

RAJYA SABHA

Friday, the 5th June, 2009/15 Jyaistha, 1931 (Saka)

The House met at eleven of the clock,
MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform hon. Members that the Business Advisory Committee, in its meeting held on 4th June, 2009, has allotted 14 hours for discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Shri Satyavrat Chaturvedi to move the Motion.

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN (West Bengal): Sir, I have given notice on. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get an opportunity during the debate to raise your issues. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN: Sir, this is a national disaster. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, resume your places. ...*(Interruptions)*... You will get ample opportunity during the debate to express your views. ...*(Interruptions)*... I would request hon. Members to allow the debate to proceed. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please, Shri Satyavrat Chaturvedi to move the Motion. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, this is a national disaster. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT (West Bengal): Sir, this is a national calamity.*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, they should allow the discussion on President's Address. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would request hon. Members to resume their places. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Vijayaraghavan, I request you. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, Shri Satyavrat Chaturvedi to move the Motion.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी (उत्तराखण्ड): मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि-

“... ने 4 जून, 2009 को संसद की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक में कृपया जो अभिभाषण दिया है, उसके लिए राज्य सभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित हैं, राष्ट्रपति जी के प्रति अपनी हार्दिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते हैं।”

माननीय सभापति जी, वैसे तो यह स्थापित परंपरा है कि वर्ष के आरंभ में राष्ट्रपति जी दोनों ही सदनों के सदस्यों को संबोधित करते हैं और राष्ट्रपति जी का यह अभिभाषण, सरकार के पूरे वर्ष के कामकाज के एजेंडा, सरकार की नीतियों और सरकार द्वारा जन-कल्याण के लिए जो कार्यक्रम बनाए जाते हैं, उनका एक नियत और नीतिगत दस्तावेज़ होता है, जो यह स्थापित करता है और इस बात की उद्घोषणा करता है कि आगामी वर्ष में कामकाज के मामले में सरकार की प्राथमिकताएं क्या होंगी, लेकिन इस वर्ष महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय द्वारा

दिया गया भाषण महत्वपूर्ण है और यह इस अर्थ में विशिष्ट है कि अभी हाल ही में देश में आम चुनाव हुए हैं और आम चुनाव के बाद 15वीं लोक सभा के गठन के बाद राष्ट्रपति महोदय का यह पहला अभिभाषण है। स्वाभाविक रूप से देश की जनता इस बात को जानने के लिए उत्सुक है कि वह सरकार को पुनः अब इस देश की सत्ता की बागडोर संभालने वाली है, उसकी नीतियां, उसकी नीयत, उसके कार्यक्रम और उसकी प्राथमिकताएं क्या होंगी।

माननीय सभापति जी, पिछले 5 सालों तक वर्तमान सरकार ने इस देश में कामकाज किया है। मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के प्रति कृतज्ञता स्थापित करने के साथ ही आपकी अनुमति से उनको इस बात के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि लगभग 2 दशकों के बाद या संभवतः मेरी याददाश्त ठीक है, तो तीन-साढ़े तीन दशकों के बाद एक ऐसा अवसर आया है, जब पूरे 5 सालों तक अपना कार्यकाल पूरा करने के बाद, कोई सरकार जनता के बीच गई हो और उसे पुनः जनादेश मिला हो और पिछले जनादेश से भी बड़ा, स्पष्ट और साफ जनादेश मिला हो कि वह आगामी 5 वर्षों के लिए भी सरकार चलाएगी।

यह इस बात को ज़ाहिर करता है कि पिछले पांच साल में सरकार ने जो प्राथमिकताएं तय की थीं, देश के लिए जो उसकी नीतियां और कार्यक्रम थे, उन कार्यक्रमों और नीतियों को जनता का अनुमोदन प्राप्त हुआ है, जनता ने उसकी सराहना की है और जनता ने सरकार के उन कार्यक्रमों और नीतियों के प्रति अपना समर्थन व्यक्त किया है, यह इस बात का प्रमाण है। मैं समझता हूँ कि लोकतंत्र में जितना सत्ता पक्ष का महत्व है, उतना ही महत्व विपक्ष का भी होता है और प्रतिपक्ष की यह जिम्मेदारी होती है, यह दायित्व होता है कि वह सदन के अंदर सरकार को निरंकुश होने से रोके और जहां सरकार भूल कर रही हो, वहां सरकार को भूल करने से रोके, उसकी आलोचना करे। अगर यह आलोचना स्वस्थ है, अगर यह आलोचना रचनात्मक है, अगर यह आलोचना सकारात्मक उद्देश्य से की गई है, तो निश्चित रूप से इसका स्वागत किया जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि यह लोकतंत्र की आत्मा है। सहमति और असहमति दोनों साथ-साथ चलते हैं, तभी लोकतंत्र जीवित रहता है।

श्रीमन्, पिछले पांच वर्षों के अंदर सरकार ने जिन कल्याणकारी योजनाओं को लेकर कामकाज शुरू किया था, हम सब याद करते हैं कि उस समय प्रतिपक्ष की भूमिका केवल आचलना करने की या गलतियों को सुधार करने के लिए सरकार की आलोचना करने की उनकी नीति और उनका आचरण नहीं रहा। इस सदन में और उस सदन में अनेक बार ऐसे अवसर आए हैं, जब यह देखने को मिला कि सरकार की आलोचना इसलिए नहीं की जा रही है कि सरकार की नीतियां गलत हैं, बल्कि सरकार की आलोचना इसलिए की जा रही है क्योंकि कुछ राजनीतिक दलों को या कुछ व्यक्तियों को संभवतः अपनी राजनीतिक असुरक्षा का भाव महसूस होता था कि यदि सरकार उन लोकप्रिय कार्यक्रमों को लागू कर सकेगी, तो फिर उन राजनीतिक दलों का भविष्य क्या होगा? और इस चिंता से उत्पन्न प्रवृत्तियों के कारण पिछले पांच वर्षों में एक नकारात्मक विपक्ष हमें देखने को मिला। कामकाज हो नहीं सका ! समय-समय पर आप देखें, बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दों के ऊपर भी, जिन पर कोई विवाद नहीं हो सकता था, न होना चाहिए था, उन मुद्दों के ऊपर भी निरंतर सदन में आकर, वैल में उतर कर कार्यवाही रोक देना, कार्यवाही चलने ही न देना, संसद के दोनों सदनों में मैं आपके उस अधिकार का, प्रतिपक्ष के उस अधिकार का हनन करने का कोई उद्देश्य नहीं रखता। आप विरोध व्यक्त करना चाहें, यह आपकी स्वतंत्रता है, निश्चित रूप से आप विरोध व्यक्त कर सकते हैं, लेकिन कैसा विरोध? मैं चंद उदाहरण आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, जिससे यह स्पष्ट हो।

माननीय सभापति महोदय, एन.डी.ए. की सरकार में अगर उनके प्रधान मंत्री जी लाहौर तक बस से यात्रा करते हैं, तो इसे एक बड़ी भारी उपलब्धि के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जाए, हमें एतराज़ नहीं। हम

भी पड़ोसियों से अच्छे संबंध चाहते हैं, अब भले ही उसका परिणाम कारगिल में परिवर्तित हुआ हो, लेकिन जब यू.पी.ए. सरकार के प्रधान मंत्री श्रीनगर से मुज़फ़्फ़राबाद तक कोई बस चलाने की बात करते हैं, जिससे कश्मीर के लोगों का आपस में संपर्क बढ़ सके, तो आसमान टूट पड़ता है और समूचा विपक्ष और विशेषतः हमारे सामने बैठे हुए भारतीय जनता पार्टी के

प्रतिपक्षी सदस्यों ने इसका एक बार नहीं, अनेक बार सदन के अंदर और बाहर बहुत तेजी के साथ उठाया और सदन की कार्यवाही चलने में व्यवधान डाला।

श्रीमान्, अगर एन.डी.ए. के विदेश मंत्री Strobe Talbott के साथ बैठकर, तेरह महीनों तक लगातार चर्चा करके, परमाणु समझौता करने के लिए अगर आगे कार्यवाही करते हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा): महोदय, सरकार के सकारात्मक पहलू पर विचार किया जाए, न कि शुरुआत विपक्ष की ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री बलबीर पुंज (उड़ीसा): आप बताएं कि कब क्या हुआ? मुजफ्फराबाद वाली बस के ऊपर कब हुआ?

श्री सभापति: प्लीज़प्लीज़ ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: महोदय, विपक्ष का काम ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Panyji, please ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: महोदय, कृपया यह बता दिया जाए कि पिछले पांच साल में सहयोगी दल कितनी बार वेल में गए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Panyji, please. You will get your opportunity. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: विपक्ष का काम कभी-कभी वेल में जाने का होता है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... साढ़े चार साल में जो सहयोगी दल रहे, वे कितनी बार वेल में गए, कृपया यह बता दिया जाए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please ...**(Interruptions)**... Please don't intervene. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: सभापति महोदय, मुझे जो कुछ कहना था, उसकी सत्यता स्थापित करने ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please. ...**(Interruptions)**... Please don't intervene. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री राम नारायण साहू (उत्तर प्रदेश): सभापति महोदय, अभी तो शुरुआत हुई है। अभी नयी सरकार चुनकर आयी है और शुरुआत में ही आपने ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: मैं आ रहा हूँ। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Could you please allow the speaker to proceed? ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री राम नारायण साहू: शुरुआत में ही आपने इस तरह का राग अलापना शुरू कर दिया। आप शुरुआत तो अच्छी रखिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: माननीय सभापति महोदय, जो मैं यह कह रहा था, उसका प्रमाण आपको यहीं पर तत्काल मिल गया। मैं यही कह रहा था। विपक्ष की असहिष्णुता और दूसरे के विचारों को सुनने के लिए उनका तैयार न रहना - यही विपक्ष की सबसे नकारात्मक भूमिका थी। हम अपनी आलोचना सुनने को तैयार हैं, लेकिन जिन चीजों का फैसला जनता ने कर दिया है, देश ने कर दिया है, उस

आलोचना को सुनने के लिए आप आज भी तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं समझता था कि संभवतः इस चुनाव के परिणामों के बाद विपक्ष ने अपने अंदर झांककर देखा होगा, समीक्षा की होगी, एक ईमानदार समीक्षा के बाद यह महसूस किया होगा कि कहां भूल हुई, कहां चूक हुई।

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद (बिहार): चतुर्वेदी जी, विजय में विनम्रता होती है। थोड़ा विनम्र होइए।
... (व्यवधान) ...

एक माननीय सदस्य: महोदय, उन्हें अपनी बात कहने के लिए टाइम मिलेगा।
... (व्यवधान) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, resume your places. ...*(Interruptions)*...
Please proceed. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: महोदय, मैं एक ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे सदस्य अगर मेरे भाषण के बीच में टीका-टिप्पणी करना चाहें, तो मैं उनको रोक नहीं सकता हूँ लेकिन इतना अनुरोध जरूर करना चाहता हूँ कि संभवतः आपको मालूम है कि आपकी तरफ से भी कोई बोलेगा। जब आप बोलेंगे, तब आप यह नहीं चाहेंगे कि आपके भाषण में इस तरह से बीच-बीच में टीका-टिप्पणी हो। आप मुझसे सहमत या असहमत हो सकते हैं। असहमत होने का आपका अधिकार है। जब आपको अवसर मिले, आप अपनी बात पुरजोर तरीके से रखें, मुझे उसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी। लेकिन जब मैं कुछ कह रहा हूँ तो उसे ध्यान से सुन लें।

श्री तारिक अनवर (महाराष्ट्र): अभी ज़ख्म हरे हैं।

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: हां, ज़ख्म हरे भी हैं और भरे भी हैं। माननीय सभापति महोदय, मैं परमाणु समझौते के बारे में कह रहा था। आपकी सरकार अगर परमाणु समझौते करे तो ठीक, लेकिन अगर यूपीए की सरकार परमाणु समझौता करे तो आसमान टूट पड़ता है। देश की सुरक्षा खतरे में पड़ जाती है, देश के हितों के साथ कुठाराघात होता है। ये आरोप लगे हैं, एक बार नहीं, अनेक बार लगे हैं। तीसरा उदाहरण देता हूँ। महोदय, हमारे ऊपर निरंतर एक अभियान चलाकर प्रचार किया जाता है कि कांग्रेस की सरकार आतंकवादियों के प्रति बहुत नरम है, कमजोर है। यह आरोप कौन लोग लगा रहे थे? यह आरोप लगाने वाले वे लोग थे जो स्वयं इस देश की जेलों में बंद आतंकवादियों को उठाकर कंधार छोड़ आते हैं और हम पर यह आरोप लगाते हैं कि मुम्बई में जिस तरह से त्वरित कार्यवाही करने के बाद सरकार के कूटनीतिक प्रयासों से पूरे विश्व की बिरादरी के अंदर पाकिस्तान को जिस तरह से अलग-थलग करके रख दिया गया, उस कूटनीतिक सफलता के बाद भी हम पर तो यह आरोप है कि हम इस मामले में कमजोर हैं और वे लोग, जो आतंकवादी छोड़ आते हैं, वे अपनी पीठ थपथपाते हैं कि वे बड़े मजबूत हैं।

अब जनता को इसका फैसला करना था। उन्होंने हमारा आचरण भी देखा था, दूसरों का आचरण भी देखा था, दोनों सरकारों के कामकाज को देखा था, तो फिर जनता ने यह फैसला लिया। श्रीमान, सेतु समुद्रम है। सेतु समुद्रम की पूरी परियोजना की घोषणा चेन्नई में एन.डी.ए. के प्रधानमंत्री की है। उसकी सवीकृति एन.डी.ए. के मंत्रालय से दी गई, उस समय जेटली जी मंत्री थे। इसी सदन के अंदर 2003 में एक प्रश्न के जवाब में उनके तत्कालीन मंत्री श्री शत्रुघ्न सिन्हा जी ने यह बताया कि इस परियोजना के काम को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए इतनी राशि मंजूर कर दी। तो राशि मंजूर करें यें, सर्वेक्षण कराएं ये, घोषणाएं कराएं ये, एलाइमेंट तय करें ये और जब इनकी विरासत में मिली हुई उस परियोजना पर काम आगे बढ़ाने का काम हम करें तो भगवान राम के ऊपर अपमान हो रहा है, हिन्दुओं की भावना से कुठाराघात हो रहा है। यह जो पाखंड और स्वांग की राजनीति थी ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री बलबीर पुंज: चतुर्वेदी जी, आप सुप्रीम कोर्ट में एफिडेविट देंगे कि भगवान राम का अस्तित्व नहीं है ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: भगवान राम का अस्तित्व आपकी वजह से नहीं है, मेरी वजह से नहीं है। ...*(व्यवधान)*... भगवान राम को आपका और हमारा सर्टिफिकेट नहीं चाहिए अपने अस्तित्व के लिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री विनय कटियार (उत्तर प्रदेश): कांग्रेस का सर्टिफिकेट चाहिए ...*(व्यवधान)*...

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर (राजस्थान) : ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, please allow the discussion to proceed
...*(Interruptions)*...

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर: भगवान राम सब के हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Prabha Thakur, please resume your place now.
...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका संरक्षण चाहता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Precious time of the House is being lost in these exchanges. ... (Interruptions)

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर: राजनीति के लिए आप भगवान राम का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may kindly resume her place.

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: मैं फिर कह रहा हूँ, थोड़ा धैर्य रखें, आपको अवसर मिलेगा। आप मेरी बात का जितना कठोर जवाब दे सकते हैं, जरूर दीजिएगा, लेकिन थोड़ा धैर्य रखें। अब आलोचना तो सुननी ही पड़ेगी इसलिए क्योंकि यह जनादेश है और उस जनादेश में आपकी इन तमाम नीतियों को लोगों ने पूरी तरह खरिज कर दिया, नकार दिया। अब उसे आप कब तक ढोएंगे, वह बोझ तो ढोना पड़ेगा। श्रीमान, सेतु समुद्रम का वही हाल है। मैं एक आखिरी उदाहरण देकर के अपनी बात बंद करूंगा, फिर मैं दूसरे मुद्दे पर आऊंगा।

श्रीमान, यहां चुनाव से ठीक पहले एक मुद्दा उछाला गया बहुत जोर के साथ कि भारतीयों का तमाम काला धन विदेशी बैंकों के अंदर बंद है और यह सरकार उसे वापिस लाने के लिए कोई सकारात्मक कदम नहीं उठा रही है और ऐसे दिखाया गया कि जैसे इस विदेशी धन की वजह से इस देश की काया पलट हो जाएगी और अगर हमारी सरकार आएगी तो तमाम विदेशी बैंकों में जमा काला धन हम वापिस ले आएंगे और ऐसा लगा कि यह धन भी कल ही जमा हुआ हो। श्रीमान, 60 वर्षों से ऊपर समय से तमाम विदेशी बैंकों में कहां-कहां किस-किस का कितना काला धन है, मैं उस विस्तार में तो नहीं जाना चाहता। मैं बात कर रहा था, मैं लक्ष्य कर रहा था इस बात का कि प्रतिपक्ष को अधिकार है आलोचना करने का, जरूर करना चाहिए लेकिन जिम्मेदारी के साथ। आपकी सरकार यहां 6 साल रही थी 1998 से लेकर 2004 तक। मैं प्रभु, आपसे पूछ रहा हूँ, हे भगवन, उस छः वर्ष के कार्यकाल में जब आप सरकार में थे तब इस विदेशी धन के बारे में आपको कोई स्वप्न नहीं हुआ, कोई याद नहीं आई। जब आप सरकार में हों तब आप 5 वर्ष तक, 6 वर्ष तक उसकी कोई चिंता नहीं करते, एक लफ्ज नहीं बोलते, कोई प्रयास नहीं करते। कांग्रेस के नेतृत्व में यू.पी.ए. की सरकार ने इस दिशा में काम किया था और इस बात की जानकारी प्रतिपक्ष के नेता को भी थी कि उस दिशा में काम शुरू हुआ है। लेकिन सब कुछ हमारे हाथ में नहीं था। क्योंकि विदेशी बैंकों में पैसा जमा था, वहां के कानूनों के कारण, वहां की सरकारों से जब तक तालमेल नहीं बैठाया जाए, तब तक उसमें कोई तुरन्त कार्यवाही रातों-रात हो जाएगी, ऐसी अपेक्षा नहीं हो सकती। लेकिन चुनाव के लिए, चुनाव सामने था, चुनाव में इनको यह दिखाना था कि यह सारा काला धन हम वापिस ले आएंगे, हम सफेद हैं और जो सामने वाले हैं, वे काले हैं। एक योगी बाबा जी हैं, उनका रोजाना टी.वी. के ऊपर एक प्रवचन इस विदेशी काले धन के बारे में सुनने को मिलता था। वह बड़ी छाती ठोकर कहा करते थे कि मैं इसे आजीवन एक अभियान के तौर पर चलाता रहूंगा, जब तक काला धन वापिस नहीं आएगा। चुनाव खत्म हुआ, अब बाबा जी के संकल्प का पता नहीं है। अब न बाबा जी का पता है और न संकल्प का पता है, वह गायब हो गए। अब यह तो आप ही बता सकते हैं कि उनसे कितने दिन का कांट्रेक्ट था। बहरहाल, मैं इशारा इस दिशा में कर रहा हूँ कि हमने राष्ट्रपति जी के इस अभिभाषण में, उस विदेशी धन को वापिस लाने के लिए ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री विनय कटियार: आपको बाबा जी का पता चाहिए?

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: तमाम उन देशों की सरकारों के साथ पूरी जांच-पड़ताल करके, उन सरकारों से तालमेल स्थापित करके, उस विदेशी धन को कैसे वापिस लाया जा सकता है, इस दिशा में हमने अपना संकल्प इस अभिभाषण में व्यक्त किया है। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में सरकार ने अपनी नीयत और नीति व्यक्त की है।

सभापति महोदय, पिछले पांच वर्षों में अगर हमको इतना जन-समर्थन मिला है, तो उसकी वजह है। हम तमाम आलोचनाओं के बावजूद अपने रास्ते से डिगे नहीं। हमने तय किया था कि देश को आर्थिक प्रगति के रास्ते पर ले जाना है। जिसे जो कहना है, वह कहे। लेकिन हमारे सामने लक्ष्य साफ था, हमारे सामने कोई दुविधा नहीं थी। उसका नतीजा है कि पिछले पांच वर्षों में से चार वर्षों तक लगभग 9 प्रतिशत की दर से हमारी जीडीपी बढ़ी है। आजादी के बाद से यह एक कीर्तिमान था कि भारत में किसी सरकार के जमाने में लगातार चार वर्षों तक 9 प्रतिशत से अधिक गति के साथ हमारा आर्थिक विकास हुआ है, यह अपने आप में एक अभूतपूर्व कीर्तिमान था। हम इस रास्ते पर चले, क्योंकि इसके अलावा कोई विकल्प नहीं था। सरकार को जितने भी सामाजिक कार्यक्रम और विकास के कार्यक्रम संचालित करने हैं, उनके लिए अगर आर्थिक रूप से देश मजबूत नहीं है, तो उन्हें संचालित करने के लिए धन कहां से आएगा?

सभापति महोदय, हमारी सरकार को चुनाव में एक जनादेश मिला है। यह जनादेश इसलिए मिला है कि पिछले पांच वर्षों में सरकार ने जिन नीतियों को, जिन कार्यक्रमों को, जिस नीयत के साथ लागू किया है और जिस कार्य शैली के साथ उन पर काम किया है, उसे उन्होंने पसन्द किया है। इस चुनाव में उसे जारी रखने का केवल जनादेश ही नहीं मिला है, बल्कि हमें पिछली बार से अधिक जन-समर्थन मिला है, हमें यह भी जनादेश मिला है कि हम उन कार्यक्रमों को और सुदृढ़ बनाएं और मजबूत बनाएं और हम नये-नये कार्यक्रम इस दिशा में लागू करें, जो जनता के आर्थिक विकास के लिए महत्वपूर्ण साबित हों और मील के पत्थर साबित हों। चाहे वह आर्थिक क्षेत्र में विकास की बात हो या साम्प्रदायिक भाई-चारा बनाए रखने की बात हो। इसके लिए बहुत प्रयास हुए, क्योंकि कुछ लोगों को लगता था कि अगर देश में हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच में धार्मिक आधार पर धुवीकरण कर दिया जाए, तो राजनैतिक फायदा हो सकता है और ऐसा पिछले कुछ चुनावों में देखा भी गया है। लगातार इस तरह की कोशिश हुई, चुनाव के पहले और चुनाव के दौरान कि इस देश को फिर से बांटा जाए। इसके लिए षडयंत्र रचे गए, भाषण दिए गए, सार्वजनिक रूप से जहर उगलने के भाषण दिए गए। लेकिन जो लोग इस मुहिम के झंडाबरदार थे, वे जहां-जहां देशभर में गए हैं, 80 फीसदी से ज्यादा उन क्षेत्रों में, जहां पर वे लोग गए हैं, जहां पर * करने की कोशिश की गई है, उन क्षेत्रों के अंदर अंततः मुझे बधाई देनी होगी, हार्दिक रूप से उस जनता को ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश): किसी का नाम लेने की जरूरत नहीं है ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री सभापति: प्लीज़, प्लीज़, प्लीज़। ... (व्यवधान) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your places. ... (Interruptions) ...

RE: DEMAND TO DELETE THE NAME OF AN INDIVIDUAL

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Sir, I have a point to make. I am not here to interfere and I do not want to intervene also. But if he takes the name of a person who is occupying a respectable position in a State ... (Interruptions) ... as Chief Minister, it is not fair. He can make political criticism outside. So the name has to be deleted. ... (Interruptions) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Chair will examine the position and let you know. ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Then I will have to tell him how many people.
...(*Interruptions*)...

*Withdrawn by the Hon. Member

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have raised the issue. I will look into that.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Sir, I have a point of order. I have a specific point to make.

SHRI SATYAVRAT CHATURVEDI : Under what rule is he raising the point of order?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, there are two specific things.

SHRI SATYAVRAT CHATURVEDI: Under which rule is he raising his point of order?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: My point of order is this. Sir, there are two things. Can he mention the name of a person who is not present here? ...*(Interruptions)*... Secondly, can he mention the caste of a person? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: That point has already been raised by another hon. Member.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, can he mention the caste of a person? Kindly give your ruling? He cannot mention the name or the caste of a person who is not present here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has already raised this point. The Chair will examine it and give its decision. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: उनका नाम लेना जो यहां उपस्थित नहीं हैं और जाति का नाम लेना तो और भी संगीन अपराध है। अगर जाति से बोला है, तो यह पार्लियामेंट में बोलना अनपार्लियामेंट्री है। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would request you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: सर, ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will give my ruling after examining the issue. Please allow the debate to continue.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: He cannot mention the caste of a person. ...*(Interruptions)*... See the Rule Book. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ahluwaliaji, please resume your place.

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: श्रीमन्, ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: This point has already been raised.

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: सर, किसी का कम्युनिस्टीकरण या बनियाकरण करना, इस्लामीकरण करना, ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your places. आप लोग बैठ जाइए, Please. ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा: ऐसा करने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं तो आपको तकलीफ हो रही है। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: आप लोग विराजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*... हम आप लोगों को बता रहे हैं और अभी भी कह रहे हैं, श्रीमन्, पहली बात तो यह है कि मैंने किसी का भी नाम नहीं लिया है और जो कुछ भी मैंने कहा है, अगर वह हमारे नियमों के विपरीत है तो आप देख लें। अब हम कहते हैं कि हमने कांग्रेस का गांधीकरण कर दिया। हम तो इसे गर्व से कहते हैं। हमें फख होता है, आपको * पर शर्म क्यों आती है? ...*(व्यवधान)*... हम कहते हैं कि हमने कांग्रेस का गांधीकरण किया। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री पुरुषोत्तम खोडाभाई रूपाला (गुजरात): हमें इस नाम पर गर्व है। ...*(व्यवधान)*... गांधी

जी के साथ क्या नहीं किया? ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर, आप मेरी बात सुनिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

*Withdrawn by the Hon. Member

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would request the hon. Members to resume their places. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please resume your places. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री पुरुषोत्तम खोडाभाई रूपाला: हम लोग डिस्टर्ब होते हैं। ...*(व्यवधान)*... ये कह रहे हैं कि हम बीच में न बोलें ...*(व्यवधान)*... जब हमारे लोग बोलते हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: There will be time in the debate. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री पुरुषोत्तम खोडाभाई रूपाला: ये सामने खड़े हो जाते हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*... जो मुद्दा उठाया है ...*(व्यवधान)*... उसको भी नहीं सुन रहे हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your places ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री पुरुषोत्तम खोडाभाई रूपाला: ...*(व्यवधान)*... मेजोरिटी की वजह से हमारी आवाज को दबाने की कोशिश करते हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*... यह नहीं होना चाहिए ...*(व्यवधान)*... उनका बहुमत का अभिमान है ...*(व्यवधान)*... उस अभिमान को हम नकारते हैं...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please proceed now. आप बैठ जाइए ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री पुरुषोत्तम खोडाभाई रूपाला: बहुमत के बल पर हमको दबाने की कोशिश मत कीजिए ...*(व्यवधान)*... आपको जो कहना है, कहिए, हम सुनने के लिए तैयार हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid, this is not helping matters at all. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, we want the debate to go on ...*(Interruptions)*... I would like to make it clear that we want the debate to go on. This is the first day. The entire country is watching, and we are aware of it. My respectful submission to the hon. Chair is this. It has been a well-established practice in the House that in the course of proceedings of the House, whenever the name of a person, who is occupying a position outside, and who is not a Member of the House, is taken, then, it is the right of the other side to point it out...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already made that point.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I request the Chair to clear this issue and then move forward. We want to hear the speech of the hon. Member, Shri Chaturvedi. He is a well-learned person. There is no doubt about it. My point is that he has made a factually incorrect statement. I can understand that their problem is with Narendra Bhai. At the same time, he made a factually wrong statement. He is an asset to us, and we are proud of our colleague in Gujarat.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think, anything, that is unparliamentary, will not go into the record.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Not unparliamentary, Sir; the name of a person, who is not here, has been taken.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever is the practice of the House will be observed. Now, please proceed. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, no more cross talks, no more discussions.

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: श्रीमन्, मैंने किसी का नाम नहीं लिया है, आप प्रोसिडिंग में देख सकते हैं। यदि उनको इस बात पर आपत्ति है, इस नाम से आपत्ति है, तो मैं * हटाए देता हूँ, मैं आरएसएससीकरण कह देता हूँ, मुझे कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। ...*(व्यवधान)*... अब इसमें तो किसी का नाम नहीं लिया है? ...*(व्यवधान)*... इसमें तो अब किसी का नाम नहीं आया है? ...*(व्यवधान)*...

*Withdrawn by the Hon. Member

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद : चेयरमैन सर, this is grossly unfair. ... (व्यवधान) ... यह क्या मतलब है ... (व्यवधान) ... हम शांति से सुनने के लिए तैयार हैं ... (व्यवधान) ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Have you concluded? ... (Interruptions) ... Please resume your speech.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - Contd.

