

Foreword

After having protected and supported the former Communications Minister A. Raja to the hilt, Congress supremo Smt. Sonia Gandhi has come out with a highly moral lecture on corruption and greed. Such voices coming from the den of corruption, as Congress has now come to be recognized, appear only hollow and hypocritical. Congress-led UPA government has been in power now for over six-and-a-half years. Its record on fighting corruption is dismal. On the other hand, in its latest avatar as UPA-2 all it has done is only to promote and protect corruption. The every other day surfacing scams are a proof of this fact. What an irony that a person who should have told the people what her party and government has done, in concrete, to fight corruption should be pontificating on the need to fight corruption. Instead of doing anything, she is just giving a moral sermon to the people.

Hardly a fortnight passes when no new scam and scandal of corruption involving Congress high-ups does not surface. In October-November this year 3 new scams - the Commonwealth Games, Adarsh Housing and 2G spectrum -- have raised their head like dangerous black cobras out to poison the very life of our democracy.

We are coming out with a booklet (with some pages in Hindi) detailing how the fair name of our republic has been smeared by the Congress with these ugly incidents. It contains reports of scams, opinion of leaders and writers as also editorial comments to make the readers appreciate the issues involved. We are sure they will be able to make their own independent judgement on what is wrong with the present government.

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Congress is fabulously rich with scams

By Prabhat Jha

Congress-led UPA-2's birth in May 2009 has not been ominous for the nation. It seems to have taken birth with a spoon in its mouth not of silver but of scams. That is why hardly a month has passed during the last 18 months when a new scam or case of corruption has not surfaced putting both the Congress and the nation to shame. UPA-2 has broken all records of scams in so short a time that it qualifies to figure even in the Guinness Book of Records for this rare achievement.

Without going into the details of the black spots of Congress's 18 months in the present term, the UPA-2 rule during the months of September-October 2010 has to its credit three scams - Commonwealth Games, Adarsh Housing and the 2G spectrum. Added to this is another first: for the first time in our history a sitting Prime Minister has been made to file an affidavit on his behalf in any court.

It is futile for the Congress to draw sustenance and claim innocence in the sins against the nation committed by Shri A. Raja. It doesn't behove a prime minister to claim ignorance of what his minister is doing under his very nose. Equally futile is the attempt of Congress President, Smt. Sonia Gandhi claiming a high moral ground by speaking against the "cancer of corruption" that is putting in danger the very basis of an independent India. She spoke of the need for "greater probity", transparency and openness in governance. "Our moral universe seems to be shrinking" and "graft and greed are on the rise". It is damn easy to preach as difficult it is to practice that. On the high altitude of morality her Congress inspired and motivated by her stands at the lowest zero of sea

level. The UPA score on these points during the last 80 months of governance has been a big zero. The recurring scams prove the point. But what has she at the organizational and governmental level done in this direction? Her score on these points during the last 80 months of governance has been a big zero. The recurring scams prove the point. The Congress supremo needs to understand that having been in power for so long, what people expect of her is not 'holy' words of preaching but expect her to act and practice what she preaches.

UPA-2 led by Dr. Manmohan Singh and Congress organisation draws all its inspiration, zeal and direction from their supreme leader Smt. Sonia Gandhi, yet it has earned the distinction of not having the guts to take by the horns the burning problems and challenges facing the nation. It has always adopted a policy of drift in the hope that with the passage of time the problems will one day find a solution of their own. But it is in the conduct of its Communication Minister Shri A. Raja that it has found itself into a web it wove around itself. It is now faced with a piquant situation in both houses of Parliament where because of Congress intransigence no official business could be transacted since it assembled for the winter session on November 9 as the vociferous opposition led by Bharatiya Janata Party is insisting on constitution of a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) to go into the 2G spectrum scam with Congress equally adamant not to succumb to this demand. It stands in the dock in the Supreme Court too, embarrassed and humbled..

It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh at the government level and for Congress President Smt. Sonia Gandhi at the organizational level to extricate themselves from the direct moral responsibility for having been a party to deliberately or otherwise, directly or indirectly, enable A. Raja to cause a loss of Rs. 1.76 lakh crores to the public exchequer -- the colossal amount which could have been spent on removing poverty and hunger from the country.. Under the Westminster form of parliamentary democracy we have in India, the whole council of ministers is collectively responsible for all the acts of omission and commission of individual ministers. So whatever alibis the Congress may propound, the fact remains that the whole Congress, both in the government and the organization, is equally guilty for all the

wrongs A. Raja may have committed.

Congress has many times invoked the coalition dharma. But the reality is that, in effect, it only practices the adharna to continue to stick to power by hook or by crook at whatever cost to the nation and canons of morality. The reality is that the authority of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh stops at the doors of UPA's coalition partners. A prime minister is expected to govern and act, and not to beg favours at the doors of the alliance's big bosses on whom he survives. The interests of the nation are much superior to the narrow political and electoral interests of any party in power. The day this reality dawns on the present rulers in the country, finding solutions to the nation's problems and difficulties will become easier and faster. Only then will a ruling party or coalition assume the moral strength and authority to take the monsters of corruption, terror, crime and lawlessness head on. Empty words of moral preaching can do no trick.

Had there been any moment that the Congress was not behind the Prime Minister "as a rock" that news like "Party rallies solidly behind PM" should give him strength? That Dr. Manmohan Singh feels strong only because of the support of his ministers, like Kapil Sibal, and party functionaries like Rahul Gandhi, only indicates that he is so weak and vulnerable within that he and the party needs to draw strength from vociferous political support. The day the party is not behind a PM, no person will - and can - be a prime minister.. A person strong internally and morally does not subsist on such gimmicks.

It is good -- and ironic too -- that the Prime Minister who till yesterday was maintaining a "conspiracy of silence" and shielding Raja and all he did, finally declared that those involved in the 2G spectrum scam will not escape justice. But these ever-changing stances are not likely to cut ice with the general public which grown suspicious of the words and actions of the Congress Party.

