदेश): आप नाम क्यों ले रहे हैं?...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी: यह दो-दो ब्रह्मास्त्र कांग्रेस के लेकिन क्या हुआ? कहा गया कि उत्तर प्रदेश में एक लाख करोड़ भेजा, जिसको हाथी खा गया। क्या हुआ कांग्रेस का? * जो दूसरी ब्रह्मास्त्र थी, उन्होंने दो संसदीय क्षेत्र में प्रचार किया, दूर संसदीय क्षेत्र में।...**(व्यवधान)** अब राजनीति कीजिए, बढ़ेती छोड़िए...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Expunge the names. Tiwariji, don't take names. ...**(Interruptions)**... They cannot come here and defend themselves. ...**(Interruptions)**... ऐसा मत कीजिए।...**(व्यवधान)** नाम एक्सपंज कर दीजिए।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी: आप में इतना सहने की ताकत होनी चाहिए।...**(व्यवधान)**

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन): नाम मत लीजिए।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी: कांग्रेस ने जो देश की राजनीतिक संस्कृति को विकृत किया है, यह भड़ैती की संस्कृति कांग्रेस राजनीति में ले आई है और आज भी वही दिखा रही है। तो किसके सहारे अब चुनाव की वैतरणी लड़िएगा? जो दो-दो ब्रह्मास्त्र थे, दोनों को आपने चला दिया। ब्रह्मास्त्र की खूबी है कि एक बार से अधिक नहीं चलता, एक बार में उसकी ताकत खत्म हो जाती है। दोनों ब्रह्मास्त्रों को आपने इस चुनाव में इस्तेमाल कर लिया, दोनों चूक गए, आपके पास आगे कुछ नहीं बचा हुआ है। आगे अपने कर्म की बदौलत आपको बढ़ना होगा। हमने जैसा कहा कि यह सरकार दिशाहीन है, यह सरकार लक्ष्यहीन है, यह सरकार अर्द्धमूर्छित है, इसको पता ही नहीं है कि हम किधर जाएं - बायें जाएं, दाहिने जाएं, सीधे जाएं, इस सरकार को कुछ पता नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझको लगता है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने बहुत गलती की है जो इस सरकार की पीठ थपथपाने का काम किया है। यह सरकार तो ऐसी है कि इसके कान ऐंठने चाहिए, इसकी नाक रगड़वानी चाहिए। जिस सरकार के नेतृत्व में देश के आधे बच्चे कुपोषण के शिकार हों, जिस देश की 70 परसेंट और 80 परसेंट आबादी के लिए शाम के खाने का कोई ठिकाना न हो, तो ऐसी सरकार की कोई प्रशंसा करे तो उससे बड़ा अपराधी और कोई नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए, राष्ट्रपति महोदय का जो अभिभाषण है, उस अभिभाषण में जो सरकार की तारीफ की गई है, उसका मैं विरोध करता हूँ, और मांग करता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय इस सरकार का कान पकड़कर, इसका नाक रगड़ें और इसको सिखाएं कि सही रास्ते पर चलो, नहीं तो तुम्हारा बंटधार होगा। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री तारिक अनवर (महाराष्ट्र): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से राष्ट्रपति महोदय जी के अभिभाषण के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण होता है, जैसा कहा गया कि राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण एक आईना होता है, सरकार के द्वारा जो कार्यक्रम चलते हैं उसका एक प्रतिबिम्ब होता है और देश को आर्थिक रूप से स्वावलम्बी बनाने के लिए जो सरकार की ओर से योजना बनाई जाती है, जो कार्यक्रम निर्धारित किए जाते हैं,

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

यह उसकी रूपरेखा होता है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में उन तमाम चुनौतियों का जिक्र किया है, जिन से आज देश गुजर रहा है और उन चुनौतियों का हम किस प्रकार सामना करेंगे, उस का भी उन्होंने जिक्र किया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सभी जानते हैं कि आज पूरा विश्व आर्थिक मंदी से गुजर रहा है और उस आर्थिक मंदी का असर भारत पर भी पड़ा है। आज हम इस से इंकार नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन उस आर्थिक मंदी से उबारने के लिए सरकार ने जो ठोस कदम उठाए हैं, उन की वजह से सारी दुनिया को यह स्वीकार करना पड़ा है कि जिस तरह से अमेरिका, यूरोप और दूसरे देशों में आर्थिक मंदी की मार पड़ी, उस का उतना असर हमारे देश पर नहीं हुआ। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह इसलिए संभव हो पाया क्योंकि सरकार ने समय रहते ऐसे कदम उठाए जिन की वजह से भारत को उन परेशानियों से निजात मिली।

महोदय, अभी हमारे विपक्ष के साथी, हमारे बड़े भाई तिवारी जी ने अपने भाषण में सरकार की आलोचना की, लेकिन सवाल यह है कि हम किसी भी नीति, योजना और कार्यक्रम को किस नजरिए से देखते हैं। अगर हमारा नजरिया सही है तो हमें चीजें सही दिखायी पड़ेंगी, लेकिन अगर हमारा देखने का अंदाज ही **negative** होगा तो यकीनन हमें वे चीजें गलत दिखायी पड़ेंगी। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लोकतंत्र में विपक्ष की बहुत बड़ी भूमिका होती है और साथ ही जिम्मेदारी भी होती है। ठीक है, जहां उन्हें आलोचना करनी है करें, उस से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता, लोकतंत्र में वे इस के लिए स्वतंत्र हैं, लेकिन सिर्फ आलोचना के लिए आलोचना की जाए, यह उचित नहीं है। महोदय, विपक्ष की ओर से कुछ रचनात्मक सुझाव आते, कुछ ऐसी बातें कही जातीं जिन से आने वाले समय में सरकार को उन से अपनी नीति सुधारने में, अपने कार्यक्रम को आगे बढ़ाने में मदद मिलती तो यकीनन उन का स्वागत होता और सारा देश उन का स्वागत करता, लेकिन ऐसा विपक्ष की ओर से नहीं हुआ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, तिवारी जी कह रहे थे कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने स्वयं स्वीकार किया कि देश के लगभग 42 प्रतिशत बच्चे **malnutrition** का शिकार हैं। महोदय, उन्हें तो तारीफ करनी चाहिए थी। इस में आलोचना करने की कहां गुंजाइश है कि उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है। आज कौन अपनी कमजोरी स्वीकार करता है और अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है तो उस व्यक्ति की तारीफ होनी चाहिए थी, उन की सराहना होनी चाहिए थी। सरकार ने कभी भी यह दावा नहीं किया कि हम ने तमाम समस्याओं का समाधान कर दिया है। हालांकि आर्थिक चुनौतियां और बहुत सारी चुनौतियां हमारे सामने हैं जिन का जिक्र हमारी राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है, लेकिन उन्होंने देश का ध्यान पांच प्रमुख बातों की तरफ दिलाया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि देश से गरीबी, भूख और निरक्षरता को समाप्त करने के लिए काम करना होगा। दूसरी प्राथमिकता उन्होंने आर्थिक सुरक्षा प्रदान करने की बतायी है। आज हर व्यक्ति को आर्थिक रूप से मजबूत बनाने का हमारा लक्ष्य है। तीसरे उन्होंने ऊर्जा उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात कही है। आज जिस तरह से देश में विकास कार्य हो रहे हैं, देश का औद्योगीकरण हो रहा है, पूरे देश में कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात हो रही है, उन्हें देखते हुए आज सही मायनों में ऊर्जा की आवश्यकता बढ़ती जा रही है। इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए सरकार ने कई ठोस कदम उठाए हैं, जिनका जिक्र महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है। यहां पर्यावरण की बात भी कही गई है, आज पर्यावरण सारी दुनिया में एक बड़ी समस्या है। पर्यावरण को लेकर आज हमारे देश में लोग चिंतित हैं और हर वर्ग इस बात को महसूस करता है कि अगर हमारे देश का पर्यावरण और दुनिया का पर्यावरण खराब होता है या दूषित होता है, तो उससे हमारे मानव जीवन का अस्तित्व खतरे में पड़ सकता है। पांचवा, आंतरिक और बाहरी सुरक्षा सुनिश्चित करने की बात

[श्री तारिक अनवर]

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने की है। इससे यह बात स्पष्ट होती है कि महामहिम ने उन तमाम बातों पर इम्फेसिस किया है, ध्यान दिया है और अपने अभिभाषण में बताने की कोशिश की है कि हमारी क्या-क्या प्राथमिकताएं हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 2010-11 में जो हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था, हमारी ग्रोथ रेट 8.4 परसेंट थी, वह घटकर लगभग 7.0 प्रतिशत हो गई है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है और कहा है कि कैसे हम आने वाले समय में अपने लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति करें और जो हमारी ग्रोथ रेट 7.0 प्रतिशत हो गई है उसको बढ़ाकर फिर से 8.0 और 9.0 प्रतिशत पर ले जाएं, इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

महोदय, जहां तक भ्रष्टाचार की बात है, सही मायनों में भ्रष्टाचार हमारे देश के लिए एक कैंसर की तरह है और इसका इलाज होना चाहिए। इसके लिए जो भी कानून, सख्त से सख्त कानून बनाना पड़े, उसके लिए कोशिश करनी चाहिए। इसी बात का जिक्र राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है कि सरकार की ओर से इस दिशा में कई कारगर और ठोस कदम उठाए गए हैं, जिसके लिए इन बिलों की बात आती है - (i) **The Public Interest Disclosures and Protection of Persons making the Disclosures Bill**, (ii) **The Prevention of Bribery of Foreign Public Officials and Officials of Public International Organisations Bill**, (iii) **Citizens' Right to Grievance Redressal Bill**; (iv) **The Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill**, and (v) **The Lokpal and Lokayukta Bill**. इसके अलावा भ्रष्टाचार के विरुद्ध जो संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ का प्रयास है उसमें भी भारत सरकार की ओर से हस्ताक्षर किए गए हैं। इस बात का भी आश्वासन दिया गया है कि आने वाले दिनों में हम इस दिशा में ठोस कदम उठाएंगे और भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने की कोशिश की जाएगी।

महोदय, काले धन की बात होती है। काला धन जो देश से बाहर है या देश के अंदर है, उसको भी सामने लाना बहुत आवश्यक है। हमारे देश में जो यह पैरेलल इकॉनमी चल रही है, इसको समाप्त करने की आवश्यकता है। सही मायनों में अगर हम अपने देश से गरीबी मिटाना चाहते हैं, बेरोजगारी मिटाना चाहते हैं, तो इस ओर ध्यान देना होगा। अगर इस काले धन का हमारे देश के विकास में सही उपयोग होगा, तो यकीनन् उसका लाभ हमारे देश के देशवासियों को मिलेगा। इस दिशा में भी कानून बनाने की बात कही गई है, **The Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act** और **The Prevention of Money Laundering** में संशोधन किया गया है और काले धन को पनपने से रोकने के लिए कानून को मजबूत बनाने का एक संकल्प लिया गया है, जो हमारे लिए और हमारे देश के लिए बहुत अहम था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात सही है कि अगर सरकार की नीयत और नीति सही हो, तो हम किसी भी लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। इसका सबसे बड़ा सबूत यह है कि हमारे देश में पोलियो, जो एक विषाक्त के रूप में था और हम लोग हमेशा यही सोचते थे कि हमारे देश से शायद यह समाप्त होगा या नहीं होगा...लेकिन सरकार ने इसको मिटाने का संकल्प लिया और आज हम कह सकते हैं कि पोलियो हमारे देश से लगभग समाप्त हो चुका है। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन ने भी कह दिया है कि अब हमारे देश के बच्चे पोलियो का शिकार नहीं हो रहे हैं। 12वीं योजना में सभी लोगों को स्वास्थ्य सेवाएं पहुंचाने का भारत सरकार का जो लक्ष्य है, उसको पूरा करने की कोशिश हो रही है। हमारी **GDP** पहले बहुत कम थी, आज स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं को आम आदमी तक पहुंचाने के लिए, गांव-गांव तक पहुंचाने के लिए मैं **GDP** 2.5 परसेंट की बढ़ोतरी दर्ज की गई है। इसी तरह से लोकप्रिय राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य बीमा योजना के अंतर्गत लगभग 2 करोड़, 64 लाख परिवारों को राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य बीमा सुरक्षा प्रदान की गई है।

हमारा लक्ष्य है कि बारहवीं योजना की समाप्ति तक करीब 7 करोड़ परिवारों को राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य बीमा सुरक्षा प्रदान की जाएगी। इस तरह से स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र की तरफ सरकार का पूरा ध्यान है और हमारी कोशिश है कि हम इस लक्ष्य को पूरा करें, क्योंकि आज यह बहुत ही अहम और जरूरी चीज बन चुकी है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अल्पसंख्यकों के बारे में जैसा कहा गया, अल्पसंख्यकों के सशक्तीकरण को सुनिश्चित करने के लिए, सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक रूप से पिछड़े वर्गों के लिए निर्धारित कोटे में से 4.5 प्रतिशत कोटा अल्पसंख्यकों को उपलब्ध कराने का निर्णय सरकार ने लिया है। महोदय, आज इसका विरोध हो रहा है, कुछ लोग इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि सच्चर कमेटी और रंगनाथ मिश्र कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय को आरक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए। इसीलिए उनको आरक्षण दिया गया है। लोग इस बात का विरोध कर रहे हैं कि जो 27 प्रतिशत आरक्षण है, इसी में से इनको आरक्षण क्यों दिया जा रहा है? मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि बिहार में जो 27 परसेंट का आरक्षण है, उसमें Annexure-I और Annexure-II हैं और "पिछड़े वर्ग" तथा "अत्यंत पिछड़े वर्ग" को इनमें बांटा गया है, "दलित" और "महादलित" में उनको बांटा गया है। इसलिए जो लोग मंडल कमीशन के द्वारा identified हैं, अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय में जिनको हम पस्मानदा मुस्लिम कहते हैं, उन्हीं लोगों को यह आरक्षण दिया गया है। यह कहा जा रहा है कि धर्म के आधार पर यह आरक्षण दिया गया है, यह बिल्कुल गलत है, धर्म के आधार पर उनको आरक्षण नहीं दिया गया है। मंडल कमीशन के द्वारा जिन लोगों को identify किया गया है, जिन लोगों को उस सूची में शामिल किया गया है, उसी सूची में से 4.5 प्रतिशत लोगों को आरक्षण दिया जा रहा है। कुछ लोग हैं जो बिना जाने इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि उन्हें इसकी जानकारी नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है और हम सब लोग इसे स्वीकार करते हैं। आज हमारे यहां बहुत औद्योगीकरण हुआ है, बहुत विकास हुआ है, लेकिन आज भी हमारे देश की 60 से 70 प्रतिशत आबादी ऐसी है, जो कृषि पर आधारित है, यानि कृषि पर निर्भर करती है। जब तक हमारे किसानों, हमारे खेतिहर मजदूरों और गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों की हालत नहीं सुधरेगी, तब तक सही मायनों में देश का विकास नहीं हो सकता है। मैं इस बात के लिए सरकार की सराहना करना चाहता हूं कि सरकार ने इसके लिए कुछ ठोस कदम उठाए हैं, कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाए हैं, जिनसे किसानों का भला हो सकता है। बड़े पैमाने पर कृषि ऋण माफ किया गया, लेकिन आज भी किसानों के सामने समस्या है। न्यूनतम समर्थन मूल्य को भी बढ़ाया गया, लेकिन वह पूरा नहीं है। क्योंकि उससे किसानों की समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं होता है। आज भी किसान अपना खून पसीना बहाकर जो पैदावार करता है, उसकी कीमत उसको नहीं मिलती है। महोदय, आप अच्छी तरह से इस बात को जानते हैं कि आज हमारे यहां जो सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है, वह बहुत ही कम है। आज भी किसान नेचर पर निर्भर करता है, इसलिए उसको बहुत सी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है। कभी सूखा पड़ता है, कभी बाढ़ आती है, कभी बीमारी हो जाती है, कुछ न कुछ इस तरह की समस्याएं आती रहती हैं जिनसे उसको उसका अधिकार नहीं मिल पाता है। मैं समझता हूं कि सरकार को इस पर गहराई से सोचना चाहिए।

महोदय, यह बात सही है कि हमारा उत्पादन बहुत बढ़ा है। वर्ष 2010-11 में कृषि क्षेत्र में 6.6 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है, ऐसी वृद्धि हाल के समय में हमारे देश में नहीं देखी गई। उसी तरह से हमारा यह मानना है कि आपने न्यूनतम समर्थन मूल्य तो बढ़ाया है, लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ हम चाहेंगे कि किसानों के लिए, कृषि क्षेत्र के लिए स्वामीनाथन कमिशन की जो recommendations हैं, उनको भी लागू किया जाए। अगर सही मायनों में हम किसानों को

[श्री तारिक अनवर]

आत्मनिर्भर बनाना चाहते हैं, उनको शक्ति प्रदान करना चाहते हैं, तो उसके लिए आवश्यक है कि स्वामीनाथन कमिशन की जो भी **recommendations** हैं, उनको स्वीकार किया जाए और मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इस पर जरूर विचार करेगी।

महोदय, सरकार ने पिछले शीतकालीन सत्र में राष्ट्रीय खाद्य सुरक्षा विधेयक पेश किया था। इससे खाद्य सुरक्षा सुनिश्चित करने के लिए कानूनी प्रावधान उपलब्ध होगा, यह एक अच्छा ठोस कदम उठाया गया है।