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: श्रीमान्, मेरा यह निवेदन था कि इस जनता ने इस बात का जनादेश दिया है। जनादेश इस आधार पर दिया था कि पिछले वर्षों में सरकार ने कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो तरक्की की, वह हमारे सामने है। आपको स्मरण कराना चाहूंगा कि 2004 में, जब यूपीए की सरकार का गठन हुआ था, उस समय एनडीए की सरकार जो विरासत छोड़कर गई थी, उस समय कृषि की यह दुर्दशा थी कि केवल एक प्रतिशत से ऊपर हमारी वार्षिक विकास दर कृषि के क्षेत्र में थी। एनडीए सरकार के जमाने में एक समय तो ऐसा आया था कि जब हमारी कृषि क्षेत्र की विकास दर ऋणात्मक तीन प्रतिशत तक पहुंच गई थी और सन् 2000 के बाद लाखों किसानों का आत्महत्या का जो दौर शुरू हुआ था, वह दौर हमारे कार्यकाल तक चलकर आया। जब प्रधानमंत्री ने व्यक्तिगत रूप से उसमें हस्तक्षेप करके उपाय किए, तब बहुत मुश्किल के बाद, अब जाकर हम उस दौर को थामने में सफल हो पाए हैं। केवल इतना ही नहीं, जिस चार प्रतिशत कृषि विकास दर की हम कल्पना करते थे, आकांक्षा करते थे कि इस देश के अंदर कृषि की विकास दर चार प्रतिशत तक पहुंच पाए, उसमें लगभग 3.8 प्रतिशत तक प्रति वर्ष कृषि विकास दर पहुंचाने में हम सफल हुए हैं। लोगों ने इस बात की सराहना की। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में लोगों को रोजगार उपलब्ध कराने की हमारे एनआरईजी प्रोग्राम की लोगों ने सराहना की। हमें इस आधार पर समर्थन मिला कि हमने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में नए कार्यक्रम लागू करने का प्रयास किया। मैं यह तो नहीं कहता हूँ और मैं यह दावा करना भी नहीं चाहूंगा कि हमने सारे लक्ष्य पा लिए हैं। यह दावा मैं नहीं करता हूँ और न हमारी सरकार करती है। हम आज भी कह रहे हैं कि वह लक्ष्य अभी पीछे है, हमें अभी और आगे जाकर काम करना होगा। मुझे विश्वास है कि सम्भवतः नहीं, सुनिश्चित रूप से इस देश की जनता ने कांग्रेस को और अधिक बहुमत के साथ पुनः यहां वापस इसलिए भेजा कि सरकार ने जो कार्यक्रम गरीबों के विकास के क्षेत्र में, ग्रामीण विकास के क्षेत्र में, कृषि के क्षेत्र में, शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में लागू किए थे, रोजगार देने के नए अवसर पैदा करने की जो ईमानदार कोशिश की थी, उन कार्यक्रमों को आगे जारी रखा जाए और न केवल उन्हें आगे जारी रखा जाए, बल्कि उन्हें और मजबूत बनाया जाए, और नए कार्यक्रम लाए जाएं, जिनसे यह देश आर्थिक रूप से तैयार हो सके और अपने आपमें एक महाशक्ति बन सके। श्रीमान्, इस उद्देश्य के साथ लोगों ने हमें यह जनादेश दिया और यही कारण है कि चार तारीख को कल जब महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने हमें सम्बोधित किया, तो उनके इस अभिभाषण में उन तमाम चीजों का उल्लेख है, जिस दिशा में हम अब आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं। उस दिशा में हमने अपनी प्राथमिकताएं निर्धारित की हैं।

श्रीमान्, आन्तरिक सुरक्षा को हमने सबसे पहली प्राथमिकता के रूप में स्वीकार किया है। बहुत सारे उपाय किए गए हैं, लेकिन अगर अभी भी कुछ और उपाय करने आवश्यक हैं, तो उस दिशा में सरकार कदम उठाने वाली है।

श्रीमान्, हमने कृषि और नवनिर्माण के क्षेत्र को दूसरे नम्बर की प्राथमिकता दी है। ये हमारे दस

बिन्दु हैं। रोजगार, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य और ग्रामीण संरचना को और आगे गति देने का काम करने; महिलाओं, युवाओं, पिछड़ों, अल्पसंख्यकों, बच्चों, अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति के लोगों के कल्याण के लिए जो कार्यक्रम शुरू किए गए थे,

उन्हें और सुदृढ़ करने, और रचनात्मक, और परिणामात्मक बनाने का प्रयास करने का हमें जनादेश मिला है। हम उन्हें प्राथमिकता क्रम में रखते हैं।

श्रीमान्, प्रशासनिक सुधार की बहुत समय से जरूरत थी और जिसकी चर्चा होती रही, कमीशन बना, उसके बाद प्रशासनिक सुधार कमीशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दी हैं। इस संकल्प के साथ महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस बात का उल्लेख किया है कि प्रशासनिक सुधार को तेजी के साथ अमल में लाने का एक समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम जारी किया जाएगा और उसे हम आगे जारी रखने का प्रयास करेंगे।

श्रीमान्, पुलिस की हमारी जो मौजूदा व्यवस्था है, उसके ऊपर अनेक बार इस सदन के अन्दर चर्चा हुई और हमने समय-समय पर इस बात पर बल दिया है कि पुलिस को और अधिक आधुनिक बनाना चाहिए, उसे प्रशिक्षण मिलना चाहिए, नई चुनौतियों का मुकाबला करने के लिए न केवल उसके पास आधुनिक उपकरण होने चाहिए, बल्कि नई चुनौतियों और नई परिस्थितियों से जूझने के लिए उसके पास पूरा प्रशिक्षण होना चाहिए और उसकी क्षमता भी विकसित की जानी चाहिए। इस दिशा में हम जो प्रयास करने जा रहे हैं, उसका उल्लेख हमने यहां किया है। श्रीमान्, इस दिशा में एक नए विचार को लाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। सरकार की निश्चित रूप से अपनी जिम्मेदारी है और वह उसका निर्वाह करेगी, लेकिन यह महसूस किया गया कि अगर सुरक्षा के इन मामलों में जनता की भी भागीदारी हो सके, तो उसे कैसे भागीदार बनाया जा सके, इस दिशा में भी हमने अपना आशय यहां व्यक्त किया है।

श्रीमान्, पंथनिपेक्षता हमारे भारत की जीवनशैली है। हजारों वर्षों की हमारी परम्परा है, हमारी विरासत है और किसी भी कीमत पर यह सरकार उस विरासत के साथ किसी को भी खिलवाड़ करने की इजाजत नहीं देगी, यह संकल्प हमने इस अभिभाषण के अन्दर व्यक्त किया है।

श्रीमान्, एक बैंक एक पेंशन वाले मसले के ऊपर काफी दिनों से विवाद और चर्चा चल रही थी। कई बार हमने यह देखा कि सेना में भी यह आवाज उठी थी कि इस दिशा में कोई निर्णय होना चाहिए। लम्बे अरसे से यह मांग चली आ रही थी। यह संकल्प व्यक्त किया गया कि जून 2009 तक यानी इस माह के अन्त तक इस दिशा में जो जांच-पड़ताल करने का काम शुरू किया गया था, उसे पूरा कर लिया जाएगा और इस दिशा में भी कदम उठाए जाएंगे। अगले 5 वर्षों के लिए हमने जो कार्यक्रम बनाए हैं, उसकी एक मोटी रूपरेखा इस अभिभाषण के माध्यम से राष्ट्रपति जी ने प्रस्तुत की है, किन्तु अगले एक वर्ष के अंदर हमारे सामने जो प्रमुख बिंदु होंगे, उनका भी उल्लेख किया है। श्रीमान् हमारे सामने चुनौतियां भी बड़ी हैं और सबसे बड़ी चुनौती, जिसमें पूरा विश्व आज आर्थिक मंदी के जिस दौर से गुजर रहा है, उस आर्थिक मंदी के दौर में भारत की अपनी भूमिका क्या होनी चाहिए, हमें उस आर्थिक मंदी से कैसे निपटना होगा, इस दिशा में हमने यहां एक सोच को विकसित करने का प्रयास किया है। मैं आपको स्मरण कराना चाहूंगा, कुछ दशक पहले की बात है, बहुत पुरानी बात नहीं है, वह एक शर्मनाक दिन भी हमारे देश के सामने था जब हमें रिजर्व बैंक का सारा सोना बाहर के देश में गिरवी रखना पड़ा था क्योंकि हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा ही नहीं थी। मुझे इस बात का हर्ष है और यह कहते हुए गर्व है कि हमारे अपने कार्यकाल में अपनी आर्थिक नीतियों के कारण आज भारत उन देशों की श्रेणी में है जिनके पास विश्व के अंदर विदेशी मुद्रा का सबसे बड़ा भंडार है। आज उन देशों के अंदर भारत आता है, यह भारत की अपनी आर्थिक नीतियों और वित्तीय नीतियों के प्रबंधन के कारण संभव हो सका है। श्रीमान्, अभी भी बहुत सारे उपाय किए जाने बाकी हैं। सरकार समय-समय पर रिजर्व बैंक

के साथ चर्चा कर रही है कि कौन से पैकेज दिए जाने हैं, उस संबंध में विशेष रूप से सरकार समय-

समय पर फैसले कर रही है और आगे इस चुनौती का मुकाबला करने के लिए पूरी तरह संजीदगी और गंभीरता के साथ हम काम करेंगे, इस संकल्प को हमने यहां व्यक्त किया है।

श्रीमान, रोजगार गारंटी अधिनियम के मामले में बहुत सारी शिकायतें हम सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों में, अपने-अपने अनुभवों के आधार पर प्रस्तुत की हैं और सरकार ने यह विचार किया है कि रोजगार गारंटी के इस कार्यक्रम को और अधिक उन्नत और अधिक जिम्मेदार व पारदर्शी बनाने के लिए सरकार उपाय करेगी। उस सिलसिले में नीतिगत निर्णय लिए गए हैं जिनका प्रभाव शीघ्र ही देखने को मिलेगा।

श्रीमान, शिक्षा एक ऐसा विषय है जिस पर हम सभी की चिंता रही है और ऐसा हमारा मानना है कि शिक्षा व स्वास्थ्य ऐसे विषय हैं जिन पर सरकार को न सिर्फ परिणाम देना जरूरी है बल्कि उसे जवाबदेही भी लेनी पड़ेगी। हम कार्यक्रम क्या संचालित करेंगे, में उन सब का उल्लेख तो करूंगा ही, पर मैं सबसे बड़ी बात यह कहूंगा कि इस बार जो एक बड़ा परिवर्तन आया है, सरकार ने जो अपना संकल्प व्यक्त किया है कि अगले सौ दिनों के भीतर जो काम करने हैं, उसमें आप देखेंगे कि लोकतंत्र की व लोकतांत्रिक सरकार के लिए जो सबसे बड़ी चीज होती है या उसके लिए जो सबसे बड़ा गुण होना आवश्यक है, वह है जवाबदेही और पारदर्शिता। महोदय, बिना जवाबदेही और पारदर्शिता के कोई भी लोकतांत्रिक सरकार सफलतापूर्वक काम नहीं कर सकती। श्रीमान, इसका अभाव देखने को मिल रहा है, हम सब ने समय-समय पर इस संबंध में चिंता व्यक्त की है, लेकिन इस बार जो निर्णय लिए गए हैं, उनमें पंचायतों के क्षेत्र में, जो बुनियादी संस्थाएं हमारे ग्रामीण अंचलों व नगरीय अंचलों में काम करती हैं, उन तमाम संस्थाओं में पारदर्शिता लाने के लिए सार्वजनिक डाटा नीति के तौर पर एक नए कार्यक्रम का उल्लेख किया गया है जिसमें जनता की प्रत्यक्ष भागीदारी इस कार्यक्रम में हो सके जिससे कि पारदर्शिता को बढ़ाया जा सके। राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार गारंटी योजना में सामाजिक लेखा परीक्षा का भी प्रावधान करने का प्रयास किया जाएगा और प्रत्येक जिला स्तर पर लोकायुक्त गठित करने का भी फैसला इस सरकार ने व्यक्त किया है जिससे कि उसमें accountability और पारदर्शिता व भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए सक्षम उपाय करने का प्रयास किया जाएगा।

श्रीमान, पारदर्शिता के मामले में एक और उदाहरण है। पिछली सरकार ने इस देश में एक कानून बनाकर सूचना का अधिकार जनता को दिया, पर ऐसा महसूस किया जा रहा है कि इसे और मजबूत बनाने के लिए इस कानून में कुछ संशोधन करना आवश्यक है। सरकार ने अगले सौ दिनों के भीतर इसमें संशोधन करने का संकल्प राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के माध्यम से व्यक्त किया है। श्रीमान, सरकार के जो प्रमुख कार्यक्रम हैं, जो सोशल सैक्टर में चलाए जाते हैं, जो जनता के, विशेषतया कमजोर वर्गों, गरीबों, ग्रामीण अंचलों में रहने वाले मजदूरों के कल्याण के कार्यक्रम होते हैं, ऐसे कार्यक्रमों के लिए एक नेटवर्क मॉडल का प्रादुर्भाव करके, इन कार्यक्रमों का मूल्यांकन करने के लिए एक स्वतंत्र कार्यालय स्थापित करने का निर्णय सरकार ने लिया है। यह एक ऐसा निर्णय है, जिससे बहुत सारी उन समस्याओं का, जिनका हम समय-समय पर यहां चिंतन करते रहे हैं, जिनका उल्लेख करते रहे हैं, उनका निवारण हो सकेगा। ऐसा हमें विश्वास है।

श्रीमान, कार्य निष्पादन और देखभाल के लिए एक मूल्यांकन तंत्र को स्थापित करने का संकल्प इस सरकार ने इस माध्यम से व्यक्त किया है। इससे जवाबदेही और अधिक बढ़ेगी। जनता को रिपोर्ट, जिसका मैं विशेष रूप से उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा, क्योंकि सरकार आती है, काम करती है और लोग यह

सवाल पूछते हैं कि सरकार ने क्या काम किया है? यह जवाब देने की किसी न किसी पर जिम्मेदारी होनी ही चाहिए, और जिम्मेदारी किस पर हो सकती है? सरकार पर ही होगी। इसलिए हमारी सरकार ने यह फैसला किया है कि अब हम प्रत्येक वर्ष, पांच साल तक पांच रिपोर्ट हम बनाएंगे और जनता के सामने वह रिपोर्ट रखेंगे कि हमने इस वर्ष में कितना काम किया है, क्या

काम किया है, कितनी प्रगति हुई है, हम लक्ष्य से कितने आगे हैं या कितने पीछे हैं, किन कारणों से ऐसा है? इन कारणों की जवाबदेही की जो अवधारणा इस अभिभाषण के माध्यम से संकल्पित की गई है, उस अवधारणा से लोकतंत्र के प्रति लोगों में आस्था और विश्वास और अधिक मजबूत होगा। इस तरह यह जवाबदेही हम अपने ऊपर लेने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमान्, छात्रवृत्तियों और सामाजिक सुरक्षा योजनाओं के मामले में बहुत बार यहां चर्चा हुई। इसमें बड़ी शिकायतें आती थीं कि लोगों को इसका लाभ नहीं मिल रहा है। अब हमने फैसला किया है कि बैंकों में, डाकघरों में खाते खुलवा कर और अंततः धीरे-धीरे परिवर्तित करके हम स्मार्ट-कार्ड के माध्यम से इनका वितरण करेंगे, ताकि जो गरीब हैं, उनका पैसा उन तक पहुंचना चाहिए। पिछले दिनों चुनाव के दौरान राहुल जी जब इन सारे क्षेत्रों में गए, वहां उन्होंने खुलकर यह बात स्वीकार की है कि जो पैसा पहुंचता है, लक्षित व्यक्ति तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते उसमें बहुत सारी कटौती हो जाती है, यानी अगर एक रुपया पहुंचता है, तो उसके पास पहुंचते-पहुंचते मुश्किल से पन्द्रह पैसा, दस पैसा पहुंच पाता है। इसे रोकना होगा और इसे रोकने की दिशा में सरकार ने एक गंभीर प्रयास करने के लिए यह संकल्प व्यक्त किया है।

श्रीमान्, राज्यों के साथ परामर्श करके मॉडल सेवा नियम तैयार करने की जो बात कही गई है, उसके बड़े दूरगामी परिणाम हैं। देखने में यह आया है कि सरकार बहुत सारी योजनाएं चलाती है शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में, लेकिन होता यह है कि स्कूल तो खुल गया, वहां शिक्षक गायब, अस्पताल खुल गया, वहां डाक्टर गायब, अस्पताल में दवाइयां गायब। अब इसे कैसे सुनिश्चित किया जाए कि वहां डॉक्टर रहें, शिक्षक रहें, जनता की सेवा करने के लिए वहां पर जरूरी लोग मौजूद हों और उनको उनकी सेवा का निरंतर लाभ मिलता रहे? इस बात को सुनिश्चित करना बहुत जरूरी है और इस दिशा में पहली बार सरकार ने इस बात को लाने की कोशिश की है और अगर ऐसा सेवा कानून अधिनियमन करके बनाया गया, तो इसके लिए राज्य सरकारों से सलाह और परामर्श करना होगा, उन्हें विश्वास में लेना होगा और उनके साथ ही हम इसको आगे बढ़ाने का काम करेंगे।

श्रीमान्, न्यायिक सुधार के मामले में हमें अखबारों में देखने और सुनने को मिला। यह हमारी चिंता का विषय बहुत शुरू से ही रहा है। लंबे अर्से से इस बात की अपेक्षा भी रही कि न्यायिक क्षेत्र में सुधार होने चाहिए, पारदर्शिता होनी चाहिए, उत्तरदायित्व निश्चित निर्धारित किया जाना चाहिए। इसलिए सरकार ने इस अभिभाषण के माध्यम से अपना गंभीर संकल्प व्यक्त किया है कि अगले छह महीने के अंदर न्यायिक सुधार की रूपरेखा यह सरकार तय कर लेगी और फिर एक समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम के तहत उसे अमल में लाने का काम शुरू किया जाएगा। हम आशा करते हैं कि न्यायिक सुधार की वजह से लोगों को न्याय सुलभ हो सकेगा। ऐसा अगर हो सका, तो यह हमारी एक बहुत बड़ी सफलता होगी।

श्रीमान्, निरंतर समीक्षा एक बहुत जरूरी अंग है। कार्यक्रम चाहे जितने बनें, अगर उन कार्यक्रमों की निरंतर समीक्षा नहीं होगी, समय-समय पर अगर उनकी मॉनीटरिंग नहीं की जाएगी, तो उन कार्यक्रमों के परिणाम कितने आ रहे हैं, यह सुनिश्चित नहीं किया जा सकेगा। लिहाजा, सरकार ने इस महत्वपूर्ण हिस्से को भी नज़रअंदाज नहीं करने का फैसला किया है और मॉनीटरिंग की एक पूरी व्यवस्था प्रधानमंत्री कार्यालय में स्थापित की है। प्रधानमंत्री स्वयं इस बात के लिए कृतसंकल्प हैं यह देखने के

लिए कि विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में जो समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम दिए जा रहे हैं, उन समयबद्ध कार्यक्रमों में कितनी प्रगति हो सकी है और कहां प्रगति नहीं हो सकी है तथा इस बात के लिए किसे accountable ठहराया जाए। लिहाज़ा, प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने ही कार्यालय में एक यूनिट की स्थापना की है जो

निरंतर इस बात की समीक्षा करेगी कि जो कार्यक्रम दिए गए, उन कार्यक्रमों का लाभ समयबद्ध तरीके से लोगों तक पहुंच रहा है या नहीं, वे कार्यक्रम लागू हुए या नहीं और इस दिशा में मॉनिटरिंग करने का काम अगर प्रधानमंत्री करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें बहुत कसावट आएगी - प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था में भी और कार्यक्रमों के परिणाम लोगों तक पहुंचाने में भी कसावट आएगी।

सभापति महोदय, एक त्रैमासिक रिपोर्ट देने की भी हमने यहां पर घोषणा की है, यह भी एक नई योजना है, एक नया आविष्कार है, इस सरकार के विचार का। इसके अंतर्गत हर तीन महीने में मंत्री मीडिया के सामने जाकर अपने विभाग और मंत्रालय की योजनाओं के बारे में जनता को सीधे रिपोर्ट देंगे और जनता में से लोग उनसे प्रश्न कर सकेंगे, उनसे पूछ सकेंगे। इस उत्तरदायित्व की व्यवस्था को, जो अभी तक कल्पना में थी, साकार रूप देने का इस सरकार ने संकल्प किया है।

श्रीमन्, विनिवेश के मामले में हमारे वामपंथी भाइयों को कुछ समस्या हो सकती है, थी भी। हमारा उनका आर्थिक चिंतन इस मामले में अलग-अलग है। हमारा यह मानना है कि सरकार का दायित्व बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलाना नहीं है। सरकार का दायित्व आम जनता के कल्याण का काम करना है और आम जनता के कल्याण के लिए उसको संसाधन भी जुटाने हैं और social sector में, सामाजिक क्षेत्र के उन संसाधनों का विवेकपूर्ण उपयोग हो सके, इसके लिए ऐसी तमाम इकाइयों में सरकार विनिवेश की इस नीति को लागू करेगी। पिछले समय कुछ समस्याएं आईं, हमें अपने साथियों का सम्मान करते हुए कई बार रुकना भी पड़ा, हाथ भी सिकोड़ना पड़ा, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि अब जनता का आदेश है और इस संबंध में जब हमें भारत की जनता ने आदेश दिया है तो अब हमारे सामने संकोच करने का कोई कारण नहीं है। फिर भी इस बात का ध्यान सरकार ने रखा है कि 51 फीसदी इक्विटी अभी भी सरकार के पास ही रहेगी, 51 प्रतिशत के अतिरिक्त जो इक्विटी जहां है, उसे विनिवेश करने में अब हमने संकल्प लेकर काम करने का फैसला किया है।

विदेशों से हमने अपने अच्छे संबंध बनाए रखने की बात कही है, संकल्प व्यक्त किया है। यह थोड़ा चिंता का विषय है कि पिछले कुछ वर्षों से यह देखने में मिला है कि भारत का पड़ोस काफी डिस्टर्ब है, काफी उथल-पुथल यहां देखने में मिल रही है। अफगानिस्तान में हालात बहुत अच्छे नहीं थे। पाकिस्तान एक खतरनाक दौर से गुजर रहा है। नेपाल, हमारा पड़ोसी, हमारा विश्वस्त साथी, जिससे हमारे बहुत पुराने सांस्कृतिक रिश्ते हैं, उस देश में भी राजनीतिक अस्थिरता का वातावरण बना हुआ है। श्रीलंका में भी स्थिति बहुत अच्छी नहीं कही जा सकती, अभी भी तनाव मौजूद है और वहां के तमिल नागरिकों के अधिकारों के बारे में आज भी अनिश्चित अवस्था है, उनके बारे में हमको गंभीरता से सोचना होगा। बंगलादेश में एक बहुत बड़ी उथल-पुथल होते-होते बची, सौभाग्य से वहां अब एक लोकतांत्रिक सरकार है। म्यांमार में भी हालात एक लम्बे अरसे से काफी गौर से देखने लायक बने हुए हैं। लिहाज़ा मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार ने जहां अपने इन आसपास और पड़ोसी देशों के साथ अपने संबंधों को और अधिक सुदृढ़ बनाने का संकल्प व्यक्त किया है, मैं उसका तो स्वागत करता ही हूँ, पर मैं इतना जरूर कहना चाहूंगा और मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार भी इस दिशा में निश्चित रूप से सजग होगी कि चीन के इरादे दक्षिण-एशिया में और भारत के आसपास के देशों में अपने प्रभाव का विस्तार करने के पिछले कुछ वर्षों में देखने को मिले हैं, यह हम सबके लिए चिंता का विषय है। सभापति जी, मैं

समझता हूँ कि अपने पड़ोस के देशों के अंदर अपनी उपस्थिति और उनकी समस्याओं, उनकी आर्थिक समस्याओं, उनके विनिर्माण के काम में जो मॉडल अफगानिस्तान के बारे में हमने अपनी विदेश नीति में अपनाया, उसके सकारात्मक परिणाम हमको देखने को मिले हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को इस

पर गहन चिंतन करना चाहिए। हम अन्य राजनीतिक दलों के साथ बैठकर बात करें, हम सबसे मिलकर एक consensus बनाएं। हमारे देश में यह परंपरा रही है कि हम अपनी विदेश नीति का संचालन consensus के आधार पर करते रहे हैं। यह कभी विवाद का विषय नहीं होना चाहिए, इसमें आम सहमति होनी चाहिए और भारत को अपने हितों की सुरक्षा के लिए जो भी किया जाना जरूरी है, उस दिशा में गंभीर भी होना चाहिए, सजग भी होना चाहिए और आवश्यकता होने पर यदि आक्रामक होना जरूरी हो, तो समय-समय पर आक्रामक कूटनीतिक पहल करने में भी नहीं हिचकना चाहिए, मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ।

अंत में मैं सरकार के उस आशय को, सरकार के उस संकल्प को, जो पिछले 5 वर्षों के कार्यकाल के बाद जनादेश के रूप में जनता से मिला, उस संकल्प को और आगे बढ़ाने, और अधिक गति के साथ देश के विकास के काम की जिम्मेदारी को उठाने का निवेदन करता हूँ और यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गरीबों, अल्पसंख्यकों, पिछड़ों, अनुसूचित जाति-जनजाति, मज़दूरों, महिलाओं, इन सबके कल्याण की योजनाओं के बारे में हमारा फोकस होना चाहिए। अगर हमारे गांव विकसित हुए हैं, तो भारत विकसित है, अगर हमारे गांव विकसित नहीं हैं, तो भारत विकसित नहीं मानना चाहिए, हमारा पैमाना यह होना चाहिए। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

DR. K. KESHAHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you Mr. Chairman, Sir.

When I rise to second the Motion moved by my learned friend, Mr. Chaturvedi, I feel happy to join this significant occasion, if not an historic occasion, but significant one. The results have given us a very clear message and indication as to what the new polity has to be and how the new polity will shape tomorrow. Sir, I am immediately reminded of Shri Amartya Sen, who, in his book -- "Identity and Violence" -- had warned all the readers that the 'identity crisis', the categorisation of the entire society into some kind of an identity, whether it be with regard to ethnicity or religion or caste or culture, has the potential of violence wherein you may have your own death. I think, voters in the recent elections from Kashmir in the top to Kerala down below have, at least, said 'no' to this categorisation. As politicians we have been trying to use the identity more as 'vote bank' suiting to a particular voting period. Agreed. They have supported a new polity, a polity where the regionalism would not be towering over the national needs, where the people would like to join the mainstream of national politics as far as the governance is concerned. Sir, I am cautious in using this word for the simple reason that it does not mean that the regional aspirations and moorings are given a go by. They continue. But, when it comes to a question of governance, they really want some kind of nation-wide stability. They want continuity, which is symbolised by electing none

other than Dr. Manmohan Singh and the Congress Party under the leadership of Smt. Sonia Gandhi.

Sir, I am drawing my strength from the fact that the President's Address has declared the recent elections as a vindication of the commitment of this Government of a new vision, a vision of inclusive growth, not mere economic but social and cultural. It was a commitment made not in 2004 but way back from the *puranic* days,. As we enter the Central Hall, I see a verse of Rig Veda inscribed there, reminding us of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*. Well, as we pass on, we seem to have

12.00 Noon

lost the sense of human soul and tried to use the stratification of society for our own uses, both political and non-political. But today, by this vision that we tried to promote more vehemently from the past six years, i.e., from the year 2004 when we went to the people for a mandate, a mandate of inclusiveness, we meant that we would like to take all the people along like the *Vasudhaiva* family, the entire country as a family. Sir, the achievements that we have recorded in the past five years are well-known to all of us. I am also happy that the Members in this House and the other House in their debates during the last five years have given their seal of approval to them. Most of them have agreed to the achievements that we have recorded, also know that a few Members, a few parties had differed with us. But then it is, as it should be in a democracy. In a democracy, we have multiple viewpoints. We have accepted them with an open heart and sought corrections wherever they were good for the people, wherever we thought they were constructive. That is how our caravan went on for the last five years. Today, at the end of those five years, when we sought fresh mandate of the people, when we sought the support of the people, when we went for the results, when we went for a judgement of the people, we found that we were right. But, at the same time, all of you, the Members from the Opposition, were also right because you have agreed generally to our approach, if not to a particular programme. So, it is vote for such approach. Sir, we have gone to people with the issue of vision that we had talked of. years back, Martin Luther King, had a dream and, so too, our charismatic leader, Rajivji, had a dream. This dream is now translated into a national vision, a vision which wants to make this country strong, not, *per se*, for its own self, but in a stratified society, to include all the people, two-thirds of whom are still not approachable to economic growth, where six-seven families can hold the entire wealth of this country, making many people go half-fed and half-clothed. This has been the scenario in which we had to work. That was the reality, the ground reality, if not in all places, but, at least, in the tribal areas where I had an occasion to go during the last two months during elections. It makes any democrat hang his head in shame to see, even after sixty years of Independence, these half-clothed young girls, half-fed, malnourished, stunted, still trying to join you in the democratic march, hand in hand with you with a hope. Looking at that, we had new programme, a programme which not only spoke about the Five Year Plan of development in this sector or that sector, but a comprehensive programme like the Eleventh Five Year Plan, trying to

take everyone along, the programme of 'inclusiveness', an inclusiveness of economic and cultural growth, an inclusiveness in which we would like to enliven these people and their moorings, and their own aspirations. Sir, that is a very hard course that we had chosen. And thanks to all the Members here, be it in the ruling party or the Opposition, who have all joined together as united people, as a united India to support those people whose voice does not usually reach us. Today, when the Rashtrapatiji, through her Address, tells us that it is not only a vindication of what we had promised in 2004 but it is also a commitment to take it further for next five years, it makes it more important. Sir, my friend, the previous speaker, had talked of ten points and about the focus that we gave to our plans and programmes. I would rather not go into the details again, lest I repeat them and bore the Members here. Nonetheless, I would like to make a reference to few points.

