MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion regarding the consideration of the Constitution (Jammu and Kashmir) Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Bill, 2024 to vote. The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution (Jammu and Kashmir) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1989, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up Clause-by-Clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

श्री अर्जुन मुंडाः महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूं: कि विधेयक को पारित किया जाए।

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will now take up the Public Examination (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024. Dr. Jitendra Singh to move a motion for consideration of the Public Examinations (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024.

#### The Public Examinations (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE; THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS; THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY; AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SPACE (DR. JITENDRA SINGH): Sir, I rise to move:

"That the Bill to prevent unfair means in the public examinations and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

श्री उपसभापतिः माननीय मंत्री जी, क्या आप इस बिल पर कुछ बोलना चाहते हैं? Let him speak and then we will move the motion. आप इस बिल के बारे में कुछ बता दीजिए। ...(Interruptions)...

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: I will do whatever is the sense of the House, but I think, the sense is in favour of expediting it. So, I will speak a few sentences to say that the Bill has already been passed in the Lower House. We had an extensive discussion and it received support across the lines regardless of ideological leanings or other considerations and now this important Bill has come to the Upper House, which is also known to be the House of the Elders. I am sure the Elders will also bless it with the same spirit and bless the resolve with the conviction with which this Bill has been brought in. This legislation also happens to be the first of its kind in the history of Indian Parliament, and maybe, it is the first of its kind also because the founding fathers of the Constitution and the Penal Code may not have visualized that there would be one day a situation arising like this because this legislation seeks to address a very recent phenomenon. It seeks to address an issue which has emerged in very recent times and, as you know, the Government headed by the Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, has always placed the youth at a very high priority and, therefore, it is the responsibility of each one of us. We have huge stake in the youth of the country who comprise more than 70 per cent of India's population and, therefore, none of us would like the vital youth energy and youth power to be sacrificed at the altar of handful of selfish interests. So, this Bill essentially deals with those who tend to manipulate the examinations, be those for the selection examination for recruitment of Government jobs or be those for the competitive examinations for higher education. But, at the outset, I also wish to make it very clear that the bona fide candidate or the student or the job aspirant has been kept out of the purview of this Bill. So, let not a message go that this is meant to harass a candidate or a bona fide candidate. This is only meant to serve as a deterrent against those who tend to cause injustice in the competitive processes and for them, as of now, we did not have a specific law in place. So, this 'unfair means' law will make up for that deficiency because, as I said, it was a recently emerged phenomenon. Time and again we have been facing such issues, such reports emanating from almost 15 States and Union Territories of this country. We had three or four such scams successfully happening in Rajasthan in the last three years. We had the Police scam, we had the teacher's selection scam. Then we had a series of scams from West Bengal. I would get into the details of this later on. In order to, therefore, move in that direction, to prevent this happening because it is not only playing with the future of our youth but, as I said, these are

youth who are going to be the architects of the New India in the next 20 years and who are also going to shape the face and destiny of India in 2047. So, there have been occasions when this has not only led to loss of valuable merit, but it has also caused huge amount of disillusionment, frustration, disenchantment among the young students and their parents. In the Lower House, I felt tempted to quote one of the suicide notes of a small child of Class 12 who passed away in very tragic circumstances only about a few days back. She left a note, 'Mummy, Papa, please forgive me. I cannot do it. I am the worst daughter.' And, I am sure, none of us would ever wish that any of our children would have to face such a fate or go through that.

So, I think, this Bill, in a single sentence, is dedicated to the youth of this country, to the students of the country and to the young job aspirants of this country whom we hail as the builders of India, that is, to rise to the pedestal in the next two decades. Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir.

## The question was proposed.

# श्री उपसभापतिः धन्यवाद। Motion moved.

अब माननीय सदस्य इस पर चर्चा करेंगे। माननीय सदस्यण, मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि पहला नाम डा. अमी याज्ञिक का है, पर उनकी जगह मैं श्री दिग्विजय सिंह को बुला रहा हूं।

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापित महोदय, मैं लोक परीक्षा (अनुचित साधन निवारण) विधेयक, 2024 का मूल रूप से समर्थन करता हूं, क्योंकि पिछले कुछ वर्षों में जो परीक्षाएं निष्पक्ष होनी चाहिए थीं, वे एक बहुत बड़ा व्यवसाय बन गई हैं। पेपर लीक, ऑनलाइन एग्ज़ामिनेशन के अंतर्गत छेड़छाड़ और यहाँ तक कि जो ऑनलाइन एग्ज़ामिनेशन होता है, रिज़ल्ट आने के बाद कौन-सा पेपर आसान था, उसमें नंबर बढ़ा दिये जाते हैं और जो कठिन था उसमें नंबर कम कर दिए जाते हैं। महोदय, इसको normalization कहते हैं। यह बहुत बड़े भ्रष्टाचार का माध्यम बन गया है और मैं यहाँ पर इसका उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं।

माननीय उपसभापित जी, शिक्षा Concurrent Subject है, लेकिन राज्यों में जो परीक्षाएं हुई हैं, जो रिकूटमेंट्स हुए हैं, उसका सबसे बड़ा घोटाला मध्य प्रदेश में व्यापम में हुआ है। इसके साथ ही आज तक एक अजीब बात भी हुई कि जिन्होंने पैसा देकर बच्चों की भर्ती कराई, उनको तो जेल भेज दिया गया, लेकिन जिन लोगों ने अवैधानिक रूप से पैसा लेकर भर्ती की, वे आज भी खुले घूम रहे हैं, आज भी जेल से बाहर हैं। इसमें मूल रूप से भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ कार्रवाई होनी चाहिए और हम इसके पक्ष में हैं। महोदय, मोदी जी कहते थे कि न खाऊंगा, न खाने दूंगा, \* मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा, मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि सबसे पहली बात तो यह है

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<sup>\*</sup> Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

कि यह एक Concurrent Subject है, इसलिए केंद्र सरकार को यह अधिकार है कि राज्यों के बीच जो एग्ज़ामिनेशन्स होते हैं, उनको इसमें लिया जाए। इस शैड्यूल में दिया गया है कि such other authority as may be notified by the Central Government.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO) in the Chair.]

में माननीय मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूंगा कि चूंकि यह Concurrent Subject है, इसलिए राज्यों में भी यदि इस प्रकार की कोई मांग आती है, तो उसमें इसको शामिल किया जाए। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दूसरी बात यह है कि ऑनलाइन एग्ज़ामिनेशन के कारण हमारे पास लाखों की संख्या में इतने कंप्यूटर्स वगैरह नहीं हैं, जिसकी वजह से एक दिन, एक क्वेश्चन पेपर का एग्ज़ामिनेशन नहीं हो पाता है, इसलिए अलग-अलग दिनों पर, अलग-अलग क्वेश्चन्स के आधार पर परीक्षा होती है। उन्होंने उसमें ही normalization का यह प्रॉसेस शामिल कर दिया है, इसलिए ऑनलाइन परीक्षा भ्रष्टाचार का एक बहुत बड़ा कारण बन गई है, उसका एक माध्यम बन गई है। इसमें ऐसी कंपनीज़ शामिल हो गई हैं, जो ब्लैक लिस्टिड होने के बाद भी दूसरे प्रांतों में जाकर अपने ठेके ले लेती हैं। इसका खुले आम व्यवसाय हो रहा है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि जितनी परीक्षाएं हों, उसमें ऑनलाइन परीक्षाएं बंद करें और ये परीक्षाएं ऑफलाइन होनी चाहिए। यह एग्ज़ामिनेशन ऑब्जेक्टिव पेपर पर आधारित हो और वहीं पर जाँच करके उसके नतीजे भी घोषित कर देने चाहिए। मैं एक और अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ। मेरे कुछ अमेंडमेंट्स भी हैं। हालांकि आज ही हमें यह बिल मिला और आज ही अमेंडमेंट के लिए टेबल ऑफिस कह रहा है कि आपका स्वीकार नहीं कर रहे हैं, जबकि मैंने टाइम पर दे दिया था। क्लॉज़ 1(2), पेज नंबर 1-2 - मेरा यह अमेंडमेंट है कि इसका दायरा केंद्र, राज्यों तथा केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों के आयोगों, भर्ती संस्थानों तक होगा। यह मेरा अमेंडमेंट नंबर वन है। दूसरा अमेंडमेंट क्लॉज़ 10(2) पेज नं 6 की चौथी लाइन के संबंध में है। वह कंपनी, जो इसमें दोषी पाई जाती है, उसके लिए इन्होंने कह दिया है कि उसे चार वर्षों के लिए अयोग्य कर दिया जाएगा। जो कंपनी आरोपी हो चुकी है, उसे चार वर्षों के लिए ही क्यों, बल्कि आजीवन प्रतिबंधित कर देना चाहिए। तीसरा अमेंडमेंट - इसमें इसका नाम परीक्षा प्राधिकरण रखा गया है, लेकिन आयोग भी होते हैं, बोर्ड भी होते हैं, इसलिए माननीय मंत्री जी से मेरा निवेदन है कि इसमें परीक्षा प्राधिकरण शब्द के बाद, आयोग और चयन बोर्ड शब्द को भी जोड़ा जाना चाहिए। मेरा आखिरी अमेंडमेंट क्लॉज़ 11, पेज 6 के संबंध में है। इसमें सब-क्लॉज़ 11(3) जोड़ा जाए, जिसमें उल्लेख हो कि परीक्षा में घोटाला सिद्ध होने पर परीक्षा को तत्काल निरस्त किया जाए, इसके साथ-साथ, दोषियों को भी दंडित किया जाए और तत्काल रूप से उसकी परीक्षा ली जाए। उदाहरण के लिए, मध्य प्रदेश में पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन की 2018-19 की परीक्षा हुई थी और वह विवादित हो गई, क्योंकि पेपर आउट हो गया था। उसमें आज तक कोई निर्णय नहीं हो पाया है, इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध यह है कि इसमें भी समय-सीमा तय की जानी चाहिए।

महोदय, मैं अंत में आपसे यही अनुरोध करूँगा कि चूँकि यह concurrent सब्जैक्ट है, इसलिए अगर राज्यों की माँग आती है, तो या तो वे खुद इस प्रकार का कानून अपने राज्य में लाएं

या चूँकि आपको अथॉरिटी दी जा सकती है, तो इस कानून को लागू करने के लिए भी आपको ऑथराइज़ किया जाए। यह क्लॉज़ भी शामिल की जाए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): I am happy to be in the Chair on a day when former Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, an illustrious and outstanding statesman and a *Telugu Bidda*, has been named for Bharat Ratna. I would like to thank Hon. Prime Minister for naming him for Bharat Ratna. The second speaker is Shri Prakash Javadekar. ...(Interruptions)... Yes; yes. There are two other illustrious sons of the soil, Shri Charan Singh and Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, who have also been named for Bharat Ratna.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर (महाराष्ट्र): सर, ये जो परीक्षाएं भ्रष्ट होने लगीं और पेपर लीकेज से लेकर कॉपी तक, सब प्रकार शुरू हो गए, यह केवल सरकारी भर्ती परीक्षा में नहीं होता है, बल्कि पहले स्कूल में, फिर कॉलेज में, फिर ऊपर, इसका यह एक क्रम है। आपने देखा होगा कि कुछ साल पहले जब बिहार में एक स्कूल में विजिलेंस टीम पहुंची, तो पैरेंट्स तीसरे माले तक सीढ़ियाँ लगाकर, ऊपर जाकर गाइड बुक्स दे रहे थे, यह सबने देखा।

