

DC-GS/5.00/30

**(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair)**

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (CONTD.):** We are asking for withdrawal of deposit limits. Sir, yesterday, the Finance Minister made a speech. We did not come from our party to listen to his speech, nor did we come the previous day because we believe and our point was that for demonetization, Parliament was ignored and that was our way of stating over the last two days that you people don't need Parliament because you have a one-man band. To quote from the Finance Minister's speech--and I am going back to Para 55 of the President's speech--the Finance Minister said, 'a trusted custodian of public money.' That is the Government's role. I ask, Sir, are you the only trusted custodian of the public money because you are not allowing the public to withdraw their private money for which they pay tax? So we appeal and urge upon this Government to please stay away from platitudes. From tomorrow or Monday, please stop all the restrictions that you have placed on the withdrawal limit. One thing got confirmed after the speech, in this booklet of about 4,000 words, and the Finance Minister's speech. The good thing, at least, which the Government has confirmed is that demonetization has not worked because if it had worked, they would

have given us some numbers. They would have shared as to how much has been collected and how much has been given out. I read the Economic Survey with a great deal of interest and I must congratulate the Government on the literary part of it. There were some beautiful quotations including Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Arvind Adiga. There were very, very nice literary quotations. I am not getting into the content or the financial part because there was nothing there. There was nothing there in the Budget, anything worthwhile. Sir, this is a story of demonetization. When my party spoke here in this House on 24<sup>th</sup> November and the hon. Prime Minister was sitting there, eyeball to eyeball, I told him, through you, Sir, “You can arrest all 46 Trinamool Congress MPs here. You can even try and arrest Mamata Banerjee in Bengal but that will not stop us from opposing your policy and it is nothing personal. We are opposing you for economic reasons. We are opposing you because we think that this is anti-people. We are opposing you because we think that these are draconian measures. We are opposing you because you have not thought this out. We are opposing you for this reason.” We have said, with all humility, “धमकी मत दिखाओ, don't do political vendetta on us.” And exactly on this, Sir, you gave me an opportunity to speak in the morning. I managed to express myself for three

minutes; so, I will not repeat those points. The leader of our party in Lok Sabha and our MP were arrested on 30<sup>th</sup> December and 3<sup>rd</sup> January, hardly two weeks after we made our points on demonetization. Political vendetta is not a solution in a democracy. Sir, interestingly, on demonetization—it has been around for about 12 weeks—after every two weeks, the Government has been coming up with a new reason as to why demonetization took place. First, it was terrorism. For the next two weeks, it became black money. For the next two weeks, to remove corruption. For the next two weeks, something crazier, that is, to improve the digital economy. The day before yesterday we were hearing, to widen the tax net. And now yesterday we are hearing, to boost the real estate market. Sir, these are not the reasons. But I am not surprised because when it comes to slogans, it is very difficult to beat this Government. They have come up with some really good slogans like Startup India, Skill India, Make in India, Digital India. Our request to this Government is to make all these slogans and come up with a new slogan, ‘Be India’; just, ‘Be India’. Sir, Para 5 of the President’s Address says, “At the core of all my Government’s policies is the welfare”. Sir, I beg to differ. Our belief from the Trinamool Congress is, at the core of this Government’s policy is the PM.

(Contd. by KR/3P)

KR/3P/5.05

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (CONTD.)** : Not the hon. PM, but the PM. The PM means, Photo Mantri. Sir, I have a mother. She is 79. We all have our mothers. She was also required to go to a bank in Kolkata. I was travelling. I couldn't go to the bank to collect the money . So, I had sent two of my colleagues with her to collect the money from the bank. I had also another option. I could have put her in a queue. I could have sent some cameras there. I could have got those pictures shot. I could have put it on the social media. Then, I said, Derek what a good son you are. But there are others who may be having 96-year old mother who indulge in being a Photo Mantri, whether it is a Photo Mantri, whether it is a Coldplay concert, there also you were giving messages just a few days after Notebandi. In fact, I am completely bored with this name of Notebandi, or, demonetization. I think, we need to come up with a new name. But on this issue, Sir, in Japan, same thing, ridiculing people who were standing in the queues. This is all the result of being 24x7 PM and the most hon. PM.

