# Constitution (One Hundred and Thirty-First Amendment) Bill, 2026; Union Territories Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2026 AND Delimitation Bill, 2026

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 1949 [redacted]

[redacted]:

69

12 26

2014

[redacted] 60 [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted] '[redacted]' [redacted] 1927 [redacted] 100 [redacted] 1931 [redacted] ?I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. [redacted]

[redacted] 1776 [redacted]

[redacted] 144 [redacted] 1918 [redacted]

[redacted] 30 [redacted] 10 [redacted] 1928 [redacted] 21 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 75 [redacted] 18 [redacted] 21 [redacted], 2023 [redacted] 33 [redacted] The Constitution (One Hundred and Sixth Amendment) Act, 2023 [redacted] 17 [redacted] 18 [redacted] 21 [redacted] 2023 [redacted] 28 [redacted] 330(1), 332(1) [redacted] 334(1) [redacted] 239(1A) [redacted]

[redacted] 2023 [redacted] 2026 [redacted] 2026 [redacted] 33 [redacted] 55, [redacted] 81, [redacted] 82, [redacted] 172, [redacted] 330, [redacted] 332 [redacted] 33(1) [redacted] The Constitution (One Hundred and Sixth Amendment) Act, 2023 [redacted] 33 [redacted] 33 [redacted] 50 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 454 [redacted] 106 [redacted] 2023 [redacted] 2023 [redacted] 20 [redacted], 2023 [redacted] 214 [redacted] 28 [redacted], 2023 [redacted]

[redacted] 131 [redacted] 2026 [redacted]

[redacted]

?There is no chance for the welfare of the world unless the condition of woman is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on only one wing.?

[redacted] ? [redacted] ?

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]-[redacted]:[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted],

[redacted] 131[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] 90 [redacted] 2023 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 543 [redacted],

[redacted] 2024 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 2023 [redacted] 2024 [redacted] 543 [redacted] 2029 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted]-[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [

[redacted] 2026 [redacted], [redacted]-[redacted] The next Census and consequential delimitation exercise thereafter will take considerable time and thus delay the effective and dedicated participation of women in our democratic polity. Hence, the objective of the proposed Bill is to operationalise one-third reservation for women through a delimitation exercise to be undertaken on the basis of the population figures of the latest published Census.

[redacted]? [redacted]-3 [redacted], [redacted] 81 [redacted] 850 [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted]-[redacted] 2026 [redacted], [redacted] 81 [redacted] 850 [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]? [redacted] 850 [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted]-[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]?

[illegible] 2011 [illegible] 2001 [illegible]

[illegible] 21[illegible] 2022 [illegible] 2023 [illegible] 2011 [illegible] 2001 [illegible]

[illegible]?

[redacted] 26 [redacted] 26 [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]?

[redacted]-81 [redacted] 2026 [redacted]

[redacted] 2026 [redacted] 81 [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] ?

[redacted], 1976 [redacted] 2001 [redacted]

[redacted]

**13.16 hrs** (Shri N. K. Premachandran *in the Chair*)

[redacted]

SHRI TEJASVI SURYA (BANGALORE SOUTH): Thank you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to speak in this very important debate.

Sir, today is really a historic day as, the women of India, who have been waiting for almost 40 years for their rights and for their due to participate in the national policy making process, will finally get their share. The Narendra Modi Government, by the three Bills which have now been introduced, is not only going to fast track the Women?s Reservation Bill and its applicability from 2029, but it is going also to write a new chapter in the development journey of India. By far, it is giving the *nari shakti* of this country a vocal, visible, credible and tangible representation in the nation building process for the first time. On behalf of all the women of this country, I would want to congratulate and thank the Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, for these three very important and historic Bills that are fast tracking and catalysing the participation of women in the country?s politics.

Sir, the Women?s Reservation Bill started in 1996 and is now finally being seen crucially in 2026. In this 30-year journey, it has seen a chequered history.

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Let the House be in order.

**SHRI TEJASVI SURYA:** At least, half a dozen times, the Bill was introduced and on one pretext or the other, especially the parties who are now in Opposition delayed it, disrupted it, and ensured that the Bill does not see the light of the day. We still remember when the Bill was introduced in an earlier Government?s tenure, the leaders from Samajwadi Party and the RJD tore up the Bill in this House and said that the Women?s Reservation Bill will pass only over their dead bodies. The country remembers this kind of emphatic opposition that they gave to the Women?s Reservation Bill at that time.

[illegible] 30 [illegible] ?[illegible]? [illegible]

Chairman, Sir, even today, the Opposition has now come up with a new argument, a new pretext to further stall and further disturb and oppose the application of the Women?s Reservation Bill. The new pretext that they have come up with is the vacuous and baseless opposition to the delimitation exercise. When the *Nari Shakti Vandana Adhiniyam* was passed in 2023, it was passed unanimously. All political parties agreed that the *Nari Shakti Vandana Ahiniyam,* the Women?s Reservation Bill, will be

applicable after a Census and a delimitation is undertaken.

This is the mandate of the Constitution that everybody voted for. Today, the Opposition has taken a u-turn. They are now opposing the fast-tracking of this Bill for the 2029 elections, and, are saying, ?We want to oppose this because we do not want the delimitation exercise to take place.?

Hon. Chairperson, Sir, I come from the South of the country, the Southern State of Karnataka, just like you who represents Kerala. Over the last three days, we have seen a systematic misleading propaganda by certain Members of the Opposition in the most irresponsible and anarchic fashion to mislead the people in the South of India. Let me make it very clear. If at all there was anything, even an ounce of injustice, in the proposals that the Government has made and has brought to the Parliament, even if there was an ounce of injustice to the South of India, I, as a proud Kannadiga, would have been the first to oppose such kind of a proposal. I have gone through the proposal that the Government of India has brought, the Modi Government has brought. I am saying this not as a Member of the BJP but I am saying this after thoroughly examining all the three proposals; that other than the practical proposal that the Modi Government has brought for delimitation of seats in the country, we ? from the South of India and from the smaller States of India, that have controlled our population ? could not have got a better deal than this. This is the best deal that the Narendra Modi Government has provided.

Hon. Chairperson, Sir, through you, very briefly, I want t explain to the House and to the country the constitutional framework that governs the delimitation exercise. My learned friend Gaurav Gogoi *ji* was, in his speech, mentioning that we are bringing the delimitation exercise through the backdoor. I want to make it very clear to him that the delimitation exercise is not a backdoor exercise that the BJP is doing. This is a Constitutional mandate of Article 81 and Article 82. We are only purely following what the Constitution asks us to do. There are three primary Articles that govern the exercise that we are now conducting. Article 81, Article 82, and Article 330A of the Constitution provide for women?s reservation. Let us examine all the three Articles briefly and summarily to understand what the Articles essentially say.

The first Article 81 determines the total number of seats. It also says that the total number of seats meant for the Lok Sabha, the House of the People, must be divided across the country in such a manner that the ratio between the number of total seats and the population of the State is so far as practicable the same for all States. This is the first requirement. The second requirement of

Article 81 is that within the States, the territorial constituency shall be divided in such a manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted is as far as practicable same within the State. This is the mandate of Article 81.

Now, as you are aware, hon. Chairperson, Sir, Article 81 and Article 82, by operation of the 42nd Amendment, which was carried forward again by the 2001 Amendment, froze the number of seats in the Lok Sabha to 543 with a leeway to expand it to 550 seats. Why was this done? In 1997, when this was first discussed, the population in the country had not stabilized. Therefore, a compromise formula was taken so as not to penalize the Southern States which have performed well in population control; let us freeze the number of seats. The same thing continued even in 2001. In 2001, while considering this Bill, the then Law Minister Arun Jaitley *ji* said on the floor of the House that the National Population Policy also envisages that the year 2026 shall be the year in which the population of the country would hopefully stabilize. Therefore, what was true till 2001, is sought to be frozen till the year 2026, that is, the year in which we anticipate hopefully that the population figure in the country would stabilize.

This is the motive behind the freezing of the seats in 1971, which was carried forward for another 25 years in 2001. We are now in 2026. The first argument that the Opposition is making is that they do not want the delimitation exercise to take place. This is the most absurd argument.

In 1971, the population of the country was 50 crore; the population of the country in 2026 is 140 crore. There are assembly constituencies and parliamentary constituencies. Again, I want to take the reference made by a learned colleague, Shri Gaurav Gogoi ji, in his speech. There are certain assembly constituencies in this country which have a population of 26 lakh. There are certain constituencies where a single MP is representing close to 38 lakh people in the country - the population of almost a small nation in Europe. How is this democratic? How is this accountable governance? How can the number of seats that was frozen in 1971 still cater to a population of 140 crore in 2026 for better governance, for better accountability, and accessibility of elected representatives?

Hon. Chairperson Sir, delimitation is not a mere democratic imperative; it is also a constitutional duty that the Narendra Modi Government is finally performing today. I want to contrast this with the proposals that the Congress and the Opposition are creating. The Opposition says, why can you not implement women?s reservation as it is on the 543 seats? Why do you not freeze the

number of seats? Now, were we to freeze the number of seats, it would defeat the principle in Article 81 of ?One Person, One Vote and One Value.? This is a very important constitutional principle that the founding fathers of the Constitution have protected. You cannot have a seat where eight lakh or nine lakh people in one parliamentary constituency are compared to another constituency with around 30 lakh people, each represented by one MP; it defeats the very purpose. That is why the Constitution mandated that 2026 shall be the year when delimitation of the seats shall take place. All that the Government is trying to do is to fulfil this constitutional mandate.

There is a difference between other governments and the Modi Government. Other governments, especially the governments of the Congress Party, have always believed in and practised the politics of postponement. It is the Narendra Modi Government that does not believe in the politics of postponement, but believes in solving the problems of the past.

I would like to give an example. OROP was pending for 40 years; what did earlier Congress governments do? They postponed it. Article 370 was pending for 70 years; what did all these governments do? What was supposed to be a temporary provision, they converted into a permanent provision. What did they do? They postponed it. The Bangladesh and India border swapping deal was pending for almost 40?50 years; what did the earlier governments do? They postponed it. It is the Narendra Modi Government that solved the 70-year-old temporary provision of Article 370 by abrogating it because we do not believe in the politics of postponement. We finally solved the OROP after 40 years because we do not believe in the politics of postponement.

If the Congress were in power today, they may have, as they did in 1971 and in 2001, wanted to take the safe route - the unconstitutional route, the undemocratic route of freezing the 1971 Census equation. Now, the Narendra Modi Government has decided to bring a new equation into the scheme which is going to give more seats to all States, more representation and while doing this, follow the constitutional mandate of delimitation based on the ?One Vote, One Value? principle. This, according to me, is the most practical and genius solution that anybody could have come up with. I welcome this constitutional proposition that the Narendra Modi Government has brought.

Hon. Chairperson Sir, now I want to take a couple of minutes to examine the arguments that the Opposition, and its leaders have made in opposition to these three Bills.

Now, the first thing that they say is, do not do anything, do not bring in the delimitation. Why are you bringing delimitation and connecting it with the Women?s reservation?

Now, let me for a minute assume what will happen if we do not do anything today. Article 81, Article 82 and the Nari Shakti Adhiniyam under Article 330A will trigger. Now, what will that do? In 2027, the moment the new census data is published, the delimitation exercise will get triggered and because as of today, Article 81 and Article 82 freezes the number of seats in the country at 553, all across the country, delimitation will have to take place to redistribute the 553 seats among the existing States of the country based on the 2027 population.

Now, what is this scenario going to do? Chairman Sir, you come from Kerala. I want to draw the attention of the country with an instance and example of Kerala. Now, suppose the Government today does not go ahead with delimitation and Article 330A comes into play by force of law, 2027 Census gets published, what will happen then? Look at these numbers, Chairman Sir.

Today, Kerala has 20 Parliamentary seats. If you div based on 2027 projected population, that is the population of the country and population of Kerala, and divide the 553 seats across the country from North to South, then Kerala will lose six seats. Kerala will have only 14 seats. Now, on these 14 seats, bring one-third representation for women under Article 330A. Now, what is going to happen? In that case, Venugopal Ji will not have a seat. In that case, all those people who are representing the Congress here and opposing this Bill will not have a seat. The present proposal of the Narendra Modi Government is to not only protect the existing seats from encroachment, it is also a proposition to ensure that Kerala does not lose out six seats.

Now, for a minute, I want to assume another thing. Let us not take 2027 Census but let us divide the country?s Parliamentary seats on the basis of 2011 Census. Now, what will happen? Based on 2011 Census, if we divide the number of seats, again Kerala will lose five seats. If you take 2011 Census number, Kerala will lose five seats. If you take 2027 Census number, Kerala will lose six seats. What Narendra Modi Government is offering today is additional ten seats to Kerala. This is only gain and no loss. This is why, I say this is the best proposal that one can bring.

Chairman Sir, let me take the example of Tamil Nadu. I am glad that Raja ji has come here.

HON. CHAIRPERSON: Mr. Tejasvi Surya, can you convince the House how there will be an increase of ten seats and under which provision?

**SHRI TEJASVI SURYA:** Thank you Chairman Sir, you have asked a very pertinent question. Many questions have come from the Opposition in the last few days. Both the Delimitation Bill and the Constitution Amendment Bill do not speak of this fifty per cent increase. On what basis, are you saying there is going to be a fifty per cent increase? Is this the question, Chairman Sir?

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Yes, absolutely.

**SHRI TEJASVI SURYA:** Sir, I would want to draw your attention to Article 81 of the Constitution again. What does the Constitution Article 81 say? Article 81 says, as it reads today, not more than 530 seats chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the State and not more than 20 Members to represent Union Territories in such manner as Parliament will provide. In essence, Article 81(1)(a) and (b) essentially gives 550 seats as the total seats that is now frozen.

The interesting part is Article 81(2) where the mandate is that the above said seats, the 550 seats mentioned above, shall be allotted to each State in such a manner that the ratio between the number of population of seats and the total seats and the population of the State shall as far as practicable be same across the State. This is the provision that operates the 50 per cent argument.

Today, what we have done? Instead of 530 Members, we have now increased it to 815 Members for the House of the People seats from the States and increased another 30 for the Union Territories. A 50 per cent increase is what we have given. Now, how will this be operated? When Article 81(2) is applied, the Delimitation Commission will have to conduct the delimitation and the apportionment exercise exactly on the basis of Article 81(2) because it is a Constitutional mandate, then they will have to reapportion the seats in the only manner possible that is a 50 per cent increase for every State. This is the argument.

Chairman Sir, the problem, is the Opposition does not come prepared for debates, and even if they do come prepared for debates, they behave in a manner as though that they do not understand because the object is not to understand, the object is to oppose for the sake of opposing. I hope I have made myself clear, Chairman Sir.

Chairman Sir, now let us examine the second argument. Now the second argument is that if there is a proportionate increase in 50 per cent of seats for all States, then the States of Southern India will lose out. Rajaji, please listen to me.

I am as much an Indian from the South as you are. The only difference is I do not speak the language of separatism that the DMK practises. I believe that the country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari is one. ? (*Interruptions*) Sir, I will strictly stick to the technical portion.

HON. CHAIRPERSON: Just hear me for one second. Please do not make any allegation against a political party.

? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI A. RAJA (NILGIRIS):** Sir, please allow me to say as he has mentioned my name.? (*Interruptions*)

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Tejasvi Suryaji, since you have mentioned Rajaji?s name, I will give the opportunity to him after your speech.

? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI TEJASVI SURYA:** Rajaji, I want to take your attention.

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** See, if you are taking the name of Shri Raja, then I have to give him a chance to speak.

? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI TEJASVI SURYA:** You please give him a chance after my speech. I have no objection. ? (*Interruptions*)

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** I will give him the chance.

Are you yielding?

SHRI TEJASVI SURYA: No, Sir. You can give him a chance after my speech.

Sir, on March 24th, 2026, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. K. Stalin makes this tweet, and I will read one important sentence from that tweet with which I have full sympathy and support. This is the tweet that M. K. Stalin makes: ?It is our consistent stand that the current proportional representation of States should not be disturbed under any circumstances.? This is what he says. I agree with this. I have already made it clear. If at all this Government had brought in a proposal that would decrease the number of seats and my state of Karnataka would be in a loss, I would have been the first to protest it.

Now, what has the Government done in the light of this tweet? What does this tweet say? It says: ?The current proportional representation of States should not be disturbed under any circumstances.? I will take you back to this chart. Chairman Sir, now, what is going to happen? We have increased the number of seats to 850 in total. Every State is getting 50 per cent proportionate increase. As a result of this, Tamil Nadu, which is

now at 39, is going to get 59 seats.

Karnataka, which has 28 seats, is going to get 42 seats Andhra Pradesh, which has 25 seats, will get 38 seats. Telangana, which has 17 seats, will get 26 seats. Kerala, which has 20 seats, will get 30 seats. What is the proportionate increase? It is 52 per cent for Andhra Pradesh, 52 per cent for Telangana, 51 per cent Karnataka, 51.5 per cent for Tamil Nadu and 50 per cent for Kerala. The total share of the South Indian States, which as it stands today, in the total scheme of things on the floor of the Parliament, which is 23.9 per cent, will continue to remain 23.9 per cent after this is passed. I do not understand where is this objection coming from. This is exactly what the Modi Government has done by protecting the proportional representation of States which should not be disturbed. The argument and the demand that Stalin had made, this is the same thing that the Narendra Modi government has done, but today they are out there in Tamil Nadu doing drama by burning this Constitution (Amendment) Bill. Let there be a limit to your hypocrisy, Raja ji. Let there be a limit to the hypocrisy of the DMK.

Chairperson, Sir, now the question is this. What will be the scenario if we do not increase the seats proportionately by 50 per cent? One of the arguments that has been advanced is why do you not simply stick to the numbers of 2011 Census and based on the Census of 2011, without the 543 limit, increase the number of seats. Now, if we were to increase the number of seats purely on the basis of Census of 2011 by not providing a 50 per cent increase ? (*Interruptions)*, this will be the scenario. ? (*Interruptions)*

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** He is not yielding.

**SHRI TEJASVI SURYA:** Sir, Tamil Nadu today has 39 seats. If delimitation were to be conducted purely on the basis of Census of 2011, it will be 49 seats. What Narendra Modi Government is giving to Tamil Nadu today is 59 seats, which is 10 seats more than what the opposition is arguing for. Kerala has 20 seats. If only by Census of 2011, if we had done the gerrymandering or the demarcation of the seats, Kerala will get only 3 seats more, that is 23 seats. Kerala today is getting 30 seats. Karnataka today has 28 seats. If only we were to do it according to the population of 2011, Karnataka will get 41. Karnataka is now getting 42 seats. Andhra Pradesh is 25 seats. If we were to do it according to 2011, it would be 33 seats. Today, Andhra Pradesh is getting 37. Whichever way you look at it, if you look at it from the way of 2027 Census, if you look at it from the way of 2011 Census, if you look at it by 543 seats as redistribution or by taking away all of these things and only basing it on population, none of these permutations and combinations is going to give the southern States as best a deal as

what Narendra Modi Government has now given by this 50 per cent proportionate increase in the seats formula.

Chairperson, Sir, this is a second question. Chidambaram Sir has put a long article in a tweet yesterday and said ?the proportionate voice of the south Indian states will get diluted if there is a 50 per cent rise in the number of seats?. My question is: today, the share of the South Indian States in the overall scheme is 23.7 per cent. It will continue to be 23.7 per cent. How will the voice of the South get diluted? Secondly, the majority margin, the half way mark today is at 272 seats. If there is going to be a 50 per cent increase in the total number of seats, naturally the half way mark also will jump by 50 percent.

**13.44 hrs** (Hon. Speaker *in the Chair*)

So, this whole argument that the southern States are going to lose because of the proportionate 50 per cent increase, I will say is not only a vacuous argument, it is an illogical argument. It is not only an unconstitutional argument, but most importantly Speaker, Sir, this is a mischievous argument that comes from creating anarchy in this country by misleading the people.

Speaker Sir, now I would want to take a few minutes of the time allotted to me to examine the alternatives that the Congress Party and the Opposition have proposed. Now, there are broadly three alternatives that the Congress Party has proposed. The first alternative is: do not increase the 543 number of seats; let the delimitation exercise or the Nari Shakti Adhiniyam come into force. I have already explained that. First, it is constitutionally impermissible because Articles 81 and 82 demand the value of one vote, one value. Second, if we were to redistribute 543 seats based on the 2027 census or the 2011 census, the proportion of the seats that the southern States today have is going to further get reduced. Therefore, this first argument, the argument of postponing the delimitation exercise or the argument to freeze the number of seats as per 1971, absolutely holds no constitutional value and therefore must be rejected.

Secondly, the argument that the Opposition is making, the Chief Minister of Telangana has made, is to propose a very interesting hybrid model of linking the population of the State along with the GSDP, the State?s *per capita* contribution, and the State?s gross development of the State. Now, Speaker Sir, who has advised the Chief Minister of Telangana to make this argument. I can only say that they do not wish him well, because this proposal is laughable at the best and impractical at the worst.

Let me explain why. First, if you will say that the vote of a common citizen in Telangana has more value than the vote of a common voter in Bihar, then you are defeating the constitutional principle of ?One Value, One Vote?. On what basis do you want to do this delimitation exercise in the country? Will the rich get more votes? Will the poor not get votes? Will they not get value for it? ? (*Interruptions*) What kind of argument is this? If you will take this argument further, Mukesh Ambani will have one lakh votes and somebody like us will have only one vote. Is this the kind of logic that the Congress wants to build? This argument by this alternative by the Telangana Chief Minister of linking delimitation and number of seats to the GSDP of the State is the most foolish argument anybody can propose. This is unconstitutional. This defeats the value of ?One Man, One Vote? that the Constitution promises. ? (*Interruptions*)

Speaker Sir, there is another very important dimension to this. [redacted], [redacted] 10-15 [redacted] It is not going to remain constant. Every six months, GDP can go up, GDP can go down. One year GDP will be high, another year GDP will be low. Now, suppose you are going to link delimitation and number of seats with the GSDP of a State, will Telangana?s and other States? number of seats keep getting fluctuated? Today, this year was a good monsoon, GDP was good, so Telangana will have two extra seats. Next year, Tamil Nadu would have bad rainfall, therefore GDP fell down, so Tamil Nadu will lose two seats. Is this the argument? These are the kinds of laughable alternatives that the Congress Party is proposing, and on the basis of this they are misleading the people of this country.

Now, I am coming to the third alternative. The first is not to do anything. The second is something which they are experts at [redacted], they are the practitioners of politics of postponement. [redacted], when they cannot address it, what do they do? [redacted], That is their first reaction. Their first proposal is, postpone it, do not do anything, freeze it, which is unconstitutional.

Further, the Telangana Chief Minister?s proposal of linking GSDP to number of seats, which again, like I demonstrated to the Speaker, is the most ludicrous argument.

The third argument that they have given, which I read, is one that my learned friend, hon. Member, Shashi Tharoor ji has made. He has said that there should be a digressive proportionality model

as per the European Union Parliament.

Now, while this, true to Shashi ji?s nature, sounds very sophisticated, it actually does not make sense in the Indian context. It is because the moment you introduce this principle of digressive proportionality, it once again violates the principle of ?one man, one vote, one value?. Then, the larger States in the south of India, like Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, which are today the 6th and 8th most populous States in the country, are going to get a raw deal because of this digressive proportionality argument. Therefore, my submission is that other than this 50 per cent equal proportionate increase to all States ? an alternative that Narendra Modi ji has proposed ? there is no other option that serves everybody, that is a gain for everybody and a loss for nobody. Therefore, the country as a whole, and especially the Opposition, must welcome this with all responsibility.

Hon. Speaker Sir, the other argument that has come in criticism of this 800-plus seat increase is that if you increase the number of seats of the Lok Sabha to 800-plus, then it will become an unwieldy Lok Sabha. It is argued that the Lok Sabha will be so big that you will not have healthy debates and discussions, and it will become unwieldy. This is the argument that Manish Tewari ji has advanced. In my view, the productivity or the quality of the outcome of a Lok Sabha, or any such body, depends not just on the number of people, but on the quality of debates that take place and the number of sittings that we have. In 1952, when the first Parliament after the General Election convened, the Lok Sabha would sit on an average of 135 days in a year. In the last few years, the average sittings of the Lok Sabha have gradually come down, and in the last term it came down to only 55 days. Why is it so? It is because of the politics of disturbance and disruption that the Opposition is indulging in. Due to this, the productivity is decreasing.

Hon. Speaker Sir, my request to you is this. This is something that you can do in your own remit as the hon. Speaker. When we have now increased the size of the Lok Sabha to 850, we should also proportionately increase the number of sittings of the Lok Sabha to be at least one and a half times more than what we are currently doing. You have started a great tradition by increasing the number of hours allocated to ?Zero Hour?. Many first-time MPs, who till now had no chance to speak in Parliament, got an opportunity because more time was given. My request is that when Parliament becomes an 850-Member body, instead of around 55 sittings per year, if the Lok Sabha were to sit for 125 days, or like in the case of the Japanese Diet, if we were to sit for 150 days, then every single Member representing every constituency will get more

than enough time to place the problems of their constituents on the floor of the House. This is something that needs to be done.

Now I also want to explain why the opposition parties, and a few regional parties in the South led by the DMK, are doing so much noise, and why they are shedding tears, which are nothing but crocodile tears. I thank the heavens that in 2026, when the country is doing delimitation, Shri Narendra Modi ji is in power and the Bharatiya Janata Party-led Government will carry it out. If you remember, the way the Congress party-led UPA divided the undivided Andhra Pradesh into AP and Telangana, that partition was done in a worse fashion than the British did during the partition of India and Pakistan. This is the kind of legacy they have.

I want to conclude by bringing to your notice only one important aspect. In the last 10 years of the Narendra Modi Government, the South of India has enjoyed great support and encouragement for the developmental ambitions of the South. On a conservative estimate, if you compare the devolution of funds from the Centre to the South Indian States in the last 10 years and contrast it with the 10 years of the UPA, on average, every single South Indian State has got not less than 250 per cent more funds from the Narendra Modi Government.

The Narendra Modi Government has also increased the budget for railway lines. The extent of railway electrification that has taken place in the last 10 years under the Modi Government in the Southern States is unprecedented. *?(Interruptions).*

Please look at the Railway Budget. *?(Interruptions)* In Andhra Pradesh, between 2009 and 2014, Rs.886 crore was what they got. The Narendra Modi Government has given Rs.10,000 crores. This is just one instance. *?(Interruptions)* The number of metros in the Southern States has increased. Electrification has increased. The number of railway lines has increased. The number of airports has increased. The total devolution of funds to the South Indian States has increased.

Most importantly, we have not only given the Southern States more money, more rail, and more infrastructure, but, for the first time in the country?s history, more than 25 national institutions now allow regional language examinations. If I want to apply for the CRPF, I can write the examination in Kannada or in Telugu, which was not the case when the Congress party was ruling. We have respected language. We have provided more development, and today, Narendra Modi is also providing more seats and greater proportional allotment to the Southern States by protecting the South?s voice in Parliament, on the floor of the House.

I want to conclude with one last point that needs to be addressed. The argument that has been repeatedly made is that the Narendra Modi Government is bringing in this proposal to somehow create a disadvantage for the Southern States. Nothing at all can be further from the truth than this particular assertion. I want to say that we come from the Bharatiya Janata Party. The Bharatiya Janata Party?s *sanskar*, our culture, is not to see this nation as *tukde-tukde*. The culture of this party is not to side with those who chant the slogan of *?Bharat Tere Tukde Honge, Inshallah, Inshallah?.* This is not the culture of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

The culture of the Bharatiya Janata Party is:

[illegible]

[illegible] This is the commitment of the Bharatiya Janata Party. [illegible], we will stand for the integrity, sovereignty, and unity of this country, because that is not only a constitutional mandate, but most importantly, the Bharatiya Janata Party?s *karyakarta* believes that it is our civilisational duty to protect this country. *?(Interruptions)* This is what differentiates us from parties like the Congress, which side with *tukde-tukde* forces, and like the DMK, which speaks the language of separatism. *?(Interruptions)*We abhor your politics; we reject your politics. *?(Interruptions)*

In conclusion, I want to say that if the UPA and the Opposition today are going to vote against this most practical, most constitutional, and most inclusive proposition, then for years to come the history of the country will remember the Opposition, and all of you sitting here, as not only opposing the women of this country but also opposing the interests of the Southern States.