#### 5.00 P.M.

अभी 12वीं फेल मुवी आई है। यह जीवन पर एक्चुअल स्टोरी है, वे आईआरएस अधिकारी बने, जो अभी डीजी हैं, वे 12वीं फेल हो गए, क्योंकि वहां पूरा कॉपी का ही राज था और सारे फेल हो रहे थे। वहां वैसे ही पास होते थे। इस तरह से यह स्कूल में पहले शुरू होता है। मैं दिनेश शर्मा जी का अभिनंदन करूंगा, जब मैं शिक्षा विभाग मंत्री था, तब वे उत्तर प्रदेश के उप मुख्य मंत्री और शिक्षा मंत्री थे। उन्होंने जो काम किया है, उसको सभी लोगों को समझना चाहिए, क्योंकि उन्होंने कॉपी पूरी तरह से खत्म की। इस लॉ में बहुत सारे प्रोविज़न्स उस लॉ के ही हैं, जो उनके द्वारा बनाया गया था। दिनेश शर्मा जी ने ऐसे कडाई से उस पर अमल किया कि कॉपी करने वाले सारे बच्चे डर गए और परीक्षा में आवेदन 60 लाख आए, लेकिन 49 लाख बच्चे ही बैठे। बाद में सबको पता चला कि अध्ययन करके ही पास हो सकते हैं और इसलिए संख्या धीरे-धीरे बढी। मैं एक छोटा उदाहरण देता हूं। मैं 24 साल की उम्र में सीनेट मेम्बर बना था। महाराष्ट्र में पुणे यूनिवर्सिटी के एरिया में हमारा एक notorious centre था - नंदुरबार। वहां खुले आम leakage or copy होती थी। मैं छात्र जैसा ही दिखता था। मैंने यूनिवर्सिटी वाइस चांस्लर से बात करके अपना एक admit card लिया कि ये पूना के छात्र हैं, लेकिन वे फैमिली के किसी काम से आए हैं, तो उनको नंद्रबार में एग्ज़ामिनेशन सेंटर में बैठने दो। मैं छात्र बनकर गया, अंदर बैठा और पेपर दिया। मैंने देखा कि वहां कितनी कॉपी हो रही है। हमने सबको पकडा और पूरा भांडा फूट गया। जो इन्वेस्टिगेटिंग टीम जाती थी, जो inspection team जाती थी, उनको पहले ही खबर मिल जाती थी और सब लोग अपना सामान बाहर फेंक देते थे। उस समय टेक्नोलॉजी नहीं थी, तो कागज ही होता था, वे उसे फेंक देते थे, लेकिन अब टेक्नॉलोजी आई है, तो इसके बहुत तरीके हो गए हैं कि वे कहां-कहां छुपाते हैं, कैसे कान में छोटा सा माइक लगाकर उत्तर सुनते हैं और बाहर गैंग्स बैठते हैं, जिनको क्वेश्चन पेपर मिलते ही वे तुरंत जवाब भेजना शुरू करते हैं। टेक्नोलॉजी से लोग इन चीज़ों को कहां-कहां छुपाते हैं और कैसे सुनाई देगा, इसकी व्यवस्था करते हैं, फिर वैसा वे लिखते हैं। पेन में भी बहुत सारी जगहों पर गड़बड़ी होती है। इससे क्या हुआ - जो राज्य की सेवाओं की भर्ती परीक्षा होती है- राजस्थान में वह परीक्षा 8-10 साल में 19 बार कैंसिल हो गई, फिर परीक्षा ही नहीं होती है। इसमें इतने तरीके अपनाए जाते हैं कि जो गड़बड़ी करने वाले हैं, उनको इसमें वरीयता मिलती है।

मैं पिछले चार महीने तेलंगाना चुनाव में था। वहां Telangana State Public Service Commission की 10 साल में एक भी परीक्षा नहीं हो पाई। वहां 12 बार पेपर लीक हो गए और वह परीक्षा खत्म हो गई। परीक्षा नहीं होने से छात्रों और युवाओं की एक पीढ़ी का नुकसान हो गया। ऐसा अनेक राज्यों में हो रहा है। यह समझने के बाद मोदी सरकार ने एक निर्णय लिया। मोदी जी का आग्रह था कि परीक्षा शुद्धता से हो और इसलिए हमने National Testing Authority (NTA) की स्थापना की। जैसे आईआईटी में जेईई को आईआईटी का ही एक बोर्ड conduct करता है, उसमें कभी कोई गडबडी की खबर नहीं आई, उसी तरह से NTA में भी सूचारू रूप से सारी यंत्रणा तैयार की गई और इसके कारण उसमें नीट परीक्षा भी होने लगी, बाकी परीक्षाएं भी होने लगीं, तो उसमें कॉपी करना समाप्त हो गया। यह नोएडा में है। मैं सभी सांसदों से कहूँगा कि आप वहाँ जाकर देखिए, एनटीए का जो कंट्रोल रूम है, वह बहुत बड़ा है। वहाँ आपको डायरेक्ट दिखता है कि सभी केन्द्रों पर क्या चल रहा है। इलेक्ट्रॉनिक गैजेट्स के साथ छेड़छाड़ नहीं कर सकते, इस तरह के प्रोविजंस किए गए हैं। लेकिन मैंने अभी देखा कि पिछले साल एनटीए की परीक्षा में भी कुछ लोगों ने गडबड करने का प्रयास किया। इसलिए यह चोर-सिपाही का खेल होता है। सिपाही एक यंत्र तैयार करेगा, तो चोर और आगे का काम करते हैं। इसलिए इसके ऊपर काम करना पड़ेगा, लेकिन एक ऑथेंटिकेट परीक्षा हो। पहले एनईईटी अलग होती थी, इसलिए एनईईटी करें या न करें, मंत्रालय में यह तय नहीं हो रहा था। लेकिन जैसे ही एनटीए का क्रेडिट स्थापित हुआ, तो उसने तुरंत एनईईटी की परीक्षा भी शुरू की। इस तरह से सभी परीक्षाएँ होने लगीं। यह एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात है। वही एनटीए यहाँ आ रही है।

यह नया बिल इसलिए महत्वपूर्ण है कि जो अध्ययन करने वाला स्टूडेंट है, मेरिट वाला स्टूडेंट है, उसकी मेरिट का कोई मतलब ही नहीं रहता, क्योंकि सबको सभी मार्क्स मिलेंगे, तो कोई मतलब नहीं रहेगा। फिर वे कहेंगे कि हम अध्ययन क्यों करें, मेहनत क्यों करें। वह समाज प्रगति नहीं कर सकता, जो मेरिट की पूजा नहीं करता। छात्रों को मेहनत करने की सीख समाज को स्कूल से ही देनी चाहिए। बिना मेहनत के सफलता नहीं मिलती, यह समझाने की जरूरत है। इसलिए यह जो बिल आया है, यह टेक्निकली केवल एग्जामिनेशन के बारे में नहीं है। सभी राज्यों में पेपर्स लीक हो रहे हैं, लोग गिरफ्तार हो रहे हैं, पैसे ले रहे हैं। इसमें एक बहुत इंस्टिट्यूशनलाइज्ड करप्शन हो गया है। जैसा दिग्विजय सिंह जी ने कहा, ऑनलाइन एग्जामिनेशन लेने वाली कई खास कंपनियाँ तैयार हो गईं। जिन कंपनियों का एनएसई पर शेयर चलता है, वे इसमें नहीं हैं, बल्कि जिनका कुछ नहीं चलता है, उनकी सरकार में चल रही है। उसके कारण ऐसी कंपनियाँ आईं, जिन्होंने परीक्षा का कबाड़ा कर दिया। इसलिए मेरा मानना है कि यह बिल बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। मोदी जी का हमेशा आग्रह रहा है कि अच्छी शिक्षा मिले, अच्छे

नागरिक बनें। हमने जब शिक्षा नीति बनाई, तब भी उनका मार्गदर्शन यही था कि लर्निंग आउटकम्स क्या हैं। तब उनका यही मार्गदर्शन आया कि बच्चा अपने-अपने विषय पढ़ेगा, वह ठीक है, लेकिन पढ़ने के बाद वह एक अच्छा इंसान भी बने, उसके लिए महत्व होना चाहिए। इसकी प्राथमिक शिक्षा यह है कि मैं कभी भी पेपर लीक नहीं करूँगा।

अंत में में अपना एक उदाहरण बताता हूँ। यह निजी है, लेकिन महत्वपूर्ण है। मेरी माँ प्राथमिक स्कूल टीचर थीं। चौथी कक्षा में वे मेरी टीचर थीं, लेकिन वे घर में माँ थीं और वहाँ टीचर थीं। मैंने पेपर दिया, बाद में उन्होंने असेसमेंट करके मुझे पेपर नहीं दिखाया कि कितने मार्क्स मिले। उन्होंने घर में असेसमेंट किया, लेकिन मुझे दिखाया नहीं। जब मैं स्कूल गया, मुझे पेपर दिया गया, तो मैंने देखा कि मेरे दो मार्क्स कम थे। मैंने माँ से झगड़ा किया कि यह क्या है, मुझे आपने दो मार्क्स कम दिए। वे बोलीं कि हाँ, दिए। मैंने पूछा कि क्यों, तो वे बोलीं, क्योंकि कोई यह न कहे कि मेरा बेटा है, इसलिए उसको दो मार्क्स ज्यादा दिए। यह जीवन का मूल्य होता है। अगर हमें समाज में इसे स्थापित करना है, तो इस तरह से परीक्षाओं की शुद्धता बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। यह बहुत अच्छा बिल है और मैं इसका बहुत जोर से स्वागत करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you, Prakashji. The next speaker is, Shri Abir Ranjan Biswas. Three minutes only.

SHRI ABIR RANJAN BISWAS (West Bengal): Six minutes, Sir; it is a two-hour Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Three minutes. Please.

SHRI ABIR RANJAN BISWAS: We have only one speaker. It is two-hour Bill, ना?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जी.वी.एल. नरसिंहा राव): आपके एक और स्पीकर भी हैं।

SHRI ABIR RANJAN BISWAS: No; it is only one speaker.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Okay. You will take his time also?

SHRI ABIR RANJAN BISWAS: Yes, it is only one speaker.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Then it is okay. Total six minutes for the Trinamool Congress.

SHRI ABIR RANJAN BISWAS: Sir, I rise to stand in support of the Public Examinations (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024. As we know, the Bill seeks to

curb paper leaks and malpractices in recruitment examinations and entrance tests such as NEET and JEE. It is good that besides UPSC, SSC, Railways Recruitment exams, Banking and Government Departmental exams, this Bill covers all online exams conducted by the NTA, that is, the National Testing Agency.

Sir, we are all against unfair means because this is something which, essentially, harms the future of the youth of the country. The problem of using unfair means has nowadays become endemic. This is a very serious problem and we do not want to politicise such an issue. It is a very appropriate and timely Bill and we all should be on board on this. Sir, all of us, cutting across party lines, have come together and we wish to eradicate this malice.

Sir, I would like to highlight how Bengal has been harnessing technology to work towards eradicating such malpractices. Recently, during a Class X Board-level examination, all the question papers were marked with small QR codes besides each question. What happened in the process was, the moment a picture was taken and circulated, the particular question centre was known and soon, within one hour, we were able to apprehend two culprits. The whole process, which could have blown out of proportion, could be brought under control. So, Sir, this is one positive example from my State and I believe all of us should use the good practices from all the States for a better future. I am sure many other States and the Union Government will also use technology in innovative ways to eliminate such malpractices.