I can give you another example of Khadi which is fabulous. My colleagues here are talking about Mahatma Gandhi's picture disappearing from the currency notes. I do not know whether the Finance Minister will get into trouble. Yesterday, he had mentioned the name of Mahatma four times in his Budget Speech. In the last two years, I have been reading a lot about Golwalkar. After listening to the views of Golwalkar, I was wondering whether there was a need to make a choice. Is it Golwalkar or is it Mahatma? Sir, Khadi calendar is the same thing. This photo opportunity is not the solution for this problem. Because now if you really examine the demitronisation, sorry, I said it wrong, demitronisation or demonetization or notebandi, you call it by whatever name you want, ..(Interruptions).. Sir, on a serious note, I appreciate we are having a debate, we didn't interrupt them and they are not interrupting us, so, that is all in good spirit. Although I was little focussed on my left side, if I may say to my senior Member and Minister, Ravi Shankarji, that he is going to get a lot of brownie points today because he mentioned the name of somebody thirteen times in his speech. That is very, very good. He is still nowhere compared to my colleagues from the AIADMK but he is getting there. ..(Interruptions)..

**THE MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD):**

This is too much. On the lighter vein it is okay.

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN:** Thank you. I am not so on a lighter vein.

Para 17 of the President's Address deals with transforming the lives of farmers and the like. Sir, I have five or six very important points to make on this. The informal sector accounts for 45 per cent of the GDP, and about 80 per cent of employment. The unemployment has increased by double percentage in the last few weeks and months. We told you this by the way on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November. I did it. Mamta Didi did it. I am mentioning her name for the second time.

**SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD:** I am not counting. You can go ahead.

**SHRI AHMED PATEL:** Only once he has mentioned her name.

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN:** About 25 crore daily wage workers have lost their employment. About 12 lakh power looms were shut down. The leather industry in West Bengal is headed towards trouble. We all know what is happening to tea gardens. I do not want to repeat reverse migration because the LoP made the point. Let us move to agriculture. Cooperative Banks were not allowed to exchange demonetized notes No money to buy

seeds. No money to buy fertilizers. The APMC says prices dropped by 40 to 46 per cent. Sir, you take auto sales.

(Continued by 3Q/KS)

KS-ASC/3Q/5.10

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (contd.):** Auto sales are down to a 16-year low. It is not only about farmers and the unorganized sector, it is happening everywhere. Auto sales reduced by 19 per cent for four wheelers, 9 per cent for two wheelers, and this big second hand car market, which was growing in India, is down to zero. Take MSMEs. My State has one of the highest MSME growth rate in the country. But the overall decline in MSMEs has been to the extent of 50 per cent, with 35 per cent job losses in this sector. Sir, these are hard numbers. I started off with emotion and real stories, but these are hard numbers. Take *kirana* stores! Did no one think that in FMCG, in *kirana* stores, 90 to 92 per cent of transactions take place in cash? This is not black money. The transactions take place in cash. There is a 40 per cent drop in FMCG sales. Take MNREGA! My favourite quote about MNREGA came in March, 2015. Now, with the jugglery of numbers, they are saying MNREGA numbers have gone up. You can check it. MNREGA numbers didn't go up; they went down. Now, the numbers seem to have

gone up. But my favourite quote on MNREGA was 'आज़ादी के 60 साल के बाद आपको लोगों को गड्ढे खोदने के लिए भेजना पड़ा! Who said this? The hon. Prime Minister said this. And now, they want to take credit for MNREGA also. Sir, the average days of employment under MNREGA per household last year were 34.84 days. I am giving you these numbers; you can dispute these numbers. I am very happy that in my State, Bengal, MNREGA provides at least 100 days of wage employment and 85 lakh person days of work has been generated, with Rs. 18,000 crores in the last few years. That is why Bengal is number one in MNREGA. I have got all these figures here, Sir. If you compare Bengal on any parameter to the national average in the last three years, Bengal is ahead. Take the manufacturing sector; it is the same problem.

Sir, I want to move on to the next point. I am a bit surprised, shocked actually, that this was not mentioned. It was mentioned in para 55 of the President's Address when it came to funding. I just want to get to para 55 so that we all are on the same page, and I am not going off the subject. Para 55 talks about the evils of black money, corruption, counterfeit currency, and so on. None of the two speakers who spoke from the Government side today touched on this. I don't know why they didn't, but I

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would like to. There is not a word about offshore accounts! The Government has refused to disclose the data about Indian citizens who hold large sums of money in foreign accounts. No action on SIT! And I must be thankful to the hon. President for using the term ‘money power’ in para 55. We have been saying this for the last more than a decade. It is money power which leads to bad media power — not all media is bad -- which leads to muscle power. Muscle power is dangerous in politics! That is why we hear these stories, stories of people who try to be ‘holier than thou’, stories of people who try to be more pious than everybody else. But you have to see what percentage of BJP accounts are from undisclosed sources. And now, again, what is this \* about bringing this amount of Rs. 20,000 down to Rs. 2,000?

**SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD:** Sir, \* is unparliamentary.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Oh yes! \* is an unparliamentary word. It won’t go on the record.