My good friend, Shri Venkaiah Naidu is here and so is Shri Ravi Shanker Prasad. It is our victory that brings us humility and, thus, with this humility and humbleness we had submitted that we would try to compare the two attributes, the two patterns, that of *Gandhiism* and *Modiism*; Modi is no more a mere name. It is a brand label. The very fact that you had objected to it meant that that kind of pattern, that kind of attitude perhaps had not done good to us. As one hon. Member has said, Modiji, as the Chief Minister, has really done a great job as far as development is concerned, That is good. When we talk about development and when the name of a particular Chief Minister comes up in relation to such development, it becomes a matter of pride for many of us. When his name is brought up under a category, under a label, when a name becomes a label, as he said, *Gandhigiri* or, *Gandhiwad* or, *Gandhiism*. ...*(Interruption)*... Whatever it is, but what I am saying is that it would have been better if my friend, Mr. Venkaiah Naidu, had said that that was one aspect of that person's personality, and there was another side to his personality which was bad, which was trying to cover his entire personality, and we will now go in for correction, as the Congress or any other party, does. I am saying this to bring it all into a right vision; I am trying to bring it all under the concept of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*. Sir, it is not enough that a great number of people are provided access to growth but, as Gandhiji, to whom *Sarvodaya* was essentially *Antyodaya*, had said, unless the man on the last rung is reached, his moorings and his needs are attended to, no *Sarvodaya*, no kind of growth or inclusiveness would be complete. This was exactly what my leader, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, had once said in the other House that mere inclusive growth without equitable distribution is of no meaning. Equitable distribution without its projections is an odd story to tell. Unless we have cogent strategies that take the programmes and plans, that carry the meaning of inclusiveness and economic growth forward, we will not be able to fulfil the vision that we are talking about. So, that exactly is what we have to do. Today, if we are proud, we are proud not only because India happens to be the second fastest growing economy in the country, we are proud not only because, despite the global melt-down of which all the newspapers of the world have been talking about, but we are proud because, in India, there is not a single bank which has got closed; I don't think there is one depositor or bank account holder who has fears about his deposits being with a bank; I don't think any of the

big industries have pulled down their shutters and closed their shops. We could do this despite meltdown. I am telling you that this was not only because of the three stimulus packages that we had given, but it was because of your strength and our will and our joint resolve to take the nation ahead. I always think that it is not about one party or two parties when we are talking about the nation. The Congress Party has, always thought of, our Prime Ministers have always thought of, this nation first while putting up an agenda. To my mind, it is people's agenda. It is a pro-poor agenda, an agenda which not only talks of growth but also of the means as to how growth could be used as a tool to reach that end.

Sir, there is, perhaps, one small objection; not an objection but it is everybody's concern. My friend Vankaiah Naidu is not here. He had been saying why we should all bring this kind of

divisiveness within the parties. Sir, I submit, with my apologies to Mr. Ravi Shankar Prasad, that this is because we have always considered that religious polarisation, which has become intrinsic to some party's system, party's thinking, party's ideology, plays the greatest role of divisiveness where this kind of *Modiisation*, and such other things happen. When we are taking the names under a label it is because we have perceived that a particular system had become so intrinsic to you that you are not able to or not prepared to give it up even for your own good. But the results of the recent elections have told us that this should not have a further sway. Sir, in our debates during the last five years, all of you had agree with our priorities in almost all sectors and with our inclusive vision. I will talk about terrorism later. Since I am only more concerned about the people and their growth, people and their development, people and their standards. When I look to them, I would rather think what is really required is focus on agriculture. The agriculture in spite of all its odds could reach 3.5 per cent growth. If it is given its priority with a promise in the Address that it would continue to have the same priority and that the three programmes or missions that we, have had will be rejuvenated with a monitoring element being brought in, it will do wonders. As my earlier speaker has said, we had talked much about outlays, we had talked much about our own plans and programmes, but hardly did we look into the monitoring and scrutiny. Now welcome this is a new theme that has come into the Address. The new Government, having known that it has achieved what it had to or what you would like to place tomorrow, would, at the same time, like to be sure that what has been achieved is really true about the Government role. That exactly is the monitoring where mandatory machinery is trying to be brought into place.

Now I would like to mention two very important aspects -- agriculture and social sector. In social sector, we have women's empowerment, empowerment of the deprived or the backward classes, and the education. In the field of education, we are coming out with the Right to Education Bill, which has been introduced in this House. But it has to go through a debate. Right to education is not just about quantitative expansion, we must also look into qualitative expansion. The Address has, for the first time, brought in the words that Right to Education Bill is a qualitative expansion of education. It really heartens that this new approach to our

education expansion is brought. At the same time, let me also warn that it is not merely words on the paper, but it is a machinery that we are trying to put in place. Even friends from the Opposition have shown support to the *Sarva Siksha Abhiyan*. We are sometimes restricted from speaking; and I have my own reservations about expressing my heartfelt thoughts, although the House demands that we speak it out. Or *Sarva Siksha Abhiyan*, I would like to put it on record before the House. When I go to my village, there are no teachers at all, but there are two hundred pupils on the record. When I go to another place, ten kilometres away from Hyderabad city, where the number of enrolment is claimed as 700, but when we go and see it is only seventeen. What is happening? This is adding to our statistical figures making us proud here sitting. But this monitoring system, which we are now providing, could be really meaningful, would be able to bring some kind of a transparency in the entire system study, if

this machinery, of which we are talking about, could also have people's elected representatives in it, a popular element, who are totally involved and who are part of the system's growth. Then it will perhaps be able to serve the monitoring more effectively than otherwise. Sir, having said about elementary education, I would now try to touch upon higher education. New universities are being added; the research institutions are being added; lot of money is being spent on research. But, let us also say with firmness and let us look more towards the secondary and the primary education. I am not trying to suggest any kind of bar on higher education, but the foundation, is really shaky as it stands today. I am happy to see the hon. President referring to. ...*(Interruptions)*... No, I mean, the first five years had your support, had the people's mandate, had people's endorsement and their great support. So, let us not go back to the last five years because it is not open for you to even look back into that. But, for next five years, if the same agenda continues, let me tell you that with such greater amount of emphasis and with our programmes concerning the poor people, we will have a bigger verdict, a greater support, and a strength that will go. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, do not interrupt. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please, proceed. ...*(Interruptions)*... आप बैठ जाइए, उनको बोलने दीजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I try not to kick up any controversy or any dust because I thought whatever we have achieved during the last five years having put it to debate on the floor of this House and having won your support its voting and even you have deferred with us in getting such majority, and with the same record, when we have gone to the people and got this impressive mandate, we thought the chapter is closed. Now, based on the strength the same platform, I am trying to tell you the same achievements would, perhaps, follow for the next five years with an extra interpellations and extra strength. Sir, terrorism, as my friend said, is today the worst threat the world is facing, not only is our country but all over the world. We may hear criticism from my friends and I am sure the next learned man who would speak after me would be Mr. Arun Jaitley. Perhaps, I would not have his heavy voice, nor his art presentation, nor his articulation, but, at the same time. I say if terrorism has to be tackled, what I have earlier said is that if terrorism has to be fought, it has to be fought unitedly. There is no system or nor training, which can fight terrorism alone. It is not a static or stagnant phenomenon? It is

a dynamic issue. It changes character as the time changes and as the situation changes. It requires not only alertness and vigilance on our part, but it requires the unity of minds and unity of all our people. It is here, at this stage my friend, Mr. Venkaiah Naidu, has come - when we join together, when we try to bring together the minds, that this differentiation in our perceptions, differentiation in our thinking has to be looked into. If something could be right to me, then it could not be right to you. Then, how do we debate and how do we discuss? This religious polarisation, if you think has become an intrinsic part of your thinking then, I think the present day communalism which we are to fight, which is also inter-linked to the terrorism, cannot be fought. Sir, in handling this rush of cross-communalisation of our politics, what we require is a clear thinking

based on secular commitments, unity, oneness and nationalism. Your suggestions, sans your own reservations on a secularism thing, would be able to help us go ahead in all this.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I am, again, not trying to provoke in my friend to intervene. As friends have said, it is again in all humility that I submit that the recent elections have seen an unnecessary and unwarranted, and every controversial kind of campaigning through poll debates, where we were not above the board. Where the most responsible and respected leaders had to indulge in the words or the phrases that did not behove well of them nor did do any good for healthy debate. It is all right to say that a Government is weak. But you cannot say that the Prime Minister is a weakling. It is not the muscles that we are trying to show, as the kind of muscles that the troops showed in Kargil. I am not trying to get into that because the moment I would get into that I would be getting into a controversy. What I am trying to tell you is that more than 'muscles' it is the 'mind' that should help you in governing the nation in tackling a crisis. I think my friends would take it in right spirit because we have often developed a knack, style, we have developed a fashion of running down the top leaders thinking that it would have a cascading effect on the entire polity or that party. But it is not so, as the recent elections have shown.

Let me again thank you saying that we had a vision. In 2004, we talked about ten points on which we focussed ourselves because we thought that they would be the strength of our governance. You all know, in 2004, we had promised a growth rate of 7-8 per cent. And, we were able to achieve a five-year-average of 8.5 per cent. At one point of time, we have achieved a growth rate of 9.2 per cent. We had also promised that the agricultural growth would be 3.5 per cent, which we had reached at one point of time. Though it has, now, somewhat slowed down. We had talked about infrastructure, on which our record is very progressive. We had talked about the social sector, about the backward classes, about the empowerment of the poor. You know the kind of scholarships, the kind of schools, the kind of programmes that we had launched. All these things are on record. So, if you look at the promises that we had made then in the last manifesto, or, in the first Budget speech, or, even in the first Presidential Address of 2004, you will find that we have achieved almost everything. But, again in all humility, I submit that we may have not done all that completely, but we have done substantially well in most of

them. It is that realisation that something more needs to be done, something is lacking. And, in that resolve, in that intention, we need your constructive suggestions, provided you are not trying to get back into your cynicism in the name of criticism. We would like to seek your suggestions also because after all the whole nation has to be governed. This is how we would like to proceed in the next five-year-programme and that we spoke in the President's Address. All of you know that the President's Address is the policy statement of the Government which is in place. It is the programme or the agenda of the Government for the next five years. It is discussed in the House so that there is approval and some kind of addition, if it is really meaningful, to it so that we can go ahead with this kind of a holistic charter, the peoples' charter. And, if anything is missing in the charter, that could still be considered not only during the Address

but also during the subsequent businesses. It is that stage. We might not have been practising that but, nonetheless the Address should have gone with the business agenda, but that is not followed. If we are to read this together -- we see this as rolling out of a broad plan, some kind of a programme intent of this Government -- where you would see what we have achieved, where there is no scope for further debate. But for, what we need to achieve, it is laid right before us, and, I do not think that there is a single sentence or a single view which could be found fault with, or challenged. At best, you can say, without the point of cynicism that a particular thing could be changed or could be strengthened in a particular fashion, which you think fit, and can be debated.

If it really suits and if it does not really cancel the very spirit of the programme of this inclusive growth, vision of growth, then, I think, all that could form part of our programmes for the next five years. And, with your support thus coming during the coming five years, when we go ahead with our own new manifesto, sincerely I am sure 206 seats that we have got, would be 450 next time.

This is the humility, which, my friend, Ravi Shankar Prasad wanted me to have. With utmost humility, I am saying that we have a plan un-rolled before you, we want your suggestions, we want the nation to give suggestions, and, we would like to go ahead to make this country a strong one, march ahead together, not trying to hoist the flag of a single party, but, it would be, under the Congress leadership, that the people's flag would fly high and we would go ahead. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The motion that has been moved and seconded is that an address be presented to the President in the following terms:

"That the Members of Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the address which she has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on 4th June, 2009."

There are 283 amendments to the Motion which may be moved at this stage.

SHRI SHIVANAND TIWARI (Bihar): Sir, I move:

1. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about according special status to the backward state of Bihar and thus paying way for its economic and social development."

2. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about lifting the ban on production of ethanol in the state of Bihar and thus paving the

way for industrial production of ethanol in the state of Bihar."

3. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any decision to immediately approve the proposal for giving coal linkages, which has been pending for years against the declared policy

of the Government in respect of several approved thermal power generation proposals in the State of Bihar."

4. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about immediately providing assistance to the State Government of Bihar under the national calamity declared by the Prime Minister for the relief and rehabilitation work, needed in the course of the river Kosi last year which caused havoc in several districts of Bihar."
5. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about completing the work of the railway bridge, which has been discontinued since years across the river Ganga at Munger in Bihar at the earliest for which the foundation stone was laid several years ago and which was scheduled to be completed and dedicated to the public by 2009."
6. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken by the Government for bringing down the sharp increase in the prices of the daily consumable items."
7. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's resolve for providing free treatment, free potable water and wholesome food to all the people of the country for improvement of public health as envisaged under article 47 of the Constitution regarding Directive Principles of State Policy."
8. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to put in place a foolproof system for providing full protection to Indian living abroad."
9. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of the scheme for providing free education upto higher secondary level to all the children in the age group of 5 to 25 years in the country."
10. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about giving priority and encouragement to the indigenous resources as against the external resources for the development of the country."
11. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action plan for providing the benefits of the economic development to the weakest section of the society in the country."
12. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any declaration for encouraging the research institutions to promote the research and development in the field of agriculture, to over come the situation of uncertainty in the agricultural production in the country."

13. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any target based annual action plan for converting the barren land in the country into the fertile agricultural land."
14. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any declaration of fixing the rate of interest at 4 per cent on the loan provided in the agricultural sector."
15. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of the measures for reducing the cost of agricultural production in the country."
16. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the declaration regarding the policy of providing the subsidy being given in the agricultural sector directly to the producers."
17. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's resolve for making a stringent law at the national level to eradicate the sale of sub-standard seeds and insecticides in the country."
18. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the declaration of implementing a plan at the national level for constructing at least two ponds compulsorily in each village in the country."
19. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any target based national plan for utilizing the water available through rain and river-streams which is being wasted at present without utilizing the same especially in the field of agriculture."
20. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the action plan for enhancing the efficiency of labour force of the unorganized sector in the country."
21. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the policy for implementing and promoting production intensive economy in place of export intensive economy in the country."
22. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the policy for fixing the total tax rate at not more than 10 per cent at all levels from production to sale to the consumers in order to make all the sources of fuel cheap."
23. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's resolve to frame criteria for fixing the rate of fees in the sector and implementing them."

24. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about providing special package for promoting the capital generation from domestic capital particularly through small savings in the country."
25. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any declaration of a policy regarding encouraging the investment of black money in the production sectors by reforming the taxation system comprehensively."
26. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of a scheme to make available cheap electricity in the rural areas of the country by setting up small hydro power projects."
27. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about an official policy of consistent increase in the toll-tax being collected from the users at national highways."
28. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about action plan to increase the time bound target of extension of forests by 33% of total geographical areas for environment conservation in the densely populated areas of the country."
29. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any official incentive policy for making investment in the production sector by way of bringing back the illegal money of Indians deposited in the foreign banks, especially the Swiss Bank, to India."
30. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any announcement to do away with or reduce the amount of cess being realised on the sale of diesel and petrol after the implementation of a policy regarding encouraging construction of national highways by the private sector in the country."
31. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementing the policy of utilization of the cess being collected from the common man for the development of various areas, especially education, sugarcane development, petroleum production, etc. for the development of those very areas within a stipulated period."
32. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the announcement of special economic packages for encouraging and helping the craftsmen of the country."
33. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about announcing a policy of promoting the development of those regions which have a lesser growth rate than the average growth rate of the nation by according them special status."

34. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about taking administrative steps in order to root out the causes of unprecedented fluctuations in the Indian Stock Market due to the prevailing uncertainties."
SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move:
35. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that it was the Public Sector which saved our economy from the onslaught of global slowdown."
36. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not assure that the shares of the Public Sector Undertakings will not be disinvested."
37. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the large scale lay-offs and lock-outs in different sectors of our industry resulting in huge loss of jobs."
38. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not express its serious concern over the exorbitant rise in prices of essential commodities, despite inflation on the basis of wholesale prices going down to less than 1 per cent."
39. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not take note of the adverse effects of the policy of privatization and liberalization – a programme for handing over India's banking, insurance and pension sector to domestic and foreign corporates in piecemeal and allowing foray of foreign capital and MNCs into all sectors of our economy."
40. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not express its serious concern over the Governments move to disinvest the Coal India Ltd. and privatise Coal mines."
41. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to enact a Central legislation for the welfare, job and social security of the agricultural workers in the country."
42. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the recent racist attacks on the Indian students in Australia."
43. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to introduce Universal Public Distribution System in the country."
44. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not assure that the reduced quota of rice and wheat to certain States will be restored."

45. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the need to conduct fresh survey to identify the real BPL families all over the country."
46. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing loans to farmers at the rate of 4 per cent per annum."
- SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Sir, I move:
47. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to continue the foreign policy of the country which has withstood the test of time."
48. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about tackling global economic melt down effecting Indian industries and loss of jobs of lakhs of workers and employees."
49. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to take effective part in strengthening non-aligned Movement."
50. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to play an effective role in the United Nations."
51. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to protect Indian citizens from racial attacks in various countries."
52. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to get released Indians languishing in jails in various countries."
53. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about loss of one crore jobs in India during the last one year."
54. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the guidelines for the Government in regard to liberalizing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)."
55. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's abject failure to universalize Public Distribution System in the country."
56. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to provide adequate food to poor people in the country."

57. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the complete failure of the Government in adequately identifying the BPL section of the population."
58. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure to re-define poverty line thus wantonly depriving a majority section of people of food in the country."
59. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure to tackle the huge unemployment problem in the country."
60. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure to pass the Women Reservation Bill."
61. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure to review the Centre-State relations as per the demands of the State Government."
62. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure to allot six per cent of GDP in education."
63. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to invest enough money in public sector and social sector to face the ongoing economic melt down."
64. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is mention in the Address that 95% of the 43 crore unorganised workers will not get any benefit of the Unorganised Workers Social Security Act, 2008 owing to conditionality of BPL attached to the related social security schemes listed in the Act."
65. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure in putting a check on the procurement of obsolete ammunitions."
66. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the urgent need for drastically revising and/or correcting the official definition of 'poverty line' which has turned totally obsolete."
67. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the innumerable cases of suicide by the farmers during last few years in the 'rural India' for whom 'a new deal' is promised."

68. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to contain unprecedented rise in prices of essential commodities, vegetable, edible oil, tea and daal in particular."
69. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address fails to mention about the irregularities leading to huge financial loss to the Government exchequer in granting 30 spectrum."
70. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to take serious steps on the disastrous impact of global slow down on millions of workers who have lost their jobs, livelihood and earnings due to closure, lay off, wage-cuts, retrenchment, etc. across the sectors and also the alarming trend of sharp decline in index of industrial production."
71. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the cases of job loss of lakhs of workers engaged in diamond polishing industries in Gujarat and reported suicide of some 71 workers in Saurashtra alone."
72. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the biggest corporate scam in independent India involving more than 7000 crore by the Satyam Computer Services,"
73. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about increasing the share of States in the Central taxes from 30.5 per cent to 50 per cent in a phased manner."
74. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any special package for the special category States to enable them to narrow down the regional disparities."
75. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about a one-time Debt Relief Package by writing off all the outstanding Central Government loan including interest thereon of the North-Eastern States."
76. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any scheme for employment of unemployed youth of the Special Category States."
77. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any comprehensive legislation for the welfare of agricultural workers in the country."

78. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about illicit outflows of money to Swiss and other foreign banks."
79. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any concrete steps to control unabated suicides being committed by the farmers in the country."
80. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about measures to be taken to expedite land reforms in the country."
81. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about universalisation of Integrated Child Development Scheme."
82. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about realignment of the proposed Trans-Asian Highways and Trans-Asian Railways to pass through Tripura."
83. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about declaring Aila cyclone that swept West Bengal as National Disaster."
SHRI MOINUL HASSAN (West Bengal): Sir, I move:
84. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the strengthening of Non-Aligned Movement."
85. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the severe river bank erosion, in various rivers such as the Ganga, throughout the country."
86. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the farmers of our country not being able to cultivate their land in border area due to fencing."
87. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about acute power shortage in different parts of the country."
88. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the enhancement of seats in the Kendriya Vidyalayas."
89. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention that as to when common people will be provided arsenic free potable water."

90. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention as to when all school going children will be provided with proper uniform on behalf of the Government of India."
91. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the relief package for the Small Scale Industry."
92. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about cheaper loan to all farmers from Nationalised and Cooperative banks."
93. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the number of people who lost their jobs abroad due to recession."
94. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about setting up a medical college in a minority dominated district like Murshidabad, West Bengal."
95. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention when to the Government will set up medical institutions like All India Institute of Medical Science, New Delhi in other parts of the country."
96. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention how to provide quality education in the backward districts throughout the country."
97. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about setting up more technical institutions in backward district, throughout the country."
98. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of more muslim girls hostels in the town areas throughout the country."
99. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of more free coaching centres in rural areas for the boys and girls of BPL family."
100. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps to be taken to strengthen the PDS throughout the Country."
101. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the MSP of Jute."

102. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increase of wages in the NREG programme."
103. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the relief in interest rates to Self Help Groups."
104. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention more help to the poor women through Self Help Groups."
105. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about rejecting the proposed Micro-finance Bill *pending* before the House."
106. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the exorbitant price rice."
107. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention to anything about reducing the prices of petrol diesel, cooking gas and kerosene oil."
SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand); Sir, I move:-
108. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken for preventing racial attacks on the Indian students in Australia and protecting the Indian students living there."
109. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the efforts being made by the Government for rehabilitation of Tamilians in Sri Lanka."
110. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme formulated for combating the growing atomic capability of Pakistan."
111. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention any foreign policy strategy of India to check the growing interference of China in the policies of the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Sri Lanka and Pakistan."
112. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to check the illegal infiltration of Bangladeshi nationals into Assam and other States."
113. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about putting a check over the sharp rise in the prices of essential commodities."

114. That at the *end* of the Motion; the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any check on the flow of counterfeit currency in the country through countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, etc."
115. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete plan to check growing female foeticide in the country."
116. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about enacting a legislation for protecting the bovine species."
SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR (Maharashtra): Sir, I move:
117. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the release of Jamat-ud Dawah chief Hafiz Sayeed by the Lahore High Court in a weak case prepared by the Pakistan authorities."
118. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the rising food prices, which is affecting the common man."
119. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the attack on Indian students abroad, particularly in the US and Australia."
120. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the action taken against two businessmen in connection with the huge unaccounted deposits by them in foreign banks."
121. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the sharp decline in exports during last seven months that dipped to 33.3 per cent in April and 33.2 per cent in March."
122. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the loss of jobs by lakhs of people, particularly in IT sector, due to the global recession and steps being taken to arrest the trend."
123. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the Government intention to put a cap on supply of subsidized gas cylinder to every family and restrict it to 8-12 a year."
124. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention, in the Address of the high toll of 20,000 civilians in Sri Lankan Army's final operation against LTTE."

125. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of security forces to kill/nab terrorists of 26/11 attack in Taj Hotel in first two hours and the delay in sending NSG commando to Mumbai."
126. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the rising infiltration in Kashmir and continuous attack by terrorists on civilians and security forces."
127. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the rising school fees and high cost of education."
128. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the rising cost of health care and comprehensive health insurance for all."
129. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the creation of a separate State of Telangana."
130. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the black marketing of kerosene and the availability of cheap kerosene oil to the poor through PDS."
131. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the sale of adulteration petrol and diesel."
132. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the action being taken in the Kerala's Lovalin scam".
133. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the action being taken against the irregularities in the 2G spectrum allotment".
134. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the attack on Sachkhand Dera chief in Vienna and its repercussion reflected in the widespread violence in Punjab".
135. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the rising incidents of burning of trains in the country as witnessed in Bihar and Punjab recently and railway properties becoming easy targets of mob fury."
136. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the intrusion by China in Arunachal Pradesh."

137. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the ethnic clashes in Assam."
138. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the condition of nomadic tribes and education to their children."
139. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the basmati rice export scam, preferring private parties instead of the PSUs as per the established policy of the Government when the ban was lifted for a limited export."
140. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of suicide by indebted farmers across the country."
141. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the loan waiver to farmers who have more than five acres of land holding in dry land area."
142. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the NREGA being extended to two persons in a family."
143. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the removal of the cap of 100 days work per person per family in NREGA."
144. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the sharp rise in the cost of poultry feed, resulting in 33 per cent hike in the prices of chicken and egg."
145. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the delay in defence procurement, affecting the operational capability of three wings of our armed forces."
146. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the delay in the implementation of hydro power projects in Arunachal Pradesh."
147. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the delay in completion of the Ultra Mega Power Projects."
148. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the long hours of load-shedding throughout the country and hardships being faced by people."
149. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of disturbing development in Nepal for India and about the Maoist party's propaganda that India is interfering in the internal affairs of Nepal."

150. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the address of the rising cost caused due to delay in upgradation and delivery of aircraft carrier Gorshkov to Indian Navy."
151. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the extending of the STPI concessions beyond 2009."
152. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the increase in the incidents of children running from 'children home' due to their bad conditions."
153. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of reservation of Economically Backward Classes beyond the 50 per cent limit."
154. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the inter-linking of rivers project and the progress made so far on some of the links underway in some of the states."
155. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the delay in National Highway Projects including North-South, East-West corridors and Golden Quadrilateral high speed ways."
156. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the exploitation of contract labourers and rise of such cases."
157. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the scheme for rehabilitation of over five lakh Kashmiri Pandits, forced to leave the valley by militants, back in the State."
158. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the sending of the bodies of nine terrorists killed in 26/11 operation in Mumbai, to Pakistan even after trial court has granted permission."
SHRI LALIT KISHORE CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan): Sir, I move:
159. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any definite guidelines to check the growing gap between the poor and rich due to capitalistic mode of economy being followed by India, and to replace the same by any alternative economy."
160. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any definitive thinking on the part of the Government for providing adequate employment opportunities due to lack of vision to solve unemployment problem and for providing adequate employment opportunities due to pursuing the capitalistic mode of economy."

161. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concept of development for making the society self-reliant on the basis of self-employment and competition."
162. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any thinking for taking adequate measures to save the poor from hunger and malnourishment as a result of poverty due to growing economic disparity."
163. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about programmes such as NREG despite being aware of the fact that it is totally impossible, to provide wage employment to all under the capitalistics mode of economy and the Government cannot fulfil the role of employer."
164. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following *.be added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure despite continuous demand for providing atleast 200 days employment to people who have been given only 100 days employment and who remain unemployed for the remaining 250 days, under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme."
165. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any clear cut direction about providing massive means of employment and also about the situation arising out of the poor men's worsening condition from subsistence level to the starvation level due to non-fixation of the poverty line on the basis of the international standards following the continuous increase in the prices of consumer goods."
166. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any clear cut water policy of the State Government and the Central Government leading in the improvement of the ground water level, checking deaths and spread of the diseases due to supply of contaminated water and fall in water supply in Rajasthan, particularly in Jaipur and other cities."
167. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any solution for tackling the factors which are responsible for making the farmers debtor while supporting loan waiving efforts of the previous Government."
168. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failed foreign policy check the increasingly continuous cold relations with our neighbouring countries as a result of having the soft-state image of the country leading to the ill-treatment being meted out to the Indian citizens and well-wishers of India."
169. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any proper arrangement for sufficient storage and procurement of foodgrains by the Government inspite of the fact that every three years out of a span of ten years are the years of food-crisis and arrangements of foodgrains have to be made to face the situation arising out of the drought in one or other part of the country."

170. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any arrangements for reducing the prices of chemicals, fertilizers, agricultural equipment etc."
171. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any clear instructions for re-improvement in the infrastructure after giving up the NDA Government's policy of extending the National Highways and declaring the new National Highways."
172. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any clear plan regarding long term Railway infrastructure."
SHRI PRABHAT JHA (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I move:
173. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention elaborately about the steps being taken for stopping racial attacks on Indians living in foreign countries, particularly in Australia, and providing security to the Indians living there."
174. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the solution for problems of people migrating to India daily in hundreds from Sri Lanka."
175. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any efforts being made by the Government for the rehabilitation of Tamils in Sri Lanka."
176. That at the *end* of the Motion, that following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan devised to counter the growing nuclear capability of Pakistan."
177. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any strategy of India's foreign policy to check the growing Chinese interference in the affairs of India's neighbouring countries, viz. Nepal, Sri Lanka and Pakistan."
178. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to rehabilitate the displaced persons of Jammu & Kashmir."
179. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to check the growing separatist/terrorist activities in the North-Eastern States."

180. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan for issuing National Identity Cards to all the citizens of the country."
181. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound plan to uproot the growing terrorism in the country."
182. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to make the existing provisions in the recently constituted National Security Agency more stringent."
183. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to increase the agricultural production and to bring more land under irrigation facility."
184. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete plan to provide safe drinking water to all the people in the country in the stipulated time."
185. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete action plan to contain the growth of population."
186. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to check the infiltration of Bangladeshis into Assam and other States."
187. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound plan to deport the illegal Bangladeshis from the country despite the order of the Supreme Court."
188. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound plan to modernize border posts."
189. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of 'one rank, one pension' in the army."
190. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to prevent suicides being committed by the farmers in the country."
191. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not make any mention about the implementation of recommendations made by the Commission on Farmers for reforms in the field of agriculture."

192. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not make any mention about increasing the minimum support price of the agricultural produce."
193. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about opening of new courts in view of increasing cases in the courts."
194. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to fill up the vacant posts of judges in view of the acute shortage of judges in the courts."
195. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about imposing an effective check on heavy escalation taking place in the prices of essential consumer goods."
196. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about checking circulation of fake currency in the country, through countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, etc."
197. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to stop anti-India activities taking place in Bangladesh and Nepal."
198. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to destroy the terrorist camps operating in Bangladesh."
199. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about effectively curbing the Pakistan sponsored terrorism throughout the country."
200. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound plan to reduce or eliminate the rising unemployment in the country."
201. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the efforts of the Government to have a check on incidents of sacking of people working in private sector from their jobs."
202. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete plan to curb the rising incidents of female foeticide in the country."
203. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about framing laws regarding bovine conservation in the country."

204. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about taking any effective steps with a view to bringing reforms in the electoral process."
205. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about making the voter list foolproof."
 SHRI RAMDAS AGGARWAL (Rajasthan): Sir, I move:
206. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about failure of the AAI to upgrade 35 non metro airports for which work was to begin in the last financial year."
207. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about urgent need to protect the employment and income of unorganized sector workers who constitute 92% of India's total work force."
208. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address has failed to mention about the Government's move to stop forward trading which resulted in sharp rise in the prices of sugar and other food items."
209. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about failure of the Government to review the centre-State relations as per the demands of the State Governments."
210. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's comprehensive , population policy to check increasing population in the country."
211. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about the policy of the Government to check nudity, obscenity and criminality being shown on almost all the TV channels."
212. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about the scheme for bringing about comprehensive reforms in medical systems and making it accessible and affordable to at least 80% of the people in the country."
213. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about taking any initiative to enact Uniform Civil Code as envisaged in the Constitution."
214. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about incurring 6.5% expenditure out of the gross domestic products on medical care in the country as per the recommendation of the World Health Organization."

215. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the economic package to promote establishment of agro-based industries in the country."
216. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the strategic decision to check the commercialization of medical care and education system in the country."
217. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time bound concrete plan to provide clear drinking water to all the people of the country."
218. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about reviving of the loss-making Public Sector Undertakings."
219. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about any plan for the, security of senior citizens, women and girls in the National Capital Territory of Delhi."
220. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need of employment guarantee for millions of acute poverty stricken citizens living in the urban areas of the country with no concrete plan chalked out to ensure a time-frame for elimination of unemployment especially among the educated youth across the country."
221. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention giving reservation to Brahmins, Vaishyas and Khastriyas and other unreserved castes who are economically weak and backward."
222. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the presence of millions of illegal migrants especially from Bangladesh which is posing a grave threat not only to the demographic features of various States of the Union but also to the internal security."
223. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to effectively deal with the increasing dangers of naxalism."
224. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's resolve to check the increasing trade of spurious drugs in the country."
225. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention that the long term mechanism to protect the investments made by FIIs, especially made by small term public investors in Indian Stock Markets."

226. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing flow of fake currency in the country which is a great hurdle in the growth of Indian economy."
227. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the concrete 'Special Economic Zone Policy.'"
228. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's resolve to check rising steel prices of domestic/imported steel and cement."
229. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's resolve to impose strict ban on conversion religion in the country."
230. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to bring down the prices of fertilizer, water for irrigation, electricity, diesel, seeds, etc. to lower the cost of agriculture production."
231. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's action to punish procrastinators in the public offices to make administration corruption free."
232. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the time bound scheme to make barren land in the country cultivable."
233. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about power allocation to Rajasthan from the unallocated quota of Central Generating Stations to the level of at least 35% to partially compensate the State for loss of generation due to closure of Units 1 and 2 of the Rajasthan Atomic Power Station, Rawatbhata."
234. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about restoration of 0.6 MAF water to Rajasthan that was temporarily made to Punjab out of Rajasthan's share of 8.6 MAF."
235. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about Rajasthan getting 50% share of the 'Profit Petroleum' earned by the Government of India from the Petroleum produced from the State irrespective of the fact that block has been allotted through JV or NELP."
236. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the proposals of widening of National Highways to 4 lanes as proposed by the Government of Rajasthan as well as for increasing allocation of funds for maintenance of National Highways in the State."

237. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about the Rajasthan Government's request to amend MMDR Act, 1957 and delete parts A & C of the First Schedule so that prior approval of the Government of India for leasing is stopped."
238. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about allround and balanced development of tribal dominated Orissa to bring it at *par* with other industrially developed States."
239. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about measures to curb the extremist and fundamentalist violence on soft targets in the country like bomb blasts in trains and bomb blasts in big cities in the country."
240. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about early implementation of the interlinking of all rivers to combat drought and flood situation in the country."
241. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about developing Orissa as a tourist destination by providing basic infrastructure for international tourists, like declaring Bhubaneswar airport as an international airport, and by developing the existing airports at Jeypore, Rourkela and Sambalpur."
242. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention in the Address about spotting young talent both from urban and rural areas for the promotion of sports in the country."
243. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about enhanced target set for rural electrification, irrigation, road connectivity proposed under the second phase of the Bharat Nirman.'
 SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT (West Bengal): Sir, I move:
244. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret to note that the Address fails to mention the increasing inequalities within our country with 77% people being able to spend less than Rs. 20 a day."
245. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret to note that the Address fails to mention the requirement of policies to enhance secular values and principles in every sphere of governance and social life."
246. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
 "but regret to note that the Address fails to mention the commitment to eliminate all forms of caste oppression, discrimination and violence against dalit communities."

247. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that millions of workers including a large number of women workers employed in export oriented industries have already lost their jobs and that the Government will take immediate steps to protect their employment and service conditions."
248. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that it was because FDI was not permitted in the banking and insurance sectors that these important components of the financial sector could be protected from the global financial crisis."
249. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the commitment of the Government to protect the public sector against disinvestment and privatization."
250. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the minimum wage in NREGA will be raised to Rs. 100.00."
251. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the Government will ensure adequate remuneration to Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA)."
252. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to take note of the huge burden or work on ICDS employees and the need to recognize them as Government servants."
253. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the present measurement of poverty is faulty resulting in a huge underestimation of the numbers of the poor in our country, which requires a completely different method."
254. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the food security must be made universal to be able to cater widespread hunger prevalent in the country."
255. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the unprecedented price rise of essential commodities and the need for strict measures to control the prices."
256. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address does not mentioned about lakhs

of women organized in Self help Group and the urgent need to ensure that they get adequate bank loans at not more than 4% rate of interest."

257. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the Government will ensure the Employment Guarantee Act for urban areas to tackle the widespread problem of urban unemployment."

258. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that Government will ensure job guarantees for minorities belonging to other backward classes."
259. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address does not mention the need for urgent land reforms and redistribution of land to the landless as has been done for example in a state like West Bengal."
260. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the passage of many long pending bills pertaining to women's rights such as protection of women against sexual harassment at workplace, laws against child sexual abuse, comprehensive law against violence against women."
261. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that disinvestment in the public sector at a time of global financial crisis will spell disaster for the Indian economy."
262. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the Government will not spend precious national resources to share up the US nuclear energy industry."
263. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the Government will ensure that India is not a junior partner in any alliance with the United States."
SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN (West Bengal): Sir, I move:
264. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about urgent necessity of electoral reforms including State funding for elections."
265. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about an employment policy to face the challenge of decline in growth of employment and the average earnings even during the years of high rate of economic growth as pointed out in the final report of the National Commission for Enterprises for Unorganised Sector (NCEUS), Government of India."
266. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the disastrous impact of global slow down on more than 2.5 millions of workers who have lost their jobs, livelihood and earnings due to closure, lay off, wage-cuts, retrenchment, etc. including loss of 1.5 million jobs in export sector only."
267. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention the immediate necessity to lift the ban on recruitment in Government departments, PSUs, autonomous institutions, etc. and filling up of all the vacant posts in view of the gloomy employment scenario in the country."

268. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the failure to put a halt to closure, lay off, retrenchment and wage cuts, etc. inspite of offering three stimulus packages to the employers."
269. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the necessity to ensure stricter regulation of the financial sector in the present form to sustain the strong fundamentals of the Indian economy."
270. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the expansion of the National Employment Guarantee Act to urban areas as committed in the Common Minimum Programme of the earlier Government."
271. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the unprecedented price rise of food items and other essential commodities."
272. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the so-called official poverty line means Rs. 12/day per capita consumption as pointed out in the NCEUS Report thus leaving out the vast poor and vulnerable people out of the coverage of the Food Security Act."
273. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the urgent need of universalisation of the Public Distribution System."
274. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention that the provision for social security will not reach majority of the poor and vulnerable section of the people because of its restriction within the confine of the present official criteria of deterring people below poverty line."
275. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the misuse of Public-private-Partnership in many cases where unhindered private profit has been ensured at the cost of public investment as in the case of the Hyderabad Metro, where the role of Maytas and Satyam has been already exposed."
276. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-
"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the resource already available with the central public sector companies in the form of reserve and surplus which had reached Rs. 4 lakh 16 thousand crores in 2006-07 and the same is not being utilised fruitfully for capacity expansion and modernisation of CPSUs."

277. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention the high equity base of the CPSUs and their failure to approach debt market instead of capital market in spite of having huge reserves backed up by the Government guarantee."

278. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the urgent need for revival of the potentially viable sick CPSUs like Hindustan Fertiliser Corporation, Hindustan Cables, Burn Standard, Hindustan Photofilms, HMT, Tyre Corporation of India, IDPL, etc."

279. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the measures taken by the Government to liquidate tax arrears of about Rs. 1.5 lakh crores as well as to recover NPA's of public sector banks."

280. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about the power generating capacity added during last five years, which is reportedly less than 7000 MW annually."

281. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address fails to mention about rationalising the taxes/ duties on oil and gas and formation of a price stabilisation fund as recommended by the Parliamentary Standing Committee to insulate the common man from the vagaries of the global crude oil price fluctuation."

282. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address does not mention about the Defence contract of Rs. 10,000 crore for the supply of Air Defence Missile Systems from Israel Aircraft Industries, which is already under CBI investigation for the deal on Barak Missile."

283. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:-

"but regret to note that the Address does not mention about the elimination of middlemen in defence contracts."

The questions were proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The motion as well as the amendments moved are now open for discussion. Now, Shri Arun Jaitley, the Leader of Opposition.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is the first address by the Hon'ble President after the elections to the new Lok Sabha. Democracy, itself, Sir, is a great leveller, and, elections in a democracy themselves are a leveller except that they can occasionally produce harsh results, which involve winners and losers. 'But, democracy itself, when it produces winners and losers, confers upon the winner the great sense of responsibility.

Today morning, when I came to the House, I thought that when, the speakers from the Treasury Benches initiate the motion, that burden of responsibility will confer a sense of modesty and humility. And I must express the deep sense of disappointment that I found it grossly lacking.

However, we, in the opposition, certainly do not intend to be provoked by this attitude of lack of modesty and humility which a winner must inherently have because we were told from beginning to the end, where most of us, in the opposition, have gone wrong and where our conduct and attitude was to be found lacking. Those who are defeated in an election also have a responsibility in a democracy and that responsibility is to conduct yourself with a certain amount of graciousness, have a certain amount of dignity, but, at least, have a sense of determination and fulfil the role which is conferred on you. And, Sir, that role which is conferred on us, I can assure you, is a role which we will discharge, purely guided by national interest. There are going to be several areas where we are going to support and even endorse the position of the Government. That is what is expected from us. There are going to be several areas where we have to caution the Government, particularly when certain pitfalls are visible. And when we find the Government going astray, needless to mention, we are going to fiercely oppose the Government on those occasions. That's a responsibility which is conferred on us and I can assure you, this House and the country, through this House, that various sections of the opposition in their own way are going to discharge this responsibility which is also a responsibility which is conferred on us in a democracy.

Sir, I have no hesitation in admitting after a lot has been said about the election results that for me and my party the election results were a disappointment. We accept that with humility at our command. But, at the same time, we are conscious of the responsibility that these election results have conferred on us. Sir, we read some very clear messages emerging out of these election results and some of these messages that we can read very clearly are that the electorate of this country is conscious of the fact that we live in an era of coalitions and an era of coalitions can also occasionally bring disturbances and even roadblocks in the functioning of the Government. Perhaps one of the great motivating factors to the Indian voter was a great desire for political stability. And, therefore, the electorate, pursued by that desire, gave to the Congress Party over 200 seats. Let them, therefore, be very conscious of this fact that 206 seats in Parliament are not akin to 403 seats in Parliament that they got in 1984. And, therefore, the manner in which they have to conduct themselves must also be conditioned by this

fact. The electorate did want political stability and, therefore, in the last five years, when we found the Government lacking on several fronts, it may not be seen as an endorsement by the voter of India of areas where the Government was found to be wanting. There are several areas. We can have a discussion at an appropriate time over them. But, it was this desire for political stability and when this desire for political stability has given them a larger number of seats, the Indian voter is now not going to accept any alibi for non-performance. In the last five years, it could be blamed on the allies. Today, it's being sought to be blamed on us. But, once you have a figure which is closer to the half-way mark along with your allies, no alibi for failure is going to be accepted this time for which you have got the benefit of doubt in the last 5 years. At the same time, the Indian voters have shown an immense amount of maturity. But even when we were

losing, in a large number of States where the non-Congress parties have performed well, those non-Congress parties, including my own party, our allies in several States, some others who have moved away from us, either got an overwhelmingly large number of seats in those States or in some States, at least, got an absolute number of seats, and therefore, this is a clear mandate as of the electorate as we understand it today. I also do understand that the mandate today is also a representative of an aspirational India; people want India to grow. But we are cautious of the fact that when they want India to grow, this growth is at two levels.

It is at a level where there is a segment of our population which has not been able to benefit from the benefits of that growth process, and therefore, when the President's Address very enthusiastically mentions phrases of great achievements which have helped those sectors, the hard reality is that that sector is still under-privileged. There is also another segment which is an aspirational India where the aspirations are larger, and understandably so, and therefore, this mandate also reflects on the Government desire and the electorate desire to really perform as far as these areas are concerned.

Sir, I had said in the beginning as to what role we intend to play. In any Westminster system, the conventional role of the Opposition is to oppose. But in evolving and maturing democracy, this role has also evolved, and therefore, as I said, our principal object when we will be guided by national interest is, how to strengthen the country. We have to strengthen this country in terms of making its borders secure, we have to strengthen this country in fighting terror within the country, we have to strengthen this country in our endeavour to help the Government so that it can vanish all forms of poverty and sufferings. We have to strengthen this country by even pursuing the goal of social justice. Now, these are several areas of strengthening the country. One of the principal desires of an aspirational India is to become a developed economy by 2020. Now, in each of these endeavours, there are areas where we will support the Government, there are areas where we will caution the Government, and there are certain areas where we will be required to fiercely oppose the Government, and when I read and when I heard the hon. President's Address, I was a little disappointed on one score. I did expect a mention, an emphatic mention, of the manner in which racial attacks are being carried out against persons of the Indian origin in Australia. Now, this is something which is very current and contemporary, and any sensitive Government which says with a sense of pride that we have

million of Indians in our diaspora living abroad and living all over the world, would have been concerned with the plight of the Indian community which is being subjected to such inhuman and racial attacks. I think, it is an oversight as far as the draftsman of the Address is concerned that this one important area which is extremely current and of great sensitivity to every Indian is missing. But without emphasising that any further, I think we must all in this House as in the entire country resolve to stand behind the Government in its endeavour to pursue this case with the Australian authorities and to make sure that these kinds of inhuman and barbaric attacks on persons of the Indian origin are not repeated any time in future. Sir, when I said we will support the Government on issues, I can draw satisfaction from certain areas of the President's Address. When I read the Address, I also read my party's manifesto and I have no hesitation in saying that there are

several areas which are of common national cause for the entire political community; our roads may be different, but the ultimate destination is really the same, and, therefore, the emphasis which the President's Address has given on achieving a high growth and a low inflation, I think, is something on which we will stand solidly behind the Government. The President's Address, in terms of the desire of the Government to legislate the Food Security Act so that the impoverished people in India living below the poverty line can have the benefit of 25 kilograms of foodgrains at affordable prices, is an inherent path of the Right to Food. And we do believe that this Right to Food, as a large number of liberal economists say, is a populist scheme; this free distribution of rice or cheaper distribution of rice or wheat is a burden on the Exchequer, but in the political community, since we are directly concerned with the plight of people who suffer, this is, in fact, far from populism. It is a Right of Food and the benefit of the Government resources, the Exchequer reaching the weakest man and, therefore, in States which have been implementing, particularly Chhattisgarh,—now, I am told, Orissa has also started it—it has worked every effectively. And if the Government brings this, really implements this Right to Food, I have not the least doubt in saying that we, in the Opposition, would strongly stand behind the Government in implementing this across the country. As for the determination which the Government has ostensibly expressed for having a zero tolerance as far terrorism is concerned, my party had occasionally felt, in the last five years, that the Government was soft on terror, and we were amongst people who were considered as those who really stand by this phrase 'zero tolerance on terror'. Accusations were hurled at us. I am not going to say, for a moment, that it is my ideological victory or my party's ideological victory that you have been compelled to use the same language, after 26/11, which we have been using, but if the Government, really, effectively implements this zero tolerance towards terror, there is no reason why we will not stand behind the Government while this is done.

Sir, the 'one rank-one pension' issue was raised by us in our manifesto, The Government had said that they would examine it by the end of June, 2009. I would seriously urge the Government to not merely examine it but also to concede to this long-standing demand of the Indian Armed Force. I think they secure our country and they deserve the benefit of not being treated in a discriminatory manner and, therefore, the 'one rank-one pension' demand of the Armed Forces should be conceded to at the

earliest.

The Women's Reservation Bill has been pending for years and years together. In the last five years, we were disappointed because, repeatedly, we were being told that the Women's Reservation Bill would come, but even the introduction of it had to wait till the very end of the Government. And, therefore, the seriousness of this Government in introducing the Women's Reservation Bill and seriously approving and supporting that Women's Reservation Bill was itself doubtful. The Government has said that they intend to do so. If the Government does so, I am sure, as far as the BJP is concerned and as far as other segments of this House are concerned, we would strongly stand behind the Government in supporting that Bill in the next 100 years and...
...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): 100 days!

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sorry, in 100 days. I am glad that Mr. Yechury who is also going to support us and the Government on this Bill corrects me. If this Bill is brought and passed within 100 days, I think, the credibility of Indian politics itself will go up because we have been promising the voters and the women of India that we will give this reservation, and for almost a decade this has been pending; it is about time that we did it in the next 100 days, Sir.

Sir, there is one issue of caution that I have, on which the President's Address does not state anything. During the earlier tenure of this Government, in the last five years, there was a lot of debate as far as the Indo-US nuclear deal was concerned. Some taunting remarks were made in that context even today. We had repeatedly said that we stand for a close cooperation between the United States and India. But the nuclear deal should not merely be the touchstone as far as determining that relationship is concerned. There was a genuine apprehension that we had agreed to some areas where we felt we should not have agreed. I do not go into that history. But there are going to be three areas in the days, weeks and months to come where our own autonomy and independence is going to be at test. The three areas are those where our stand and that of the United States is significantly different. The signing of the NPT is one area; the agricultural negotiations in the WTO is the second area; and the capping of the carbon emission norms in the climate change negotiations which are going on is the third area. I am sure the Government which has followed a particular course of action, which has been the consistent national stand as far as India is concerned, is conscious as far as the interest of India's agriculture is concerned and India's industry is concerned. The agricultural negotiations have not proceeded significantly in the past five years. Now there is a considerable amount of pressure on us to yield. The Indian position in short has been that unless our agricultural farmer is really a sustenance farmer he cannot compete with the subsidised farming as far as the United States is concerned, the European Union is concerned and the other subsidising nations are concerned. We must bear in mind that as far as these areas are concerned nowhere in the world foreign policy and trade policy necessarily go together. Europe and United States are occasionally raised against each other as far as trade policy is concerned; though

they may have the best of political and diplomatic relations with each other. Because ours is a sustenance farmer, he cannot compete this huge amount of subsidies that the developed countries give, which must come down. The Government of India in the last five years has pursued this stand and pursued it vigorously. India is being blamed by the developed countries for not allowing the deal to go through. On the contrary, we are being told that you reduce your tariffs so that the subsidised agriculture can come and invade the Indian market. Even if it did not invade the Indian market, it will, at least, prevent our surplus from going into the global market, compelling our agricultural produce to be dumped in our own market and depress our prices. So those subsidies really are a death knell as far as the Indian farmer is concerned. Without any significant reduction in those subsidies, by just

concealing them into the environmental category in the green box, today there is an effort to get us to fall in line and sign that deal. I wish to caution this Government that this is one area—the hon. Minister of Commerce, Shri Anand Sharma was here just now—where the Government would not yield and stand by what our conventional Indian position is. The climate change negotiations are currently on. There also, the effort is that the developed countries have already had and tasted the fruits of development. They have a huge amount of industrialised growth and therefore, their emissions or what pollutes the environment is far higher than us. Now the entire effort is to trade in that pollution and ask the developing or the weaker countries to buy it because our emissions are reasonably low; or, to cap it in such a manner that our further industrialisation itself can get capped at certain stage. If we agree to some of those proposals, it will be capping our growth itself. Therefore, while maintaining the best relationship between India and the United States, I think these are areas in which the Government of India will have to be cautious as to which course it really has to tread on in the course of coming months and years. Sir, at certain places, when the President's Address talks of Government's achievements, I can quite understand that a new Government, enthusiastic with a positive mandate, may exaggerate its own past performance. At the same time, let us be very clear about where we stand as far as the state of the nation is concerned. We always refer to the GDP growth rates. I cannot see any significant policy, during 2004-09, which really related to improving upon the GDP growth. In 1991, we started a particular process. The policy decisions, between 1991 and 2004, accelerated the growth rate as far as India was concerned, because the growth is substantially entrepreneurial. There was a boom in the global market. The going was good, and we also looked good in the whole process. But the test of great administrator is not that when the going is good that you are at your best. What happens when the good is not so good? And, in the last one-and-a-half years when the going was not so good, we virtually saw the Government which was paralysed as far as the economic decision-making was concerned. Therefore, the Government could have a legitimate alibi to say, "My allies didn't allow it. My friends didn't allow me to do so." But, today, it has lost all those alibis. Therefore, today, it has to really perform as far as its own performance is concerned. Five years saw a lot of indecision. You are speaking in terms of patting yourself on the back as far as employment figures are concerned. The 2004 manifesto promised 1 crore new jobs every year. Then, we should have had five crore jobs more

as of today. We used to hear every year, words called 'Outcomes and Outlays'. This time that is missing. This expression 'Outcome and Outlays' is now replaced with Performance Reports. It is just another name; it is a synonym for Outcome and Outlays. Now, as far as the Outcomes and Outlays of 2004-05 are concerned, as against these five crores of jobs that you promised in the last five years, how many have you effectively added? The Commerce Secretary's statement two days ago stated that the export sector itself had lost 1.5 million jobs. The industries are closing down. It is a hard reality. The industrial growth has slumped. Look at infrastructure. I was just going through the infrastructure figures of the last five years. Now, the figure states, relating to the Golden Quadrilateral project, which were started and contracts awarded pre-2004, 98-99 per cent completed. Now, when you look at the progress of the North-South and East - West Corridors, you have a figure of 7300 to be

constructed. But only 3541 have been constructed. In Phase III, out of the figure of 12,109, which were to be constructed, what have been constructed so far are 827. This means that less than 7 per cent of Phase III of the National Highways has been completed. And we pat ourselves on the back and say that infrastructure is doing very well. The murmurs, which we heard at the stage of the Cabinet formation, which is the Prime Minister's prerogative, that some people are to be kept out because they found that they were the road blocks as far as infrastructure is concerned. The Left never told you, "Don't create any infrastructure." Your own friends were given the responsibility. Now, when we look at the Railways, we were told that the Railways was a very populist area in the last five years. In 2008-09, that is, the year which is just over, to attract 1 crore of private investment, an investment of Rs.25 crores has been tied up. What has been received is not a single rupee. Twenty-six stations have been identified for making them world-class stations. They said, "The railway stations will look like airports." Not a single railway station has changed nor has any improvement been seen. Even the tendering stage has not started. Now, shipping. It was told that new berths for major ports would be created because the trade load is through the berths. So, they planned to create 52 berths between 2006 and 2012.

Three-and-a-half years of that six-years' period is over. So far, contracts have been awarded only for six berths. This is how infrastructure is moving.

Then, we come to rural roads. The plight, as far as rural roads is concerned, itself is a matter of great concern. As regards the agricultural sector, I saw a phrase, a phrase borrowed from the American political phraseology, where the hon. President says, 'my Government gave a new deal to agriculture.' President Roosevelt gave a new deal in some other concepts. So, this is a 'new deal' to agriculture where a record number of farmers have committed suicide in five years. We pat ourselves on the back that the Indian agriculture has become a utopian situation. They talk about irrigation, remunerative price for the farmer, rural infrastructure, drinking water, electrification, etc., and now we are told that all these promises will come. But I am wondering how these promises would be implemented. You have to be a decisive Government in order to generate economic activity so that governmental revenues could go up. If the Government has more money in its pocket, it can certainly

give free ration to the poor, and implement all the social schemes. But, you are an indecisive Government. So, how are all these promises going to be fulfilled at a stage when you have a record highest fiscal deficit as far as India is concerned? In the Interim Budget, the Finance Minister said, it is six per cent. Now, six per cent was considered a figure which had been deliberately depressed. Once the actual figures come out, the figure will be known. All economists tell us you add the off-balance sheet items to that six per cent or the extended figure of six per cent. You add the fiscal deficit of the States. Not one man is going to accept that it is going to be anywhere below double figures. It is going to be well into double figures, much more than twelve per cent. And with a twelve per cent odd fiscal deficit, there are only two ways you can finance it. You become a high-tax Government, and if you become a high-tax Government, it has an adverse affect on growth again.

1.00 P.M.

Or, you generate economic activity by being a more decisive Government. Now, I think, this is an option which the present Government has and it has to decide which option it is really to follow as far as its economic roadmap is concerned.

Talking of the situation in our neighbourhood, I was very curious why the Foreign Policy chapter, as far as this speech is concerned, was somewhat inadequate. It was quite extended in the February Address of the President. In the February Address of the Government, the Government was patting itself on the back saying that as far as Pakistan is concerned, our diplomatic initiatives have brought Pakistan on track; Pakistan has now fallen in line; it is cooperating. There is a lurking doubt in India whether the trial of the person who masterminded the attacks on Mumbai in 26/11 is, by any internationally-accepted standards, a fair trial or a collusive trial. There are doubts and suspicions being expressed globally. The Pakistani Prime Minister has now responded by saying, 'Kashmir is the route cause.' So, whenever Pakistan wants a hostile attitude to be developed, Kashmir again emerges, and that is again a reiterated stand that the Pakistan has taken. How do we see our borders? Our borders can never be secure if the spill-over of what is happening immediately outside our borders get carried into India. So you have Taliban which is creating turmoil in Pakistan; you have the Maoists creating instability in Nepal; you have the LTTE problem, which we all hope, gets resolved as far as Sri Lanka is concerned. You also have the *Huji* which has, besides illegal migrations from Bangladesh into India, that the Supreme Court referred to as an invasion of India, has now made Bangladesh into a base for engineering all domestic attacks which take place, as far as India is concerned. So, we are a country which is now surrounded on all sides.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is one o'clock. Would you continue after lunch-break?

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, I will complete in just 15 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. After you conclude there would be lunch-break.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: So, you now have a situation where on all four sides we have the Taliban, the Maoists, the LTTE, the *Huji*, and we have Pakistan which is not falling in line! I think, the Government must now

stop this; electoral victories are sufficient to prove a point. You must now really think in terms of tackling this situation.

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

Sir, the 26/11 trial is perhaps the most important of the terrorism trials which have taken place in India. We are told by the hon. Home Minister at some stage, and it is an argument which I heard for the first time, that the general IQ of the Members of his party is higher than that of my party! I have never seen political debates falling to this level. Suddenly I realised how all the gentlemen with a superior IQ were masterminding this Government as far as the Mumbai trial is concerned. The first thing we did was appoint an ineligible person as the prosecutor so that the global community watching the trial will say that the whole trial is vitiated. The second thing we did was to send an

incorrect DNA of Kasab to Pakistan and then suddenly say that it was a clerical error. The third thing we did was—and I do not know what happened to the lady thereafter—we were told, 'we now discovered Qasab's mother who is coming to meet him and that we are a very liberal society, we are allowing her to meet him', and then we did not hear of her at all. Sir, such sensitive trials are not conducted in a shabby manner. I think, those who boast of a very clever IQ, their performance must reflect this adequately.

Yesterday, Sir, two important events have taken place. The Hyderabad police has said that three terrorists have again entered India with the idea of creating terror. But the second, more important, event has taken place. The U.S. has clubbed us with Pakistan and issued a travel advisory that visitors must not visit India because India is no longer a safe place to visit! It is the first time that this has happened. I can imagine this happening if this country were in chaos. The Home Minister rightly said, 'We reject this and we will call upon the U.S. to withdraw this advisory, India is perfectly a safe destination.' We all join him in that request. But why has a panic of this kind been created? The panic of this kind gets created when the Government assumes a certain amount of arrogance to itself and the Government starts believing that it is the sole repository of all wisdom.

So, when a cricket tournament was to be held in India and State after State said that we will hold it and no worry, what is the difficulty? India is such a large country, holding one cricket match every evening in one part of the country is not a national problem, but it was the Government of India which created panic. And, the Government of India said, 'We would not allow this to happen.' So, the domestic cricket tournament went to South Africa. That day, we had cautioned the Government, 'Please understand the consequences of this. The consequences of this are going to be that you are going to be clubbed with Pakistan. People will stop investing here because India is not a safe destination, tourists will stop coming here, travel advisories will not come. What will happen to the Commonwealth Games?' So, when the Government of India created panic, the Australian Davis Cup team said, 'India is not a safe destination, we would rather lose and concede, but we would not play in India.'