Sir, I would like to say that we stand in support of the Bill, but just passing the Bill and having a new law in place will not solve the problem. The real challenge lies in its implementation. We have often seen how even officers are complicit in the whole affair. We have to change the whole ecosystem and the way of our thinking because the magnitude of this problem is large. A recent report studying documented instances of 41 leaks over the last five years across 15 States revealed that these leaks affected the future of around 1.5 crore aspirants. These range from Teacher Eligibility Tests in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, the Police recruitment examinations in Assam, Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir, a Forest Recruitment Examination in Uttarakhand and Engineering Recruitment Examinations in Telangana, Arunachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. Sir, I am not blaming any State. I don't intent to blame anyone, but I am sure every State Government is doing what is best at their disposal to tackle this problem. Sir, what the aspirants go through when something like this happens is, just as the previous speaker, Shri Prakash Javadekar was referring, years and years of their hard work is wasted. It is tragic that some students even commit suicide. That is most deplorable. All of this is happening at a time when the country is already witnessing an unprecedented job crisis.

Sir, in the recently concluded quarter of October to December, 2023, joblessness among youth in the age group of 22 to 24 has grown to 45 per cent, which means that two out of five Graduates under the age of 25 are unemployed. On the other hand, there are a lot of vacancies in Government departments. So, the priorities need to be sorted first. We all remember who promised two crore jobs every year. So, Sir, while we welcome this Bill, we must address the more serious problem of joblessness in this country. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you, Biswasji, for completing within time. Thiru P. Wilson; five minutes.

SHRI P. WILSON (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the Public Examinations (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024, seeks to curb unfair means and malpractices such as leakage of question papers, organised malpractices, etc., committed during the recruitment examination and entrance examination. The question also arises: Why should there be an entrance examination for professional courses when already students are qualified through Board examination? I can understand competitive examinations can be conducted for recruitment. There is no need for holding entrance examination so far as the professional courses are concerned. I would like to quote Dr. Ambedkar what he said. I quote, "Examination is something quite different from education. But in the name of raising the standard of education, they are making the examination so impossible and so severe that the backward communities, which don't have chance of entering the university, are absolutely kept out." Sir, this Bill equally applies to the NEET Examination conducted by the National Testing Agency. The question is: Is there any need for such an entrance examination called NEET? NEET's introduction has brought Dr. Ambedkar's fear into the life. Under the garb of raising the quality of education, they made it impossible, if not close to impossible, for the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs undertaking medical education. The medical education for these people is not only inaccessible but an unfulfillable fantasy. NEET has become a booming business for coaching centres which capitalise upon the students' dreaming to become doctors which only affluent people can afford. In India, NEET coaching centres are generating income of around Rs.5,000 crore annually which shows that coaching centres are an industry by itself. This has forced some of the students to take extreme steps such as resorting to malpractices. Some students commit suicide out of frustration and realisation that their dream of becoming a doctor will never be achieved. Till now, in the State of Tamil Nadu, NEET has taken the lives of 16 students by shattering their dreams.

Instances of malpractices in NEET such as impersonation, aiding other candidates, directly or indirectly, and attempting to communicate with others have become increasingly common. Why can't the Union Government allow the States to opt out of the NEET when the students have already qualified by undertaking Board examination? I would like to bring to your notice that Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly has passed the NEET Exemption Bill and the Bill was reserved for the assent of the Hon. President in February, 2022. But, till now, the fate of the Bill is not known. I raised a parliamentary Question No.405, dated 6<sup>th</sup> February, 2024. I asked: What is the status of the NEET Exemption Bill? To my shock, there is no response at all given by the Hon. Minister. Such an evasive answer or no answer is in violation of Rule 12 of the Procedure and Conduct of Business in Rajya Sabha, where it is clearly stated that an answer should be specific and complete. When Ministers cannot give answers to Member of Parliament's Question, how do you expect students to answer the questions? I have also introduced the NEET Exemption Bill as Private Members' Bill. Coming back to the Bill under discussion, malpractices should be prevented at any cost.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please conclude.

SHRI P. WILSON: There are certain provisions which need clarification and reconsideration. I run through them. Clause 3 qualifies something as 'unfair means' only when it is committed for a monetary or wrongful gain. So, only when an offence is committed for the purpose of...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Wilson, you have to conclude.

SHRI P. WILSON: Sir, I will take only two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please conclude.

SHRI P. WILSON: Sir, I have time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): I think, your time is over.

SHRI P. WILSON: Sir, it is a very important Bill. It affects the students across the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): But we have many speakers. So, please conclude.

SHRI P. WILSON: Clause 3 qualifies something as 'unfair means' only when it is committed for a monetary or wrongful gain. I would suggest that the words 'monetary or wrongful gain' should be removed, and if any undue advantage is being caused by exercise of their powers, then Clause 3 should be attracted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please conclude.

SHRI P. WILSON: So far as Clause 4 is concerned, the language employed is very vague. The word 'facilitate indulgence' is also very vague. They should have utilised some word, like 'commission of any such unfair means'. The draftsman, probably, would have slept here. The word 'employed' here is not appropriate. Likewise, Clause 10(2)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you very much. You have already overshot your time.

SHRI P. WILSON: Sir, this is very important. There are only a few speakers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): There are many speakers.

SHRI P. WILSON: Yes, Sir, I will finish. Don't worry. They are bringing 'service providers' under Clause 10(2). Whoever commits offences under Clause 10(1), even the service providers, under Clause 10(2), will be equally liable to be punished. That is unnecessary because if you want to punish a person who is indulging in unfair means, you can punish him and not all the service providers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Wilson, I think, I will have to move on the next speaker.

SHRI P. WILSON: I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please stop here.

SHRI P. WILSON: Regarding Clause 12, the power of the Central Government is not there to refer the matter to a Central investigating agency.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): I will move on to the next speaker.

SHRI P. WILSON: One minute, Sir. I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): No; I think, you have overshot your time by two minutes.

SHRI P. WILSON: The power is only vested with the State. The subject 'law and order' belongs to the State List. Therefore, they cannot say that they will refer it to the Central agencies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you. Now, the next speaker - Shri Sandeep Kumar Pathak.

SHRI P. WILSON: Just give me one minute. I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): I think, we are already pushing to 6 o'clock. So, we cannot really give more time. So, please conclude.

SHRI P. WILSON: The power under Clause 12 encroaches upon the States' power. It is illegal and void. Therefore, I would say that the Hon. Minister should see that this Bill, except for this clause, as I have suggested other amendments, should be amended and suitably introduced before this august House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you. Now, Shri Sandeep Kumar Pathak. You have five minutes. Please confine to the time limit.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठक (पंजाब): वाइस चेयरमैन सर, लाखों विद्यार्थियों और परीक्षार्थियों के संघर्ष की आवाज़ बनने का मुझे सौभाग्य मिला है, इसके लिए मैं इस सदन और अपनी पार्टी का बहुत-बहुत आभारी हूँ।

सर, जैसे पूत के पाँव पालने में ही पता चल जाते हैं, 10 साल की शुरुआत में ही पता चल जाता है, सरकार को इस पर काम शुरू कर लेना चाहिए था। 10 साल हो गए, आज इस कार्यकाल के अंतिम सेशन के अंतिम दिन इतने महत्वपूर्ण बिल पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं, इसी से पता चलता है कि

सरकार की इस पर नीयत क्या है। सर, मैं दो मिनट में यह बताना चाहूँगा कि पिछले सात सालों में 70 पेपर्स लीक हुए हैं। ये 70 पेपर लीक्स रिपोर्टेड हैं, अनिगनत तो बिना रिपोर्टेड ही चले जाते हैं। इसमें लगभग डेढ़ करोड़ से दो करोड़ बच्चों के भविष्य को बेचा गया, उस पर धंधा किया गया।

ऑनरेबल सर, मैं आपके माध्यम से बता दूँ कि यह कोई सामान्य बिल नहीं है। मैं यह सबको स्पष्ट कर दूँ कि यह पेपर लीक कोई टेक्निकल मिस्टेक नहीं है, बल्कि यह बड़ा नेक्सस है, माफिया है। इसमें पोलिटिशियंस भी हैं, इसमें बड़े-बड़े बिज़नेसमेन भी हैं और इसमें बहुत सारे ऐसे लोग हैं, जो इसको धंधा बना रहे हैं। सर, सबसे पहले इसे टेक्निकल मिस्टेक न समझा जाए, बिल्क यह एक धंधा, एक माफिया है। \* इसमें ऐसा हुआ कि जो बच्चे भुक्तभोगी थे, उन पर केस चलाया गया और जिन्होंने पेपर लीक किया था, उन पर कोई केस नहीं हुआ। ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Sandeepji, please do not make allegation, or, you have to authenticate it.

SHRI SANDEEP KUMAR PATHAK: Yes, Sir. I am coming to this point. This is very important for the country. \*10 बच्चों की मेरिट लिस्ट निकली, उसमें से 7 बच्चे एक ही सेंटर से सफल हुए। \*...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Sandeep ji, by the end of the day today, please substantiate and authenticate the allegations you are making.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः सर, \*सर, मैं आपके सामने इसके तथ्य रखता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Pathak, you have to authenticate the allegations you are making by the end of the day; otherwise, they will have to be expunged from the record.

SHRI SANDEEP KUMAR PATHAK: Sir, I will authenticate everything. सर, पिछले 10 सालों में......(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): When you make such allegations, it has to be based on irrefutable evidence.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः सर, पिछले 10 सालों में 24 पेपर्स लीक हुए।...(व्यवधान)...

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<sup>\*</sup> Not recorded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please authenticate by the end of the day today; otherwise, it will be expunged from the records. ... (Interruptions)...

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः सर, यह पब्लिक डोमेन में है। 24 papers लीक हुए। ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): It will then have to be expunged from the records.

**श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः** सर, वर्ष 2014 में, वर्ष 2015 में तलाटी, वर्ष 2016 में तलाटी... ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Sandeep ji, one second. I will give you time. मंत्री जी कुछ कहना चाह रहे हैं।

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Has the Hon. Member any supporting documents over here? ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): I have already asked that all allegations have to be authenticated by the end of the day today. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SANDEEP KUMAR PATHAK: I will authenticate, Sir. It is in public domain. ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): I have already given the ruling that without authentication, it will be expunged from the records. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SANDEEP KUMAR PATHAK: I will authenticate, Sir. It is in public domain. ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Do it by the end of the day today.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः \* it goes on. सर, जब ऑफलाइन में गड़बड़ियां शुरू हुई, तब ऑनलाइन की परीक्षा आई। सर, \* मैं इसमें कोई राजनीति नहीं कर रहा। यह सभी पार्टियों को introspect करना पड़ेगा। यह कोई छोटा-मोटा केस नहीं है, हम जिस अमृतकाल की बात करते हैं, उस अमृतकाल का आधार ही यही है। यह कैसा अमृत है, इसमें अमृत तो वे पीते जा रहे हैं, जो भ्रष्टाचारी हैं, माफिया हैं और ज़हर जनता को मिल रहा है।

महोदय, जो एक्टिविस्ट्स हैं, वे जेल में भेजे जा रहे हैं और जो माफिया है, वह फ्री रन कर रहा है। सर, इस बिल के माध्यम से हम क्या कर रहे हैं। हम इस बिल के माध्यम से यह कर रहे हैं कि जो गुनहगार है, उसको तीन से दस साल की सज़ा दे रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please conclude.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः सर, चोरी को रोकने की क्या प्रक्रिया है, बच्चों के भविष्य को खराब होने से रोकने की क्या प्रक्रिया है, इस पर सोचना पड़ेगा। सर, इस बिल में तीन से दस साल की सज़ा और 10 लाख रुपये से 1 करोड़ रुपये जुर्माने का प्रावधान है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Please conclude. Your time is over.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः मैं सरकार को सुझाव देता हूं कि इसमें उम्रकैद का प्रावधान करना चाहिए और संपूर्ण संपत्ति ज़ब्त करनी चाहिए। जब एक व्यक्ति की हत्या में उम्रकैद होती है तो लाखों बच्चों के भविष्य की हत्या करने पर तीन साल और दस साल की सज़ा का प्रावधान, क्या यह मज़ाक है? इस धंधे को अगर बंद करना है, तो उम्रकैद की सज़ा का प्रावधान किया जाए, मैं आपके माध्यम से सलाह देता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you, Mr. Pathak. I think, you have to conclude now.