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**\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.**

**SHRI DEREK O’BRIEN:** Okay, Sir. I will give you a better word. What is this delusion...

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** 'Senseless'.

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN:** No, no. 'Delusion' is better. It is a delusion; actually it is an illusion because you bring the amount of Rs. 20,000 down to Rs. 2,000 for your electoral funding. Sir, nothing is going to happen. But the fun part is — and that is a good part — that they also know nothing is going to happen. चलाओ, अभी यूपी इलैक्शन्स चलाओ! Because we said 'corruption', so let us just slip this in!

(CONTD. BY RSS/3R)

RSS/5.15/3R

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (CONTD.):** Sir, we have been talking about the Panama Papers. There are 11095 Indians; 25,000 in a single HSBC's account in Switzerland. Please bring this money back to India; prescribe a time limit.

Then Sir, in the money, they talk about the Non Performing Assets. That is another fine number. There are six lakh crores of Non Performing Assets, and what did you do yesterday? Who are you kidding? Sorry. This is not in the President's Address, but as I am taking the advice in a holistic way, you have got 6 lakh crore of Non Performing Assets in your bank, and you give Rs. 10,000 crores yesterday for capitalization of banks.

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Let us come to para 23. Shri Ravi Shankar Prasadji today was talking a lot about women and children through para 23 because the Indian woman has truly progressed. In 1960, on an average, Indian woman was bearing 5.7 children per woman. How beautiful! In fifty years, that number has come down to about 2.5. That is a huge progress. Hats off to the Indian woman.

Let us talk about the Kanya Shri scheme. They spoke about Beti Bachao Beti Padhao. I want to speak about Kanyashree scheme because in my State West Bengal, lakhs and lakhs of young girls have benefited from this Scheme. No wonder, this is one of the many reasons why in April, May, June, we won such a fabulous re-endorsement of Mamtaji in West Bengal. Sir, here is a very interesting number, and then you will know, who is serious about looking after the girl child and who is not because our State has also got U.N. Award. U.N. Award is less important. Look at this number. Take the case of Beti Bachao Beti Padhao. Good. They saw the scheme of the State; rebranded it and used it. That is good Federalism. There is no problem about it. The budget for that scheme for the whole country is Rs. 200 crores. It is not my number. It is their number. West Bengal is one State where the budget for this purpose is Rs. 1,000 crores. So, we are serious

about it. But, with Rs. 200 crore budget, you please look at the advertising budget for that.

Sir, then, I come to women reservation. There is not a word about women's reservation today in the speech. They talk about women's reservation. We have been asking for 33 per cent women in Parliament. Then we said, what do we do? If nobody wants 33 per cent women, and they lecture about women, what did we do? In the Lok Sabha elections of 2014,--I am saying about 2016 also because we even did better there-- out of the 34 seats the Trimool Congress won, 34 per cent are already women. Sir, this is not photo *manch*. Otherwise, this will only become photo opportunity. Sir, look at the children. I was looking through the President's Address. Half of class V students in rural India cannot read at the class-II level. I asked this Government, what have they done? What have you done? Have you mentioned even once in the President's Adress the ICDS thing? You have not mentioned ICDS in your entire document.

Sir, now, we come to para 37. This talks about communal harmony, and both the speakers from the Government side, they were all praise, as they should be, for their hon. Prime Minister for his track record on communal harmony for the last two-and-a-half years. My brother is a

student of Modern History. So, I try to be his shisya. I have the very interesting views from 2002 on communal harmony. There was a Chief Election Commissioner in 2002. Now, the election is coming up. The BJP will not get angry with it because I am quoting Atal Behari Vajpayeeji.

(contd. by 3s/KGG)

KGG-KLG/3S/5.20

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (contd.):** Atal Bihari Vajpayee had some serious things to say about the then Chief Minister of Gujarat on this issue. I quote Vajpayeeji: "One may have differences over the decision or observation of the Chief Election Commissioner with regard to the Assembly polls in Gujarat. There are constitutional means to deal with such matters." I didn't say this. The former Prime Minister Vajpayeeji said this about someone in 2002. All is very well when you come to Delhi. Then, you talk about the last two-and-a-half years and you are the paragon of virtue. I come from a city and a State where, when the India-Pakistan match could not be held anywhere, they had to come to Kolkata. When Gulam Ali had nowhere to perform, he had to come to Bengal where we welcomed him.