(The writer is Editor, Kamal Sandesh and Rajya Sabha MP)



Congress-led UPA A government of the scams, by the scams, for the scams

By Amba Charan Vashishth

The 2G spectrum is not a one day wonder. It did not happen just on the day the Union Communications Minister A. Raja resigned. The process started since the day Dr. Manmohan Singh made him the minister. Every other day during the last about two years, the media was agog with reports, well-documented, of the goings-on in the Raja's fiefdom. But as serious were the allegations, as fierce were the denials and defence of Raja by the Congress, the Prime Minister and the DMK to which party he belonged. Just on the eve of the Winter Session of Parliament and before the visit of the US President Barack Obama, Congress and the Prime Minister had, in a chorus, come out stoutly in Raja's defence and forcefully opposed the demands for his resignation. Congress did everything to save him till the last moment. Both had emphatically declared that Raja had done nothing wrong and illegal and that he had kept him in the loop.

When things went out of their hands and the contents of the CAG report indicting Raja started trickling out, the Congress found itself helpless to protect him any further. The hapless minister had ultimately to resign, to resign lest the whole UPA government had to be dumped under the mountain of debris Raja had raised with his ill-doings.

In the process Congress under Smt. Sonia Gandhi and Shri Rahul Gandhi too stands exposed for their duplicity and failure to prevent this to happen. Now that Raja has resigned, Congress is trying to project itself as a martyr as if it had sacrificed all it had with his resignation to keep the banner of honesty and integrity

flying. First it opposed the opposition's demands for Raja's resignation with all the force at its command and when it was left with no other alternative but to yield, it is trying to make capital out of it. If Raja had not committed any wrong, why was he made to resign? If no hanky-panky was going on in his ministry, why is it that the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) has now recommended, just within less than a week of Raja's ouster and the report of the CAG, that 69 2G telecom licences that had caused a loss of more than Rs. 1.76 lakh crores to the public exchequer should be cancelled?

Emboldened UPA

The Congress and the UPA were trying to put the biggest ever – and most notorious and shameful – scam in the country under wraps, emboldened by their past success in burying the hatchet of Bofors scam, Quattrochi conspiracy, 1984 anti-Sikh riots, Iraqi Oil Vouchers scam, and others and yet claim themselves honest, clean and innocent. But this time, they have failed as they did succeed in the past in their manipulations and contrivings.

Appointment of CVC

The manner in which the Congress road-rolled the appointment of Shri P. J. Thomas as the Chief Vigilance Commissioner despite serious, written dissent by the Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha, Smt. Sushma Swaraj, is an indicator that the government was trying to prize those who were directly or indirectly involved in the 2G spectrum scam. If the opinion of the Leader of Opposition has not to be given weightage, what is the point of consulting him/her?

Right to information

The Congress and its UPA government boast of having extended to the general public the right to information. But when it comes to itself, they do not seem to have exercised this right. That is why till the last moment both the Congress and the Prime Minister continued to defend Raja and declare in no uncertain language that he was acting as per law and no irregularity had been committed. How could it be that the Congress and the Prime Minister failed to see what was happening right under their nose?

All this leads to the conclusion that whatever was being done

by Raja was with the full knowledge and consent of both the Congress and the UPA government. If not, how could they defend him till the last?

Now that the cat is out of the bag, on the political front the Congress Party and on the administration side, the UPA led by the Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh cannot absolve themselves of their responsibility for whatever wrong and loss to the State exchequer – and ultimately, to the nation — was caused by A. Raja, particularly when under our Constitution the council of ministers led by the Prime Minister is collectively responsible for all its acts of omission and commission.

The surprising part is that the CAG report is based on the same very documents which are in the possession of government that led CAG to conclude that “the Department of Telecommunications, in 2008, proceeded to issue 122 new licences for 2G spectrum at 2001 prices, by flouting every canon of financial propriety, rules and procedures” brushing aside the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh having “stressed on the need for a fair and transparent allocation of spectrum” and the Ministry of Finance having “sought for the decision regarding spectrum pricing to be considered by an EGoM (Empowered Group of Ministers)”.

A senior retired bureaucrat, quoted a national daily, said: The Prime Minister is the highest office in the country with access to every bit of intelligence and information on any subject. It is impossible that the PMO had no knowledge about telecom minister Raja's wrongdoings”.

CAG, quoting a DoT reply to the auditor's queries sent in July 2010, says the PM was apprised of all decisions regarding spectrum allocation. The plea that PM did not even get a whiff of Raja's wrongdoings is not believable. The CAG further adds: “The DoT, quoting extensively from a letter writing by Raja to the Prime Minister, stated that the PM was apprised of all decisions taken by the DoT and the letter was acknowledged by the PM”.

It clearly established the fact that the UPA government deliberately lent a blind eye to whatever wrong was happening in DoT under Raja and continued to defend him on extraneous considerations.

PM in the dock, first ever

The Prime Minister seems to have been caught in a web of his own creation. When on November 29, 2009 Janata Party President, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, petitioned the Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh seeking sanction for prosecution of the then Telecom Minister, A. Raja, he chose to sleep over it. Exasperated at PM's silence, Dr. Swamy knocked at the door of the Supreme Court (SC) of India which was constrained to give two days to the government to file an affidavit listing the reasons for the delay by the prime minister. SC directive was unprecedented as it was the first time that the court had insisted on an explanation from a PM through an affidavit.



On the other hand, since the two houses of Parliament assembled for the winter session on November 9, 2010 no business – not even the question and zero hours – have been allowed to be transacted by the irate opposition led by Bharatiya Janata Party pressing for the constitution of a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) to go into the whole gamut of the scam. But the Congress-led UPA is equally adamant not to succumb to the demand.

Why no JPC?