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः सर, अंतिम सबसे important बात यह है कि राजनीति बदलनी पड़ेगी। राजनीति ही इसका मुख्य कारण है, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you, Mr. Pathak. ...(Interruptions)...

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<sup>\*</sup> Not recorded

डा. जितेन्द्र सिंहः माननीय सदस्य ने जो सुझाव दिया है, इस हिसाब से तो जितने भी आप पार्टी के नेता अंदर हैं, उनकी पूरी संपत्ति ज़ब्त हो जानी चाहिए।

श्री संदीप कुमार पाठकः सर, ....(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): No further discussion. ...(Interruptions)... Nothing else will go on record.

SHRI SANDEEP KUMAR PATHAK: \*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Whatever allegations have been made by you, Mr. Pathak, they have to be authenticated with evidence by the end of the day today. Otherwise, all the political allegations and naming of a State without any basis, will be expunged from the records. ... (Interruptions)... I am only following the rules set by the Hon. Chairman. ... (Interruptions)...

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Before the passage of the Bill, these have to be authenticated. Otherwise, it will not become part of the record. ... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): No, no. ...(Interruptions)... Hon. Chairman has ruled on many occasions that by the end of the day, business day, the record has to be placed. Now, Shri Muzibulla Khan. You have five minutes' time.

श्री मुजीबुद्धा खान (ओडिशा): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज आपने मुझे इस बिल पर बोलने का मौका दिया, उसके लिए मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूं। मैं एक बात बोलना चाहता हूं। जो भी परीक्षाएं होती हैं, चाहे यूपीएसी की हो, स्टाफ सेलेक्शन की हो, रेलवे बोर्ड हो, बैंकिंग हो, सेंट्रल गर्वनमेंट की नेशनल एजेंसीज़ हों या राज्य सरकार का कोई एग्जामिनेशन हो - मैं किसी एक राज्य का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं। भारतवर्ष में करीब बहुत से राज्यों में यह धांधली हो रही है, जिसके कारण यह बिल लाया गया है, उसके लिए मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं। मैं एक छोटा-सा उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। आप जानते हैं कि जब महात्मा गांधी जी छोटे थे, तो उनके स्कूल में परिदर्शक आए थे और उनको कुछ क्वेश्चन के आंसर्स लिखने के लिए बोला गया था। उनकी क्लास के सभी बच्चे राइट लिख रहे थे, सिर्फ वे ही गलत लिख रहे थे। तब उनके टीचर बोले कि तुम साइड वाले बच्चे से देखकर लिख लो। उनके टीचर ने बहुत इशारे किए, लेकिन उन्होंने नहीं सुना। इसलिए आज गांधी जी हमारे जातीय पिता हैं, Father of the

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<sup>\*</sup> Not recorded

Nation हैं। आज के जो हालात है, देश के जो हालात हैं, आज बहुत-सी जगहों पर धांधलियां हो रही हैं। जो बच्चे पढ़-लिखकर मेहनत करते हैं, कोशिश करते हैं, उनके साथ अन्याय हो रहा है, क्योंकि जो कॉपी करते हैं, जो पकडा-पकडी करके आगे बढ जाते हैं, वे लोग पास हो जाते हैं और जो मेहनत करते हैं, उन लोगों के मार्क्स कम रह जाते हैं और वे पीछे हो जाते हैं। मैंने बहुत बार एक-दो लोगों से सुना है कि एग्जामिनेशन में, परीक्षा में बैठे बिना भी बच्चे पास हुए हैं। एग्जाम में बैठकर पास होना अलग बात है। एक बार एक बच्चे ने परीक्षा दी थी, उसके सामने वाले बच्चे ने परीक्षा नहीं दी, वह सीट खाली थी, वह सीरियल नंबर खाली था, लेकिन जब रिजल्ट निकला, तो वह सीरियल नंबर पास हो गया। ऐसा भी बहुत बार हुआ है। हमारे भारतवर्ष के पहले शिक्षा मंत्री मौलाना अबुल कलाम आजाद का कहना था - 'दिल से दी गई शिक्षा समाज में क्रांति ला सकती है।' 'अपने सपने को सच करने से पहले आपको सपने देखने होंगे' - यह डा. अब्दुल कलाम आजाद ने कहा था। डा. ए.पी.जे. अब्दल कलाम आजाद ने कहा था - 'अगर तुम सूरज की तरह चमकना चाहते हो, तो पहले सूरज की तरह जलना सीखो'। 'अगर मेहनत करना सीख लोगे, तो जीत भी तुम्हारे पास होगी। आज जो पढाई आपको दर्द दे रही है, जो दर्द लग रही है, आगे चलकर वह पढाई आपको सबसे बडी ताकत देगी।' यह डा. ए.पी.जे. अब्दुल कलाम आजाद ने कहा था। सर, आप जानते हैं कि शिक्षा देने का सिलसिला कई जमाने से चला आ रहा है। रामायण और महाभारत के समय भी शिक्षा दी जाती थी और सब छात्र गुरुकुल में जाकर पढते थे। उनका भी प्रैक्टिकल एग्ज़ाम होता था, ऐसा मेरा मानना है। जब शिक्षा समाप्त होती थी, तो बडे-बड़े ऋषि-मूनि आते थे और कहते थे कि हमारी पूजा में विघ्न हो रहा है, राक्षस पूजा में बाधा डाल रहे हैं। जो युवक शिक्षा लेते थे, फिर वे लोग जाकर राक्षस लोगों को मारा करते थे। वह उनका प्रैक्टिकल एग्जाम होता था। आज जो परिस्थिति है, आज जो समाज में हालत है, मैं आपको इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि हम लोग कानून तो बना देते हैं, लेकिन इस कानून को लागू कैसे किया जाएगा, यह सबसे बड़ी बात होती है। यहां बहुत सारे कानून हैं, इस बात को मैं मना नहीं कर रहा हूं। यह भी बहुत अच्छी बात है कि गलत शिक्षा-पद्धति को रोकने के लिए इतना सुंदर कानून लाया गया है, क्योंकि कानून होने के बावजूद भी जो चोरी करता है, जो धांधली करता है, वह नए-नए रास्ते निकाल लेता है। जैसा कि कहावत है कि एक राजा बनने के लिए 16 कला की दरकार होती है, एक मंत्री बनने के लिए उसको 32 कला चाहिए, लेकिन एक चोर बनने के लिए उसको 64 कला की दरकार पड़ती है, वरना वह इतने लोगों को एडजस्ट नहीं कर सकेगा। अभी हमें 124 कला लानी पड़ेगी, तभी जाकर हम यह सब रोक सकते हैं, नहीं तो बहत समस्या हो जाएगी।...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Khan, please conclude.

श्री मुजीबुल्ला खानः मैं आज इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि हमारे देश की शिक्षा नीति को सुधारने के लिए मंत्री महोदय जो बिल लाए हैं, वह बच्चों के काम आएगा और आगे चलकर इस देश का भविष्य भी अच्छा होगा, धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMHA RAO): Thank you, Muzibulla Khan ji. This is not a forum, this is not a House where you can make unsubstantiated, unverified, baseless allegations, which can become a part of the record. I have already given a ruling, in line with the kind of rulings that were given by the Hon. Chairman from here. If Mr. Pathak does not submit evidence or if he does not authenticate what he has stated in the House, I think, it will not become part of the record. I further state that this should not go on to the social media and the media because then this can become a matter of breach of privilege of this House. I would like everyone to make note of it. Next speaker is, Shri Ayodhya Rami Reddy Alla. You have five minutes.

SHRI AYODHYA RAMI REDDY ALLA (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak on the Public Examinations (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024. This Bill represents a crucial step towards ensuring integrity and fairness in public examinations across India. We know how cut-throat competition can get, especially in nationwide examinations. This is a welcome move. We, from YSR Congress Party, support this Bill. This Bill extends to a wide array of critical examinations conducted by the esteemed bodies such as UPSC, SSC, RRB, NTA, IBPS and various Central Government Departments. This Bill paves the way for standardization of measures and protocols to prevent the usage of unfair means.

By addressing a comprehensive list of offences including paper leaks, collusion and digital tampering, this Bill sets forth stringent penalties to deter malpractices. However, I wish to bring the following issues to the notice of Hon. Minister to prevent and minimize the malpractices.

One is integration of technology and another is capacity building. When it comes to integration of technology, the scale at which these examinations are conducted make technological integration in malpractice prevention very economical. Here are certain ways this can be achieved. First one is, artificial intelligence enabled digital surveillance system. Development of a centralized digital surveillance system to monitor examination centres in real-time using artificial intelligence to detect any irregularities or malpractices instantly. Not only would this vastly increase the propensity of catching cheaters but would also pre-emptively deter potential cheaters from engaging in such activities when they are aware of the sophisticated machinery in place. Next is cybersecurity protocols for evaluation stage. End to end measures which are beyond the examination room are also important. Many times, unfair means are also implemented by manipulating the evaluation of answer sheets. Mandation of robust cyber security protocols for all digital aspects of examination

process, including submission and evaluation of answer sheets, is likely to help in this. Next is data analytics for oversight. A large issue that persists is that of resource mobilization. The number of test-takers often overwhelms the resources put in place to prevent malpractices. Hence, appropriate resource mobilization becomes pivotal. Application of data analytics tools to scrutinize examination results and performance metrics across different centres and regions, spotting inconsistencies or irregularities that could indicate malpractice, is likely to help in accurate judgment. Next is virtual proctoring. Another way to tackle the large test-taking population is virtual proctoring. This can also help provide good proctoring to areas which are either geographically inaccessible or economically costly to reach for invigilators. For online examinations, integration of virtual proctoring tools that include features like eye-tracking, keystroke analysis, and browser lock would go a long way in ensuring fairness.

Second point is capacity building in the entire examination process. A significant problem is that invigilators and administrators at other test centres are unaware of proper procedures and protocols. This can create inefficiencies at best and lead to proliferation of malpractices at worst. There are multiple ways this can be remedied. Next is, training programmes and certifications. Development of comprehensive training material on fair and ethical practices as well as booklets defining all common protocols to be followed during test administration could prove to be very beneficial. Moreover, to ensure that these training programmes are adhered to, certification from these programmes could be made mandatory for all individuals wishing to serve as invigilators.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMA RAO): Please conclude.

SHRI AYODHYA RAMI REDDY ALLA: Then, I come to simulation exercises and workshops. While technology has been a boon, its ever-changing nature also means new innovating ways of utilizing technology to engage in malpractices are always coming up. Workshops which provide information about these ways and best methods to prevent their occurrences should be provided. Moreover, a simulation of exam scenarios could also be provided to invigilators with necessary experience, which is required to administer the actual exam.

Sir, this is a very, very good Bill. With these suggestions, we welcome it from our Party, YSR Congress Party, and on behalf of our Chief Minister, Y.S. Jagan Mohan Reddy, and we support this Bill in totality. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMA RAO): Dr. V. Sivadasan; two minutes.