This is in September, 2002 which is documented. I am quoting from the speech in my broken Hindi: 'हम पांच हमारे पच्चीस'. The Gujarat

Government conveniently could not find a copy of the speech. Thankfully, we managed to find a copy. I am reading it to you in English, because I am still learning Hindi. I quote: “What should we do? Do we go and run relief camps? Should we open child-producing centres? "हम पांच हमारे पच्चीस". Those who have got no education, those who have got only religious education, would they not become a burden on Gujarat?” Who said this? The current hon. Prime Minister of India. So, when we are in praise, there is nothing wrong in praise. My brother-in-law is from Gujarat. My wife’s sister’s husband tells me that apparently there is a tradition in Gujarat--I don’t know whether he is a good Gujarati or not a good Gujarati. He said, “The tradition is that before a wedding, when the new bridegroom comes, everyone praises the bridegroom because they don’t know whether he turns out to be good or bad.” That also might be a case, but that is perfectly fine with me.

Sir, Digital India is one of my favourite subjects. It finds a mention in para 60 and both the speakers have spoken about it. I am on this medium for the last six years. I know this medium. Is this about Digital India? No. This is about divisive India. Sir, I ask, through you, the Government to name me one democracy in the world where the Head of the Government attacks its own citizens for holding divergent views. It is only, sadly, our democracy. I am not

just speaking up in the air; Sir, I have the facts. Twenty-six Twitter handles that give out rape threats, communal threats, are followed by the Prime Minister of India. Twenty-six! Two of these Twitter handles have been suspended by Twitter. This is not Trinamool or Congress or CPM or DMK. This is an international company called Twitter. Do you want the names of these handles? \* is not unparliamentary because that is the name. \* and \* are the names suspended by Twitter. Where are we heading, Sir? These Twitter trolls are paid handles. They are invited. This is not some private thing, but it is public information. It is even published on a book. They are invited to the Prime Minister's House for a nice digital social media party. When you talk to me about Digital India, give me these examples because these are real examples. Give me the example of Aamir Khan. There is documentary evidence to prove that Aamir Khan's entire thing where he lost the contract to the company was created.

Sir, I tell you, we are mainstreaming hate. I am saying this with responsibility. We are mainstreaming hate. Today, within a matter of minutes, we can create a hash tag, something like '#BengalBurning'.

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**\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.**

Somebody throws a piece of beef on a temple; inhouse, they take a picture and it will go over. This is bad. Sir, I appeal, with all humility. As I said, the big slogan we need is 'Be India'. I don't blame only the BJP for this. That would be very unfair.

(Contd. by KLS/3T)

KLS/4T-5.25

**SHRI DEREK O' BRIEN (CONTD.):** The RSS is even worse when it comes to this kind of social hate mongering on Twitter. Sir, on the digital economy, now leave that digital part, I have made my point. Four out of five villages in India don't have a bank. Where do we have internet connectivity all over India? You are looking at the time; I will take a few minutes as we have only one speaker, so little extra. Seven per cent of debit card transactions when they are made in India, only six per cent have transactions and the rest are used only to withdraw money. Sir, we are all for a Digital India, in that sense we are all for empowerment, but you want to go from point one to point ten. You can miss one or two steps, but you cannot miss all the steps. Eighty per cent of women today in India don't have a bank account. The national optic fiber network which is a great idea, the targets have not been met. So, it is not about digital. You talk about the *kisan*, you talk about the *Jawan*. It has

been a great monsoon, Sir, so, things have been better. You want a credit for that. Nobody today in the President's Address, mentioned a word about the global tailwinds, what was the 2014-15 international oil price and what is that price now. So, you have got that. Good. Then you talked about bringing the money back. Yesterday I heard that a new Bill is coming to tax the thing of good times and bringing back to the bad times. Then you tell me about Jawans. Sir, it is very good that Jawans can book their tickets on line. But also please see the videos of the Jawans who are getting food in some places which we would not even give to our pet animals at home. It is so bad. They are expressing themselves. Sir, I have two broad points to make before I conclude.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** How many more minutes?

**SHRI DEREK O' BRIEN:** I will take five minutes.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Okay, then.

**SHRI DEREK O' BRIEN:** Para 66, this Government calls it 'cooperative federalism', Mamata Banerjee and Trinamool Congress call it 'operative federalism' because just seeing 'cooperative federalism' will not be good enough. I want to share with you one example, Sir, of 'cooperative federalism' and the 'operative federalism'. 'Operative' means you can make

it happen. We, from this side of the House to that side of the House made this GST happen. That was operative federalism at its best. What view the Congress Party had when they were in Government, what view the BJP had, that sometimes it happen where you sit depends on what stand you take. We have not sat this side or that side for a long time. The GST is a very, very good example. I think we all take pride in 'operative federalism'. Now let me give you one example of so-called 'cooperative federalism' because it is mentioned in Para 66 and I will take yesterday's example. This great grand design to merge the Rail Budget with the General Budget, three points on that, Sir, in doing this yesterday, the General Budget has been used to mask all the deficiencies in the Rail Budget. This is the first thing which has happened. What the Finance Minister did not tell you yesterday and what everybody in this country should know because we had the Rail Budget yesterday, but did the Finance Minister tell you that this is for the first time since 1978 that freight earnings have dropped? Challenge the figure. We have a few Railway Minister, including Mamata Di, who gave the Vision-2020 Document. I am glad that one or two points in that Railway Budget were taken from that Vision-2020 Document. But freight earnings are lower than last year. For the first time it happened, Sir, since 1968. Did the Finance