I want to emphatically say again, if you reject this, if you vote against this, the people of this country and the women of this country will never forgive you. The people in the South of India will never forgive you, because your politics is not a politics of inclusion, your politics is a politics of anarchy. I sincerely hope that you will honestly examine the merit of this proposition, and also honestly examine the hollowness of your own arguments, and finally vote in support of this historic Bill.

I once again thank Prime Minister Narendra Modi for not only giving a voice finally after 40 years to the women of this country, but most importantly for protecting the interests of all Southern States and all important small States of the country. Thank you, Prime Minister, Sir, thank you for what you have offered to the South; this is the best deal ever possible.

Thank you, Speaker, Sir.

**14.00 hrs**

SHRI A. RAJA: Sir, an assurance was given by the Chairman that I will be permitted to react.

Sir, I may be permitted.

Sir, Tejasvi Surya, hon. Member, made a clear allegation that DMK stands for separatism.

In 1971 when Pakistan launched a war, we gave Rs.6 crore which was not matched by any other State to maintain nationalism in the country. In 1999, when Vajpayee was the Prime Minister, Tamil Nadu Government led by Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi, gave Rs.100 crore for the Kargil war.

He should not teach nationalism to us. We are for nationalism. The only thing is that we want to keep separate identity when you are imposing Hindi, when you are imposing Sanskrit, when you are not giving due respect for State autonomy.

That is all. Correct your record.

SHRI TEJASVI SURYA: Speaker, Sir, few days ago, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, MK Stalin has put out a video.

In that, he has said that if the Central Government did not take the Bills back, they will remind us of 1950s and 1960s.

What does he mean by 1950s and 1960s?

[illegible] : [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]

? ([illegible])

[illegible] : [illegible], [illegible]

? ([illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible] ([illegible]) : [illegible], [illegible]

[redacted] ? ? [redacted],
[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] ?
[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] - 7 [redacted] - 7
[redacted] - 7 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] - 7 [redacted]
? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] - 7 [redacted] - 7
[redacted] - 7
[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]-[redacted]
[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

**14.26 hrs** (Shri Jagdambika Pal *in the Chair*)

We believe in the empowerment of women and our leader Hon. Mamata Banerjee is always fighting for this cause. I want you to remind one particular event, 28 years ago in 1998, our leader Mamata Banerjee fought against the patriarchal MPs of this house making a demand for a Women's Reservation Bill to reinforce women empowerment. It was not passed that time. This year budget session started on 28th January and we have discussed so many things during the two phases of this session. If you have given this bill that much of importance, my question is why you did not bring this amendment in that period. Now a special session has been called for that. We demanded for a special session when terrorists from outside the country killed 26 common people in Pahalgam. But there was no special session. When Operation Sindoor took place, we again demanded for a special session but it was of no use. We feel there is some ill intention behind calling this special session in such a hurried manner.

Actually behind this pseudo law, the electoral process is the ultimate aim that has been articulated by Surya Prakash ji. Since election has begun, he is

raising his voice for Southern India. He has mentioned that Southern India got funds 250 times higher whereas for Bengal's starving workers and 100 days workers, 2 lakh crore rupees are pending by the central government. It is all about electoral power. The reservation process for seats is getting complex, therefore, a doubt hovers as the delimitation progresses. We say that this the duty of government to decide the sitting of the house, then why this government delayed the introduction of the bill without the required amendment? Since, election is going on in different states, we have started doubting that this has been excercised here only to overcome the difficulties of election. The different sectors where the institutional patronization of perpetrators is already established, for example, consider that case of Unnao in 2017. I went there. Another case was in Kathua in 2018. I went there too. In 2020, a girl from Dalit community was killed in Hathras. I visited there also. We have seen the silence when women in Manipur were sexually assaulted. This government remained silent then. We can't rely on the fact that this government is trying hard for women's reservation. This law has been modified in such a manner so that a male candidate has no need to change his present seat. It's also a patriarchal system since Bharatiya Janata Party has 11 per cent women representation here whereas our Trinamool Congress has 52 per cent women, fighting for justice. So, we always support 33

per cent reservation and we demand to raise this share upto 50 per cent. I am not going to utter the name of Bharatiya Janata Party's social media chief since he is not a member of this house. In 2013, he said that "when are trying to free all kinds of reservation, the demand for women reservation is creating a new wave. This is the time when we should refrain ourselves from all types of reservation, therefore the demand for women's reservation cannot be acceptable at this stage."

This is what they had said, not my words. That reservation which is in use in West Bengal without any law is because of Hon. Mamata Banerjee who also voiced for women's reservation in 1998. She once went to the house of that time's CM to ensure justice for a mute and deaf woman who was raped. At that time, the police pulled her hair and dragged her outside the house. But Hon. Mamata Banerjee never shifted her position from this ideal. She is still fighting with the ideal of Swami Vivekananda who said, "If the women of India

do not wake up, India will not progress." She always remembers what our revolutionary poet Nazrul Islam had said, "Everything that is great in the world, all the works, beneficial and good, half must be credited to woman and to man half only we should.

For those women who participated in that 50 per cent creation, we demand 50 per cent reservation. For the women empowerment in our state, she is working day and night. The schemes like 'Kanyashree', 'Lokkhir Bhandar' and 'Rupashree' are there to advance women. Shrimati Mamata Banerjee will be remembered forever for her tireless efforts to support girls in their study by providing continuous financial assistance. So, we should follow her and implement 50 per cent reservation. Here the party stands for women reservation while one of their Ex. MP questioned about the existence, appearance and lineage of goddess Durga in this house. Now, I want to question them after raising doubt about goddess Durga's existence, why are you justifying women reservation? This pseudo bill is actually the delimitation bill and area reorganization bill that they are trying to carry on without making any noise. By omitting common people and after area reorganization, they are trying to dismantle the democratic framework of this country by creating division among people on the basis of race, religion and community.

We are not going to accept the way you are amalgamating two different issues which are women reservation and rearrangement of constituent area. And then you are saying that there will be a delimitation commission, ...

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Election Commission is a Constitutional body. You should not discuss it here. You should not disgrace it here.

**DR. KAKOLI GHOSH DASTIDAR:** Sir, I am pretty sure that the proposed delimitation commission will be an authoritarian agency and it will harm the people of the state. The situation that you are trying to create is carrying a horrible message for our country. In the year 1962, 46 per cent of women turned out to cast their votes which changed into 65.78 per cent when the Lok Sabha election took place in 2024. We, as AITC, are giving 41 per cent of female candidates and BJP is providing only 14 per cent. Now I want to ask why you did not ensure 33 per cent female candidates in electoral roles. Why is not the percentage of female members in the house 33 per cent?

We, AITC, have the aforesaid percentage of MPs in both Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha including the women Ministers in West Bengal. The representation from tribal and minority communities can be noticed. Why are not you following that? Because you are thinking something but presenting completely another thing. That's why I am saying it as a pseudo law. We are giving our speech very cautiously about this pseudo law. If this government stands for 50 per cent reservation only then we will support it. You have presented this bill at a time like this when election is taking place in all over India. If we raise question about it then it would be easier for you to say that AITC is misogynist. But AITC has already proved it which is called in English as 'walk the talk'. We have already provided 33 per cent reservation, now we are demanding for 50 per cent. The Aparajita bill which was passed by West Bengal government to penalize the perpetrators involved in crime against women, is still waiting for the final nod. It is with great sadness, regret, and pain that I say this. ... In Aparajita bill, we assured the punishment for rapist and for those who try to harass women and you have held up this bill.

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** You cannot make comments on the conduct of the Hon. President of our country. You should not do it.

**[illegible]** : [illegible]

I have more questions. Today in India, there should be rights and reservation for working women. Sadly in the Election Commission there is no woman, there is woman as a chief justice, in foreign service there are only 11 women, a very few women are there as high commissioners or ambassadors, only 0.4 per cent women are in the police, and only 19 per cent women officers are there in the IPS. 53 per cent seats are vacant in the National Women Commission.

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Just wait Dr. Kakoli Ghosh Dastidar. The Minister of Women and Child Development wants to say something.

[redacted]

**DR. KAKOLI GHOSH DASTIDAR:** [redacted] I was saying that 53 per cent seats are vacant in the NCW, women are not being recruited for those positions. Women are facing a lot of problems in their workplaces. There are so many institutions under the central government from where women are forced to resign, for instance, All India Institution for Medical Sciences. You all must have known that 15 per cent of female doctora have resigned, in Bhubaneswar it is 12 per cent, in Patna it is 7 per cent?why are they not getting proper dignity? Today the way Hon. Mamata Banerjee is standing with the women in West Bengal and working for the betterment of them indicates how dedicatedly we want female reservation. You are clearly attacking those states which worked hard in the sectors like population control and development through delimitation by reducing their seats. This is against our federal structure and this is an injustice done by you. We won't hear anything from the party which questions the identity of Maa Durga. We haven't forgotten the MP who molested female wrestlers and being safeguarded by you here. That is why we will say that bring this bill in the correct

manner, separate this bill from the rearrangement of constituent areas, and give proper respect to women?only then we will stand with you. Namaskar, Jai Hind!?

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. Kakoli, it means that you are supporting 33 per cent because you are demanding for more.

Now, Dr. Byreddy Shabari *ji*.

**DR. BYREDDY SHABARI (NANDYAL):** Thank you, hon. Chairperson, Sir. It fills me with immense pride and honour that this Constitutional Amendment Bill has taken place. I am representing Telugu Desam Party. Every woman carries energy within her ? the strength of Maa Durga, the wisdom of Maa Saraswati, and the abundance of Maa Lakshmi. Today, with this Bill, our hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi *ji* has awakened every Goddess in our women, and, it is also true that he has given freedom to lead the nation in a true and in a very meaningful way.

Sir, I am representing Telugu Desam Party in this Parliament. The very birth of our Party happened at a very crucial time; a time when poverty and also corruption were at its peak, following three and a half decades of misrule. And after this, it was only Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao Garu, who raised his voice in the Centre and also in the State. In his very first political speech, he said, ?In a country that is ruled by a woman Prime Minister, is it not a disgrace for women not to be safe in this country?? This was not a question but it was a beginning of a protest to realize the vision of a women-led development. This is the legacy of Telugu Desam Party; a Party that lived for women, a Party that calls every woman *Aada Paduchu*, which means sister, and, a Party that always honoured and respected women.

Sir, TDP has never seen this women empowerment as welfare policy but it has always seen it for the betterment of the society. The vision of Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao Garu and our hon. Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu Garu allies with the vision of this Bill that would convert an ordinary *Nari* into *Narayana*. The reforms that Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao Garu brought in in the early 1980s are now the templates for the national policy that has been taking place from decades and also from many days.

One of the historic decisions that the Telugu Desam Party has taken was this. When the country was debating still about the BC reservation, it was the first Party to announce 30 per cent women?s reservation in all Government jobs and also in local body elections. This has liberated women, and, has also given them freedom and a special place in our society.

Another important decision that the Telugu Desam Party took was to decide on and amend the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, where every woman had equal rights in the paternal property. One of the very important administrative decisions that took place during 1980s was the Assigned Lands Act, where all the Government-assigned lands were registered under the name of women. That has promoted ownership. That has also promoted economic independence for them. And the incidences of domestic violence have come down.

Sir, those were the days when women wanted to pursue higher education but then, they were taunted and they were asked to get married and have kids. It was N.T. Rama Rao Garu, who had established the first Mahila University in Tirupati, that is, Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam. And here, women could stand on their own legs. Most of the women, of that generation, now are the successful women and are the products of this University. And we were far ahead of the fast-track courts to give safe environment and a non-threatening environment to the women.

We were the first party to establish Mahila Courts to ensure speedy and proper justice for women. Sir, another important decision was the Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) policy, which was a national policy that started in 50 districts. Under the leadership of our hon. Chief Minister, N. Chandrababu Naidu Garu, the only State that was successful in the entire country in the DWCRA programme was Andhra Pradesh. I am proud to say that the DWCRA group from my constituency, in Orvakal, is the biggest DWCRA group. A team from the United Nations has come to visit our group just to study the success of this DWCRA group.

Also, when women were not even allowed to go and buy groceries, the DWCRA group in our constituency travelled from Kashmir to Kanyakumari to train the women of other States. I am proud to say that Andhra Pradesh stands first in the highest Self-Help Groups, and it covers more than 90.75 per cent of the rural population, and we have about 8.17 lakh Self-Help Groups. Also, it stands first in Lakhpati Didis in the entire country, where we have about 13.65 lakh Lakhpati Didis.

Sir, our hon. Chief Minister, N. Chandrababu Naidu Garu's vision is ?One Entrepreneur, One Household,? and he has given us a target that within two years we have to achieve one lakh women entrepreneurs. We have already surpassed this target of 1.1 lakh women entrepreneurs establishing MSMEs. The Telugu Desam Party's motto is *prajjale devvullu*, which means people are God to us. The responsibility of the Telugu Desam Party is *prajala*

*vaddake palana*, which means welfare and governance to the doorstep.

Sir, this is an example where, every month on the 1st day, our hon. Chief Minister, along with all the elected representatives and *Karyakartas*, visits the households of our BPL families, and also different welfare schemes are distributed, especially the pensions. This is the greatness of our party. The main reason why we have been after giving economic independence to women is that political empowerment alone is not enough; economic strength should also be given. Today, our women, especially from Andhra Pradesh, are ready to lead the nation from the grassroots level to the national level.

Sir, due to various welfare schemes that we have been implementing, such as the Deepam scheme and the Shree Shakti programme, there are many schemes that are useful for women in our State. On the contrary, five years of YSRCP rule were the dark days for the entire women of our State. There were 45 handles and 40 individuals, all in very close acquaintance with the ex-Chief Minister, who were harassing all the *Karyakartas* of NDA and all the leaders. More than 90 per cent of the social media abuse was directed at women; our characters were assassinated, we were body shamed, filthy language was used against us, and our images were also burnt. Our very own hon. Chief Minister's wife was the target, and our Deputy Chief Minister's daughters, who were just 14-15 years old, were abused on social media. Our Home Minister, Anita Garu, ... [redacted], was abused to such an extent that she was the only lady who gave strength to all the women in the State.

Sir, the party which did not care, which did not share space with women, a party that humiliated women, and a person, the then ex-Chief Minister, who did not protect women in the State or did not even stop the social media abuse - neither he nor his party leaders have any moral authority to even talk about women's empowerment or this Bill.

The story of women empowerment is not a story because of lack of intent but it is because of delay. The Bill was introduced in 1996. It was discussed, debated and then again referred to the Committees and then reintroduced and again lapsed. It was only in 2023 when the nation witnessed not just the passage of Bill but it was the decisive correction. Women empowerment was delivered and not just debated. They had a very clear vision that political empowerment cannot be isolated. The political empowerment cannot be achieved alone. So, this is where they have planned in such a way that we women are not just ready to raise the voice but are economically strengthened and are supported institutionally.

Sir, through various initiatives, such as Sashakt Netri Abhiyan, about seven lakh elected representatives are ready to face the challenges. Today, about 744 women oriented panchayats are in place. And through other initiatives such as Panchayat to Parliament where women are equipped, they are confident and they are also trained to face the challenges and lead the nation. I should appreciate the NDA Government that all the national policies have more than 60-80 per cent women beneficiaries and this is where we are economically strengthened.

To conclude my speech, I want to speak a few words. Gone are the days when we were defined by confinement, silence or even dependence. Gone are the days when our roles were restricted only to wife or daughter or mother. Gone are the days when the nation was talking about women development but here comes the days when nation is talking about women led development and the nation is giving us a chance to compete with the nation and also giving us a chance to lead the nation in a rightful way. When women shine, the nation rises. Sir, I would like to thank our hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi Ji and especially from every elected woman representative from my State and also the Mahila MLAs and also Chairmen who have come just to witness all the way and sitting in the gallery and watching this historic moment. I would like to thank our hon. Prime Minister to get this important Bill passed and change our lives.

Thank you. *Bharat Mata Ki Jai.*

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you Dr. Byreddy Shabari Ji.

Now, Shri Dileshwar Kamait.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted], [redacted] 2023 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]-2047 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] - (1) [redacted] ([redacted]) [redacted], 2026, (2) [redacted] ([redacted]) [redacted], 2026 [redacted] (3) [redacted], 2026 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]:[redacted], [redacted] 25-30 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]-[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted], 21[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 50 [redacted]

## [redacted]

[redacted] 2024 [redacted] 2024 [redacted] 2024 [redacted] 30 [redacted]

[redacted] ? [redacted] ? [redacted] 50 [redacted] 25-30 [redacted] 25-30 [redacted]

30 , , - - , , , , , , - , , , , , ,

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted]!

[redacted]

[redacted]

6,700 [redacted] 2,700 [redacted]

[redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted] 900 [redacted]

[redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted]

[illegible] ? ([illegible])

[illegible] 33 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]: [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Manickam Tagore ji, kindly take your seat.

? ([redacted])

[redacted]: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

? ([redacted])

[redacted] : [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

O human, O human, a trace of you has been found,

O human, O human, when will you truly become a human?

Because of greed, O human, you have become a Kanus.

[redacted] 2023 [redacted]

[redacted] : [redacted]

[redacted] : [redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]. [redacted] : [redacted], [redacted] ? [redacted], [redacted] ? [redacted]? ... ([redacted])

[redacted] : [redacted], [redacted] This should be removed from the record. ? (*Interruptions*)

[redacted] : [redacted], [redacted]

**SHRI ARVIND GANPAT SAWANT :** ... @ has gone to the jail. ? (*Interruptions*) Do not denounce ... @? (*Interruptions*) You have no right to say that. ? (*Interruptions*) [redacted]? [redacted] ... ([redacted])

**SHRIMATI SUPRIYA SULE (BARAMATI):** He cannot talk like this. ? (*Interruptions*)

[redacted] : [redacted]

[redacted] : [redacted], [redacted]?

**SHRIMATI SUPRIYA SULE:** I am sorry to say but he cannot talk about ...@ like this.

[redacted] : [redacted]

... ([redacted])

**SHRIMATI SUPRIYA SULE:** Sir, he cannot talk like this. He has no right to take ... @name like this. ? (*Interruptions*)

[redacted] : [redacted], [redacted]?

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Nothing will go on record except the speech of Shri Arvind Ganpat Sawant.

? (*Interruptions*) ?#

**SHRIMATI SUPRIYA SULE :** Sir, he cannot take ... @name like this. ? (*Interruptions*)

[redacted] : [redacted]

? ([redacted]) #

[redacted] : [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]

**SHRI ARVIND GANPAT SAWANT:** He must say sorry. ? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRIMATI SUPRIYA SULE:** He cannot talk like this.

[illegible]

[illegible]

... ([illegible])

[illegible]

... ([illegible])

[illegible]

? ([illegible])

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** You are the Deputy Leader of the Party.

*?* (*Interruptions*)

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Now, I have allowed Mr. Arvind Sawant *ji* to speak.

*?* (*Interruptions*)

[illegible]

... ([illegible])

[illegible]

... ([illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible] ? ([illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]? [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ? ([illegible])

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]? ([illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 50 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[redacted] : [redacted]

? ([redacted])

[redacted] : [redacted], [redacted] 50 [redacted]

[redacted] 33 [redacted] ? ([redacted])

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Kindly conclude.

**SHRI ARVIND GANPAT SAWANT:** I am concluding. [redacted] - The Election Commission shall also act as the Delimitation Commission for the purpose of delimiting constituencies in the Legislative Assembly. [redacted] The Commission shall associate with itself, for the purpose of assisting in its duties in respect of each State, ten persons, five of whom shall be Members of the House of the People representing the State. [redacted]

Who will decide it? The Speaker will decide it.

[redacted] :

[illegible]

? ([illegible])

[illegible]

The Commission shall determine its own procedure and shall, in the performance of its functions, have all the powers. [illegible]

" [illegible]." It means "The ant flew into the sky."

[illegible] 24,000 [illegible] 70 [illegible]

[illegible]

? ([illegible])

[illegible]

? ([illegible])

**DR. AMOL RAMSING KOLHE (SHIRUR):** Honorable Chairperson, as I rise to speak at this historic moment today, I have deliberately chosen to wear the 'Phule Pagadi' (Phule Turban) as a mark of respect. "Shudra and women are all deserving of chastisement" was the harsh reality of those days. But, he was the very first social reformer to champion the cause of women's freedom and education, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule. In an era when women were confined to the domestic sphere?limited to "the hearth and the children"?and denied even the fundamental right to live with human dignity, it was this revolutionary couple?Mahatma Jyotiba Phule and Krantijyoti Savitribai Phule?who introduced women to the world of literacy and awakened them to a sense of their own identity and existence. Their contribution remains immense.

Honorable Chairperson, as we discuss the implementation of the 'Nari Shakti Vandan' (Women's Empowerment) initiative today, it is our solemn duty to pay homage to Mahatma Jyotiba Phule and Savitribai Phule. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that?even in this bicentennial year marking their legacy?they have yet to be conferred with the 'Bharat Ratna' award. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar?who revered Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Gautam Buddha, and Sant Kabir as his spiritual mentors?ensured that women were granted the right to vote from the very first day the Constitution of India came into effect. I am a 'Mavala' (loyal son) of this great state of Maharashtra?a land endowed with a rich legacy of accomplishment, motherhood, and leadership. This legacy belongs to Mother Jijau, Krantijyoti Savitribai Phule, and Punyashlok Ahilyabai Holkar. Consequently, there is absolutely no justification for opposing this Women's Reservation Bill. It was in Maharashtra?under the leadership of the then Chief Minister, the Honorable Sharadchandra Pawar?that the historic step of providing 33 per cent reservation for women in local self-governing bodies was first implemented in this country. It was the Honorable Sharadchandra Pawar who paved the way for women to serve in the defense forces and ensured they received their rightful share in ancestral property.

Honorable Chairperson, for these reasons, I do not oppose this bill. Should anyone suggest that by granting this reservation we are somehow doing women a favor, let me clarify that this is not the case. Rather, the opportunity to repay?even in a small measure?the debt we owe to the mother who gave us life is, in itself, a privilege and a blessing bestowed upon us. One is compelled to reflect introspectively on the fact that, on one hand, we discuss the implementation of the 'Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam' (Women's Reservation Bill), while on the other, we are still compelled to run campaigns like 'Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao'

(Save the Daughter, Educate the Daughter). Atrocities against women continue unabated, and women are going missing; yet, no concrete action appears to be taken regarding these grave issues. In Maharashtra, a case involving a charlatan came to light, and investigative probes subsequently revealed videos depicting sexual exploitation. This raises a pertinent question: Did the officers investigating the matter?and, by extension, the Home Minister?not bear a responsibility to act? Consequently, questions arise regarding the very mindset of those responsible for implementation. If the individuals tasked with enforcing these laws are the same ones who laud the Manusmriti?a text that posits that "service to one's husband is service to God"?then serious doubts inevitably emerge regarding the purity of their intentions.

**[illegible] [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

them remains a meager sum of just ■5 crore.

Honorable Chairperson, therefore, it is essential to ensure transparency and clarity regarding this delimitation process. Consequently, I urge you to exercise your vote thoughtfully; while I do not oppose the Women's Reservation Bill itself, I demand that there be transparency concerning the delimitation process.

Thank you. Jai Shivray.

[illegible]

[redacted]

33 [redacted]

[redacted]:

"[redacted]

[redacted]"

[redacted] 1.5 [redacted]

?

**16.19 hrs** (Shrimati Sandhya Ray *in the Chair*)

[redacted] ? [redacted], [redacted] 1985 [redacted] 73 [redacted] 1986 [redacted] 60 [redacted] 2014 [redacted]

In conclusion, I would like to say that honouring Nari Shakti is not just our moral responsibility, but an essential characteristic of a developed nation. When we empower women through reservation, we aren't just granting a position to an individual; we are providing a new direction to an entire generation and society.

■ While supporting Nari Shakti, we must not forget that the same hands that rock the cradle are today guarding the nation's borders, and those very hands will now craft laws in our supreme legislative houses. This bill serves to provide visible strength to invisible hands.

■I urge all the honourable members of this House to set aside party politics and support this historic bill unanimously. This bill does not belong to a single party, it belongs to our Motherland. Our collective support will send a message to the world that India is ready to give its daughters the sky to soar.

■In her existence lies a radiant light,
Before her grit, the vast sky bows down,
Wherever she steps, prosperity follows,
With the brilliance of Nari Shakti, India shall shine bright.

On behalf of my party, Shiv Sena, and our chief leader Eknathji Shinde, I extend full support to this bill.

■ [redacted]

[redacted] : [redacted] 2026 [redacted]

[redacted]:-

?A statesman is one who thinks of the future generartions while a politician is one who thinks of the upcoming elections.?

[redacted] 40 [redacted] 2024 [redacted] 25 [redacted]:

[redacted]

"[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 1984 [redacted] 2010 [redacted]

[redacted] 20 [redacted] 25 [redacted] 800 [redacted]

-

**16.32 hrs**

-

SHRI K.C. VENUGOPAL (ALAPPUZHA): Thank you, Madam Chairperson. I rise to oppose the Constitution (One Hundred and Thirty-First Amendment) Bill, 2026, the Delimitation Bill, 2026, and the Union Territories Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2026.

The hon. Prime Minister gave a speech today during the course of the discussion. In his speech, we are searching for the word ?delimitation, which is very much pertinent for this Bill. He has not uttered a single word about the delimitation provision in this Bill. All the Members from the Opposition Benches have raised serious concerns about the provision by which the Government of India is taking away the constitutional cover of the delimitation issue. The Prime Minister has not uttered a single word. He is only speaking about women?s reservation.

The Women?s Reservation Bill was passed i unanimously, and now we are sitting in 2026. Three years have already passed. Now, you are coming again with a legislation, and he is advising us that if we oppose this Bill, our future politics will be in danger. What is this? It is a complete ... by a Prime Minister. If it has been a ... by Kiren Rijiju, we can understand that. But complete ... by a Prime Minister is difficult to understand. We did not understand that at all. *... (Interruptions)*

Who stopped the Women?s Reservation Bill? *... (Interruptions)* Everybody passed it. *... (Interruptions)*

[illegible] : [illegible]? [illegible]? [illegible]? [illegible]? [illegible]? [illegible]? [illegible]

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL: Madam, I have two, three simple questions to the Prime Minister of India. Okay, you are now telling that you are very much keen about implementation of the Women's Reservation Bill. I have already told that Parliament already passed the Women's Reservation Bill three years before. You only make the provision that there shall be a Census followed by a delimitation, then only women's reservation will happen. We were never told that at that

point of time itself. Now, in the 2024 election itself, we need to have women's reservation.

Hon. Prime Minister, if you have any sincerity of the women's reservation Bill, you could have done women's reservation in 2024 itself. Now also, the entire Opposition is giving a blank cheque to the Government to do women's reservation, one-third reservation for women, as per the 2023 law, as per the existing strength of the Parliament. Who is opposing it? Basically, who is opposing it? The country is witnessing. Who is opposing it? It is very clear that the Prime Minister, the Government is completely trying to delay it.

In 2010, who gave it? The Prime Minister talked about the panchayat. You are very much happy to give women's reservation to the panchayat. Who gave it? Did the BJP give it? ? (*Interruptions*) Congress only gave it. We gave it. We have to salute Rajiv Gandhi for that decision. Then we have the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, one of the historical amendments. ? (*Interruptions*) No, I am not yielding.

**THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS; AND MINISTER OF MINORITY AFFAIRS (SHRI KIREN RIJIJU):** I am adding to your point. ? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL:** Sir, 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments were passed by Parliament.

**[illegible]:** [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] You should not mislead. We are not claiming that. [illegible], [illegible] The hon. Prime Minister did not claim. Why are you misleading? The hon. Prime Minister had given credit to you that you had no problem in giving reservation to the panchayat. Why are you creating problem for Assembly and Parliament? The Prime Minister did not take the credit. So, please do not mislead.

**SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL:** Kiren Rijiju ji, we the party, Indian National Congress, made the first woman Prime Minister of this country, Indira Gandhi. I am sorry to say that that Prime Minister was not like our existing Prime Minister. That Prime Minister never surrendered to US like this. That Prime Minister was a brave Prime Minister. You have to understand. ? (*Interruptions*)

That Prime Minister was a brave Prime Minister. ? (*Interruptions*) We are proud of Indira Gandhi. (*Interruptions*) Madam, yes, I agree. We, the Congress Party, have given the first woman President of this country. We, the Congress Party, have given the first woman Speaker of the Lok Sabha. Again, in 2010, we introduced the Bill. We passed it in one House. ? (*Interruptions*) I am coming to that. We passed it in one House. We did not pass it

in another House. We agree. But you came to power in 2014. For nine years, you sat on that. In 2014, you came to power. What was your role on that in those nine years? Then, the Prime Minister is now crying ?delayed, delayed?. Who delayed it?