DR. V. SIVADASAN (Kerala): Sir, now, the people of India are facing a very hard test. This Bill is also a test because it includes a lot of seeds of enmity and centralization. The words in the Bill say that the Central Government shall have power to refer the investigation to any Central investigation agency. That means, today, we are discussing ED, IT and CBI raids; tomorrow, this legislation will promote another type of raids. So, we should oppose this kind of centralization of education and other sectors. This is the power grab of the Central Government. This power grab should not be allowed in India. India has a great decentralization character; India has a federal character. Respected Chair, I wonder if the intention is genuine, then, you please conduct tests for recruitment. In BSNL, after 2017, recruitment is not done; in Railways, about two lakh posts are lying vacant. You are not conducting tests for recruitment but you are making legislations for prevention of malpractices. Okay, prevention of malpractices is good. But in States, State Governments have a lot of mechanisms. Education is in the Concurrent List. So, you should conduct discussions with the State Governments. Don't grab the power of the States. Again, I am mentioning it here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMA RAO): Please conclude.

DR. V. SIVADASAN: Sir, in this Bill, this Government is doing a lot of encroachment into the powers of the States. So, the Government should keep in mind one thing that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. That is what we are seeing here. I would like to add one word. Here, this Bill is not for the prevention of malpractices. Basically, this is part of a big project of centralization. Earlier, they formed the National Eligibility Test.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G.V.L. NARASIMA RAO): I am calling the next speaker.

DR. V. SIVADASAN: One minute, Sir. Earlier, they formed the National Testing Agency; now they are making these kinds of legislations. That means it will affect the entire educational sector and the federal structure of the nation. Thank you, Sir.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on behalf of AIADMK Party and also Mr. Edappadi Palaniswami, I rise to participate in the Bill which seeks to prevent unfair means in the public examinations. Sir, please listen to me. I am very sorry to say this. Most of the Members -- Mr. Digvijaya Singh and others -- said that 'Education' was a State subject earlier and was encroached upon by the Central Government. Who has done all these things? In 1970s, in the Emergency period, former Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhiji, took it from the State List to the Concurrent List. Why could the Congress and the DMK people not get it back? They have not done so. Therefore, unnecessarily, they are putting the blame on this Government. I oppose that. If they are so sincere, let them make efforts to support bringing 'Education' once again in the State List.

Regarding the NEET examination, it was also introduced by the Congress Government. When the UPA Government was there in 2010, at that time, the DMK was a part of the Government. At that time, they could not oppose it. ...(Interruptions)... Then, afterwards, now they are telling that they want to bring a thing. ...(Interruptions)... That is why they have given the wrong election promise also. ...(Interruptions)... They could not fulfil it but now they are blaming this Government. ...(Interruptions)... This is not the Government which has brought this Bill. ...(Interruptions)... It is because of the UPA Government. ...(Interruptions)... At that time, when the UPA Government was in power, in 2010, the NEET examination was introduced. ...(Interruptions)...

# (MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

They conducted that examination in 2012. Because of that only, we are suffering now. ...(*Time-bell rings.*)... At the same time, Edappadi Palaniswami during his period, to save the students who are studying in Government schools, gave 7.5 per cent reservation for whoever was writing NEET examination. This is a historical thing done by the A.I.A.D.M.K. Government to save the people of Tamil Nadu. Now, on that ruling Government is not taking any steps to stop the NEET examination. ...(*Time-bell rings.*)... They are giving wrong information to the House. ...(*Time-bell rings.*)... Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Amee Yajnik. You have eight minutes.

DR. AMEE YAJNIK: Sir, ten minutes. I want ten minutes but anyway, I will...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Minister, she wants ten minutes, allocated eight minutes. Is it fine with you? ...(Interruptions)... Mr. Gohil, you have no idea about the generosity of the Hon. Minister. I have enjoyed it, felt it for a very, very long time. ...(Interruptions)... Then the observation must be withdrawn. Secondly, you are not on your seat. ...(Interruptions)... Yes, Madam.

DR. AMEE YAJNIK (Gujarat): Sir, I rise to speak on the Public Examinations (Prevention of Unfair Means) Bill, 2024. It is a much needed Bill. However, it has come at a very late stage. As earlier speakers have mentioned, it started with Vyapam. The State Government should have taken very stringent action. Several States are there, I don't want to talk about the individual States but the last ten years have seen a spate of paper leaks that have happened. Almost about 1.5 crore students have suffered. When we are talking about the youngsters of today who are taking these competitive exams, we are talking about computer platforms where they are taking these exams; we have moved forward. When the present Government came in 2014 and thought that it should make everything digitalized -- it rides on that wave of 'Digital India' -- I think, it should have made corresponding arrangements and platforms to see that these menaces are curbed. Yet, it has not happened. I have gone through the Bill. The Bill is very exhaustive but to find words like 'organized crime, when we are talking of unfair practices, when we are talking about service providers, when we are talking about electronic platforms, when we are talking about intermediaries, the kind of investigation required for these kinds of unfair practices which are telling upon the life and the careers of young students, I request the Hon. Minister to look into the investigation part of this particular typical kind of offences. They are not the normal offences that should go to a police station. I see in one of the Clauses that the DSP is given the duty in order to investigate but these police stations are flooded with investigations of murders, dowry deaths, cheating and having all kinds of offences and to bring the same offence, a specialized offence that is taking place, is in the same purview. I think, we need specialized personnel, investigative personnel who would look into these specialized investigations. I would request the Hon. Minister not to look at this offence as a general offence. It is a very specialized offence and that is why we are unable to nab these offenders. That is why we need to have a corresponding change also in the Evidence Act. We would need electronic evidence, we would need to have a regulatory authority which is not in place to investigate where these companies are and where these service providers are. We may just use these broad terms that service providers should be booked, every director, every company person sitting on the board should be held responsible and

be dragged into this offence. But who is going to investigate this? This very detailed investigation required is in the digital space. The digital space means that you are talking about having surveillance cameras in the examination centres. You need to have certain kind of very specialized service providers for that. Sir, you do not know from where these companies are operating. When you find the question answer shots on the WhatsApp, you can imagine how far they have driven into this particular unknown space which we don't know. It is not like a murder happening and you catch hold of the murder weapon and you give it and go on questioning people. This is a very strange, very unique and a very specific arena where you need investigation of a very specific kind. I am pained to see that the youngsters and the students, they suddenly go to the centres and they find-they have travelled distances-that the examination is cancelled because of the paper leak. How can a paper leak happen when we are talking of Digital India transactions? You know what has happened to Paytm and all kinds of these frauds. How can we promise our youngsters a new India, a modern India and India which will go in the next decade, when we don't have these particular set-ups? Sir, when we brought certain kinds of sections in the Indian Penal Code, at that time, we made corresponding changes in the Criminal Procedure Code, the procedure as well as the Evidence Act that this should be collected by way of evidence in this particular kind of offence. For these digital offences, when we don't have a regulator and a mechanism in place, and when you don't know as to who these companies who are operating are, how can we not know when we know who the paper-setters are? I think, we are turning a blind eye to these particular aspects in this particular Bill, and I think, these are the most important. Then, Sir, describing organized crime and when we are talking of young students, what kind of words we are using for our educational system and for our youngsters, I think, we need to have more stakeholders come into; maybe, you have further meetings when you draft the rules for every State because this is a Central legislation and you have made an observation that the States may adopt this Bill at the State level and make their own Bills. But, when you frame the rules, if these aspects are not taken, the DSPs and the Police Officers would be burdened with all kinds of offences. How would they investigate when you don't know it specifically? When you have mentioned that the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita, whenever it comes, till then, the Indian Penal Code will operate. Today, I mean, you make a submission, and it is out of this context but there are sessions going on to explain what are the new Bills that have come; the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita, and there is a confusion. So, you will have to give this clarification that they will be governed by the Indian Penal Code, these are the Sections, and this will be the way of procedure for investigations. Then, when you are mentioning one crore fees, 1.5 crores penalty, Sir, they will have to pay when they get convicted. If they don't get convicted, these fees and these enormous numbers are of no use. It is because you have seen the backlog in the judicial system. Where is the special judicial infrastructure? You will have to provide for special courts, a timeline that in this particular period, the investigation will be over, and in this period of time, the chargesheet would be filed and the trial will go on. If this is not done, then, it will add to those five or six crores of cases which are languishing, and we do not know what would be the situation, if you nab the accused what would we think. It is because, here, the ultimate result is not punishment or showing some kind of penal actions against the offenders or what the Government is doing. The ultimate result is our youngsters, our youth should feel safe. They should think, 'Yes', when we are going to take this exam, we are completely protected by the Government. Our papers will go on as per the rules and norms. Earlier, we used to check the students for the chits, they would take out from the pockets or from wherever. Here, there is nothing. Are the examination centres going to be having surveillance cameras and these platforms? Are you going to have very, very stringent monitoring systems, as far as this digital space is concerned? We are lagging much behind in the digital infrastructure, and the digital investigations and also the digital surveillance. I think, I would request the Hon. Minister to look into these main aspects which are governing these. This Bill is, definitely, a welcome step. We are very much at a belated stage. One of my colleagues mentioned as to what happened in Gujarat, and he would, definitely, authenticate that. But, it is in public domain. Name a State and there have been paper leaks. Name the number of students and they are dejected. I think, when we talk about competitive exams, we talk about hiring Talathis and we talk of hiring medical people, I think, somewhere, we have not made foolproof platforms where they can go and apply, and then, still feel secure that 'Yes', there will not be any frauds in this kind of digital infrastructure or digital space. Sir, I would request the Hon. Minister to look into these very, very strong points which I have made. Unless and until you won't promise, "Yes, we will nab them at the very first point of time and we will see that we are going to create a regulatory structure for the service providers from wherever they are operating", how can things work? We do not even know from where they are operating, where those companies have been registered and where are these companies. Despite the Bill being a very laudable step in curbing the menace of paper leaks--our youngsters are looking at this--I am glad that the candidates are not in its purview. I would request the Hon. Minister to take it very seriously on an urgency basis and plug the loopholes which are there in the Bill. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now Dr. Dinesh Sharma; ten minutes.