Minister tell you or did this President's Address tell you that for the first time in 68 years, 67 years actually, it was borne by the railways? For the last one-and-a-half years it has been borne by the Centre as well the States making their contribution.

(Contd 3U/SSS)

SSS-SCH/3U/5.30

**SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN (CONTD.):** I have no problem with my friends from Odisha. They want to contribute for projects. There were two railway line projects in Odisha. They have contributed. The Centre has contributed. Good. In Jharkhand, three projects are of Rs. 2,150 crores. Good. In Kerala, you are doing a suburban railway section. It is good. What happens to the other States? What happens to the debt stressed States? What happens to the States of the North-East? What happens to the States who do not have this kind of money? This is a real example of federalism. By conceptually merging the two, you are actually killing the entire transport link of this country. Then you tell us, from one end to another end, it will now be a joint transport network. We know that. We have been talking about it for the last twenty years. All this has been happening.

Sir, I have tried to keep in time. But, Sir, at the end of all this, there is a bigger message. It is time. All of us need to stand up, -- whether we are doing it in Parliament or not, -- so many Opposition parties are doing it. There are some people outside who are doing it. The media needs to stand up. The corporate world needs to stand up and we appeal to the media, we appeal to the corporate world, we appeal to the right thinking people that if you do not stand up now, you will never stand up. Sir, I want to paraphrase in different words what somebody said more than a hundred years ago, a thought, because nobody wants to stand up against demonetization and you are hearing what happened in the last two weeks in America when the corporate world is standing up. So, I end, Sir, with this thought and it is a very solemn thought. "First, they came for the Dalits and I did not speak out because I was not a Dalit. Then they came for the daily wage workers and I did not speak out because I was not a daily wage worker. Then they came for the Muslims and I did not speak out because I was not a Muslim. Then they came for the farmers and I did not speak out because I was not a farmer. Then they came for me and there was no one left to speak for me."

Thank you, Sir.

(Ends)

**MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now, Shri T. G. Venkatesh. He is absent. Shri Swapan Dasgupta.

**SHRI SWAPAN DASGUPTA (NOMINATED):** Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak on the President's Address. For the past few hours, we have been hearing a lot of political exchange. I don't want to get into the *tu tu mein mein* of that and we have heard some very passionate speeches also. I think what is far more important is to look at it, from my perspective taking a little dispassionate view. In the President's Address, we have a plethora of schemes being mentioned. If the Economic Survey is to be believed, today, there are 950 Central Government schemes whose Budget takes up five per cent of the GDP. Now many of these schemes were framed by earlier Governments and many of these schemes are the handiwork of this Government. Let me say that all of them were probably well intentioned.

**(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA, in the Chair.)**

They had a specific purpose in mind. The question which we have to ask ourselves at this stage is -- and I am using the President's Address because the President attached a lot of importance to this scheme -- to

what extent, have we, as a State, acquired the capacity to be able to put well-intentioned schemes into operation?

(Contd. by USY/3W)

USY/5.35/3W

**SHRI SWAPAN DASGUPTA (CONTD.):** And, I think, this is an issue which does not affect the Centre alone, but it affects the States as well. And, it is really a shame that when people really contrast, how good a certain State has been doing in terms of women's empowerment, for example, which we just heard. It is always against the lapses of the Central Government. Likewise, a similar case can be made. The Economic Survey pinpoints certain schemes, which have very well been executed. There have been schemes in Chhattisgarh, which have been wonderfully executed. There have been schemes in Tamil Nadu, which have been wonderfully executed. And, these are issues of which, I think, we need to take a pride. But let us take a look at the schemes which have faltered. And, if we were to add up the entire development Budgets of India since 1947 till now, I think, we would be correct in saying that the slogan of '*Ek Bharat Shreshtha Bharat*' would not have remained just a slogan. It would have been a reality. So, the question is not merely of leakages, it is today the inability of the State to