The United States has now turned around and issued a travel advisory

against us. I think, this Government needs to realise that it seriously believes, which we all do, that India is a safe destination. The Government of India must seriously stop treating each one of these issues as purely partisan. A large number of India's polity and governance is non-partisan, and, therefore, we can in national interest rise to the occasion and not create a panic of this kind merely because some demand is being made somewhere and we must be on the other side of the political fence necessarily oppose it. Sir, the Government has given a large number of programmes and schemes in the President's Address. But normally a President's Address is much more than a catalogue of governmental schemes, particularly after election in the first five years, it has to be a vision statement of next five years. The vision is lacking in this document but it is a catalogue as far as Government schemes are concerned. The Government implements these schemes, some of these schemes we

will fully endorse and I wish it the very best. We in the Opposition will certainly cooperate with the large number of these schemes, many of them are in national interest, but we would also like to set a particular yardstick by which we will measure this Government. I said, we are not going to oppose merely for the sake of opposition, we are going to be supportive of several areas. We can caution them of several areas. What are the steps this Government is going to take to make our borders secure in order to manage the situation, which is taking place around our borders, and improve upon the domestic security as far as India is concerned? How will the Government rise above this propaganda figure that we kept inflation under control? Inflation came under control not because of the steps of this Government but inflation came under control because you had a global recession and therefore, the slowdown impact was felt in India. But we are in strange situation and the hon. speaker from the Treasury Benches said that our economy is different from world economy. Yes, it is because even in a recessionary trend foodgrains prices have continued to rise and therefore, there is a significant amount of foodgrain-inflation, which affects this entire 'right to food' that we are talking about. Therefore, what steps will the Government take as far as this is concerned? How will the Government expedite the infrastructure creation? You are an alibi saying that the choice of the Ministers last time was under compulsion, we changed them; we brought better people. Well, we are very happy, we compliment you for doing that but please tell us what are you going to do as far as infrastructure creation is concerned? What are you going to do beyond patting your back to improve the lot of agrarian India in terms of rural infrastructure, in terms of procurement prices as far as farmers are concerned, to get them to rise as far agrarian poverty is concerned? You have a very tall promise that you are making India slum-free by 2014. Sir, the present set of Indian politics will get the greatest credit, the Government will get the credit if it does that. We will support the Government in every measure to do that. But then there must be an expectation management, which any person with some level of understanding of politics must have and, therefore, the Government has laid down a very important test for itself that in 2014 India will be a slum-free India. If people see slums it will be synonymous for the Government failure. Therefore, the Government is going to be judged by the standards that it has now laid down for itself. The issue of unemployment, which I had raised, both rural and urban

employment, and to foot the bills of all these schemes, which are contained in the speech. Is it going to be a very high-tax Government? Is it going to start a decisive decision-making process? How will it handle the multilateral dialogues in the climate change negotiations, in the WTO in the months to come? Two important areas, Sir, which need to be mentioned...

One is with regard to the misuse of several institutions like the CBI which took place in the last five years. Every time an ally supported you, the case against the leader of that ally was downplayed by the CBI. The moment you had certain acrimony with that ally, the CBI expedited as far as case on him or her is concerned. We need structural, including legislative, reforms to maintain the independence of institutions like the CBI, because, in the last five years, the credibility and the autonomy of that institution has completely destroyed. It has not been diluted; it has been destroyed.

Some of the most eminent thinkers in this line have publicly expressed their views as far as this subject is concerned.

Sir, now, I come to the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils. The rehabilitation of Sri Lankan Tamils is something on which the Government of India has to play a pro-active role.

I come to education sector. Sir, I read statements of the new Minister of HRD who has been promising a lot on this front, both in terms of elimination of illiteracy, primary education, quality global education at affordable prices, etc.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, today being Friday, the normal practice has always been that we will have a long lunch break because of certain sentiments associated with it.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: I will finish in 3-4 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): As soon as he finishes, there will be a break.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Therefore, these are all the areas. When the Government lays down a road map for various Governmental schemes, these are all areas where we, in the opposition, laying an important yardstick and judge the Government by its performance in each one of these areas.

Sir, I have a few suggestions to make for the Government before I conclude. The hon. Chief Minister of Bihar has repeatedly said that Bihar needs a special package. In fact, a lot of backward areas need it. Sir, Bihar, particularly, after the division of the State, needs it a lot more. This is one area which needs to be seriously considered by the Government.

Sir, the hon. President's Address mentions a desire of the Government to bring a law which has been hanging for the last four or five years to check communal violence. The right things or even the good things that the Government wants to do have to be done in a right manner. Shivrajji is here. I think, he has conceived this Bill. It went to the Standing Committee and ultimately it was found and there was an overwhelming opinion that law and order is a State Subject, can the Centre legislate on this and if the Centre legislate, the code eventually become some kind of an encroachment as far as the federal structure is concerned. It is because it would directly enter into the law and order areas. Now, this is one area the Government has to keep in mind, particularly when the

Government goes ahead as far as this proposal is concerned.

I am glad, Sir, that the word 'D' is back. The word 'D' in Indian politics means 'disinvestment.'

SHRI SHIVRAJ VISHWANATH PATIL (Maharashtra): Sir, the point raised by the hon. Leader of the Opposition on the communal violence Bill was considered by Parliament. If the Bill is passed by Parliament and if the State Legislatures also agree to implement the Bill, there is no difficulty.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, I am glad that the former Home Minister effectively endorses what I have said. There is a provision in the Constitution that the Centre can take consent from two State Legislatures, pass a Bill and it will apply only in those States which then keep approving that Bill,

because it is a subject which comes under the purview of State List. So, you have promised something in the President's Address to deal with the area which squarely covers as far as the State List is concerned and the Parliament does not have legislative competence to deal with that area.

Sir, as I said, the 'D' word of Indian politics means 'disinvestment.' When I heard Shri Satyabrat Chaturvedi advocating the cause of disinvestment, I thought that was hearing Mr. Arun Shourie. This was borrowed wisdom. I am glad that it has travelled to the other side. But, it need not be regulated merely by a policy regulation which was applied to each one of the PSU across the board. Please examine the case of each PSU where do you require 51 per cent and where you don't require 51 per cent. The whole intention must be to keep efficient performance of those companies which are valuable assets and also see that the resources can be used.

Finally, Sir, something has been said in the President's Address about the Sethu Samudram Project. I would only urge the Government to seriously examine before mindlessly saying that we will go ahead as is where is, because we have the mandate. What is the cost-benefit assessment as far as this project is concerned? What is the amount of investment that you are going to make and what are the kind of returns required in coastal shipping? There have been several people who have conducted economic studies, and they have different views on this subject. If you are so keen to go ahead, rather than polarising the society as Mr. Keshava Rao said, I am sure the Government will follow his advice not to polarise the society - seriously examine the alternative routes. When you take steps of this kind, you obviously find some kind of social discontent taking place. And, I am sure, the Government will seriously consider that it need not start on the wrong foot once again once it has got a mandate to rule the country.

I wish the Government the very best. I am sure the Government started in the President's Address with some intentions for the future; but, at least, in this House it started with a sense of acrimony. I am sure the Government will overlook what its representatives have done today and, at least, carry on with the spirit that the Prime Minister said to the Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, "Let's make a new beginning". If the Government does, we will certainly reciprocate.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : The House is adjourned at

2.30 p.m.

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

The House re-assembled after lunch at thirty one minutes past two of the clock.

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTIHI NATARAJAN): Shri Sitaram Yechury.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Madam Chairperson, I rise today to speak on the Motion of Thanks for the Address of the hon. President of India, which in this calendar year has happened for

the second time, but, we fully understand that this has come after the 15 general elections, therefore, I will speak keeping in mind the mandate given by the people of India. Respecting that mandate as well as working for what role the people have given us to play, the role of a constructive Opposition to the Government, in that spirit, I would like to take up various issues that the hon. President has raised in her Address. I take it up with an approach that, often, we have seen in the past that once elections are over, many of the promises that are made are not followed through or implemented. So, in the interest of the people of India, particularly, in the interests of the toiling people of India, to defend their rights and to improve their livelihood, this is the approach that we will adopt towards this Government, and it is in that spirit that I would like to respond to some of these issues.

At the outset, Madam Chairperson, I would like to join the President of India as well as the rest of the country in hailing the election of the first woman Speaker in the other House and that is a gesture which has been widely welcomed and I hope that in the same spirit, the first point illustrated on behalf of this Government by the President of India, is the implementation of the reservation for women in Parliament and in the Legislatures, in the first hundred years.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : Hundred days. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I was waiting for Shri Arun Jaitley to correct me this time. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Some mistakes are contagious.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I only wish that the Government does not delay this any further and immediately bring this Bill for adoption in both the Houses. ...(*Interruptions*)... We will fully support that measure which this Government will take.

Secondly, the President of India referred in para 4 to the devastating cyclone, AILA, that has inflicted tremendous degree of damage to both life and property in West Bengal. The President of India, I quote, has said, "My Government will extend all possible succor to the cyclone-affected people of West Bengal." I wish to point out here that as on 4th June, the total number of affected persons has reached 67.5 lakhs and the total death toll has risen to 137; the number of fully and partially damaged houses crossed nine lakhs; the affected crop area exceeded 2.8 lakh hectares and the length of embankment destroyed is more

than 500 kilometres. This is truly a national-level disaster and as of now, 4.38 lakh people are staying in 782 relief camps and 409 gruel kitchens are in operation. Considering the scale of damage and the suddenness with which this happened, I would only urge upon the Government to declare this as a national calamity. While the State Government has sought the assistance of the Central Government for relief and rehabilitation work, I would also request the Government – the normal practice has been that whenever Defence planes or ships or boats are used, the State Governments are charged for the usage of this when they provide relief – to waive these charges in this instance because this is in the interests of providing relief for the people who need this the most. This, I hope, the Government will accede to.

Finally, on this point Madam Chairperson, I would like to say that unfortunately, there has been a tendency to try and politicise the relief work that is provided in the State. We have had instances where an elected MLA, a veteran freedom fighter was assaulted by members of other political parties. Since, unfortunately, it is happening from the side of the members the ruling coalition, I would only request through you, Mr. Prime Minister, that this is not the time for politicising these issues. We are interested in providing relief to the people and to actually give them succour as the President of India has said. I hope that this request will be acceded, and on the basis of humanitarianism, let us not try and politicise this issue.

Having said this, I fully endorse the President's remarks on the unity and the resolve that the country has displayed and will continue to display in our fight against terrorism and various measures that have been listed out by the President of India. All of them will, of course, be supported by all Indian patriots, but, at the same time, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that most of these measures are measures that will come into operation once the terrorist attack takes place. What are required are steps that we should take in order to prevent these terrorist attacks and to prevent these terrorist attacks, the multi-agency coordination which has been spoken of, we have not seen that being active or we have not seen that being effective so far. So, the Government will have to pay attention in this direction that the importance lies in preventing such terrorist attacks rather than pursuit of the criminals post the attack after we have lost lives and property. So, that needs to be looked into.

With regard to para 11 of the President's speech where the Communal Violence Act has been spoken of, which we have been actually discussing during the last five years on a number of occasions with the Government, there is a very serious problem involved containing Centre-State relations, and this is a problem on which, I think, all the parties will have to put their heads together in order to resolve this problem. The hon. Leader of Opposition has also raised it, which is a correct point, that in Centre-State relations, rights of States are something that cannot be encroached upon and how to balance this, is something that we need to work out. But we are all for a Bill of this nature to prevent communal violence and give relief and rehabilitation to the victims but, at the same time, this aspect has to be taken into account. Here, I would

like to point out that there has been, in my opinion, a very glaring omission in the President's Address and that is the question of the Centre-State relations *per se*. One of the fundamental features of our Constitution is its federal structure. In this federal structure, there have always been strains and pushes and pulls on how a balance in relations between the Centre and the States has to be maintained and in this, increasingly, we find States' rights being encroached upon. This is something that is not permissible under our Constitution. Madam, why I am saying this is because there is a reference to administrative reforms, but there is no reference to the fact that we ought to be improving the Centre-State relations and since we are the Council of States here, I think, this is a matter of concern for us particularly, and, therefore, I think, this is an issue that needs to be looked into. I join the other parties and the

President of India on the issue of one-rank-one-pension for our Armed Forces. They have been dutifully protecting the sovereignty of our country. We hail their efforts; we are proud of them. So, I think, this sort of a distortion needs to be corrected.

And, another distortion is the microphone system now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Maybe, some Members have turned on the volume of their microphones. We can request the Members to. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: The Left doesn't require technical devices to increase its voice. ...(*Interruptions*)... Don't worry. Our weight will always remain.

Madam, with your permission, I will proceed. I will fully agree with the hon. President when she says that elections are a festival of democracy in India and we are all justifiably proud of that. Probably, this is the biggest democratic exercise anywhere in the world and this is something which we are all proud of. But there is a lot of fine-tuning that needs to be done. Among the ten priorities which the President of India has listed for this Government, one of them is governance reform; though it is not spelt out, but there are certain areas, which I think, all of us will have to seriously consider. The first of this is the very fact that we talk of people's mandate, we talk of the popular verdict, we talk of people having elected a government, but the fact remains, Madam Vice-Chairman, that not a single Government in India since Independence has had the support of more than 50 per cent of the people who voted. We are talking of the rule of the majority. It has never happened that you have had actually more than 50 per cent of the people voting for any government. Yes, that is the first-past-the-post system. The closest that we came to was when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister; that was about 48 per cent. Now, if we are talking of democracy and the rule of majority, this is a problem we have to seriously address. And if you want to address this problem seriously, I think we need to consider something, which my friends of the BJP once supported -- I don't know if they continue to support us on that issue now that we have to bring in a partial proportional representation system in our country. And, if you want governance reforms to be seen in the wider canvas, to also include electoral reforms, in which case we should seriously consider this issue of a partial proportional representation whereby the government, single party or a coalition, will have at least the majority of those who have

voted— not necessarily majority of the people, or the electorate— at least, the majority of those who have voted.

The second area where I think serious consideration has to be given is on the entire working of the constitutional scheme of things that we have. The Legislature, according to our constitution, is supposed to be a check on the Executive. Apart from making laws, which is its primary duty, it also serves as a check on the Executive. Now, this check on the Executive is possible only when the Legislature works. You had a year, the last year, when, I think, we sat for only 46 sessions in the whole year. On an average, the British Parliament sits for 160 days. We are sitting for 46 days in a year! And what check can the Legislature have on the Executive when the Legislature does not have

time to even work on this aspect? So, I think there is a serious need for us to consider, if necessary, a constitutional amendment because there have been various Committees in the past which have recommended that the Parliament should sit, at least, for 100 days in a year but they have not been able to implement them. So, if necessary, there should be a constitutional mandate that Parliament would sit for, at least, 100 days in a calendar year. And that is necessary if you want to establish our own constitutional scheme of things and implement them properly.

The third area, which the hon. President spoke of, is the issue of judicial reforms. But this entire area of judicial activism which has engaged our attention also on a large number of occasions, and the whole constitutional mandate for the judiciary to have its obligation for a judicial review cannot be replaced by judicial activism. We have discussed this in the past; therefor, I am not going to give you instances of that nature. But the fact remains that judicial reform today is urgently required also for delivery of justice. Today, according to an information I have, by 2007— that is the last year for which data is available— three million, that is, 30 lakh cases, were pending in India's 21 high courts and there is a staggering 26.3 million cases that is, 263 lakh cases that are pending in the subordinate courts. It is estimated that there are over three lakh undertrials languishing in jails across the country because their cases are not being decided. Surely, we cannot have a democracy where even the normal system of delivering justice leave alone the most horrific cases where there have been communal riots or cases of attacks on certain communities like we have witnessed in the past is being impeded. So, what is urgently required, which is something we have discussed earlier, is the appointment of a National Judicial Commission and this National Judicial Commission must be empowered, drawing in representatives from all the three wings of our democracy as well as the bar of the hon. Court and let this Judicial Commission go into also cases of omission and commission, appointments of judges, as well as speed up the process of delivery of justice.

These are the issues that this Commission should take into account and, I think, therefore, this is something that merits our serious attention. Therefore, I think the question of a limited proportional representation system, the question of correcting our constitutional scheme of things in terms of constitutional mandate for at least 100 days sitting of the legislature and the question of National Judicial Commission merit our serious attention, and I hope that the Government

will take up these issues in the coming days in the interest of our country and our system. Having said this, the bulk of hon. President's Address is naturally connected with what the previous Government has achieved and what the current Government will plan in the future. It is a road-map that has been given to us. In para 14, all the achievements have been listed and then it continues with the assurance that all the schemes will not only be continued, but will be strengthened. It is a very laudable declaration of intent. But often we find that the intent does not translate into practice. The Leader of the Opposition has given some figures on many of these flagship programmes that have been lacking. There are many more that needs to be given or to be taken into account. Take the programme of your National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. On an average, in the country, as a whole, you have about

10 crore job card holders. So far, less than only 50 per cent have been able to be provided jobs and that too the national average works out to 48 days instead of 100 days. If this is the implementation of the flagship programme and if you look at it, then you can understand that translation of the declaration of intent into reality is something that is not happening at the lower level and that needs to be corrected. Emphasis was given to building or developing investments in agriculture or developing the infrastructure in agriculture. What has been our experience? If you see the targets, on the last occasion only 56 per cent of the target of irrigation has been achieved under the last Government. If you look at rural electrification, it is more miserable -only 27 per cent of the target has been achieved by the last Government. It is a different matter that even with this minimum which is reaching the people, people have voted for this Government. But the fact remains that the gap is very wide and it will have to be ensured that these gaps do not recur in the future and that is why, when I defined my role as the opposition, I said, we shall be here to ensure that we put pressure on the Government through you, Madam, so that they continue to implement good schemes in the interest of the people. Similarly, in para 20, the President talked of education, expansion of education and has also talked in terms of 'expansion', 'inclusion' and 'excellence'. In other words, I would prefer to use the terms 'quality', 'quantity' and 'equity', and it is this eternal balance in education that needs to be achieved. If this eternal balance needs to be achieved, then increase the allocations for education, notwithstanding all the claims that have been made of increased allocation. Yes, they have been increased undoubtedly but our complaint, so to speak, is that it has not reached the level that was promised to be reached, that is, 6 per cent of our GDP and that promise is not repeated here and which is why we are disappointed. Make it at least 6 per cent of GDP for education and 3 per cent of GDP for public health. These were the targets that were accepted by all of us five years ago and, therefore, this must be brought into the programme of the Government and they ought to be implemented. But, the expenditures on higher education, and I am saying this because the President defines our existence today as a knowledge society and if we are going to be a knowledge society, it is abysmal to note that India has one of the lowest expenditures on higher education per student, which is, in international terms, \$ 406. In comparison, China has \$ 2728; Brazil has \$ 3986;

Indonesia spends \$ 666; Malaysia spends \$ 625; and, we spend \$ 406. So, there is mismatch, and this mismatch has to be corrected, and I hope that the Government will find its resources in the future to do this.

There are other issues of serious concern that we have. First, I would refer to para 24 of the President's Address where there is a mention of a new Act, a new law, that will be enacted, that is, the National Food Security Act. This National Food Security Act says that they will be providing 25 kilograms of rice or wheat at Rs. 3 per kilogram. Now, today, many State Governments are already providing 35 kilograms of foodgrains for the people Below the Poverty Line, and at Rs. 2 per kilogram. Many States are subsidising further from what the Centre has been subsidising. But, if a new Act is being brought into force, then this new Act will have to take into account already existing schemes. Even in Antyodaya Scheme, I think, the allocation is more than 25 kilograms; it is 35

kilograms. So, you cannot have a new Act in the name of food security where the quantity is reduced. Whom are we fooling? You have reduced the 35 kilogram quantity to 25 kilogram and saying you are providing food security. That is something which is not acceptable. So, this needs to be corrected, and this is a very serious matter which has to be taken into account because what is happening in our country as a result of the price rise of foodgrains is very appalling. I am quoting from a United Nations Development Programme Report. With all the authority that it has, it says, "The price rise has been so unbearable for the Indian people...". "The retail price of rice was 60 per cent higher in January 2009 as compared to the level two years earlier. Given that expenditure on food constituted over 62 per cent of the total consumption expenditure of the bottom 20 per cent in 2006-2008, the soaring cost of cereals led to 24.7 per cent increase in food cost for the poor. This is nearly 25 per cent increase in food cost for the poor. This, in turn, meant that their purchasing power declined by 14.3 per cent due to higher food prices alone." Now, this is the impact that the uncontained price rise of essential commodities is having on the poor, and this is something simply not acceptable. Here, again, the definitions that we give for our BPL keep varying, and this has been a perennial problem to which we have been drawing the attention of the Government all along. I would quote from the same Report. This is with regard to four States which, in our terminology, we normally refer to them as BIMARU States, that is, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, not necessarily our combination, which the Report says, "These four States collectively account for nearly 28 per cent of poor households in the country. The majority of the households termed officially poor were without a BPL or Antyodaya card. The degree of such exclusion from the PDS was 77 per cent in Bihar; 67 per cent in Jharkhand, 54 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 54 per cent in Chhattisgarh as well." This is the degree of exclusion of the poor from PDS. Now, this is a very appalling state of affairs. If you really are talking of the *aam admi*, if you really are talking of improving the plight of the 'suffering India' as opposed to the 'shining India' and this is a contrast to which I had drawn the attention of the House earlier, but I wish to draw your attention again. Today, as the Forbes' List mentions, you have a number of billionaires in the country, whose assets equal twenty five per cent of the country's GDP. Madam, twenty-five per cent of the country's GDP is accounted by 36 individuals. And,

on the other hand, our colleague, Arjun Sen Gupta's report - he is not here now - - tells that 77 per cent of Indians live on less than Rs. 20/- a day. These are the two sides of India that exist; a shining India and a suffering India. What is the state of the suffering India, Madam? Everyday, and, it pains all of us, a thousand children die in my country because of completely preventable waterborne diseases. Fifty-six per cent of our children do not get any vaccination or protection. Forty per cent of our children are under-weight and seventy per cent are anaemic due to malnutrition. These are the figures from the Third National Family Health Survey, which is the latest one. Seventy per cent of our people do not have access to sanitised toilets. Two-thirds of our people do not have access to potable drinking water near their habitation. Nearly two-thirds of the pregnant mothers are anaemic. These are the mothers that are producing the future of India. This is the state

of mothers and children. Is this the India that we want? But this is the India that we have and this is what we have to change.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN - in the Chair]

Sir, in order to change this, I think, only the declaration of many of the programmes that have been made in the President's Address is not sufficient but a greater effort will have to be made in not merely implementing it at the ground level but also to enlarge it to face the real situation in our country and provide real relief to our people.

Now, in this context, also in para 29, a reference has been made to the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill to protect the farmers and others dependent on farming, from unfair displacement. This is an issue which has been hotly debated by us but it was debated in the context of the Special Economic Zones. There is no reference to the Special Economic Zones in this entire Address. I have said it even earlier, and, I am repeating it now that certain serious changes will have to be brought in the Special Economic Zones Rules that have been notified, on the question of the quantum of land that would be used for actual production and the rest being given to the real estate developers, on the question of tax concessions that have been given to them, on the question of implementation of labour laws within these Special Economic Zones, apart from the question of having a new law for Land Acquisition, instead of the antiquated law of 1894, which is still in operation. These are the issues that have not been mentioned in the President's Address at all but these are the issues that are agitating lakhs of people across the country.

Even when the election process was on, there were reports that various SEZs were merged together to create a larger SEZ in certain parts of the country. If it has happened, it is unacceptable. But these are the issues that cannot escape our attention and will have to be taken up very seriously.

Then, Sir, very major issue that disturbs all of us, maybe there is a sense of relief that the Government does not have to rely on the support of the Left Parties, or, may be because of that, it has been brought about. ...*(Interruptions)*...

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Kerala): You can still support. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: But you do the right things. Sir, in para 34 and para 33, that precedes it, emphasis is on the question of developing the country's infrastructure. It is true that we always ask for its development and speedier development but the route that has been chosen for developing country's infrastructure is the famous or infamous, PPP, the Public-Private-Partnership. I will come to that subsequently but in order to finance this infrastructural development, there is a suggestion given in para 34 that there will be a new form of disinvestment of the public sector that will take place where the Government will not allow its equity to go below 51 per cent, but, it will, nevertheless, allow or disinvest the rest of the capital that is contained in these companies. Now, this is in the name of raising resources for infrastructural development. But, Sir, there are better ways of raising resources for infrastructural development rather than disinvesting your public sector. I heard

the Mover of the motion-in the morning saying-that they have got the mandate for disinvestment in this election and, therefore, they would go ahead with the exercise of that mandate. But, please remember, the public sector is the property of the Indian people. The Governments that come and that go are only the managers of this public sector and no manager can sell the property without the permission of the owner. And if the property is sold without the permission of the owner, the owner will change the manager. So, let us today address the issue of resource mobilisation for infrastructural development without selling our family silver. And, here, Sir, I would like to draw the attention that there is a vast area of revenue mobilisation that is now untapped. For instance, let me give you some figures from the Centre that monitors Indian economy, CMIE. In 2003-04, ten top corporate houses in India have had an asset value of Rs.2,041.97 crores. In 2007-08, four years later, this jumped to Rs.23,441.94 crores, that is, ten times. The assets' values have gone up more than ten times in four years. Their profits after tax have gone up from Rs.35.48 crores in 2003-04 to Rs.2,574.59 crores in 2007-08, a whopping increase. Now, if this is their level of profit generation, ought not they to contribute to the entire process of infrastructural development which will only help them generate more profits because the infrastructure will be used by them. But, what is the effective tax rates of these top ten corporates in the country? I don't want to take names, but, not one of them pays even the 33 per cent mandatory tax from their profits that they have earned. There is one that comes close to it. That apart, of the rest of the ten, there are only two that cross 30 per cent. Of the remaining eight, there is only one that crosses 20 per cent. The rest pay less than that. Now, this is the way in which we have our loopholes in our tax structure and a lot of this revenue mobilisation that is due to the Government, is not being collected. Please do that, plug those loopholes and collect money from these sections rather than selling your family silver and disinvesting your public sector. ...(*Interruptions*)... Disinvestment is a one-time saving. But, this is something that will happen every year. My hon. colleague is correct. Every year, you can raise such resources. Therefore, Sir, keeping this in mind, I think, the Government should seriously re-consider the question of proceeding with disinvestment and it will only do them good because on the last occasion when they seriously considered the points that we had raised, they got the benefit

of people voting for them. It will only do them good, whether it is the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme or something else. I am not here scoring any points, but, I am saying it in the interest of the country. I think, they should seriously consider the aspect of an alternative way of resource mobilisation. Having made that point, I am quoting from the Address. In para 33, it is stated that this entire public private partnership is the key element of the strategy of building our infrastructure. Now, if PPP is the key element, what has been our experience? Today, you have user development fee that is charged from every passenger by the private airport authorities in our country because they say their passenger traffic has reduced and, therefore, they are not able to maintain their costs. So, in a capitalist crisis, it is the capitalist who pays for the crises. Why should we pay? If the capitalist has

miscalculated and has expanded his capacity beyond his limit hoping for an increase in passenger traffic, which has happened in respect of one private airport, and now since he has expanded the capacity and passenger traffic has fallen, the losses that he is generating, have to be recovered from passengers, and this is the consequence of your own PPP. This is privatization of your profits and socialization of your losses where people have to pay. So, seriously consider the models of PPP that have been followed so far. I have only given you one example. There are various examples, whether on the question of roads that are being constructed, or with other infrastructural areas that we have gone into. Now, these are issues that require a very serious consideration of the Government, and we hope that these issues will be taken up by the Government.

But I come to the major thrust of the President's Address, and that is paras 15 and 16 when she deals with the global crisis and the impact that is there in our country and how we are trying to resolve it. I must state and I think the Government continues to remain in a state of denial on the impact of the global crisis, and this I am saying because what are our own governmental statistics that have been recently put out. In the first quarter of 2009, India's industrial output dropped to an alarming minus 2.3 per cent. Growth rate of your manufacturing sector dropped. Manufacturing sector by the way is 80 per cent of your index of industrial production. Manufacturing sector grew at a minus 3.3 per cent growth rate. ...(*Interruptions*)... What I am saying is that the industrial output grew at minus 2.3 per cent; your manufacturing sector grew at minus 3.3 per cent; your exports have fallen by 33 per cent in the last 7 months; your imports have also fallen. This, maybe for an economist, he will say that my trade deficit will improve because imports have also fallen. But these are capital imports which essentially is an index for measuring the infrastructural development. These have declined and the net impact of all this is that your economic fundamentals are being adversely affected. But, at the same time, the net impact of all this is directly falling on peoples' livelihood with the loss of jobs. Again, I am quoting from the UNDP report. It says: "Given the fragmentary nature of information, the best that one can do is to depend on figures like 20,000 construction workers who have lost their jobs in the Gulf are returning to India." The Minister for Overseas Affairs hands will be full

particularly since he comes from that State. "Twenty thousand construction workers have lost their jobs in the Gulf. In the engineering sector, the job losses were 40,000; one lakh people working in the gems and jewellery sector have lost their jobs; 5,00,000 people have lost jobs in the textiles and garments sector," and these are figures given to us by the UNDP. What has happened as a result of this crisis is real. In fact, crores of people are getting homeless and jobless, and unless these problems are addressed, we cannot really provide relief to the people. But at the same time, the hon. President says, and I quote: "It is a matter of satisfaction that the Indian economy has not suffered the kind of slow down that has been witnessed in almost every other country in the world." Yes, Sir. It is a matter of satisfaction. But why? There are, at least, four measures that we prevented this Government from taking. If they had taken those measures, the impact would have been more devastating. First, on the question of privatization of the Pension Funds, if that money had gone into

the stock markets, crores of our employees would have been ruined. Second is on the question of your banking reform. If that had happened, the foreign banks' equity in Indian banks was allowed to go up to 71 per cent or 75 per cent.; with the collapse of foreign banks, our banks would have also collapsed; crores of people would have lost their lifelong savings. If, in the insurance sector, we had allowed you to raise the ceiling of foreign investment, along with the collapse of insurance giants in the world—AIG, the biggest insurance giant in the world, has also collapsed—we would have also suffered. And if the previous Government had gone ahead with the full convertibility of the Indian rupees, which was laid out as a roadmap by the hon. Prime Minister himself in 2006, there would have been a greater exodus in the capital flights from our country as a result of this crisis. These were the four measures. Yes, I had, on one occasion, said 'give the devil its due' because - we stopped it, the impact has been less. But now, what is stated in para 16 is very amazing. Immediately after this thing, in part 16, the hon. President talks in terms of banking sector reforms and also brings in a legislation to establish a regulator for the pension sector. Regulator for the pension sector is exactly the privatisation of pension funds. And that Bill, which was pending and which could not be passed last time, is still there. So, the solutions that the President of India is offering are exactly the opposite of what needs to be done to protect ourselves. If it is a matter of satisfaction that we did not suffer as much as some other countries did, that matter of satisfaction should be understood, why it so happened, and not repeat those mistakes. But unfortunately, I am afraid, that is exactly what the President has outlined for this Government to take up. Now, I think, there must be a serious rethink on this and this sort of a policy needs to be reversed by the Government; otherwise, there could be a greater misery that will be imposed on the Indian people.