डा. दिनेश शर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय सभापति महोदय, आपका आभार कि आपने मुझे बोलने की अनुमति दी। मैं सबसे पहले माननीय मंत्री जी को साधुवाद और बधाई इसलिए दुँगा कि उन्होंने इसका इतना गहन परीक्षण और विस्तृत आकलन करने के बाद यह विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है। मैंने यह इसलिए कहा, क्योंकि जैसा अभी माननीय प्रकाश जावडेकर जी ने कहा कि जब मैं उत्तर प्रदेश में शिक्षा मंत्री था, तब मैं वहाँ की परीक्षाओं के लिए, उच्च शिक्षा एवं सेकेण्डरी एजकेशन के लिए इस प्रकार का विधेयक लाया था। उसमें लगभग इसी प्रकार के प्रावधान थे और बाद में जो अन्य सरकारी नौकरियाँ थीं, उनमें भी लगभग वे ही प्रावधान लागू किए गए। बाद में गुजरात, हरियाणा और जो अन्य कई भाजपा शासित प्रदेश थे, उन्होंने लगभग इसी प्रकार की व्यवस्थाओं को किया। मैंने यह इसलिए कहा कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने इस प्रकार के जो सारे ड्राफ्ट्स थे, लगभग उन सबका समावेश अपने इस विधेयक में किया है। अभी यहाँ पर तमाम वक्ता चले गए। मैं बचपन में देखता था कि जब हम क्रिकेट खेलने जाते थे, तो उस समय हम लोग छोटे थे, हमने पहले बैटिंग कर ली और जब बॉलिंग की नौबत आई, तो पता चला कि बैट छोड कर भाग गए। वैसे ही हैं तमाम आरोप लगाने वाले और बोलने वाले लोग! जो वक्ता थे, वे इस समय नहीं हैं, लेकिन में उनकी जानकारी के लिए बताऊँ कि उन्होंने इस विधेयक को ठीक से पढा नहीं है। उनकी जो अपेक्षाएँ थीं, कांग्रेस के एक वरिष्ठ एवं पूर्व मुख्य मंत्री सदस्य ने अपनी अपेक्षा रखी थी कि इसमें जुर्माना हो, उनके साथ क्या होगा, इसका भी ज़िक्र हो। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें जुर्माना भी है और जुर्माने के साथ-साथ उनकी संपत्ति की कुर्की और ज़ब्ती का भी प्रावधान है। इसके अलावा, इसमें उनको एग्जेंप्ट करने, डिफॉल्टर घोषित करने तथा उस प्रकरण को किसी भी केन्द्रीय जाँच एजेंसी को हस्तांतरित करने का भी प्रावधान है। इसमें किसी भी बिन्दु को छोड़ा नहीं गया है। हमारे विद्वत वक्ताओं ने तमाम चीजें रखी हैं। मैं इतना ही कहूँगा कि यूपीएससी, एसएससी, एनईईटी, जेईई, सीयूईटी जैसी परीक्षाओं में पेपर लीक और नकल की आशंकाओं को दुर करने के इरादे से ही इसको लाया गया है। इसमें 15 गतिविधियों को शामिल किया गया है।

में माननीय मंत्री जी को एक बात के लिए फिर से बधाई दूँगा कि उन्होंने इसमें परीक्षार्थियों का ख्याल रखा है। उन्होंने कहा है कि परीक्षार्थियों के संबंध में संबंधित विद्यालयों या जहाँ वे बैठते हैं, उनकी संस्था की जो नियामक नीति है, वही लागू होगी। इसमें इस एक्ट की धारा उन पर लागू होगी, जो एक नियोजित तरीके से संगठित रूप में मालाफाइड इंटेंशन से परीक्षा के प्रश्न पत्र को लीक कर देते हैं या लीक करने की गतिविधियों में शामिल हैं या सवालों का हल बताते हैं या अभ्यर्थियों को परीक्षा के दौरान प्रश्न का उत्तर लिखने में किसी भी तरह से मदद करते हैं या आंसर शीट के असेसमेंट में बिना किसी अधिकार के बदलाव लाते हैं, इन तमाम ऐसी छोटी-छोटी चीजों को इसमें रखा गया है। हमारे विद्वत वक्ता ने अभी कहा कि परीक्षा में जो संबंधित टेक्नोलॉजी है, जैसे कंप्यूटर या नेटवर्क में किसी तरीके से अगर जान-बूझ कर गड़बड़ी की गई, तो उसके लिए भी कठोर दंड का प्रावधान इसमें है। परीक्षा संचालन में किसी भी व्यक्ति या संस्था को अगर किसी तरह से धमकाने की भी स्थिति आई, दबाव बनाने की स्थिति आई, तो इसके लिए भी दंड का प्रावधान है। परीक्षा में धाँधली के इरादे से अगर अभ्यर्थी की सिटिंग अरेंजमेंट तक को बदला, परीक्षा केन्द्र को बदला, तो इसके लिए भी इसमें दंड का प्रावधान है।

6.00 P.M.

में समझता हूँ कि इसमें फर्जी हथकंडे इस्तेमाल करने वाले जो भी लोग होंगे, वे निश्चित रूप से इससे हतोत्साहित होंगे।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, now it is 6.00 p.m. The Business Advisory Committee has already recommended that the House may sit beyond 6.00 p.m. to transact the Business listed for the day. Therefore, the time of the House is extended beyond 6.00 p.m. till the disposal of the Business listed for the day. Hon. Member, please continue.

डा. दिनेश शर्माः मान्यवर, इसमें जो मुख्य बिन्दु हैं, उनको मैं इंगित करना चाहूँगा। यह एक केन्द्रीय कानून है। अभी एक माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि इसमें प्रदेश के अधिकारों का अतिक्रमण होगा। यह बिल्कुल भी अतिक्रमण नहीं है। यह एक केन्द्रीय कानून है और इसमें संगठित अपराध, माफिया, साठगाँठ में शामिल लोगों के खिलाफ कार्रवाई का प्रावधान है। इसके दायरे में संयुक्त परीक्षाओं के साथ-साथ केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालयों में जो प्रवेश की परीक्षाएँ हैं, उनको भी शामिल किया गया है। इसमें पारदर्शिता रहे, दंड ठीक से दिया जा सके - जैसा कि हमारी विद्वत् सदस्या कह रही थीं कि उसको कैसे जाँचा जाएगा कि कौन अपराध कर रहा है। इसमें उपाधीक्षक या सहायक पुलिस आयुक्त के रैंक से नीचे के अधिकारी इस अधिनियम के अन्तर्गत अपराधों की जाँच नहीं करेंगे, यानी इसमें उच्च स्तरीय जाँच का प्रावधान सरकार ने रखा है। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि पूरे देश में इस प्रकार की जो घटनाएँ बढ़ी थीं, उनको देखते हुए इसे बनाया गया है। इस विधेयक के कानून बनने के बाद, यह राज्यों के लिए एक मॉडल होगा। यह मॉडल ड्राफ्ट के रूप में है। अगर वे चाहें, तो अपने विवेक से इसे अपना सकते हैं। यह राज्यों की राज्य स्तरीय सार्वजनिक परीक्षाओं के संचालन में बाधा डालने से आपराधिक तत्वों को रोकने में सहायक होगा।

मान्यवर, इसमें तमाम चीजें और भी हैं। उनके बारे में आपको माननीय मंत्री जी बतायेंगे। आदरणीय प्रकाश जावडेकर जी ने इसके संदर्भ में एक बात कही थी। जब वे शिक्षा मंत्री थे, तब उनका एक दिन निर्देश आया था कि नौकरियों के लिए जो परीक्षाएँ हैं, उनके लिए एक अच्छा विधेयक बने, यह उच्च निर्देशों के अन्तर्गत है, आपको अपने प्रदेश में बनाना है। मान्यवर, हमने एक टेक्नोलॉजी अपनायी। आप लोगों को भी यह बात अजीब सी लगेगी, बाद में उसके बारे में एक पिक्चर भी बनायी गयी कि उत्तर प्रदेश में नकल कैसे रोकी गयी। हम लोगों ने त्रिपक्षीय लोगों का एक समूह इकट्ठा किया था। हमने उसमें एसटीएफ की एक टीम भी बैठा ली थी। एसटीएफ के इंचार्ज एक कोने में बैठे, एक कोने में परीक्षा को संचालित करने वाले हमारे अधिकारी बैठे, एक तरफ हम और हमारे उच्च स्तरीय अधिकारी बैठे और चौथी तरफ जो बैठे थे, वे कौन थे - वे ऐसे पुराने लोग थे, जिनको नकल कराने का अनुभव था, जो दागी लोग थे, जो माफिया किस्म के लोग चिह्नित किये गये थे, जो सजा पाकर वापस आये थे, उनको हम लोगों ने वहाँ बिठा लिया। इसके जो एक्सपर्स थे, उनको वहाँ बिठा लेने के बाद हमने उनको कहा कि अगर आप अब अपने

अपराधों का पश्चाताप करना चाहते हो, तो सही-सही बताओ कि आप कैसे-कैसे काम करते हो। हमने एसटीएफ को कहा कि उसको आप कैसे रोक सकते हैं तथा हमने अपने अधिकारियों को कहा कि इसमें आप किन बिन्दुओं पर काम करके इस पर अंकुश लगा सकते हैं।

मान्यवर, उन्होंने जो बताया, वह ताज्जुब की बात थी। उनका यह कहना था कि हम लोग कॉपी के ऊपर के पन्ने को हटा देते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि हम परीक्षा केन्द्र वहीं देते हैं, जहाँ पर दीवार नहीं होती, जहाँ टॉयलेट्स नहीं होते, जहाँ बत्ती नहीं होती। उसके बाद उन्होंने कहा कि हम इंटरनल जगहों पर यह देते हैं। उन्होंने सबसे बड़ी बात यह बतायी कि जब प्रश्न पत्र आते हैं, तब हम लोग पहले ही उसका सील खोल कर फिर से चिपका देते हैं और बाद में हम लोग उसके पैसे ले लेते हैं। हमने उनसे पूछा कि इनको कहाँ से लाते हैं? उन्होंने कहा कि हम लोग इसमें कोचिंग सेंटर्स के मेधावी छात्रों को लेखक के रूप में यूज करते हैं। एक सॉल्वर गैंग चलता था। अरबों रुपयों का माफियाओं व्यवसाय था। उनका यह कहना था कि आप नकल तभी रोक सकते हैं, जब ये जो परीक्षा केन्द्र हैं - उन परीक्षा केन्द्रों के लिए पोलिटिकल प्रेशर होता है, ज्यादातर बड़े-बड़े लोगों के स्कूल्स होते हैं, संस्थाएँ होती हैं, जहाँ परीक्षा केन्द्र होते हैं, आप उनको नहीं रोक सकते है। आप लोग जहाँ परीक्षा केन्द्र लें, वहाँ सेंटर अच्छे तरीके से बने और पेपर में, जो आन्सर शीट है, उसमें डीकोडिंग हो जाए। आन्सर्स इस प्रकार हों कि अगर 60 लाख विद्यार्थी बैठते हों, तो एक जैसा पूरे में नहीं जाए।

मान्यवर, पहली बार हम लोगों ने कॉपी में डीकोडिंग की, हर पन्ने पर डीकोडिंग की, जैसा इसके प्रावधान में भी है। दूसरा काम हम लोगों ने यह किया कि जैसे एक क्लास में एक विद्यार्थी बैठा है, अगर उसके वाले पेपर में 'बाबर कौन था' 1 नम्बर पर है, तो उसके बगल में बैठे हुए विद्यार्थी के पेपर में 'बाबर कौन था' 7वें नम्बर पर हो, ताकि अगर वह नकल भी करना चाहे या उसके लिए कोई आन्सर शीट लाए, तो वह ऐसा नहीं कर पाए। मान्यवर, ये सारे प्रावधान करने के बाद परीक्षा केन्द्र पर स्टैटिक मजिस्ट्रेट appoint हुए। स्टैटिक मजिस्ट्रेट के बाद ऑनलाइन की बात हुई। इसके लिए सीसीटीवी कैमरे लगाने थे, टॉयलेट्स बनाने थे, जेनरेटर लगाना था। परीक्षा केन्द्रों पर इन सभी सुविधाओं को तैयार करना था, जिसके लिए एक अरब रुपए से ज्यादा की आवश्यकता थी, लेकिन इसके लिए सरकार के पास पैसे नहीं थे। हम लोगों ने announce किया कि हम सीसीटीवी कैमरे लगाएँगे, लेकिन कहाँ से लगाएँगे, क्योंकि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं था। उसके बाद अखबार में एक स्टेटमेंट दिया और उस स्टेटमेंट में यह कहा गया कि उन्हीं को परीक्षा केन्द्र चुना जाएगा, जिन परीक्षा केन्द्रों पर सीसीटीवी कैमरे होंगे, चहारदीवारी होगी, टॉयलेट्स होंगे, centralized control room होगा। आप आज के इस युग में आश्चर्य करेंगे कि बगैर मेरे पैसा दिए सबने अपनी जेब से पैसे लगा लिये। ऐसा क्यों हुआ? ऐसा इसलिए हुआ, क्योंकि जो सेंटर थे, वे 20-20, 25-25 लाख रुपए में बिकते थे।...(समय की घंटी)... मैंने एक रुपया नहीं दिया, लेकिन सब जगह सीसीटीवी कैमरे voice recording के साथ लग गये, टॉयलेट्स बन गए, जेनरेटर लग गए। मान्यवर, आखिर में, मैं उस बिन्दू पर आता हूँ कि यह क्यों हुआ। 2017 के पहले चुनाव के समय माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी उत्तर प्रदेश गए थे और उन्होंने कहा था कि यहाँ नकल के टेंडर उठते हैं। उसी संदर्भ एवं दिशा-निर्देशों के अंतर्गत इस प्रकार के कानून बनाए गए।...(समय की घंटी)... सर्विस में इस प्रकार के कानून बनाए गए। हमारे यहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश में साढ़े पाँच लाख सरकारी नौकरियों की बहाली हुई, जिनमें से डेढ़ लाख लोग शिक्षा विभाग में और 1 लाख 37