महोदय, अक्सर मनरेगा की बात कही जाती है कि मनरेगा के द्वारा बहुत से लोगों को रोजगार मिला है। इससे इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता, लेकिन सरकार को यह भी सुनिश्चित करना पड़ेगा कि मनरेगा में जो भ्रष्टाचार है, जिस उद्देश्य से सरकार मनरेगा की योजना लाई थी, उसको विफल करने का प्रयास हो रहा है और वह भ्रष्टाचार में काफी हद तक लिप्त हो चुका है। इसलिए मनरेगा पर हमें ध्यान देना होगा और यह देखना होगा कि जिस उद्देश्य से हमने यह योजना बनाई थी, उस योजना का लाभ मजदूरों और गांवों में रहने वाले बेरोजगार युवकों को कहां तक पहुंच रहा है। हालांकि इस योजना से लगभग पच्चीस करोड़ लोगों को अभी तक फायदा मिला है, लेकिन अगर इसको हम और भी अच्छे ढंग से लागू करें, इसमें पारदर्शिता लाएं, ट्रांसपेरेंसी लाएं, तो यकीनन हम उसका और भी फायदा उठा सकते हैं और उन लोगों को लाभ पहुंचा सकते हैं।

महोदय, फिर भारत निर्माण योजना है। वर्ष 2004 में जब यू.पी.ए. की सरकार बनी थी, तब इस योजना को लिया गया था। यह बात सही है कि भारत निर्माण एक बहुत ही अच्छा कार्यक्रम है, लेकिन जैसा अभी कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि हमारा देश दो हिस्सों में बंट गया है - एक इंडिया है, एक भारत है। जो भारत है, वह गांवों में रहता है और उन गांवों को कैसे ऊपर उठाया जाए, गांवों में रहने वालों को कैसे बुनियादी सुविधाएं दी जाएं, यह आवश्यक है। जब तक उस सत्तर प्रतिशत आबादी को हम बुनियादी सुविधाएं नहीं देंगे, तब तक हमारा देश एक मजबूत देश के रूप में नहीं उभर सकता है और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि सरकार ने उस दिशा में काम किया और कुछ ऐसे काम भी हुए, जैसे करीब एक करोड़ हैक्टेयर भूमि के लिए अतिरिक्त सिंचाई की व्यवस्था हुई। एक लाख गांवों और 1 करोड़ 75 लाख गरीब परिवारों को बिजली देने, मौजूदा 1 लाख 96 हजार किलोमीटर ग्रामीण सड़कों का सुधार करने और सभी चिन्हित घरों तक पीने का साफ पानी पहुंचाने का जो 31 मार्च, 2012 का लक्ष्य था, वह पूरा हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यू.पी.ए. की सरकार ने यह बहुत ही अच्छा कदम उठाया है और इसको और मजबूती से आगे बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। इसमें जो भी कमी है, भ्रष्टाचार है, उसको देखने की आवश्यकता है और उसको दूर करने की आवश्यकता है।

महोदय, पर्यटन उद्योग के बारे में कहा गया। आज जो पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान हैं, उनमें बेरोजगारी बहुत जबर्दस्त है। पढ़-लिखकर जब नौजवान बेरोजगार होता है तब उसको कुछ दिखाई नहीं देता, उसके सामने अंधकार होता है। इसलिए कैसे हम रोजगार के अवसर बढ़ा सकते हैं, इस बात के लिए सरकार को ठोस कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि पर्यटन उद्योग को अगर हम सही ढंग से लागू करें या भारत में उसको बढ़ाने की कोशिश करें तो उससे काफी लोगों को रोजगार मिल सकता है तथा 2012-13 में पचास लाख नए रोजगार के अवसर पैदा करने का जो लक्ष्य है, उसे प्राप्त करने में सहायता मिलेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे बहुत सारे बेरोजगार युवकों को रोजगार मिलेगा, एक दिशा मिलेगी। इसीलिए इस काम को आगे बढ़ाने की जरूरत है, उसको प्राथमिकता के आधार पर लेने की जरूरत है। यहां पर महंगाई की बात कही गयी। जैसा मैंने शुरू में ही कहा कि आज दुनिया में जो मंदी का दौर

चल रहा है, उसका असर हमारे देश पर भी है। विशेषकर खाद्य वस्तुओं में भारत सहित विश्व के अनेक देशों में एक बड़ी चुनौती रही है। दुनिया भर में वस्तुएं, औद्योगिक सामग्री और ईंधन की कीमतों के बढ़ने से भी मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ी है। लेकिन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कीमतों के भारी दबाव को कम करने के लिए कच्चे तेल पर सीमा शुल्क और पेट्रोल तथा डीजल पर आयात शुल्क घटा दिया गया है। यह एक अच्छा कदम है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे हमें मुद्रास्फीति को नियंत्रित करने में काफी हद तक सपोर्ट मिलेगा। प्रमुख खाद्यान्न पदार्थों में मुद्रास्फीति में तेजी से गिरावट आयी है। यह एक अच्छा संकेत है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे गरीब और आम लोगों को बहुत अधिक लाभ मिलेगा। पूंजी निवेश की बात कही गयी है। पूंजी निवेश बहुत जरूरी है। अगर हमें देश को आर्थिक रूप से आगे बढ़ाना है तो पूंजी निवेश आवश्यक है। जब तक हमारे देश में पूंजी निवेश नहीं होगा, तब तक आने वाले दिनों में जो हमारा लक्ष्य है, वह पूरा नहीं हो सकता है इसलिए पूंजी निवेश के लिए हमें देश में ऐसे अवसर प्रदान करने होंगे, ऐसा एंटर्प्राइस बनाना होगा, ताकि लोग पूंजी निवेश कर सकें। महोदय, चूंकि सब बातों पर रोशनी डालना संभव नहीं है इसलिए मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि हम जिस दिशा में बढ़ रहे हैं, उसमें हमारा रास्ता कठिन जरूर है, मुश्किल जरूर है, लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा कि हमारी नीयत सही हो, लक्ष्य सही हो तो उस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त अवश्य करेंगे, हम देर या सवेर वहां तक जरूर पहुंचेंगे। हमें मायूस नहीं होना चाहिए। मैं याद दिलाना चाहूंगा कि इसी सेंट्रल हॉल में जब अमेरिका के राष्ट्रपति बराक ओबामा आए थे तो उन्होंने क्या कहा था। **Mr. Barack Obama, President of the United States of America said in this very Parliament House that India was not emerging but had already emerged as an economic power.** जब यह बात एक राष्ट्रपति, वह भी अमेरिका के राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा कही गयी तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्होंने कुछ तो देखा होगा, क्योंकि ऐसे ही, गैर-जिम्मेदाराना बयान कोई नहीं दे सकता है, वह भी अमेरिका के राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा। इसलिए जब उन्होंने कहा है कि भारत **emerge** कर चुका है तो हम लोगों को उसी दिशा में आगे बढ़ने की जरूरत है और उसको और अधिक मजबूत करने की जरूरत है। महोदय, इसी प्रकार न्यूयॉर्क यूनिवर्सिटी के **Prof. Roubini** ने कहा था कि **India is placed better amongst Brazil, China and Russia. This is because our fundamentals are strong.** इसलिए जब तक दिशा सही नहीं होगी, कार्यक्रम सही नहीं होगा, नीति सही नहीं होगी, तब तक हम अपना लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे रास्ते में कठिनाई जरूर है, लेकिन आने वाले समय में सरकार इस लक्ष्य को पूरा करेगी। जो आम आदमी बात हमने यू.पी.ए.-1 और यू.पी.ए.-2 में कही थी कि आम आदमी की सुविधा के लिए, आम आदमी को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए जो भी कदम सरकार उठा सकती है, उठाएगी। उनको आर्थिक और सामाजिक रूप से मजबूत करने का काम हम करेंगे और इस लक्ष्य को हम जरूर प्राप्त करेंगे। इन्हीं बातों के साथ मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति के इस अभिभाषण का समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

श्री किशोर कुमार मोहन्ती (ओडिशा): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के जरिए से यहां पर चर्चा हो रही है, उस संदर्भ में, मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि राष्ट्रपति एक ऐसे देश की राष्ट्रपति हैं जहां पर संघीय ढांचे के ऊपर विश्वास किया जाता है। फेडरल स्ट्रक्चर में, हमारे संविधान ने सभी राज्यों को अधिकार दिया है। इस अधिकार को, जो हमारे आज के शासक हैं, भारतवर्ष में यू.पी.ए. की सरकार है, वह इसको मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं है, जिसके बारे में मेरे पूर्ववक्ता यहां पर कह चुके हैं और यह कुछ मायने में सही भी है। राज्यों को मिलाकर देश बनता है और राज्यों से जो राजस्व आता है, उस राजस्व को किस तरीके से राज्यों में बांटना चाहिए, यह केन्द्र सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है, लेकिन हमें ऐसा कहीं नहीं लगता है। आज की जो यू.पी.ए. सरकार है इसने राज्यों को सही दिशा में, सही दिग्दर्शन दिया है या सही तरीके से आबंटन किया है, ऐसा मुझे नहीं लगता है। यह बात हम

[श्री किशोर कुमार मोहन्ती]

इसलिए कहते हैं कि राज्यों की जो दरकारी चीज होती है, उसको राज्य में डेवलेपमेंट के लिए दरकार होती है, अगर उस राज्य में कांग्रेस की सरकार न हो, तो जब राज्य डिमांड करते हैं, तो उस डिमांड को केन्द्र की यू.पी.ए. सरकार सही नजर से नहीं देखती है। इसलिए मैं दुख के साथ इस अभिभाषण पर एक चीज रखना चाह रहा हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहीं पर भी, महिला होते हुए भी, महिला रिजर्वेशन बिल पर अपना वक्तव्य नहीं दिया कि इस सरकार के समय में यह महिला रिजर्वेशन बिल हमारी संसद के द्वारा पास होगा। यह सबसे बड़े दुख की बात है कि यू.पी.ए. की चेयरमैन महिला हैं, हमारी राष्ट्रपति महिला हैं और हमारे साथी चतुर्वेदी जी ने जब राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद देने के लिए बहस को initiate किया, तो उन्होंने कहा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो कहा है, वह इस सरकार के कार्यक्रम का आईना है। लेकिन उस आइने में, मुझे यह कहीं भी नहीं लगा कि महिला होते हुए भी, उनका महिलाओं के प्रति आदर है, यह अनादर क्यों है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। राष्ट्रपति जी कह सकती थीं कि तुम महिला बिल को जरूर लाओ, वह राज्य सभा में पास हो गया, लोक सभा में जहां पर यू.पी.ए. की **majority** है, वहां पर क्यों पास नहीं करवा सकोगे, यह राष्ट्रपति जी को यू.पी.ए. सरकार के प्रधान मंत्री जी से और जो यू.पी.ए. सरकार के सभी एसोसिएट हैं, उनसे पूछना चाहिए। मुझे लगता है कि चतुर्वेदी जी कह रहे थे कि राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण सरकार के जो कार्यक्रम हैं, उनका आईना है, उसी संदर्भ में यह अभिभाषण राष्ट्रपति जी ने सदन के सामने रखा था, यह सरासर गलत होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सिर्फ इतना कहूंगा कि फेडरल स्ट्रक्चर में सभी राज्यों को अधिकार प्राप्त हैं। संविधान के हिसाब से हम सभी राज्यों से आते हैं, मैं ओडिशा से आता हूँ। हमारे मुख्य मंत्री श्री नवीन पटनायक जी हैं, मैं बीजू जनता दल से आता हूँ, हमारे मुख्य मंत्री बीजू जनता दल के वहां **majority** हासिल करके आए हैं। वहां लोगों का सपोर्ट बीजू जनता दल के प्रति है। वहां पर बीजू जनता दल के जो नेता हैं, जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं, उनका कोई भी सजेशन उस राज्य में, कोई भी कानून लागू करने से पहले लेना जरूरी होना चाहिए। इसका अधिकार राज्यों को हमारे संविधान में दिया हुआ है। मैं बार-बार कहूंगा, चाहे एन.सी.टी.सी. का मामला हो, चाहे लोकपाल का मामला हो, चाहे **Land acquisition reform** का मामला हो, बिल हो या कोई भी बिल जब केन्द्र सरकार के सम्मुख आता है, तो इन्होंने कभी भी राज्य सरकार के मुख्य मंत्रियों से चर्चा नहीं की और न कभी उनसे परामर्श लेना आवश्यक समझा। वर्तमान केन्द्र सरकार खुद ही यहां पर नियम तैयार करती है जिसके कारण राज्य के मुख्य मंत्रियों ने बिल का विरोध किया है। मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि मैं ओडिशा से **belong** करता हूँ, वहां पर **27 per cent coal reserve** है। भारतवर्ष का **27 per cent coal** ओडिशा में **reserve** है और ओडिशा की डिमांड **19 per cent** है। वहां जितने भी ऊर्जा के केन्द्र हैं, वे चाहे केन्द्रीय ऊर्जा उत्पादित केन्द्र हैं या राज्य के ऊर्जा उत्पादित केन्द्र हैं, उन सभी की डिमांड रहती है कि यदि उनको **19 per cent** कोयला मिल जाए तो हम अपने राज्य को तथा देश के अन्य प्रदेशों को ऊर्जा दे सकते हैं। हमें अपने प्रदेश का शेयर भी नहीं मिलता है। हमारे प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री नवीन पटनायक जी ने बार-बार केन्द्र सरकार को, केन्द्रीय ऊर्जा मंत्री को पत्र लिखा है कि जो हमारे राज्य का शेयर बनता है, हमें उतना कोयला दिया जाए। जो हमारे राज्य का शेयर अधिकार है, केन्द्रीय ऊर्जा मंत्री वह भी हमें देने के लिए राजी नहीं हैं। जहां हमें **19 per cent coal block** मिलना चाहिए, हमें मात्र **7 per cent coal** ही दिया जाता है। जिन राज्य सरकारों ने **coal block** के लिए **corporate sectors** को अपनी **recommendations** भी नहीं दी थीं, उनको बाध्य किया जाता है कि तुम **coal block** दो। इससे हमारे सामने केन्द्र सरकार की स्वेच्छाचारी की नीति आती है। केन्द्र सरकार चाहती है कि मैं दिल्ली में बैठकर **dictatorship** करूं और जिसको जो चाहूँ दूँ। यह जो **UPA** सरकार

की नीति है, मैं इसकी निन्दा करता हूँ। मैं चाहूंगा कि राज्य का जो हक है, केन्द्र में जो भी सरकार हो यदि वह उसको देने का काम नहीं करेगी, तो आने वाले समय में उन राज्यों में बहुत तरह के आंदोलन हो सकते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं NCTC के मामले में भी एक बात कहूंगा कि जब NCTC का मामला आया था तो हमारे मुख्य मंत्री नवीन पटनायक जी ने प्रधान मंत्री जी को पत्र लिखा था कि यह राज्य सरकारों के अधिकारों पर हनन है। आप राज्य सरकारों के मुख्य मंत्रियों से इस संदर्भ में विचार-विमर्श करके ही नियम को लागू करते। यदि सभी राज्यों की इस मामले में सहमति होती और तब आप यह कानून लाते तो उचित होता। जो हमारे केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री हैं और जो उनके **secretary** हैं, उन्होंने इस ओर कोई तवज्जोह नहीं दी और देश के ऊपर जबर्दस्ती यह कानून लादने का काम किया गया। इसी कारण देश में आज जहां कांग्रेस की सरकार नहीं है, वहां के दस-बारह मुख्य मंत्री इसके विरोध में खड़े हैं। यह बात आने वाले कल की सूचना देती है कि सरकार की जो नीति है, उसको देश के किसी भी कोने में नहीं माना जा रहा है। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आने वाले कल के लिए जो भी कानून बनाया जाए, स्टेट के जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं, जो वहां की पॉपुलर गवर्नमेंट है, उनसे पूछा जाए कि अगर हम देश में यह कानून लागू करेंगे तो क्या आप इससे सहमत हैं या नहीं, तभी यह कानून लागू किया जाए, चाहे NCTC हो, चाहे वह RPF act हो। जो रेलवे प्रोटेक्शन पुलिस फोर्स है, आपने उसको भी बदलने का काम किया है। इस पर हमारे मुख्य मंत्री नवीन पटनायक जी ने कहा है कि रेलें सभी राज्यों की सम्पत्तियों के ऊपर से होकर जाती है, इसीलिए राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्रियों से **consult** करना जरूरी है। अगर आप RPF act में कोई परिवर्तन कर रहे हैं, तो निश्चित तौर पर वहां के राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री से सलाह लें और उसमें कुछ परिवर्तन लाएं, तभी यह कानून लाया जाए। इस RPF act का विरोध हमारे मुख्य मंत्री नवीन पटनायक जी ने भी किया था। चाहे लोकपाल बिल हो, लोकायुक्त बिल हो या चाहे कोई भी बिल केन्द्र सरकार पार्लियामेंट में लाए या कोई भी नया कानून अगर देश के ऊपर लागू करने जा रही है, तो मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि सभी राज्य सरकारों को इस संदर्भ में विश्वास में लिया जाए, ताकि जो हमारा संघीय ढांचा है, जो उसका नियम है हम उसकी रक्षा कर सकें।

महोदय, मैं कहूंगा कि जो UPA सरकार के लोग यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, जिन राज्यों में कांग्रेस की सरकारें हैं, वे केवल उनको ही सुविधाएं देने की बात सोचते हैं। वे सोचते हैं कि भारत का आम आदमी उनकी सरकार को चुने। मैं इसका एक उदाहरण दूंगा कि 2008 में, जब ओडिशा में भयानक बाढ़ आई और उस बाढ़ में...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Mohanty, there are two more speakers from your party. You have already taken nine minutes.