On the one hand, the Congress is claiming that the government is willing to discuss every issue in detail in Parliament and, on the other, it is not willing to concede the constitution of a JPC. This stand is irrational and inexplicable. If there are no skeletons in UPA cupboard, why is it afraid of a JPC? The Congress, as per media reports, is toying with the idea of aborting the winter session, which has as yet transacted no official business so far. It gives the

impression that the UPA is trying to put a veil on something it does not wish to come out. This step will be unprecedented and will set another ignominious precedent and leave a black spot on the constitutional history of the country. But Congress can do anything to save its government and embarrassment disregarding the interests of the nation.

The next few days are very crucial. Let us see to which side the wind blows. Two verdicts – one of the Supreme Court and the other of the people of Bihar – will determine the course of events.

Congress's *adarsh* (model) scam

The Adarsh Housing Society is another scam that has made the country bow its head in shame. The Congress has never felt proud of the valour and sacrifices of our jawans to register the first-ever real victory over Pakistan when the aggressor was successfully pushed back and every inch of the sacred land was got vacated from Kargil sector. Congress-led UPA has refused to celebrate the victory every year, as was done by the earlier BJP-led NDA government of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. But when it came to exploiting the fruits of victory it was in the forefront to grab the flats meant for Kargil war widows. The Congress has paid a rich homage to the martyrs of Kargil in its own peculiar style.

Maharashtra government had allotted a plot in a prime locality of Kolaba in Mumbai to rehabilitate the widows of martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the defence of the country. The land was allotted to Adarsh Housing Society, but the flats were allotted not to be war widows but were grabbed by politicians, bureaucrats and retired army officers through manipulation and fraud. The influential people encashed their clout with powerful politicians in the Congress. The beneficiaries included the relations of the Congress leaders, including the Chief Minister Ashok Chavan who had to ultimately resign.

The land which was allotted to the Adarsh Housing Society belonged to the Ministry of Defence even before Independence. But later through connivance of various agencies, its ownership

was transferred to the Maharashtra government which later allotted it to the Society on the pretext of building flats for rehabilitation of war widows. While applying for houses in the society, the politicians and bureaucrats made false declarations of their monthly income being Rs. Twenty thousand and even less. A no-objection certificate was also fraudulently procured and the Ministry of Environment has declared that it had issued no such certificate.

Vice-Admiral Rajiv Bhasin had brought to the notice of the Congress-led Maharashtra government through its Chief Secretary that the land on which flats had been raised is a very sensitive area from defence point of view, but the government remained unmoved and granted approved for raising a 31-storey building.

The Hall of Shame Commonwealth Games

Because of rampant corruption and mismanagement, what should have been a matter of pride for the country, ultimately ended up as a matter of shame for all. The Congress-led UPA made the country a laughing stock before the whole world when reports of poor arrangements, corruption, faulty construction and collapse and leaking of certain structures surfaced in the media.

Initially, the estimated cost of the CWG had been assessed as Rs. 2,000 crores. As time passed, it was raised to Rs.70,000 crores. The time limit and calendar for completion of construction and renovation of the stadiums and other buildings was not observed. As a result in the last few months when there were reports that India will not be able to make adequate arrangements for the Games in time, the Central and Delhi governments woke up from their slumber. The Prime Minister had to intervene and constitute a committee headed by the Cabinet Secretary to oversee the arrangements and monitor it on daily basis.

The Congress leaders, their favourite bureaucrats and contractors made hay (of corruption) when the sun (of delays, inaction and incompetence) was shining in Delhi.

The hard-earned money of the common people of the country

was made to go down the drains. Rs. 744 crores sanctioned by the Union government for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes development were diverted towards the Games. That speaks of the Congress love for these neglected sections of society.

There are reports that bureaucrats are now trying to grab the houses/flats constructed for the stay of the athletes and players at throw-away prices.

The Commonwealth Games Organising Committee is alleged to have paid, without any written contract agreement, AM Films, an Indian-owned firm in London, over 450,000 pounds (over Rs.30 million) for services during last year's Queen's Baton Relay inaugural without proper tendering and paperwork

Fingers of suspicion of corruption were raised in the award of tenders for different projects, the stadiums and other infrastructure and granting of contracts in hiring or purchase of equipment such as air conditioners and treadmills and even toilet paper.

Stung by corruption charges and allegations of sub-standard infrastructure and inordinate delays made by the BJP leaders in Parliament and outside, a panicky Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) President Mike Fennel rushed to Delhi and said at a press conference that "We (CGF) do not and will not tolerate any corruption."

An under construction footbridge just outside the main venue Jawaharlal Nehru stadium collapsed, injuring 27 people. Infuriated at such reports, the Supreme Court had to remark that the Commonwealth Games projects have bred corruption and that it cannot shut its eyes on the "rampant corruption" and criticized the Indian government on its preparations for the international sporting event.

Fighting corruption, Congress style

What has the Congress under Smt. Sonia Gandhi done to punish the corrupt? After the Games were over, it gave out the impression that it had worked wonders by removing the Chairman of the CWG Organising Committee Shri Suresh Kamaladi from the post of the Secretary of Congress Parliamentary Party. He continues to provide honour to Congress as its MP. This 'exemplary' punishment has

been given, in spite of a unanimous resolution of the Maharashtra Congress demanding that Shri Kamladi should be expelled from the Congress and made to vacate his seat in Parliament for having brought shame to Congress.

In the Adarsh housing scam, the matter has ended with the resignation of the incumbent Chief Minister Ashok Chavan.

In the 2G spectrum too, the matter now seems to have ended with the resignation of Telecom Minister A. Raja.

That speaks volumes for the sincerity and honesty of the Congress in fighting corruption. On November 19 Congress President Smt. Sonia Gandhi paid a great lip service to the cause when without enunciating the concrete steps the party and government planned to tackle the "graft and greed" with an iron hand that was on the rise, putting in danger the principles on which Independent India was founded" which she wanted, could "undermine democracy".