There is, in fact, another thing which the Leader of the Opposition also pointed out and which, I think, is a very valid one. That is the issue of non-comprehensive nature in which the foreign policy of our country and the relations with the world have been discussed here. During the tenure of the last Government, we have had this entire discussion on the Indo-US nuclear deal, at least, five times in this House. Many of the issues have been discussed. I do not wish to repeat most of them. But, I

think, there are certain glaring omissions in the foreign policy section, and one of that omissions is that this is, probably, for the first time in many, many years that there is no mention of the word 'nonaligned'. There is no mention of this term 'nonaligned'. And I would only want to recall the attention of this august House to the remarks made by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi when she took over the mantle of the NAM Presidency from Fidel Castro and you remember that bear hug; all of us remember that photograph. She said: Nonalignment's relevance is not because the cold war is on and there are two camps in the world. Non-alignment's relevance is the solidarity of the developing world on all matters and, prophetically, at that point of time, within a few years, came the entire issue of the North-South divide on the economic issues. So, the relevance of nonalignment is not only in terms of foreign policy alone; the relevance of nonalignment is also in terms of mobilising the solidarity between the developing world in order to take on the challenges that will mount now in

the wake of a global recession, and these challenges that will mount in the wake of a global recession will come in the form of increased protectionism by the North affecting the South, by increased pressures by the North to price open our markets so that they can continue to make their profits at the expense of our farmers and our people. And if these matters have to be resisted, then that element of building that solidarity, which is crucial now because the Doha-round will, again, restart, and how we are going to take up the question of protecting our farmers will, again, become important and the approach that the Government will take on these matters has, unfortunately, not been outlined or defined. Here, I would also like to point out that I find it very strange that while all other achievements of the previous Government have been listed, but there is no reference to Indo-Brazil-South Africa Initiative that we had taken, that the hon. Prime Minister had taken. He went to the first Summit. That initiative of India-Brazil-South Africa, that linkage has given us, I believe, a lot of positive dividends in terms of the entire discussions that are taking place in the WTO. We, in fact, are wanting and arguing that IBSA should be expanded to include China and Russia and IBSA should be converted into BRICS - Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. It is this sort of a combination that India will have to work for if, today, we really have to resist the increasing pressures that will come and they will mount on the economic front; because one way of seeing the end of the tunnel by them, is by resorting to and going back to greater protectionism. You have already seen the decision of the US President that any US company that outsources or sets up BPOs in India, for example, will not receive any tax concessions that are available to them there. Your IT sector which has been a place of pride for us, for the younger generation, that is going to be very seriously effected by this. So if these have to be resisted, India requires larger number of friends in the developing world and that somehow is missing in this entire section. But I am only being generous by saying 'missing', maybe, there is a reason why that is missing and the reason is contained in Para 43, that is, the transformation of our partnership with the United States of America will be taken forward. Now what is this transformation of our relationship? At the time of the debate on the Indo-US nuclear deal we had pointed very serious implications that it has for our sovereignty, for our future and the baggage of the externalities from nuclear commerce that accompanied the

deal were the basic concerns that we had expressed. Now if that is the direction in which you want to strengthen, and if that is the meaning of what the President said that this Government will take this forward, it has very serious implications because already the US Administration is now talking of reviving the CTBT. The, new US President has already said that he will go back to the Congress and the Senate. Remember, Sir, in the United States of America, the Democrats today control both the Senate and the Congress as well. If they go back there with the CTBT and it is endorsed now, then automatically the pressure on us to sign that treaty will mount. Similarly, the pressure on us to sign the NPT will mount. Both these treaties, we have said, are discriminatory; they are loaded against us and in favour of the P-5 and, therefore, India will not sign these treaties. That has been our traditional position. We would like to know: Is there any change from that? If there is no change then how can

you take the partnership with America forward? It can go forward only when you accept the conditions that they are putting. If these are the conditions they are putting, then we are in for a serious trouble. Again the question comes up about Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline. Yes, we understand the situation in Pakistan. We understand the insecurities that are connected with it. But is that the only reason why that is not happening? Tactically, is it in the interest of India if Iran-Pakistan-China comes up with this gas pipeline? Is that going to be advantageous for us? No, it will be very disadvantageous for India. These are matters that require serious consideration by the Government. Therefore, today, I must say, I was rather pleasantly surprised while the hon. Leader of the Opposition mentioned his concerns on these points. I am very glad that these concerns were raised by him both on the issue of WTO and climate change. We hope that this approach will continue to be there because much of this strategic partnership that the President of India says that this Government will take forward was a strategic relationship which they began, when they were in Government. But in the interest of the country - again, as I said, that is not for scoring a point or *tu-tu main-main* - I think, these are the issues that will have to be very seriously addressed by the Government. I hope they will take these issues into consideration with all seriousness that it merits. Finally, I would like to say, the President of India, has borrowed certain expressions, she hasn't stated so; I don't blame her, as this is common knowledge that she has taken certain passages from the 'Gitanjali', Rabindranath Tagore's Nobel Prize winning piece of work - 'The dreary desert of dead habit', and then goes on to say, "Our young people are tearing down the narrow domestic walls". Both these expressions are there in that poem. But there are two other expressions which she does not refer to. What she does not refer to is, 'where the mind is without fear' and 'where the head is held high'. We want India to be that, where the head is held high and the mind is without fear. That is the country which Tagore wanted and that is the country which we want. I am not saying that, by a deliberate exclusion, the President had not chosen those two key terms. But I wish that to be amended to contain that spirit. Let us build a country where the mind is without fear and the head is held high. And that can only happen if all these suggestions are taken seriously, and we hope that the Government will seriously take these suggestions into account. Some of these, we have moved in an amendment form, which we will take up subsequently. But, we hope, in the interest of India and for the future of our younger generation, as the President correctly notes that 54 per cent of India is

below the age of 25 years, we have earlier been arguing on this demographic dividend and we are happy to note that it has been referred to by the President – let us invest in our youth. Please provide this youth with education, health and employment. Then, there is no need for any one of us here; the youth will change India into a better India. Our job is to provide them with these facilities and empower them. And that empowerment is what I am seeking from this Government. Since they are beginning a new term, we wish them all success. But we wish them success by also taking into account the suggestions that we have made. Before I conclude, I once again reiterate that we wish to play the role of a responsible Opposition, a constructive Opposition, where the issues of the working people will continue to be championed by us both inside the House and outside. And I hope that in the interest of India and its people, the Government will take these suggestions seriously. Thank you.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश): धन्यवाद उपसभापति जी। मैं सबसे पहले कामरेड सीताराम येचुरी जी के गुरुदेव की उस उक्ति को हिन्दी में कहना चाहता हूँ कि चित्त जथा भय शून्य, उच्च जथा शीर। इसी के साथ, मुझे यह कहना है कि मैं इस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

उपसभापति महोदय, यह कहना इतनी दिक्कत से इसलिए पड़ रहा है कि मैं जब से पार्लियामेंट में आ रहा हूँ, मैंने बहुत बार धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर बोला होगा, थोड़े दिनों के लिए सरकार में पार्टी की ओर से था, तब तो नहीं बोला होगा, लेकिन जब कोई भी पार्टी सरकार में रहती थी, चाहे बीजेपी वाली रहे या कांग्रेस वाली रहे, उस पर जब हम बोलने के लिए आते थे, तो केवल विरोध में ही बोलना पड़ता था। आज पहली मर्तबा इस प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में, जिसे श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी जी ने पेश किया है, मुझे बोलना पड़ रहा है। मुझे भी थोड़ा अटपटा लग रहा है। उस अटपटेपन में अगर हमारे मित्रों को थोड़ा-बहुत बुरा लग जाए, तो वह समझ लें कि वह चटपटा है और चटपटा स्वादिष्ट होता है। थोड़ा-बहुत तो ऊबड़-खाबड़ हम बोल जाएंगे क्योंकि बहुत ठीक स्वभाव पहले का नहीं रहा है।

अभी थोड़े दिन पहले चुनाव के बाद दिल्ली में ही नहीं सारे देश में नई उम्र के लड़कों ने बहुत बाजा बजाया, नाच गाना किया, नगाड़ा बजाया। हम गांव में थे, तो हमारे गांव में भी एक बार बचपन में नई दुल्हन आने वाली थी, तो बड़े बाजे बज रहे थे। वह लाल चुनरी पहन कर आ भी गई और हम लोगों ने बाजे तेज कर दिए। लेकिन जब चुनरी से उसका चेहरा उतारा गया, तो देखा गया कि यह तो तीन-चार साल पहले ही आ चुकी है। इसी तरह से यह चुनरी पहले, यह पांच साल पुरानी वाली सरकार आज आई है। यह पुरानी दुल्हन, नई साड़ी में आई है। यह जरूर है कि देश के बच्चे इस पर खुशी मनाते हैं। हमको भी उतनी ही खुशी है। सबसे बड़ी खुशी यह है कि इन्होंने सांप्रदायिक शक्तियों को पराजित किया है, हम लोगों ने भी पराजित किया है, सब ने मिलजुल कर पराजित किया है। सांप्रदायिक शक्तियों के आने के बाद देश कहां चला जाता है, हम लोगों की क्या हालत होती है, हम इसको ठीक तरह से जानते हैं। हमने इनको केवल इसलिए बधाई नहीं दी, क्योंकि हमारे कुछ लोग बधाई देने गए थे, इनके लड़के नाचने लगे और कहने लगे कि तुम मत आओ, तुम मत आओ, तुम कुछ मांगने आए हो। जब किसी के घर में ब्याह-शादी होती है, तो कोई उसे बधाई देने जाता है, कुछ मांगने नहीं जाता है। पता नहीं यह कौन सा कॉम्प्लेक्स है? सब लोगों ने समझा कि हम कुछ लेने आ रहे हैं और हमको मंगता बना दिया गया। हम तो वहां नहीं गए थे, लेकिन अपने लोगों में थोड़ा सा सुधार तो लाना ही चाहिए। मान लीजिए कि कोई खुशी का मौका है और आपके घर में मिठाई रखी है, तो बधाई देने के बाद हमने एक मिठाई खा ली - एक बार श्री अमर सिंह जी खुशी के मौके पर किसी दावत में गए थे, कहा कि मत आओ, मत आओ, दावत में कुत्ते भी बिना बुलाए आ जाते हैं, वे तो कामरेड सुरजीत सिंह जी के साथ गए थे। हम चाहते हैं कि अपनी भावनाओं को दुरुस्त किया जाए और इस तरह की भाषा न बोली जाए। हम कुछ मांगने नहीं जा रहे हैं। आप ठीक से चलाइए, पांच साल चलाइए, लेकिन पिछले पांच सालों जैसे नहीं। हमें बड़ा दुख हुआ, जब लोगों के घरों में दाल नहीं पकी और येचुरी जी तथा दूसरे लोग जिस महंगाई की चर्चा कर रहे थे, तो आज भी दाल 60 रुपए किलो बिक रही है, दाल गरीब निवाजखाना। यदि घर में दस आदमी हैं और एक मेहमान आ जाए, तो दाल में एक लोटा गर्म पानी डाल दीजिए, सबका काम चल जाएगा। आज 14 रुपए किलो आलू बिक रहा है। यह कुप्रबंधन के अलावा कुछ नहीं है। एक तो वायदा कारोबार है, जिस पर कंट्रोल करने के लिए वाणिज्य मंत्री से लेकर, वित्त मंत्री तक ने कुछ नहीं किया है। वे टेलीफोन पर सारे देश का सामान

जब्त कर लेते हैं और अमेरिका में तो इस पर पाबंदी लगने लगी है। वे जैसा चाहते हैं, बाजार को नचा देते हैं, लेकिन आज भी आम आदमी के घर में दाल की हांडी नहीं चढ़ती। पहले आलू में थोड़ा पानी व मसाला डाल कर सब्जी बना दी जाती थी, लेकिन वह गलत नहीं था, बाकी सब्जियां तो गल जाती हैं। आज आलू भी 12-14 रुपए किलो बिक रहा है। जब तक आप गरीब के चूल्हे का ख्याल नहीं करेंगे, लोग चाहे जितने बड़े-बड़े भाषण कर लें, अच्छी-अच्छी भाषाओं का इस्तेमाल कर लें, वे भाषाएं गरीब की जिन्दगी को नहीं सुधार सकती हैं। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि आज भी महंगाई उसी तरह से है। अर्थशास्त्र का विद्वान चाहे जितना दावा करता हो, लेकिन इस महंगाई में, गरीब की थाली में जो रोटी आती है, उसकी महंगाई में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया है। हम समर्थन तो आपका कर रहे हैं, लेकिन इस उम्मीद के साथ कर रहे हैं कि आप गरीब की थाली की रोटी जल्दी से जल्दी सस्ती करवाएंगे और इसके बारे में गंभीरता से सोचेंगे। राष्ट्रपति महोदया ने कहा है कि देश में रहने वाले लोगों की आंतरिक सुरक्षा के हित में लगे लोगों की हिफाजत का भरपूर इंतजाम किया जाएगा। यह भाषा बड़ी अच्छी है, लेकिन अगर थोड़ी हकीकत पर भी जाएंगे, तो पाएंगे कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में एक लाख लोगों पर 220 या 222 सिपाही हैं और इंग्लैंड में एक लाख लोगों पर 425 सिपाही हैं। हमारे यहां आधे से भी कम हैं। हम भगवान भरोसे तो सुरक्षित हैं, उसमें आपकी पुलिस और आपकी कोई जरूरत नहीं है। हमारी हिफाजत भगवान कर रहा है, लेकिन जब आप सरकार की तरफ से दावा ठोकते हैं, तो आप किसी फोर्स से हमारी सुरक्षा कराएंगे, हमें जरा समझ दीजिए। हमारी पीछे वाले मित्र यहां बैठे हैं या नहीं पुलिस में भर्ती और पुलिस का इंतजाम भी हम राजनीतिक लोगों के राग-द्वेष का शिकार हैं। अभी पिछली सरकार ने लखनऊ में बीस हजार सिपाहियों को भर्ती किया। नई सरकार विद्वेषपूर्ण भावना से आई, उसने सभी को बर्खास्त कर दिया। वे ट्रेनिंग पा चुके थे, उनकी शादियां हो गई थीं, उनका परिवार बस गया था, वे थाने तक जा चुके थे, उसके बाद भी बीस हजार सिपाहियों को बर्खास्त कर दिया। वे हाई कोर्ट गए, हाई कोर्ट से जीत गए, फिर सुप्रीम कोर्ट आए, लेकिन सरकार सुनती नहीं है। अगर यह राग-विद्वेष पुलिसिया कर्मचारियों की भर्ती पर पोलिटिशियन्स का चलेगा, तो हम लोग तो जनता को सुरक्षा दे नहीं सकते हैं। हम इतना जरूर कहेंगे कि यह लगभग सभी महकमों में होता जा रहा है। केंद्र में अभी कम है, लेकिन सबों में इसका बहुत खिलवाड़ हो रहा है। केंद्र को कोई तो नियम बनाना पड़ेगा कि इस तरह की जो भर्तियां होती हैं, उनके साथ कोई खिलवाड़ न किया जाए, क्योंकि यदि कल को आप पलटन में भर्ती करें और परसों बीजेपी की सरकार बन जाए और सारी भर्ती कैंसिल कर दे, उसके बाद देश की सुरक्षा नहीं होती है, आदमी की सुरक्षा नहीं होती है। राजनीति को राग-विद्वेष से मुक्त होना पड़ेगा। लोकतंत्र में सरकारें आएंगी, जाएंगी, रहेंगी, यह बात कोई मायने नहीं रखती है। राष्ट्रपति जी का कहा वाक्य मुझे बहुत अच्छा लगा कि जब बुढ़िया अपनी उंगली की तरफ देखती है, और उस पर काली स्याही देखती है, तो यह अहसास करती है कि मैं बड़ी से बड़ी ताकत को पलट सकती हूँ। यह हिंदुस्तान की एक उपलब्धि है। मान्यवर, ऐसा पहले नहीं होता था। पहले कोई राजा होता था, बूढ़ा हो जाता था, मर जाता था, उसके बाद बेटा राजा बन जाता था। फिर दूसरा राजा आया, उसने हमला किया, अगर जीत गया तो राजा बन जाता था। हिंदुस्तान का अभी तक का यही इतिहास रहा है। पहली मर्तबा, जब 1952 में चुनाव होने लगे, तो जनता की आदत है कि जिसे कुर्सी पर बैठाया था, वही पंडित जी फिर बिठा दिए। सन् 1957 में भी वही आ गए, 1962 में वही आ गए। तब डॉ. लोहिया ने कहा कि कांग्रेस के खिलाफ वोट तो बहुत पड़ते हैं, आप सभी को जुटाइए। उन्होंने गैर कांग्रेसवाद की रणनीति बनाई और बाद में जयप्रकाश जी का आंदोलन आते-आते हिंदुस्तान की

जनता ने यह सीख लिया कि जब हमारी तर्जनी में स्याही पड़ जाएगी तो हम दिल्ली, पटना, लखनऊ सब बदल सकते हैं। पहली मर्तबा से ऐसा सोचना शुरू हुआ, लेकिन यह सिखान, यह पढ़ाई पूरी नहीं कही जा सकती। यह सच है कि उसको अहसास हो गया है कि जिस दिन वोट पड़ेगा, हम जो चाहे वह पलट देंगे, लेकिन वही आदमी जब शास्त्री भवन के सामने जूते में कील ठोकता है, वहां पुलिस का सिपाही जूते में पॉलिश करा ले और वह पैसा मांगे तो उसे एक चांटा मार देता है, वह गिड़गिड़ाने लगता है। कोई फल की दुकान से दो सेब उठाकर खा जाए, ठेला वाला पैसे मांगने लगता है, उसे गाली बकता हुआ डांट देता है, वह गिड़गिड़ाने लगता है। एक तरफ तो गरीब को यह अहसास दिलाया गया कि जब तुम्हारी तर्जनी में स्याही लग जाएगी तो दिल्ली पलट सकते हो, लेकिन उसके दिल में इसका कोई अहसास नहीं है। मनमोहन सिंह जी, आपका, इस संसद और नेता विरोधी दल, आपका इनके प्रति सबसे बड़ा उत्तरदायित्व बनता है। अगर हिंदुस्तान में कोई मजबूत लोकतंत्र

लाना है तो समाज के अंतिम आदमी के दिल में यह हौंसला पैदा करिए कि अगर हम दिल्ली पलट सकते हैं, तो किसी भी जालिम का हाथ पकड़ सकते हैं। जब तक यह हौंसला पैदा नहीं करते हैं, तब तक आपका लोकतंत्र अधूरा है, लंगड़ा है। आप इस पर बहुत दंभ मत मारिए। अभी बहस हो रही थी, येचुरी साहब ने कहा, कम लोग वोट देने आते हैं, बहुत कम आते हैं। ऐसा क्यों है? जब अपनी हिफाजत हम ही को करनी है, दो चार बार हमने दिल्ली लखनऊ पलट दिया है, लेकिन पुलिस उसी तरह मारती है, गुण्डा उसी तरह सताता है, तब हम क्यों वोट देने जाएं। इसके अतिरिक्त इलेक्शन कमीशन के रोल पर भी हमको सोचना पड़ेगा। मैं बहस करने नहीं जाता, लेकिन इतनी सख्ती, मानो हम लोग कोई स्कूल के बच्चे हों। चार आदमी नहीं चल सकते, आधा मीटर से लम्बा झण्डा नहीं हो सकता, एक इंच से बड़ा पोस्टर नहीं हो सकता। लगता है कि हम राजनीति करने वाले तुतलाते हुए दूधमुँहे बच्चे हैं। ये अफसर, जो हमको पोलिंग के समय सिखाने लगते हैं, जब कलक्टर वगैरह रहते नौकरी करते हैं, तो हुजूर-हुजूर करते हैं, लेकिन किसी ऐसी जगह पर, जहां कोई डॉट, लात नहीं हो सकती, तो वहां पर इतना सिखाते हैं कि हम लोग मुश्किल में पड़ जाते हैं। इन लोगों को थोड़ा कंट्रोल करना पड़ेगा। लोकतंत्र आम जनता के खुले खेल का मैदान है। जो दिल दबा कर खेलेगा, वह जीत ही नहीं सकता। खुले खेल का मैदान है। लोग सड़क पर उतरते हैं, बच्चे उतरते हैं, हम लोगों की गाड़ी जाती है, झंडी बांधते रहते हैं, नारा लगता रहता है। इन्दिरा जी के नेतृत्व में लोकतंत्र को कई बार खुले खेल का मैदान बनाया गया। गरीबी हटाओ के बाद से लेकर जब राजीव गांधी पहली बार प्रधान मंत्री हुए, तब, जय प्रकाश नारायण के आन्दोलन में और विश्वनाथ प्रताप जी ने जिसकी अगुवाई की थी, उसमें भी लोकतंत्र को खुले खेल का मैदान बनाया गया था। जब लोकतंत्र बन्द कमरे के खेल का मैदान हो जाता है, तो सड़क पर नारा तो नहीं लगता, लेकिन लोग घरों में जाकर नोट बांटा करते हैं और नोट पर बिका हुआ वोट भ्रष्टाचार पैदा करता है। इतना सिकुड़ कर लोकतंत्र कोठीरी में जाकर रुपया मांगने लगा है। तुम्हारे घर में कितने वोट हैं। उसने कहा कि दस वोट हैं, तो ये 5-5 सौ के दस नोट ले लो, सब वोट हमारी पार्टी में दे देना। इस लोकतंत्र में यह हुआ है।

उपसभापति महोदय, मुझे उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार की जनता पर खुशी है कि उसने अबकी बार गुंडा तंत्र को पूरी तरह से हराया है, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पैसा तंत्र को भी हराए। आज मैं एक अखबार पढ़ रहा था - पंजाब केसरी या कोई और अखबार। अमेरिका में एक मैगजीन निकलती है, उसमें बड़े खोजी लोग लेख लिखते हैं, तो उन लोगों ने लेख लिखा है। उस लेख में लिखा है कि दुनिया भर में हिन्दुस्तान की नौकरशाही, जिसको ब्यूरोक्रेसी कहते हैं, सबसे भ्रष्टतम नौकरशाही है और सबसे अच्छी सिंगापुर को बताया है। जब हम इसे पढ़ रहे थे, तो अचरज के साथ पढ़ रहे थे, क्योंकि ये सब तो अधिकारी हैं, हम इनको सम्मान की दृष्टि से देखते हैं, रिसर्च करने वालों की दृष्टि से नहीं देखते, लेकिन खराब रिपोर्ट लिखी है। आप किसके मार्फत गांवों में सुधार लाएंगे? अफसरों के मार्फत ही न! आप लाएं या राज्य सरकार लाए। आप किसके मार्फत तालाब खुदवाएंगे और नदियों की सफाई कराएंगे? अधिकारियों के मार्फत ही तो! अगर यह भाव रह गया है, दुनिया के खोज करने वाले लड़कों ने बताया है, तो कभी गंगा नदी की सफाई नहीं हो सकती। हम लोग अपने को धोखा दे रहे हैं। कौन करेगा? आप तो करेंगे नहीं, कांग्रेस पार्टी का कार्यकर्ता को करेगा नहीं, समाजवादी पार्टी का कार्यकर्ता तो करेगा नहीं, क्योंकि उसका कोई सार्वजनिक उत्तरदायित्व नहीं है। करना है आपको, आपके अधिकारियों को और यह आ रहा है। जब नौकरशाही भ्रष्ट हो जाती है, तो उसके साथ चट्टा-पट्टा मिल कर थैलीशाह भी भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ाता है और तब नेताशाह भी भ्रष्ट हो जाता है। इस समय देश तिकोनिया भ्रष्टाचार में फंसा है - नेताशाह, नौकरशाह और थैलीशाह। इनका त्रिभुज बना दीजिए, यह भ्रष्टाचार है। हम चाहते हैं कि जो कोई भी बढ़िया काम कर रहा हो, मैडम राष्ट्रपति ने काम करने के जो कुछ भी सुझाव दिए हों, अगर अपने अधिकारियों को दुरुस्त नहीं करेंगे, तो कोई भी काम नहीं

होगा। आधे से ज्यादा काम खा जाया जाता है। कोई भी काम नहीं हो रहा है। मैं अखबार में पढ़ रहा था, इसलिए दिमाग में आ गया कि भ्रष्टतम हालत में है। उनको दुरुस्त करना आपकी पहली जिम्मेवारी होगी और नहीं कर सके तो आपके ही अधिकारी आपको धोखा दे देते हैं। सर, एक बार हमने यहां ग्लोबल वार्मिंग के ऊपर सवाल पूछा था।

माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी बैठे हुए थे। इनके अधिकारियों ने हमें लिखित जवाब दे दिया था कि इस तरह की कोई भी घटना नहीं हुई है। हमने इसको रोकने के बारे में पूछा, तो उन्होंने कहा कि doesn't arise. इसे पढ़ कर तो हमें हंसी आई। हम देश के अखबारों में पढ़ चुके थे, कई अखबारों में ग्लोबल वार्मिंग पर छप चुका था और इनके अधिकारियों ने जो लिखित जवाब दिया था, वह मेरे पास रखा हुआ है। तब तक प्रधान मंत्री जी, वे तो समझदार हैं ही, इन्होंने बारीकी से देखा और खुद खड़े होकर कहा कि नहीं, मुझे इस बात की जानकारी है और मैं अभी चीन जा रहा हूँ।

सर, ग्लोबल वार्मिंग एक ऐसा सवाल है, जिस पर राष्ट्रपति महोदया ने कोई भी चर्चा नहीं की है। हम बहुत संकट में पड़ने वाले हैं। सारी दुनिया के ग्लेशियर्स पिघल रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के जो ग्लेशियर्स तिब्बत में हैं, वे भी पिघल रहे हैं। अगर वे ग्लेशियर्स पिघल गए तो गंगा, यमुना, चेनाब आदि नदियां गरमी के दिनों में बुलंदशहर से आगे नीचे नहीं जा पाएंगी। थोड़े दिनों के बाद पूरे-का-पूरा इलाका रेगिस्तान हो जाएगा, वे इतनी तेजी से पिघल रहे हैं। हमने उस समय कहा था कि उस साइड में चीन तिब्बत में अपनी सड़क बना रहा है, अपना हवाई अड्डा बना रहा है और अपनी बसावट कर रहा है। उससे ग्लेशियर्स पर असर पड़ रहा है। उधर एवरेस्ट तक वह पिकनिक स्पॉट खोलने जा रहा है और लोग दौड़ते जा रहे हैं। इससे हमारे पिघलने वाले ग्लेशियर्स पर प्रभाव पड़ रहा है। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि हम चीन जाएंगे और वहां की सरकार से बात करेंगे। इससे बांग्ला देश, पाकिस्तान और भारत तीनों प्रभावित होने वाले थे, इसलिए कायदन इन तीनों को मिल कर चीन से बात करनी चाहिए थी, लेकिन मैं नहीं जानता कि वह बात कहां तक हुई, कहां तक नहीं हुई और उसके बारे में क्या प्रगति हुई। हम चाहते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति महोदया को इसे जोड़ना चाहिए था। हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के लिए यह एक गम्भीर मुद्दा है। अभी तो हम जी रहे हैं इसलिए ठीक से महसूस नहीं हो रहा है, लेकिन जब पानी के बिना मरने लगेंगे तब महसूस होगा। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि देश के सामने किसी पलटन के खतरे से या किसी आतंकवाद के खतरे से बड़ा खतरा इस बात का है कि हमारी नदियां लगातार बहती जा रही हैं और सूख जाएंगी। वैज्ञानिक इस पर अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दे चुके हैं कि 10 साल के बाद ये नदियां नहीं रहेंगी। हम लोग इतिहास में पढ़ चुके हैं कि नदी कहीं-कहीं सूख जाती है। हमारे इलाहाबाद के त्रिवेणी तक सरस्वती नाम की एक नदी बह कर जाती थी। जब हम जल संसाधन मंत्रालय में थे तो हमने इसकी खोज की कि सरस्वती नदी है कहां? इस पर लोगों ने बताया कि वह तो राजस्थान में ही सूख गई। तो ऐसे ही गंगा सूख जाएगी गढ़मुक्तेश्वर में, यमुना सूख जाएगी मथुरा में या दिल्ली में और पूरे-का-पूरा इलाका जिसको हम गंगा-यमुनी संस्कृति कहते हैं, वह बाद में ऊसर और रेगिस्तान बन जाएगा। तब हम लोग तो नहीं रहेंगे, लेकिन हमारी औलाद रहेगी और यह देश रहेगा। हम खराब देश छोड़ कर जाएं, यह हमारा धर्म नहीं है। हमें तो उसे हरा-भरा छोड़ कर जाना चाहिए। सर, यह खतरा आ गया है और इस पर हम चर्चा नहीं कर रहे हैं! यह बहुत गम्भीर खतरा आया है। विदेश नीति के बारे में चूंकि चीन की बात आ गई थी इसलिए मैं इसे जोड़ रहा हूँ। इसमें बहुत कुछ बोला गया है। हम नेपाल से सम्पर्क साधे हुए हैं, हम श्रीलंका से भी संपर्क साधे हुए हैं। यह बात हम पढ़ रहे थे कि बांग्लादेश से हमारे सम्बन्ध ठीक ही हैं। अफगानिस्तान में हम उनके लिए मदद कर इंतजाम कर रहे हैं, जो लोग मर रहे हैं या मर गए हैं। हम पुनर्वास का इंतजाम भी कर रहे हैं। यह विदेश नीति सशक्त नहीं कहलाती। सशक्त विदेश नीति वह होती है, जब किसी मूल्य के सवाल पर आप अड़ते हैं। बर्मा में क्या हो रहा है? 10-15 साल से वहां के लोकतंत्र के एम.पी. लोग छोड़ कर भाग गए हैं। एक लड़की