SHRI KISHORE KUMAR MOHANTY: I will take two minutes more. उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इतना ही कह रहा था कि जब ओडिशा में 2008 में बाढ़ आई तो 30 जिलों में से 18 जिलों के आदमी कुत्रस्त थे। लगभग ढाई करोड़ आदमी घर से बाहर थे। उस संदर्भ में, जब प्रधानमंत्री जी को हमारे मुख्यमंत्री श्री नवीन पटनायक जी ने चिट्ठी लिखी, तो प्रधान मंत्री जी भुवनेश्वर गए और वहां पर बोले कि मैं ओडिशा को 200 करोड़ रुपये की सहायता दूंगा, मगर ओडिशा राज्य को एक भी पैसा नहीं दिया गया। हमारे मुख्यमंत्री नवीन पटनायक जी ने अपने राज्य के फंड से उन ढाई करोड़ आदमियों को, जिनको तकलीफ थी, उबारने की चेष्टा की और अन्य आदमियों के लिए भी कुछ काम किया। वहां पर जब भी कुछ भी नेचुरल डिजास्टर होता है और केंद्र की सरकार को हमारे राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री लिखते हैं, तब उस समय केंद्र की सरकार के प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि रुपया पेड़ पर नहीं फलता है। बीते दिनों में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने एक बहुत बड़ी बात कही थी, जिसको ओडिशावासी सहन नहीं कर सके। आप देखेंगे कि आज ओडिशा में कांग्रेस की हालत बद से बदतर होती जा रही है।

[श्री किशोर कुमार मोहन्ती]

उन्होंने ओडिशा के प्रति हर तरह से जो उपेक्षा रखी है, चाहे कोल हो, एनर्जी हो, नेशनल हाई-वे रोड हो, चाहे बी.पी.एल. कार्ड हो या कोई भी अन्य कार्य हो, वे ओडिशा के प्रति संवेदनहीन रहे हैं, जबकि ओडिशा हमारे देश का सबसे गरीबतम राज्य है। सबसे गरीबतम राज्य होते हुए भी, ओडिशा के मुख्य मंत्री नवीन पटनायक जी द्वारा यू.पी.ए. के प्रधान मंत्री को बार-बार लिखने के बाद भी उन्होंने हमारे ओडिशा राज्य की समस्याओं के प्रति तवज्जो नहीं दी। इसी कारण से मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहूंगा कि केन्द्र में जो यू.पी.ए. सरकार है, यह संघीय ढांचे में विश्वास करे, जिससे हम सभी राज्यों को समान दर्जा देकर सहज करने की उम्मीद रखें। मैं इतना कहकर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI SUKHENDU SEKHAR ROY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I shall concentrate my speech only on two issues because so many issues have been highlighted by other hon. Members. In paragraph 31 of the President's Address, it has been claimed by the Government that there was a record production of agriculture crops last year. In paragraph 88 of the President's Address, it has been stated that certain measures have been taken by the Government to strengthen development and food security for the people living in Maoist affected areas. But, unfortunately, so far as West Bengal is concerned, everyone knows that in 24 blocks of three districts in West Bengal, popularly known as Jangalmahal, which are Maoist infested areas, a series of killings has taken place in the past few years. With the intervention of the hon. Chief Minister of the newly elected Government in West Bengal, this problem has been contained to a considerable limit. Sir, the Food Minister of West Bengal has requested the Central Government for additional allocation of foodgrains for the BPL people in those 24 Maoist infested blocks in the Jangalmahal area, and in 15 blocks which were affected by Ila in the Sundarbans areas and in the entire Darjeeling and Dooars areas, particularly in those areas where plantation labourers are living and where most of the tea gardens are closed for some reasons or the other.

Our requirement for additional allocation, for the Government of West Bengal was 17,78,592 MT. But not even 1 MT of additional allocation has been made, although it has been claimed that there is a record production of agricultural crops. And, we have, recently, seen that the Supreme Court also has reprimanded the Central Government that million tonnes of foodgrains are getting rotten in the godowns and warehouses of the Food Corporation of India. And, people living below-the-poverty line, particularly, in those vulnerable areas are not getting proper support, which reflects from the figures that I have mentioned right now. Therefore, I would request, through you, Sir, that the Government should act immediately to show their eagerness which has been mentioned in Paragraph 31 and 88 of the President's Address so that these poorer people can have some food. Otherwise, the sub-human conditions, under which these people are living, cannot be eradicated. This is point No.1.

The second point of my speech is regarding National Counter Terrorism Centre which has been constituted by an Executive Order dated 3rd February, 2012. By a combined reading of different clauses of that Executive Order, it emerges that the NCTC is designed to exercise powers which are attributed to police force like arrests, search, detention, intelligence gathering, investigation in the field of counter-terrorism, etc., etc. But neither of the 97 Entries of the List I of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution offers percentage to these provisions in any way. It is true that the Union Government, pressing into service Entry 2 A of the List I, may deploy any armed forces in aid of the civil power of a particular State. But here also, the Sarkaria Commission recommended that while deploying armed forces under the Special Armed Powers Act, prior consultation with the concerned State Government is a must. Even in the case of Nagaland People's Movement versus Union of India, the Apex Court ruled that it is mandatory on the part of the Central Government to consult the State Government while sending armed forces. But here, the NCTC does not get any kind of sustenance from Entry 2A of the List I, since it is not an Armed Force of the Union *per se*. And personnel of NCTC cannot be termed as Armed Force of the Union *per se*. And, it would like to refer to Entry 80 of the List I, and I quote: "Extension of powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any State to any area outside that State but not so as to enable the police of one State to exercise powers and jurisdiction in any area outside the State without the consent of the Government of the State in which such area is situated." Therefore, this Entry also reinforces the theory that without the consent of the concerned Government, the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to a State cannot be extended to another State. Now, coming to the formation of the NCTC, it is from the police forces from different States. The constitution of NCTC, by the Executive Order that I have referred to, also goes against the authority of the Constitution, since article 73 does not sustain any such kind of order. Section 2E of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act—they have given powers to the NSG under this Act—requires that specifications of the designated authority will have to be made by a notification published in the Official Gazette. Therefore, it envisages a statutory order under Section 2(e) and its publication is a must in the Official Gazette. But, here, it was not published in the Official Gazette and, rather, by an Executive Order, the designated authority has been established by virtue of clause 3(1) of the NCTC Order, 2012. Thus, it is a clear circumvention of the statutory mandate and is, therefore, *void ab initio*. The Order dated 3rd February, 2012, cannot be a substitute for a statutory notification as mandated by the UAPA Act.

Now, as per Clause 43A of the UAPA Act, ample powers have been given as if the designated authority will enjoy temporal power. Unfettered powers have been given. They can arrest anybody at any point of time. They can search any establishment, any area, any office, any place, at any point of time, although there is

[Shri Sukhendu Sekhar Roy]

a bar by virtue of a ruling of the Supreme Court that after sunset you cannot arrest a woman. But no such thing has been mentioned in Clause 43A of the UAPA. So, this agency would enjoy unfettered and unlimited powers! The provision contained in Clause 3.2 refers to the provision of Section 43 of the said Act, but is totally silent on the provision as laid down in Section 43B. Therefore, it is totally ambiguous, susceptible to illegal detention and arrests and the officers of the Operations Division of the NCTC cannot resort to the provisions of section 43B of the said Act.

My next point so far as the NCTC is concerned is, we all know, that public order and Police are a State Subject, that is, List II of the Seventh Schedule, and the federal structure of the Government is enshrined in the Constitution, which nobody can touch. In the Keshavanand Bharati case, in the Minerva Mills case, the Supreme Court had categorically stated that even Parliament cannot touch the basic structure of the Constitution. Whatever amendments are to be made, they should be made within the framework of the Constitution. Federalism is a framework of the Constitution which cannot be affected by an Executive Order. This is unheard of. Now, supremacy of the Union over the federal unit as envisaged and introduced by the Order dated 3rd February, 2012, is absolutely against the spirit of federalism and affects the basic structure of the Constitution.

Sir, there is no denying the fact that terrorism is a threat and, in West Bengal, we have thousands of kilometres of land bordering with more than one neighbouring country. So, we are aware of the threat perception, but that does not necessarily mean that, to combat terrorism, we should say goodbye to our federal structure. It cannot be so. This cannot be 'extended to a position where the Central Government would discharge Police functions making inroads into the functioning of the State Government in the area of public order as assigned to it by the Constitution itself. In no way, can the Centre bulldoze the autonomy of the State and encroach...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. K. KURIEN): Just a second, Mr. Roy. Out of 18 minutes, you have taken 11 and there is one more speaker from your Party.

SHRI SUKHENDU SEKHAR ROY: I will take only one or two minutes to conclude, Sir.

Therefore, the Centre cannot bulldoze the autonomy of the State and encroach upon the constitutional authority of the State. Federalism is a long-practiced essence of our democracy which must not be uprooted. This is my sincere appeal to the Government. The Government must take note of it, otherwise, there will be a serious political disorder in the system itself which will affect the people at large in different States. अब हम इसके खिलाफ बोल रहे हैं तो कोई यह सोच रहा है कि हम खिलाफ में क्यों बोल रहे हैं। क्या आप सरकार से समर्थन वापस ले रहे हैं, यह सवाल भी पैदा होता है। कुछ लोगों ने यही सवाल भी मेरे सामने पैदा कर दिया।

4.00 P.M.

सर, मैं इस पर एक लाइन बोलना चाहता हूँ। मोहम्मद रफी जी का गाया हुआ एक पुराना गाना है, जिसको मैंने बचपन में सुना था, आप लोगों ने भी सुना होगा:

चले थे साथ मिल के, चलेंगे साथ मिल कर।

तुम्हें रुकना पड़ेगा, मेरी आवाज सुन कर।।

तो हम चले थे आपके साथ, चलेंगे भी, लेकिन जब हम बोलेंगे तो आपको सुनना पड़ेगा, आपको रुकना पड़ेगा।...**(समय की घंटी)**...महोदय, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, thank you. On behalf of the Communist Party of India, I would like to put on record some of our views on the President's Address. Sir, I find the President's Address as a compilation of promises, both broken and to be broken! The reason for that is that the UPA-II Government suffers from loss of moral authority. The Congress Party and the constituents in the UPA-II Government are pulling the Government in different directions.

Yesterday and the day before yesterday, we had serious discussions on war crimes and human rights violations in Sri Lanka, and the Government of India's stand at Geneva. Hon. Prime Minister was present in the House. He never thought of getting up and uttering a word on this issue. I do not say that the Prime Minister personally is insensitive to the issue. I definitely say that the Government remains insensitive to this issue. That is because this Government suffers from the loss of moral authority, this Government suffers from its own internal contradictions.

Sir, coming to some of the issues, when I say 'broken promises', my previous speakers also referred to it, take the example of the Women's Reservation Bill, it remains a promise, a broken promise. Now, the Government talks about the livelihood security. That is the number one priority for the Government now. It refers to the Twelfth Five-Year Plan that will have goals of faster, sustainable and inclusive growth. But, really, have we built an economy which guarantees inclusive growth? The two decades of neo-liberalism as a politics, as an economy in our country, have proved that these policies can never allow to have inclusive growth. In this respect, Sir, I would like to quote from a Special Mention which was made by Dr. Gyan Prakash Pilania, a very respected Member of our House. With a passion, he presented this Special Mention in which he has pointed out, "India is home to the largest number of hungry people, about a quarter of the estimated 820 millions in the whole world. The NFHS, last carried out in 2004-05, had also shown that 23 per cent of married men, 52 per cent of married women and a chilling 72 per cent of infants were anemic—a sure sign that a shockingly large number of families were caught in a downward spiral of slow starvation."

This explains what is the inclusive growth that we are talking about in India today. Sir, again, the President's Address talks about this on page 6, point no.24, "My Government will introduce a new Bill in the Parliament for eliminating manual

[Shri D. Raja]

scavenging and insanitary latrines.” Sir, here, with a pain and anguish, I would like to ask the Government why manual scavenging is still prevalent in the country despite we have the 1993 Act passed by this Parliament. I am asking this from the Government. We have five Prime Ministers since 1993, from Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao to Dr. Manmohan Singh. All of them promised to eradicate the inhuman and illegal practice of manual scavenging. Our current Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, announced in June, 2011, that within six months, i.e., by the end of year 2011, manual scavenging would be eradicated from the country. Hence, the Government of India should reply. There is only one Minister sitting in the House. But I draw the attention of the House to it. This is how the President’s Address is taken seriously by the Government.

Sir, I am asking the Government to reply in Parliament how and why the promise given by the Prime Minister has failed. The promise to eradicate manual scavenging was given by the Prime Minister.

Sir, in January, 2011, the Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment announced the Government’s decision to conduct a fresh survey to identify locations of dry latrines and the number of manual scavengers in the country. It is a shame to note that even after 13 months the process has not begun. What are we telling the people? The Government goes on giving promises, and breaking promises. I am talking about the most downtrodden, the most deprived section of our society, the manual scavengers. Everybody agrees it is a shame to have manual scavenging in the 21st century. India claims that it is an emerging power. No, it is not an emerging power; it has already emerged a power. But this is the-condition of these people. So, I want to know whether the Government or the Prime Minister will take the initiative to convince the Railways to eradicate manual scavenging. Yesterday, we had the Railway Budget, and we will discuss the Railway Budget. The Railways being the single largest employer of manual scavengers must initiate immediately a time-bound programme to end this practice of manual scavenging.

Secondly, an action plan to survey, demolish the dry toilets and rehabilitate the manual scavengers must be initiated by the Government. I want to know whether the Government would do it.

Thirdly, Sir, I would like to suggest that the Prime Minister should convene a meeting of Chief Ministers, particularly the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Jammu and Kashmir, Odisha, Maharashtra and-Rajasthan where this practice of manual scavenging is prevalent in a big way. I want to know whether the Government will do it because the President has given an assurance that the Government will introduce a new Bill in Parliament. Why do you talk of a new Bill when there is already a Bill on this issue? There are ways to eradicate manual scavenging. I would like to ask the Government whether we are

deceiving ourselves, or, we are deceiving the nation, the people. The Government should seriously take note of this.

There are other issues also which I would like to raise, Sir. The President has spoken about the energy security. What is the energy security we are talking about, Sir? The President's Address does not mention about India-Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline. Why did you give up that project? You cannot blame Pakistan for that; you cannot blame Iran for that. If you have to blame, you have to blame yourself. It is India which has gone back. Why? It is because of the pressure given by the United States of America. We have succumbed to the pressure given by the US. You have backed out. You do not speak about India-Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline and you are talking about energy security. What is the energy security you are going to build? Now there is an agitation going on in Kudankulam against the nuclear power plant. Two units are ready for commissioning. But people are agitating. People have genuine fears. After Fukushima incident these fears are very real. The women and children when they were sleeping, there was a trial run. They heard a huge noise. They got panicky. Children clung to their parents. They were all running away. That was the beginning of the current agitation. Their fears have to be alleviated; apprehensions will have to be removed. The Central Government constituted an Expert Committee. They have given the report. Both the State and Central Governments should work together in a coordination and see how these fears will be removed on the scientific basis, scientific evidence. People's safety is paramount and should be paramount for the Government of India when we talk about energy security.

Then, Sir, about internal and external security I would like to raise one or two issues. We had enough discussion on Sri Lankan Tamils question. I do not want to take this time to further discuss it. But the Government cannot let down the Sri Lankan Tamil cause. The Government cannot give up its commitment to protect the interests of Sri Lankan Tamils. Today the newspapers have reported that the Sri Lankan High Commissioner in Delhi has made a statement accusing the Members of Parliament saying that they speak because they have some connections with some groups who have sympathy for Elam cause. I think it is a gross violation on his part of all accepted diplomatic norms in the world. It is a gross interference in our affairs. How can a High Commissioner of another country attribute motives to the conduct of the Members of Parliament in our country? I urge upon the Government to take serious note of this statement. The Government should register a strong protest against the statement made by Sri Lankan High Commissioner. In fact, the Government should ask the Sri. Lankan Government to call back its High Commissioner who is in Delhi and then only India can show that it is a power and it can stand up to any challenge in the world. Even a country like Sri Lanka if it tries to blackmail, if I am allowed to use that word, a country like ours, then what will happen to India's position in the comity of nations? This is a serious issue.

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Then, Sir, the President's Address does not talk about fishermen. Every day Indian fishermen are attacked, they are killed and their nets are confiscated. I have spoken on this on several occasions. Now again I raise this issue. Unless the Kachathivu agreement signed in 1974-1976 with Sri Lanka, is reopened, renegotiated, we cannot find an everlasting solution to the safety of our fishermen.

Sir, if Sri Lankan Government does not come forward to re-open those agreements, I think India has a prerogative to retrieve the Katchatheevu Island, which was once part of India, which belonged to India. We, in fact, gave that Island to Sri Lanka. We conceded that Island to Sri Lanka when the International Maritime Boundary Line was defined. So, the time has come. If you want to safeguard the interest of fishermen, if you want to safeguard their traditional fishing rights in the Indian Ocean or Palk Strait, it is imperative that Katchatheevu agreement is reopened. I don't think that is going to be done. That is why I am saying Katchatheevu will have to be retrieved by the Government of India. The Tamil Nadu Assembly has passed a Resolution. At least give respect to a Resolution passed by the elected Government and sovereign Assembly in our country. How can you uphold the principles of federalism? Many speakers have referred to NCTC. I also referred to it. I criticized this NCTC.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Mr. Raja, you have already taken three minutes more.