Madam Chairperson, after nine years now, they bring the 2023 Bill. After that also, for three years, they did not do anything for implementation of this Bill. Now, they are telling that it is delayed. You are making women reservation as a weapon to destroy the democracy of this country. That is clear. Everybody can understand. Otherwise, we are giving blank cheque to you. Do it now. Take credit. ? (*Interruptions*) ■■■ ■ You did not allow. ? (*Interruptions*)

We are for women?s reservation. Our concern is very clear, Kiren Rijiju ji. As per the existing constitutional provisions, this Bill is completely for shifting the decision of delimitation from the Constitution to ordinary legislation. What was your intention? Kiren Rijiju ji, you know how many times the President of the Indian National Congress has written letters to the Prime Minister to at least call an all-party meeting. You are telling that this is an important legislation. You need the support of all Opposition Parties to pass this Constitutional Bill. The President of the Indian National Congress has written two times to the Prime Minister to call an all-party meeting. We are for implementation of the Women?s Reservation Bill, but we have some doubts, serious doubts. It is the duty of the Government to clear those doubts with the Opposition Party. What stops you from calling an all-party meeting? What is this? ? (*Interruptions*)

The hon. Member of Tamil Nadu, Shri A. Raja is sitting here. Shri Kalyan Banerjee and other hon. Members of TMC are sitting here. I have a simple question. You are requested to give an answer to this question to the country. What will happen if you convene this Session ten days after the election, delaying it for ten days? What was your intention? I am completely questioning your intention. Whenever the people of Tamil Nadu are in the elections, you want to pass a legislation against Tamil Nadu without their presence. When West Bengal is going into elections, you want to pass a legislation without their presence.

**SHRI KIREN RIJIJU:** I personally requested all the floor leaders of different political parties to come and attend. You could have asked whatever you wanted in the meeting. The hon. Members of the Indian National Congress never came forward, they only wrote letters. I had gone personally to the President of the Indian National Congress. I had spoken to your colleagues repeatedly. The hon. Members of the DMK, the Samajwadi Party and various

other political parties including the NCP ? Sharadchandra Pawar, Shiv Sena (Uddhav Balasaheb Thackeray), all attended the meeting. Why had the Indian National Congress Party not come forward to attend the meeting? In democracy, we have to consult. I have to coordinate as the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. I had always reached out to the Opposition Party. Why had the Indian National Congress Party not come forward even after repeated requests being made? Can you tell why you did not attend?

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL: I am not a knowledgeable person like you, sorry to say that, but in my limited knowledge, whenever this type of an important legislation is going to happen, the Chief of the Opposition Party wrote a letter to the Prime Minister to call an all-party meeting to have a consensus about it. Can you verify, Shri Rijiju. All the delimitation process of legislation happens only through consensus in the previous period, not unilaterally. You never want a consensus; therefore, you did not want to pass this Bill. You want to show that we are opposing the Women?s Reservation Bill. This is not sincere to the Women?s Reservation Bill. But the country is now witnessing.

First of all, this Bill proposes increasing the number of seats. Gaurav ji asked a very important question. Who will decide as to how many number of seats have to be increased? On what basis, will you decide that? Now, the Prime Minister is telling that he will give two crore jobs per year and he will bring back black money. He has also done that type of a bogus claim.

Where was it in the legislation? If you have sincerity, then put it in the legislation. We are asking only one thing, Kiren Rijiju ji. Can you perfectly put the decision of delimitation from the Constitutional Amendment Bill to an ordinary legislation? Can you withdraw that and put it in this for whatever was there? They are not ordinary persons. Indira ji or Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji have done this because of this country.

The Prime Minister was very much making fun about the black shirt. It is because the Prime Minister did not know the sentiments of the people of Tamil Nadu. He never knew the sentiments. He never knew the sentiments of the people of Kerala. Whenever he goes to Kerala, he wears a ?dhoti?. It is okay. Whenever he goes to Tamil Nadu also, he will use some Tamil symbol. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister did not know the culture of Tamil Nadu or Kerala.

There is pain in some States. There is pain. Are we part of this country or not? This pain is there in the States like Odisha, Punjab, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and in the North Eastern States, your State also. Your design is very clear. When you are having a

small chappal, you cannot cut the leg. Now, you are doing that only. You have decided that you have to win 2029 elections and in the present scenario it cannot happen. So, what is the remedy? What is the escape route for winning the 2029 elections? There is only one escape route, namely delimitation like in Assam and Jammu and Kashmir.

The people are very much intelligent. The country is also like that. You cannot do all these things, Kiren Rijiju ji. Therefore, you should withdraw this Bill and come with a clear-cut and concrete idea. You should call an all-Party meeting. We will give you suggestions on how to implement it. Kindly call an all-Party meeting and then pass the Bill unanimously. Otherwise, do not think that you can make everybody a fool by introducing all these things. Basically, you are cheating the women of this country, and we cannot completely agree with that. This is what I want to say, Madam Chair. ? (*Interruptions*)

Madam, there is apprehension among the small States which is increasing day-by-day. I used to say that you people are bringing the Bills using only your brains as you think that your brain is functioning very well. But the people of India deserve a Government that introduces legislations with its heart, and not merely with its brain. If you have a good heart, then you cannot do like this. Your intentions are very clear that come what may to the country or the nation, you have to win the election. This is the only agenda. I think that this agenda has to be completely avoided.

There are apprehensions among the States, as I already told you, because the Bill in its current form cannot be passed like this. In the name of women?s reservation, you are trying to sabotage Indian democracy and Indian federal system. Hon. LoP used to tell that India is a Union of States. Every State has its own capacity. Every State has its own place in this country. You are trying to diminish the status of some States for political motive, for political benefit, We are not like you, sorry to say that. We will never put this type of allegation. We will tell very clearly. With responsibility I am telling, this is the intention of your Government. This is the intention of this Bill.

Therefore, once more I am trying to tell you to p withdraw this Bill. Please call for an all Party meeting on how to implement Women?s Reservation Bill. We will give good suggestion. We are ready to cooperate with the Government. Please do not try to sabotage Indian democracy.

With these words I conclude my speech.

**[redacted]:** [redacted]

**[redacted] [redacted]:** [redacted]

?Equality is by birth.?

?Equality cannot be given by political exercise.?

2024

[redacted] 13.6 [redacted] 27.6 [redacted] 27 [redacted], 2023 [redacted]

[redacted] ?[redacted]? [redacted], 2029 [redacted]? [redacted]?

[redacted], [redacted], 2029 [redacted] ?This is a power-grabbing move?, [redacted] ?[redacted]? [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted] 40 [redacted] 2023 [redacted], 2023 [redacted]

[redacted] 40 [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted] 2 [redacted] 2 [redacted]

[redacted] 90 [redacted]

[redacted], It is not a conspiracy of BJP; it is a constitutional mechanism. [redacted]

[redacted] Please do not confuse the road with the destination. Delimitation is merely the road, while women's reservation is the destination and it is high time that we completed this journey to that destination.

**17.00 hrs**

[redacted] 543 [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] 543 [redacted], [redacted] 543 [redacted] 74 [redacted] [redacted] 543 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]? [redacted] 543 [redacted], [redacted] 1971 [redacted] [redacted] 51.4 [redacted] 3 [redacted] 140 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]-[redacted] [redacted] 74 [redacted] 273 [redacted], [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] 2011 [redacted]

[redacted]

?[redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]-[redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted] 131 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 2021 [redacted] 106[redacted] [redacted]? [redacted]-[redacted] [redacted] 132[redacted], 133[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 10 [redacted] [redacted]? [redacted] 140 [redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted] 2011 [redacted] 15 [redacted]? [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 2023 [redacted] 2024 [redacted]

[redacted] 33 [redacted] 543 [redacted] 33 [redacted] 16 [redacted] 26 [redacted]

[redacted] 10 [redacted] 10 [redacted]
[redacted] 4 [redacted], [redacted] 10 [redacted] 40,000 [redacted] 40,000 [redacted], [redacted] 80,000 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]-[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [

[redacted] 543 2027 2029 543 [redacted]

[redacted]

SHRI E. T. MOHAMMED BASHEER (MALAPPURAM): Thank you very much Madam for giving me an opportunity to react on this Bill.

We whole-heartedly support the women reservation as w did in 2023 and at the same time, we vehemently oppose the Delimitation Bill.

The reason is crystal clear. In the women reservation, we still emphasise the essentiality of sub-quota for OBC. We still maintain that share?s demand.

Similarly, instead of honestly implementing that legislation you have now come with a bundle of blunders. I would like to say that in fact this Government is not at all interested in implementing women?s reservation and you really want an escape route as pointed out by my friend Venu this morning.

Sir, this is a long pending issue. We have cooperated with you. We were giving all kinds of support to pass the Bill in 2023. What provoked you not to go ahead with that? We want to have a reply on this.

With regard to constitutional amendment, before entering into the demerits of the Bill, let me say that how ruthlessly you are killing the sanctity and credential of the Parliament. In that way, we have to think on this thing.

Actually, Madam, I would like to say that when we discussing a legislation having so many consequences,

far-reaching consequences, you are trying to enjoy a political game. That is the thing happening here.

Even the copy of the Bill, you have circulated just a day ago. There is a procedure. We are having sanctity in these things. Yesterday, may be at 4 o? clock, we got this Bill. Such a Bill, which is having far-reaching consequences, has not been circulated well in time. You are taking some joyful kind of things in doing such cruelty. I need not tell you that when Parliament loses its dignity, democracy loses its direction. In that way, you are doing an injustice to the entire country. I would like to add that the crooked method you have adopted is a highly condemnable step.

Now, I come to the Delimitation. Still I wonder why should you link it with the women reservation. It would have been an independent thing. You had an opportunity to do it but you linked it. That created more and more confusion in this Bill.

There is a phrase in Malayalam *?Pattil Podinya Pashanum?* which means ?Poison wrapped in silk?. That is what you are doing in this. You are taking away the constitutional position of the delimitation into an ordinary law. Is it not an offence? It is deadly against the spirit of our democratic setup.

I have a simple question. What is the logic? You have to reply. What is the logic in clubbing delimitation and women reservation in the same basket. What is the justification? Without that, we could have passed the other Bill. But you are doing that kind of drama in these kinds of things. What is the logic in this? We have to realize this. We have to ensure women reservation. We could have achieved it. We are all here for that. Unfortunately, you do not want to do it. You want to find out somebody and you want to hand over the baby to somebody else and keep yourself clean. We object to it.

Madam, if this is implemented, this will create a lot of confusion as far as the States are concerned. Small States particularly Southern States like Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Odisha, West Bengal and Punjab will have problems. In all these States, we have to face a lot of confusion and hardship as far as the implementation of these Bills is concerned.

Similarly, Madam, certain other things also may kindly be taken into consideration. We all know that in these kinds of legislations, we have to do it in a very careful manner.

Now, is it not that you are making utter confusion in clubbing these Bills? It is true that almost all the institutions in our country, you are trying to capture. Like that, you want to capture this also. It

is a wonderful thing. What kind of Bill are you bringing? This will spoil the cordiality and democratic setup of the country.

This could lead to political manipulation. Madam, it is not a small thing. This will be a result. What will be the outcome? The outcome will be a political manipulation in this area.

Another issue is related to the principle of equality for the entire population. When we are doing this thing, at the same time, geographical difficulties and such other kinds of things have to be taken into consideration. If you are not doing all these things, you have to pay a higher price for that.

Now, I am coming to the issue of federalism. My friends are saying about that. The federal character is spoiling, Madam. India is facing a deep erosion of federalism. Every day, you are encroaching the rights of the States. They are being denied justice. That kind of things are going on. Since 2014, there has been a systematic trend of centralisation of power, weakening the autonomy of the States, and undermining cooperative federalism. It is a coercion now, that is happening. Instead of bringing justice, the Government is precipitating things, Madam.

Similarly, Madam, I would like to mention some other points with regard to other kinds of things. What is happening in the States? Strong states are the need of the hour. You are trying to make confusion in that, difficulties in that, hardship in that. Strong states make a strong nation. We have to realise it. That is significantly important for federalism. Any attempt to conquer their power weakens the democratic accountability, and damages the constitutional balance. We have to realise that also. We have to stand for this kind of federalism. As far as this is concerned, India's duties depend upon this kind of thing.

Then you make false claims that you stand for women. It is false. You are really making a chance for yourself to induce your political gain. That is what is happening. How bad are your activities as far as women's welfare is concerned, we all know that. I do not want to say much. Investment in welfare schemes, and budget allocations for the welfare of women are going down day-by-day. That is also a problem.

Similarly, Madam, there are a lot of schemes which are in dead letters. They are not implemented. As far as women are concerned, they are having a lot of problems. They are crying tears of blood. That is the hardship they are facing. Instead of solving that problem, you are showing such wicked actions. We have to make an end to that. I will make an appeal that for the best interest of the nation, you must desist from doing this kind of cruel thing.

I once again appeal to the Government to have some wisdom in their activities. The Government has to correct itself. We hope that wisdom will prevail upon them in this country.

With these words, Madam, I conclude. Thank you very much.

SHRI SUBBARAYAN K. (TIRUPPUR): Hon. Chairperson, I am in agreement with the views expressed by several MPs who spoke on this subject in this august House. This government has brought this Bill in a hasty manner with some intentions better known to them. I want to say that the intent behind bringing this legislation is mainly for political gains than providing more benefits to women or increasing their representation.

As regards delimitation, I do not find any relationship between process of delimitation and women?s reservation. Why have not this government passed this legislation earlier itself? While passing this very legislation during 2023, the opposition parties wanted to implement women's reservation from 2023 onwards. But this government did not pay heed to that demand then. By that time they said that this Bill will come to implementation only after 2029 elections. But what is the urgency for taking such a decision all of a sudden now? There is no explanation from this government in this regard.

In the name of delimitation, this government is making a big mistake. Particularly the States like Tamil Nadu which implemented the population control policies of the government in a successful manner, are being punished. Whereas northern States get many number of MP seats. Southern states including Tamil Nadu are getting less number of MP seats. This is a matter of agony.

This United India was created through the feelings of nation's freedom struggle. Those who ruled this country did not create the fabric of United India. Those who stood with the British during the freedom struggle are now part of this ruling dispensation. Neither they know about the history of our freedom struggle nor did they have their participation in that struggle. Southern part of India is being betrayed in this Bill. This Bill, in a way, is like a bombshell thrown to disintegrate the fabric of India. That's why we are opposing to this Bill.

All the southern states are affected. What is the remedy provided in this Bill for the southern States? Nothing as such. Hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has opposed this delimitation Bill. Black colour flags are hoisted everywhere in the State of Tamil Nadu as a matter of protest. They are sporting black colour shirts and coming around. History will definitely punish those in the government who tries to punish Tamil Nadu for successfully

implementing the population control policies of the Union government. We could sense such a thing to happen in future.

I wish to say that even at this juncture, consult all the opposition parties and bring a consensus on this issue. But those who rule this country are undemocratic. The then MP of Communist Party of India, Ms Geeta Mukherjee is the primary architect for women?s reservation this Bill is just a continuation of that proposal.

I wish to say that you should unite everyone while taking forward this worthy proposal of providing women's reservation. Consult all stakeholders. Do not handle opposition parties with vengeance. This government should mend their ways. This government should also uphold democratic values. But they do not uphold these values rather they follow the sayings of Golwalkar and want to dismantle this very democratic and constitutional system by using the powers they achieved through this democratic system. This approach is very much visible through the way they had brought this Bill.

On behalf of Communist Party of India, I therefore urge this government to implement this proposal only in consultation with all the opposition parties and through consensus.

Thank you.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] It is tilted towards north. [redacted] There will be disadvantage. We do not want them to be at a disadvantage. [redacted] It is tilted towards north. [redacted] it will further tilted towards north. [redacted]

[redacted] That is a misrepresentation of the spirit of the Constitution.

[redacted]

19

1931 ? ? 150

33 ...

40,00,000 15,00,000

2010

[redacted]

850 [redacted] 2011 [redacted] 2023 [redacted]?

[redacted] 2011 [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] 2011 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted], [redacted] -[redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted], [redacted] 50 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] 1971 [redacted] -[redacted], [redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

## 18.00 hrs

# [redacted] [redacted]: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]; [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] ([redacted] [redacted] [redacted]) : [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[illegible] 59 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], 816 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 7.23 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]? ([redacted])

[redacted]. [redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted]? ([redacted])

[redacted] : [redacted] 2029 [redacted] 2029 [redacted]? ([redacted]) [redacted] 2027 [redacted]

[redacted] 130 [redacted] 130 [redacted]? [redacted]?

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

? ([illegible])

**SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN:** The Opposition will be benefited if the hon. Home Minister can tell us how this 50 per cent is coming? ? (*Interruptions*)

[illegible]

? ([illegible])

**SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN:** Sir, we can have a fruitful discussion if the hon. Home Minister explains this issue.

SHRI MALVINDER SINGH KANG (ANANDPUR SAHIB): Thank you, hon. Speaker Sir.

Thank you very much Speaker Sir, you have given me chance to speak on this constitutional amendment bill.

Sir, as far as reservation for women is concerned, I make it clear that we are in favour of Women Reservation, our party and our leader Arvind Kejriwal, Bhagwant Mann Sahib, we are very clear about this bill. Yes and we want this legislation to be enforced as soon as possible, because in 2023 it has become a legislation.

**18.17 hrs** (Kumari Selja *in the Chair*)

As far as empowerment of women is concerned, respect is to be given; Our Guru Sahib had said ?Why to demean women who give birth to even kings?, that means Why not respect the mother who gives birth to kings.

At the time when the practice of Sati Pratha was prevalent in the country, Guru Sahibs were the first to raise the voice against it. Guru Ram Das Ji Maharaj, Guru Arjun Dev Ji had opposed the practice of Sati.

And the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the apex body of Sikhs, was the first to give women the right to vote in 1920, even when women did not have the right to vote in the major countries of the world. This bill for reservation for women, it has been passed in 2023, the Government of India should implement it as soon as possible.

As far as the Delimitation bill is concerned, we strongly oppose it. Speaker Sir, when the country's independence war was fought, the people of Punjab who are only the two percent of country?s population, made the most sacrifices. ? (*Interruptions*) Due to our reduced political representation ? (*Interruptions*)

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Sursesh Ji, as the member is speaking from that side.

**SHRI MALVINDER SINGH KANG:** First of all, we lost our capital. ? (*Interruptions*)

As far as the Delimitation bill is concerned, we oppose it and there is a very basic reason for this. Punjab is a small state. When the country?s independence war was fought, we made the greatest sacrifices, but due to the lack of our political representation in House, first of all, Chandigarh, our capital was snatched away from us. After that, now today's government is doing this with Bhakhra Dam where Punjab has always been represented by Punjab officials; the representation of Punjab is being abolished.

Therefore, I oppose this bill that the government has presented today. Due to this bill, political representation of small states, especially small states like Punjab, can be very weak. This is the need. Our Constitution also allows this. Our country is a union of the states.

And Madam, when the government of this country appealed for population control, then the states like Punjab controlled their population.

Now, we are paying the price for that, because due to that, our representation in the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas is becoming less and that is why we are protesting. Secondly, we fear that because the government has a majority, through the Delimitation Bill, the limits of the Assembly or the limits of Parliament can be compromised by the Central Government to fulfill its political interests. So we oppose it.

But the last thing I would like to say is, Madam, the Women?s reservation bill has already become a legislation. I demand from the Government of India that it should be implemented.

Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI PRATIMA MONDAL (JAYNAGAR): Madam, where there is a woman, there is magic. I am grateful to be a woman. I must have done something great in another life.

On behalf of All India Trinamool Congress, I rise to oppose this legislative package, not out of opposition to women?s reservation, which this House settled unanimously in September, 2023, but out of an obligation to this democracy, to this Constitution. On record, I want to mention here that All India Trinamool Congress is not against the Women?s Reservation Bill - we never have been and we never will be ? but we are against weaponising the women?s reservation as an electoral ammunition. Instead of 33 per cent women?s reservation, our demand is 50 per cent reservation for women.

Madam, women?s reservation is not in question. What is in question is what this Government is doing in its name. There are three sweeping instruments that have nothing to do with women?s reservation and everything to do with redrawing the electoral map of India to serve the BJP arithmetic before 2029. [illegible] This is not women?s reservation, this is electoral engineering dressed in the language of *nari shakti.* Five Southern States altogether gained barely 63 additional seats, while the BJP-dominated Northern States gained nearly 130 seats, which is more than double. This is the hidden story of this Bill.

I would like to remind all the Members of this House that the hon. Home Minister, Shri Amit Shah ji took part in the discussion on *Nari Shakti Vandana Adhiniyam,* 2023. But now, what is said in this House? ?[illegible]?

[illegible]

Madam, recently, BJP?s National President went to W Bengal and has given direction to their karyakartas to conduct meetings, *Michhil,* and *prachar* from *shehar* to *gaon* and from one booth to another booth. They want to get the benefit of this Women?s Reservation Bill from Bengal.

[redacted] ? ([redacted])

[redacted] ? ([redacted]) [redacted] ... [redacted]

@Thank you hon. Chairperson Madam. Thank you for allowing me to speak. I would like to say on behalf of All the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women of Bengal that BJP will get a befitting reply in West Bengal this time and Mamata Banerjee shall be the Chief Minister for the fourth consecutive term.@

Madam, TMC has 28 Members in this House from West Bengal. Among them, three are SC women MPs; two are SC male MPs; and one is ST MP.

Madam, the Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam itself provides for reservation within reservation. One-third of SC/ST seats are also reserved for women from those communities. Any delimitation on outdated data directly determines where SC and ST constituencies are drawn and how many there are. By proceeding without the caste census, this Government is not serving SC and ST women, it is denying them the accurate demographic foundation their constitutional entitlements depend upon.

Madam, the Delimitation Bill, 2026 contains a provision that should alarm every constitutionalist in this House. Delimitation Commission orders, once gazetted, will have the force of law and cannot be challenged in any court. Without judicial review, the mandate for the Delimitation Commission to follow constitutional principles becomes an empty formality. The associate members nominated by State Legislatures ? five MPs and five MLAs ? carry no voting rights and cannot sign Commission?s decisions. Their inclusion is cosmetic. The Commission?s composition, its data source, and its orders will all be determined by the Central Government and none of it can be questioned in court.

Madam, you ? the BJP ? are taking us back to the communal delimitation that we know as partition. As a Bengali, I know up close what partition and communal delimitation means. My people still bear these scars. Assam has been a laboratory of communal delimitation. And who will sit in the Delimitation Commission? It is the Election Commissioner or the ?Exclusion Commissioner?, who has most recently excluded almost 1.03 crore Bengalis and has come up with suspect categories like logical discrepancies.

[illegible] And here, I must speak directly to the Home Minister Amit Shah *ji*. You have built your political career invoking the trauma of partition.

History will record that the man who most loudly mourned Partition was the man who most quietly replicated its logic - separating people from their political voice, community by community, constituency by constituency.

I would also like to remind all the Members of this House today that hon. Prime Minister Modi ji also took part in the decision on the Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam in 2023. Sir, what he said, "[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Shrimati Mamata Banerjee has implemented 50 per cent reservation for women in Panchayat and Municipal bodies. She has consistently filled over 33 per cent women candidates in State and national elections. Her unique Kanyashree Prakalpa scheme encourages girls to advance towards education. Her Lakshmir Bhandar scheme is a symbol of financial empowerment for women in West Bengal.

Madam, For those who insult Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Matangini Hazra, Rabindranath Tagore for them I would like to say that these great men are the pride of all citizens of Bengal and we bow down in respect for them.

Madam, I would like to quote a few lines from Kaviguru Rabindranath Tagore:

I do not pray that you keep me above you?

that is not, no, not my wish.

Nor do I ask that you keep me behind in neglect?

that too is not, no, not my wish.

If you place me by your side

in times of danger and prosperity,

if you grant me the strength

to stand beside you in ■■■■ vows,

to be your companion?

then, and only then, will you truly know me.

Today I make but this offering?

I am Chitrangada, the daughter of the king.

Madam, the women of Bengal - all our Chitrangadas and all our Rajendra Nandinis, will take a leading role in forming the TMC Government in West Bengal for the fourth time, and Shrimati Mamata Banerjee, our leader, will be the Chief Minister again. Thank you,

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Hon. Members, Amendments to the three Bills shall be accepted only till 6.30pm today; only today.

**SHRI TANGELLA UDAY SRINIVAS (KAKINADA):** Hon. Chairperson Madam, I rise today with deep sense of pride and even deeper sense of responsibility.

On the 19th December, 1946, Hans Mehta ji stood in the Constituent Assembly and said, women form one half of this country and men cannot go very far without their cooperation. She was not requesting; she was not pleading - she was informing.

Eighty years later, we are gathered to finally, fully and irreversibly act on the truth. For decades, we spoke of women development. But today, under the leadership of our hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi ji, India speaks of women led development. This is not change in words - this is change in direction, change in vision. In what the nation believes, women are not recipients of governance, but architects of it.

Hon. Chairperson, reservation is not new to India. In 1992, through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, we reserved seats for women in Panchayati Raj institutions and urban local bodies. Today, nearly 44 per cent of the elected representatives are women.

They did not merely occupy those seats, they transforme them, investing in drinking water, investing in roads, investing in schools and the things that touch everyday life, while bringing greater accountability and stronger health outcomes. Villages with women leaders saw higher reporting of crimes against women not because there was more crime, but because there was more trust.

The lesson was clear. When you give women a seat, they do not just fill it, they will transform it.

And yet this lesson did not travel upward. In the 18th Lok Sabha, women are just 13.6 per cent of Members; in the Rajya Sabha, around 14 per cent and in State Assemblies, it is merely 9 per cent. For nearly three decades, women?s reservation in Parliament remained discussed, debated, delayed, and lapsed.

That is why, the passage of the 106th Constitutional Amendment in 2023 - the *Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam* - marks a historic correction.

Madam, I would like to acknowledge the contribution of my party leader Pawan Kalyan garu. Much before this Bill became law, he had already recognised this need, and women?s political representation was a central commitment in the Jana Sena Party?s 2019 manifesto. His early advocacy was not political calculation, it was conviction. It was his understanding that a democracy cannot be complete if half of its population lacks adequate voice.

Madam, this Bill is a historic beginning, but what follows will define its true success. Reservation creates presence, but presence without support, without real agency, can become tokenism. We cannot allow reserved seats to become inherited positions quietly occupied by wives, daughters or relatives of those already in power.

If ordinary women from diverse backgrounds, different castes communities, and economic realities are not genuinely enabled to contest and succeed, we will have fulfilled the letter of this law, but not its spirit.

What we need alongside this amendment is an ecosystem ? internal protections for women within political parties, campaign finance structures supporting first-generation candidates, and sustained investment in women?s political capacity at every level.

The women of India are not waiting to be empowered; they are already acting. In 2024, a record 31 crore women cast their votes. They are electing our Governments - they deserve to be in the Governments they elect.

Madam, further apprehensions are being raised that this Bill will lead to a loss of benefit for Southern States, and some are opposing women?s reservation on these grounds.

I am, therefore, deeply grateful that our hon. Prime Minister has given an unambiguous assurance that no State will lose its existing Lok Sabha seats, and that the proposed expansion from 543 to 850 seats is being designed precisely to ensure that while women get their rightful one-third representation, no State - especially the progressive Southern States ? faces any reduction,

with every State expected to see an increase of at least 50 per cent and boundaries being redrawn only within States.

I support this Bill on behalf of Jana Sena Party and our leader Pawan Kalyan Garu with full conviction that when this amendment passes, and when it is implemented in 2029, India will not just have more women in Parliament - India will have a better Parliament.

Let us not be the generation that debated this change.

Let us be the generation that made it happen.

*Jai Hind.*

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ([illegible]) : [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[redacted] 2024 [redacted], [redacted] 12 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]. [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 2023 [redacted] 2023 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 30 [redacted] 2023 [redacted]

[illegible] 16 [illegible], [illegible] 2011 [illegible]

Madam, Chairperson, I have been quite flummoxed by what Minister Meghwal has been trying to convey to this House since morning. If I heard him correctly, he says that the total increase in the seats would be capped at 50 per cent, and the Bill says that the delimitation will be done on the basis of the 2011 Census, and the Parliament is capping the upper ceiling of seats at 850.