deliver. Now, we are having some bizarre situations. Can we blame it on the bureaucracy? My friend, Dr. Vinay Sahasrabuddhe, was very right in saying that a lot of sterling work has been done in this Government by the very same *adhikaris*, who earlier may have been inefficient. And, I think, that is an important point. But, there are only a few people who actually carry a State. Unfortunately, there are many more laggards. And, that is true for any organization; that is true for any bureaucracy. We have had a bizarre situation, a very bizarre situation, of Revenue Service officers actually protesting against the loss of their powers by the GST. An enactment of legislation, which has been passed unanimously by both the Houses of Parliament, is refused and there is non-cooperation from people whose job is to execute Government policies. I can understand, there may be certain sections of the State. May I say, the Judiciary, which believes that they should be making the laws? Now, if that disease was to spread to even the bureaucracy, and *babudom*, taking advantage of constitutional guarantees, were to say, “No, actually we make the laws.” That would be a terrible situation. This is not to tar the entire bureaucracy with the same brush. There are people who have been helping, who have done sterling work during the demonetization crisis. They have helped the ordinary people in

their difficulties. But there have also been people, I think, Ghulam Nabi Azadji pointed it out, who allowed the backdoor to be opened and which actually undermine the equitable sufferings, which made it possible for some people that some people are suffering more than others. So, Sir, I think, in this entire President's Address, all I want to really say is, and I do not want to go on on this point, that if we have to make democracy much more rounded, one of the great achievements of this Government, I feel, is that they have added a new quotient to the entire equation of governance. And, for the first time, through the methods of direct transfer, through other imaginative uses of technology, etc., they have added the word 'efficiency' as a necessary obligation of governance. I think, this is an important step. It is a very creditable step.

(Contd. by 3x — PK)

PK-PSV/3X/5.40

**SHRI SWAPAN DASGUPTA (CONTD.):** If we are to get out of the syndrome of being a permanently deprived, poor, under-developed, and helpless country, which we are not, if the achievements of India are to be on par with the achievements of Indians, then, I think it is very, very important that the entire machinery of delivery has to be looked at far more rigorously.

I was, therefore, a little taken aback when the entire mention of administrative reforms and administrative toning up was not a part of this. It is not necessarily a lapse, but it is something which seems to be done by stealth. I wish motivation alone could be the only way out of this. But, Sir, sometimes, we have also seen examples and I am glad of that. There have been certain actions taken against inefficient officers. Some IAS people have been sacked and an IPS officer has also been sacked. I am sure that they were really the rotten apples in the barrel. Likewise, there have been others who have done exemplary service. So, the question which really arises is, if this Government has to be really responsive, -- and the word 'responsiveness' is very much a part of this; we have heard various examples of how this Government works but this is not to suggest that other Governments weren't responsive -- I think it is very important that this basic feature has to be taken into account. I think demonetisation, which we have discussed at great length, was a very great audacious step forward. It was a step forward because it did what no one else was willing to do. It took the plunge. I think it calls for a certain strength of leadership to be able to do something when you realise what the formidable challenges are. Otherwise, you say, 'Oh my God, these challenges are too

insurmountable. We can't go ahead.' Therefore, that is a very, very positive thing. But to carry that gain forward, it is not enough to just go by that and say, 'Oh, enough remonetisation of the economy.' Sir, if we have to make India ethical, if we have to take Swachh Bharat out of the physical thing and make it a part of our spirit, I think a lot of uncomfortable decisions will have to be taken, which, sometimes, may involve suffering. We can criticise the Government for its shortcomings and I think it is only legitimate that every one should, whenever a Government has done something wrong, or, there have been lapses. But to have a permanently negative attitude is something which is not proper. Here, I am reminded of -- my friend, Mr. Jairam Ramesh, is here, has a greater experience of the United States -- what a discredited American Vice-President, Spiro Agnew, once said, 'the nattering nabobs of negativism', and I am, sometimes, reminded of that when I hear my friend, Mr. Derek O'Brien, whom I admire speaking. He mentioned that Ravi *babu* spoke 13 times about the Prime Minister. I can say that he managed, at least, half that feat, by managing six times. ... (Interruptions)..

**SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH:** Five times.

**SHRI SWAPAN DASGUPTA:** Maybe five; I stand corrected. But he is getting there.

**SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH:** You have spoken about the Prime Minister four times.

**SHRI SWAPAN DASGUPTA:** Thank you. My appreciation of the Prime Minister is a matter of record and it is not something which is very late.

**SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH:** We all know.

**SHRI SWAPAN DASGUPTA:** We all know that. I am very glad and it is not something which is late and it is not something which I need to apologise about. I think what we see today, Sir, is a Government, which is there with energy, with direction, with a sense of newness and with a sense of audacity. What it now requires to complement it is additional capacity to be able to deliver that. Thank you very much.