SHRI D. RAJA: I will finish it, Sir. If this Government has to function as a respectable Government, this Government will have to give promises; this Government will uphold the principles of federalism. When this Government strives for economic growth, this Government should assure the nation, this Government should guarantee social justice to all sections and this Government should promise that it will provide a corruption free, transparent governance and administration. Otherwise, Government should note, Sir, that on February 28--with this point I will conclude -- there was a massive strike all over the country irrespective of political affiliations. All the Central Trade Unions, all the national level federations came together, at a joint call to observe an All India strike against the economic policies of the Government. BMS was there, INTUC was there. My friend Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy is not here. INTUC was there., BMS was there, AITUC was there, CITU was there; irrespective of political affiliations, all trade unions joined together. Why, Sir? All sections of our people are on the path of agitation, protests and they do not agree with the economic policies pursued by the Government. But you talk of economic security! How is it possible? You talk of inclusive growth. You talk of sustainable growth and the main thrust of the Twelfth Five Year Plan is PPP, Public Private Partnership. It is nothing but privatisation. On the one side you talk of fundamentals of economy. They are quite sound. On the other side, what are the fundamentals? We have our public sector industries, our public sector banks, our public sector

insurance companies. You are trying to liquidate all Government equities, making the public sector units vulnerable and subjecting them to gripping privatization. You have seen the neo-liberal policies, how it created a hell, in other countries. What is going on in the United States of America, Occupying Wall Street Movement or the Euro Zone crisis? Why can't Government draw lessons from the United States of America? You signed 123 Agreement with the US. At least take note of what is happening in the US, what is happening in the European Union and what is happening in North Africa. That is why neo-liberal economic policies need to be reversed. I do not find such an indication in the President's Address. I think, this President's Address is nothing but a compilation of promises, promises broken and to be broken. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI N BALAGANGA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Sir, for permitting me to participate in this discussion. To begin with, I would like to say that the hon. President's Address was delivered as a mere ritual without setting any agenda for the coming year. It is an Address merely to keep up the tradition of delivering an Address to the Joint Session. On many crucial issues facing the country, the President's Address remains silent. There is a failure of the Government on all fronts, be it Central-State relations, be it inflation, be it price rise, be it healthcare or education.

With regard to Centre-State relations, of late, it is increasingly a tendency on the part of the Central Government to treat States as subordinates. The Centre is taking over most of the welfare programmes, leaving little to the States. Due to this, many States have become 'glorified Municipalities'.

The latest case of usurping powers from the States is about the formation of the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC). Establishment of such a Centre infringes upon the duties and powers of the State police force. This would curtail the role of the State police force in counter terror operations. The Intelligence Bureau has already been performing the related job and there was no need to give power to search and arrest to NCTC as proposed. Many States have objected to the controversial Section 43(A) of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act which empowers the officers to perform search and arrests. The NCTC should not be formed without the consent of the States. I request the Centre to make suitable amendments to dispel the impression that was created.

Among many other issues, concern of Tamil Nadu fishermen is the one which has not found place in the President's Address. A number of times we have voiced our concern of the fishermen who suffer at the hands of the Sri Lankan Navy. The only measure that the Center should take is the retrieval of Katchatheevu. I urge upon the Government to impress upon the Sri Lankan Government to retrieve Katchatheevu.

The next burning issue is the power shortage that is prevailing all over the

[Shri N. Balaganga]

country and Tamil Nadu is no exception to that. As soon as our Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu took over the Chief Ministership, she took many steps to meet the power shortage. These steps would yield fruits in a few months time. To tide over the situation, she appealed to the hon. Prime Minister to allocate 1,000 MW of additional electricity from the Central Pool. But, till now it has not been allocated. I would urge upon the Government to view this precarious situation seriously and allocate 1,000 MW of electricity as demanded by the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu has recently witnessed Thane Cyclone which devastated many parts of the State. The hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has written a letter to the hon. Prime Minister to release special financial assistance of Rs. 5,000 crores. But, only a meager amount of Rs. 500 crores was released. The disaster caused by the Thane Cyclone is unprecedented and the relief operations require more financial allocation. This also did not find a mention in the President's Address. I appeal to the Central Government to grant special financial assistance to the State of Tamil Nadu.

Sir, MGNREDA is one of the flagship programmes of the Government of India. Since its inception, six years ago, the Government has spent more than Rs. 1 lakh crores, but there is no tangible asset creation anywhere in India. Moreover, the scheme is mired with widespread corruption and irregularities. There are major flaws in the scheme. I request the Government to find a monitory and regulatory mechanism for proper implementation of this scheme.

Yesterday, Sir, we had a statement from the hon. Minister of External Affairs on the US-backed Resolution in the United Nations.

Sir, whenever Indo-Sri Lanka issue is raised in this House, the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister say that India is a friendly country, a neighbouring country. But Sri Lanka has killed thousands of Tamilians. They never say that India is a friendly country, a neighbouring country. Only we think so. A resolution, condemning the violation of human rights in Sri Lanka, should have been brought by India. But we failed to do so. When the US is backing the resolution and other countries are backing the US, it is India's bounden duty to support this resolution. I urge upon the Government with folded hands to support the resolution, to be voted in the Geneva Conference.

Thank you very much.

SHRI H.K. DUA (Nominated): Thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. For the last two days, we have been discussing the President's Address and a variety of opinions have been expressed. Some of them are in agreement, while others convey differences. Sir, I am happy about one thing; is that, whatever may happen to the Railway Budget, Parliament has come back on the rails. And, in its glory. This is the only way to sort out important national issues.

Dissent, differences, variety of opinion, etc. are natural in a democracy. We are a nation of over a billion people and there can be billions and billions of issues. Statesmanship and leadership lies in sorting out and brining about a consensus on the important issues of national concern. We are, by nature, argumentative people. But, we should not allow the argument to lead to a confrontationist atmosphere, which often develops in our debates. The debates in the House or outside should not be allowed to become a kind of a zero sum game--your victory is my loss and my victory is your loss. Despite the differences the country has to evolve effective policies for India of the 21st Century--and that can be done only exchanging ideas and a lot of thoughts. One if the questions, which has cropped up lately, is of the federal powers and the State powers, of the federal rights and the Centre's rights. My impression is – whatever I know about Constitution – we are not a federation of States. We are not a unitary State either. Founders of our Constitution had tried to evolve a unitary-cumfederal setup. In many areas, the Centre has got prominent role in some areas, the States have got prominent role; and, there is some overlap in a few areas, which are mentioned in the Concurrent List. There is a provision for the residuary powers of the Centre. But for a layman; if it is a national question, the solution has also got to be national; even the laws have to be national, which have to be followed across the boundaries of the State. Terrorism, for instance, is no longer a State question. The entire country is facing threats from terrorism. The terrorists have surprise as a weapon. We do not know where the terrorist groups will strike next. 26/11 was a surprise, Delhi bomb blasts were a surprise, other incidents of terrorist violence in Mumbai, in Ajmer and Hyderabad also had element of surprise.

Most States have got to be vigilant. The Country has to be vigilant. Now, differences have cropped up on the Centre's proposal to set up NCTC. I am sure this question will be sorted out by talks between the Centre and the States. But to convert the whole question into the Centre versus the States or the States versus the Centre, I think, is very unfortunate. What needs to be done is; the Centre and the States together have to fight terrorism in the country. The terrorist threat is still serious. Steps have to be taken by the States and the Centre together to combat terrorism. One strategy should be adopted, whatever may be the out come of the talks between the Centre and the States on NCTC. Certainly, law and order is a State subject. But when a State is failing to combat on its own law and order problem, it often, it asks for the assistance of the Army, the BSF or the CRPF And such assistance is always given. The Centre also cannot fight terrorism alone because the State Police is closer to the ground and sense trouble, from wherever it may come. Imagine, if a beat constable had been there at Badhwar Park in Mumbai on 26/11, I am sure the beat constable would have been able to find out wherefrom those rubber boats had come. If a vigilant beat constable had been there, we would have come to know about the terrorist threat which was emerging and which brought

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about a very grisly event in country's fight against terrorism. Our country has paid a heavy price for it. So, together, the centre and the states have to fight terrorism. But in tackling the law and order problem, the lead role should be of the State. The Centre should assist the States whenever they need to implement or, sort out the law and order situation. However, in fighting terrorism, the lead role should be of the Central Government and the States should assist. Together, I think, a kind of team spirit needs to be evolved on the NCTC, and in combating terrorism. I am sure, the States and the Centre will have the maturity to find a way out. I am told that more talks are going to take place very soon, in the near future, to sort it out. But what is needed, essentially, is a consensus. Democracy cannot work without a consensus on major issues; and terrorism is one of them. Fighting naxalism is another matter of internal security needing consensus. Also, issues concerning. External security is a matter connected with Foreign Policy need to be resolved by a consensus. I don't think it is difficult to evolve a consensus among the leaders of various parties – they are all responsible. On these issues, there should be a national consensus. I think we will go far ahead, and much sooner into the 21st Century, if major issues are kept out of partisan or a State-versus-Centre kind of a controversy. Sir, the world around India is changing fast. It is not going to wait for us. The House cannot ignore the kind of a situation that is developing around us. Three major powers are going to have a change in their rulers. Putin already has first taken over as President again in Russia, practically. The USA is going to have Presidential elections soon. We don't know who the winner will be and what the policy of the United States will be. China is going to have new sets of rulers in a few month's time. I think, by October, they will be able to complete the process. One knows who are likely to be the rulers in the major countries. But we do not know how these three powers are going to look at the world, particularly, this region, which is of vital importance to our country and the South Asia and also West Asia. There is a situation developing in West Asia which should get the attention of the House and the Leaders of all parties – Government as well as those sitting on the Opposition Benches. The situation in west Asia can lead to a conflagration it may not be imminent, tomorrow or the day after, but it can go out of hand in the near future. Most of our oil comes from West Asia. A conflagration in a corner of West Asia can lead to rise in oil prices. A major conflagration can even lead to blockage of the oil supplies to India.

The closure of the Hormuz Straits' which was a threat only a few weeks ago itself can be a serious development for India. No country has enough oil reserves; you can't afford to keep oil in reserve for a long time. Secondly, 5.5 million people of India live in the Persian Gulf and other West Asian countries. If there is trouble in West Asia, do we have a plan how to pull them out? The immensity of the task itself is forbidding. What we need to do is to play a more effective role in

international affairs. We used to do that once upon a time during Jawahar Lal Nehru's days when we were not that strong. Now I think, when we have emerged as a country to reckon with, we can play a diplomatic role in sorting out the problems particularly in the neighbourhood.

The Americans are going to quit Afghanistan in 2014 in just two years' time. They could not continue fighting that war for long. We need to work out a roadmap to safeguard about our interests in Afghanistan as situation in Afghanistan is important for us for our access to Central Asia. Who will fill the vacuum once the Americans leave? Are the local people going to fill the vacuum? Karzai's term is coming to an end this year with him we signed strategic partnership agreement only last year. Are Taliban likely to come back to Kabul Americans are already talking to the Taliban. They are not even letting Pakistan; and Hamid Karzai know what is the agenda of the talks. Now if Taliban comes to power in Kabul, what will be its impact on India's policy on Afghanistan? What about India's presence in Afghanistan? We have spent over US \$2 billion rupees on Afghanistan's development projects, which I am told have closing very well. And India's presence in Afghanistan is welcome to the people. But once the Taliban, backed by Pakistan and ISI, comes to power in Kabul, it will be a totally different situation for us. So, we need to draw a roadmap for whatever happens there after the US pull out.

Our relations with our neighbours are better. Certainly with Bangladesh, except for the Teesta – I am sure, they will be able to sort out one day by talks at home and by talks with Bangladesh. With Nepal, our relationship is much better under a new Prime Minister in Kathmandu. With Myanmar, our relationship has improved quite a bit and our Parliament has been visited by their delegations and they Head of the Government has been here. There is indeed much more understanding between Myanmar and India. But, recently, in the Maldives, I think, we were taken by surprise by developments in Maldivers which is of crucial importance to us considering our vital interests in the Indian Ocean. Are we, as a nation, bothered about the Indian Ocean? Chinese Navy is very active and going to be more and more active in the Indian ocean despite its preoccupations in the Pacific. The Chinese are present in the Arabian Sea; they are present in the Bay of Bengal, and, in the Indian Ocean, their increasing interest is very much known. We have a boundary problem with China; we have recurring problem or continuing problem with Pakistan, but we cannot ignore our interests in the Indian Ocean. And, next time, if something happens in the Maldives, we should not be feeling surprised about it. Now, the nexus between Pakistan and China – I don't think there is going to be war between India and China; but the nexus between China and Pakistan is of a very vital concern to us. They have a relationship in the nuclear programme and in the Missiles Programme. Together these create a formidable defence situation for us. I don't think India can be complacent about it. So, what is the way out? The way

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out is that on issues of security, internal and external security, plus defence matters, there is need for having a consensus in the country. Along with that we have to develop the strength of our economy, plus military power, backed by a national support emerging out of the consensus. This can help us a great deal in meeting all challenges.

Thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Assam): Sir, in her Address, her Excellency, the President of India, has given the picture of a robust economic growth of our country. In her speech, Madam President had said that the estimated economic growth of our country in the year 2010-11 was 8.4 per cent. And naturally, we achieved more than seven per cent economic growth in the last year. This is going to increase in the present year as well as in the coming year. No doubt, the President has given a very rosy picture of the economic growth of our country. The credit goes to our strong banking system. Thanks to our strong banking system, even during the period of global recession when the European economy had suffered badly and when most of the leading banks in Europe and America had collapsed, our economy had performed much better.

Sir, the hon. President in her Address spoke a few lines about price rise and inflation. But, frankly speaking, Sir, this Government has totally failed in controlling price rise and inflation in our country. There is a failure of the price control mechanism. There is nothing mentioned about it in the President's Address.

Then, Sir, Public Distribution System can play a very important and significant role in controlling the price rise in our country, but due to the total failure of the Public Distribution System, people suffered a lot. There is nothing mentioned about the failure or about the improvement of the Public Distribution System.

Sir, I come from the North-Eastern region of the country. Due to the failure of the Public Distribution System, people of my region are suffering very badly. Can you imagine, Sir, that the price of salt is more than Rs.120 per kg in places beyond Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh? This is how the Public Distribution System is working and nothing has been mentioned about the failure of the Public Distribution System in the President's Address. Due to the nexus between some officials and corrupt businessmen, the public distribution system has totally collapsed in our State and the North-Eastern Region, and this Government has not done anything about it.

Sir, regarding the Lokpal, her Excellency had rightly mentioned that we had introduced the Lokpal Bill in Parliament. Everybody remembers what happened on the 29th of December last year on the floor of this House when we were discussing the Lokpal Bill. Anyway, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has given us the

assurance that the Lokpal Bill would be taken up for discussion again before the 30th of March, and we hope, we would get an opportunity to speak on it.

Now I come to our friendly relations with our neighbouring countries. Hon. President in her Presidential Address says, 'to promote peace and cooperation in our immediate neighbouring countries'. This is very good; this is welcome. We want better relationship with neighbouring countries; we also want peaceful relations with neighbouring countries. In her Presidential Address, hon. President said about the visit of our Prime Minister to Bangladesh. But, Sir, there is no mention of sealing of Indo-Bangladesh border. We want better relations with our neighbouring countries, but still Indo-Bangladesh border is open and the hon. President has not said anything about the total sealing of Indo-Bangladesh border. In her Presidential Address, one of the important emphases given is regarding the protocol of the Land Boundary Agreement between India and Bangladesh. This is a very important issue. The Government of India sacrificed our land to Bangladesh. The land of Assam had been given to Bangladesh without consulting us. This is an insult to my State; this is an insult to the federal structure. We want better relations with Bangladesh; there is no doubt about it, but not at the cost of the land of Assam, not at the cost of people of Assam. Sir, this Agreement is totally against the spirit of people of Assam. We want better relations with our neighbouring countries; it is very good. But this Presidential Address has forgot to mention two major issues faced by the North-Eastern Region regarding our relations with China. It is known to everybody. If any person from Arunachal Pradesh goes to visit China, he will not get visa. Not to speak of ordinary people, when our hon. Defence Minister visited Arunachal Pradesh, China objected to it. Regarding this incident, hon. President has not mentioned anything in her Presidential Address. Another very serious problem faced by the people of the North-Eastern Region and the people of Eastern India is diversion of River Brahmaputra at the source in China. This is a very serious issue, but our hon. President is totally silent about it. It means our Government has not spoken anything about this issue. Sir, in China, the Brahmaputra River is known as the Yarlung River; when it enters Arunachal Pradesh, it takes the name of Siang and when it enters Assam, it takes the name of Brahmaputra. Water level of Siang River is reduced by 145 metres and China has already constructed several channels. There are certain Chinese areas where there are water crisis. They have already constructed a big dam. But this Government is totally silent about this problem. We want better relations with neighbouring countries, but when we are going to develop better relations with neighbouring countries, please remember that there is a State or a region in our country which is the integral part of our country, and this is the North-Eastern Region. Without the North-Eastern Region, you cannot do anything. The Government should give importance to the North-Eastern Region. There is one more important thing, in her President's Address, the President said that the National

[Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya]

Ganga River Basin Authority is making efforts to clean up the Ganga River. The Government of India took some measures. This is very good; it is a welcome move. But, Sir, flood and erosion problem of Assam and the North-Eastern Region has not found any mention in the President's Address. It is a welcome move of the Government to clean up the Ganga River. But the Government of India should declare flood and erosion problem of Assam a national problem. But the President's Address is totally silent about this. In her Address, the hon. President has given importance to fertilizer production in our country. Without fertilizers, our farmers cannot survive and increase in fertilizer production is the call of the hour. But, for the last several years, people of the North-Eastern region, people of Assam, are fighting for revamping of the Brahmaputra Valley Fertilizer Corporation. The then Fertilizer Minister, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, had declared that Brahmaputra Valley Fertilizer Corporation will be developed very soon. But, the Government has not done anything to develop the Brahmaputra Valley Fertilizer Corporation.

Sir, 26 years back, the Government of India signed an agreement with the leaders of Assam Movement which is known as the Assam Accord. But, for the last 26 years, the Central Government has not done anything for implementation of the Assam Accord. It is the duty of the Central Government to implement the Assam Accord, but they are not doing anything. So, I request the Government of India to look into this matter and start implementation of the Assam Accord immediately.