The Bill nowhere says that the number of seats will be increased by 50 per cent. In fact, this is not the job of the Government. This is the job of the Delimitation Commission to decide what would be the increase. Allow me to illustrate that. In 1950, when the first delimitation was carried out, it was carried out by the President in consultation with the Election Commission. They decided that the total number of seats will be 497 and two seats for Anglo-Indian community. [illegible] 1956 [illegible], [illegible] 505 [illegible] 508 [illegible] 1963 [illegible] 523 [illegible] 545 [illegible], [illegible] 81(1) [illegible], [illegible] 550 [illegible]

Therefore, the Government is either trying to undercut the Delimitation Commission because the Government in no way can dictate to the Delimitation Commission what would be the increase in the number of seats.

Now, if you go by what is written in the Bill ? I am only talking about what is written in the Bill ? the Bill says that total number of seats will be increased to 850 and delimitation will be done on the basis on the Census of 2011.

[illegible] 14.85 [illegible] 60 [illegible]? [illegible] 199 [illegible] 308 [illegible], [illegible] 109 [illegible] 16 [illegible] 13 [illegible] 19 [illegible] 198 [illegible] 132, [illegible] 66 [illegible] 20 [illegible] 23 [illegible]

[redacted] 25 [redacted] 39, [redacted] 14 [redacted] 78 [redacted] 116, [redacted] 38 [redacted] 63 [redacted] 95, [redacted] 32 [redacted] 815 [redacted] 850 [redacted], [redacted] Their political heft in this Parliament will be reduced.

Madam, Chairperson, I have not been able to understan who has drafted this Bill. If you look at Clause 3 of the Bill, it amends Article 81(3), which is that the definition of population has been changed. Earlier it was population as on the basis of the last Census. Now, it is population on the basis of a Census to be decided by Parliament.

However, the proviso 281(3) which says that the number of seats will be fixed at the 1971 Census and delimitation will be done on the basis of 2001 Census *inter se* the States has not been omitted. So, effectively, by not omitting the provisos, you have made your own amendment completely infructuous, because even if you say that the amendment itself makes the proviso infructuous till the time you do not omit it, it does not happen. But the real elephant in the room, which the Government has not addressed, is Article 81(2)(a), which is the enacting formula of Indian democracy, [redacted]? [redacted], ?one person, one vote and one value?.

Now, this was exactly the conundrum when the 42nd Amendment in 1976 decided to freeze the number of seats, which was extended by the 84th Amendment in 2001 because, ultimately, you have to balance this enacting formula of Indian democracy with the aspirations of federalism. This whole debate is really about how you manage these two contradictions -- the aspirations of States and India as a Union of States and the enacting formula of Indian democracy. That is why this requires a far more structured and serious discussion than the arbitrary manner in which this Government is trying to ram this Bill down the throat of Parliament. That is the real problem. That is the elephant in the room which is not being addressed. Article 81(2)(a), till the time it continues to

hold the field, whichever census you may take after 1971, the peripheral States will always lose as compared to the heartland States. That is the reality and that is the federal balance which this delimitation disturbs.

If you look at Article 82, clause 4 amends Article 82 of the Constitution of India. Earlier, there was an automatic safeguard. It said, ?readjustment after every census?. There is a census. There will be a Delimitation Commission. [illegible] You have facilitated that. So, therefore, there was a safeguard, a constitutional safeguard, which said, ?readjustment after every census? and census goes in a chronological order. By removing that safeguard, you can arbitrarily cherry-pick which census you want to use for delimitation, and that goes against the basic structure of the Constitution of India [illegible]

[illegible] 80 [illegible] 403 [illegible] 140 [illegible] 142 [illegible] 2011 [illegible] 560 [illegible] The number will reach to 560. Without amending Article 170 (1), you cannot carry out the delimitation in Uttar Pradesh. [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

**19.00 hrs**

SHRIMATI DAGGUBATI PURANDESWARI (RAJAHMUNDRY): Thank you, Madam Chairperson. I rise to support the Bills and the amendments that have been introduced in the House today, which seek to expand the Lok Sabha to reflect India?s significant population growth since the 1991 Census.

It also provides a legal framework for the Delimi Commission to readjust the constituencies based on the latest available demographic data. Article 82 is sought to be amended by deleting the third proviso that mandates delimitation only after 2026. It provides the Government with the ability to use pre-2026 Census data to draw the geographic boundaries of constituencies. Article 334A is sought to be amended to allow the 33 per cent reservation for women to take effect immediately by bypassing the earlier stipulations of the 106th Amendment Act of 2023, which is the Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam. This amendment is vital as it facilitates the 33 per cent reservation for women immediately.

I rise today in this House, not in my personal capacity, but on behalf of the 650 million women of this country. I rise today as a proud member of that party which has changed the narrative of our country from women?s development to women-led development, and that party which heads the Government that, at every juncture, has sought to provide solutions to the challenges that women face in our country, right from *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao*, Sukanya Samruddhi Yojana, Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana, Jan Dhan Yojana, *Matru Vandana Yojana*, *Surakshit Matritva Abhiyan*, Indradhanush Yojana, Shauchalay Nirmaan Yojana, *Lakhpati Didi*, and Drone Didi. These are just a few, but there are many more.

I also stand as the proud daughter of that State, which was prepared to empower its women and its daughters even four decades ago. I stand in this House as the proud daughter of that leader who provided equal rights and property to the daughters of his State, even 19 years before the national law was made. I stand as the proud daughter of that father who provided reservations for women in the Mandal Praja Parishads and Zila Praja Parishads even before the 73rd and 74th Amendments. I stand here as the proud daughter of that father who provided 30 per cent reservation in the Government jobs for women to transform them into administrators and officers.

I also stand as the proud daughter of that leader wh established the first women-only University in my State. I stand as the proud daughter of that leader who established women's police

stations in the 1980s so that no aggrieved woman would be denied justice. That leader is none other than the late Shri N. T. Rama Rao.

Today we gather here not merely to discuss a policy, but to settle a question that this Republic has been asking itself since the first day of Independence ? do the women of India belong in the rooms where the nation?s decisions are made? The women of this country have waited long enough for justice and for rightful representation in the House. Generation after generation, women have been told that the world outside does not belong to them. What begins as exclusion and persists for a long period of time begins to feel natural. The Bills that we debate today are the final intervention to change that perception.

Women, during the freedom movement, participated alongside men. They did not do so merely as supporters of the movement, but as architects, as foot soldiers, and as the very conscience of the movement itself. Women believed at that point in time that the nation?s liberation was their liberation.

When the moment came to pen the founding charter of this Republic, India was blessed with an architect of extraordinary vision, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. Babasaheb firmly believed that freedom proclaimed without equality guaranteed is no freedom at all. Therefore, at this very founding moment of the Republic, he did not ask women to wait, but placed equal rights and equal opportunities for women as the very foundation of our Constitution. Every woman sarpanch, every woman judge, every woman officer, and every woman Parliamentarian stands on that very foundation that Babasaheb laid.

As proud citizens of this Republic, we bow our heads in deep and enduring gratitude to him. This, Madam, is not a reform that appeared suddenly before the House. It faced an arduous journey, a long and unfinished journey. Its early traces go back to even before Independence, when the Government of India Act was made in 1935, which provided limited space for women representation. The question, however, did not disappear with the attainment of freedom. It travelled along with our Republic, waiting for resolution. The decisive moment had come in 1989, when a Constitutional Amendment was passed in this House, yet could not be completed. The moment, however, did not fade. Under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji, the issue was brought back with clarity and with conviction, and Bills were introduced in 1998 and 2002, ensuring that the demand for women's political representation remained firmly on the national agenda.

There have been many instances where the Women's Reservation Bill was brought forward but was shot down. The historical reality is that in 1998, the RJD MP, Surendra Prakash Yadav ji, physically tore the Bill right on the floor of this Parliament House. The then stalwart leaders of the Samajwadi Party too, very categorically had said that they did not support the Bill, and it is rather astonishing that today we have Akhilesh ji say that they support the Bill.

In the meantime, Madam, India had made a bold institutional shift through the 73rd and 74th Amendment, opening the doors of grassroot democracy for its women in rural and backward areas. The country witnessed something spectacular. It only said that when given an opportunity, women did not merely participate, they led, they governed, and they transformed. Yet at the level of the Parliament and the State Legislatures, the journey remained incomplete. Efforts continued across years, across Governments, and across debates, even culminating in the passage of the Bill in Rajya Sabha in 2010. But the final step remained out of reach.

In this context, the position being taken by the Opposition today should be examined carefully. The only thing in my perception that is left for the Opposition to oppose is that it is being delivered by a Government they did not form. This is not a Constitutional argument, but it is a political stance and the women of India can see the difference. If women's reservation has already been settled, as Shrimati Sonia Gandhi ji had mentioned in her editorial, and if the party demanded the implementation in 2023 itself without conditions, then what exactly is the Congress opposing today?

They need to explain. And that is why this moment matters, because today, through the Constitution (One Hundred and Sixth Amendment) Act, 2023, this House is not merely passing a law, but it is completing a journey that the nation began decades ago.

It is rather disappointing, Madam, to see the attitude of the Opposition parties. What is being characterised today as undue haste is in fact the same very urgency that the Opposition itself demanded not long ago. It is, therefore, difficult to reconcile how the same urgency is now being interpreted as a matter of concern. In 2023, their words were, ?Implement it now, no need for Census and delimitation?.

In 2026, their very words are, ?How dare you implement it without Census and delimitation??. When Congress demanded it, it was urgency. But when *Pradhan Mantri* Narendra Modi ji delivers it, it becomes haste. Sonia ji herself issued statements in favour of the Bill multiple times, but they were empty statements and not

backed by any action. I was listening intently to the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, who raised the question as to when the Women?s Reservation Bill was passed in 2023, why was it not implemented until now. The Opposition had 27 years to implement it themselves.

The Women?s Reservation Bill had first come in 1996. The UPA had been in power for a whole decade from 2004 to 2014 and the Rajya Sabha had passed it in 2010. For four consecutive years ? 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 ? the Bill after being passed in the Rajya Sabha was never introduced in the Lok Sabha. Therefore, the issue in the House today is not one of delay but it is one of conviction.

Madam, a legislature, without women?s representation, making decisions without hearing half the evidence, is not governance, but it is an educated guess. Women of this nation deserve better than an educated guess. Madam, the issues or the concerns that have been raised here are about the Southern States losing a number of seats. Justice to the South Indian States is sought to be met by proposing a *prorata* increase based on the 2011 Census and by ensuring that the Lok Sabha constituencies would increase by 50 per cent, as has been outlined by the hon. Home Minister himself. This would ensure that the Southern States would not lose the absolute number of seats and by adopting the 2011 Census as the baseline, there would be less disruption to the existing political balance rather than depending on the higher population growth figures of the North.

Madam, I say it with complete conviction that the Delimitation Bill, 2026 provides the answers, and that Section 5 guarantees that representatives from various States will be nominated by their respective Speaker to sit at the table when the boundaries of constituencies are being drawn. Section 9 guarantees public hearings in every State before the single order is finalised. Therefore, no State is voiceless and no voice is left unheard. [redacted]: ? where women are honoured, divinity dwells. This is the very sentiment that was reflected in the words of Swami Vivekananda when he said that the progress of a nation is measured not by its GDP or power, but by how it treats its women.

History is being written today in this chamber and history will record every name, those who are willing to open the doors for the fairer sex and those who choose to keep it shut. Looking beyond politics, I know on which side of history I stand.

Looking beyond politics and supporting the passage of these Bills, we need to remember that even as we pass them and even

as we support them, we are standing for our mothers who gave their everything and asked for little, we are standing for our daughters who are watching and waiting and we are standing by the women who stood at the threshold and were turned away. And last but not the least, we are standing by Babasaheb Ambedkar who wrote the law and made this moment possible.

Jai Hind.

## [redacted]?

[redacted] 75 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[

[redacted] 2024 [redacted]

[redacted] 2021 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]-1 [redacted] 2026-27 [redacted] 2011 [redacted]

[redacted] (84[redacted] [redacted] 87[redacted]) [redacted] 2026 [redacted] 2011 [redacted], [redacted] 131 [redacted] "[redacted]" [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted],

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Madam, we support women?s reservation. We call for its immediate operationalisation, beginning with the 2029 Lok Sabha election, or even earlier. This requires only an amendment to the Constitution, specifically, the removal of references to delimitation and census from Article 334A(1) and (3). We support such an amendment.

We are here to discuss women?s empowerment and will not be drawn into any other subject. We oppose any cynical attempt to use women as a shield to advance the political agenda of the ruling party. Any discussion on delimitation must be clearly delinked from women?s reservation.

We will not accept, under any circumstances, any dilution of the constitutional guarantee that safeguards the existing share of each State in the Lok Sabha. We reject any oral assurances or schedules that can be altered at will by a simple majority. The principle governing the allocation of seats among States is, and must remain, embedded in the Constitution. It cannot be left to a statutory Delimitation Commission or to an ordinary legislative process.

Thank you.

[illegible] : [illegible], [illegible] 131 [illegible], 2026 [illegible]

[illegible],

[illegible],

[illegible],

[illegible] 33 [illegible],

[illegible],

[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] 850 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

SHRIMATI APARAJITA SARANGI (BHUBANESWAR): I rise today, as a woman Member of Parliament with immense pride and deep sense of satisfaction to support the three Bills that were placed by the Government on the floor of the House today - the Constitution (131st Amendment) Bill, 2026, the UT Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2026 and the Delimitation Bill, 2026.

Madam, these Bills are historic by nature and they are long-awaited steps towards fulfilling the aspirations of half of the country?s population, and, for that matter, I think, we all should remember that these Bills are here for reshaping and restructuring our democratic journey.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible],

[illegible],

[illegible]?

[illegible], 26 [illegible], 2014 [illegible], [illegible], [illegible],

was a big ?yes? in the midnight of September, 2023 when we passed the Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam.

Now, today, two statements are coming ? delay or delayed. Now, the question is this. The Government wants to implement this Bill. This is high time. The women of the country cannot wait, and, for that matter, all of us have gathered together to deliberate on the provisions of the three Bills.

In 2024, the General Elections were held, and there is sufficient reason to say that the census and delimitation exercises could not have taken place at that point of time.

Therefore, it is absolutely understandable why the Government was not able to implement this immediately after 2023, because the census and delimitation are large exercises.

Let me tell you that the Government is very keen that it should be implemented, and I think this is the right time for all of us to come together and support the Bills, because we want our 273 women to be seated in this Lok Sabha.

Madam Chairperson, it is pertinent to mention here that the three Bills will facilitate the process of delimitation. At the cost of being repetitive, I would like to say that in 1971, the census had taken place. In 1976, on the basis of that census, delimitation took place; the allocation of seats was done; and the territorial jurisdictions of the constituencies were finalised in the year 1976 by the then Delimitation Commission. We have to understand that after a passage of 50 years, this Government - the Government of Prime Minister Modi - is revisiting the allocation of seats, and it has stated very categorically and convincingly that there would be a 50 per cent increase in the number of seats in the Lok Sabha and in the State Assemblies.

So, it is amply clear that we are not going by the 2011 Census figures to decide on the allocation of seats. I think this has to be kept in mind. This is just a 50 per cent increase, a 50 per cent addition to whatever number of seats we currently have, and we have heard our hon. Home Minister and our hon. Prime Minister in the morning.

Now, there are a couple of features that all of us are aware of, but please allow me a couple of minutes to dwell on the features of these three Bills. The first Bill, which is very important - the 131st Constitution Amendment Bill, talks of amendments to six Articles of the Constitution: 81, 82, 170, 333, 332, and 334(A).

Now, number two is extremely important - the delimitation exercise. We have to understand, my dear friends, both on the

right and the left, that unless and until we have the delimitation exercise, we just cannot go for reservation of seats.

Which seat do we reserve? What is the allocation for all the States? What are the seats that we are going to reserve for women? And among those seats, which are the seats that we are reserving for SC and ST? These are the questions, and that is why three Bills have been brought by the Government. We must commend the efforts of the Government because they have adopted a very pragmatic approach while drafting the Bills. I would request all my colleagues here to go through the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to all the three Bills.

Now, I come to the Delimitation Commission. There is something extremely uncomfortable in the air of the room when we talk of the Delimitation Commission. This will be the fifth time that the Delimitation Commission will be formed. Since Independence till date, four Delimitation Commissions have been set up by this Parliament - in 1952, 1963, 1973, and 2002. Now, there will be the fifth Delimitation Commission with three Members - a Supreme Court Judge, former or serving; the Chief Election Commissioner or an Election Commissioner nominated by him or her; and the State Election Commissioner of the State concerned.

Madam Chairperson, why did I mention all this? There is a reason for it, and I would definitely like my friends to understand. I want to allay all apprehensions regarding the way the Delimitation Commission would function. The Delimitation Commission has been there; there were four earlier, and now the fifth one will come. I must tell you that five MLAs and five MPs of each State would be duly consulted when the territorial jurisdictions of the constituencies are revisited by the Commission in different States.

So, there is absolutely no cause of worry on that score.

Very important part of my submission, I am arriving at. Please give me some time. Today, my esteemed colleagues must know that India is lagging behind. I feel very sad when I talk of India in this language. The Indian Parliament is lagging behind because we have just 13.6 per cent of the Parliamentarians in the Lok Sabha as women. If you look at all the State Legislative Assemblies, we have just around ten per cent MLAs as women. We are definitely much less than other countries. The global average is 27.5 per cent. This is definitely a cause of concern and that is why, these Bills and that is why, we need to have the implementation process properly understood and agreed upon and implemented on the ground. This is high time.

Madam, I would also like to mention the situation in some of the countries. While we, women, are at 13.6 per cent in our Parliament, Rwanda has 64 per cent women Parliamentarians, Sweden has 47 per cent, New Zealand has 45 per cent, Norway has 44 per cent, Australia has 38 per cent and our close neighbour Nepal has 33 per cent.

When these countries have so many number of women in their Parliaments, why do we have just 13.6 per cent women Parliamentarians? That is the question and that answer must come from all those people who have been here for quite some time, particularly from my friends to my right.

Why should Indian Parliament lag behind? We have to give visibility and power to our mothers and daughters who actually served for the nation everyday.

Now, hon. Prime Minister?s unwavering commitme women?s empowerment is something which I need not talk about much. It is like showing light to the Sun.

Since 2014, under the guidance of our hon. Prime Minister, many women centric programmes have been initiated in the country with more than three crore *lakhpati didis*, ten crore women in these self-help groups; 68 per cent of mudra loans have been given to women; eleven crore LPG connections given under PM Ujjwala Yojana, and the list is long.

The current approach of the Congress and other Opposition Parties baffles me. They blocked the Bill for 27 years and they are blocking the Bill now.

The UPA Government passed the Women?s Reservation Bill in 2010 in the Rajya Sabha.

What prevented them from getting this Bill passed in the Lok Sabha since they were there, heading the Government, rather running the Government till 2014? So, this is something which is not understood by people like us. It was very easy for them to get that passed between 2010 and 2014 in the Lok Sabha.

Madam Chairperson, please allow me to talk about the Shah Bano case. The Shah Bano episode showed how Congress has repeatedly sacrificed women?s rights to short term vote bank calculations.

Today, the same set of Opposition Parties are crea hurdles. Please allow me to call you anti-women. Even if it hurts you, I will call you anti-women. Being a woman Parliamentarian, I know how very important it is to increase the percentage of women

in the Lok Sabha and in the State Legislative Assemblies in our country.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

I solicit the support of all my esteemed colleagues of the Lok Sabha.

Thank you.

[redacted]

50

[redacted]

[redacted] 14 [redacted] 9 [redacted] 10 [redacted]

[redacted] 140[redacted] [redacted], [redacted] 48-49 [redacted], [redacted]?

[redacted]?

[redacted], [redacted] 60 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 40 [redacted] 33 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]

**20.00 hrs**

[redacted], [redacted] 1996 [redacted], 48 [redacted],

SHRI N. K. PREMACHANDRAN (KOLLAM): Thank you very much, Madam, Chairperson, for affording me this opportunity to take part in the debate on three very important Bills, in particular the Constitution (One Hundred and Thirty-First Amendment) Bill, 2026.

Madam Chairperson, we fully support women reservation but strongly oppose the proposed Delimitation Bill. We, the Opposition led by the Congress, are always for women reservation. Even since 1996, I have witnessed so many times in the Lok Sabha this Bill being presented and, due to so many reasons, it could not be passed. Once during the time of the Congress, it was passed in the Rajya Sabha, but unfortunately, it could not get through in the Lok Sabha because of so many political reasons.

If you examine the previous history, as Priyanka ji has rightly said today about the historic background of women reservation. In the 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendments, for the first time in the parliamentary history or the legislative history of India, women reservation was constitutionally guaranteed during the time of the Congress Government led by Shri Narasimha Rao ji. The heart and soul of the entire Opposition is for women reservation, but we are opposing the present Bill. What is the reason? It is because, in a way, at the behest of this, or under the guise of women reservation, the Government is coming with a delimitation proposal. Thereby, they want to have an ulterior political motive to grab power through delimitation. It is being said by so many other hon. Members that this is gerrymandering, and that by a forced way, power has to be taken into control.

We fully support the reservation but I would like to say that the proposed delimitation is totally unscientific, illogical, and imbalanced, and the delimitation proposal is resulting in discrimination against the States that have complied with the National Population Policy Programme directed by the Government. They are being punished by way of these Bills. That is the main objection which I would like to make.

Madam Chairperson, you may remember that in 2023, the entire Opposition, except two Members from the Opposition, unanimously and whole-heartedly supported the 106th Constitution Amendment, thereby 33 per cent of reservation was provided to women in the Lok Sabha as well as in the State Legislative Assemblies. So, the intent of the Opposition cannot be questioned by the hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Home Minister, or the other hon. Ministers. It cannot be questioned or challenged. It is the women's demand, and it is the political vision and political will of the Opposition that women?s reservation should be protected and should be implemented. There is no doubt about it. That is our

strong assurance which we are providing to the Government.

Madam Chairperson, the Government is systematically dismantling the stable arrangement for raising the strength of the House of the People and also readjusting the constituencies provided in Article 81 and Article 82 of the Constitution. Articles 81 and 82 are the two important provisions for raising the strength of the House of the People as well as the readjustment of the constituencies. Shri Tejasvi Surya, my learned friend, the hon. Home Minister, and even the hon. Prime Minister, today are assuring the House that we are going to increase the number of seats by 50 per cent for every State, and proportionate increase in each State will happen, and thereby no harm, no loss, and no reduction of seats will be there as far as the South Indian States are concerned. I would like to ask the hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Home Minister, and Shri Tejasvi Surya in particular, under what provision, and by which provision, is this power derived. Please inform the House. Today, the hon. Home Minister was saying that he will speak like teaching the LKG students. Why is he not able to reply today? He replied to almost all the points which we raised today, but, unfortunately, the hon. Home Minister is not able to respond to the question which we have particularly raised. He is saying that he will teach us tomorrow and make it clear to us. That means, the Government has no logical explanation as far as the 50 per cent increase in seats is concerned. If it is there, let the House be informed.

Madam Chairperson, they are all saying that Kerala, from where I come, has 20 seats at present which will be increased to 30 seats when there is an increase of 50 per cent, and, as far as Uttar Pradesh is concerned, it will go up from 80 to 120. But unfortunately, there is no provision. Article 81(2)(a), which Tejasvi Surya was referring to, says, ?for the purpose of sub-section (a) of clause 1?. That is regarding increasing the strength of the House of the People. There shall be allotted to each State a number of seats in the House of the People in such manner that the ratio between the number and the population of the State is, so far as practicable, the same for all States. That means, the number should be in proportion to the population. That is 1:1 million. As per the 1971 Census, it was one Member of Parliament for one million people. That should be equal for all the States. That does not mean the increase will be equally there. That is why the argument made by Shri Tejasvi Surya will not hold good, as it is totally against the legal principles. That is why I would like to reiterate Article 81(2)(a) as well as 81(2)(b). What is the purpose and intent of Article 81(2)(a) and (b)? The basic intent of it is to achieve the goal of one person, one vote, and one value. That is 1:1 million. That means, all the constituencies will have more or less the same population

and the same number of Members of Parliament. Thereby, the value of the vote will be equal in almost all the States. That does not mean that the proportionate increase in seats will be there by virtue of this Bill. That is totally wrong. That I would like to reiterate once again.

Madam, I would like to know from the hon. Government and the hon. Minister under which Census the delimitation is going to be carried out. Is this going to be on the basis of the 2011 Census? It is very clear that the 2011 Census is the latest Census as per the proposed Delimitation Act being brought before the House. Therefore, the Delimitation Commission cannot go beyond the law. As per the law, the 2011 Census is the base year, and the Commission cannot act beyond the statute. Hence, the South Indian States will definitely be adversely affected by this amendment, and we strongly oppose it.

Further, I would like to make one very important point, and with that I will conclude. This relates to Article 81 (3) as per the Bill. It clearly defines ?population? as the population ascertained in the last preceding Census. Now, the Government proposes to amend this provision by referring to the ?latest Census.? This effectively means the 2011 Census. Moreover, after every Census, delimitation is required to be carried out. If this amendment is passed, there will be no mandatory provision ensuring that delimitation takes place after each Census.

Therefore, it is a constitutional obligation to ensure that the population for determining representation is based on the last preceding Census, as clearly stated. Now, this is being altered in such a way that Parliament is effectively delegating power, whereby the Executive could, by a simple majority, amend the Constitution. Therefore, I strongly oppose the Bill on these constitutional grounds. It is not valid, and I urge the Government to withdraw it. It should not be passed.

With these words, I conclude. Thank you very much.

SHRI S. VENKATESAN (MADURAI): Hon. Chairperson Madam, Vanakkam.

I thank you for allowing me to say my views on this 131st Constitutional Amendment Bill 2026. On behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I urge that this fundamental right of providing reservation for women should be implemented with the existing number of MPs. We strongly oppose the tactful approach of BJP in clubbing these two issues like Census and Delimitation with that of Women?s Reservation.

**20.13 hrs** (Shri Dilip Saikia *in the Chair*)

You have so far snatched away the funds that are due to the people of south India. Now you have decided to snatch away the rights of the people of south India. You are conspiring to dilute our participation in ruling this country. I am duty-bound to say that this is not ?Nari Sakthi? or the Women?s Reservation Bill; rather it is a Bill brought with some deceitful intentions. Elections are about to take place in two big States of our country. Elections are about to take place in Tamil Nadu. What is the urgency to convene this Parliament Session? We, 40 MPs of Lok Sabha, have come here leaving our election campaign. You have no problem on your side as BJP or your ally AIADMK has not even a single MP in Lok Sabha. People of Tamil Nadu have not elected a single MP from your party to Lok Sabha. That?s why you have nothing to lose. On the other hand, we are here present in this House attending this Session. We the elected MPs are here.

Leaving aside the victory or defeat in elections, we are more concerned about the interest of Tamil Nadu. That?s the main reason for our presence. Hon Prime Minister spoke for long. He spoke for 40 minutes. He insisted upon the Opposition MPs to hear to his Speech.

We, the 40 MPs of the Opposition, are here in Lok Sabha. Where is your Hon Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs? What your Minister Hon L. Murugan is doing without hearing Prime Minister?s speech? He is engaged in election campaign in Avinashi. He is taking part in an election meeting along with Shri Edapadi Palanisamy in Mettupalayam.

Friends, you just need the votes of the people of Tamil Nadu. Rather we work for the victory of the people of Tamil Nadu which is on the basis of self-dignity. This issue of delimitation has been there for long. Earlier it was done on the basis of Census taken during the years 1952, 1962 and 1972. But fifty years ago, this Census operation was stopped in the year 1971. And on the basis of that Census this delimitation exercise is being carried out. Therefore, this issue gains importance. This issue has to be handled with care and sensitivity in our country as it has diverse nature, inequality and different cultures.

This issue which was long pending for 50 years has been taken up for discussion all of a sudden. Your intention was not of nation?s unity rather your intention is that of spreading hatred and disintegration. Friends, this number would be increased to 850 MPs from the existing 543 MPs. If that?s so Tamil Nadu should get as many as 60 MPs. But there is no detail in this Bill so as to which year?s Census to be considered by the Delimitation Commission for arriving at this conclusion.