(The writer is National convenor of BJP's Literature & Publication cell)



Sordid drama unfolds

CAG report

Pushes 2G scam cat out Report blasts Raja and nails lies

Indicting A Raja, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) on November 16 said 2G spectrum allocation had caused revenue loss of Rs 1.76 lakh crore (Rs 1,760 billion) as the then telecom minister had ignored the advice of the prime minister besides those of ministries of law and finance, giving "undue" benefits to Anil Ambani-led RCom.

The CAG highlighted that the entire process of allocation of Unified Access Service licences "lacked transparency" and was undertaken in an "arbitrary, unfair and inequitable manner," in the process "flouting every canon of financial propriety, rules and procedures."

The 77-page report of the CAG tabled in Parliament said due diligence was not followed and even the recommendations of the telecom regulator TRAI were "not followed in spirit".

The report said the "presumptive" loss caused to the exchequer through spectrum allocation to 122 licencees and 35 dual technology licencees in 2007-08 was Rs 1,76,645 crore. It pegged the figures on the basis of 3G auction held earlier this year in which the government mopped up over Rs 67,000 crore (Rs 670 billion).

It said there was an "imperative need to fix responsibility and enforce accountability for the lapses highlighted in the audit report."

Elaborating on the lapses and irregularities, the government

auditor said Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had "stressed on the need for a fair and transparent allocation of spectrum" while the ministry of finance had sought for the decision regarding spectrum pricing to be considered by an EGoM (Empowered Group of Ministers).

"Brushing aside their concerns and advices, the Department of Telecommunications, in 2008, proceeded to issue 122 new licences for 2G spectrum at 2001 prices, by flouting every canon of financial propriety, rules and procedures," the CAG said.

The DoT also did not do the requisite due diligence in the examination of the applications submitted for the licences, leading to the grant of 85 out of 122 licences to the "ineligible applicants" as all these firms did not have stipulated paid-up capital at the time of application.

Further 45 out of 85 licencees were issued to companies which failed to satisfy conditions of main object clause in the memorandum of Association (MoA), it said.

Lacked transparency and fairness

The CAG said the process of giving dual technology licences to leading telecom firms including Reliance Communications and Tata Teleservices "lacked transparency and fairness," and equal opportunity was denied to other similarly placed operators who could apply for use of dual technology only after formal announcement of the policy.

Noting that this approval (dual technology use) had violated Cabinet decision of 2003 to allow additional spectrum at 2001 prices, the auditor said, "Deviation from a Cabinet decision should normally be with the approval of Cabinet.

"However, in the present case, such a crucial decision to permit service providers to offer access using combination of technologies (CDMA, GSM and/or any other) under the same licence with dual spectrum allocation was taken without the matter being referred to the Cabinet."

It said the dual technology was introduced in October 2007 in a "hasty and arbitrary manner" and in-principle approval was given to three operators on a day prior to announcement of the policy,

which gave "the perception of discrimination against other players in the field."

The companies which got the licences, were created barely months earlier and "deliberately suppressed facts, disclosed incomplete information, submitted fictitious documents and used fraudulent means for getting licences and thereby access to spectrum.

"Onus of these licences, obtained at unbelievably low price, have in turn sold significant stakes in their companies to Indian/foreign companies at high premium within a short period of time," the auditor said.

The premium earned by these "new entrants" to the telecom sector was nothing but the true value of the spectrum, which should have normally accrued to the public exchequer, "had the transparent and fair market mechanism been followed" for the allocation of these licences, the CAG said.

In the report, the CAG noted that the ministry of communication and IT "decided to go ahead with arbitrarily deciding that the cut-off date for issuance of Letters of Intent would be advanced to September 25, 2007 and applications received would be decided on FCFS (first-come first-served) basis."

In November, 2007, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had written to the telecom ministry suggesting introduction of "transparent methodology" of auction, "revision of entry fee" in the "backdrop of inadequate spectrum and large number of applications received for fresh licences."

PM, Law ministry ignored

The CAG highlighted that the law ministry had suggested setting up of an Empowered Group of Ministers to discuss the large number of applications and spectrum pricing, but the telecom ministry rejected it saying "the need for forming an EGoM arises when a new policy is being framed and in this particular issue no new policy for grant of UASL (unified access service licences) was being framed."

The auditor, however, said the "contention of the DoT is untenable as the rejection of the advice" of the law minister to

have detailed deliberations on the issues in the EGoM on the ground that changes in policy might lead to litigation "goes against the well established and time-tested procedures of functioning of the government and the collective responsibility of the Union Cabinet."

The CAG report on the 2G spectrum scam has thrown up fresh evidence of how former telecom minister A Raja used his office to manipulate the definition of first-come, first-served (FCFS) to give Swan and Unitech a greater advantage over even the carefully handpicked new licencees.

Raja pulled off this colossal scam by insisting that he followed policy and procedure established since 2003 to give away licenses on a FCFS basis, when in fact, he did not.

Violating the established FCFS policy is just one of the many violations that helped perpetrate the Rs 1.76 lakh crore scam - but CAG's report shows that this in particular, is directly attributed to Raja himself. On page 63 of its report, the CAG has attached a copy of a DoT release on its use of FCFS policy for award of new licences showing Raja made changes in the definition of FCFS in his own handwriting.

The FCFS system followed since 2003 gave priority for spectrum allocation based on date of application. According to the CAG, "MOCIT (Raja) personally without any sound and valid reason took away the sanctity of date of application and the date of compliance of LOI conditions became the date of priority, which is not accepted principal of FCFS being followed by DoT till then. It was for the first time in the history of DoT that the date of compliance of LOI was considered a criterion for the issue of UASL licenses".

Clever guy

Raja used press meets and releases to hide this modification and continues to state, "I am following policy established by my predecessors since 2003".

The CAG shows how this clever alteration was used to switch companies in the queue, bringing those like Swan and Unitech who had applied much later, right up ahead over Spice and Idea in the priority for spectrum allocation. Essentially, the queue of applicants

was illegally formed.