(Ends)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA):** Thank you, Mr. Dasgupta.

Now, Mr. D. Raja.

(Followed by PB/3Y)

PB-VNK/3Y/5.45

**SHRI D. RAJA (TAMIL NADU):** Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

Sir, today, the country is passing through a very critical period. The President's Address and the Government's response do not actually address the challenges appropriately. Sir, I would not speak on Budget proposals. When I participate in the discussion on Budget, I will speak on those Budget proposals. I will confine to certain policy issues. I agree with the Leader of the Opposition and the issues which he raised. Sir, the democracy in the country is in unprecedented distress. That poses a grave challenge to the people and the progress of the nation. The situation in the country is very scary. Let us not take people for granted. People feel insecure. People, in general, feel insecure.

Sir, the whole question is, India as a nation, the parliamentary democracy which we have built up till now, are capable of fighting the pressures. The United States of America declared strategic partnership with India. One of the purposes of the strategic partnership is that China needs to be reined in. In the context of this partnership, the US Government's Development Agency, USAID, has negotiated cooperation agreements with

the Indian Finance Ministry. One of the goals as declared is to push back the use of cash in favour of digital payments in India and globally. Sir, India and US have entered into many defence cooperation agreements. They have signed defence logistics agreements. This Parliament, we consider, is supreme. It represents the collective will of the people. I do not think the Government has taken this Parliament into confidence. In fact, my concern is, the Foreign Policy of the country is under pressure. It is being influenced by US, and India is becoming a subservient to American policies. India is willingly becoming a junior ally, a junior strategic ally of US. It compromises the independent foreign policy of the nation. India's Foreign Policy does not belong to one Party which is in power or which was in power or which can come to power. India's Foreign Policy is always one which evolves on the basis of consensus. India's Foreign Policy is on the basis of a national consensus. That national consensus is being broken by you, by this present Government. That is my charge. We can debate, keeping in view the interest of the country.

(Contd. by 3z/SKC)

SKC/3Z/5.50

**SHRI D. RAJA (contd.):** I am speaking for the country. My country should pursue an independent sovereign foreign policy. It should not be influenced by any imperial power. But today, that is what is happening. This is a major concern. It is not just with the foreign policy; it is happening even with the domestic policies. That is exactly what I am talking about when I say demonetization. In my opinion, demonetization has not been announced in isolation. It has a context. The compromise on our sovereign policies, foreign and domestic, is a major concern. The President's Address notes that we have international engagements, etc., but what is the purpose? Does India play a proactive role in world affairs? What are we doing as far as the question of Palestine is concerned? Do we play a proactive role in the context of developments taking place in West Asia? Forget all those things, what proactive role are we playing in the context of Sri Lanka? The war got over in 2009. I have spoken about this many times in this House. Even today, the Sri Lankan Tamils have not got justice. War crimes have not been taken up as they should have been taken up. Even today, many thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils are declared to have disappeared. Women are living as half-widows. India, being the neighbour, should have taken up

this issue. Why has India not taken up this issue? That is where there is a concern. India allows itself to be compromised on independent foreign policies. The President's Address does not speak about this issue. The Government's response on this issue is inappropriate.

Sir, coming to other issues, water disputes are growing in the country. I don't mean just Cauvery, but water disputes in general are growing. What is the policy of the Government on this? In the coming days, it is going to be a major challenge and it could pose a threat to the unity and integrity of the nation. Government should have a policy on this. Cooperative federalism and competitive federalism are mere words, but in reality, does the Government have the political will? That is what I would like to ask. Mr. Ravi Shankar Prasad and all the spokespersons for the BJP refer to this Government's concern for the youth. How do you look at our youth? Our youth is the future of our nation. The President refers to India as a country of young people. What is our responsibility towards our youth? What is our obligation to our youth? Today, the youth in our country live in hopelessness; they are living with joblessness. They are the future, but there is unrest everywhere. It includes the students. The Government is discarding all colonial practices, but there is one small thing that I asked the

Government to do, that is to do away with the sedition laws in this country. Why should our students be charged with sedition? Why should Jawaharlal Nehru University students be charged with sedition? What happened to Rohit Vemula at the Hyderabad Central University? It was an institutional murder. The young people are demanding a legislation to stop such discrimination and to stop these institutional murders. Do we have the political will to do that? What is happening today? If you question the Prime Minister, if you say something against the Prime Minister, you are being dubbed as anti-national.