Hon Minister of Home affairs Shri Amit Shah spoke in this House by keeping a small piece of paper in his hand. He shared many calculations. Have you not found time to type those matters? Could you not make those details part of this Bill? Why are you avoiding to speak on the working of this Delimitation Commission?

This is a very simple truth. If that is decided on the basis of 2011 Census, Tamil Nadu will not get 60 MP seats rather it would get only 51 seats. If the Census would be that of 2026, then again the total number of seats for Tamil Nadu would be 47 and not even 60. Friends, please understand this. Tamil Nadu has a share of 7.18 per cent in this august House at present. In the days to come, this will be reduced to 5.7 per cent. You are conspiring to do everything to reduce our number in this House.

Hon Amit Shah has been stating several statistical data here. We have only one question. Tamil Nadu and Bihar had the same population in the year 1971. Tamil Nadu had a population of 4.1 Crores and Bihar had 4.2 Crores during the year 1971. That is why Tamil Nadu was provided 39 MPs and Bihar got 40 MPs as per that population figures. But what is the condition as of now? The population of Tamil Nadu is 7.6 Crores and that of Bihar is 12.3 Crores. Bihar has now a population approximately just two times that of Tamil Nadu.

The main question is which Census would be considered for deciding the number of MP seats. We are facing this issue as we have controlled population. Are you punishing us with this so-called reward? Population control exercise has been carried throughout the world not because of the policy of the government or the orders issued by you. This population control measure is due to the awareness in the society which is linked to education, health and everything. Particularly because of women?s education in Tamil Nadu, population control was made a possibility. Total Fertility Rate (TFR) is just 2.10 per cent in Tamil Nadu which is less than the national average. That is why people of Tamil Nadu who constitute just 7 percent of our nation?s total population has given us 44 per cent women entrepreneurs. Who is behind this success? From 1971 to 2011, the population of Tamil Nadu has increased just 75 per cent. But the population of Rajasthan has increased to 166 per cent; to 146 per cent in Bihar and to 138 per cent in Uttar Pradesh during this period. Population control is our victory. This bill is the hatred which you show towards us on our victory over population.

This Bill is the partisan approach you show towards us as we had sent our children to schools for getting education. Hon Prime Minister repeatedly said in this House that he will not betray. He was ready to say in Tamil as well. He said he won?t betray. We

just want to ask our Prime Minister that Census operations were held on all occasions. After independence, we had such operations even during the wars of 1960 and 1970 in our country. But this Census was stopped during Corona. Why have you not conducted this Census for the last 4 years? Without having Census, you built this Parliament building and fixed 858 seats in Lok Sabha. How did you arrive at this number? Now you are proposing to increase this number of MPs in Lok Sabha to 850. You have done all work behind the screen and you now want us to believe that everything is fair. We would never believe you as we are rationalists to the core.

I wish to say that we would put an end to your hidden agenda. Census and delimitation are being brought here as a simple legislation ignoring the freedom and free will of our constitution. Friends, I wish to submit two documents before this august House. Five years ago, Hon Justice Kirubakaran and Hon Justice Pugalendi of Madras High Court pronounced an important verdict. I wish to place that verdict in this House. In the year 1962, there were 41 MPs in Tamil Nadu. This was reduced to 39 MPs in the year 1967. As per the Census, we have lost 30 MPs during the last 15 elections held in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, this delimitation exercise should be conducted on the basis of 1962 Census. This was the verdict of Hon Judges of High Court and I wish to submit the copy of that verdict in this august House. Second important document is the Report submitted by the Centre-State Relations Committee. They visited Tamil Nadu a month ago and this Report delves upon several things.

This Report said that the Indian Government should not make any changes in the delimitation process for the next 100 years. This Committee has opined that only change should be implemented after 100 years and during the year 2126 only. This is not only a calculation on the basis of time period. But they have arrived at a conclusion by way of scientific research and analysis.

As per UN data and survey, India would reach the peak of population curve during the year 2066. Therefore, no change should be done in delimitation for the next 100 years. Friends, it is the lifelong habit for right wing activists to pledge women while engaging in politics. You are bringing this women?s reservation Bill on that basis. Particularly similar to the pledge of Draupadi in Mahabharata in a cunning drama, you also want to stage a drama trying to snatch away our rights. But I conclude my speech by saying that we are not successors of Draupadi.

Thank you.

**HON. CHAIRPERSON:** Hon. Minister, Shri Kiren Rijiju ji.

SHRI KIREN RIJIJU: Sir, as I have already informed earlier, since we are going to sit till 11 p.m., dinner for the hon. Members is being arranged at first floor, Parliament House. Members can go at any time and have their dinner.

Also, arrangement of dinner for the staff, the Lok Sabha staff and the other allied agencies, is also being done.

[illegible]

[illegible]

DR. MOHAMMAD JAWED (KISHANGANJ): Thank you very much, Sir. I stand to oppose the Delimitation Bill, 2026.

[illegible] 2023 106[illegible] 2024 [illegible]? [illegible]?

[illegible] 12 [illegible]

[illegible] 70-72 [illegible]-[illegible] 181 [illegible] 14 [illegible] 2027 [illegible].[illegible].[illegible]. [illegible] 676 [illegible], [illegible] 200 [illegible]

Sir, the main intention is not reservation for women, it delimitation. [illegible] 2029 [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] 50 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 85 [illegible] [illegible] 91 [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] - [illegible] 27 [illegible] 9 [illegible]? [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]?

[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

a BJP?s attempt to redraw the political boundaries within the country for their own political gains.

[redacted], [redacted] 50 [redacted]

[redacted] : [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] 19 [redacted]. [redacted], [redacted] 2014 [redacted] ? [redacted] 78 [redacted]

[redacted] 10 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 2014 [redacted]-[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 11 [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 50 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

**SHRIMATI JUNE MALIAH (MEDINIPUR):** Sir, Bengal's soil has taught us how to respect women. Raja Rammohan Roy advocated for women rights while protesting against 'Sati'. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar showed us the path of humanity by introducing 'widow marriage'. But some of them has called him as a middleman of Britishers. These people destroyed the statue of Vidyasagar in Kolkata. I hope, you remember. Someone called Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay as 'Bankim Da' instead of calling him 'Bankim Babu'. We are following the tradition of our great men. It is the tradition that guides us to save women's dignity. We are facing a historic moment right now.

Today it is not only the debate to discuss the bill but also it is a debate on injustice vs hypocrisy and rights vs political drama. We want reservation for women. It is not for mercy, it is their right. We want it right now without any condition. That is why we would like to ask this government directly, while you are talking about women

empowerment, what you are doing in reality? You are placing bills just before the election, doing nothing but politics. If we raise questions, then we will be called misogynists. This is your strategy.

We, AITC, would like to say here very clearly, we support women reservation but we do not accept deception. The big and dangerous issue is here 'delimitation'. It means creating divisions in country and state. This government has attached women reservation with delimitation very cleverly. It is more dangerous that women reservation will be viable only after the completion of delimitation. No one knows when it will be implemented. So, what will you say, is it reservation or deception? What you are trying to do with delimitation, I know.

You are trying to be politically benefited by reorganizing areas with the data from census, 2011. You are trying to undermine the voices of SC, ST and minorities. You have portrayed women reservation bill to cover the motive of delimitation. This is real truth. The political game is going on by situating women in front. So, this is a tool to undermine the democracy in the name of women development. We have seen the results when you hurried to make decisions.

During SIR, over 200 people lost their lives in West Bengal. The people were harassed and still most of them failed to enroll their name in the electoral roll successfully. The people of Bengal are angry because they will be failed to cast their votes even being rightful Indian citizens. You have deleted the names of 61 lakh women in Bengal. It has created disturbance in the entire state. So, what is the logic behind the introduction of this bill? Are you trying to snatch the rights of women as you have done in the case of transgender community? So, we do not want delimitation to follow stubbornness, anarchy, and injustice. What is the behaviour of those who are talking about women reservation?

We have seen in last 5 years that the PM came to Kolkata and insulted the Chief Minister of West Bengal. You must be thinking that while referring to PM I am talking about Our Prime Minister but no I did not mean Prime Minister but to the people of Bengal he is a local goon. Frankly speaking, I do not shreyexpect anything more from your party whose minister commented on an elected female chief minister to wear ankle bells and dance. Their former MP commented on Chief Minister to wear short pants (Bermuda) if she wants to campaign with a plastered leg.

Those who cannot respect women are talking about women empowerment today and it is a matter of disrespect to the country. I would like to say to the female members of BJP to please train the male members of your party to respect women and then talk

about women empowerment.

But we the AITC do a different type of politics. We just do not speak the word of the mouth but we perform. Under the leadership of Mamata Banerjee TMC has given more than 40 percent seats in the Lok Sabha to the women. Not only in politics but we have shown the way also in policies like Swastha Sathi scheme where it has been registered in the name of female and in the Swastha Sathi card they are eligible for free treatment worth Rs.5 lakh in a year. The women have been considered to play the central role in the family. After 2 years you have bought rather copy pasted the same scheme as Ayushman Bharat. The Lakhsmir Bhandar ensures that nearly 2 crore women are being economically independent every month with the stipulated amount in their bank accounts. The Kanyashree Scheme which has been internationally awarded has ensured that 68 lakh women get education, form self-help groups and are socially empowered. Not only a bill but in practical reality.

We would like to remind the nation that on 7th September 2023, this bill was passed by you. It was said that out of 543 seats, 33 percent will be reserved for women. My point is why 33 percent sir and why not 50 percent. In fact whom to say, it is the wrong people who have been given the king?s role. That is why I say leave this fake forgery and yes we want women reservation but without any condition. We do not want any links with Delimitation which is dangerous and is against the spirit of the constitution.

We will not allow to change the constitution so I would like to tell you all?Do come tomorrow at 4 pm like you have mentioned. We all will wait for you and be prepared because all of us unitedly will give a befitting reply democratically. These bills are not as per provisions of the constitution and an attack on the constitution. We will not allow it. We will do whatever is necessary to protect the constitution, the federal structure, and the women of our country.

We will fight against any idea which is not for India. Come tomorrow at four p.m. My friends and colleagues. Be prepared, because together, we will democratically hold you accountable and defeat you. What you are bringing is not a Constitutional Amendment. It is an assault on the Commission. We will not allow this to happen. We will democratically expose you and bring you to account.

I would like to end by quoting a poem of Mamata Banerjee,

"Politics is for the people, Not for power.

My religion is to stand by the people

And people are my identity

Politics is for the people, not for power. Standing beside people is my duty. People are my identity.

The more you attack, the more seats we will win in Bengal.

Joy Bangla

[redacted] 50 [redacted] 33 [redacted]? [redacted] 50 [redacted], [redacted] 33 [redacted], [redacted] 50 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] -[redacted], [redacted], [redacted] -[redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], in the history of mankind, in the history of womankind, in the history of the world, [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] is it not the best time to be a woman? She almost giggled and laughed and said that yes, this is the best time to be a woman. [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 11-11 [redacted] 1951 [redacted], [redacted] 1961 [redacted], [redacted] 1971 [redacted] 1971 [redacted], [redacted] 61 [redacted], [redacted] 543 [redacted], 140 [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 140 [redacted], they should not be accounted for, [redacted] 33 [redacted]

**21.00 hrs**

[redacted]! [redacted] 33 [redacted], [redacted] 14 [redacted], [redacted] 50 [redacted]

## [redacted]

[redacted] 2024 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] 26 [redacted]?

[redacted] 1990 [redacted]

[redacted]? ([redacted])

[redacted]:

? ([redacted])

[redacted]: [redacted], [redacted] 8 [redacted], 1953 [redacted]? ([redacted])

[redacted]? ([redacted])

[redacted]: [redacted]

? (████████)

████ ███████ ████ ███ : ███ ███ ██████ ███████ ██ ██████ ███████ ██ ███ 40 ████████ ███ ████ ███████ ? (████████)

████ ███ ████ ██████ ██ ███ ██ ████ ████████ ██ ████████████ ████ ███ ███████ ████ ██████ ████████ ██ ████ ████ ████ ████ ████ ? (████████) ████ ████ ██ ███ ? (████████) ████ ████ ████ ████ ████

2001?following the 84th Constitutional Amendment?this moratorium was extended until the year 2027. The rationale behind this decision was of paramount importance: it was intended to acknowledge and reward those states?particularly the southern states and

the people of Maharashtra?that had successfully achieved their family planning targets and effectively kept their population growth under control. Therefore, hon. Chairperson, to ensure that no political injustice is inflicted upon them, this Bill proposes to increase the number of Lok Sabha seats directly from 500 to 850. If population were to be applied as the sole criterion, states where the population has surged?such as Uttar Pradesh and Bihar?would receive disproportionately higher representation in the Lok Sabha. Conversely, progressive states like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala?which have successfully kept their populations in check in the national interest? would see a reduction in their parliamentary seats; this outcome stands in direct opposition to the principles of federalism.

Hon. Chairperson, by bundling these two pieces of legislation together, the government has effectively sown discord among the various states of the country. Historically, whenever the process of delimitation has been undertaken, it has invariably encroached upon the rights of the states. Today, the government speaks grandly of a 'Developed India by 2047'; yet, it is simultaneously hatching a conspiracy to politically disempower the very states that have been instrumental in propelling this nation to its current level of progress. Hon. Chairperson, our demand is crystal clear: do not use the delay in conducting the Census as a pretext to deny women their rightful claim to reservation. Women must be granted reservation immediately and without any preconditions. The delimitation process should be implemented only with the mutual consent of the states involved, and with an explicit guarantee to safeguard the interests of those states that have successfully exercised population control. In conclusion, I wish to state that when the moment arrived to grant women their political rights, the government deceived them by ensnaring them within a convoluted procedural labyrinth. Therefore, while I support the Women's Reservation Bill, I register my vehement opposition to this Delimitation Bill. Thank you.

SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH (MAVELIKKARA): Thank you very much Chairperson, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak on these important legislations.

Sir, today, I oppose these Bills to caution this House against what appears to be a carefully structured attempt to reshape

India's democratic framework under the name of reform. The Constitution (One Hundred and Thirty-First Amendment) Bill, 2026, the Delimitation Bill, 2026 and the Union Territories Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2026 are being presented as progressive measures. However, a closer examination reveals that they raise serious concerns about representation, federal balance, democratic participation and constitutional safeguard.

At the very outset, let me state this unequivocally, the Indian National Congress fully supports 33 per cent reservation for women in Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies. This is not a new position for us. It is a longstanding commitment rooted in the principle of gender justice and inclusive democracy. However, what is being proposed today is not genuine empowerment. It is a conditional, delayed and politically structured framework that postponed justice. Sir, why should women's reservation not be linked with a future census? Why should it depend on future delimitation exercise? Why should its implementation be tied to a timeline that is entirely controlled by the Union Government? This is not empowerment. It is postponed disguised as progress. Women in this country have waited long enough and justice delayed any further becomes justice denied.

If the intention of the Government is sincere, there are clear and immediate alternatives available. Women's reservation can be implemented within existing number of seats by reserving one-third of constituencies on rotational basis. Alternatively, the Government can increase the total number of seats by one-third and reserve those additional seats exclusively for women without linking it to delimitation. Both these options are constitutionally feasible and administratively practical. What is not acceptable is making women wait indefinitely for their rightful representation.

Chairperson, Sir, equally important is the principle of social justice within this framework. Within the 33 per cent reservation, there must be sub-reservation for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe women. Without this, the most marginalised women will continue to remain excluded. Gender justice cannot be achieved by ignoring caste realities. It must address them directly.

Sir, delimitation is not a mechanical or technical exercise. It determines political power, representation in Parliament, and the balance between States. If the current proposal relies heavily on population as the sole determining factor, this approach is deeply flawed for representation in a diverse country like India. We must take into account not just population, but also human development, achievements, governance, performance, and efforts in population control.

A State like Kerala has made significant progress in controlling population growth, investing in health and education, and achieving social development. Today, it is being told that because it performed better, its representation may be reduced. This is fundamentally unjust. It sends a dangerous message that progress will be penalised and inefficiency rewarded.

From Kerala's perspective, the concern is even more serious. Kerala does not have a Legislative Council. We do not have a Legislative Council, and we function within a single-tier legislative system. This makes fair representation in Parliament and the State Assembly absolutely critical. Any distortion in seat allocation will have direct and disproportionate consequences. For Kerala, representation is not merely a matter of numbers. It is essential for democratic survival within its governance structure.

Sir, today, the hon. Home Minister revealed the seat numbers. The hon. Home Minister told the House that, Kerala has 20 Lok Sabha seats which will be increased to 30. We are not happy with 30 seats because we need more. We are eligible for more seats. In Kerala, we are number one in communal harmony. We are also number one in the education sector; and Malayalis or Keralites are earning crores and crores of rupees in the Middle East for this country. Our people are going to the Middle East and earning exchange for this country. We are also taking measures for family planning and population control. But we are being punished. The Central Government is always punishing us. In the health sector, we are number one. So, we need not worry about any health project. Even AIIMS is not given to Kerala. In the education sector, we are at the forefront, and we need not worry about anything. But ultimately, you are punishing us. Whatever the Central Government is asking for in terms of target achievement, we have done it. But at the same time, you are not giving a Legislative Council for Kerala. You are not enhancing seats for Kerala. So, we are the victims of the country. But we are not quarrelling with the Central or State Government. We have good relations with the Central Government. At the same time, you have to give a proportionate share. Whatever we need, you have to give us. So, the Kerala State is not happy with this proportionate share of the seats.

Sir, you know that lakhs of migrant workers from Assam, West Bengal, and other north-eastern States came to Kerala.

**THE MINISTER OF COAL; AND MINISTER OF MINES (SHRI G. KISHAN REDDY):** The people of Kerala are very happy. Your people are reading the same script from your Party.

**SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH:** Sir, you are aware that migrant workers from Assam, West Bengal, and other north-eastern states

came to Kerala. Working safely, they are earning money from Kerala. That is also very important as far as Kerala is concerned. Why does the Central Government have a stepmotherly attitude towards Kerala? I do not understand. We are contributing in all sectors. But at the same time, our number in the parliamentary system, in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, is very less.

Therefore, I convey our unhappiness to the Central Government through you. I will not go into all the details.

As regards SC/ST reservation, sub-reservation is very much needed. In this House, the representation of SC/ST women is very, very low. If sub-reservation is not provided, SC/ST women will not be adequately represented. Therefore, I would like to request the hon. Minister, through you, that SC/ST women?s reservation should be included in this amendment.

Sir, democracy is not just about numbers; it is about fairness, representation, and balance. You cannot empower women by delaying their rights. You cannot reward inefficiency while penalising progress. You cannot strengthen democracy by centralising power.

We stand for immediate justice, equitable representation, and constitutional balance. For these reasons, I oppose this Bill and request the Government to withdraw it, and to implement 33 per cent reservation within the existing strength of 543. Thank you.

[illegible] - The Constitution (One Hundred and Thirty-First Amendment) Bill, 2026, The Delimitation Bill, 2026 and The Union Territories Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2026.

[illegible]

[redacted]?

[redacted] 2023 [redacted], [redacted] 2026 [redacted]-[redacted], [redacted].

[redacted], [redacted] 2010 [redacted], [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted] - [redacted].

[redacted], [redacted] 27 [redacted], 2023 [redacted]-[redacted], [redacted].

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted].

[redacted] 12 [redacted], 1994 [redacted], [redacted] BJP [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] 33 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] 2034 [redacted], [redacted] 2029 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted] 370 ? [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted] 1953 [redacted] 1955 [redacted] 1980 [redacted]? ([redacted])

[redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) [redacted]

[redacted] 2014 [redacted] 2024 [redacted] 2024 [redacted] 2026 [redacted] 2023 [redacted]?

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible] 2011 [illegible] 121 [illegible] 2026 [illegible] 142 [illegible] 50 [illegible] 125 [illegible] 55 [illegible] 55 [illegible]

[illegible] 850 [illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

**SHRI GURMEET SINGH MEET HAYER (SANGRUR):** Thanks, Hon?ble Chairperson sir for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Women Reservation Bill. Our party had supported the bill in 2023 and also we are supporting it today. If you look into the history of Punjab and Sikhism, we have always talked of equality for women. Also, in the gender equality index, Punjab comes in the top states. Sir, we are supporting the bill but we apprehend that the government is not willing to implement it. When it was passed in 2023, you had said that it will be implemented after the census. If you were to implement it without a fresh census, you could do it in 2023 and this very House could have 33 per cent representation of our mothers and sisters. But this drama is being enacted due to elections in five states including the states of Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. You can create any number of dramas but defeat is certain for you in these states.

If I have to speak in the context of Punjab and the delimitation, the representation in the state is just 2.4 per cent. Despite the lesser population of Punjab, its contribution for the independence of the country is 90 per cent. Leaders in those times had an idea of these things and even in 1946, Jawahar Lal Nehru urged upon us to remain with India. We were assured of an

autonomous state with all the rights and Sikhs would be able to enjoy their freedom. While visiting Gurudwara Rakabganj adjoining this building, Mahatma Gandhi also assured the Sikhs to remain with India to enjoy their full freedom. In the Constituent assembly, Sardar Patel also stated in 1946 that the interests of the Sikh community will be taken care of.

Chairman Sir, now the representation is according to the population. Had we got the representation as per norms, the RDF funds of Rs.8500 crores belonging to Punjab couldn?t have been withheld. If we were like UP, the funds couldn?t have been stopped. As regards BBMB, the water is ours, dam is ours but our Panchayat members have been removed from that area. Main reason for this is due to meager representation of Punjab. If we had the number of seats likes UP and Bihar, the Central government couldn?t have dared to remove those members.

I have a suggestion for the government. If you wish to bring a true amendment, you can do on the lines of the developed nations like UK and USA. In their Upper house, the representation is not as per population figures. States having a population of 10 lacs or 2 crores are having 2 members? representation in European nations also.

I wish to state that in our Rajya Sabha, all states should have equal representation so that their voice can be heard and no injustice is done to them. Our Hon?ble Prime Minister since his days as Chief Minister of Gujarat has been talking about the dual citizenship. Lakhs of Punjabis are settled in other countries and they have a strong bonding with this country. They have been contributing to the economy of India. They should be accorded dual citizenship to give them a feeling that they are also citizens of India. So, I express my party?s opposition for the delimitation part of this Bill. Thanks

SHRI SUNIL DATTATREY TATKARE (RAIGAD): Honorable Chairperson, I express my immense joy at having received the opportunity?as a worker of the Nationalist Congress Party, ?to speak on this historic bill regarding women's reservation, which has been introduced here by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, driven by his resolute political will, and which marks a glorious chapter in our history. Had Ajit Dada Pawar?a true 'Man of Development' who prioritizes religion, caste, and social harmony, ?been present today, he would undoubtedly have welcomed this bill. The government has taken a decisive step to strengthen progressive ideals, upholding the legacy of Maharashtra's great social reformers; Shiv -Shahu-Phule, and Ambedkar. I take great pride in the fact that when the 'Ladki Bahin Yojana' (Beloved Sister Scheme) was implemented in

Maharashtra, it faced opposition from rival parties; yet, while the opposition suffered a crushing defeat, the 'Mahayuti' secured a resounding majority. The opposition lacks the audacity to openly oppose this Women's Reservation Bill; therefore, they are attempting to obstruct it indirectly by raising objections regarding the delimitation process and the Delimitation Commission.

Honorable Chairperson, this bill was originally conceived during the Congress regime. However, they merely tabled it on paper and had no genuine intention of implementing it in reality?a feat that Prime Minister Modi has now successfully accomplished. Unable to offer direct opposition at such a juncture, the opposition is resorting to expressing their dissent through the pretext of delimitation. In the elections held in 2014, 2019, and 2024, the opposition suffered a complete rout across the entire nation.

Honorable Chairperson, I have listened to speeches delivered by members of the Congress party; they claim that whenever electoral constituency delimitation has occurred in this country, it has historically taken place during Congress rule. However, no one here has made any mention of the delimitation exercise that was conducted in this country as recently as 2009. At that time, constituencies were restructured by reorganizing Gram Panchayats (village councils). Now, however, they are adopting a completely different stance. Today, while expressing his views, the Prime Minister stated that this initiative will result in a numerical increase in parliamentary seats across every state. For instance, Maharashtra?which currently holds 48 seats?will see an increase of 24 seats, while Tamil Nadu?which holds 39 seats?will gain an additional 20 seats. Yet, this bill is being opposed solely out of narrow political self-interest. The Nationalist Congress Party remains fully supportive of conducting a caste-based census; the precise outcome and implications of this initiative will become evident following the 2029 general elections. On behalf of our party, I extend my full support to this Bill and offer my congratulations. Furthermore, on behalf of our party?and specifically on behalf of our Deputy Chief Minister, Smt. Sunetra Pawar?I congratulate the Honorable Prime Minister. For many years now?indeed, for the past 60 years?the number of seats in both the Lok Sasha and the State Legislative Assemblies has remained unchanged. If the total number of seats were to increase to 850, there would be absolutely no cause for concern, as this would merely reflect the significant growth in our population. Given that the population within individual constituencies has surged from 700,000 to as high as 2,000,000, the decision to increase the total number of constituencies is a visionary and appropriate step. I strongly condemn?in the strongest possible terms?the opposition

raised by certain quarters regarding this process of delimitation.

Honorable Chairperson, I wholeheartedly support this Bill, which has been introduced specifically with the empowerment of women in mind. Under the leadership of the Honorable Prime Minister, our nation is actively being transformed into a global powerhouse on the world stage. It is our solemn duty to stand firmly in support of this endeavor. Once again, on behalf of my party, I reiterate my full support for this Bill.

Thank you.

**22.00 hrs**

DR. THOL THIRUMAAVALAVAN (CHIDAMBARAM): Hon Chairman Sir, Vanakkam. On behalf of my party, Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi, I wish to say my views regarding the 131st Constitutional Amendment Bill. On behalf of Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi, we wholeheartedly supported the Bill to provide 33 per cent reservation to women in Legislatures which was passed in the year 2023. We also stressed that 50 per cent reservation should be extended to women. We have a view even today that 50 per cent reservation should be extended to women who constitute 50 percent of our population. We once again urge that 50 per cent reservation should be extended to women.

Hon Prime Minister had written letters to all the leaders of Parliamentary parties, including me, as regards immediately implementing the women?s reservation in our country. I am duty-bound to express my gratitude to Hon Prime Minister. While reading the letter written by Hon Prime Minister to me, I was reminded about the Hindu Code Bill proposed by our revolutionary leader Dr B.R. Ambedkar. Those who belonged to organisations like RSS and Hindu Mahasabha were strongly opposing this Hindu Code Bill during that period. Effigy of Dr Ambedkar was even burnt to ashes by the protestors of that time. Now time has changed. Everything has taken a U-turn. I am proud and elated to know that RSS has come forward to provide such a reservation to women. I am filled with pride to know that the dream of Dr Ambedkar is becoming a reality.

Women?s Reservation should be implemented immediately without any delay. Nobody has a second thought over this issue. But you can provide reservation to women with the existing number of MP seats without altering the total number. It is not that only after carrying out the delimitation exercise, reservation can be provided for women. This Government wants to implement providing reservation to women in Lok Sabha and State Legislatures immediately. But with a *mala fide* intention they have

brought Delimitation Bill also along with the Women?s Reservation Bill. It clearly explains that the primary intention is not to immediately implement the Women?s Reservation

Bill but to immediately implement the delimitation exercise of the parliamentary constituencies. Why have this Government changed its viewpoint? This question bothers our mind. While we discussed in the past, this Government wanted to go for Caste-based Census before implementing the reservation for women. This Government then said that it had to conduct Census, followed by Caste-based Census and Delimitation Exercise before implementation of providing reservation for women in Legislatures. The question arises as to why there is a change in the mind-set of this present Government.