हजार लोग पुलिस में भर्ती हुए। इनमें से एक में भी किसी प्रकार की अनियमितता नहीं आई। मैं आदरणीय जितेन्द्र सिंह जी को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इन छोटे-से-छोटे बिन्दुओं को भी नहीं छोड़ा है। मैं देख रहा था कि शायद किसी अध्यादेश में एक बिन्दु छूट गया हो, लेकिन एक भी नहीं छूटा। अंत में, मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ और आपका आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Shri Sandosh Kumar P; you have two minutes.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P (Kerala): Sir, it is a matter of deep concern that frauds related to exams are on the rise in the country. So, that way, this is a welcome step. But, as it is expressed by my fellow Member from Kerala, Dr. V. Sivadasan, it should not be a problem to the States. Sir, why am I stating this? In the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is clearly mentioned in Para No. 4 that 'the Bill shall serve as a model draft for States'. That part is okay because this time Centre did not try to snatch away the rights of the States. We have every right to formulate rules and regulations related to the exams. But, in the name of investigation, it should not be a problem for the States. My friend from Uttar Pradesh, while taking part in the discussion, mentioned about Section 12. Sir, Clause No. 2 is a worrying point. Anytime any Central agency can intervene in this matter and that will be a problem for the States. So, Sir, it should be taken into account.

Sir, I would like to add one more thing. Recently, an interesting article was written by Jayant Sinha, the Member of Lok Sabha, who belongs to the Ruling Party. In that article, he has mentioned about the impact of Artificial Intelligence on elections. So, it is clearly written that EVMs can be tampered from outside the country because the technology has gone up to such a level. So, in this era of Artificial Intelligence, we have to take into account the growth of Artificial Intelligence. How can we handle technology-driven frauds, that also should be taken into account. That is why I have deliberately mentioned about the EVMs; do not take it otherwise. I am not going to make any political comment on that. My worry is that we are living in a world where Artificial Intelligence and Chat GPT is introduced. So, it should be taken into account while dealing with exam-related frauds.

Thirdly, and finally, Sir, unemployment is on the rise. These types of cosmetic changes cannot solve the real issue of Indian youths and students. Thank you, Sir, for allowing me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Shri Kartikeya Sharma; not present. The next speaker is Dr. Fauzia Khan. You have two minutes.

DR. FAUZIA KHAN (Maharashtra): Sir, I stand here to welcome this Bill which has been brought in to curb unfair practices in examinations. Curbing unfair practices is required in every level of education and in every sphere of life because unless we curb unfair practices, we cannot enhance the gross domestic happiness of our nation, GDH of our nation, which is very important. Sir, I wish here that the definition of 'public examinations' had been more comprehensive and inclusive as building a culture of honesty and integrity is imperative in the field of education for this is the very objective of education. Sir, there are several unfair practices that exist at several levels of education, right from pre-primary to whatever the highest level. This Bill primarily focuses on punitive measures. We need to address the underlying reasons for the cheating. Sir, I believe that deterioration is there at moral values in all across society. In schools, we don't particularly focus on value education because these are the formative years where we need to instil values of honesty. Honesty and integrity is very, very important in our society. It is said that the purpose of education is to turn mirrors into windows. We need to turn mirrors into windows and that is why the school education is very important where this has to be addressed. Sir, addressing these concerns require a comprehensive approach that combines punitive measures with preventive measures, and systemic reform to promote fairness and integrity in examinations. (Time-bell rings.) I am just concluding, Sir. Legal experts caution against the disproportionate penalties and ambiguous definitions which may lead to confusion and redundancy in enforcement whereas the definitions provided in the Bill are exhaustive and can be interpreted in several ways. This can create confusion and redundancy. Sir, at the end, I would only like to say that we have to also address the issue of plagiarism in research. This is a very important aspect because we tend to cut paste and give our research thesis. So, we have to address these things. There are several things to say about this topic, but I welcome the Bill. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Jitendra Singh to reply to the discussion.

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir. At the outset, I wish to, through you, thank the Hon. Members for having furnished their valuable inputs, including some of the suggestions. Shri Digvijaya Singhji, Shri Prakash Javadekarji, Shri Adhir Ranjan Biswasji, Shri P. Wilsonji, Shri Sandeep Pathakji, Shri Muzibulla Khan, Shri Ayodhya Rami Reddyji, Dr. Sivadasanji, Dr. M. Thambiduraiji, Dr. Amee Yajnik, Dr. Dinesh Sharmaji, Sandosh Kumarji and Dr. Fauzia Khanji have spoken on the Bill. Before I respond to some of the specific points raised over here, I wish to reiterate once again that this Bill has been brought with the same spirit and the same

resolve, with which this Government of NDA took over when Shri Narendra Modi was sworn in as the Prime Minister on the evening of 26th May, 2014. He had said that our approach would be to reach out to those sections of society which have not received the kind of priority that they deserved by the earlier Governments. Therefore, youth was one of those categories. If you look back at ten years, Sir, this Government headed by Prime Minister Modi, I can say with certain amount of confidence, has walked the talk. When we are talking precisely in the context of the youth-centric reforms and to be more specific in the context of the discussion this evening pertaining to the selection of youth to various Government jobs, also selection of students to different higher education institutions, there have been a number of decisions taken to ensure that (a) there is more and more transparency; (b) there is a level playing field regardless of whichever socio-economic strata a candidate or youth comes from. (c) that there is time bound selection process and, therefore, you would realise because as students of Science, we have been taught not to speak without evidence; within three or four months of having taken over as Prime Minister, I think it was just about September or October, 2014, a decision was taken by the Prime Minister whereby we did away with a hundred year rule which I would say a legacy, rather a dubious legacy of the British empire. We expected every youth to get his documents, certificates attested by a gazetted officer and this is a rule which should have been abolished right away at the midnight of freedom. I don't know what was the reason to keep it alive for so many decades, but with the evolution of this rule, a message went across the country that, look here, now a new Government has taken over, a new Prime Minister has taken over who has the confidence to trust the youth of this country and if we don't trust the youth of our country, how are we going to do business with them that I don't trust my own children and ask them to get their certificates and mark sheets attested by a gazetted officer, If I don't trust my son or daughter, how am I going to run the family? So, that was one of the earliest messages sent by the Prime Minister, Modiji, as far as the declaration of intent of bringing in fairness in all the selection procedures were concerned. Soon thereafter, Sir, in his Independence Day Address from the ramparts of Red Fort, he gave a call for abolishing interviews in the recruitment process. You would bear me out, as would all the Members, there had been recurrent complaints coming that a certain candidate would get hundred marks in the written test and would not find himself in the selection list whereas someone else who had not done so well, but was favoured through the interview marks would make it to the list. So, there were allegations of nepotism, allegations of favouritism, allegations of corruption. It was not an easy decision to

take. Many complained. 'How would we adjust our own candidates', even for the political class, across party lines. But the Prime Minister, Modji, taught us that we would fill in the gaps which have been left unfilled. We will step in where we are required to step in. We will go by the conviction and leave the rest to the discretion of the people of this country. That abolition of interview not only brought in a fair play or a fair chance to every candidate but also brought in heavy savings on the State's exchequer which were involved in conducting interviews for years and years. For weeks and weeks together, we had thousands and thousands of interviews. Thereafter, in most of the examinations, we have important recruitment agencies like Staff Selection Commission, the Recruitment Board, the Banking Services which we had inherited in 2014 from the earlier Government for conducting exams through OMR, Optical Mark Recognition. It was all transferred on-line. That was done to ensure transparency as much as possible and, at the same time, to have a time bound selection process system in place and even today, as far as Staff Selection Commission is concerned, we have seen times where one selection process would go on for almost two years or more. Now it has been brought down to just 7-8 months and we hope to bring it still further. The endeavour is still continuing. Very recently, with the vision and direction of our Prime Minister, we introduced the process of Rozgar Mela so that the vacancies could be filled in bulk, 50,000, 60,000, one lakh appointment letters are being issued together in all fairness, in all public view, in all virtual view in 45 stations across the country getting connected and, therefore, it was there for everybody to see what was happening. In the last ten years, it has helped us and is being visibly appreciated across the media, across all sections of society, even academia and the level of the merit of the new appointees has gone up. Now, in the recent months, which I mentioned in my introductory remarks, this is a Bill which is possibly the first of its kind in the history of Indian Parliament. I don't blame the predecessors. Maybe, the founding fathers of the Constitution, the founding fathers of the Penal Code did not visualize such a situation happening where we would be confronted with an issue which is ruining the future of children, which is sacrificing youth energy, youth power at the altar of handful of selfish interests. And, at a time, when we have such a huge stake in our youth whom we call the architects of the new India of the next 20 years and who will also be determining the face of India in 2047. So, we have a stake in this, Sir. While we are doing this for youth, actually, we are doing each one of us. We have to reach that pedestal which we have envisaged for ourselves, which the Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Modi, keeps describing as Viksit Bharat. Then, each and every citizen of India will have to contribute as much as possible, depending on his might,

his potential and his capabilities. Therefore, we cannot allow any of the potentials of this collective nation getting squandered away.

When we bring in this Bill, we also have an ecosystem which is, actually, acting as a kind of a facilitator. It was optimum use of technology, coupled with integrity which was sought to be placed to the maximum extent possible. Hon. Prime Minister spoke from the Red Fort about StartUp India and StandUp India. From just 350, we went up to more than 1 lakh. Today, we are ranked number three in the world. I am not saying this. This Government is not saying this. The BJP is not saying this. The world is saying this. I am talking only of the global parameters. As I said, I will not talk without evidence. In the Global Innovation Index — somebody was saying where our integrity is and where is our honesty — we were 81. Today, we have jumped 41 places and reached 40. The world is saying this, not me. And, this is all part of the reforms happening; the continuity of which we are seeing today. In the space sector, it is embarrassing to say that we had just one StartUp; it was a single digit! Today, we have over 190. In just 8 months, beginning from April 1st to 30th December, we had private investment of more than Rs. 1,000 crores, because this sector was opened up and shackles of the past have been done away with. We were unwarrantedly keeping ourselves behind a veil of secrecy. In the bio-sector, we had just 50 StartUps. We are now having 6,000 StartUp. We are ranked one of the top five bio manufacturing countries of the world. The world is saying, not me. ...(Interruptions)...Yes, yes. I come to you.