जिसको नोबल प्राइज दिया गया, वह अब महिला है, वह लगातार 12-15 सालों से जेल में है। अब हमने सुना है कि उस पर मुकद्दा होने वाला है। उसकी बीमारी के मौके पर और उसकी गिरफ्तारी के मौके पर अमेरिका बोल चुका है, इंग्लैंड भी बोल चुका है, क्योंकि जीवन में लोकतंत्र उनका कमिटमेंट है। लोकतंत्र की बहाली के नाम पर किसी को जेल में बंद किया जाए और भारत सरकार चुप्पी

साधे रहे, यह शोभा नहीं देता। हमको खुले आम बोलना चाहिए। हां, कुछ डर लगता है कि बर्मा की सरकार जो चीन की मेहरबानी पर चलती है, कहीं चीन हमको दबा न दें। यहां हमारी महिला मित्र बैठती है, जब हम चीन का नाम लेते हैं तो वह घबरा जाती हैं और सोचती हैं कि मैं उसके खिलाफ बोलूंगा, लेकिन क्या यह सच नहीं है कि हिमालय का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा जोकि हमारा हिस्सा है, लगातार 15 सालों से उसे चीन अपने नक्शे में दिखा रहा है और हम उसका ठीक से प्रतिवाद नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। संयुक्त राष्ट्र से प्रतिनिधि वहां जांच के लिए आता है कि वहां तमिलियन्स पर अन्याय हो रहा है या नहीं, लेकिन हमारे देश की सरकार उस बारे में बोलती ही नहीं है। यह सच है कि उस सवाल पर हमारे देश के एक बहुत ही प्यारे नेता राजीव गांधी की कुरबानी हुई है, लेकिन उस डर के मारे क्या हम बोलेंगे ही नहीं? यह सच है कि किसी जगह पर अगर कोई जवान आदमी मर जाता है तो लोग बताते हैं कि वहां उसकी प्रेतात्मा घूमती है, अब अगर प्रेतात्मा के डर के मारे श्रीलंका में रहने वाले तमिलियंस पर जुल्म हो और हम न बोलें, चुप्पी साधे रहें, यह कोई बहुत अच्छी बात नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं यह बात मेरे बगल में बैठे ए.डी.एम.के. पार्टी के मित्र को अच्छी लगी होगी।

महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी विदेश नीति सशक्त होनी चाहिए, मूल्यों के हिफाजत के लिए होनी चाहिए, जो लोग विदेश चले गए हैं, उनकी हिफाजत के लिए होनी चाहिए तब कोई कमजोर देश आपकी तरफ देखेगा नहीं। वह आप से दोस्ती करेगा। महोदय, केवल बढ़िया भाषण देने से दोस्ती नहीं हुआ करती। जब कोई दूसरा देश दोस्त बनता है तो वह देखता है कि जिससे हाथ मिला रहे हैं, उसके पंजे में दम है। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि भारत की विदेश नीति न केवल लफ्फाज वाली रहे बल्कि वह सशक्त और सृजनात्मक हो। मैं यहां सृजनात्मक शब्द का इस्तेमाल कर रहा हूं क्योंकि हमारा सपना केवल अपने देश में बैठकर विदेश नीति चलाना नहीं है। महोदय, जैसे कई राज्यों को मिलाकर एक देश बनाना हमारा सपना है वैसे सभी देशों को मिलाकर एक महाराष्ट्र बनाना भी हमारा सपना है। इसे हम विश्व राष्ट्र कहेंगे और उसमें सभी देशों को बराबरी का हक होगा, किसी देश के "वीटो" के जरिए फैसला नहीं हुआ करेगा। पंचायत में बराबरी का फैसला होगा। अब जैसे उत्तर प्रदेश बहुत बड़ा सूबा है और वह कहे कि हमको दिल्ली की पार्लियामेंट में "वीटो" का पावर दे दो, बिहार बहुत बड़ा सूबा है वह कहे कि हमको भी "वीटो" का पावर दे दो तो हरियाणा तो वह पावर नहीं पा सकेगा। इसलिए सभी को बराबर का दर्जा दिया गया है। ठीक उसी तरह दुनिया की पंचायत में सभी को बराबर का दर्जा दिया जाए। यह नहीं कि हमको सिक्युरिटी काउंसिल में रख लिया जाए इसके लिए हम दुनिया में लॉबिंग करें कि सभी बराबरी का दर्जा हो, कोई किसी के मातहत नहीं रहेगा, कोई किसी का पिछलग्गू बनकर नहीं रहेगा। महोदय, मेरे वामपंथी मित्र अभी यहां नहीं हैं, लेकिन मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जिन दिनों इन लोगों ने पिछली सरकार से समर्थन वापस लिया, हम लोगों ने सोचा कि ये नाहक अमेरिका से चिढ़कर समर्थन वापस ले रहे हैं, अमेरिका का नाम इनके चिढ़ने के लिए काफी होता है, अमेरिका शब्द ही बहुत होता है। यह तो कोई बात हुई नहीं। फिर हम लोगों ने पूछा कि इस करार में क्या नफा-नुकसान है? कुछ विद्वानों ने बना दिया कि कोई हर्ज नहीं है। तो हमारे अमर सिंह जी, मुलायम सिंह जी, सब लोगों ने जाकर बोला कि चलो, हम समर्थन दे देते हैं। हम तो अस्पताल में थे, सर। हमको अच्छा लगा। यहां समर्थन दे दिया गया। उसके बाद लोगों ने कहा कि अमरीका के पिछलग्गू हो गए, यानी भारत सरकार। हम भारत सरकार से यह निवेदन करेंगे कि आप यह धब्बा मत लगने दीजिए। वैसे ही हम आर्थिक रूप से इतने कमजोर हैं कि आगे नहीं जा सकते।

महोदय, अब हम इस विषय पर अधिक समय नहीं लेंगे, बच्चों की पढ़ाई की ओर आते हैं। बड़े

जोर-शोर से मैडम राष्ट्रपति महोदया ने बच्चों की पढ़ाई के बारे में कहा। उसके लिए कौन-कौन सा शब्द इस्तेमाल किया गया? "सार्वजनिक शिक्षा और समान शिक्षा", यह शब्द इस्तेमाल किया है। क्या जरूरी नहीं कि बच्चों के लिए एक जैसे स्कूल कर दिए जाएं, जहां दस साल, बारह साल, चौदह साल के बच्चे एक ही जैसे स्कूल में समान शिक्षा पढ़ें?

कोई हर्ज नहीं होगा, बल्कि 14 साल तक के बच्चे पढ़ते समय तो एक संस्कृति पा सकेंगे। उसके बाद जब बड़ी पढ़ाई में जाएं, तो वे जैसी पढ़ाई में चाहें, जाएं, लेकिन एक उम्र तक बच्चे एक ही तरह की तालीम हासिल करें। क्या ऐसा नियम कभी नहीं बनाया जा सकता? गरीबों के बच्चे आज भी स्कूलों में, जहां टाट-पट्टा नहीं होता, जमीनों पर बैठकर पढ़ते हैं। जब हम बच्चे थे, सर, बहुत साल पहले, 60 साल, 62 साल, 65 साल पहले, उससे भी पहले की बात होगी, हमारे स्कूलों में टाट-पट्टा नहीं होता था, वहां बिछाकर बैठने के लिए हम घर से एक बोरा लेकर जाते थे। हम तो कम समय तक लेकर गए, क्योंकि एक दिन रास्ते में हमारे मामा मिल गए और उन्होंने कहा कि यह क्या ले जा रहे हो? तो हमने उसे झाड़ी में फेंक दिया और उसके बाद बोरा लेकर नहीं गए, लगा कि कोई बेइज्जती की चीज है। हमारे साथ के बहुत से लड़के जो बोरा लेकर जाते थे, वे लड़के आज भी हमें अहमदाबाद जाने पर, मुंबई जाने पर, कानपुर जाने पर मिलते हैं, बहुत दुबले, पतले हो गए हैं, थक गए हैं, बूढ़े हो गए हैं। जब हम उनसे पूछते हैं कि क्या करते हो? तो कहते हैं कि कारखाने में बोरा ढोने की नौकरी मिलती है। अब जो बचपन में स्कूल में बोरा लेकर जाएगा, वह बड़ा होकर बोरा ही ढोएगा। राष्ट्रपति महोदया ने यहां बड़े घमंड के साथ मिड डे मील का जिक्र किया। एक दिन हम अपने गांव में बैठे थे। हमने देखा कि बच्चे कटोरा लेकर पगडंडी से स्कूल जा रहे हैं। हमने पूछा कि यह कटोरा क्यों ले जा रहे हो? तो बोले कि साहब, दोपहर में स्कूल में खिचड़ी मिलती है। एक दिन हम घूमते हुए स्कूल में चले गए। वह जिला परिषद् का स्कूल, सरकार का स्कूल है। हमने देखा कि ईंटों का एक चूल्हा बना हुआ है, उस पर एक बड़ा सा हंडा रखा हुआ है, उसमें गांव की ही एक औरत चूल्हें में लकड़ी जला-जला कर खिचड़ी बना रही है। हम बैठ गए। जितने बच्चे वहां थे, एक बच्चा भी कापी और किताब की तरफ नहीं देखता था, केवल चूल्हे और खिचड़ी की तरफ देख रहा था और मास्टर भी उधर ही देख रहे थे। एक या दो बजे खिचड़ी तैयार हुई। बच्चों को थोड़ी-थोड़ी खिचड़ी दी गई उस कटोरे में, चूंकि गर्म होती है, कम खाई। उसके बाद मास्टर लोगों ने जम कर खाई, उसके बाद जो बनाने वाली थी उसने खाई, बच्चों की बहन वगैरह कटोरा लेकर आ गई, उन्होंने भी खाई। हमारे समय में पढ़ते समय तो बोरा ढुलवाया गया था, तो वे बच्चे अहमदाबाद, मुंबई, कानपुर में जाकर बोरा ढोते हैं, कुछ काम तो करते हैं, लेकिन अब आपने कटोरा थमा दिया है। ये बच्चे कहां जाएंगे? दुनिया के सामने कटोरा लेकर घूमते रहेंगे, कुछ भी करने लायक नहीं रह जाएंगे। तालीम जब तक बचपन से कुछ करने लायक नहीं बनाती है, उसको बढ़िया खाना खिलाकर आकर्षित नहीं कर सकते। जैसे लोकतंत्र में आप वोटर्स को बढ़िया-बढ़िया भाषण दे कर के आकर्षित नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, केवल 20 सैकड़ा, 35 सैकड़ा वोट पड़ कर रह जाता है। सर्व शिक्षा अभियान की बात, आपके समय के प्रधान मंत्री जी, अटल जी, वह बंद गले का कोट और पेंट पहन कर खड़े हो जाते थे। दो लड़के उनकी उंगली पकड़े रहते थे। मुरली मनोहर जोशी जी तो मानव संसाधन मंत्री थे। गांव के कुछ लड़के जब निकलते थे कि चलो स्कूल चलें तो वे दोनों लड़के भी दौड़ते हुए स्कूल भाग जाते थे। एक दिन इसी राज्य सभा में हमने कहा था कि अरे, इतना तो समझो, अपना बचपन याद रखो। बच्चे स्कूल जाते समय कभी दौड़कर नहीं जाते, जब स्कूल से छुट्टी होती है, तब दौड़ कर अपने घर आते हैं। बचपन भूल नहीं जाना चाहिए, हम अपना बचपन याद नहीं रखेंगे तो नये बच्चों की परवरिश क्या करेंगे! हमें याद है कि जब हम प्राइमरी स्कूल से निकलते थे तो हमारे पैर में जूते नहीं रहते थे। मई के 31 तारीख को स्कूल बंद होता था। दोपहर में छुट्टी होती थी। कच्ची मिट्टी की धूल भरी पगडंडी होती थी, वह एक बजे जलती रहती थी, तो हम लोगों को उस पर पैर रखते नहीं बनता था। कहीं दूब पड़ जाती थी या पत्ता पड़ जाता था तो उस पर पैर रखते थे। कहीं पेड़ आ गया तो दौड़ कर उसके नीचे खड़े हो जाते थे, इतना पैर जलता था। कितना बबुआ बनाना करके रखोगे हिन्दुस्तान का?

सभी बच्चों की पढ़ाई के साथ-साथ कम से कम एक ही जिम्मा ले लो कि गर्मी में और जाड़े में कोई भी बच्चा बिना जूते के स्कूल नहीं जाएगा। सर्व शिक्षा अभियान में यही जोड़ दो, वरना उसके पैर की नसें जलती हैं, सर। अंगूठे के नीचे की नसों के साथ आंख की नस का रिश्ता होता है। छोटी उम्र में उनको रात में दिखाई नहीं देता। उन्हें जबर्दस्ती पढ़ा कर हम उनकी सेहत

4.00 P.M.

के साथ मजाक करते हैं। चूंकि आपने शिक्षा के बारे में बहस छेड़ दी, इसलिए यह कहना पड़ा। शिक्षा अब रह क्या गई है इस देश में! शिक्षा, यह ज्ञान एक दान का विषय है। ज्ञानी किसी को इसीलिए बनाया जाता है कि वह दूसरों को ज्ञान देगा। कम से कम एक ही सिद्धांत चला देते कि देश में जितने लोग पढ़े हैं, each one, teach one. चाहे वह नौकरीपेशा लोग हों या वह कोई भी धंधा करने वाला हो, हर आदमी एक आदमी को अपने घर में पढ़ा दे, तब भी साक्षरता के विषय में एक कदम बढ़ सकता है, मजबूती से बढ़ सकता है। साक्षरता कुल मिलाकर पैसे से हल नहीं होगी, यह तो लगाव का सवाल है। लोग अपने बच्चों को इसलिए स्कूल नहीं भेजना चाहते कि स्कूल जाने से बच्चा बेकार होगा। मैथिलीशरण गुप्त की एक कविता में है:

"श्रीमान् शिक्षा दें उन्हें तो श्रीमती कहती यही,
भेजो न हमारे लल्ला को चाकरी करने के लिए।
शिक्षे तुम्हारा नाश हो,
तुम चाकरी के हित में नहीं।"

यह मैथिलीशरण गुप्त ने बनाया था जो राष्ट्रकवि कहे जाते थे। शिक्षा के प्रति नफरत - श्रीमान् शिक्षा दें उन्हें तो श्रीमती कहती यही...। नौकरी के लिए शिक्षा होगी! नौकरी भी क्या जिसमें उत्पादन न होता हो, सर! उत्पादक श्रम थोड़ा मोटा श्रम माना जाता है। उसे कुछ पैदा करना होता है, पसीना बहाना होता है। किसान उत्पादक श्रम है, कारखाने का मजदूर उत्पादक श्रम है। मैं white collars की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। जो उत्पादन करता है, मैं उस श्रम की बात कर रहा हूँ। पढ़ने के बाद उत्पादक श्रम बनने की इच्छा मर जाती है और वह कोई भी मोटा काम नहीं कर सकता है। उसके पैर में धूल नहीं लगनी चाहिए। हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर इतनी बिगड़ी हुई है कि जो लड़का इंटरमीडिएट पास कर लेता है, वह अपने खेत में हल चलाना नहीं चाहता है। हिन्दुस्तान में एक जाति है, जो हल का मूठ नहीं पकड़ सकती, क्योंकि उसका जनेऊ गंदा हो जाएगा। हिन्दुस्तान में एक भाषा का इस्तेमाल हो रहा है कि अगर किसी ने थोड़ी दूर तक अंग्रेजी भाषा पढ़ लिया, तो वह धूल वाला कोई काम नहीं कर सकता। जिस किसी के पास 20-25 लाख की दौलत हो जाती है, वह अपने हाथ से काम करना नहीं चाहता। दौलत, अंग्रेजी भाषा और जाति व्यवस्था शिक्षा में आ गए हैं। ये तीनों इस देश को उत्पादक श्रम से भगाने की तरफ ले जाते हैं। लड़का चपरासी बनना पसंद करेगा, मैनेजर बनना पसंद करेगा, बाबू बनना पसंद करेगा, कलैक्टर बनना पसंद करेगा, प्रोफेसर बनना पसंद करेगा, लेकिन लड़का उत्पादकपन में नहीं जाना चाहता, क्योंकि अंग्रेजी पढ़ गया है।

अभी जेटली साहब कह रहे थे कि आपको हमारी अंग्रेजी अच्छी नहीं लगी, हमने तो इनसे नहीं कहा था, लेकिन इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक सार्वजनिक जीवन में और सरकार राज-काज के नाम पर इस विदेशी भाषा का इस्तेमाल होगा, कोई भी स्वतंत्र प्रतिभा यहां से विकसित नहीं हो सकती है। गुलाम व्यक्ति हो सकते हैं, रोज खाने-कमाने वाले हो सकते हैं, साफ-सुथरे कपड़े पहनने वाले हो सकते हैं, लेकिन कोई टैगोर, कोई निराला, कोई तुलसी, कोई विद्यासागर नहीं हो सकता, कोई दिलेर नहीं हो सकता, चन्द्रशेखर आजाद नहीं हो सकता, जब तक यह भाषा रहेगी। इसलिए जब कभी भी अंग्रेजी के खिलाफ हम लोग या हमारे नेता डा. लोहिया आंदोलन चलाते थे तो उस समय लोग हम लोगों को चिढ़ाते थे, लेकिन यह हमारा कन्विक्शन है कि धीरे-धीरे इसका सार्वजनिक इस्तेमाल खत्म

होना चाहिए, इसको रूतबे की भाषा से खत्म करो, मातृभाषाओं में इम्तिहान लो कलैक्ट्रेट का, कप्तानी का। मैं नहीं कहता कि हिन्दी में लो, कन्नड़ में लो, तेलुगु में लो और भाषाओं में लो, हिन्दी वालों का हिन्दी में लो, फिर दोनों का कहीं गठजोड़ करो, लेकिन कहीं न कहीं करना पड़ेगा मुल्क को आजाद कराने के लिए, वरना कोई प्रतिभा नई नहीं निकलने वाली और इसलिए जरूरी है कि इसकी दास्ता से मुक्ति कराई जाए। तीन चीजें मैंने

गिनाई - जात, भाषा और दौलत। तीन की वजह से यहां का आदमी अपाहित होता जा रहा है।
उपसभापति जी, समय तो खत्म नहीं हो गया हमारी पार्टी का?

श्री उपसभापति: अभी पांच मिनट हैं।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र: हमारे एक नेता और बोलने वाले हैं, पांच मिनट उनको दे दीजिएगा। साहू साहब बोलेंगे, यह समय उनको दे दीजिएगा, उनके लिए मैं छोड़ देता हूँ। आपको धन्यवाद भी देता हूँ इसलिए कि जल्दी छोड़ना था और मैं यह भी जानता था कि अहलुवालिया साहब आपसे कई दफा यह भी कह चुके थे कि इनको जरा बोल लेने दीजिए।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: आप कह रहे थे कि उत्तम खेती, मध्यम व्यापार, निकृष्ट चाकरी, इसका विश्लेषण आप सुना रहे थे, मैं सुन रहा था।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र: साहू जी के लिए बाकी समय नोट कर लीजिएगा।

श्री उपसभापति: नोट है। शुक्रिया।

डा. विमल जालान (नाम निर्देशित): सर, मुझे माफ करें, मैं अंग्रेजी में बोल सकता हूँ?

श्री उपसभापति: आप बोल सकते हैं।

डा. विमल जालान: मिश्र जी की परमिशन के साथ मैं अंग्रेजी में बोलूंगा।

Sir, the reason why I rise to speak on this occasion is that I think, for various reasons this is a landmark occasion. This is really a new beginning for our country in terms of coalition Government. The form of coalition Government that we are seeing today after twenty years of the beginning in 1989 is different from what most of us would have expected before the 16th of May. For the first time now, at least, as far as I can see, there is continuity with stability. We have had a Government for five years. Now we have another Government led by the same distinguished Prime Minister for five years and, fortunately, contrary to expectations, this is a Government where the expectation is that it would remain stable. We have had a stable Government before but these were multi-party Governments, fractious Governments. It was not fractious in terms of policies but lot of small parties combined together formed the Government. But this is a landmark occasion and I just want to make two or three basic points, with your permission, Sir.

Obviously, the President's Address is a superb one. It tells us the direction in which we should be going. Whether we can get there is the issue that I would deal with a little later. The first point that I want to make to you, the basic point, is that we have had high growth before. The hon. Prime Minister is here; he would remember that from 1954-55 to 1964-65, we saw eight and nine per cent industrial growth. Similar rates

of growth were seen in 1974-75 to 1978-79. And what may surprise you is that we had a rate of growth of industrial production of plus 8 per cent between 1984 and 1989 also. So, we have had three or four episodes followed by a depression, followed by a balance of payments crisis of the type that we saw or a drought and things like that. Now the major change that took place in 1991, thanks to all the reforms introduced by our esteemed Prime Minister and his Government, was not that the growth was a new experience. But what was a new experience for us

was that new opportunities were created for India, for Indians, in the sense that balance of payments, capital flows, skills, and development of IT were all in our hands. Earlier if you look at India's history there was a crisis after all the years of high growth that I have mentioned, we had a very bad crisis after 1990 also. We generated a set of reforms. We had a very bad crisis in 1979 which again led to a new set of reforms because we were a dependent country. The reform introduced in 1991-92 gave us the opportunity in economic terms where our balance of payments were not a problem. You have oil prices which go up, almost double, but we are not begging. We have the capital. Our savings rates are high; investment rates are high; and we have the opportunity of a high rate of growth. And to maintain this high rate of growth, I will come to the second basic point, which will explain that growth alone is not enough.

Sir, what I am trying to say is that this is a new beginning. Politically, there is an expectation. I am talking about the expectation of stability which gives confidence to any investor, any saver and any business. A lot of reforms are needed but that India can do. We have high reserves. Balance of payments problem is not a problem. We can finance whatever we want. We have high savings. We have high capital. So the opportunity is great. The political doubts, which were there in the minds of the people, they have today disappeared. That is why you are seeing a lot of enthusiasm, and a lot of beginning of a feeling that India will be able to achieve its potential over a long period, not just for five years, but over the long term of 10 years, 15 years or 20 years.

Sir, first we have to seize the moment and then I will come to the economic point about what needs to be done to seize these particular opportunities. On the political side, we have continuity with stability. On the economic side, we have the resources and the ability to cope with uncertainty. We are not dependent on the rest of the world for there is a policy frame which was set up in terms of openness, ability to handle globalisation, ability to handle skills, and ability to handle all the things that we are seeing today. So, what is to be done and what is the role of the Government and the rest of the society here, are the critical issues that I want to concentrate on.

Sir, I believe that today we have a lot of discussion on differences of views and so on. If you read pink papers, these papers are excited. They say that now the Government can introduce more reforms, more investment, FDI, FII, insurance, banking and all sorts of things, because the CPM is not supporting, the CPM is not part of the Government. But if

you just stop and brood over the fact that India achieved 9 per cent rate of growth between 2004 and 2008 when the CPM was supporting the Government. So, it does not really matter all that much. The main point is that our resources are now good, that there is a consensus on major issues. You want a mixed economy; you want a high growth. I have not heard anybody saying that growth is not good for you. You want an inclusive growth. I have not heard anybody saying that inclusive growth is not good for you. You want stability and strength in the balance of payments. I have not heard anybody saying that the reserves are not good for you. I have not heard anybody saying that exports are not good for you. I have not heard anybody saying that you should not have the IT or you should not have the skills or you should not have higher education. So, what I am trying to get at is that whether the CPM is supporting or not,

there is a broad agreement and the changes that we may have on the policy framework are, in my view, not the essence of the matter. They are there. I mean, they can give you 0.5 per cent or one per cent higher growth or something else. But, that is not the issue. There would be a consensus. I think, Mr. Jaitley himself said that what needs to be supported, he is willing to support. On this side, what needs to be done, everybody wants to do it and irrespective of marginal changes here or there, I believe, that India can do what it wants to do and now irrespective of which party combinations are in power-this is the important point-that we have the beginning of an India which can reach its full potential, both on political grounds and on economic grounds.

Now, Sir, the second basic point that I want to make is regarding Government's role. I think there is lot of misplaced emphasis on Government's role because this is a legacy from the past. It was socialism versus capitalism; how liberal you are going to be, the Government was supposed to be the owner. The Government was supposed to dominate the economy and there was whole lot of argument about Government versus markets. I believe this is a legacy of the past. Everybody now accepts that we are a mixed economy, that we are an economy where you have an open economy. Everybody accepts that we have no licensing, and that is a good thing not to have licensing. Let the corporates grow. They are free to borrow in the market and so on and so forth. I am not going into minor points. Now, there is no conflict between what you might call markets, mixed economy and the role of Government. But, there is a problem that we still have this feeling that it is the Government which gives you growth. All the discussion, that you see today, is about Government giving you growth -inclusive, non-inclusive. Government is, of course also in charge of things like malnutrition, and all the things, but "Government growth, Government growth"- we keep on hearing this all the time. My point is that if you look at India's history over the last fifty years - I have given an instance when we had a very high growth - the direct role of the Government is really in two different sectors, direct role, apart from creating an environment for growth after 1991. First is the management of the public sector and the second is of delivery of services to the poor who cannot depend on the market. On that also, in terms of the vision, there is no difference, but in terms of instrumentalities, irrespective of the party combination which is in power, we have not yet been able to grapple this fact that this is not the power of the individual Government Ministers which can deliver services on the ground, and that we need a complete redefinition of the so-called role of the Government. The role of the Government is to run the public sector in order to create an environment in the public sector

to achieve the maximum outcome, whatever you want within the public sector (with disinvestment, or no disinvestment) where it can give you the share of maximum output whether it is aviation, banking, roads whichever sector, and then to bring to us better services. Now, why is it that everybody is happy that National Highways Authority of India is a public sector organisation? It is appointed by the Government. Why is it that the performance of NHAI in giving you roads should depend on who is the Minister? Is there a policy difference? No. But, there is celebration in all the papers that a particular

Minister will give you more than the other Minister. Why should the Ministers have the power to give me the roads? Why don't you give that responsibility to NHAI? You decide the policy, that yes, you want highways, or you decide that you don't want highways. That is the role of the Government. Why don't you create an arms' length relationship between the provider, between your public sector undertakings and the so-called Government which is a Minister or the Prime Minister? The Cabinet should decide the policy. This is, Sir, a basic issue. I fully respect hon. Prime Minister for the importance he has given to the governance - annual report, monthly report, and so on and so forth. Right to Information is a very major change introduced by the previous Government. But, information is not enough. It is whether the NHAI can do, the Chief of the NHAI can do, what it is told to do in terms of policy. Would you have had the kind of election that you had if the Election Commission was responsible or directly answerable to the Home Minister? Home Minister is a great man. That is not the point. Should the work of the Election Commission depend on who is the Home Minister? Elections, the date of election, what is the suffrage, would depend on the Minister but why is it so in case of NHAI? Similarly, the UPSC, the Union Public Service Commission which gives us all the bureaucrats, whether we like it or not, but it selects all the officers. Does the Minister decide who will be selected by the UPSC? The selection or the competitive examinations are at an arm's length from the Government. My biggest advice to you is - I know it requires political reforms, and, I know it won't be done But you need a consensus, not another Administrative Commission that you may appoint - to create an arm's length relationship between the institutions which are supposed to deliver and the policy priorities. You may say, I don't want poverty relieved; you may say, I do not want TPDS; that is policy. But once you have created the TPDS, why should the Department of Food or the Minister of Food decide as to where the ration shops could be established, why not the FCI. So, this is about creating an arm's length relationship. I am sorry to go into this basic issue. But, I think, given the importance to governance, it is important to create an infrastructure whereby you can deliver the services to the people of India.