The hon. President has, given importance to the power generation in our country; It is very good. But, what is happening in the matter of rural electrification in the North-Eastern region? The Government of India should look into this. Rural electrification has totally failed in the North-Eastern region. There is no electricity. People are crying for electricity. Lots of money has been invested, but there has been no improvement in the availability of electricity in rural areas.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE) in the Chair]

Sir, there is another important area, to which the hon. President has given importance, that is, protection of tigers. It is a very good move. We welcome it. But, Sir, Assam is famous for one-horned rhino. No measures have been taken by the Government of India to protect rhino population in our country.

Sir, very frankly speaking, these are the problems faced by the people of the North-Eastern region. The Government of India has not mentioned anything about this. We give importance to the agricultural production in our country. In our country, agriculture plays a dominant role. Most of our people are dependent on agriculture. This is very good. But, everybody should remember one thing that the small tea gardens play a very important role in our country for the unemployed people. The Government of India has not given any importance to the development

of small tea growers in our region. Sir, I request the Government of India to look after the small tea growers in my State because they have provided a safe employment and lot of unemployed people are getting jobs in these gardens.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE): The time allotted to you is over.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, I have only one more point. The hon. President has mentioned about the 'Look East Policy'. Sir, without infrastructure development, without road connectivity with the South Asian countries from Assam, the 'Look East Policy' will be incomplete. If the Government of India is really serious about the implementation of this policy, they should develop road linkage from the North-Eastern region to the South Asian countries. It will be automatically helpful for trade and economic growth of our State and the North-Eastern region. Sir, during the Second World War, a route was developed between Assam, Myanmar, China and Thailand. This route is still there. But, the Government of India has not taken any interest to develop this route. Sir, without the development of route connectivity with the South Asian countries, the 'Look East Policy' will be incomplete, if the Government of India seriously wants to implement this policy, it must give importance to trade and economic growth in the North-Eastern region by providing route linkage.

With these words, I hope that the Government of India will take some interest in looking after the problems faced by the North-Eastern region. The North-Eastern region of our country is an integral part of our country, but at the time of sanctioning money, at the time of sanctioning projects, everybody forgets about the North-Eastern region. I hope that the Government of India would remember this point. With these words, I thank you for allowing me to speak.

श्री भगत सिंह कोश्यारी (उत्तराखण्ड): माननीय सभापति जी, आपने मुझे महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर बोलने का अवसर दिया है, उसके लिए मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी हमारी सबसे सम्मानित और देश की प्रथम नागरिक हैं। यह बड़ा कष्ट है कि राष्ट्रपति जी जब भाषण देती हैं या देते हैं, वह भाषण राष्ट्रपति का न होकर एक प्रकार से सरकार का होता है। जब हम उसके गुण और दोषों का विवेचन करते हैं, उसकी प्रशंसा या आलोचना करते हैं तो निश्चित रूप से वह सरकार की आलोचना या प्रशंसा होती है। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि यदि यहां पर कोई ऐसा अप्रिय वाक्य या शब्द मेरी ओर से लगे तो मेरा महामहिम के प्रति, यहां तक कि सरकार के प्रति भी ऐसा बोलने का कोई कारण नहीं है। मैं कुल मिलाकर पिछले तीन सालों से महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण सुन रहा हूँ और मुझे हर बार लगता था कि शायद यह भाषण अगली बार और अच्छा होगा, क्योंकि जिस देश के प्रधान मंत्री मनमोहन सिंह जी हों, उनसे हम यह अपेक्षा रखते हैं। कभी-कभी मुझे लगता है कि मनमोहन सिंह जी से तो हमारे यहां के सिंह ज्यादा अच्छे हैं। ये कम से कम सारी चीजों को ले लेते हैं, समझ लेते हैं। यह एक प्रकार का इतना नीरस भाषण रहा है, मैं नीरस इसलिए कह रहा हूँ, क्योंकि आप चाहे अपने डेवलपमेंट से दीजिए, आप अपने विकास की चीजें दीजिए, वह कोई बात नहीं है, हम लोग राज्यों में देख चुके हैं कि सामान्य रूप से राज्यपाल

[श्री भगतसिंह कोश्यारी]

के अभिभाषण में साल भर की जो डेवलपमेंट होती है, उन चीजों को हम लोग लाते हैं, लेकिन जब राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण हो, वह भी हिन्दुस्तान के राष्ट्रपति का और वह भी संसद के दोनों सदनों के बीच में हो, माननीय राजीव जी, अगर आप सुनेंगे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आप कच्चे कर देंगे, क्योंकि यहां न तो राष्ट्रपति जी हैं और न ही प्रधान मंत्री जी हैं।

संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री राजीव शुक्ल): मैं सुन रहा हूँ।

श्री भगत सिंह कोश्यारी: इसलिए कम से कम हम सभी लोग यह अपेक्षा रखते हैं कि जब महामहिम का अभिभाषण संसद के दोनों सदनों के बीच में हो, उस अभिभाषण में कोई तो ऐसी चीज आनी चाहिए, जिसके माध्यम से देश का हर नागरिक अपने को इगनाइटीड फील करे, एक प्रकार से स्वयं को आलोडित फील करे और उसे यह लगे कि मुझे कोई इंस्पिरेशन मिल रही है, प्रेरणा मिल रही है। अगर आप सचमुच इस पूरे अभिभाषण को देखेंगे तो मैं सोचता हूँ कि इसमें प्रेरणा देने की बात तो नहीं है, हां, आप इसको सुनते-सुनते, पढ़ते-पढ़ते सो अवश्य जाएंगे। ऐसा लगता है कि यह एक रूटीन सा, घिसा-पिटा कि हां भाई, अभिभाषण देना है, इसलिए बना दो, ऐसा भाषण है। हमारे किसी मित्र ने कहा, बाहर किसी पत्रकार से बात कर रहे थे, मैं सुन रहा था कि भाई, यह तो विदाई भाषण है। मैंने उनसे कहा कि विदाई भाषण में भी ऐसा भाषण होता है, जिसमें कम से कम खुशी के आंसू आते हैं कि देखो यह जा रहा है, उसमें आंसू आते हैं कि क्यों गया, लेकिन यह विदाई का भाषण ऐसा है, जिसमें आंसू भी आ रहे हैं और लगता है अच्छा है कि यह सरकार जल्दी-जल्दी चली जाए। एक प्रकार से मैं सोचता हूँ कि आप यह कर ही नहीं सकते, क्योंकि जब तक आपके अंदर कम से कम आपका ध्येय नहीं होगा, कुछ लक्ष्य नहीं होगा, तो कहां से होगा? मान्यवर, मैं आपसे विशेष रूप से थोड़े से बिंदुओं पर बोलूंगा, मेरे बहुत से साथी बाद में बोलने वाले हैं, आदरणीय एम. वेंकैया जी बोल चुके हैं। मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि यह आखिर एक प्रकार का इस सरकार का बयान है, गवर्नमेंट का बयान है। **What does Government mean? It is one, which governs.** सरकार वह है जो शासन करती है। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ, बहुत छोटी-छोटी चीजें हैं, मैं लंबी बातों में नहीं जाऊंगा, मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ, मैंने अभी अखबारों में एक छोटा प्रकरण पढ़ा कि यू.आई.डी. में Nilekani कुछ बना रहे हैं, बीस करोड़ लोगों के आईडेंटिटी कार्ड बन बन चुके हैं। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब हैं, अभी सब लोग एन.सी.टी.सी. पर बोल रहे थे, उन्होंने सोचा कि यह क्या हो गया, यह तो नेशनल पॉप्युलेशन रजिस्टर में होना चाहिए। अगर आप ऐसे विवाद करते रहेंगे, तो आप क्या एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन करेंगे...। आप क्या शासन करेंगे, आप क्या **govern** करेंगे !

मान्यवर उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ऐसे ही मैं सेनाध्यक्ष के बारे में देख रहा था। सेनाध्यक्ष की उम्र क्या है, यह आपके रक्षा मंत्री से चलते-चलते सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जाता है, तो मैं सोचता हूँ कि इस देश के लिए और यू.पी.ए., जो शासन कर रही है, उसके लिए इससे शर्मनाक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। आप इसको सुलझा नहीं पा रहे हैं। जब आप यह उम्र का विवाद नहीं सुलझा पा रहे हैं, तब हम आपसे कैसे अपेक्षा करें कि आप चीन से सीमा विवाद को कुछ हल कर पाएंगे। **It is never expected from you.** आप कैसे छोटी-छोटी बातों को हल नहीं कर पा रहे हैं।

मैं इधर देख रहा था कि जब तक कोई चीज भूलो, अगले दिन अगली चीज आ जाती है। आप शासन करें या हम करें, इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है, सवाल यह है कि हम किस दिशा में जा रहे हैं? हमारी दिशा क्या है, हम कर क्या रहे हैं? अभी उन्होंने इसरो के चार

वैज्ञानिकों के बारे में बताया। आपने पहले स्पेक्ट्रम का सारा ठीकरा राजा के सिर फोड़ा, उसके बाद अब इसरो का नाम आया। जिन वैज्ञानिकों ने साइंटिफिक क्षेत्र में, मिसाइल और दूसरे क्षेत्रों में इतना काम किया है, उन वैज्ञानिकों के बारे में आप कह रहे हैं कि ये चार वैज्ञानिक अब गवर्नमेंट सर्विस नहीं करेंगे। वे तो रिटायर हो चुके हैं। रिटायरमेंट के बाद भी नहीं करेंगे, तो रिटायरमेंट के बाद क्या करेंगे? आखिर वे इतने विद्वान हैं, उन लोगों ने इतना बड़ा काम किया है। वे किसी सरकारी समिति में नहीं होंगे। इसका मतलब यह है कि वे टाटा के यहां जाएंगे, इसका मतलब यह है कि वे फिर किसी अम्बानी के यहां जाएंगे और जरूरत पड़ी तो कहीं विदेश चले जाएंगे, आखिर उनके पास टैलेंट है। अब हमारे स्वामीनाथन जी बैठे हैं। वे क्या ऐसे बैठ जाएंगे ! वे तो अपना टैलेंट हमेशा यूज करेंगे। इनके पास टैलेंट है, क्या वे उसे बेकार जाने देंगे? इतनी बड़ी उम्र में भी वे लिखते रहते हैं, हम इनको पढ़ते रहते हैं, सीखते रहते हैं। आखिर उन वैज्ञानिकों ने इतना बड़ा काम किया है। अगर उनसे कोई गलती हुई थी, तो बिल्कुल **nip in the bud** होना चाहिए था। आप लोगों को शुरू में ही कोशिश करनी चाहिए थी कि आखिर ऐसा हुआ क्यों? ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है? इसरो में लाखों करोड़ का घपला हो गया और आपने उसको वैज्ञानिकों के सिर पर डाल दिया। आखिर शासन कैसे चलेगा !

अखबार लिखते हैं, क्योंकि जब तक आप उन पर प्रतिबंध नहीं लगाते, वे लिखते ही रहेंगे, क्योंकि आप ऐसा कर भी नहीं सकते, कि रक्षा मंत्रालय की जासूसी हो रही है, वित्त मंत्रालय की जासूसी हो रही है। मैं नहीं मानता कि हमारी मीडिया इतनी **irresponsible** नहीं है। ठीक है, बहुत चीजों के लिए **excitement** के लिए बढ़ा-चढ़ा कर कहती होगी, लेकिन रक्षा मंत्रालय में जासूसी, वित्त मंत्रालय में जासूसी और आप कहते हैं कि हमने तो बड़ा भारी काम किया, हम तो देश को कहां ले जा रहे हैं ! इसलिए सबसे पहले मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर हम गवर्नेंस ही नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो मैं सोचता हूँ कि यह तो सबसे पहली चीज है।

अभी कई लोग गंगा बेसिन पर बोल रहे थे। गंगा बेसिन अथॉरिटी बनाए हुए तीन साल हो गए, आपने उसकी एक मीटिंग नहीं की और उसके लोगों ने, अभी तिवारी जी बोल रहे थे कि उन सब लोगों ने इस्तीफा दे दिया। अगर शर्म होती, तो जिन्होंने गंगा बेसिन अथॉरिटी बनाई, उनको इस्तीफा देना चाहिए था कि हमने गंगा बेसिन अथॉरिटी बनाई और कोई काम नहीं किया। आखिर यह कैसी गवर्नेंस है भाई ! आप अपने को काहे को गवर्नमेंट कहते हो ! यह कहो कि हां, हम एक परिवार का चक्का चला रहे हैं, हम उस परिवार के चक्के में सारे हिन्दुस्तान के परिवारों को पीस रहे हैं। कहीं पर कोई **norms** होने चाहिए, कोई मान्यताएं होनी चाहिए।

इसलिए मैं आप लोगों से निवेदन करता हूँ कि कहीं-न-कहीं हम सब लोगों को ऐसा लगना चाहिए, लेकिन मुझे तो सारा भाषण पढ़ने के बाद ऐसा लगा कि कभी मैंने बहुत पहले अंग्रेजी का एक मुहावरा पढ़ा था – **March comes in like a lion, and goes out like a lamb.** यानी मार्च एक शेर की तरह आता है और मेमने की तरह चला जाता है। **The UPA Government came like a lion and it is now going like a lamb.** ऐसा लगता है कि बिल्कुल मिमिया कर जाने की स्थिति में है। मैंने पांचों राज्यों की स्थिति देख ली। आज हमारे यहां उत्तराखंड में क्या हो रहा है? आपके पास बहुमत है नहीं और आपने अपना मुख्य मंत्री बना दिया। कुछ तो आपका बहुमत हो ! हमारे लोगों ने तो **claim** भी नहीं किया, क्योंकि हमारे पास बहुमत नहीं था। आपके पास बहुमत है नहीं, आपके 15-17 विधायक विरोध में हैं और उसके बाद भी आप सारे काम किए जा रहे हैं। क्या यही प्रजातंत्र है? क्या इसी प्रजातंत्र का सपना गांधी जी ने देखा था? क्या इसी प्रजातंत्र का सपना क्रान्तिकारियों ने देखा था? आपकी

[श्री भगतसिंह कोश्यारी]

5.00 P.M.

जो **governance** है, उनको देख कर तो ऐसा लगता है कि शायद आपका नैतिकता से कोई लेना-देना ही नहीं है, संवैधानिक नियमों से कोई लेना-देना नहीं है। आप तो केवल वहां कुर्सी पर बैठे रहना चाहते हैं।

आज सुबह जब मैं आया तो सब लोग बोल रहे थे कि एक मंत्री जी ने इस्तीफा दे दिया है। आखिर यह कैसे हो रहा है और क्या हो रहा है? यह सोचने का विषय है। यह बात मैं क्यों कह रहा हूं, इस पर आप जरा सोचें। यह बात मैं पूरे हाउस से कह रहा हूं, पूरे देश से कह रहा हूं कि इस शासन के रहते हुए हमारी स्थिति आज दयनीय बन गई है। मैं सोचता हूं कि शायद धीरे-धीरे लोगों का विश्वास हम सब पर से उठने लगा है।

ये लोग कहते हैं कि हम खाद्य सुरक्षा विधेयक लाएंगे। तीन वर्ष पहले जिस दिन मैं इस हाउस में आया था, उसके थोड़े ही दिन बाद राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण हुआ। उसमें कहा गया कि हम खाद्य सुरक्षा विधेयक लाएंगे। जब तक आपकी सरकार सुरक्षित है, खाद्य सुरक्षा विधेयक आप लाने वाले नहीं हैं। मुझे लग रहा है कि आप वह विधेयक तभी लाएंगे, जब आप असुरक्षित हो करके गंगा बेसिन के साथ गंगा के उधर चले जाएंगे। इस बात को आखिर तीन साल हो गए।

सभापति जी, मेरा राज्य बहुत छोटा है। मेरे उत्तराखंड में साधन भी बहुत कम हैं, पहाड़ों का राज्य है, लेकिन वहां पर भी मेरी सरकार गरीबों को दो रुपये किलो गेहूं दे सकती है, तीन रुपये किलो चावल दे सकती है। बहुत सारे प्रदेश ऐसे हैं, जैसे मध्य प्रदेश, छत्तीसगढ़, झारखंड इत्यादि, जो सस्ता अनाज दे रहे हैं। फिर आप क्यों नहीं दे पा रहे हैं? घोषणाएं आप बहुत बड़ी-बड़ी कर जाते हैं, लेकिन वे घोषणाएं केवल ढपोर शंख ही होती हैं। मैं इसकी कहानी नहीं सुनाऊंगा, समय अधिक हो जाएगा, वह कहानी सबको पता ही है, लेकिन इनकी घोषणाएं ढपोर शंख जैसी होती है। कांग्रेस का...**(व्यवधान)**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE): Please conclude. Your time is over.

SHRI BHAGAT SINGH KOSHYARI: I am told that I am the second speaker from the party. I have to speak for 25 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE): But you have other speakers also.

SHRI BHAGAT SINGH KOSHYARI: Sir, I have been told this by my leader.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE): It is now five o'clock. I have to take the sense of the House. If you all agree, we will continue with it.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Sir, up to six O'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE): We will sit up to six o'clock. You please conclude.

श्री भगत सिंह कोश्यारी: माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा आपसे यह निवेदन है कि आप खाद्य सुरक्षा विधेयक आखिर क्यों नहीं लाए, यह बताएं?