Unsurprisingly, this created the most impact in the Delhi circle where spectrum demand far exceeds supply. In the case of Swan, this change of definition of FCFS allowed Swan to get spectrum as early as 28 August 2008 despite submitting its application just 6 months earlier on 2 March 2007.

For Maharashtra, Spice (date of application 31 August 2006) had to wait 2 years for spectrum till May 2009, while Unitech and Datacom (Videocon) who applied a year after Spice, got spectrum within a year and eight months ahead of Spice, in September 2008. Idea was awarded spectrum after more than two years, in May 2009, despite an application of June 2006. Unitech became the key beneficiary, jumping ahead of the queue, to receive spectrum in Sept 2008, eight months before Idea, despite having applied 14 months after Idea. It is likely the victims kept quiet as they all hoped to eventually gain from the allotment of spectrum in 2008 at 2001 prices.

Raja's careful manipulation of FCFS helped both Swan and Unitech make a killing within 9 months by selling 45% and 60% of their equity stake to Etisalat and Telenor respectively at 6-7 times their cost - without a single customer or a rupee in revenues. Clearly, Raja neither followed FCFS policy that existed since 2003 nor implement TRAI recommendations of 2007.

Size of Raja 'booty'

The Report has revealed that as many as 85 of the 122 licences issued by former telecom minister A. Raja in 2008 were to firms considered ineligible according to department of telecommunication (DoT) guidelines.

The report has found that Raja issued the licences to firms floated by real estate and software companies which wanted to corner these telecom spectrum licences at throwaway prices. These firms had no experience in the telecom business but raked in phenomenal amounts of cash by selling a significant stake shortly after getting the licence.

The premium earned by these new entrants to the telecom sector was nothing but the true value of the spectrum, which should

have normally accrued to the public exchequer. According to the report, since these companies did not meet the eligibility criteria set by the DoT on the date of application, their applications should have been rejected and they should have been asked to apply afresh as stipulated in the unified access (UAS) licence guidelines.

The Telecom regulatory authority of India (TRAI), in its report submitted to the government, observed that it was fair to compare 2G with 3G and recommended that 3G prices be adopted as the current price of the 2G spectrum in 1800 Mhz band.

If these recommendations are taken into account, then the value of 2G spectrum allotted to the 122 UAS licensees and the 35 DT licences would have raked in about `1,52,038 crore, compared to `12,386 crore received by the government, the report says. The report also finds Raja guilty of not following the first-come-first-served principle on the basis of which he has tried to justify his giving out of licenses.

(Agencies)

Swamy's chronicle of Raja's many misdeeds

Swan Telecom bagged the licence for `1,537 crores for operating in 13 circles. Within weeks it sold 45% of shares to Etisalat, the telecom giant in UAE for 900 million US dollar (`4,500 crore).

Swan Telecom is now in the process of investing `1,000 crore by taking 49% share in a company in Chennai called Green House promoters Pvt Limited.

In the Board of Directors in this Green House is minister (A.) Raja's wife M.A. Parameswari! Raja's official address 2A, Motilal Nehru Marg is provided as the business address in Form 32 of the Registrar of Companies in Chennai!! Raja didn't inform the PM on his wife's business, (which is mandatory as per Conduct of Business Rules for ministers).

Raja's move is a violation of Clause 8 of the Guidelines for United Access Services Licence issued by the ministry Communication and IT, (dated December 14, 2005], thus causing a loss of over `50,000 crore to the government...

On September 25, 2007, a few hours after Unitech put in 22 applications..., DoT issued a press release stating it wouldn't accept applications beyond October 1. Despite the short notice... 373 more applications were received.

The CVC (in November 2008) issued a showcause notice to Raja, who had allotted 2G licences on "first come, first serve" basis to two novice telecom companies, Swan and Unitech.

RCom (owned by the ADAG group) has operations in the same circles where the application for Swan Telecom was filed. Therefore, under Clause 8 of the Guidelines, Swan should not have been allotted spectrum.

But the company did get it on the minister's direction, which is an undue favour from him. There was obviously a quid pro quo that a CBI inquiry can reveal.

BSNL, which has never done any roaming agreement with any operator, was forced to do a roaming agreement with Swan Telecom. (Ironically BSNL does not extend this facility to any other operator). It is quite clear from the agreement that those who are at the helm of affairs of BSNL worked in favour of Swan.

As environment minister Raja had come into contact with real estate companies that had sought environmental clearances. Many of these real estate companies later applied for telecom licences - such firms included Unitech, Loop (part of the Ruia group), Datacomm (Videocon) and Swan (once partly owned by the ADAG group) - and some of them were awarded licences.

Pressure was then mounted on former DoT Secretary Mathur to sign letters of intent in favour of certain applicants but he refused.

Mathur was due to retire in two months but his service was not extended... (On December 31) Mathur retired and was replaced by Siddharth Behura (who had served as secretary, environment and forests, under Raja).

(TOI, November 18, 2010)

Congress helped Raja

The Congress helped Telecom Minister A. Raja in building up a case to save him from scrutiny by CAG and CVC for revenue loss caused in the 2G spectrum allocation case. The CAG has indicted Raja for causing a loss of Rs 1.4 lakh cr to the exchequer. Documents submitted to the Supreme Court show what could be the Congress angle in the 2G spectrum scam.

Legal advisor to the Department of Telecom, Santokh Singh made a case before the Law Ministry, where it was opined that the CAG had "no duty or power" to challenge policy decisions taken by the government.

The Telecom Ministry, headed by DMK's A. Raja, moved a file on 10 August to this effect, which was supported by the legal advisor to the ministry and joint secretary in the Law Ministry headed by Congress' Veerappa Moily.

All these documents have been placed before the Supreme Court, which is hearing the petition questioning the appointment of P.J Thomas as Central Vigilance Commissioner, who was then the telecom secretary.