(CONTD. BY HK/4A)

HK/4A/5.55

**SHRI D. RAJA (CONTD.):** Questioning the Prime Minister is anti-national! Who taught you this politics? Who taught you this democracy? Now, you are taking the name of Dr. Ambedkar. I tell you what Dr. Ambedkar said. He said, “In politics, *bhakti* or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.” Do you want dictatorship in this country or a fascist dictatorial regime in this country? How can you dub people questioning the Government or the Prime Minister anti-national? How can you say that criticising the Government is anti-national and unpatriotic?

What is this happening in this country? That is why I am saying that this poses a challenge to the Republic and its Constitution. Mr. Derek O'Brien also spoke about *dalits* and adivasis. Sir, with agony, I am telling you how our tribal people are treated in this country. There is an undeclared war on the tribal people in this country. Why should there be massacre? President's Address doesn't speak about the increasing atrocities on *dalits*. Everyone wants to shed crocodile's tears for *dalits*. But what is happening on the ground? What is this Government doing to stop atrocities against *dalits*? And you say that in Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan you are increasing the money; in Tribal Sub-Plan you are increasing the money! But you have replaced the Planning Commission with NITI Aayog. The Planning Commission has given the directive that Sub-Plans should be according to the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Where is the Planning Commission? NITI Aayog says, "Go towards privatization; reckless disinvestment of Public Sector Undertakings." RSS and other organizations will come out and say, "Review the reservation policy." We don't mind and review the national wealth policy also. Who creates national wealth in this country, if not *dalits* and adivasis, workers, farmers and agricultural workers? What is their share in the national wealth? I would like to ask the

Government and all political parties. Touch your conscience and tell the people of this country what is the share of *dalits*, adivasis, workers, farmers and agricultural workers in the national wealth which they create. Now you are talking about Sub-Plans and that you are increasing the amount. Is it not just to hoodwink people? Will it work in this country? And you talk about women. My colleague also raised that issue. Where is the reservation for women? How many times we used to ask for reservation? It is not the question of only reservation and that from 33 per cent they should come to Parliament and State Assemblies. What is the social security to our women? Women should have gender equality; women should have gender justice. And as a nation, are we standing up for women? This is what we should think up. And the same thing is with children. So, Sir, the situation is very challenging and the President's Address really does not address the challenges. In fact, inequalities and disparities are on the rise. I would like to remind you what Mr. K.R. Narayanan said. He was the Vice-President; he was the President; he was the Chairman of this House. When Mr. K.R. Narayanan was the President of India, in one of his Republic Day's speeches, he cautioned that if on our highway of privatization and globalization, safe pedestrian passages are not provided for the unemployed

and un-empowered, then the long-suffering and silent people would exhibit anger which would be explosive for the system to withstand.

(Contd. by KSK/4B)

KSK/MCM/6.00/4B

**SHRI D. RAJA (CONTD.):** Sir, exactly the same caution was given by Dr. Ambedkar.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA):** Mr. D. Raja, one minute. It is 6 o'clock. If the House so wishes, we can extend the time.

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** No, Sir. We can continue it tomorrow.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA):** Then, we will give Mr. Raja two more minutes. Within two minutes, he will conclude and then we can adjourn the House.

**SHRI D. RAJA:** Sir, exactly the same caution was given by Dr. Ambedkar in his last speech in the Constituent Assembly. Dr. Ambedkar was a great genius and very prophetic. He said it on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January, 1950, and we all must have read that speech. But, what I am trying to say is that the same thing was stated by Dr. Ambedkar, "How long will we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must

remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment; or else, those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has laboriously built up." But now, what is happening? Those, who suffer from inequalities and disparities, are not blowing up the structures of political democracy, but those, who want to perpetuate the inequalities and disparities, are blowing up the structures of political democracy.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA):** Please conclude.

**SHRI D. RAJA:** Sir, I am concluding. Sir, that poses a great threat to secularism, to democracy, and India is not a theocracy. The President's Address should have referred to what is happening in our country. The Right-Wing Fundamentalist forces are instigating people against each other and they are really posing a threat to our democracy. There is no place for theocracy in our country, but in the name of Hindutva, or in the name of other 'isms', the religious fundamentalists and communal fascists are posing a threat to the secular fabric of our country and the secular fabric of our Constitution. All these questions need to be addressed. Otherwise, India cannot move forward. We all want our nation to move forward. India should move forward. India should become a prosperous country, a modern

country, a modern Republic, and it should emerge as a great inspiring modern Republic in the world, but the Republic is challenged, the Constitution is challenged by reactionary forces, by communal forces. This needs to be understood and this House should stand to save this country.

Thank you very much, Sir.

(Ends)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA):** Thank you, Mr. Raja. The House stands adjourned till 11.00 a.m. on Friday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2017.

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**The House then adjourned at three minutes past  
six of the clock till eleven of the clock on  
Friday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2017.**