इनके शासन का क्या हाल है और इनका शासन कैसे चलता है, इसका एक उदाहरण

देकर मैं आपको बताता हूँ। आपकी कृपा से, अध्यक्ष जी और अपनी पार्टी की कृपा से मैं कमेटी का अध्यक्ष भी हूँ। उस कमेटी में एक अपील, एक पेटिशन 'One Rank One Pension' की आई। आप कल्पना कर सकते हैं, मैं माननीय सदस्यों से निवेदन करता हूँ, माननीय मंत्री जी भी यहां पर बैठे हैं, पहले दिन हमें बोला गया कि नहीं, इसमें तो 6000 करोड़ रुपये का बहुत भारी खर्च है। जब मैंने इसका डिटेल मंगवाया, सेक्रेटरीज को बुलवाया, तो दूसरे दिन हमें बताया गया कि नहीं, इसमें 3000 करोड़ रुपये का अतिरिक्त खर्च है। मैंने फिर से थोड़ी और जानकारी ली, क्योंकि थोड़ी बहुत तो हम भी जानते हैं। हमने जब पता लगवाया तो हमें मालूम हुआ कि इसमें केवल 1300 करोड़ रुपये का अतिरिक्त खर्च है और इसके लिए हमें सिर्फ 1300 करोड़ रुपये अतिरिक्त देने पड़ेंगे। यानी जिन सैनिकों ने, जिन जनरलों ने हमारे देश को बचाया है, हमारी सीमाओं की रक्षा कर रहे हैं, इस देश के अन्दर उनके लिए यह हो रहा है।

[श्री उपसभापति पीठासीन हुए]

आप जरा सियाचिन में एक दिन जाकर रह कर आइए तब आपको पता लगेगा या फिर अपने कैबिनेट सेक्रेटरी को वहां भेज दीजिए या दो-चार दिन के लिए प्रधान मंत्री जी को ही वहां रहने के लिए भेज दीजिए।

मैं सोचता हूँ कि 'One Rank One Pension' का मामला इतना सरल मामला है, लेकिन इसके लिए अधिकारी मुझे बोले, अरे साहब ! गड़बड़ हो जाएगी, आर्मी और सिविल में डिस्पैरिटी हो जाएगी। मैंने कहा कि क्या होगा? अगर ज्यादा डिस्पैरिटी हो रही है, तो **let me court-martial you**. मैंने फाइनांस सेक्रेटरी से कहा कि **I court-martial you here and now. Will you agree to it?** तुम्हारा कोर्ट मार्शल नहीं होता? अगर हमारा एक-आध सेनाध्यक्ष कोर्ट में चला गया तो कितना बवाल मच गया कि साहब यह तो **against convention, against rules** हो गया, यह तो आर्मी के खिलाफ हो गया। ये दोनों चीजें भिन्न हैं, लेकिन आपको इसे करने के लिए इतना समय लगता है ! क्यों? क्या यह केवल इसलिए है कि वे बेचारे यहां पर आकर धरना नहीं दे सकते? उन्होंने यहां पर आकर मैडल लौटा दिया, उसके बाद भी कोई सुनवाई नहीं होती है ! आखिर राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कहीं पर भी इन सैनिकों के बारे में कोई बात क्यों नहीं आती? आपके ऊपर केवल 1300 करोड़ रुपये का अतिरिक्त भार पड़ रहा है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि यह एक बहुत दयनीय और शोचनीय स्थिति है, मैं आप सब से निवेदन करता हूँ।

मान्यवर, आज हमारी यह जो सरकार है, मुझे तो लगता है कि इस सरकार में कोई किसी का कहना मानता ही नहीं है। कहीं और से डिक्टेड आ रहा है कि आपने किराया क्यों बढ़ा दिया। मैं किराया बढ़ाने के पक्ष या विपक्ष की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। आपके लक्ष्य तो अच्छे हों, आपकी नीयत तो अच्छी हो ! अटल जी ने पेट्रोल पर एक रुपया बढ़ाया था। माननीय मंत्री जी, प्रधान मंत्री ग्रामीण सड़क योजना आपकी देख-रेख में चल रही है। हमारे यहां जितनी सड़कें विगत 50 सालों में नहीं बनी थीं, उतनी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ग्रामीण सड़क योजना में 10 सालों में बन गईं। सिर्फ मेरे यहां ही नहीं ये सब जगह बनीं। ये जम्मू-कश्मीर और नॉर्थ-ईस्ट में भी बनीं। सवाल यह है कि आखिर अटल जी एक ऐसी योजना दे सकते हैं कि एक रुपया बढ़ाने पर किसी ने उफ नहीं किया, लेकिन आज अगर आपको कुछ बढ़ाना हो तो आपको पहले ही डर लगता है। हमारे तिवारी जी इसीलिए कह रहे थे कि यहां सब फोकट में दे दो, लोगों को तुम भिखारी बनाते जाओ, भिखारी बनाते जाओ। मैं नहीं कहता कि आप मत दो, आप गरीबों को कुछ दो, लेकिन कहीं-न-कहीं हमारी इस प्रकार की कोई योजना निश्चित रूप से होनी चाहिए।

[श्री भगतसिंह कोश्यारी]

सर, मैं अगला विषय आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि आज हम सब लोगों का दुर्भाग्य है। इस शासन में क्या कोई लक्ष्य है? सब कहते हैं कि यह 21st century है। What do you mean by 21st century? Where do you want this country to go in the 21st century? What is the target? कहीं-न-कहीं हमारा कोई लक्ष्य तो हो। अब आप जरा कल्पना कीजिए कि अगर हमारे पास लक्ष्य हो और हम सब एक साथ चल सकें - दुआ साहब अभी चले गए, वे कंसेंसस की बात कर रहे थे। यहां दूसरी पार्टीज से कंसेंसस की बात तो छोड़िए, उपसभापति जी, यहां खुद इनकी पार्टी में ही कंसेंसस नहीं है, यू.पी.ए. में कोई कंसेंसस नहीं है। अब ऐसे में आप क्या काम करेंगे? आप सारे देश के सामने एक लक्ष्य रखिए। मुझे याद है वह दिन, जब मैं पढ़ाई करता था या पढ़ाई करके छोड़ी थी, तब लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने कहा कि हमें एक बार खाना है, सिर्फ एक दिन, मंगल के दिन। हमारे गांव के लोग एक बार खाना खाने लग गए थे। वह इंटीरियर है, जहां अब पिछले साल या इस साल मोटर गई है। एक अपील पर हमारी लड़कियों ने, महिलाओं ने अपने गहने निकाल कर दे दिए थे हमारे सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जी ने कहा था कि 'तुम मुझे खून दो, मैं तुम्हें आजादी दूंगा', तो क्यों लोग सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जी के साथ गए, इसलिए कि उसके पीछे एक स्पीरिट थी, एक आत्मा थी, देश के लिए एक कराह थी। हमारे पास कहां है, वह कराह? महात्मा गांधी की बात पर लोग क्यों उनके पीछे चले? आखिर आज हम लोग ऐसा क्यों नहीं कर पा रहे हैं? प्रधान मंत्री जी एक योग्य आदमी हैं।

महादेय, 1870 में इंग्लैंड पहले नम्बर पर आर्थिक शक्ति था, 1950 में अमेरिका फर्स्ट नम्बर पर आ गया, 1973 में अमेरिका फर्स्ट, जापान सेकंड और जर्मनी थर्ड नम्बर पर थे और 2010 में अमेरिका फर्स्ट और चीन सेकंड नम्बर पर आ गये। अब लोग कहते हैं कि 2020 में चीन फर्स्ट नम्बर पर हो जाएगा और अमेरिका सेकंड नम्बर पर हो जाएगा। आखिर चीन फर्स्ट नम्बर तक कहां से जा सकता है? एक किस्म से हम एक ही साथ आजाद हुए। एक प्रकार से हमने एक ही साथ गुलामी से शासन-पद्धति में एंटर किया। वह आज विश्व में फर्स्ट नम्बर पर आर्थिक शक्ति बनता है, लेकिन हम वह क्यों नहीं बन पाते हैं? इसलिए तो मैं सोचता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार से एन.डी.ए. ने कुछ योजनाएं चलाई थीं, ऐसी ही कुछ योजनाएं लाते और सब को साथ लेकर के चलते। मैं सोचता हूँ कि जब तक आप सब को साथ लेकर नहीं चलेंगे, कैसे हम लोग आगे बढ़ेंगे?

सर, मैं कल चतुर्वेदी जी का भाषण सुन रहा था। वे ठीक ही बोल रहे थे, सत्ता पार्टी के हैं। वे कह रहे थे कि हमने यह कर दिया, वह कर दिया। वे यहां चार्ट वगैरह भी दिखा रहे थे। मेरा यह कहना है कि आखिर आज दुनिया के सारे लोग कह रहे हैं कि 2020 में भारत का सकल घरेलू उत्पाद 4500 करोड़ होगा और चीन का सकल घरेलू उत्पाद 17880 करोड़ होगा, तो ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है?

उपसभापति जी, आप मुझे थोड़ा समय और दीजिएगा। मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि मैं चीन से लगे बॉर्डर की हर जगह पर गया हूँ। अरुणाचल प्रदेश से लेकर जम्मू कश्मीर के चुशूल तक गया हूँ। मैं बॉर्डर पर स्थित हर जगह पर गया हूँ। मैं 19-20 हजार फीट की ऊंचाई पर स्थित जगहों पर भी गया हूँ। मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि आज वहां चीन के चारों ओर सड़कें बनी हैं। वहां चारों ओर रेलें आ रही हैं। 17000 फीट की ऊंचाई पर चीन हवाई अड्डा बना रहा है और हम लोगों ने क्या काम किया? जोशी जी हमारे सड़क परिवहन और राजमार्ग मंत्री हैं। अब आप देखिए कि हम लोगों ने चीन के साथ सीमा पर सड़कों का लक्ष्य

यह रखा था कि हम 2012 तक 277 सड़कें बनाएंगे और उन 277 सड़कों में से आज तक, इस साल तक, कितनी सड़कें बनी हैं, केवल और केवल 29 सड़कें बनी हैं। जहां 277 सड़कें बनानी थीं, वहां पर केवल 29 सड़कें बना रहे हैं। आप लोग क्या करेंगे? महोदय, आज भी जब हमारे लोगों को जाना पड़ता है, तो बहुत दिक्कत होती है। आप वहां पर क्यों नहीं रेल पहुंचाते हैं? पूरे डिफेंस वालों ने हमारी कमेटी में कहा कि हमारे लिए और सेना की दृष्टि से यह बहुत जरूरी है। प्लानिंग कमीशन वालों ने भी कहा कि हम मंजूर करते हैं, लेकिन अभी तक सड़कें बनी नहीं हैं। आखिर आप सड़कें कब बनाएंगे? क्या जब चीन आपको **grab** कर जाएगा, तब आप बनाएंगे?

मान्यवर, **Communal and Targeted Violence Bill** आया है। इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर हमारा लक्ष्य सही है, तो यह **Communal and Targeted Violence Bill** क्यों आया? यह केवल इसलिए आया है क्योंकि यहां पर अधिकांश लोग या बहुत से लोग केवल **appeasement policy** करते हैं। आपको इसकी जरूरत पड़ती ही नहीं, अगर हम सन् 47 से ही इस **appeasement policy** को छोड़ देते। आज मैं नेपाल जाता हूं, तो नेपाल के लोग मुझे अपना भाई कहते हैं। प्रचण्ड तो कहते हैं कि तुम तो बहुत **popular leader** हो गए हो। आखिर प्रचण्ड यह बोल सकते हैं, जब कि वे तो कॉम्युनिस्ट हैं और मैं बी.जे.पी. का हूं। इसका अर्थ क्या है? इसका अर्थ यह है कि उसको ऐसा लगता है। मैंने कहा कि तुम मेरे भाई हो, हम भाई एक ही खून के हैं।

आपकी कृपा से मैं यू.एन.ओ. में गया था। यहां के **representative** ने मुझे पाकिस्तान के **representative Mr. Haider** से मिलाया। **Naturally** जब हम यहां अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं, तो **It is a must you should speak in English.** मैंने उन्हें अपना परिचय दिया और उनसे कहा कि **Mr. Haider, do you know Hindi?** वे एकदम बोले कि अरे, आपकी और हमारी जुबान तो एक ही है और गले मिल गए। उसने कहा कि आइए, कॉफी पीजिए और बोले कि हम तो आपके यहां की ही फिल्म देखते हैं। अभी तरुण विजय जी बता रहे थे कि माननीय स्पीकर के साथ जो लोग पाकिस्तान गए थे, वे लोग बोले कि वहां तो अच्छा माहौल है। हम वहां की जनता से तो बात ही नहीं करते हैं। हम नेताओं से बात करते हैं या नेता जिनके द्वारा बर्गलाए जाते हैं, मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं, उनसे बात करते हैं। पर, क्या हम वहां की जनता से मिलते हैं? हम इस बात की कोशिश ही नहीं करते हैं। आज तमिलनाडु के लोग कितने परेशान हैं। अगर इस तरह की कोशिश की जाती, तो ऐसा नहीं होता।

आखिर यह सारा भारतवर्ष एक किस्म से भारत नहीं होगा, **It may not be India. This country may not be India. But they are Bharatvarsh.** भारतवर्ष के हिस्से के रूप में रहे हैं, क्योंकि जहां वर्षा भारत से होती है, पूरा दक्षिण भारत से निकल कर, समुद्र से निकल कर तिब्बत से इधर जहां-जहां वर्षा होती है, **this is Bharatvarsh.** हां, राज्य अलग होंगे, देश अलग होंगे। यहां के लोगों के बीच में एक सद्भावना रहती है। क्या हमने सद्भावना पैदा करने की कोशिश की? हम तो केवल यह करते हैं कि कोई ऐसा बिल बना दिया, जिसमें बी.जे.पी. को बलि का बकरा बना दिया, आर.एस.एस. को बलि का बकरा बना दिया और सोचते हैं कि हमारा बड़ा काम हो गया। इस तरह की कितनी कोशिश की गई।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, अभी हमारे राजकुमार जी उत्तर प्रदेश में गए और वहां पर बड़ी घोषणा की। **(समय की घंटी)** हमारे मंत्री जी ने घोषणा की कि हम 9 परसेंट आरक्षण दे देंगे। नौ परसेंट आरक्षण का क्या हुआ? आप इस तरह से किसी कम्युनिटी या लोगों को कब तक बेवकूफ बनाएंगे? अंत में यह हुआ कि कांग्रेस का वोट परसेंटेज नौ परसेंट पर आकर

[श्री भगतसिंह कोश्यारी]

रह गया और उसकी छुट्टी हो गई। आप देश को लड़ाना चाहते हैं या देश को बचाना चाहते हैं? मेरा आप सबसे निवेदन है और माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से निवेदन है कि चूंकि सारा देश आपका आदर करता है, अंग्रेजी में एक कवि का एक किस्सा है, **Oh! my country with all the faults I love thee.** हम कहते हैं कि तुम्हारे बहुत **faults** हैं, **Despite this Prime Minister, we love thee,** परन्तु **don't come to such a stage** कि जहां से हमको कहना पड़े कि **no, no, we don't love you.** इसलिए अच्छा यह हो कि **either leave or lead.** या तो ठीक से शासन कीजिए या गद्दी छोड़ दीजिए। मनमोहन सिंह जी, आप एक सम्मानित व्यक्ति हैं, यह आपके लिए अच्छा होगा। मैं बहुत संक्षेप में इतना ही कहूंगा कि यह जो **Presidential Address** है, यह निश्चित रूप से हमारे देश के अनुकूल नहीं है, हमारे देश के लिए ठीक नहीं है। मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूं। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री हुसैन दलवाई (महाराष्ट्र): धन्यवाद सर। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो भाषण दिया है, उस पर आभार प्रस्ताव के ऊपर बोलने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूं। विरोधी दल के जरिए कुछ सवाल उठाये गये, जैसे - सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ठीक ढंग से काम नहीं कर रही है या वह है कि नहीं, यह भी मालूम नहीं पड़ रहा है। उनका दूसरा मुद्दा था, **assault on federalism.** यहां का जो फेडरल स्ट्रक्चर है, उसको खत्म करने की बात चली है। फिर कई लोगों ने कम्युनालिज्म पे आने वाले विधेयक के खिलाफ बात की। मैं कहूंगा कि यह अनुमान इन लोगों ने कैसे निकला, मुझे मालूम नहीं।

डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी के नेतृत्व की सरकार एक अलायंस से बनी सरकार है। एन.डी.ए. की सरकार भी अलायंस से बनी थी और इस तरह के धक्के उनको भी पहुंचे हैं। जो बात कल हुई, वैसी उस वक्त भी हो रही थी और उसका अनुभव उनको बहुत अच्छी तरह से आ गया, लेकिन आज मैं यह कहूंगा कि पूरी दुनिया में एक तरह का आर्थिक संकट आया हुआ है, जिसका बहुत बड़ा असर इस देश पर नहीं पड़ा, यह भी सरकार की एक उपलब्धि है, ऐसा मैं समझता हूं। हमारा ग्रोथ साढ़े आठ फीसद से 7 फीसद तक होगा, यानी वह एक या डेढ़ फीसद कम होगा, यह बात जरूर है, लेकिन पूरी अर्थव्यवस्था कॉलैप्स नहीं होगी, यह भी बड़ी बात है। इंदिरा जी ने बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन किया, यहां पब्लिक सेक्टर खड़ा किया गया। यहां पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर, दोनों सेक्टर चले, जिसकी वजह से आज हम दुनिया में अच्छी तरह से खड़े हैं और इस हालात में टिके रहे हैं। मैं यह कहूंगा कि इनवेस्टमेंट बढ़ रही है। पब्लिक इनवेस्टमेंट, प्राइवेट इनवेस्टमेंट, फॉरेन डायरेक्ट इनवेस्टमेंट और फॉरेन इंस्टीट्यूशनल इनवेस्टमेंट बढ़ रही हैं। इनवेस्टमेंट का बढ़ाना इस देश के लिए ठीक है और यह महत्व की बात है। हमारा एक्सपोर्ट-इम्पोर्ट भी बढ़ गया है। कैपिटल गुड्स बड़े पैमाने पर इम्पोर्ट करने के लिए पूंजी है और टेक्नोलॉजिकल अपग्रेडेशन बड़े पैमाने पर डोमेस्टिक इंडस्ट्री में हो रहा है। डोमेस्टिक इनवेस्टमेंट भी बड़े पैमाने पर बढ़ रही है।