These documents, copies of which are with The Sunday Guardian, show that a full-proof plan was being made by the Telecom Ministry to bail Raja out of the 2G spectrum mess. Files were written to the extent that a series of correspondence (official files) was created to establish that the CAG and the CVC did not have any role to play in matters of government policy decisions.

The government backing of Raja in the SC points to the view that the Telecom Ministry has been endorsed by the government. In its affidavit in the Supreme Court on 11 November 2010, the ministry says, "The DoT has throughout acted in public interest on the basis of policy determined by the Government of India."

DoT's legal advisor, in August, extended the argument of the Telecom Ministry that the CAG and even the CVC did not have

any role to play in policy decisions as such decisions may "involve trial and error theory", and put the case before the Law Ministry for approval on the same lines.

The game started in DoT first, where A.K. Srivastava, DDG (AS) or the Access Services I Section, on 10 August 2010 wrote the note that "the government treats the telecom sector as infrastructure sector. Accordingly, the government's broad policy of taxes and regulation for telecom sector are promotional one where revenue considerations play a secondary role." The DOT file [F.No.20-213/2008-AS-I (Vol.II) (Pt)] further said, "Therefore, incidental entry fee, license fee and spectrum charges are guided by this principle and there was no loss of any potential revenue due to non-revision of entry fee for award of UAS license and non-auction of 2G spectrum." This was also approved by the then Telecom Secretary P.J. Thomas, at present the CVC, whose selection as the CVC has been challenged in the Supreme Court.

This file was sent to DoT legal advisor, Santokh Singh, who added more teeth to it. While the original DoT file did not have any mention of the CVC, it was included into the ambit of the opinion. The file was sent to him for obtaining the opinion of the Law Ministry and Justice whether "in terms of the powers and duties of C&AG contemplated under Article 149 Of the Constitution read with C&AG duties, powers and conditions of Service Act 1971, the proceeding initiated since 18.11.2009 by the DG Audit, P&T challenging several policy decisions taken by the government are legally in order."

In simple words, the Telecom Ministry sought the opinion of the Law Ministry that whether the objection of the CAG regarding the projected loss of billions of rupees on account of the non-auction of 2G spectrum was legally valid or not.

The response of the DoT legal advisor came on the very next day.

The legal opinion states that the CAG "has no duty or power to challenge policy decisions taken by the government."

In response to the DOT file, seeking opinion of the Ministry of Law & Justice on "powers and duties of CAG," the DOT legal advisor included a comment on the CVC also and stated, "CAG,

CVC and other watchdogs no doubt play a very significant role in any democracy but they being constitutional/statutory functionaries cannot exceed the role assigned to them under the Constitution/ law."

Questions CAG authority

Singh stated, "The Comptroller and Auditor-General has no duty or power to challenge policy decisions taken by the government. It also said that CAG Act, 1971 nowhere provides that he has any duty or power to question the wisdom of the policy/lawmakers as policy decisions may involve trial and error theory. CAG, CVC and other watchdog no doubt play a very significant role in any democracy but they being constitutional/statutory functionaries cannot exceed the role assigned to them under the constitution/ law. Even the courts refrain to question wisdom of government in policy matters unless the policy decision is patently arbitrary, discriminatory or mala fide."

Considering the words of the letter from DoT seeking legal opinion, it is not surprising that the legal advisor had given this opinion.

In a letter approved by Thomas, as the then Telecom Secretary, the Department of Telecom stated that "The government treats the telecom sector as infrastructure sector. Accordingly, the government's broad policy of taxes and regulation for telecom sector are promotional one where revenue considerations play a secondary role." The correspondence between DoT and DoT legal advisor are part of proceedings in the Supreme Court in the petition recently filed for setting aside Thomas' appointment as the CVC.

The DoT file says, "Rather the said policy of grant of UAS licenses was not changed since introduction because this has resulted in unprecedented growth of telecom services from a tele-density of 5% in 2003 to present tele-density of more than 55% and above 15 million phones are added every month. As on 31 May, 2010, the total phones in the country were more than 653 million. In addition, there is a sharp decrease in tariff (as low as 1/2 paise per second) due to increased competition, thus achieving the objective of New Telecom Policy (NTP) 99 of providing world class affordable telecom services. The targets of 11th plan of 600 million total

phones, 200 million rural phones and 25% rural tele-density have already been achieved two years in advance. With the increase in tele-density and increase of overall revenue of the sector, the annual license fee and spectrum charges payable as revenue share to the government goes on increasing year after year. It may also be noted that the telecom sector is already paying about 25% of the Gross revenue in the form of license fee, service tax and spectrum charges. The annual license fee and spectrum charges are largest non-tax revenue of the government and any tinkering with this has to be viewed against revenue losses in future years which goes on increasing with increased competition and tele-density."

The DoT file further says, "It is worth mentioning that a change in policy is considered when the existing policies are not delivering desired results which were not the case in the telecom sector. Hence, DoT was not bound to accept all the recommendations of TRAI, the recommendations of TRAI were accepted being in consonance with NTP-99 and the five years plan objective as there was no need to change the existing policies."

Courtesy: The Sunday Guardian

(Write up by Nitish K. Singh on 14th November, 2010)

UPA defends Raja, denies loss

Even as the Opposition stalled Parliament proceedings today and demanded resignation of telecom minister A Raja, the UPA government went strongly on the offensive in his defence by filing an affidavit in the Supreme Court. The affidavit says there is no case made out for monitoring the investigation by the CBI or SIT. The government has also denied that the 2G Spectrum allocation caused a loss of Rs 90,000 to 1,40,000 crore to the exchequer.

Such reports are misconceived and bereft of merit, says the affidavit.

This comes even as key ally the DMK has dug in its heels,

making it clear to the government that Raja will remain in the cabinet

The party says the government should wait till the CBI probe into the spectrum scam is over since whatever the Minister did was based on norms set by the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India.