This Government is not willing to carry out Caste-based Census. If that is done it will be known to all that what is the number of OBC population in our country. People belonging OBCs who have been denied representation so far would be then putting pressure on this Government to given them proportional representation on the basis of their population. People belonging to OBCs would then take forward their democratic battle to ensure their rightful representation. We could sense that this Government is afraid of such a situation. Not only that, if Caste-based Census is conducted, there would be demands for inner quota for OBC women from the total quota for OBCs. There would be agitations held in this regard. This Government is well aware of such a situation and henceforth is unwilling to provide reservation to OBC women. That is why in order to avoid such a situation in future, this Government wants to implement Women?s Reservation Bill before the Census work is completed. This is a doubt bothering our mind. Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Party strongly condemns this approach of the Union Government. There is internal reservation for women belonging to SC and ST categories among the total number as per the Constitution. But there is no internal reservation for OBC women. Many MPs who spoke here also mentioned about this. This demand is gaining momentum day by day. RSS and Sangh Parivar do not intend to have a caste-based Census. They do not incline to do this as there would be demand for internal reservation for OBC women among the total quota. It is learnt that this Government is with this stubborn viewpoint in order to avoid such a situation. They do not want to conduct Census immediately. Particularly they are least bothered about Caste-based Census. Sir, I will conclude in a minute. Hon Prime Minister has even termed those who wanted caste-based Census as Urban Naxals. On behalf of Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Party, we want

to pinpoint and condemn the attitude of the Government as it ignores the sentiments of the people belonging to Other Backward Communities. We urge that there should be reservation for OBCs particularly for OBC women. We urge that the Delimitation Bill has to be withdrawn or referred to JPC for three reasons. First one being that the southern States of our country would be betrayed. This number of MP seats can be increased proportionately and not on the basis of population. If that is increased, all the southern States including Tamil Nadu would be much affected. I urge that this Bill should be withdrawn immediately as it ignores to provide reservation for OBC women.

Most importantly, as regards delimitation bill, the constitutional amendment clause has been replaced by a simple majority clause which is totally unacceptable. I am concluding Sir. Therefore, I urge that this Bill be withdrawn immediately.

Thank you.

**22.07 hrs** (Shri N. K. Premachandran *in the Chair*)

SHRI E. TUKARAM (BELLARY): Hon?ble Chairman sir, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on the Delimitation Bill 2026 and The Constitution (One Hundred and Thirty-First Amendment) Bill, 2026 and the 106th Amendment to the Constitution 2023 related to Women's Reservation.

Hon?ble Chairman sir, today I would like to recollect a quote by Babasaheb Ambedkar, "History cannot be created by those who forget it" Today, by introducing these three bills in the Parliament, I am on the opinion that the BJP is intended to create history as the Party has forgotten the history.

Hon?ble Chairman sir, we should know the history. After attaining independence in 1947, we adopted the Constitution for our country in 1950. In those days our elders framed the constitution and laid down the great vision for future of our country and also gave us a road map for the development democracy. However, it seems that the BJP government has forgotten all those ideas of the elders.

Hon?ble Chairman sir, our Congress government, starting from the then Prime Minister late Indira Gandhi to late Rajiv Gandhi ji, including PV Narasimha Rao, we have always been supporting women's reservation and made all efforts for the progress of the country. The BJP government should remember that it was late Rajiv Gandhi, who gave the reservations to the local bodies. While addressing this august house the Prime Minister Narendra Modi

and shri Amit Shah did not make a mention of the fact.

Hon?ble Chairman sir we should remember the contributions and footprints of the leader, who have supported for the development of the country and the constitutional provisions.

Hon?ble Chairman sir, we need to take forward the legacy set by our forefathers while framing the constitution for the country, but it is not seen in this Bill. I can remember a slogan put on National Highways: "High speed thrills, but kills." Today, the BJP government is going at a high speed by bringing this bill in hasty manner at a time when elections are being held in many states of the country. This is the reason why, I would like to mention that the constitutional provisions and the democratic system of the country are being killed.

Therefore, Hon?ble Chairman sir I would like to suggest that let there be "Safety First, Speed Next" It means, we need to first ensure the protection of the Constitutional provisions and also the democratic values. And then, we can go at speed, it would definitely help us to reach the intended destination.

Hon'ble Chairman, sir, we all should remember that, in the previous years, our the Congress led UPA government introduced a reservation, which helped to become member by contesting in the election and stand here to speak as an MP. During the tenure of former Prime Minister late Manmohan Singh ji the reservation was given by the Congress Government, however the BJP was opposing SC/ST reservation. A case was filed by Rama Jois in the Supreme Court.

Sir, we need to remember all the programs introduced by our Late Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The entire country is recollecting the footprints left the our government during the period 2004 to 2014.

Hon'ble Chairman, sir in 2014 the BJP government under Modiji assumed power and gave many promises to this country. However, they failed to achieve their promises. Demonetization has failed. The promise to give 15 lakhs is unfulfilled. "Achhe Din" is not visible anywhere. This bill has been brought in hasty manner to hide all their failures. The proposed delimitation exercise which has been brought in the House is going to be unscientific in the coming days.

Congress is always in favor Women?s reservation, the present form of delimitation is being done in an unscientific manner and the South Indian states are meted out with injustice in this Bill.

I appeal to the Union government to convene an all-party meeting and hold a delimitation exercise and bring constitutional amendment in a scientific manner.

Thank you sir

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 33 [redacted]

India is cinderella civilisation. It is beautiful, gifted, testing for greatness but relegated to the backstage on the world stage. Today, I believe that civilisation is stepping on the stage. For that reason, this morning you saw that the Prime Minister made an appeal. ?(*Interruptions*)

[redacted] 37 [redacted]

[redacted]

?[redacted]

# [redacted]

## [redacted]

## [redacted]?

[redacted] 37 [redacted]

[redacted] ([redacted]) : [redacted], [redacted] 2014 [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] 30 [redacted],

[redacted]?

[redacted],

[redacted],

[redacted]

[redacted] 100 [redacted] 100 [redacted], 100 [redacted], 100 [redacted] 100 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 755 [redacted] 155 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 80 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 66 [redacted] 381, [redacted] 47 [redacted] 101, [redacted] 45 [redacted] 405, [redacted] 34 [redacted], [redacted] 32 [redacted], [redacted] 2023 [redacted] 4 [redacted] 48 [redacted] 211 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 10 [redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted] 30 [redacted] 21 [redacted] 2022-23 [redacted] 3.46 [redacted] 19 [redacted] - ?[redacted]...? [redacted]: [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 392 [redacted] 34 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]?

?

-30

23

?60

-

,

?

56.35

52.22 43.65

47.78

?

18

?

18 ?

,

-

,

,

,

,

-

So, remove the Money Bill veto from the Lok Sabha, and let the Council of States have an equal voice in how legislation is passed. Shri K.M. Panikkar, the Member of SRC, recommended that the Rajya Sabha should be reformed.

, if you are really honest, then I have moved an amendment in clause 3 of the Bill that this shall be done to affect the proportional representation enjoyed by each State.

? Write it

in the Bill that 50 per cent will be there. [illegible]

"[illegible]

[illegible]"

[illegible], the most important and effective step would be to bury deep all the talk of a federal structure of our country, and constitutionally declare it as one country, one State, one Legislature, one Executive. [illegible]? [illegible] In 1951, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) manifesto mentioned about conversion of the Union of States into Unitary State. This is what is happening now through these three Bills.

I am concluding with a small question. Is the whole proceeding being watched by the Muslim women who were raped in Muzaffarnagar? Would they feel happy about it? Bilkis Bano is watching this. Has Bilkis Bano got justice? Zakia Jafri's family is watching this. Have they got justice? No.

I conclude by reciting the words of what Rahat Indori said about this Government.

"[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(): ]

91 64.3 32-2202 12 03

4 81 4 81

7.748 56.34

22.25 53.65

06

32

03

43 293

6

[redacted]

[redacted] 6202 [redacted] 1102 [redacted] 1102 [redacted]

[redacted] 02 [redacted] 04 [redacted] 04 [redacted]

[redacted] 3- [redacted] 52 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

? (■■■■■■■■) ■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■■ ■■ ■■■■■■■■ ■■■■■■■ ■■ ■■ ■■■■ ■■■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■■■■■ ■■ ■■■■■■■■ ■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■ ■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■ ■■■■■ ■■ ■■■■ ■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 131[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted], [redacted] 1102 [redacted], [redacted] 1102 [redacted], [redacted] 5 [redacted] 1102 [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted]' [redacted], [redacted] '[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 01 [redacted] 84 [redacted] 02.41 [redacted] 58.6 [redacted] 58.6 [redacted] 1102 [redacted]

[redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted] 4202 [redacted] 6202 [redacted] 4102 [redacted]

[redacted]? ([redacted]) [redacted]? ([redacted]) [redacted] *)snoitpurretnI( ? ?* [redacted] *)snoitpurretnI( ? ?* [redacted] *)snoitpurretnI( ? ?* [redacted]

tI lliw ton eb no .drocer **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**
ohw esor ot ecnenimorp hguorht rieht .tcelletni eW era etanutrof taht rednu eht ecnadiug fo ruo puorG ,redaeL .noH PM ayirpuS iaT ,eluS ew era gnitacovda rof eht elpicnirp fo redneg ytilauqe ni ,yadoT .tnemailraP I esir ni siht tsuga esuoH no flaheb fo eht tsilanoitaN ssergnoC ytraP ardnahcdarahS rawaP ot kaeps no siht cirotsih .lliB erofeB I evled otni eht ,scificeps I hsiw ot dnimer siht esuoH fo eht htamretfa fo eht amawluP ,kcatta nehw eht tnemnrevog detaitini noitarepO' ,'roodniS dna owt evarb nemow yratilim sreciffo emac drawrof ot feirb eht .dlrow nehW a larutan retsasid kcurts danayaW ni ,alareK ylraen eno hkal nemow yratilim lennosrep morf ruo raganaylihA tcirtsid ni arthsarahaM erew ta eht tnorferof fo eht feiler .snoitarepo eB ti eht riA ,ecroF eht ,ymrA ro eht ,yvaN yadot nemow dnats redluohs ot redluohs htiw .nem sihT noitamrofsnart emaceb elbissop eud ot eht yranoisiv seicilop fo ruo ,redael .noH ardnahcdarahS rawaP .bahaS tI saw hguorht eht ecnetsisni fo eht neht ecnefeD ,retsiniM .noH ardnahcdarahS iJ rawaP ,bahaS taht nemow erew tsrif detnarg yrtne otni eht demra .secrof tI saw esuaceb fo mih taht nemow deviecer 33 rep tnec noitavreser ni ,arthsarahaM hcihw saw retal desaercni ot 05 rep .tnec ruO noitan sah a dnuoforp yrotsih fo sinigaR-naR sa llew sa sihsudiV **IRHS RAKSAHB RAHDILRUM ERAGAHB :)IRODNID(**
taht siht tnemnrevog si gniyalp rednu eht esiug fo s'nemow .noitavreser emag" fo "noitatimiled revenehW eht tcejbus fo s'nemow noitavreser llib si delbat ni siht ,esuoH I ma dednimer fo eht s?nemow tnemrewopme seicilop fo .noH ardnahcdarahS iJ rawaP .bahaS I llacer sih elggurts ot evig nemow lauqe sthgir ni lartsecna .ytreporp tsoM ,yltnatropmi eh derusne taht 'itkahS-urtaM' rehtoM( )rewoP dna 'itkahS-iraN' namoW( )rewoP deviecer a tnacifingis ecalp no eht laicos savnac fo .arthsarahaM 053 sraey ,oga eht krow fo gnidivorp nemow a ecalp fo ,ytingid ,ecnetsisni dna ytilauqe saw detaitini yb itapartahhC ijavihS ,jarahaM dna retal deirrac drawrof yb amtahaM oaritoyJ ,eluhP ihsrajaR uhahS ,jarahaM dna tarahB antaR .rD behasabaB .rakdebmA ,eroferehT nehw a lliB ot tnarg noitavreser ot nemow si delbat ni siht ,esuoH ew evah on nosaer ot esoppo ;ti ni ,tcaf ew troppus ti .yldetraehelohw ,revewoH ew llahs reven troppus eht ■
nI ,ytilaer ti saw yleritne elbissop ot .noH nosrepriahC ,riS eht lartneC tnemnrevoG si gnikam llat smialc tuoba eht iraN' itkahS nadnaV .'mayinihdA ,revewoH nehw ew eziniturcs eht seitilacinhcet fo siht ,lliB ti semoceb tnedive taht rednu eht eman fo ,tnemrewopme siht lliB si gnilgnarts laredef .ycarcomed daetsnI fo gnitnemelpmi eht noitavreser ,yletaidemmi a noitidnoc sah neeb desopmi taht ti lliw ylno eb elbacilppa retfa eht tsrif susnec detcudnoc retfa 6202 dna eht tneuqesbus noitatimiled fo

.seicneutitsnoc ■

tnemelpmi s?nemow noitavreser ni eht tnerruc erutcurts fo 345 staes hguorht a lanoitator .dohtem yB ton gniod ,os eht s?tnemnrevog ycilop dna tnetni htob llaf rednu .noicipsus

nehW ew klat tuoba s?nemow ,noitavreser yhw si ereht on etarapes noisivorp rof nemow morf eht CBO ytinummoc ni siht ?lliB ihsrajaR uhahS jarahaM dedivorp a erahs ni rewop ot eht najuhaB ytinummoc morf eht enorht fo .rupahloK yhW si eht ,tnemnrevog hcihw yltneuqerf sekovni sih eman ,yadot gnidulcxe CBO nemow morf siht ?noitavreser litnU a desab-etsac susnec si detcudnoc dna eht alumrof fo lanoitroporP noitatneserpeR desab no noitalupoP intiJ( ayhknaS ,iraahB intU )iradigahB si ,deilppa siht laicos ecitsuj sniamer .etelpmocni sihT lliB sah deretla eht yrev noitinifed fo .noitalupop ,woN lanoitutitsnoc airetirc lliw ton enimreted hcihw susnec si ;desu ,daetsni ti lliw eb dediced yb a elpmis .ytirojam sihT si a suoregnad yalp htiw eht .noitutitsnoC ,worromoT fi eht tnemnrevog ,sehsiw yeht yam tcudnoc eht 6202 susnec ro rehtruf yaled eht .ssecorp hcus ytniatrecnu si a noitcartnoc fo .ycarcomed amtahaM eluhP ,dias tuohtiw ,egdelwonk modsiw saw ;tsol tuohtiw ,modsiw ytilarom saw .tsol arthsarahaM sah devreserp htob modsiw dna ,ytilarom tub ,yadot eud ot eht seicilop fo eht ,retneC htob eht htlaew dna eht rewop fo arthsarahaM era rednu .taerht ■

I tneserper a ycneutitsnoc ekil ,irodniD hcihw si detanimod-labirt dna yllacihpargoeg .gnignellahc fI noitatimiled si desab ylelos no ,noitalupop eht ezis fo yllih dna larur seicneutitsnoc lliw emoceb os tsav taht ti lliw eb elbissopmi ot hcaer eht tsal nosrep htiw .tnempoleved lliW uoy hsinup labirt saera taht evah yllufsseccus detnemelpmi noitalupop lortnoc seicilop yb gnicuder rieht ?noitatneserper ehT lartneC tnemnrevoG sah desoporp segnahc ot selcitrA 18 dna 28 fo eht .noitutitsnoC esehT segnahc era ton tsuj tuoba gnisaercni ;staes yeht era dengised ot yllacitilop esihcnarfnesid esoht setats taht evah edam ssergorp ni htlaeh dna noitacude dna detimil rieht ■.noitalupop ■

ehT tnemnrevog yam esu susnec atad sa ti sesaelp ni eht .erutuf sihT staefed .rD behasabaB s'rakdebmA elpicnirp fo enO ,nosreP enO .eulaV yB gnitfiI eht ezeerf no taes noitacolla taht sah neeb ni ecalp ecnis ,6791 setats taht dellortnoc rieht noitalupop hguorht ssergorp ni htlaeh dna noitacude lliw eviecer rewef .staes yehT era gnieb dezilanep rof rieht doog .krow ■

si detnemelpmi dna CBO nemow teg rieht lufthgir ,erahs I eveileb siht lliB dluohs ton eb .detcane lanoitroporP" "noitatneserpeR ,yllaniF .noh nosrepriahC ,riS behasabaB detats taht ni a laredef ,metsys htob eht retneC dna eht setatS era emerpus ni rieht

evitcepser .serehps tuB hguorht siht ,lliB eht retneC si gnihcaorcne nopu eht lacitilop sthgir fo eht etatS .stnemnrevog litnU eht alumrof fo [redacted]

knahT !uoy [redacted]

[redacted] , [redacted]6202 [redacted], [redacted] 131[redacted], [redacted] ) [redacted] ([redacted]: [redacted].

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted],

[redacted], [redacted] 7002 [redacted], [redacted] 05 [redacted] 7002 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] 05 [redacted] 6002 [redacted],

[redacted] 3202 [redacted] 72 [redacted] 6991 [redacted], [redacted] 33 [redacted], [redacted] 53 [redacted] 6102 [redacted] 53 [redacted] 3102 [redacted]

[redacted]? [redacted] ?[redacted] ?[redacted] [redacted], ,?[redacted] ?[redacted], ?[redacted]

[redacted] 623 [redacted], [redacted] 61 [redacted] 41 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted].

[redacted] 6791 [redacted] 3202 [redacted] 9202 [redacted], [redacted] 33 [redacted], [redacted] 131

[redacted] 18 [redacted] 821 [redacted] 03 52 [redacted] 041 [redacted] 6202 [redacted] 55 [redacted] 1791 [redacted] 33 [redacted], [redacted] 6202 [redacted].

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [

033 [redacted]

071 [redacted] 28 [redacted] ,18 [redacted] ,55 [redacted] 28 [redacted] 18 [redacted], [redacted],

[redacted] 001 [redacted] 7402 [redacted] 7402 [redacted],

[redacted]

oS ynam ydal srebmeM dluow ekil ot ekat trap ni eht .etabed fI uoy ekat eerht setunim ,hcae ew lliw eb elba ot etadommocca .lla **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

fI eht esuoH ,seerga ew lliw dnetxe eht emit fo eht esuoH pu ot 21 ?O .kcolc

.seY **LAREVES .NOH :SREBMEM**

.yakO. .rD mayidaK ayvaK **.NOH: NOSREPRIAHC**

tcepser dna ecifircas fo anagnaleT ?saw eW wonk eht niap ni eht elggurts fo eht anagnaleT ?tnemevom eW tog anagnaleT retfa ynam sraey fo .elggurts tahT oot saw elbissop ylno esuaceb fo ruo redael ainoS ,ihdnaG hguoht ereht erew on lacitilop stifeneb yb gnimrof anagnaleT ehs tnew daeha esuaceb ees dootsrednu dna deulav eht stnemitnes fo .anagnaleT ADN ecnailla dellac eht noitamrof fo anagnaleT sa kcalB .yaD fI uoy ekam hcus stnemetats uoy t'now eb elba ot kees setov ni .anagnaleT ,eroferehT I dnamed taht eht PJB dluohs esigolopa yllanoitidnocnu ot eht elpoep fo anagnaleT rof gnikam hcus I-.skramer dluow ekil ot ekam emos

snoitavresbo no tahw PM iwsajeT ayruS ekops tuoba anagnaleT dna dias taht noitamrof fo anagnaleT saw esrow naht noititrap fo .aidnI esohT stnemmoc erew tnavelerri dna .erutammi esuaceB ew wonk tahw eht fles knahT, uoy namriahC .riS erofeB gnikaeps no siht llib sa a namow nairatnemailrap morf anagnaleT .RD MAYIDAK AYVAK :)LAGNARAW(

nehW ti semoc ot nemow noitavreser llib ssergnoC ytrap si nwonk sa noipmahc fo nemow .noitavreser esuaceB vijaR ihdnaG demaerd fo gnidivorp 3/1 noitavreser rof nemow ni itayahcnaP jaR snoitutitsni dna lacol ydob ,stnemnrevog siht saw edam a ytilaer yb a nos morf anagnaleT irhS VP ahmisaraN .oaR tahT si eht nosaer yhw ew ees nemow ni itayahcnaP jaR snoitutitsni dna lacol ydob .stnemnrevog hguohT siht s'nemow noitavreser llib saw dessap ni 3202 ti saw ton detnemelpmi ni lareneg snoitcele fo .4202 ruO elbaronoh emirP retsiniM dluohs rewsna yhw siht saw ton detnemelpmi .neht yadoT emoH retsinim irhS timA hahS denoitnem eht rebmun fo staes taht lliw eb desaercni ni nrehtuoS setatS tub eh did ton noitnem eht rebmun fo staes taht lliw eb gnisaercni ni nrehtroN setats fo ruo .yrtnuoc sA rep eht slasoporp ereht lliw eb na esaercni fo 66 staes ni nrehtuoS setatS saerehw ereht lliw eb na esaercni fo 072 staes ni nrehtroN .setatS nrehtuoS setatS etubirtnoc ot 03 rep tnec fo .PDG yehT era ylsuolucitem gniwollof ylimaf gninnalp dna rehto serusaem rof .tnempoleved tahT si eht nosaer yhw nrehtuoS setatS evah dellortnoc noitalupop htworg fi uoy etacolla yratnemailrap staes no eht sisab fo

,noitalupop nrehtuoS setatS lliw eb detcejbus ot ssorg .ecitsujni sI siht a ytlanep rof gnieb doog dna ?tnetepmoc

ew tnaw reporp nettirw .secnarussa dna; dluow ekil ot tnemelpmi siht llib ni a .yrruh yehT era osla gninoitnem taht yeht lliw eb gnikat eht dlo susnec otni noitaredisnoc dna yeht t'now eb gniredisnoc a wen .susnec sihT si .elbanoitcejbo yB ton gnikat eht wen susnec otni noitaredisnoc dna yb ton gnivah a etsac susnec woh era yeht gniog ot dnetxe eht stifeneb fo eht noitutitsnoc ot eht nemow gnignoleb ot ,sCB ,sCBO ,sCS sTS dna ?seitironim ehT yaw siht llib si gnieb dessap tsdima snoitcele ni emos setatS stcelfer eht noitnetni ot evired larotcele .stifeneb sihT sraeppa ot em sa a ycaripsnoc fo PJB ot niw snoitcele ni .9202 eW t'now tpecca siht llib tuohtiw ytiralc no eht egatnecrep fo noitavreser rof suoirav .seitinummoc yadoT elbaronoh emirP retsiniM irhS ardneraN idoM ekops sa fi eh dah esnemmi tcepser dna nrecnoc rof nemow tub tahw deneppah ot siht nrecnoc nehw nemow erew dedarap dekan ni .rupinaM nehW livic yteicos degnah sti daeh ni ,emahs ruo emirp retsinim did ton neve sserpxe sih .ytiradilos sihT

si ssorg .ecitsujni yrevE namow si deredisnoc sa a ecruos fo .rewop nI eht eman fo noigiler PJB si gnigludni ni etov tfeht dna yeht era gnillortnoc laiciduj dna lanoitutitsnoc .seidob sihT si a kcis etats fo dnim fo eht .PJB litnU siht llib serusne ecitsuj rof yreve ,noigiler yreve ,nezitic yreve ytinummoc dna yreve namow ew era ton gniog ot tpecca eht llib ni siht .mrof anagnaleT llits did ton eviecer stifeneb sa rep eht PA noitasinagroer .tca eW era ton ni a noitisop ot eveileb labrev secnarussa fo siht .tnemnrevog eW t'nod tnaw secnarussa nettirw no nehW retaw eht s'nemow noitavreser llib saw dessap ni ,3202 eht tnemnrevog dias taht yeht lliw evah a susnec yb 6202 dewollof yb eht noitatimiled dna neht eht nemow noitavreser lliw eb detnemelpmi tub won yeht evah nekat U .nrut woN yeht era gniyrt ot gnirb a lanoitutitsnoc tnemdnema

ehT tnemnrevog dluohs ekat lla eseht snrecnoc otni noitaredisnoc dna emoc tuo htiw a llib hcihw serusne ecitsuj rof .lla htiW eseht sdrow I .edulcnoc iaJ .anagnaleT iaJ .mihB iaJ .tarahB

**00.32 srh**

.noH nosrepriahC ,riS siht gninrom ym ,eugaelloc urulagneB PM irhS iwsajeT ayruS elihw gnitapicitrap ni eht noissucsid no nemoW noitavreseR ,lliB eh did ton naemed eht anagnaleT tnemevom ro eht elpoep fo .anagnaleT EHT RETSINIM FO ;LAOC DNA RETSINIM FO SENIM IRHS( .G NAHSIK :)YDDER

fI eh ekops ni taht rennam ew lliw wardhtiw taht .tnemetats tuB sih laer noitnetni saw ot thgilhgih woh eht ssergnoc ytrap desserppus eht anagnaleT tnemevom yb gnillik 963 stneduts ni .9691

lliT ,4102 0021 sretsetorp dettimmoc edicius rof eht esuac fo .anagnaleT hcuS a gniht reven deneppah ni yna trap fo eht dlrow dna siht sah deneppah esuaceb fo gnorw sdohtem dna secitcarp fo eht ssergnoC .ytrap elpoeP fo anagnaleT erew deyarteb dna detaehc eud ot eht ssergnoC s'ytrap .elursim s'tahT tahw ym wollef PM .detats

)*snoitpurretnI*) esaelP evig em 02 .sdnoces ? .noH*snoitpurretnI*( ,nosrepriahC ,riS ehs sah nekat ym .eman ? ( **IRHS IVSAJET :AYRUS**

,oN ivsajeT .ayruS **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

ehT .noh retsiniM sah ydaerla .deifiralc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

ruoY. eman si ton nekat **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

?*snoitpurretnI*) ( siH eman si .nekat **IRHS: .G NAHSIK YDDER**

teL em esaelp .etelpmoc ruoY eman si ton .nekat ehS sah denoitnem ruoy eman ni ylper ot ruoy noitavresbo taht uoy evah .edam tahT si .lla ydobynA nac od .taht **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

*ij*. ,seY esaelp ateegnaS **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

.noH ivaR ,ij esaelp tis .nwod **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

nosrepriahC*snoitpurretnI*) ,riS I tnaw ot ekam ti yltnadnuba raelc taht ym tnemetats si gnieb nekat tuo fo .txetnoc tI si gnieb detsiwt htiw a suoicilam .tnetni yM tnetni si ot esopxe woh eht ssergnoC ,ytraP ni ,ralucitrap sah deirt ot egatobas eht anagnaleT .tnemevom eroM naht 002,1 elpoep dettimmoc ;edicius erom naht 003 elpoep deid yb .gnirif sihT si eht ycagel fo eht ssergnoC ,ytraP dna I evah etulosba tcepser rof eht srytram fo eht anagnaleT ,tnemevom dna I tnaw ot yap ym stcepser ot ?.meht ( IRHS IVSAJET :AYRUS

.oN eH sah ton edam yna .noitagella eH sah ylno deifiralc eht .noitisop nehW ruoy nrut ,semoc uoy nac .dnopser **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) (

)tnemdnemA ,lliB .3202 ehT iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA si a lufrewop noisserpxe fo tcepser rof eht sthgir fo serorc fo srehtom dna sretsis ssorca eht .yrtnuoc tI serusne 33 rep tnec noitavreser rof nemow ni eht koL ahbaS dna eht etatS evitalsigeL ,seilbmessA htiw noitavreser fo staes rof CS dna TS nemow os taht noitatneserper si ton ylno cilobmys tub osla .laer woN si eht emit ot gnirb siht evitamrofsnart dna cirotsih lliB otni .ytilaer roF ,sedaced siht eussi sah deniamer rednu ,noissucsid dna ti si ylno ni ,3202 rednu eht cimanyd pihsredael fo ruo .noh emirP ,retsiniM taht siht esuoH dessap siht noitalsigeI ,ylsuominanu htiw eht noitatcepxe taht ti tsum eb detnemelpmi dna ton ylno niamer a esimorp no .repap nosrepriahC$^{ht}$ ,riS I knaht uoy rof eht ytinutroppo ot kaeps no eht ehT noitutitsnoC 821( ITAMIRHS ATEEGNAS IRAMUK HGNIS OED :)RIGNALOB(

rednU eht pihsredael fo ruo .noh emirP ,retsiniM siht sah devom drawrof htiw eht egaruoc fo sih snoitcivnoc dna sih tnemtimmoc ot gnignirb tuoba redneg ytirap dna gnirusne taht nemow emussa rieht lufthgir ecalp ni eht gnikam-noisiced ssecorp fo eht .yrtnuoc nehW ew klat tuoba nemow ,tnemrewopme ew tsum peek ni dnim lareves .stcepsa erehT si laicos ,tnemrewopme ereht

si laicnanif ,tnemrewopme dna ,yltsal lacitilop .tnemrewopme ecniS ,4102 ruo .noh emirP retsiniM sah neeb gninoipmahc eht esuac fo gnirewopme ,nemow dna eh sah thguorb ni gnikaerb-htap ,noitalsigeI ,semehcs dna ,smrofer tsuj ot evig eno ,elpmaxe ekil elpirT .qalaT

yb ,7402 ti si tub larutan taht ew ekam mumitpo noitasilitu fo ruo namuh ,secruoser hcihw esirpmoc 4.1 noillib ,elpoep tuo fo hcihw 05 rep tnec era .nemow *tiskiV tarahB* ehT iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA si ton na detalosi noitalsigeI ro .mrofer tI si eht larutan noissergorp fo a regral noisiv fo ruo .noh emirP retsiniM ot gnirb tuoba redneg ytilauqe dna evisulcni .ycarcomed tA a emit nehw aidnI si eht htruof tsegral ymonoce ni eht dlrow dna eht s'dlrow tsegral ,ycarcomed dna ew tnaw ot eveihca eht laog fo