इंटरनल-एक्सटर्नल सिक्योरिटी के बारे में पहले से हालात बहुत अच्छे हैं। एन.डी.ए. के जमाने में जो हालत थी, उससे कई गुना अच्छे हालात अभी पैदा हो गये हैं। हमारे बॉर्डर्स कभी भी इतने सेफ नहीं थे, जितने आज हैं। कोई झगड़ा नहीं है, ऐसा नहीं है। पानी के बारे में झगड़ा है, लेकिन इसके बारे में टेबल पर चर्चा हो रही है। आज कम से कम पाकिस्तान, श्रीलंका, बांग्लादेश, चाइना के साथ हमारा डायलॉग तो है। मैं यह नहीं कहूंगा कि बहुत सारी अच्छी बातें हुई हैं, लेकिन कहीं न कहीं हमें यह मानना पड़ेगा कि स्थिति पहले से अच्छी हो गयी है।

इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी के बारे में सरकार ने बहुत-से कदम उठाये हैं और उसके फल भी मिल रहे हैं। आतंकवाद पर कई गुना काबू पाने का काम सरकार के जरिये हुआ है और हो रहा है। मैं मनमोहन सिंह जी की सरकार को बधाई दूंगा कि कम से कम अपने ऊपर यह नौबत नहीं आयी कि आपकी सरकार के किसी मिनिस्टर को चार्टर्ड विमान लेकर कहीं जाना पड़ा हो तथा वहां के आतंकवादियों से बात करनी पड़ी हो और उनको लेकर जाने के लिए बड़ी सुविधा दी गयी हो। ऐसा भी नहीं हुआ कि इस देश के सबसे बड़े लोकतांत्रिक मंदिर के ऊपर हमला हुआ हो। ये सारी बातें हम लोगों को माननी चाहिए।

उनका दूसरा मुद्दा है, फेडरलिज्म था। मैं कोई Constitutional expert नहीं हूं, तो भी मैं एक बात कहूंगा। मेरे ख्याल से दुआ जी ने एक सवाल उठाया था। Constitution का पहला article लिखता है, "India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States", लेकिन उसमें फेडरल स्टेट के कुछ फीचर्स जरूर हैं। यह देश अलग-अलग रीजन से बना हुआ है, अलग-अलग भाषा से बना हुआ है, अलग-अलग धर्म से बना हुआ है। यहां अलग-अलग कॉस्ट हैं, अलग-अलग जातियां हैं। यहां सबको साथ लेने की इच्छा है। लेकिन डा. बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने हमें चेतावनी दी थी कि यदि यहां की यूनियन गवर्नमेंट वीक होगी तो यह देश बड़े संकट में जाएगा। बहुत सारी लड़ाइयां हुईं, भाषा के ऊपर लड़ाई हुई, रीजन के ऊपर हुई। मैं जिस महाराष्ट्र से आता हूं, वहां संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र की बड़ी लड़ाई हुई। लेकिन यह देश टूटा नहीं। इसका कारण यह है कि इस देश की जो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट है, वह हमेशा एक तरह से सबको साथ लेकर चलने वाली है और आज भी वही काम यह कर रही है, यह हम लोगों को ध्यान में लेना बहुत जरूरी है।

अब यहां एन.सी.टी.सी. का बहुत विरोध हो रहा है। सरकार उसका हल जरूर निकालेगी। लेकिन मैं यह कहूंगा कि हम फेडरलिज्म की बहुत बात करते हैं। जब इस देश के ऊपर हमला होता है तो वह हमला मुम्बई में या मालेगांव गांव, हिल गांव में नहीं होता, वह हमला इस देश पर होता है, यह ध्यान में रखना चाहिए, खास करके जब जहां पाकिस्तान से लोग आए हुए होते हैं, तथा बाहर के लोग जब हमला करते हैं तो इसका मतलब ऐसा है कि वह पूरे देश का मामला बनता है, यह कोई स्टेट का मामला नहीं बनता वहां कोई फेडरलिज्म की बात नहीं उठी। इसलिए जब इस तरह के सवाल पैदा होते हैं तो यहां के विरोधी दल ऐसी मांग करते हैं कि होम मिनिस्टर को इस्तीफा देना चाहिए। क्योंकि यह राज्यों का मामला है, इसमें हमें क्या करना है? अगर सही मायने में फेडरलिज्म होता तो इसकी यहां पर चर्चा भी नहीं होती, लेकिन यह चर्चा क्यों की जाती है? यह हम लोग मानते हैं कि यह देश यूनियन ऑफ स्टेट्स है। यह कनाडा, यू.एस.ए. या आस्ट्रेलिया जैसा देश नहीं है। इस देश में सारे रीजन के लोगों को, जाति के लोगों को, धर्म के लोगों को साथ में लेने की खासियत है। लेकिन यहां सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट मजबूत है और जब-जब इस तरह का कोई संकट आता है तो उस संकट में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को ज्यादा पॉवर अपना संविधान देता है। ऐसे हालात में मुझे थोड़ा सा आश्चर्य लगता है कि फेडरलिज्म की बात करते-करते, यानी करनी चाहिए, मैं यह नहीं कहूंगा कि जहां अन्याय होता है तो उस अन्याय के बारे में नहीं बोलना चाहिए, ऐसा नहीं है। लेकिन जो राष्ट्रीय विचारधारा होनी चाहिए, परस्पेक्टिव होनी चाहिए, उसका भी ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिए। अगर इस तरह से स्थिति बनती गई तो इस देश की एकता के लिए अच्छी बात नहीं हैं, ऐसा मैं समझता हूं।

शिक्षा के बारे में हमारी महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदया जी ने जो उल्लेख किया है 85 लाख लोगों को स्किल्ड ट्रेनिंग देने का, बारहवें प्लान में 800 लाख ट्रेड लोग तैयार होंगे,

[श्री हुसैन दलवाई]

टीचर्स को भी अधिक ट्रेनिंग दी जाएगी, स्कॉलरशिप दी जाती है, हायर एजुकेशन दिया जाता है। सरकार से मेरी एक मांग है कि यह सब करते वक्त खास करके अल्पसंख्यक समाज, इसमें भी मुस्लिम समाज जो आज शिक्षा में बहुत ही पीछे है, यहां चाइल्ड लेबर की भी बात की गई है। उसमें लिखा गया है कि 14 साल के नीचे के बच्चों को मजदूरी के काम में नहीं लगाना चाहिए। मैं तो कहता हूं कि इस 14 साल की उम्र को 18 साल किया जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि उसको 18 साल तक हक है खेलने का, कूदने का, शिक्षा पाने का। तो यह ऐज भी बढ़ानी चाहिए। मैं यह कहूंगा कि अल्पसंख्यक समाज के जो बच्चे हैं, जो आज इस देश में चाइल्ड लेबर का फोर्स है, उसमें 72 परसेंट मुस्लिम बच्चे हैं। यह बड़ी गंभीरता की बात है। इसलिए मैं एक सुझाव दे रहा हूं, मैंने महाराष्ट्र में भी यह सुझाव दिया था, सरकार को इस पे विचार करना चाहिए। आदिवासी और दलित बच्चों के लिए जिस तरह से आश्रमशालाएं होती हैं वैसे ही मुस्लिम बच्चों के लिए रेसिडेंशियल स्कूल होना बहुत जरूरी है। अगर यह होगा तो उन के लिए बहुत अच्छी बात होगी। उन बच्चों को आज खाना नहीं मिलता। वे भूखे रहते हैं, इसलिए **Child labour** में जाते हैं। भिखारियों में भी मुस्लिम बच्चों की बड़ी संख्या है। मेरी यह मांग है कि सरकार इस के ऊपर ध्यान दे।

हेल्थ के बारे में कैंसर, डायबिटीज, हार्ट डिजीजीज, हेल्थ केयर, एल्डरली लोगों की हेल्थ केयर में बड़े पैमाने पर बढ़ोतरी हुई है। आज देश में 26 फीसद एम.बी.बी.एस. बढ़ गए हैं, 62 परसेंट पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट्स की जगहें बढ़ गयी हैं। ये सब अच्छी बातें हैं, लेकिन मैं एक बात यहां सरकार के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं कि महाराष्ट्र में आयुर्वेद, होम्योपैथी वाले डॉक्टर्स को मेडिकल ऑफिसर के तौर पर भर्ती किया जाता है, लेकिन बी.यू.एम.एस. के लोगों को वहां नहीं लिया जाता बी.यू.एम.एस. (यूनानी) डॉक्टर्स बहुलांश मुस्लिम हैं। यह एक तरह से उन के साथ अन्याय है जब कि उन का रजिस्ट्रार एक रहता है, यूनिवर्सिटी एक रहती है, काउंसिल एक रहती है, लेकिन बी.यू.एम.एस. के लोगों को उस में नहीं लिया जाता। यह गलत बात है और मुझे लगता है कि सरकार को इस मामले में सुधार लाना बहुत जरूरी है।

सिर पर मैला लेकर जाने की प्रथा को रोकने के बारे में इस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कहा गया है। हमें यह जानकर आश्चर्य होता है कि देश में आज भी यह होता होगा। यह हमारे लिए अच्छी बात नहीं है। इसे जल्दी-से-जल्दी रोका जाना चाहिए। अगर सरकार इस बारे में विधेयक लाएगी तो उस में विरोधी दल के लोग भी पूरी तरह से मिलकर इस का समर्थन करेंगे। इसलिए यह विधेयक सरकार को जल्दी-से-जल्दी लाना चाहिए।

एग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर में इस वक्त 6.6 परसेंट की बड़ी ग्रोथ हुई है। 12th प्लान में यह 4 फीसद होने की बात है, मेरे ख्याल से वह हो जाएगी क्योंकि आजकल रिकॉर्ड प्रोडक्शन हो रहा है। अभी महाराष्ट्र में कॉटन के बारे में बात हो रही है। मैं इस बारे में कहना चाहूंगा कि कॉटन के बारे में आज जो मिनिमम सपोर्ट प्राइस दी जाती है, उसे थोड़ा बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। इस के लिए उन्हें भी साथ में लिया जाना चाहिए। यहां अभी स्वामीनाथन जी बैठे हैं, देश में सिंचन कैपिसिटी बढ़ाने की कोशिश हो रही है, लेकिन उस की कहीं-न-कहीं मर्यादा है। इसलिए आज **Dry Farming** की तरफ जाना भी बहुत जरूरी है। अभी **Second Green Revolution** के बारे में भी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने **announcement** किया है, लेकिन हैदराबाद की जो **International Crop Research Institute** है, जिस के लिए इंदिरा जी ने लोगों को बाहर से बुलाया था। इंदिरा जी ने इस कार्य के लिए उन को जमीन दी थी, लेकिन उस इंस्टीट्यूट का फायदा हमारे देश के बजाय आज दूसरे देश के लोग ज्यादा उठा रहे हैं। उन

को जो मदद देनी चाहिए, जो फंड देना चाहिए, वह बाहर के लोग देते हैं। हम उन्हें मदद नहीं देते हैं। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि इस के बारे में भी जरूर विचार होना चाहिए।

मैं समझता हूँ कि पावर के बारे में सरकार ने बहुत बड़ा काम किया है। एन.डी.ए. के जमाने में 2004 में 1,12,600 मेगावाट बिजली पैदा हो रही थी, आज उस में बहुत बढ़ोतरी हुई है। उस में **Capacity Addition** तो 66,691 मेगावाट का हो गया है। वह 54 फीसद बढ़ गया है और 12वीं प्लान में यह एक लाख के ऊपर जाएगा, ऐसा उन का मानना है। बिजली तैयार करने के लिए जो मशीनरी व **equipments** लगते हैं, उस के लिए हमारे यहां "भेल" के सिवाय कोई कंपनी नहीं थी। अब इस के लिए **Joint Venture** में 6 कंपनियां तैयार की गयी हैं। देश में राजीव गांधी ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण के जरिए बड़े पैमाने पर गांवों को **electrify** करने का काम हुआ है। उन के जमाने में खाली 10,000 **villages** का काम हुआ था, आज यह बड़े पैमाने पर हुआ है और 1,02,993 **Unelectrified villages electrified** हो गए हैं। यह बहुत बड़ी बात है कि बी.पी.एल. के लोगों तक रोशनी पहुंचाने का काम भी हो गया है। आज 18 लाख से ज्यादा घर रोशन किए गए हैं। यह बहुत बड़ी बात है। नेशनल प्रोग्राम फोर अर्बन होमलेस, यहां मैं कहूंगा कि इस बारे में जल्दी से जल्दी काम होना चाहिए, जिसकी सरकार ने एनाउन्समेंट की है। मुम्बई में आज घरों की कीमतें सात गुना बढ़ गई हैं, जिस कारण किसी के लिए भी घर लेना, इवेन मिडल क्लास के लोगों के लिए, हायर मिडल क्लास के लोगों के लिए भी घर लेना मुश्किल हो गया है। मेरे ख्याल से मुम्बई में ही नहीं बल्कि सभी जगह ऐसी हालत है, लेकिन मुम्बई में तो घर लेना एक सपना हो गया है। इसलिए सरकार को बड़े पैमाने पर प्रोग्राम लाने चाहिए, जिससे यह जो कीमतों में बढ़ोतरी हो रही है वह जल्दी से जल्दी कम हो सके।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं दुरिज्म के बारे में कहूंगा। मैं कोंकण से आता हूँ, वहां जिस ढंग से दुरिज्म बढ़ना चाहिए, वह बढ़ नहीं रहा है। कोंकण एक ऐसा इलाका है, जहां से मैं आता हूँ, वहां दुरिज्म बड़े पैमाने पर बढ़ सकता है, लेकिन रोड नहीं है, सुविधा नहीं है, ट्रेन आ गई है, लेकिन वह सब जगह जाती नहीं है। वहां अच्छे रोड बनना बहुत जरूरी है, हॉटेल बनने चाहिए और सारी सुविधा देना बहुत जरूरी है, जिसके ऊपर सरकार को जरूर विचार करना चाहिए।

महोदय, कम्युनल बिल के बारे में बहुत कुछ बोला गया। मैं कहूंगा कि कम्युनल बिल अभी तक पास नहीं हुआ है। यह बिल यहां आएगा, उस पर चर्चा होगी, लेकिन कम्युनिलिज्म किसी एक समाज का है, ऐसा मैं भी नहीं मानता हूँ, कम्युनिलिज्म दोनों समाज में है, सभी समाज में है। इस कम्युनिलिज्म को कम करने का काम हमें करना चाहिए। हमारे संविधान ने यह जिम्मेदारी सरकार के ऊपर साँपी है कि कम्युनल सोसायटी को सेकुलर करने का काम सरकार को करना चाहिए। संविधान के जरिए हमें यह डायरेक्टिव मिलती है, तो इसके बारे में सरकार को काम करना चाहिए। अगर इस तरह का बिल आएगा तो उस पर बहस करके उसे पास करना चाहिए। मैं कहूंगा कि इस सरकार के विगत सात सालों में गुजरात जैसा कोई हादसा नहीं हुआ और इसके लिए मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद दूंगा। कम्युनिलिज्म के कारण समाज में इन सिक्युरिटी बढ़ती है, यह केवल एक समाज में बढ़ती है ऐसा मैं नहीं कहूंगा, सभी समाज में बढ़ती है। जो छोटे-छोटे कम्युनल रायट्स होते हैं, वे कैसे बंद होंगे, यह भी देखना हमारे लिए बहुत जरूरी है। लास्ट में मैं यह कहूंगा -

हिफाजत जिस जमी की उन्हें मंजूर होती है।

किनारे पर उन्हें खुद लाकर तूफान छोड़ देती है।

[श्री हुसैन दलवाई]

आज सरकार के साथ थोड़ा सा ऐसा हुआ है, लेकिन सरकार को बचाने वाले हमारे सभी नेता हैं और सरकार बच जाएगी, सरकार को कोई धोखा नहीं है। हम अपने विरोधी दल के लोगों को कहेंगे कि अभी ढाई साल ख्याल रखिए, लोगों में काम करिए, आगे जाकर आपका क्या होता है, वह देखिए। आप अपने आपस के झगड़े भी मिटाइए। आगे भी हमारे आने की संभावना है, क्योंकि हम सभी लोगों को साथ लेकर चलने वाले लोग हैं, सभी समाज के लोगों को लेकर चलने वाले लोग हैं, सभी भाषाओं के लोगों को लेकर चलने वाले लोग हैं। हम ऐसा नहीं करते कि हमें यह नहीं चाहिए, वह नहीं चाहिए, यह ऐसा है, वह वैसा है। पाकिस्तान में भी अगर हिन्दुओं पर अन्याय होता है तो गलत बात है, उसका हम विरोध करते हैं, लेकिन यहां भी अल्पसंख्यक लोगों के साथ जरा अच्छे तालुकात रखने का काम कीजिए, इतना मैं जरूर कहूंगा।

मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ, जो आपने मुझे मौका दिया और इस प्रस्ताव का मैं पूरी तरह से समर्थन करता हूँ। जयहिंद, जय भारत।

PROF. M.S. SWAMINATHAN (Nominated): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

The President's Address is fairly, comprehensive and deals with both new initiatives and also some of the older initiatives. I wish to make a few remarks in relation to areas which need urgent attention.