Second similar reform, where we have to get away from the old legacy of governmental power, so-called governmental power, is the distribution of powers between the Centre and the States. Sir, we have a large

country. You have here in Delhi a Council of Ministers. With all due respect, I am saying that we have the most distinguished people in the Council of Ministers. You have the Centre, you have the States, and, you have the Districts. The Parliament passes the Central Acts. Now, security is an issue, about which everybody talks about. Sir, law and order, security, apart from Defence, is a State subject. While sitting here, I have heard many replies to questions as to why it is happening, or, why it is not happening. The reply would always be that it is a State subject. So, internal security is a State subject. When you have terrorism, inter-State terrorism, that comes under State subject. But Finance and Planning are the Central subjects. Why? Why don't you

reverse this? Why don't you put inter-State security in the Central List? On the other hand the Plan has been decided by the Planning Commission, give the financing power of it on performance basis to States. Let me tell you about NREGA. We have conducted a study of the NREGA through two of the institutions with which I am connected, National Council of Applied Economic Research, and, also the Public Interest Foundation. A field study of NREGA has been done. There is no doubt that it is a superb initiative, which all of us should commend. We now have the experience of three years. So, we decided that we should have a field study of actually what is happening on the ground. The overall results are good. Let me say and confirm this that the overall results of this scheme are better than that of many of the other schemes in fields like health or public utilities. But the point is that it could be much better. It has been done after three years of experience and it is based on the field study, case-studies of 7-8 States and several Districts. Sir, because it is a Central Act, we have a Rural Development Ministry, and, the transfer of funds for this scheme is to the Districts, because we want to cut the States out. But a District can't approach the Centre without the State! We also have uniform rules under the Act but supposing-just for argument's sake, I may be absolutely wrong, that does not matter - if you have a Central Act but the scheme was the responsibility of the States, you decided how much money would the Centre give you for wages or whatever it is, but the kind of works that you would have. We just now heard and, I think, the Government has given an excellent suggestion... that it should be integrated with the normal rural works. That would be a great thing. But, supposing you give the freedom to the States to decide what kind of rural works, the way in which it should be done and where the urban areas should be included or not, etc. You decide how much financing you will do-whether Rs.50 or Rs.60 or Rs.80 per head and it should be "automatic" transfer. Then, you can do audit as to whether the information furnished by the State is correct or not. Now, the point is, you will reduce all the bureaucratic handicaps which some of us have created in transfer of money from the Centre to the States. It is the money that reaches the people of the States.

Sir, another suggestion is that we have to look at some of these schemes. There are lots of schemes. There may be around 100 schemes. If we want to do what we want to achieve in terms of what the President has said, lot of emphasis is to be laid on governance, information, etc. It

is all very good but, if we do it in a way which differentiate between a State in the North-East and a State in the South or a State in the Central India and leave to the States both the accountability as well as the determination of the specific provisions of that scheme, the States can't complain. Sir, any question which we put here, the answer is that the scheme is of the Centre, but the fault is of the State. Can we bridge that gap? This is another suggestion. Sir, now, I should conclude because I have spoken a lot. Sir, essentially, what I am saying is, this is a new beginning. We should take it as a new beginning with continuity and stability on political side, combined with the strength and opportunities on the economic side. The role of the Government has to be re-defined. That it is not growth or inclusive growth; it is provision of services; it is creating at arm's length relationship with the public sector which is supposed to construct rural roads and rural houses, maintain public health

and provide all the services. The second point is, we need to redefine the distribution of business between the Centre and the States. Centre should be a facilitator; Centre should be a provider. But, the implementation and the nature of the scheme, subject to post-facto audit, should be with the States and of course, the Districts and Panchayats and so on.

With these words, Sir, I commend the President's Address. Thank you very much for giving me the time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Tiruchi Siva, not here. Shri Pyarimohan Mohapatra, not here. Shri Mangala Kisan, not here. Shri Mysura Reddy, not here. Shri Sabir Ali, not here. Shri Arjun Sengupta, not here. Shri Rajeev Chandrasekhar, not here. Shri Tarlochan Singh, not here. Shri Manohar Joshi, not here. Shri Rahul Bajaj, not here. ...*(Interruptions)*... No, on Monday, we will not be able to provide for everybody. That is why, I am calling the names. ...*(Interruptions)*... They will get second chance. Dr. Barun Mukherji, not here. Shri Tariq Anwar.

श्री तारिक अनवर: उपसभापति महोदय, यह बात सही है कि हमारे लोकतंत्र की यह परम्परा है कि राष्ट्रपति का जो भाषण होता है, वह किसी भी सरकार की नीति और उसकी नीयत को दर्शाता है। वह इस बात का संकेत होता है कि आने वाले अगले पांच साल में यह सरकार किस दिशा में जाना चाहती है और आने वाले पांच साल में उसके क्या कार्यक्रम हैं, उसकी क्या योजना है। यह अभिभाषण इसलिए और भी ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि चुनाव के बाद यह राष्ट्रपति का भाषण है और जो चुनाव हुआ, उस चुनाव ने यह बात साबित की है, सिद्ध किया है...।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: तारिक जी, एक मिनट। उपसभापति जी, मैंने यह विषय बार-बार उठाया है कि यह सुरक्षा का सवाल है, टेलिफोन बज रहा है, मोबाइल बज रहा है।

श्री उपसभापति: यहां किसी का नहीं बज रहा है।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: सर, यहां पर किसी का मोबाइल बज रहा है। इसके पहले भी बजा है...। आप घबराइए मत, अगर आपका मोबाइल बज रहा है। मेरा कहना यह है कि पार्लियामेंट की सुरक्षा का सवाल है कि जैमर लगने के बावजूद, 3G जब से लागू हुआ है...।

श्री उपसभापति: हम इसको एक्जामिन करवाएंगे।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: हमारे पार्लियामेंट का जैमर काम नहीं कर रहा है।

श्री उपसभापति: यह बात आपने पहले भी उठाई थी।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: सर, मैंने पहले तीन बार इस विषय को उठाया है और आप हर बार इसको सिक्योरिटी की कमेटी में रेफर करते हो, इसका कोई मतलब नहीं होता है।

श्री उपसभापति: बाद में इसमें करेक्शन भी हुआ था, मगर मालूम नहीं है कि ऐसा क्यों हुआ है?

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: सर, यह चौथी बार बजा है तब मैं यह बात कह रहा हूँ। इसकी जांच होनी चाहिए। मैं यह आपको इसलिए बता रहा हूँ कि मोबाइल से मोबाइल बम्बिंग हो रही है, मोबाइल के थू किलिंग हो रही है, मोबाइल के थू सब कुछ होता है...।

श्री उपसभापति: इसको चैक-अप करवाएंगे। इसको एकजामिन करवायेंगे। आप शुरू कीजिए।

श्री तारिक अनवर: उपसभापति महोदय, मैं यह कह रहा था कि राष्ट्रपति का जो अभिभाषण है, यह चुनाव के बाद पहली बार जब पार्लियामेंट में हम लोग मिले हैं, उसमें अपनी बात कही है। यह बात सही है कि चुनाव के फौरन बाद जो जनादेश इस सरकार को मिला है, वह इस बात का सबूत है कि पिछले पांच वर्ष में यूपीए सरकार ने जो अपना कार्य-कलाप रखा, उसको जनता का समर्थन था, जनता ने उसको अपना जनादेश दिया और उसकी सम्पुष्टि की जो नीति, जो योजना, जो कार्यक्रम पिछली सरकार ने इस देश में पांच वर्ष तक चलाया, उनको एक तरह से जनता का समर्थन पूर्ण रूप से मिला है। इसीलिए इस अभिभाषण में उन्हीं कार्यक्रमों को किस तरह से प्रभावशाली ढंग से आने वाले पांच वर्षों में यह सरकार पूरा करेगी और उसमें किस ढंग से आम आदमी को लाभ मिलेगा, इस बात का प्रयास झलकता है, दर्शाता है।

उपसभापति महोदय, इस देश का आम आदमी देश में सद्भाव चाहता है, खुशहाली चाहता है और शांति से, चैन से इस देश में रहना चाहता है। यह सरकार जो यूपीए की सरकार है, इसने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के माध्यम से सभी को आश्वस्त करने की कोशिश की है कि इस देश के अंदर शांति-व्यवस्था और हर तरह का आपसी सद्भाव बनाए रखने का काम यह सरकार करेगी।

प्रतिपक्ष भी हमारे देश में, लोकतंत्र में महत्वपूर्ण है। हम उसका स्वागत करते हैं, क्योंकि लोकतंत्र की यही सबसे खूबसूरती है कि पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों हमारे यहां साथ चलते हैं, सहमति और असहमति साथ चलती है और यह होना भी चाहिए। यह लोकतंत्र की मजबूती के लिए आवश्यक भी है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जब प्रतिपक्ष के नेता ने यहां पर भाषण दिया, उसको हम बजाय किसी तरह की निंदा समझ कर, हम इसको यह समझें कि ये उनके सरकार को सुझाव हैं और उनकी बात को सुझाव के रूप में लेना चाहिए। सारे कार्यक्रमों को प्रभावशाली ढंग से लागू करने में कहीं कोई कमी है, तो उस कमी को दूर करने की सरकार को कोशिश करनी चाहिए। उसका स्वागत होना चाहिए। आतंकवाद के खिलाफ न लड़ने का आरोप लगाया गया था, लेकिन देश की जनता ने देखा और देश की जनता ने इस बात का हर तरह से समर्थन भी किया कि जो पिछली सरकार ने आतंकवाद से लड़ने के लिए जो भी कदम उठाए, जो भी रास्ता अपनाया, उसको इस देश की जनता ने समर्थन दिया है। इस सरकार ने इस बात को स्पष्ट किया है कि किसी भी कीमत पर आतंकवाद को बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जाएगा या देश में किसी भी तरह की साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना को तोड़ने की कोशिश को बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जाएगा या ऐसे मसले उठाने की जो कोशिश की जाएगी, उसको यह सरकार बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी, क्योंकि वह राष्ट्र के हित में नहीं है। हमारी यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि हम देश में हर तरह से सद्भावना बनाकर रखें और किसी को भी कानून-व्यवस्था को अपने हाथ में लेने की इजाजत नहीं देनी चाहिए, चाहे वह धर्म के नाम पर हो, जाति के नाम पर हो, क्षेत्रवाद के नाम पर हो या भाषा के नाम पर हो। यह बात सही है कि आज आर्थिक मंदी का दौर है और सारी दुनिया इससे प्रभावित है, लेकिन इस कठिन समय में भी मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार संजीदगी और गंभीरता से बात के लिए कोशिश कर रही है कि इस मंदी के दौर से कैसे बचा जाए? यह जो मंदी का दौर चल रहा है, यह सारी दुनिया में चल रहा है और इससे भारत ही नहीं, कोई भी देश अप्रभावित नहीं रह सकता है। उसका प्रभाव हम तक पहुंचेगा। हम उसको कितना रोक सकते हैं, इसकी कोशिश होनी चाहिए। मुझे इस बात को कहने में जरा भी संकोच नहीं है कि इस सरकार ने बहुत ही संजीदगी के ढंग से और गंभीरता से इस मसले को अपने हाथ में लिया है तथा इसकी यह कोशिश है कि इसको किसी तरह से नियंत्रित किया जाए। इस अभिभाषण में खासतौर से

बुनियादी ढांचे के बारे में कहा गया है, इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर के बारे में कहा गया है। मैं विशेषरूप से यह कहूंगा कि जो रूरल इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर है, जिस पर हमने पांच सालों तक भारत निर्माण का कार्यक्रम चलाया है तथा उस भारत निर्माण के माध्यम से यह प्रयास हुआ है कि गांवों का इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर ठीक किया जाए व बुनियादी ढांचे को सुधारा जाए। यह बात सही है और काफी हद तक सिद्ध भी

हो चुकी है कि जो हमारे देश की गरीबी है, उसका तथा बुनियादी ढांचे का संबंध, बहुत करीब का है। महोदय, जब तक हम गांव के ढांचे को ठीक नहीं करेंगे, जो हम अपने देश की गरीबी को दूर करने का सपना देख रहे थे, वह पूरा नहीं हो सकता है। जब हम गांवों में जाते हैं तो मुख्य रूप से लोगों की मांगें सड़क और बिजली की होती हैं। उसके बाद स्वास्थ्य, स्कूल तथा दूसरी चीजों की भी मांगें होती हैं। आजादी के इतने लम्बे समय गुजरने के बाद भी, देश का बहुत सा ऐसा हिस्सा है, जहां पर अभी लोगों ने पक्की सड़क नहीं देखी है, जहां लोगों को बिजली मयस्सर नहीं है। आज चाहे गांव हो या शहर हो, दोनों के लिए बिजली की आवश्यकता है। इसलिए हमारा यह सुझाव है कि आने वाले दिनों में सरकार को मुख्य रूप से रूरल डेवलपमेंट के लिए, ग्रामीण विकास के लिए ऐसी योजनाएं बनानी पड़ेंगी कि अगले पांच सालों में कोई भी गांव पक्की सड़क से अछूता न रहे, बिजली से अछूता न रहे। जो बुनियादी सुविधाएं हैं, चाहे वह स्कूल है या अस्पताल है, हम इनको वहां तक पहुंचाने का काम करें, क्योंकि जनता ने बड़ी उम्मीद और आशा के साथ दोबारा इस सरकार को अपना समर्थन दिया है। जहां तक फूड सिक्युरिटी की बात है, यह कहा गया है कि जो गरीब हैं, जो बिलो पावर्टी लाइन हैं, उनको 25 कि.ग्रा. अनाज तीन रुपए के हिसाब से दिया जाएगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक अच्छा कदम है, लेकिन मेरा भी एक सुझाव है कि जिस तरह से हमारे मित्र येचुरी जी ने कहा कि उसको 25 कि.ग्रा. से बढ़ाकर, 35 कि.ग्रा. करना चाहिए। हमारे देश में जो गरीबी की परिभाषा बनाई गई है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उसमें भी सुधार की आवश्यकता है। जब हम गांवों में जाते हैं और देखते हैं कि वहां पर लोगों की एक लम्बी कतार होती है और वे यह मांग करते हैं कि उनको BPL में लेना चाहिए था...। लेकिन उन्हें बीपीएल में शामिल नहीं किया गया, जबकि ये ऐसी बातें हैं, जिन पर सरकार को गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए। उनकी संख्या, बीपीएल की संख्या बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है, ताकि हमारे देश की जो गरीबी है, जिसका जिक्र किया गया है, कहा गया है कि आज भी हमारे 77 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहते हैं, यदि हमें उन्हें एड्रेस करना है, उनको देखना है तो उसके लिए हमें उसकी संख्या बढ़ाना आवश्यक है। इसी में हम बिहार के बारे में यह भी कहेंगे कि बिहार को स्पेशल स्टेटस देने की बात हमारे मित्रों ने कही, हमारे नेता प्रतिपक्ष ने भी कही, मैं भी उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं बिहार से आता हूँ, बिहार को स्पेशल स्टेटस मिलना चाहिए। बिहार और अन्य चार राज्यों का यहां जिक्र किया गया, जो बीमारू राज्य माने जाते हैं। जब वे बीमारू राज्य की परिभाषा में आते हैं, तो ऐसी हालत में, मैं समझता हूँ कि उनको दर्जा देना मुनासिब होगा। लेकिन इसी में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि आज यह बात क्यों उठ रही है। जब बिहार का बंटवारा हुआ था, बिहार और झारखंड दो राज्य बने थे, तो उसी समय यह बात सोचनी चाहिए थी। लोगों ने यह बात कही भी थी और इस बात को, उस समय केंद्र में जो सरकार थी, एनडीए की सरकार थी, उस सरकार ने इस बात का वायदा भी किया था कि हम बिहार को विशेष दर्जा देंगे, उसे विशेष पैकेज देंगे, उसे आर्थिक पैकेज दिया जाएगा। एनडीए की सरकार चार साल तक रही, लेकिन बिहार पर विशेष ध्यान देने का कोई काम उन्होंने नहीं किया। आज जब केंद्र में उनकी सरकार नहीं है, तो यह मांग की जा रही है कि उसे विशेष दर्जा देना चाहिए। मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा कि आने वाले समय के लिए, लंबे समय के लिए नहीं, लेकिन कम से कम कुछ ऐसी अवधि करार करनी चाहिए, मुकर्रर करनी चाहिए, जिसमें बिहार और जो बीमारू राज्य हैं, उनको विशेष दर्जा देना चाहिए। यह कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि उस राज्य का आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्तर इतना ऊपर उठ जाए कि जो नेशनल एवरेज होनी चाहिए, उसके बराबर उनका भी स्तर हो, ताकि वहां के लोग अपने आपको उपेक्षित नहीं महसूस करें। इस बात की कोशिश होनी चाहिए।

उपसभापति महोदय, जहां ये सारी बातें हैं, वहीं दो सुझाव भी हैं। एक अंतरराष्ट्रीय एजेंसी के डाटा

बेस के मुताबिक आतंकवाद की विभीषिका झेल रहे जो देश हैं, उनकी सूची में भारत छठे स्थान पर है। यह चिंता का विषय है। हम लोग कैसे इसका सामना करें, मुकाबला करें? हमारी सरकार उसके लिए क्या योजना बना रही है? जहां तक मुझे विश्वास है, हम इस मामले में किसी भी तरह की कोई कमी नहीं छोड़ेंगे और आतंकवाद का सामना करने में कभी पीछे नहीं हटेंगे। देश के लगभग चौदह प्रदेशों में 602 जिले ऐसे हैं, जो नक्सली आंदोलन से प्रभावित हैं।

उनको सुधारने के लिए क्या कोशिश होनी चाहिए, यह बहुत आवश्यक है। क्योंकि यह भी हमारे लिए चिंता का विषय है। जब हम इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी की बात करते हैं, तो इसका मतलब सिर्फ बाहर से जो आतंकवाद है, वही हमारे लिए खतरा नहीं है, देश के अंदर भी जो ऐसी शक्तियां हैं, जिससे हमारे देश की एकता, अखंडता खतरे में पड़ सकती है, देश का लोकतंत्र खतरे में पड़ सकता है, उस पर भी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। दूसरा, संयुक्त राष्ट्र श्रम संघ के विशेष संगठन के विशेष स्तर पर छाई मंदी से 2009 के आखिर तक दुनिया में 21 करोड़ नौकरियों के नुकसान की बात कही गई है। भारत भी इससे अछूता नहीं है। आई.ई.टी. और बी.पी.ओ. सेक्टर में छाई मंदी से निपटने और नए रोजगार के सृजन के लिए सरकार को अथक प्रयास करने की आवश्यकता है, यह बात किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। खाद्य सुरक्षा की बात कही गई है। देश के बीस करोड़ लोगों को ढंग का खाना नहीं मिलता है। उपसभापति महोदय, 50 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा बच्चों को जो खाना मिलना चाहिए, वह नहीं मिल रहा है और देश में सालाना 5 लाख महिलाओं की मौत प्रसव के दौरान हो जाती है। इस तरह की जो बातें हैं, हमारे समाज में ये सब जो बुराइयां हैं, इनको सुधारने की आवश्यकता है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि सरकार को जो 5 साल का मौका मिला है, जो जनादेश मिला है, उसका आदर करते हुए यह सरकार उन कार्यों को पूरा करने का काम करेगी, उस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने की कोशिश करेगी, जिसकी उम्मीद मैं, आशा मैं लोगों ने इस सरकार को दोबारा अपना जनादेश दिया है। धन्यवाद।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I rise to support the Motion that has been moved by my colleague, Shri Satyavrat Chaturvedi. Any citizen of the country, and, I am sure, all my colleagues sitting here in this House, will agree with me when I say that this particular President's Address, which has come after the historic mandate that was delivered by the people of India, is an unequivocal mandate and an unequivocal victory for the Indian National Congress, for the policies of the Congress (I) and its allies, for the UPA Government, for the leadership of the UPA Chairperson, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, and the Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, who worked throughout five years to bring about a spectacular record of achievement, where most of the promises that were made in our Election Manifesto of 2004, were fulfilled in substantive terms, with the help of our allies. In that sense, there can be no doubt that Election 2009 was a decisive, definite, historic mandate for the Congress (I). I say so for more than one reason. But, before that, I would also like to speak for my party to echo the sentiments of our leaders, of the Congress (I) President and of the Prime Minister when they said that they accept the verdict of the people in all humility, that they accept the mandate of the people in the spirit that the people have reposed tremendous confidence in the policies of the Congress (I), have reposed tremendous confidence in the record of the UPA Government, have reposed tremendous confidence in the Indian National Congress, as a party. Therefore, while we accept that verdict in all humility, we are

also aware of the fact that there is a tremendous responsibility; there is a huge expectation among the people of this country, a huge expectation that in the following five years, the governance of this country will go even higher than the heights that we achieved in the last five years, where, after 2004, we formed a large coalition Government and went to the people with a Plan of Action, with a manifesto, with promises to bring about important pieces of legislation, with promises to fulfil various hopes and expectations of the *Aam Admi*, with promises to fulfil the dreams and expectations of youth who actually form the larger sections of our society today. When, to a large extent, we have performed on all those fronts, the

people now have much greater expectations from us, and I believe that my party and every single one of us here as well as those who are sitting in the Opposition are aware of the tremendous responsibility that the people have placed upon us.

I would like to refer very briefly to the speeches made by the hon. Members who spoke before me. They have spoken, in great extent, about the various aspects of the economy, about the programmes of the Government, about what has worked and how these have worked. To me, however, I do believe that this election, in many ways, is a watershed election because our country is developing every day in terms of being a democratic country, in terms of coming to terms with a vast majority of our people who belong to diverse cultures, who belong to diverse strata of society, who belong to different religions. This vast unity, which is expressed in diversity, is India. How do we govern it? I do believe, and everybody will agree with me, that the single greatest achievement, in this century, of any country and of our country is the fact that we remain a proud and a vibrant democracy that we have held on to our democratic traditions despite the fact that we are one of the largest countries in the world, despite the fact that our population, our voters and our electorate are absolutely tremendous and despite the huge differences in age, in caste, in creed, in poverty, in wealth, in information, in ignorance, in education, the fact remains that during every election the people of India go out and speak and they send us a message, a clear message, a message that is not uncertain. There was a fractured mandate, Sir, as happened a little more last time, but we have a much greater mandate this time. A fractured mandate did not mean that the people did not know how to make up their minds. The fractured mandate had its own meaning. This time, Sir, I believe that the mandate has several messages from the people of India and I feel that it is important for us to dwell upon, at least, two or three of those messages.

Sir, I think the very first of these messages of the elections is a rejection of negativism and of exclusiveness. The voters have shown us there is a new grammar of politics, that there should be a new politics of hope and of inclusion. Sir, many attempts have been made during the elections, before the elections and at various times during the elections to present negative issues and to introduce an agenda of divisiveness in society. These issues of divisiveness that were introduced have been firmly rejected by the people, not just in 2009 in the Parliament elections, but also in 2008 during the Assembly elections. So, in these

elections, the people have said, "Enough! We have had enough of negativeness! We have had enough of the politics of hate! We have had enough of the politics of exclusion!" That is the very first message sent to us. I would also like to say that this is not simply a vote which has happened in a particular State; this is not simply an aggregation of the results that have been brought out in every different State, but this is a national trend. That national trend is towards the Congress. I would like to say this and back it up with figures. Of course, we have a great deal more to achieve. But we have done exceptionally well. We have done exceptionally well in Uttar Pradesh, compared to our previous performance. Not just in Uttar Pradesh, even in Bihar, we have crossed the ten per cent vote share margin which we have not crossed in many,

many years. In other States, Sir, we have done much better than expected. In Madhya Pradesh, in Gujarat, in Maharashtra, we have done much better than expected. Now, I am saying this not because I am a member of the Congress Party and it is my Party, but it is because of the message the people are sending, that we want a party that is oriented towards the future, we want a party that is talking about the politics of inclusiveness, we want a party that has concern for the youth of the nation, that is not harking back, we want a party that is, above all, stable, coherent and will provide transparent governance. Sir, I could easily go through the vote-shares. All of us are aware of it. All of us are aware of the vote-share of every party. Our vote-share has gone up at the national level. All over India, our vote-share is nearly 29 per cent, and we have done exceptionally well in many States where we did not expect to do so well. Therefore, the national trend is, I believe, towards a premier national party. And this is an important message, Sir, because we have always been debating, over the last few years, and even the speakers before me, the learned speakers from the Opposition, the Leader of Opposition and other speakers have spoken, about the compulsions of coalition politics, about the compulsion of regional politics. In fact, throughout the elections, we have constantly been debating about the third space, about the Third Front about the space that will be occupied by it. The important message that has been sent out by these elections, Sir, is that the national parties are not on the decline, that national parties are very much on the minds of the people. Although the BJP has not won the elections, although the people have not accepted the BJP, their vote share is something which is higher than the vote share of all the other regional parties that were sought to be claimed by some people. I will come back to that a little later. The message, therefore, is that national parties, nationalism and national mainstream, and identity of being an Indian, not just somebody who belongs to a particular region, a particular caste, a particular identity or a particular vested interest, but the identity of the voter as an Indian, I think, is yet another very important message that the voter has sent out today.

Sir, the important trend in this, really, is the people have put their faith in a development-oriented economy. Sir, regionalism means voicing the interests of that region instead of taking a strident grand-standing against the Central Government. Sir, we should have a very clear

agenda and we did have a very clear agenda on governance and development. And, above all, we were able to tell the people and convince the people that the Government's efforts on the economy were all oriented towards delivering the best possible services to the most disadvantaged sections of people—delivery of economy and the fruits of development to the poorest of the poor. In this, Sir, the message really is of cooperative federalism.

Sir, there is a space for regionalism; I come from a State where there has been no national party; the Congress has not been in Government from 1967 in my State of Tamil Nadu. Yet, the regional party over there, the DMK, our ally, have done very well. This is because it is not mere regionalism or a confrontationist approach against the Central Government, but an approach which talks about an inclusive space within the national mainstream. Within the national mainstream, the DMK expresses the yearnings and aspirations of the people of Tamil Nadu. As long as the regional

parties, the regional aspirations are contained within the national mainstream, the people of India would vote for them. I come from a State which is very far from Delhi. I will never accept or believe that regionalism and regional aspirations can ever be ruled out or can ever die.

But, Sir, people voted only for those regional parties which decided to be a part of the national mainstream and they rejected those regional parties that were confrontationist, that were on a path of confrontation with the Centre and that tried to have an identity that was apart from the national mainstream.

Sir, the socially divisive agenda was rejected. My friends in the Opposition will permit me to remind you in a very non-confrontational way about all the negative policy of exclusion, the politics of hate that happened. If you look back upon the elections, every single issue that seemed to be the great important issue of the election—whether it was what they called weak Prime Minister or whether it was what they called getting totally subjugated to the U.S., thanks to the Indo-U.S. civilian nuclear agreement, or whether it was a particular politics that they talked about when the Gujarat Chief Minister made some remarks—none of those issues were on the minds of the people when they voted. At the same time, people said that the Congress had grown arrogant in its power, that the Congress had decided to go alone and that the Congress had rejected alliances, that the allies of the Congress were deserting the Congress. At that time, Sir, they even talked about our leader, General Secretary, Shri Rahul Gandhi by calling him naive. All those theories, all those issues that were raised at the time of the elections have now proved—and I would like to say so with pride, Sir, certainly—that my party is entitled to a feeling of pride that when we talk of inclusion, when we talk about governance, when we take issues to the people, these are all issues that people accept. They totally reject any kind of argument that smacks of a personal attack, that smacks of a personal vendetta that is a direct attack upon the person and the office of Prime Minister, that is a direct attack upon a particular section—one senior speaker from the BJP even called old woman a burden upon India, Sir! That hurt the conscience of the people. That was not the kind of rhetoric that people wanted to hear. Sir, I do not want to say this in a spirit of confrontation, I say this as a message from the people of India. In many ways, Sir, when you

talk about a particular issue, if that is an issue of hatred where a young man made a speech in Uttar Pradesh, when he talked about the cutting of arms of those who are against him, people expected that his party would categorically reject it, people expected that his party would cut him to size. But on the one hand, Sir, we had very weak and ineffective denials from the party and on the other hand, the party president went to visit him, the party stood by him and the party tried to get mileage out of him. That is the message that the people of India are giving that his mix and match, this trying to gain particular advantage of the politics of hate, the politics of polarisation will not be accepted by the people of India. At the same time, I would like to make a brief mention of the role of the Left. Sir, they supported our Government for four years, we have had many disagreements, many differences of opinion with the Left, and they continued to support our Government, we appreciate their support that they extended to us, however, Sir, the

important message for the Left in these elections is that it is not possible to gain political mileage and a credible platform out of instability. All that the Left was not proposing a stable model, the Left was not proposing a stable set of leaders, a stable and durable viable coalition and the entire space that was occupied by the Left on those issues have now come, Sir, to the Congress. It is our bounden duty to fulfil those issues. Sir, we will take those issues in West Bengal. For example, important issues relating to land rights versus industrialisation and the message that the Congress has consistently said that yes, we welcome industrialisation but not at the cost of farmers, not at the cost of farmers losing their land. Sir, it is an irony that the Left came to power on the issue of land rights, one of the main platforms to restore land to the landless and it is on this very issue that one of their greatest problems has arisen in West Bengal. It is not possible to really gain and to really present a credible, viable alternative out of instability. So, the entire concept of a Third or an alternate front and to say that it should be non-Congress and non-BJP is not a credible alternative in any sense of the word. Therefore, it is that, it did not really find any great support among the people of the country who again sent a message that you have to have a platform, you have to have a credible plan of action and you have to have a coherent ideology to carry your agenda through, including a clear idea of who those leaders are going to be, which your party is going to be and who are the people who are going to deliver those services to us. That was the clear message where the Left totally failed to see the writing on the wall. This again, I say not in a spirit of trying to criticise my colleagues who have supported us for four years but to say that the people of India are looking for stability, for coherence, for a credible platform and mere anti-Congressism or anti something else is certainly not the way to achieve it. Sir, may I continue on Monday?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, you can continue on Monday.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned to meet at 11.00 a.m. on Monday, the 8th June, 2009.

The House then adjourned at fifty-nine minutes past four of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 8th June, 2009.