, rednu eht pihsdrawets fo eht .noh emirP ,retsiniM ew evah dessentiw ton tsuj ,ecnanrevog tub laicos mrofer dna *tirmA*.noitca *laaK* ,woN eht aedi si taht fi ew era ot ekam siht mumitpo noitasilitu fo ruo namuh ,secruoser ew evah ot gnirb nemow otni eht ,maertsniam dna taht si eht aedi dniheb siht eritne .noitalsigeI roF ,seirutnec nemow ni siht yrtnuoc evah detubirtnoc tuohtiw ,noitingocer detapicitrap tuohtiw ,rewop dna derudne tuohtiw a ;eciov taht retpahc si won .gnisolc nemoW ni aidnI evah reven dah ti .retteb I leef ti si a taerg emit ot eb a namow ni s?yadot yad dna ,ega dna siht si eht tluser fo a pihsredaeI taht sah dootsrednu eht luos fo siht .noitan nI siht

tahT si eht nosaer yhw snoillim fo nemow ssorca siht yrtnuoc evah desoper rieht htiaf dna tsurt ni sih .pihsredaeI ruO .noh emirP retsiniM sah doots rof eht ytingid fo ,nemow rieht ytefas dna .erachtlaeh I tsuj tnaw ot evig eno .elpmaxe ehT diap ytinretam evaeI sah neeb desaercni ot 62 skeew dna eht RMI dna eht lanretaM ytilatroM etar dna eht elamef ediciteof secnerrucco evah lla emoc .nwod sihT si esuaceb fo eht sseccus fo eht suoirav semehcs hcihw eht .noh emirP s?retsiniM tnerruc tnemnrevoG sah thguorb otni .gnieb ,riS ,won nemow lliw dnats sa lauqe sredlohekats ni eht ynitsed fo ruo .noitan dnA siht si woh a noitan ,serutam ycarcomed snepeed dna yrotsih si .detaerc

I ma tsuj tuoba ot ,edulcnoc .riS I tsuj evah ot yas ot yreve namow fo siht yrtnuoc taht siht tnemom sgnoleb ot .uoy ruoY ,ecneitap ruoy ,ecneiliser ruoy htgnerts dna ruoy tnelis noitubirtnoc ot siht s?noitan yenruoj sah thguorb su ereh dna ,riS I yas siht htiw lluf noitcivnoc taht yb eht ,emit ruo yrtnuoc setelpmoc 001 sraey fo ecnednepednI ni ,7402 eht noitadnuof ew era gniyal yadot lliw erusne taht nemow era ton gnikees .ecaps yehT lliw eb gninifed ti sa sredaeI dna .srekam-waI

I edulcnoc yb gnitseuqer eht srebmeM fo eht noitisoppO ot yldetraeh-elohw troppus siht yranoitulover noitalsigel rehtar naht elttucs ti rednu eht txeterp fo eht noitatimileD lliB sa na .esucxe

knahT uoy os ,hcum .riS

,riS evig em na ytinutroppo ot kaeps rof ytriht .sdnoces I tnaw ot evig a ylper ot eht suoiverp .noh .rebmeM **IRHS ISMAV ANHSIRK MADDAG :)ELLAPADDEP(**

fI ruoy eman si ni eht ,tsil I nac edivorp emit rof eht .hceeps uoY nac retnuoc ti ni ruoy hceeps nehw ruoy nrut .semoc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

*?snoitpurretnI*) (

,oN nehw ruoy nrut ,semoc uoy nac retnuoc .ti **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

*?snoitpurretnI*) (

oN noitagella si edam tsniaga .uoy **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

*?snoitpurretnI*) (

,woN. irhsuS arqI yrahduohC iJ **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

*?snoitpurretnI*) (

[redacted] 3202 [redacted] 9202 [redacted] 4302 [redacted] 3202 [redacted] ) [redacted] (

[redacted] 1202 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]:

[redacted] 05 [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

neeb a ylpeed laitneuqesnoc esicrexe esuaceb ti senimreted eht lacitilop thgiew fo setatS ni siht .noinU nehW hcus na esicrexe si deit ot ,noitalupop ti ylbativeni sesiar eht noitseuq fo ssenriaf gnoma setatS taht evah dewollof tnereffid latnempoleved .seirotcejart ,riS setatS ekil alareK dna lareves rehto nrehtuoS setatS evah revo sedaced detsevni ni ,noitacude erachtlaeh dna ylimaf ,riS .gninnalp eht noitasilanoitarepo fo iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA saw tnegnitnoc nopu a hserf noitatimiled esicrexe retfa eht txen .susnec

ynA noitpursid fo siht ecnalab sksir gninepeed lanoiger seitirapsid dna gnilleuf a htuoS-htroN ,riS .edivid ruo noinU si tliub no a etaciled ecnalab neewteb desab-noitalupop noitatneserper dna laredef .ytiuqe

,riS I od ton dnatsrednu tahw siht gniraet yrruh si ot gnirb ni siht tnemdnema ta siht ralucitrap erehw[ht]. .erutcnuj gnireenoitcele si ta sti kaep ni limaT udaN dna tseW ,lagneB hcihw lliw eb revo yb dna 92 dellac siht laiceps gnittis ni eht tsdim fo snoitcele ni evif dah setatS dednamed taht eht noitavreser noisivorp rof nemow dluohs eb detnemelpmi morf 4202 koL ahbaS snoitcele .flesti tuB eht tnemnrevoG did ton .eerga ,woN siht yrev tnemnrevoG si gnidnema elcitrA )A(433 ot tceffe noitavreser ni nI 9202 ,tcaf eht redaeL fo eht noitisoppO ni ayjaR ,ahbaS irhS nujrakillaM egrahK ot ,ij emoc otni tceffe retfa eht txen susnec dna eht noitatimiled ,ssecorp a dnats nekat yb eht tnemailraP .tnemnrevoG dessap eht iraN itkahS nadnaV ,mayinihdA 3202 ylsuominanu ni rebmetpeS .3202 sihT tcA decudortni elcitrA )A(433 ni eht ,noitutitsnoC gnitadnam driht-eno noitavreser rof nemow ni koL ahbaS dna nahdiV sahbaS segnahC ot siht tnemegnarra erew ot eb edam retfa eht tsrif susneC retfa rof .6202 hcihw a seires fo stnemdnema era gnieb edam ni eht ,noitutitsnoC hcihw saw dednema ni 1002 dna .3002 gnidnemA selcitrA ,18 ,28 ,071 033 dna 233 seerf eht gnitsixe staes hcihw erew dexif sa rep 1791 susneC fo tnemailraP dna etatS seilbmessA llit ,riS .6202 eseht eerht slliB ylbisnetso mia ta eht noitatnemelpmi fo 33 rep tnec noitavreser rof nemow ni tnemailraP dna etatS ,seilbmessA

si yrev etanutrofnu no eht trap fo eht emirP retsiniM dna siht ehT .tnemnrevoG noitnetni si ot tup eht noitisoppO ni a .dnib sihT dnik fo pihsnampu-eno dna dnahrednu citcat no na eussi no hcihw ereht si ytiminanu ni eht tI esuoH si yrev raelc taht eht tnemnrevoG sah thguorb siht ylerup rof lacitilop gnillac .egatnavda rof susnesnoc ni gnissap siht .lliB ehT MP saw lla eht emit gnisisahpme no lacitilop tub .egatnavda eht noitnetni emaceb raelc nehw eht MP ekops ni eht esuoH siht sihT ,gninrom wen lasoporp dluohs evah neeb dessucsid ni na ytrap-lla ,gniteem

esaelP .edulcnoc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

*)snoitpurretni(* tuB ? ni eht esac fo ,alareK ti lliw eb tsuj 32 morf ,02 fi ti seog yb eht 1102 ot .susneC etic na ,elpmaxe eht koL ahbaS taes fo PU lliw eb dekih morf 08 ot nehW .831 siht noitatimiled si enod no eht sisab fo eht 1102 ,susneC *)snoitpurretni(* dluohs ton eb ta a egatnavdasid ni ruo laredef citarcomed .putes sA ? I dias ,reilrae setatS taht evah edam taerg sedirts ni noitalupop lortnoc dna rellams ,woN setatS yna noitatimiled sah ot eb yllacitilop sihT .elbatiuqe tnemnrevoG tpek gninoptsop .ti eW od ton wonk ehT .yhw tsal ladaced susneC saw eud ni .1202 **.VDA SICNARF :EGROEG**

,woN eht tnemnrevoG dias taht ereht lliw eb a 05 rep tnec ekih ni staes rof lla ,setatS tub taht si ton denoitnem ni eht .lliB fI eht tnemnrevoG sesab 1102 susneC rof ,noitatimiled woh lliw ti eb ?elbissop

,riS s'nemow noitavreser si a txeterp rof gnignahc eht yrev erutcetihcra fo tnemailraP ot eht mret-gnol egatnavda fo eht gniluR .ytraP esehT slliB trevbus eht noitutitsnoC yb gnitfihs eht noisiced fo noitatimiled morf eht noitutitsnoC ot yranidro ,noitalsigel hcihw yna tnemnrevoG nac ssap htiw a elpmis .ytirojam ehT noitisoppO lliw evah on yas ni gninimreted eht sisab rof gnitacolla staes ni .tnemailraP

,riS eseht slliB nekaew eht laredef erutcurts fo .setatS ehT rebmun fo staes rof yreve etatS lliw won eb desab no noitalupop noitroporp ni eht susnec ot eb nesohc yb eht .tnemnrevoG

esaelP .edulcnoc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

,riS I ma .gnidulcnoc fI eseht stnemdnema ekat ,tceffe ti lliw dael ot a etanoitroporpsid rehgih esaercni rof eht idniH dnaltraeh .setatS sihT seog tsniaga eht tirips fo aidnI sa a noinU fo setatS sa denifed ni eht .noitutitsnoC **.VDA SICNARF :EGROEG**

,riS ecno eseht stnemdnema era ,detpecca eht noitisoppO lliw evah on yas no hcihw susnec lliw eb desu yb eht tnemnrevoG ni eht .erutuf ehT esoprup fo eseht slliB si ot egnahc eht dnuorgyalp ot eb yltnenamrep ni ruovaf fo eht PJB ro eht gnilur .noitasnepsid I esoppo eseht slliB dna tseuqer eht tnemnrevoG ot wardhtiw eseht slliB ecno dna rof .lla

,riS I knaht uoy rof gnivig em eht ytinutroppo ot kaeps ta siht cirotsih tnemom ni ruo s'noitan .ssergorp I ma lufetarg rof siht ytinutroppo ot kaeps no eht noitutitsnoC tnemdnemA lliB taht skees ot esilanoitarepo eht iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA dna serusne 33 rep tnec noitavreser rof nemow ni tnemailraP dna etatS seilbmessA erofeb eht 9202 .snoitcele IRHS .B .Y ARDNEVAHGAR :)AGOMIHS(

yrutnec dehsilbatse eht vahbunA ,apatnaM a elbakramer murof fo eugolaid taht deidobme yrotapicitrap dna citarcomed .seulav ehT iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA stcelfer s'tarahB gnirudne tnemtimmoc ot gnidliub na lauqe dna laitrapmi ,yteicos na aedi gnol denoipmahc yb annA .annavasaB Iht emoc morf eht dnal fo ,annavasaB ohw ni eht 21

dna siht dnuoforp anahcav sdnimer su taht rof a eurt ,eetoved eht enivid si eht ylno ,dnabsuh dna eht ,eetoved evitcepserri fo ,redneg si eht .efiw tI osla ylpmis stcelfer a ylpeed citarcomed noisiv erehw snoitcnitsid fo redneg evlossid ni eht tiusrup fo .hturt hcuS saedi fo ytilauqe erew derutrun no siht yrev dnal seirutnec .oga I osla emoc morf eht dnal fo tneloiv nemow ekil ruttiK inaR ,ammannehC ekanO ,avvabO dna akkA ,ivedahaM ruo sselemit slobmys fo ,egaruoc ecneiliser dna eht eurt tirips fo iraN .itkahS *edanatkaB? itapevagnil onat naakitas* sA*vedamadnasaladook* annavasaB ,dias I etouq ni ,adannaK ?

,riS ni siht ,drager eht iraN itkahS nadnaV tcA si ton tsuj a wal tub osla a tleftraeh ruonoh yb eht ADN ,tnemnrevoG del yb ,MP irhS ardneraN idoM ,ij ot eht ,htgnerts snoitaripsa dna ytingid fo yreve rehtom dna rethguad fo siht .yrtnuoc idoM tnemnrevoG sah yltnetsisnoc decalp iraN itkahS ta eht traeh fo s'aidnI tnempoleved .yenruoj

.noH ,nosrepriahC ,riS eht srehtom dna srethguad fo siht yrtnuoc lliw on regnol evah ot tiaw ot esilaer rieht lufthgir ecalp ni noisiced .gnikam gnidnE eht ,ytniatrecnu eht idoM tnemnrevoG sah nekat a evisiced pets ot erusne taht s'nemow noitatneserper semoceb a ytilaer ta eht .tseilrae htiW eht noitatnemelpmi fo eht iraN itkahS nadnaV ,tcA a elbaniatsus noitroporp fo staes ni eht koL ahbaS dna etatS seilbmessa lliw eb devreser rof ,nemow gnikram a evitamrofsnart tfihs ni ruo citarcomed .krowemarf

,riS noitatimiled si gnieb ylirassecennu deyartrop sa a ,taerht saerehw ti si ni tcaf a lanoitutitsnoc ytissecen ot erusne riaf dna detadpu .noitatneserper I ma tnedifnoc taht lla etamitigel snrecnoc lliw eb desserdda yb na tnednepedni noitatimileD noissimmoC dna I egru eht tnemnrevoG ot erusne taht eht ssecorp si evitisnes ot eht snoitaripsa fo lla .snoitces

,riS sa eht rebmeM fo tnemailraP morf ,agomihS I hsiw ot thgilhgih a yek eussi gninrecnoc eht elpoep fo ym .ycneutitsnoc tI si na lanoitpecxe esac fo nretseW stahG dna araganasoH ylbmessA .ycneutitsnoC

. sdnasuohT dna sdnasuoht fo ,elpoep gnidulcni ,ijimawS nemow ,stneduts ytrap-lla ,sredael ylredle elpoep dna ,srekrow deklaw sertemolik ni eht ,taeh gnikees lufthgir

*artayadap*.noitatneserper ,riS ni eht tsrif keew fo ,lirpA eht elpoep fo araganasoH ni ym ycneutitsnoc emac tuo ni egral srebmun rof a

,riS sa ew lla ,wonk araganasoH detsixe sa a etarapes ylbmessA ycneutitsnoc morf 2791 ot ,4002 htiw a tcnitsid lacitilop dna evitartsinimda .ytitnedi ,revewoH ni eht 8002 ,noitatimiled siht kulat saw tilps neewteb owt gniniojda .seicneutitsnoc sihT sah neeb a rettam fo eniuneg nrecnoc rof eht elpoep esuaceb araganasoH si ton tsuj rehtona .noiger deltteS ni eht sllihtoof fo eht nretseW ,stahG ti sah a euqinu ,yhpargoeg ,ymonoce dna tes fo ,segnellahc yrev tnereffid morf sti gniruobhgien .seicneutitsnoc tI si eht ecruos noiger fo srevir ekil eht ihtavarahS reviR dna ,iharaV htiw seitinummoc tnedneped no tcnitsid sdeen taht eriuqer desucof .noitatneserper

tI sah gnihton ot od htiw eht .lliB **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

,riS eht nretseW stahG ? a ertemolik-006,1 lacigoloce enobkcab gninnaps xis setatS ekil ,tarajuG ,arthsarahaM ,aoG ,akatanraK ,alareK dna limaT udaN ? tneserp euqinu lacihpargoeg .segnellahc ,revoeroM ,tsav ,detserof dna tluciffid sniarret ni snoiger ekil danlaM tonnac eb detauqe htiw tcapmoc nabru ,seicneutitsnoc tuohtiw gnitaerc a raelc lanoitatneserper .egatnavdasid **IRHS .B .Y :ARDNEVAHGAR**

esaelP edulcnoc .won **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

?*snoitpurretnI*) ( I erofereht egru eht tnemnrevoG ot erusne a evitisnes-niarret hcaorppa ni .noitatimiled nI siht ,txetnoc gnirotser araganasoH sa a etarapes ylbmessA ycneutitsnoc si ton ylerem a rettam fo evitartsinimda ecneinevnoc tub ti si na eussi fo ,ssenriaf ,noitingocer dna ruo muminim ytud ot a noiger taht sah nevig os .hcum **IRHS .B .Y :ARDNEVAHGAR**

knahT uoy os .hcum **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 05 [redacted] 05 [redacted], [redacted] 33 [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted] 05 [redacted] 31 [redacted], 21 [redacted], 11 [redacted], 41 [redacted], 51 [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted]? [redacted]? [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] TU liviC secivreS erdaC [redacted] lacoL( tnemyolpmE )yciloP [redacted] tnemtrapeD fo noinU seirotirreT sriaffA [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

s?yadoT nemow era ton denifnoc ot eht snigram fo .yteicos morF segalliv ot labolg ,smoordraob yeht era gnipahs eht erutuf fo siht .noitan ,revewoH siht ssergorp si ton detcelfer ni ruo ,serutalsigel erehw rieht noitatneserper si yletanoitroporpsid .wol IRHS IARUD OKIAV :)ILLAPPARIHCURIT(

koL ahbaS si a roop 41 rep ,tnec llew woleb eht desoporp 33 rep tnec noitavreser dna raf woleb eht labolg egareva rof nemow ni lanoitan .stnemailraP ecitsuJ deyaled si ecitsuj .deined ,yldaS eht nemow fo ruo ,yrtnuoc ruo ,srehtom ,srethguad dna sretsis evah neeb deined .ecitsuj ehT s?nemoW noitavreseR ,lliB hcihw dah neeb detpoda yb eht ayjaR ahbaS dna dessap yratnemailrap yniturcs yaw kcab ni ,0102 51 sraey ,oga dluohs evah neeb detnemelpmi gnol ,oga tub ti saw .ton s?nemoW ht noitatneserper ni eht tnerruc 81

ehT tnerruc PJB tnemnrevoG sah osla neeb gnittis no siht yrev laicurc eussi rof lareves ,sraey dna eud ot lacitilop dna cilbup ,erusserp yeht ylneddus esohc ot ylitsah ecudortni a wen s'nemoW noitavreseR lliB ni ,3202 gniknil ti ot eht gnimocpu 7202 susneC dna eht .noitatimiled nI etips fo eht s'noitisoppO msicitirc rof gniknil ti ot a erutuf susneC dna ,noitatimiled hcihw dluow yaled dna tneverp sti etaidemmi noitatnemelpmi ni eht 4202 ,snoitcele eht PJB tnemnrevoG derongi .ti ehT tnemnrevoG dluoc evah neht desu eht 1102 susneC rof sti etaidemmi noitatnemelpmi ni eht

4202 .snoitcele

ehT tnemnrevoG sah yletelpmoc desrever sti reilrae dnats dna detelpmoc a tuobadnuor no siht ,eussi dna won sesoohc ot esu eht 1102 susneC rof gnitnemelpmi eht s'nemow ,noitavreser eht esaercni ni ,staes dna eht .noitatimiled ehT esaercni fo staes dna noitatimiled era etarapes seussi dna dluohs ton eb deknil ot eht s'nemow .noitavreser tI si raelc noitalupinam yb eht tnerruc tnemnrevoG ot ecno niaga llats eht s'nemow noitavreser yb gniknil ti ot eht ysrevortnoc dnuora noitatimiled dna taes .esaercni

,riS I dluow osla ekil ot sserpxe ym evarg nrecnoc gnidrager eht noitatimileD ,lliB hcihw si a tcerid taerht ot eht lacitilop noitatneserper fo lla eht evissergorp .setatS ytfiF sraey ,kcab detnedecerpnu noitalupop htworg saw a rojam nosaer rof ruo yrtnuoc ot eb na depolevedrednu ,ymonoce dna sa ,hcus evisseccus noinU stnemnrevoG gnola htiw eht etatS stnemnrevoG evah dekrow ylevissergga ot lortnoc ruo noitalupop .htworg htiW a latot ytilitref etar fo ssel naht 8.1 rep ,tnec limaT udaN gnola htiw eht nrehtuoS setatS evah ylevitceffe dellortnoc noitalupop .htworg gnolA htiw noitalupop htworg lortnoc dna eht naidivarD laicos ecitsuj ycilop taht derusne ytilauq noitacude dna tnemyolpme dna erachtlaeh ot lla snoitces fo ,yteicos limaT udaN setubirtnoc ylraen enin rep tnec ot eht s?noitan .PDG limaT ,udaN esiwekil lla nrehtuoS ,setatS htiw evitceffe noitalupop htworg dna evissergorp seicilop evah detubirtnoc yltnacifingis ot eht noitan .gnidliub sA ,hcus a noitatimiled fo yratnemailrap seicneutitsnoc desab no noitalupop dluow yletanoitroporpsid esilanep evissergorp setatS elihw gnidrawer esoht setatS hcihw evah deliaf ot lortnoc rieht noitalupop .htworg

I egru nopu eht noinU tnemnrevoG ot erusne taht limaT s'udaN erahs fo 81.7 rep tnec fo eht latot koL ahbaS staes niamer degnahcnu .reveostahw I osla laeppa ot eht noinU tnemnrevoG ot dlohpu eht laredef tirips fo eht noitutitsnoC yb ton gnitulid eht lacitilop noitatneserper fo evissergorp setatS yb a noitatimiled esicrexe desab no .noitalupop gnihtynA no eht yrartnoc dluow eb tsniaga eht cisab stenet fo ,msilaredef ,noitutitsnoC dna .ycarcomed knahT .uoy

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 1102 [redacted] 05 [redacted] 25 [redacted] 1102 [redacted]

[redacted] 1102 [redacted] 3202 [redacted]

[redacted] 04 [redacted] 7-7 [redacted] 3 [redacted]

[redacted] 07 [redacted]

[redacted] 63 [redacted]

[redacted] ) ([redacted]:
[redacted]

[redacted]

fI eht .noh srebmeM ,eerga ew lliw dnetxe eht esuoH pu ot 0010 .sruoh erehT era os ynam ,srebmeM ni ralucitrap nemow ,srebmeM ohw era tey ot .kaeps **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

.seY **LAREVES .NOH :SREBMEM**

ehT emit fo eht esuoH si dednetxe pu ot 0010 sruoh fo eht txen .yad .noH ,rebmeM esaelp .eunitnoc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

**)6202.40.71( 00.42 srh MA**

[redacted] :

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

knahT ,uoy .noh ,nosrepriahC .riS IRHS SAYERHS .M LETAP :)NASSAH(

noitutitsnoC tnemdnemA ,lliB ,dna I ecalp a wef detniop snoitseuq erofeb eht .tnemnrevoG I$^{ts}$ esir ot kaeps no eht 131

,tsriF tel em dnimer siht esuoH taht s?nemow noitavreser si ton a wen aedi fo siht .tnemnrevoG tI saw a maerd fo ruo norI ydaL emirP-xe retsiniM aridnI aaM rof nemow .tnemrewopme ainoS ihdnaG madaM dedaehraeps sti egassap ni eht ayjaR ahbaS ni .8002

, gnirusne driht-eno noitavreser ni lacol *ij*.seidob noitutitsnoC stnemdnemA rednu .V.P ahmisaraN oaR dna[ht] 47 dna[dr] detnemelpmi hguorht eht 37 *ij* ehT noisiv saw tsrif dezilanoitutitsni yb vijaR ihdnaG

,yadoT ti si dednapxe pu ot 05 rep tnec gnidulcni ni ym etatS fo .akatanraK morF 6991 ot ,0102 ti saw eht ssergnoC taht yltnetsisnoc thguof rof siht .mrofer

,oS ym tsrif noitseuq si .siht yhW si siht tnemnrevoG gnitneserp s?nemow noitavreser sa sti nwo tnemeveihca elihw gnirongi sedaced fo krowdnuorg dial yb ruo ssergnoC ?ytraP

,dnoceS eht lliB sdnema elcitrA ,18 gniwolla ,tnemailraP yb elpmis ,ytirojam ot ediced hcihw susnec lliw eb desu rof taes .noitacolla

yM noitseuq si .siht yhW si hcus a lacitirc lanoitutitsnoc rettam gnieb tfel ot a elpmis ytirojam ?noisiced seoD siht ton nepo eht rood rof yrartibra lacitilop seciohc ni gninimreted ?noitatneserper

drihT si eht lavomer fo eht ezeerf rednu elcitrA .28 yM noitseuq si .siht sI siht tnemnrevoG erawa taht ,setatS hcihw evah yllufsseccus detnemelpmi noitalupop lortnoc serusaem ylralucitrap eht nrehtuoS ,setatS gnidulcni ym etatS fo ,akatanraK lliw esoI taes erahs fi eht ezeerf ni eht susnec raey si ?devomer

htruoF si tuoba eht ssecorp hcihw si :dewollof oN ytraP-llA ;gniteeM on noitatlusnoc htiw etatS ;stnemnrevoG on etatS-retnI licnuoC ;noissucsid dna neve eht txet fo eht lliB saw derahs ylerab owt syad erofeb eht .noisseS yM noitseuq si .siht yhW si eht noitutitsnoC tnemdnemA fo hcus a edutingam gnieb dehsur hguorht ni tsuj eerht ?syad

koL ,ahbaS 24 rep tnec fo slliB erew dessap ni 03 setunim dna 53 rep tnec nihtiw eno .ruoh mraF lliB saw eno gnoma .meht ehT[ht] tnemnrevoG syas taht yeht tnaw ot esaercni eht staes ot raeh erom s?elpoep .seciov teL em dnimer uoy fo siht .esuoH nI eht 71

yM noitseuq :si nehw etauqeda etabed si ton deusne neve ,yadot tahw si eht eetnaraug taht gnisaercni staes lliw evorpmi citarcomed ?noitarebiled ,oS ti si raelc taht siht tnemnrevoG yletarepsed stnaw ot esaercni staes ylno rof sti lacitilop .egatnavda

htfiF eno si no .noitatimiled sihT lliB stfihs lacitirc stcepsa fo noitatimiled morf eht noitutitsnoC ot yranidro .wal yM noitseuq :si yhw si eht noitisoppO gnieb dedulcxe morf gnicneulfni woh staes era ?detacolla yhW si ycnerapsnart gnieb detulid ni hcus a laicurc ?esicrexe

,htxiS no s?nemow noitavreser ;flesti yhw si ereht on noisivorp rof CBO nemow nihtiw siht ?krowemarf yhW si ereht on atouq-bus ot erusne elbatiuqe ?noitatneserper