(CNN-IBN November 11, 2010)

For Congress CAG report no indictment of Raja

The Centre has finally spoken out on the Comptroller and Auditor General report on 2G spectrum scam and virtually rejected calls for telecom minister A Raja's resignation.

Law minister Veerappa Moily Nov 12 said the CAG report cannot be called an indictment of Raja in the scam.

"You cannot call it an indictment. It is not a final report. Technically no one can call it indictment," Moily said, adding he had not seen any minister resigning following a CAG report.

Moily sought to blunt the opposition campaign, saying similar queries were made on the ex-Communications Minister and late BJP leader Pramod Mahajan too during the NDA regime but he never resigned.

"NDA did not volunteer to make him (Mahajan) resign.... I have no memory of a minister who has resigned following a CAG report," Moily said.

But at the same time, he hastened to add that the CAG report has "weightage" as it is by a constitutional body.

The CAG report is actually a query raised by the institution on a particular ministry, the minister stressed.

"CAG is an important institution to safeguard the interests of the exchequer. There is a process involved under which queries

are raised by the CAG following which the opinion of the particular ministry or department is obtained. Then the report is presented to Parliament and becomes its property," he said.

Moily said then the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) selects a particular paragraph in the report for discussion and then it becomes the right of a particular ministry to give a reply to the PAC. To a question on Opposition onslaught on the Telecom Minister, he said "in a healthy democracy you cannot find fault with the opposition. But this not mean that a particular ministry is actually wrong". The Centre's hard stand comes just hours after DMK chief M Karunanidhi came out in the open defending Raja.

Spectrum saga: PM defends Raja

With PM Manmohan Singh suggesting that the charges against Union telecom minister A Raja in connection with the spectrum scam were not correct, the fate of CBI's investigations into what is being described as the biggest scam in terms of money lost to public exchequer appears to be hanging in the balance.

During a press conference in Thailand's resort town Hua Hin on Sunday, Singh said the allegations being made by the Opposition against Raja were not necessarily correct. Officials feel that what Singh said is, in fact, open to conflicting interpretations because when asked about whether or not Raja should resign, the PM replied that he did not want to discuss Cabinet reshuffle in public.

But it has raised suspicions of interference with the probe with the BJP strongly argued that the PM should have resisted from commenting on Raja's alleged innocence when investigations were underway.

The fact that Singh's defence came barely two days after Tamil Nadu CM and DMK supremo K Karunanidhi registered a protest with the PM against CBI raids on DoT offices has further raised eyebrows. According to DMK sources, Karunanidhi on Friday had conveyed his disappointment to Singh for the "humiliation" Raja

was being subjected to when, according to him, Raja had not taken any decision on his own.

Interestingly, the controversy has started even as the CBI probe, despite the initial optimism, does not appear to be making much headway.

The agency has so far even refused to name any private firm or person as accused in the FIR registered last week and on Monday, sources involved in the probe said that there was no real evidence to prove any wrongdoing by the minister.

"Prima facie it does appear that 2G licences were given by putting a cap on the number of applicants against recommendations of Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) and by awarding licences to private companies on first-come-first-serve basis on the rates of 2001 without any competitive bidding. However, I don't think the investigations have reached the stage where we can cast aspersion on anybody, let alone the minister," a senior CBI official said.

CBI sources said they were probing the allegation that 2G spectrum licences were awarded to as many as nine firms in 2007 at a price which was based on an auction held in 2001 and not on the 2007 market value. "We can't go just by allegations which are subjective in nature. We have registered FIR claiming criminal conspiracy and corruption but we have to find evidence before taking any name and it can take some time," said an official.

So far, the agency has quizzed some senior officials of DoT and carried out searches at the offices of 10 telecom firms but no raid has been carried out at anybody's residence suggesting that there is no identified accused yet in the case.

Some of the firms which benefited from the manner in which spectrum was allocated included Unitech Wireless, Swan Telecom (now Etisalat DB), Loop Telecom, Sistema Shyam, Datacom, S-Tel, Allianz Infratech and Spice Telecom. Swan and Unitech were said to have "made a killing" by offloading 45% and 60% equity respectively to foreign players immediately after acquiring spectrum licences.

(ToI, October 27, 2009) ■

Exchange of letters between Raja and PM

Nov 1, 2007: Law secretary T K Viswanathan records on file that DoT's reference to the attorney general/ solicitor general regarding four alternatives to deal with 575 applications for licences appear too broad. Says issue of disposal of applications for unified access service (UAS) with allotment of spectrum getting mixed up.

Nov 1, '07: Law minister H R Bharadwaj says matter should be first examined by EGoM

Nov 2, 2007: A Raja, then communications and IT minister, writes to PM saying an unprecedented number of applications were being received due to telecom regulator advising against cap

Says law ministry's suggestion "out of context" as allotment of licences a procedural issue and not a new major policy decision, usually referred to GoMs

Says DoT has decided to continue with existing first-come, firstserved policy for applications received up to Sept 25, 2007

Nov 2, 2007: PM writes to Raja mentioning issues related to enhancement of subscriber-linked spectrum allocation criteria, permission to CDMA players to also offer GSM services. Raises issue of processing numerous applications and inadequate spectrum

Seeks Raja's comments and "urgent consideration to the issues being raised (by the industry and media) with a view to ensuring fairness and transparency"

Nov 2, 2007: Raja replies to PM saying "there was, and is, no single deviation or departure in the rules and procedures being contemplated"

Provides point-by-point response

Dec 26, 2007: Raja writes to PM again. Cites his previous letter and discussions he had with Singh, Mukherjee.

Says COAI not accepting 3 reports on flimsy grounds and not cooperating with DoT for an "amicable solution".