The President has referred to the five important challenges facing our country and she has rightly listed livelihood security as number one. Shri Venkaiah Naidu, Shri Shivanand Tiwari and many others have referred to the sad state of malnutrition prevailing in our country among children, women and men, in our country. Hunger or malnutrition is not due to lack of food in the market; it is due to lack of purchasing power. Purchasing power means job security. Job security and income security are the most important components of livelihood security. And I am happy that there is a very large skill training programme which is already in progress and which will be further expanded. But, I think, if we want to derive what is called demographic dividend, that is, the dividend coming from our predominantly young population--after all, more than 50 per cent of our population is below the age of 30--you need to have an emphasis on skill training. President Obama addressed a college in Mumbai, he said that India was very lucky in having essentially a young population. How are we going to give an opportunity to young people for leading a productive, and healthy life? This is where skill training is very important. I hope, the skill training programme will cover rural areas, where 70 per cent of our people live, and especially women. In fact, the National Rural Livelihood Mission is also part of an overall livelihood security programme. Two years ago, the Finance Minister announced a special programme for women farmers largely arising from the large number of widows of farmers who have committed suicide. Widows of more than a lakh of people who have committed suicide are all farmers, farm women. So, the Mahila Kisan Sashakteekaran Pariyojana was initiated. It has been linked with

the National Rural Livelihood Security Mission. I am sorry to say that it is not going well. I think, there is increasing feminization of agriculture. We have our friend from Uttarakhand. If you go there, you will see mostly women who are in-charge of agriculture; and they are increasing. Therefore, the Mahila Kisan Sashakteekaran Pariyojana should be kept as a separate programme, not merged with something else, so that it does get adequate attention.

Similarly, the skill formation in rural India should draw the attention. The President's Address does not mention whether it is rural or urban. But, I hope, a large initiative in rural India would take place. If you want to attract and retain youth in farming, it must be given thrust. Wherever you go, including Punjab, the farmers say that their children are not interested in agriculture and that they would like to quit. Now, 45 per cent of adults want to quit farming. Then, what would you do if you have a National Food Security Act which assures legal right to food? That can only be implemented with home grown food. You cannot borrow or import from other countries.

So, I would say that we should have a component in the skill training mission for rural India, particularly for rural livelihood. What are the livelihoods? crops and animal husbandry, fishery, forestry, agro-forestry, agro-processing and certain service. These all will have to be upgraded with skills. Let me give one example. There have been some comments on fertilizers. Fertilizer availability is one problem. But, now, the Government has changed its policy of subsidy from product-subsidy to nutrient-based subsidy. If you want to use the nutrient-based subsidy, you will have to have a soil health card and much more information on what the soil is lacking, and so on. All these require skills. I would not go into the details, but the skill mission should have a large rural component.

When I started Krishi Vigyan Kendras in the 70s, the idea was 'learning by doing', not by lecturing, so that farm women and men could learn the latest techniques just by actual work experience. Today, we require for our agriculture, at least, at every block, a farm school on the model of Krishi Vigyan Kendra. The only difference should be from end-to-end. Today, the food production technology is advancing, but the post-harvest management of what we produce is very poor. Therefore, I hope that the skill mission will have a rural component.

My second point, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, is about the need to contain price volatility and food inflation. Everybody mentions it to be one of the reasons why we have so much malnutrition. The reason is the high price of commodities and the food price volatility. We require a national mission for the management of food price volatility and food inflation. I would not deliberate it in detail. But let me give two examples. There are some of the components of food inflation and one is the pulses. Pulses' prices are very important. Milk prices are also very important. People

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do not realise that 80 per cent of the milk cost comes from feed and fodder. Most of our feeds are being exported. All our concentrates are being exported. We have 400 million cows and buffaloes in the country. We are already number one in milk production. How will you produce more? If we have to produce more, they have to be fed more, with nutrition. In all these cases, there has to be proper coordination between the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Commerce, on the export-import policies.

We should not export feed grains, feed which are important for our own animals. Then only the milk price will come down; otherwise, milk price will go up and up. How can the farmer produce? They have to have fodder and feed. Similarly, pulses. The hon. Finance Minister announced 60,000 pulses villages. I think some work has been done. It is already showing its impact. From 14 million tonnes, we have come to 17 million tonnes. We require another 3 million tonnes more to fill the gap between demand and supply in pulses. Pulses are very important not only for fighting protein hunger but they are also very important for fighting soil hunger because they fix nitrogen in the soil. So, you have got double benefit, fighting protein hunger and fighting soil hunger by cultivation of pulses. I would again appeal that this Pulses Programme should receive much greater attention. There are mostly given in dry farming areas. People have no irrigation. It is all the more important if the farmer produces one tonne, instead of producing 500 kilograms, his income goes up. That is the only way to improve the income of small farmers in the dry farming areas.

Thirdly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the President has rightly said that we have had a record production of nearly 242 million tonnes of foodgrains and 231 million tonnes of fruits and vegetables. We should always take into consideration both, not only grains but also the other commodities. But there was no mention of the fact about the amount of spoilage. If you see the Government figures themselves, about 30 per cent fruits and vegetables are spoilt. Of course, we know how grains are stored. There is not a word about their management. There is no use in telling we are producing more and more, but how are you managing that production and how are we storing it? This is why I have been repeatedly recommending, particularly in the context of the National Food Security Bill, which is a historic Bill, whenever it is approved, at least, have, at 50 different locations in the country, one million tonnes of foodgrains of ultra-modern storage. It would not be much; it would not be a big one. Fifty millions tonnes is always in your stocks. So, I wish the President's Address had, at least, contained one or two statements that the Government would intensify its management of whatever is produced in terms of post-harvest management, our production, processing and marketing.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have just two more points. One is the National

Water Mission, which is a very important one. Water security is going to be our important problem in the future. Therefore, every drop of water must be conserved. There are programmes of the Government like 'more crop per drop of water', 'more income per drop of water'. I would like to suggest--I have been mentioning this to the Minister of Rural Development--about the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. If you read the purpose of the Scheme, it talks about watershed management, aquifer recharge, overting rain water, and so on. This is the most important aspect. Mahatma Gandhi, 70 years ago said, "What we need in rural India is the marriage of intellect and labour." Just shramdaan won't do. You have to marry technology with labour. This programme lacks very much the technological input. The labour input is there, but the technological input is not there. We have got a number of institutions. We should bring them together. Then, we should also give some prestige to the workers in the MNREGA. Don't call them all beneficiaries, and so on. They are also human beings. They are earning their daily bread by working harder than you and I. They work in the Sun and rain. I think we should give them some awards. Raise the prestige of the work. Let them have self-esteem. There should be a National Water Saviour Award for the best MNREGA team, which has developed a very good watershed, and so on. And also, the Monsoon Mission which was announced by the President is exceedingly important. It is because the monsoon and the market are the two major determinants of a farmer's well being in our country. This year, for example, there are predictions from foreign countries that the Indian monsoon may not be all right. I hope it is incorrect. But we have to be prepared. This is why we have to prepare a drought code, a flood code and a good weather code. All these are anticipatory actions. These are anticipatory in the sense what we should do, if we have a good weather.

We must maximise production in a year of good weather, minimise the adverse impact of abnormal weather. So, the monsoon mission should not remain only statistical information over the radio and television. It has to be operationalised by producing the codes and so on. Lastly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I think, the President's Address contains a reference to a very important Conference which is being hosted in Hyderabad in October this year. This is the 11th Conference of the Parties of the UN Convention on Biodiversity. India is mega biodiversity area. This is the largest gathering, a meeting of experts of the world in the field of biodiversity. It will be in Hyderabad in October. That is what the President's Address mentioned. Now, I found one sentence in the President's Address, "The Government will endeavour to use this Conference to bring about global consensus and forward looking action on initiatives like operationalisation of access and benefit sharing mechanism. I am sorry to say that although our Biodiversity Act is 10 years old, but we are yet no implacement in full. In 2002 Parliament passed the Biodiversity Act. If you read the Biodiversity Act, it has three levels of management. One is Panchayat level,

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Panchayat level Biodiversity Management Committee and then we have State level Biodiversity Boards and then the National Biodiversity Authority. So, there are three levels. The National Biodiversity Authority exists with its headquarters in Chennai. As regards State level Biodiversity Boards, Shri Digvijay Singh established the first one in Madhya Pradesh long ago, most of the States have Biodiversity Boards but at Panchayat level nothing has been done. If you go to Panchayat people and ask them about this biodiversity Act and its access, they do not know. But they are supposed to give the approval for access. For example, most of the rich biodiversity is in tribal areas. Koraput is a very genetic paradise. In fact, Koraput in Orissa is recognised as a globally important agricultural heritage site. The Prime Minister gave that certificate on January 3 this year at Bhubaneswar. It is a globally important agricultural heritage site. The next one is Kerala, the Kuttavad below sea level farming. We have this wonderful heritage which the world admires with an enormous amount of biodiversity. But who is to give the permission, access and benefit sharing, the powers are vested with the local Panchayata Committees. I think at least before October our Ministry of Environment should in a few States activate the Panchayati Raj institutions. There are many other points which are required to be discussed..

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Nominated): Sir could you also mention because it will help a great deal the importance of the Panchayats in the last mile delivery of food security, of drinking water, all these matters of the National Climate Change Programme? If you were to just endorse the importance of Panchayats for all these purposes, it will help us in other matters. ...(Interruptions)...

PROF. M.S. SWAMINATHAN: Gandhiji mentioned one thing that Gram Swaraj is the way to Purna Swaraj. If we do not have Panchayati Raj, nothing will happen. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Thank you very much, Sir. I was quite pleasantly surprised by the mention of five levels of security which the President's Address has—livelihood, economic, energy, ecological, environment and internal and external security. It is good. It covers almost all the gamut of human life. But the Government seems to have patted itself rather loudly to our comfort saying that they have already reached 8.4 per cent of GDP and this year there is a fall to 6.9 which is about 7 per cent and it is time to do it better next year. Sir, we have seen flashes on the pan of this high growth rate now for nearly a decade. Everybody can see it. A news magazine went gaga by commenting that luxury market in India is likely to grow at over 20 per cent every year and would touch USD 8.22 billion in 2012 and USD 14.72 billion in 2015. The magazine reports and it is in a sense very satisfying and in another way very terrifying that in the last three months, 20 Ferraris were sold, 300 Porsches were sold in one year and in Kanpur alone, there

were ten such Porsches. One hundred and fifty one Mercedes Benz cars were sold, most of it in the city of Aurangabad big tycoon and his cronies bought a lot of them. A section of Indians are really indulging themselves and driving themselves crazy in the luxury market. Private luxury planes are jetting across the Indian skies. Penthouses and villas with most ultra modern facilities are now dotting the country Super Yachts are now getting bigger, faster and more luxurious and they are occupying a very prime position in Mumbai docks. Itching to dig deep into the pockets of the rich, the dream merchants are scouting frantically the whole of India. According to the Kotak Wealth Crisil Report, the number of affluent Indians with assets more than 25 crores is likely to triple by 2016, numbering roughly two and a half lakhs. This blinding brightness of a minuscule number of affluent Indians does not indicate the whole story. The other India is covered by deep darkness of despondency, despair and deprivation. Just a couple of facts. Sir, and it has been already mentioned, assets are the most important indicator of a household's material well-being, particularly in the rural areas. In addition to their productive potential, assets also have collateral value. In times of crisis, they either sell it or give it to mortgage and get some income to survive. So, assets are very important in every household. I am quoting from the India Development Report, 2011 published by the Government of India's Planning Commission. This is not my own creation. In India, the distribution of assets is extremely unequal with top five per cent of the households owning 38 per cent of the total assets of India and on the other hand, bottom 60 per cent of households own only 13 per cent of the total assets. This is a horrendous asymmetry which has been brought about; particularly I don't know why, by the two decades of our neo-liberal economic policies. Endemic poverty of Indian masses is a scourge which requires to be removed. The Millennium Development Report of the UN set a target that by 2015 we shall, all over the world, reduce the poverty population to half. In Indian terms the rate of deceleration of poverty, should come to 18 per cent. But I must admit, the Government of India, since Mrs. Indira Gandhi's time, in 1980, in the Sixth Five Year Plan, for the first time diverted resources for rural development and poverty alleviation. It did have some effect but the annual rate of deceleration of poverty in the last ten years has been only 0.8 per cent. At that rate, if it continues by 2015 we shall not be able to achieve the target of reducing by 50 per cent. In this context, the promise of livelihood and economic security appears to be highly reassuring but the route of achieving this noble objective cannot only be high rate of growth because the Eleventh Five Year Plan itself has said that the rate of decline in poverty has not been accelerated along with the growth of GDP and incidence of poverty among certain marginalized groups like SC, ST and certain groups of OBC had hardly reduced at all. Thus, the high growth is essential. But it is not sufficient for poverty reduction on a substantive and sustainable basis. Regrettably, there is no indication in the hon. President's Speech about any alternative route for better income distribution, high level of

[Shri D. Bandyopadhyay]

employment and equitable share of benefits of growth among different classes or categories of Indian population. It is not flattering for us to note that according to the international poverty line, which stands at US \$ 1.25 per day, India, with 42 per cent population below that poverty line, is much better off than the West and Central Africa with 53 per cent, Sub-Saharan Africa with 51 per cent. Eastern and South Africa with 49 per cent. We are below them, it is only 42 per cent. So, we are better than them. But, we are much worse of than the unbinned developed countries' poverty line which is only 25 per cent. Therefore, Sir, serious steps have to be taken for poverty reduction other than the market mechanism. Too much reliance on the market mechanism is not going to have any impact on the poverty reduction. Yes; there will be some trickling down. But the capillary effect of income is much higher than the trickling down.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAY: Employment situation does not give us much cause for cheer. According to the latest Report of Employment and Unemployment Survey of the Labour Bureau of India, 2009-10, roughly, 9.4 per cent of labour force is unemployed. If we take 320 million as total labour force and if we take 10 per cent (round figure) as the unemployed labour force, more than 3 crores of men and women are just sitting-idle. I am not going further into that. The composition of those who are employed is also rather very serious. Within the employed population, self-employed constitute, roughly, 43 per cent. Only 16.8 per cent is regular salaried class and the rest 39.3 percent is casual. Now, 40 per cent of the casual labour force is the most vulnerable section of the Indian population which has to take care of and we are not really taking care of this section.

Sir, NREGA is much maligned but the most important thing that the Government of India has done is that it is the only security cover that this group of 40 per cent of casual workers has today in the Indian Republic.

Sir, one wonders why is the regular employment situation is so dismal with so high rate of growth lasting for nearly a decade. Are you witnessing--In fact, it has been mentioned by someone else--the prophesy made by the UNDP in mid 90s that the world is going to witness a jobless growth? New technology is not labour-absorbing. The new technology is labour-displacing. Therefore, this is what is happening. We are having flashes in the pan on the one hand and total darkness on the other side. I am not going into further.

I just want to add one thing and end, if you permit, Sir. There is all round euphoria about the high rate of production this year. We have about 242 or 241 million tonnes of foodgrain production. It is very good. In fact, it is the third consecutive year that we are having bumper production. If Jathar and Berry which

we read 50 years ago is correct, there will be a bad monsoon once in every three years. What Prof. Swaminathan said is the scientific prediction it is also the normal experience of the Indian farmer. So, we should be expecting bad monsoon next year. Now, how do we do it? We are having an alarming situation in agriculture. I hope, Prof. Swaminathan would agree that one of the major reasons for this is that the public investment in agriculture is coming down steeply. Hardly any big irrigation scheme, or, even medium irrigation scheme, is taking place; hardly any other thing is taking place. We have got the figures for the year 2008-09. The public investment was minus 0.1, which increased in the next year, that is, 2009-10, to magnificent figure of plus 0.4. With this rate of public investment,, we just cannot expect any major breakthrough.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI D. BANDOPADHYAY: Thirdly, Sir, the prices of fertilizers, except urea, have been decontrolled. As a result, the prices of fertilizers have zoomed. And, people are using more and more urea than they should. They are, thus, wasting their money and are also spoiling their land. Now, here comes a very important reason of whether you have a soil-nutrient component or not, there has to be some control of the Government over the prices of fertilizers and should not be left to the market. Market does not include the poor because the poor men cannot operate the market. The market is only for the rich. I have a small Maruti car. My market is Maruti car. I never think per se of Mercedes Benz or Ferrari. So, while we talk about market inclusiveness, we are excluding the number of Indians in the name of market.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Conclude please.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAY: Sir, my last point is that there is a tremendous attempt to bring in genetically modified seeds to the Indian agriculture. I am not a scientist, but I know this much that genetically modified seeds cannot be duplicated by farmers. What do you see in the BT cotton? According to the figures of the National Crime Bureau of India, 2,50,619 farmers have committed suicide between 1975 to 2010. With that experience of the BT Cotton, we are still thinking of the BT Brinjal, we are still thinking of the BT Potato! Why? We are still thinking about this because one company – I don't want to mention the name because you do not allow to mention the names – is there which controls 69 per cent of the GM crop all over the world. That company is pushing harder and harsher in India to adopt this. So, we must oppose that in order to save the Indian farmers because the moment you do it, the Indian farmers would lose their autonomy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Conclude please.

SHRI D. BANDOPADHYAY: It is a heritage...(*Time-Bell Rings*)... just ten per cent of the produce is set aside as said and they renew it every three years or four years. The autonomy of the peasantry gives the autonomy of the Indian economy.

[Shri D. Bandyopadhyay]

And, the autonomy of the Indian economy gives a guarantees to our political sovereignty. So, the GM Crop is going to subvert our sovereignty. We must be very cautious about it.

Thank you. Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is a request from Shri Y.S. Choudhary that he would not be available on Monday. So, he wants to speak today itself for five minutes. After that we will adjourn.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: He can speak on Monday.

श्री उपसभापति: वे मंडे नहीं रहेंगे।

श्री वाई.एस. चौधरी (आन्ध्र प्रदेश): ठीक है, मैं मंडे बोलूंगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. The House is adjourned to meet tomorrow at 1.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned at four minute past six of the clock till thirty minutes past one of the clock on Friday, the 16th March, 2012.