,yllaniF I dluow ekil ot ksa eht :tnemnrevoG si siht lliB ylurt tuoba gnirewopme nemow dna gninehtgnerts ,ycarcomed ro si ti a lacitilop esicrexe ot warder noitatneserper ni a rennam taht stifeneb eht gnilur ?ytrap

s?nemoW noitavreser dluohs eb detnemelpmi nihtiw a krowemarf taht seod ton etaerc ecitsujni neewteb ,setatS nekaew ,msilaredef dna sessapyb citarcomed .noitatlusnoc knahT uoy os ,hcum .riS

knahT ,uoy nosrepriahC .riS ITAMIRHS ILUJIB ATILAK IHDEM :)ITAHAWUG(

*ni*) *eht riahC* irhS akibmadgaJ (laP **)6202.40.71( 70.00 srh MA**

, erehw eht tirips fo iraN itkahS sah reven neeb a laciteroeht ;tpecnoc ti sah neeb ruo .ytilaer tI saw no ruo lios taht atalkanaK hauraB devarb hsitirB stellub ot tsioh eht ruolocirT ta eht ega fo .71 tI saw ruo ,irgnuM saila italaM ,meM ohw emaceb eht tsrif elamef rytram fo eht noitarepooC-noN .tnemevoM nevE ,yadot morf eht aet snedrag fo ragasbiS ot eht srevaew fo ,ihcuklauS eht ymonoce fo massA si deirrac no eht gnorts sredluohs fo ruo *aaM*.nemow *ayhkamaK* I esir yadot ton tsuj sa eht evitatneserper fo eht itahawuG koL ahbaS ,ycneutitsnoc tub sa a eciov rof eht snoillim fo nemow ohw evah gnol neeb eht tnelis stcetihcra fo ruo s?noitan .ssergorp ,yadoT ew era ton ylerem gnissucsid a eceip fo ;noitalsigeI ew era gnissentiw eht noitcerroc fo a lacirotsih .ecnalabmi ehT iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA si a egdirb neewteb eht snoitaripsa fo eht nredom naidnI namow dna eht dewollah sllah fo siht .tnemailraP ,riS I emoc morf eht dnal fo

tnemnrevoG sah dezinoitulover eht sevil fo .nemow elihW eht noitisoppO evag ylno ,snagols ruo tnemnrevoG evag 33.01 erorc alawjjU ,snoitcennoc gnitarebiI ruo srehtom morf eht nosiop fo .ekoms nI massA ,enola hguorht eht iodonurO emehcS dna eht itaphkaL idiD ,evitaitini ew evah denrut revo 04 hkaI nemow otni sruenerpertne dna laicnanif .srekam-noisiced rednU MP sawA ,anajoY 37 rep tnec fo eht 57.2 erorc sesuoh era deretsiger ni eht seman fo .nemow elbuoD" "enignE eW evah nees woh eht

yB gnirusne 33 rep tnec noitavreser ew evah ydaerla nees eht sseccus fo s?nemow noitavreser ni itayahcnaP jaR ,snoitutitsni erehw shkal fo nemow evah degreme sa evitceffe stoorssarg ,sredaeI tub ,ylevitarapmoc ereht si ssel noitapicitrap fo nemow ni tnemailraP dna seilbmessA ni .aidnI ehT iraN itkahS nadnaV mayinihdA lliw ekat siht tnemrewopme ot eht lanoitan ,egats gnitaerc a wen noitareneg fo nemow srekamycilop dna .sredliub-noitan eW did ton tsuj evig meht a ;foor ew evag meht pihsrenwo dna .ytingid

scitirC yam kaeps fo syaled gnidrager ,noitatimiled tub I yas ot :meht eht htap si won tes ni .enots ".rekam-noisiced" tub a "eetivni" sihT si osla a tnemom ot ruonoh eht yranoisiv pihsredaeI fo .noh emirP retsiniM irhS ardneraN ,idoM rednu esohw ecnadiug siht gnidnep-gnoI mrofer si no eht yaw ot yllanif emoceb a .ytilaer yB gnirusne 33 rep tnec noitavreser ni eht koL ahbaS dna etatS ,seilbmessA ew era gnirusne taht nehw ew ssucsid eht sdoolf ni eht ,artupamharB eht noitacude fo eht lrig dlihc ni eht ,tsaehtroN ro eht noisnapxe fo ruo latigid ,ymonoce a s?namow evitcepsrep si ton na

sA itahawuG si eht yawetag ot eht ,tsaehtroN siht tnemailraP si gnimoceb eht yawetag ot a erom evisulcni .aidnI sA a evitatneserper fo a noiger taht sah syawla detcepser eht rewop fo ,eertaM I yldetraehelohw troppus ,siht .lliB teL su ton tsuj ssap a ;wal tel su lifluf a esimorp ew edam ot eht srethguad fo aidnI sedaced .oga lufthgiR" ".pihsrenwO ot a erutluc fo "msinekoT" fo idoM ij taht sdnecsnart lacitilop .selcyc eW era gnivom yawa morf eht erutluc fo "eetnarauG" sihT si a

iaJ ,dniH ioJ iaA .moxA

I dluow tseuger yreve .noh rebmeM taht ereht si a gnol tsil fo srekaeps ohw tnaw ot etapicitrap ni eht setabed no eseht .slliB nI eht ,tsiI ew evah ynam nemow .noh srebmeM ohw evah neeb gnitiaw rof a yrev gnol .emit ,oS esaelp etarepooc ni siht ,drager dna kcits ot ylno eerht .setunim .NOH :NOSREPRIAHC

,woN irhS adadlahsiV litaP .iJ

[redacted] 33 [redacted] ) ([redacted]: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] 05 [redacted]

[redacted]? [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

fI uoy erapmoc limaT udaN hcihw setubirtnoc 57.2 rep tnec dna rahiB hcihw setubirtnoc 8.2 rep ,tnec yeht evah eht emas rebmun fo .staes [redacted] 5.8 [redacted], [redacted] 41 [redacted],

ehT eritne nrehtuoS setatS etubirtnoc 13 rep tnec tub yeht evah ylno 42 rep tnec fo .staes [redacted] 15 [redacted], [redacted] 5.8 [redacted]

*ayitaJ*? *ananaganaJ* I ma ton gniog ot ekat oot hcum fo ruoy .emit I tnaw ot edulcnoc yb tsuj gnittup siht .noitseuq yhW si ereht yaled ni

[redacted]? [redacted]

yldniK .edulcnoc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

? ([redacted]) [redacted] 1991 [redacted] I ma tsuj .gnidulcnoc **IRHS ADADLAHSIV UPABHSAKARP :LITAP**

uoY evah edam ruoy .tniop knahT .uoy **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

[redacted] 21 [redacted] 33 [redacted] :

[redacted] ) ([redacted]: [redacted]

[redacted]-[redacted],

[redacted]

[redacted] 2791 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 59 [redacted]

:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 03 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

,woN gnimoc ot s'nemoW noitavreseR ,lliB ,6202 s'arthsarahaM gnidael elor ni s'nemow ,sthgir yllaicepse ,rupahloK sah neeb a lobmys ni s'nemow tnemrewopme dna pihsredael ni .aidnI nI ,2091 irhsajaR uhahS ,jarahaM eht yranoisiv gniK fo ,rupahloK detrats s'aidnI tsrif noitavreser .seicilop yehT deripsni .rD behasabaB s'rakdebmA krowemarf rof evitamriffa noitca ni s'aidnI .noitutitsnoC atamjaR iabajiJ dna inarahaM iabaraT detubirtnoc ot s'aidnI nemow pihsredael .yltnacifingis ,riS I esir ot esoppo ehT noitatimileD ,lliB ,6202 no eht gniwollof .sdnuorg ,tsriF I tsum drocer ym gnorts tnessid ot eht noitaredisnoc fo eht s'nemoW noitavreseR lliB dna eht noitatimileD lliB gnieb nekat pu .rehtegot hcuS dnuoforp tnacifingis lanoitutitsnoc segnahc dnamed ,yniturcs ton deirruh egassap ro noitnevmucric fo dehsilbatse yratnemailrap .smron ehT noitatimileD noissimmoC dluohs ngissa etairporppa egathgiew ot elpitlum airetirc gnidulcni 'setatS erahs ni lanoitan xat ,noituloved s'nemow retov tuonrut ,egatnecrep dna noitalupop noitasilibats ,stnemeveihca gnirusne elbatiuge noitatneserper taht

sdrawer lacsif ,ytilibisnopser redneg ,noitapicitrap dna cihpargomed enilpicsid edisgnola war noitalupop .serugif gnisoporP noitatimiled mrofer gnirud gniogno etatS snoitcele sesop lareves lanoitutitsnoc .snrecnoc gnitsujdA eht noitubirtsid fo sevitatneserper morf nabru dna larur seicneutitsnoc setaloiv eht ledoM edoC fo tcudnoC gnitcapmi retov .ruoivaheb citarcomeD ytilibiderc sdnamed ediwnoitan susnesnoc aiv yratnemailrap dna cilbup etabed rehtar naht gnitca ylitsah tuo fo larotcele .snoitaredisnoc ytsaH gnikam-noisiced lliw enimrednu eht ytilibiderc fo eht s'noitutitsni .ytivitcejbo noitatimileD sesiar snrecnoc gnidrager laredef ecnalab dna lanoiger .ytiuqe s'aidnI laredef erutcurts si desimerp no gnirusne taht lla setatS evah a lufgninaem eciov ni lanoitan .ecnanrevog ,revewoH a ylerup nevird-noitalupop noitubirtsider fo staes dluoc dael ot noitartnecnoc fo lacitilop rewop ni a wef ylhgih suolupop .setatS nI hcus a ,oiranecs ,arthsarahaM etipsed gnieb a yllacitilop dna yllacimonoce tnacifingis ,etatS yam dnif sti evitaler gniniagrab rewop decuder nihtiw eht noinU .krowemarf sihT seilppa ot lla eht nrehtuos setatS sa .llew ehT ecnailer no 1102 susneC serugif sliaf ot erutpac cimanyd cihpargomed stfihs gnidulcni dipar ,noitasinabru lanretni ,noitargim dna ecnegreme fo wen cimonoce ,sbuh gnitluser ni dengilasim ycneutitsnoc seiradnuob detcennocsid morf tneserp .seitilaer ehT 6202 susneC dluow edivorp ,detadpu etarucca atad rof elbatiuqe .noitatimiled ,revoeroM gnidulcxe etsac susnec si ton .tcerroc IRHS UHAHS IJAHAHS ITAPARTAHHC :)RUPAHLOK(

nI gnimmus ,pu I ylmrif laeppa ot eht noinU tnemnrevoG ot erusne taht ycnerapsnart sniamer ta eht tnorferof fo lla detaler-noitatimiled srettam dna erehda ot eht latnemadnuf tpecnoc fo evitarepooc msilaredef yb gnikat otni noitaredisnoc lla eht snoitseggus morf suoirav .setatS tI si laicurc ot evreserp eht htiaf fo eht elpoep ni eht larotcele ssecorp fo ruo yrtnuoc dna erusne taht eht hcir noitidart fo s?nemow tnemrewopme nwohs yb arthsarahaM si ton .detulid

[redacted]-[redacted], [redacted], [redacted] ([redacted]:)

[redacted], [redacted] , [redacted]6202 [redacted]

[redacted], [redacted], [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 51-41 [redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted] 3/51 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]:

[redacted]:

[redacted]:

[redacted]?

[redacted] 03

[redacted]

.noH*snoitpurretnI*) ,namriahC ,riS I esir ot kaeps no a rettam taht lliw ton tsuj epahs eht txen noitcele tub lliw enifed eht erutcetihcra fo naidnI ycarcomed rof sedaced ot .emoc erehT era eerht ,slliB eerht ,syad dna ereht si on evitalsigel-erp .noitatlusnoc ? ( .RD AHBARP NUJRAKILLAM :)EREGANAVAD(

ruoY cim si .no uoY dluohs ton eb derehtob tuoba eht .aremac ehT aremac lliw yllacitamotua eb .no **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

knahT ,uoy .riS .noH ,namriahC ,riS I esir ot kaeps no a rettam taht lliw ton tsuj epahs eht txen noitcele tub lliw enifed eht erutcetihcra fo naidnI ycarcomed rof sedaced ot .emoc **.RD AHBARP :NUJRAKILLAM**

erehT era eerht ,slliB eerht ,syad ereht si on evitalsigel-erp ,noitatlusnoc on ytrap-lla ,noissucsid dna ereht si a txet detalucric ylerab syad erofeb .etabed sihT si ton luferac .ecnanrevog sihT si desserpmoc gnikam-noisiced no a rettam taht sdnamed lanoitan .susnesnoc

[redacted]

[redacted]

.noH ,namriahC ,riS tel em etats ylraelc taht eht naidnI lanoitaN ssergnoC sah syawla detroppus s'nemow noitavreser morf irhS vijaR ihdnaG s'ij driht-ytneves dna htruof-ytneves lanoitutitsnoC stnemdnemA ot gnidnapxe noitatneserper ta eht .stoorssarg

, dna tnemrewopme taht si ,denoptsop ,larudecorp dna *iraN*.niatrecnu *ahskitarP* sksir fo gnimoceb *iraN itkahS* ruO tnemtimmoc sah reven neeb .lanoitidnoc tahW si gnieb detneserp sa

.noH ,namriahC ,riS ereht si a repeed larutcurts .nrecnoc eW era gnitpmetta ot warder s'aidnI lacitilop pam tuohtiw gniwonk s'aidnI tneserp .ytilaer erehT si on detadpu ,susnec on raelc

noitargim gnippam dna tey ew era gnieb deksa ot ngiseder noitatneserper rof eht txen owt .sedaced

.noH ,namriahC ,riS I dnats ereh sa a rebmeM morf eht etatS fo akatanraK taht setubirtnoc ylraen enin rep tnec ot s'aidnI .PDG tI si gnoma eht tsegral srotubirtnoc ot lartneC xat seunever dna sah edam tnacifingis ssergorp ni ,noitacude ,htlaeh dna noitalupop .noitasilibats ,oS I ,ksa dluohs sseccus eb ?dehsinup dluohS ytilibisnopser eb ?desilanep dluohS doog ecnanrevog dael ot decuder ?noitatneserper

, tub I ksa hcihw ?nemow sihT si esuaceb elihw siht lliB sedulcni noitavreser rof ,CS TS ,nemow ti yletelpmoc sedulcxe CBO nemow ohw etutitsnoc revo flah fo s'aidnI .nemow ,riS siht si ton lluf ,noitatneserper siht si evitceles noitatneserper *iraN*.ylno *itkahS nadnaV* ,riS tel em won emoc ot eht tsom lacitirc noitseuq ni eht eritne .etabed sihT lliB sah neeb detneserp sa a etubirt ot ,nemow

.noH ,namriahC ,riS ereht si osla a suoires nrecnoc tuoba ssecorp dna .rewop sihT lliB setartnecnoc suomrone ytirohtua ni a noitatimileD noissimmoC erehw detcele sevitatneserper evah detimil ,yas snoisiced era ,lanif laiciduj weiver si .detcirtser

yldniK .edulcnoc **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

.noH ,namriahC ,riS tel su osla tcelfer no woh siht lliB sah neeb thguorb erofeb eht .esuoH erehT si on ediw ,noitatlusnoc on lufgninaem tnemegagne htiw ,etatS ereht si a dehsur ,enilemit dna a laicepS .noisseS **.RD AHBARP :NUJRAKILLAM**

uoY evah ydaerla edam siht .tniop **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

,riS I lliw tsuj .etelpmoc .noH ,namriahC ,riS ew era ton ereh ylerem ot ,esoppo ew era ereh ot esoporp a retteb htap .drawrof tnemelpmI s'nemow noitavreser ,yletaidemmi tuohtiw lanoitidnoc .yaled **.RD AHBARP :NUJRAKILLAM**

,riS tsuj flah a .etunim tcudnoC a dnuob-emit ,susnec erusne CBO noitasirogetac-bus nihtiw ,noitavreser dliub a riaf laredef ,krowemarf ekam eht ssecorp ,tnerapsnart ,evitatlusnoc dna .elbatnuocca teL em ,edulcnoc .riS oD ton evig s'aidnI nemow a esimorp rof ,worromot evig meht rewop .yadot oD ton dliub a metsys erehw noitatneserper sdnapxe ni rebmun tub sknirhs ni ecitsuj dna od ton etaerc a ycarcomed taht si tneiciffe ni erudecorp tub lauqenu ni .elpicnirp knahT ,uoy .riS iaJ ,dniH iaJ .akatanraK

[illegible] )

[illegible]

.noH nosrepriahC ,riS ew era ylluf ni troppus fo eht noitutitsnoC enO( derdnuH dna htxiS )tnemdnemA ,tcA 3202 rof noitavreser fo .nemow sihT s?nemoW noitavreseR tcA dluohs eb .detcetorp yhW

dluohs eht s?nemoW noitavreseR lliB eb thguorb htiw eht noitatimileD ?lliB IRHS .S NEREMGNOPUS RIMAJ :)DNALAGAN(

tI si .yrotadnam **.NOH :NOSREPRIAHC**

)3(071 fo eht ,noitutitsnoC ereht dluohs eb on hserf tnemtsujda fo eht ycneutitsnoC litnu eht tnaveler serugif rof eht tsrif susnec nekat retfa 6202 evah neeb .dehsilbup nI ,noitatimiled sa rep selcitrA 28 dna **IRHS .S NEREMGNOPUS :RIMAJ**

*ni*) *eht riahC* .noH( rekaepS **)6202.40.71( 74.00 srh MA**

sihT swohs eht noitnetni fo eht tnemnrevoG taht ti si ton os suoires tuoba s?nemow .noitavreser I ma gniyas siht esuaceb nehw eht tcA si ydaerla ereht ni a egats fo ,noitatnemelpmi ti si .gniregnil

ni hcihw eht tnemeerga snoitnem tuoba eht rewol esuoH dna eht reppu .esuoH ,oS siht noitatimileD lliB si ot eb detnemelpmi retfa gninimaxe yreve .tcepsa ,ecneH I ma ylgnorts tsniaga siht lliB dna ti dluohs eb .nwardhtiw knahT ,uoy .riS tnemdnemA lliB si a ssorg noitaloiv fo eht deralced ycilop fo eht tnemnrevoG fo aidnI rof eht lacitilop tnemelttes ni eht htroN nretsaE .snoiger fI ew ylsuoires enimaxe eht oitar fo eht noitalupop ot eht noitatneserper fo eht ,noitalupop ti si osla ton .deifitsuj ,riS htiw a laiceps ecnerefer ot eht htroN tsaE ,snoiger eht yllacitilop detaitogen stnemelttes fo eseht setatS evah ot eb thguorb otni gnikrow ,stnemegnarra yllaicepse rof eht yratnemailraP snoitatneserper erofeb eht tneserp lliB si detneserp dna tup ot .etabed roF ,elpmaxe ni ,dnalagaN ew evah owt stnemeerga htiw eht tnemnrevoG fo ,aidnI yleman eht krowemarF tnemeergA dna eht deergA snoitisoP ,riS[ts] na tcA fo eht tnemailraP tonnac dna dluohs ton gnirb yna ecitsujni ot eht elpoep fo yna trap fo eht .yrtnuoc nI eht tneserp ,esac eht 131

[redacted]

? ([redacted])

[redacted] ?6202 ([redacted]) [redacted] ?[redacted] [redacted] ) ([redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 6202 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 4302 [redacted]

[redacted] 601 [redacted] 3202 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

6981 ot .9091 [redacted] 05 [redacted], dna ew evah neeb tneitap .hguone knahT uoy yrev .hcum A namow seidobme ,htgnerts ,enilpicsid dna larom ytinu nihtiw a ,ylimaf dna ti si siht htgnerts taht speek a noitan .gnorts tahT si tahw a namow .stneserper [redacted] ) [redacted] (:

A namow syawla sevig ecitsuj dna fi yeht era ,gnorw neht ew lliw eb htiw .uoy eW era htiw eht .noitan eW era ereh ot gnirb eht nemow pu ,ereht tahw si yllufthgir .sreh nemoW evah syawla neeb larutan .srotartsinimda yrevE ,yad yeht eganam seitilibisnopser ta ,emoh erutrun ,nerdlihc etubirtnoc ot laicos .htworg sihT ytiliba ot ,ksatitlum ekat ytilibisnopser dna ekam decnalab snoisiced sekam meht deppiuqe-llew rof pihsredael dna .ecnanrevog tI si emit taht ew desingocer siht ytilauq ni meht dna gnirb meht pu ni eht .tnorferof [redacted] ,retaL atamjaR nahcnaK ahbarP iveD deyalp a lacitirc elor ni gniruces eht regrem tnemeerga gnirusne s'arupirT noitisnart morf a ylecnirp etatS ot tnednepedni .aidnI

arupirT

sah a hcir ycageI dna ,yadot sa eht nemow fo siht taerg ,etatS gniredisnoc ruo noitacided ot eht ssergorp dna tnemrewopme ot ruo ,sretsis teI su dnats detinu ni ruo tnemtimmoc fo gnidliub a ,regnorts refas dna a suorepsorp yteicos rof .lla knahT .uoy nO siht ,noisacco I egru lla fo su ot etacideder sevlesruo ot eht esuac fo nemow tnemtfilpu dna ot ylevitca etapicitrap ni ecnanrevog dna gnikam-noisiced .ssecorp ruO .noh emirP retsiniM sah ydaerla degasivne na evisulcni erutuf rof naidnI nemow ni tiskiV .tarahB ruO etatS tnemnrevoG dna elbisnopser noitartsinimda sreciffo era dettimmoc ot erusne taht ecitsuj dna ytiruces era ton desimorpmoc yb .noitpurroc

[redacted]? [redacted] ) [redacted] (:

[redacted], [redacted] ?[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]?

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

sihT lliB smia ot rewopme nemow ot yalp a yek elor ni eht noisiced gnikam .ssecorp

fI ew evresbo ylneek ew nac wonk taht nemow sretov era syawla erom ni srebmun naht nem .sretov nemoW era evitca dna citsaisuhtne stnapicitrap ni eht citarcomed .ssecorp nemoW era ,elbisnopser seldnah yna nevig ksat erom .yltneiciffe

elb'noH rekaepS ,riS eht noitaraperp rof siht cirotsih pets decnemmoc gnol ecnis,kcab ,4102 ecnis irS ardneraN idoM demussa .rewop rehtehW s'ti iteB ,oahcab iteb ,oahdap arduM ,anjoY itapahkaL idiD dna enorD idiD emehcs ro MP sawA anajoY hcihw lla fo eseht sekam namow erom .derewopme

llib ot ekam nemow a laer .ecrof iraN" itkahS "anadnaV stelioT erew detcurtsnoc ni hhcawS tarahB tarahB dna s'nemow ytingid saw .derotser woN eht lanif hcuot si gnieb nevig yb siht

ro .sselpleH eW tnaw .rehtien sihT llib lliw ekirts eht thgir ecnalab dna ruo emirP retsiniM dluohs eb .dedualppa eW eht nemow lliw etapicitrap ni noitaN .gnidliuB "alabA" ruO yteicos rehtie sesilodi eht nemow sa sseddoG ro stniap meht sa

ednaV laktU .inanaJ I tseuqer ,enoyreve evitcepserri fo ytrap ,senil tsum emoc rehtegot ot troppus siht idniH".lliB irayahs ayiD? enalaj ,eyijiD ow analimlihj hkiS ,egnel raga ijidoM htaas ot,iah muh hsed analahc hkis .egnel

teL su etarbelec ti ni eht .dlrow iaJ .htanaggaJ

■■■■■■■.' ■■ ■■ knahT■■■■ uoy os hcum .noh rekaepS .riS

ITAMIRHS AKIVLAM IVED :)IDNAHALAK(

fo ruo srehtom dna sretsis sah syawla neeb eht enobkcab fo ruo .noitasilivic I ,esir tsom ,ylbmuh gniwonk taht ym ecalp ereh si nevig yadot esuaceb fo siht ,lliB hcihw lliw emoc ni eht .erutuf *itkahs* , erehw *uhbarpahaM*eht *htannagaJ* dna *aaM irawsekinaM* I esir yadot ot kaeps no a lliB taht si ton ylerem a evitalsigel ;tnemdnema ti si eht tnemlifluf fo a esimorp edam ot eht srethguad fo .tarahB I esir sa a namow morf eht dnal fo

,rimhsaK dna .yrrehcuduP & I liah siht tnemdnemA lliB sa gnihton trohs fo a .noitulover ehT lliB si desab no eht 1102 susneC ot tcudnoc eht noitatimiled .esicrexe sihT ekortsretsam fo ecnanrevog snaem taht 33 rep tnec noitavreser nac eb enod ni eht 9202 koL ahbaS dna nahdiV ahbaS .snoitcele ehT desoporp tnemdnemA lliB lliw dnapxe eht koL ahbaS htgnerts morf 345 ot ,058 htiw driht-eno fo eht staes devreser rof .nemow ehT noitavreser lliw wollof a lacitrev atouq ,metsys gnirusne noitatneserper nihtiw deludehcS setsaC dna deludehcS sebirT

,seirogetac gnidlohpu eht elpicnirp fo laicos .ecitsuj ehT lliB osla sdnetxe eseht snoitcetorp ot noinU seirotirreT dna ,serutalsigeL gnidulcni esoht fo ,ihleD ummaJ )tnemdnemA tcA - eht iraN itkahS nadnaV ,mayinihdA gnivreser 33 rep tnec fo staes ni eht koL ahbaS dna etatS .seilbmessA ehT lliB taht saw decudortni ni ,6991 delbat dna devlehs yb rehto ,stnemnrevoG saw yllanif nevig ;efil ti saw nevig .sgniw ytfiF rep tnec fo eht noitalupop si gnivap eht yaw sdrawot tiskiV .tarahB nIht rebmetpeS ,3202 siht tnemailraP edam .yrotsih retfA revo owt sedaced fo ,noitarebiled eslaf ,strats dna nekorb ,sesimorp ti saw irhS ardneraN ijidoM ohw dessap eht noitutitsnoC 601(

ehT ADN tnemnrevoG sah nekat lla elbissop stroffe hcihw evah neeb denaemed yb eht noitisoppO gnikam on esnes ta .lla I dnats ereh yadot esuaceb ti si eht noitanimluc fo nevele sraey fo evitamrofsnart ecnanrevog taht sah devom aidnI morf ton s?nemow tnempoleved tub del-nemow .tnempoleved

teL em ecalp erofeb siht esuoH eht drocer fo siht .tnemnrevoG idoM iJ si gnikam ton ylerem su nemow sa sretov tub sa .srekamycilop eW era gniog ot eb detov rof dna ton tsuj .gnitov erehT si nahdarP irtnaM alawjjU anajoY htiw GPL sag snoitcennoc nevig ot 33.01 .erorc erehT si eht hhcawS tarahB .noissiM erehT si eht laJ naveeJ .noissiM erehT si eht nahdarP irtnaM sawA anajoY nimarG- hcihw sah 57.2 erorc semoh tliub htiw 37 rep tnec pihsrenwo fo .nemow esehT era nemow ohw nwo eseht ,sesuoh ton tsuj ohw evil ni .meht

. sA emirP retsiniM idoM iJ etorw yrev ,yltnecer yna rehtruf yaled ni gnitnemelpmi s?nemow noitavreser dluow eb ylpeed .etanutrofnu I ohce siht tnemitnes htiw lla eht noitcivnoc taht lla eht nemow ereh ta 1 ?o? kcolc *sidid*.ssessop ehT xes oitar ta htrib sah devorpmi morf 819 ni 51-4102 ot 039 .won ehT inanaJ ahskaruS ,anajoY namuS MP urtaM anadnaV anajoY dna noissiM s?itkahS 918 pots-eno sertnec evah detsissa ylraen 11 hkal nemow ni .ssertsid esehT era ton tsuj erem srebmun .yadot hcaE erugif si a noitcelfer fo eht tnemtimmoc fo ruo idoM rakraS ot reviled ,ytingid rewopme eciohc dna ekam aidnI a depoleved .yrtnuoc tI saw devap yb ruo emirP retsiniM ohw ni sih tsrif ecnednepednI yaD hceepS ni 4102 did ton kaeps tuoba ,selissim did ton kaeps tuoba stekram tub eh ekops tuoba eht ytingid fo ruo ,nemow ruo *iteB oahcaB iteB .oahdaP enord*, *idid itaphkal*, *sidid* ehT aynakuS ihddirmaS anajoY sah dessorc 2.4 erorc evitca .stnuocca MP naJ nahD anajoY sah denepo 3.25 erorc ,stnuocca 6.55 rep tnec fo hcihw gnoleb ot .nemow ehT nahdarP irtnaM arduM anajoY sah nevig .sR 11.43 hkal erorc ssorca 5.25 erorc naol ,stnuocca 86 rep tnec fo esoht stnuocca era fo .nemow erehT era semehcs ekil

s?aidnI nemow evah detiaw gnol .hguone ehT 6202 tnemdnema syas taht emit si ,won ti si .ereh I egru yreve rebmeM fo siht esuoH ssorca lla ytrap senil ot esir evoba worran lacitilop snoitaredisnoc dna troppus siht .lliB

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

## ? (

## ? (

## ? (