# श्री जयराम रमेश (कर्नाटक): आप बात मत घुमाइए, सीधा बोलिए।

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Yes, yes. यह घुमाना जरूरी है, because so much of debate has been *घुमाऊ फाइड*। Sir, from fragile five, if we are to one of the top five, it is not me who is saying this. It is the world which is saying this.

Sir, I am not making any subjective statement. I am not saying on behalf of the Government of India or on behalf of the BJP. I am saying what the world is saying. Today, Hon. Prime Minister visits Washington. The President of America solicits an Indian astronaut to accompany his astronauts to the International Space Station, because they value the worth of our craftsmanship and our skill. So, the world is soliciting this. Today, we are setting the deadlines — Net Zero by 2070. We are not waiting for others.

Now, somebody was talking about what happens now and what happens then. I will take two minutes and then come specifically to these points also, Sir. We were almost one-and-a-half decades behind the other countries as far as technology

is concerned! Dr. Thambidurai has rightly pointed out. I will come to that also. But, before that, I will talk about technology. I said that I will not talk without evidence. I will also not talk subjectively. I will talk what the world says.

Sir, Television started in the USA in 1950s. The famous election of 1960 in which Mr. John F. Kennedy, dramatically, defeated Mr. Richard Nixon was determined by way of a TV debate. The whole world knows this. This is on record. In India, we did not know what TV is and what debate is. We got the first glimpse of TV somewhere in 1970. Same is the case with computer. Today, we are among six or seven elite nations of the world as far as quantum technology is concerned. We are not behind anybody. We are way ahead. Today, our Chandrayaan — Americans started before us - has reached the South Pole before them. Having set the record straight, I come to specific points. Now, I specifically come to the points which were raised here. Digvijaya Singhji had raised a point about Concurrent List, which has partly been answered by Thambiduraiji, Emergency is known for a series of amendments that were brought in. I don't have to reiterate that, else they will again say that I go back. But it is you who have raised this issue. You took so many decisions which were reversed. Even the Lok Sabha term was increased to six years, which was again rolled back when Shri Morarjibhai came. So, amongst those dubious decisions, this was one of them. It was a State List. You had brought it. But, you have the habit to hunt with hounds and run with hare. Our friend from DMK is opposing NEET. He had earlier supported NEET. The DMK had voted in favour of NEET. ...(Interruptions)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Just one second. ...(Interruptions)... I will take note of it. ...(Interruptions)... Please, please. ...(Interruptions)... Mr. Thambidurai, what is this? ...(Interruptions)... I don't appreciate this. ...(Interruptions)...

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: You were a part of the Government. ...(Interruptions)... You were a part of the Government. ...(Interruptions)... That is what I am saying. ...(Interruptions)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wilson, please take your seat. ... (Interruptions)...

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Hon. Chairman, Sir, that is precisely what I am saying. That is the meaning of the proverb — hunting with hounds, running with hare. They want to be both at the same time. They want to be a part of the Government which is passing NEET; they want to be a part of the Government which is opposing NEET.

...(Interruptions)... I would not have got into all this right now because, when I began, I began absolutely with a very apolitical approach because I thought this was a Bill which was being welcomed across all parties. And, in fact, I came with an opinion that this Bill has been supported by all the political parties in the Lok Sabha and I was sure that the Elders would also bless it in the Upper House. But, if you want to give it that tilt, then, we have the answers. That's what I have to say about the Concurrent List.

An issue was also raised that the States' domain was being encroached upon. I think, this is a Government which has not only supported cooperative federalism, but it is also supporting competitive cooperative federalism. Soon after this Government came in power, the Hon. Prime Minister, Modi*ji*, was the first one in support of increasing the States' share because he, as the Chief Minister of Gujarat, had gone through the worse in the ten years of UPA rule. Today, when we are saying, in fact, we are allowing liberty to the States to decide and, in good faith, advising that it will be good if you adopt it. We are not forcing it. That is the spirit of cooperative federalism. Yes, if you want to adopt it, our services, our support, our resources will be available for that.

Then, Madam Yajnik has said - she has supported - and I agree. Why we have DSP is because we have to function within the system. We cannot go outside the system. We cannot throw the baby out with the bathwater. By bringing in DSP, we have stressed this point that this is an investigation of a very serious and sensitive nature and that a junior officer should not handle it. So, DSP will have a supervisory role. Normally, some of your FIRs may be dealt with by a Sub-Inspector or an Inspector also. So, that itself is a pointer to that. But, of course, as we move on, we will frame rules very diligently. I take your word. Of course, you have a point that we have to take into consideration everything. In fact, why I did not speak was because that was not mentioned in the Bill. But, we had visualised and planned that when we frame rules, we will have something called 'National Technical Committee with experts from all those domains that you have referred to. I go one step beyond what you have said. This is going to be a dynamic phenomenon. The issue of technological problems today may not be there tomorrow. It may be something else with the advent of Artificial Intelligence and other things. So, we need to have a committee in place, a system in place which will (a) Help us in surveillance; (b) keep us updating; (c) also help us in creating uniformity. Some of the Members rightly said that the number of examinees is going up; number of people appearing in these exams has gone up. They are in lakhs and lakhs. The Staff Selection Commission has 50-60 lakhs. But the number of agencies is limited. Maybe, in future, we are going to look into that direction also. So, when the sub-letting happens, the uniformity is the casualty. Of course, Dr. Fauzia Khan was right in the integrity part and I am sure if we, all of us, have that kind of integrity, then, we would not require that kind of a Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No; on this point, the entire House must generate an ecosystem.

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Yes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There must be greater morality in the society as such.

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Absolutely. I agree with you, Sir. That is in the spirit of what Bapu Mahatma Gandhi said, "The non-violence is not the weapon of the meek and the poor." If I am meek, feeble and I am attacked by a strong person, I will say, "Look here, मैं अहिंसा का पूजारी हूं, मेरे ऊपर हमला मत करना।" That is not the virtue. It has to come within. It has to come through a value system. But till we evolve, and once we evolve to that level, we will not require Anti Corruption Bureau, we will not require Vigilance Commission and we may not even require courts! But, till then, we need to have deterrence because we cannot allow the virtue to be eroded by the vice; we cannot allow the merit to be hijacked by the non-merit; and, we cannot allow the vital youth power of this country to be surrendered or to be sacrificed at the altar of handful few. So, I am not going to take long because already the Hon. Members have waited with a huge amount of patience. We will cover, of course... When we talk of service providers, we talk of the other parties involved; it will, of course, by natural course also, wherever required, cover the coaching centres, the impersonators but, very cautiously, I, once again, before concluding say that we have kept the bona fide candidate out of the purview of the law, be that the job aspirant, be that the student; so that the message does not go that this new legislation is meant to harass the youths of this country. It is only meant to deter those who are playing with their future, and, thereby the future of the nation. So, with these few words, I am sure the entire House will, in one voice, support this. This is one step towards that direction. It is a dynamic journey that we have started. It will move on from one level to the other.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is that the Public Examinations (Prevention of....

DR. JOHN BRITTAS: Sir, I have an amendment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What makes you feel, I will not read it? You are a senior Member. I have not yet taken up the consideration and you are saying 'I have an amendment.' If there is an amendment validly moved, taken on record; surely, it will be put forth before the House. Please, bear with us.

The question is:

"That the Bill to prevent unfair means in the public examinations and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

#### The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up Clause-by-Clause consideration of the Bill. I. In Clause 2, there are seven Amendments; Amendments (Nos.4 and 5) by Dr. V. Sivadasan. Are you moving it?

#### Clause 2 — Definitions

DR. V. SIVADASAN (Kerala): Sir I move:

- (No.4) That at page 2, line 39, <u>after</u> the words "such other", the word "Central", be inserted.
- (No.5) That at page 2, line 40, *for* the words "an authority", the words "any Central authority", be *substituted*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. (7 to 9) by Shri Tiruchi Siva; not present. Amendment Nos. (11 and 12) by Dr. John Brittas. Are you moving?

DR. JOHN BRITTAS (Kerala): Sir, I move:

(No.11) That at page 2, line 40, <u>after</u> the words "as specified", the words "in the Schedule, and such other authority as may be specified", be <u>inserted</u>.

(No.12) That at page 3, line 9, <u>after</u> the words "those laws", the words ", save as otherwise provided in the General Clauses Act, 1897 (Act No. 10 of 1897)", be *inserted*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendments moved. I shall first put Amendments (Nos.4 and 5) moved by Dr. V. Sivadasan to vote.

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put Amendments (Nos. 11 and 12) moved by Dr. John Brittas to vote.

The motion was negatived.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Clause 3, there is one Amendment (No.13) by Dr. John Brittas. Are you moving?

#### Clause 3 — Unfair Means

DR. JOHN BRITTAS (Kerala): Sir, I move:
(No.13) That at page 3, line 15, the words "for monetary or wrongful gain", be *deleted*.

The question was put and the motion was negatived.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Clause 4, there is one Amendment (No. 14) by Dr. John Brittas. Are you moving?

## Clause 4 - Conspiracy for Unfair Means

DR. JOHN BRITTAS (Kerala): Sir, I move:

(No.14) That at page 4, line 2, *for* the words "facilitate indulgence in", the word "commit", be *substituted*.

The question was put and the motion was negatived.

Clause 4 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 5 to 9 were added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Clause 10, there are two Amendments; Amendment (No. 1) by Shri Binoy Viswam, not present. Then, Amendment (No. 15) Dr. John Brittas. Are you moving?

#### Clause 10 - Punishment for Offences under this Act

DR. JOHN BRITTAS (Kerala): Sir, I move:

(No.15) That at page 5, line 13, <u>after</u> the words "service provider", the words "if it is established that the unfair means or offence has been committed with the knowledge, consent or connivance of the service provider", be <u>inserted</u>.

The question was put and the motion was negatived.

Clause 10 was added to the Bill.

Clause 11 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Clause 12, there are three Amendments; Amendment (No. 2) by Shri Binoy Viswam; not present. Then, Amendment (No. 6) by Dr. V. Sivadasan and Amendment (No. 16) by John Brittas. Dr. Sivadasan, are you moving?

# Clause 12 — Officers Empowered to Investigate

DR. V. SIVADASAN (Kerala): Sir, I move:

(No.6) That at page 5, lines 47 to 49, be *deleted*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. John Brittas, are you moving?

DR. JOHN BRITTAS (Kerala): Sir, I move:

(No.16) That at page 5, line 45, <u>after</u> the words "Investigating Agency", the words "after due consultation and concurrence of the State Government where the offence is committed", be <u>inserted</u>.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall first put the Amendment (No. 6) moved by Dr. V. Sivadasan to vote.

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Amendment (No. 16) moved by Dr. John Brittas to vote.

The motion was negatived.

Clause 12 was added to the Bill.

Clause 13 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Clause 14, there is one Amendment; Amendment (No. 3) by Shri Binoy Viswam; not present.

Clause 14 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 15 to 17 were added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Clause 18, there is one Amendment; Amendment (No. 10) by Shri Tiruchi Siva; not present.

Clause 18 was added to the Bill.

Clause 19 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

DR. JITENDRA SINGH: Sir, I move: That the Bill be passed.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, there are eight permitted Special Mentions for today. Special Mentions of those Hon. Members who are present now shall be deemed to be laid on the Table of the House.

## \*SPECIAL MENTIONS

#### Need for State-specific classification of religious minorities in India

SHRI SUSHIL KUMAR MODI (Bihar): Sir, at present, the classification of religious minorities in India is done at the national level due to which Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains and Parsis have been notified as minority communities. This classification, however, does not consider the cross-State variation in distribution of these communities and continues to grant minority status to a religious group that may otherwise form the majority in a particular State. For instance, despite

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<sup>\*</sup> Laid on the Table