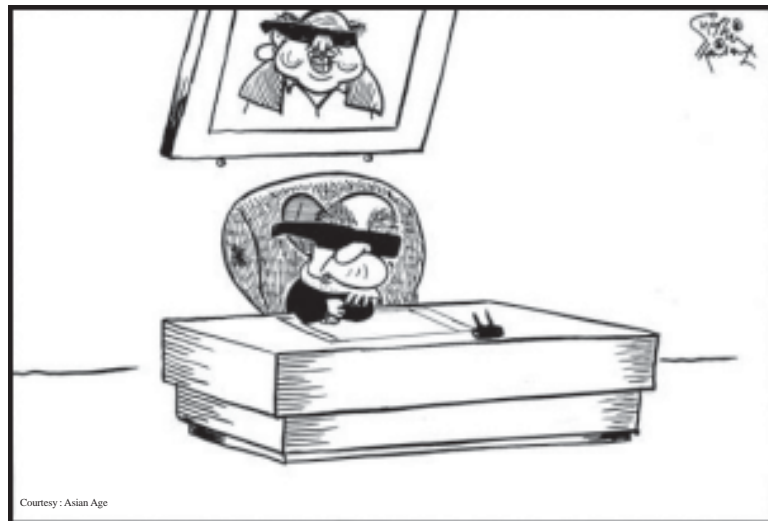
Also says discussions with Mukherjee, Goolam Vahanvati (then solicitor general) have "further enlightened me to take a preemptive and pro-active decision on these issues as per the guidelines and rules framed there under to avoid any further confusions and delay".

Informs PM that DoT will use TRAI recommendations on subscriber-based criteria for spectrum allocation. Similarly, cites, TRAI recommendation on dual tech

Based on solicitor general's concurrence, first-come, first-served policy will be followed, says Raja

Informs Singh that file on issuing letters of intent was cleared on Nov 2

Jan 3, 2008: "I have received your letter of 26 December, 2007 regarding recent developments in telecom sector," PM writes.



To humour DMK, Manmohan defends spectrum Raja

The compulsion to be on the right side of DMK saw Prime Minister Manmohan Singh providing a fig leaf to scam-tainted telecom minister A Raja.

"What he (Mr Raja) did was implement a policy that was already in place," the prime minister told Monday's press conference here, referring to process followed for auction of spectrum for second-generation (2G) telecom services at prices prevailing in 2001. "It would have been unfair to new entrants if a new yardstick was used."

Just like Mr Raja, the prime minister said that the department has not flouted policy. "You have to look at it in proper perspective," he said, adding both the watchdog, the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRA) and the Telecom Commission, had approved the policy on 2G auctions. "I have also discussed this issue with Raja... he has told me that what he did was, implemented the policies which were in place since 2003 (NDA regime)," the prime minister said.

The prime minister was responding to question on whether he would take action against the telecom minister for selling 2G licences at throwaway prices, resulting in losses worth billions of dollars. In his interaction with the media, the prime minister dismissed suggestions for Raja's removal from the Cabinet. "Pending investigations it is not proper for me to express any definitive opinion."

Citing the success of 3G spectrum auction, which would fetch the government over Rs 67,700 crore as against about Rs 10,000 crore that the exchequer got from new 2G licences in 2008, the Opposition has been asking for Mr Raja's resignation saying the scam caused a loss of up to Rs 1 lakh crore to the exchequer.

The prime minister, however, admitted that there is a huge gap

in the revenue generation from 2G licences (given by Mr Raja in 2008) compared to a whopping Rs 67,700 crore from the auction of 3G spectrum sale that concluded only last week.

Pointing that the whole issue was being investigated and CVC has asked CBI to look into this and the process is on, he said and assured: "If I come to know that there is any involvement at any level in corruption, we will take action."

Nine new companies including Unitech, Shyam Sistema, Datacom, S Tel and Loop Telecom were given licences in 2008 and pan-India licence was then offered at Rs 1,658 crore along with start-up 4.4 MHz spectrum.

(25 MAY, 2010, ToI)

Why didn't PM act on Raja: SC Questions 11-Month 'Silence' On Request To Prosecute Minister

Dhananjay Mahapatra

The Supreme Court asked the government to explain within two days why the "sanctioning authority" - in this case, the prime minister - remained silent for 11 long months over a request seeking sanction for the prosecution of former telecom minister A Raja in the 2G spectrum scam case.

In a reference to PM Manmohan Singh's oversight role, the SC referred to a petition submitted by Janata Party president Subramaniam Swamy to the PM, to say: "We are on the alleged inaction and silence of the sanctioning authority for 11 months on Swamy's petition seeking sanction to prosecute... this is what is worrying us."

An SC bench comprising Justices G S Singhvi and A K Ganguly hearing the 2G spectrum case asked solicitor general Gopal Subramaniam to examine relevant files before giving his response on Thursday on why it took the government a month short of a year to tell Swamy that prosecution would be "premature" at this

stage.

The SC's remarks came on the same day as the Comptroller and Auditor General's scathing report on the allocation of 2G licences in which CAG has not only indicted Raja but also indirectly referred to an oversight failure of the ex-minister's role by saying, "There is an imperative need to fix responsibility and enforce accountability for lapses".

Difference between wrongdoing and errors: PM to CAG

On a day when CAG indicted A Raja and the government system of checks and balances, Manmohan Singh was at the 150 years celebration of the organization, counseling it on the need to distinguish between "wrongdoing and genuine errors". He said, "Very often there is a very thin line between fair criticism and fault-finding, between hazarding a guess and making a reasonable estimate, between a bonafide error and a deliberate mistake." He urged CAG to "appreciate the context and circumstances of decisions taken by the government".

(Courtesy : Rediff News)

Manmohan in Oppn crosshairs for silence on 2G scam

PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh's image appeared to be taking a severe beating on Wednesday as the Opposition mounted pressure on him to respond to the Supreme Court's remarks on his 11-month-long silence over the 2G spectrum scam.

Senior BJP leader L.K. Advani said the PM must respond to the apex court's remarks on his inaction after Janata Party leader Subramaniam Swamy sought prosecution sanction against then telecom minister Andimuthu Raja way back in November 2008.

"The Supreme Court has made a serious remark on the Prime

Minister and his office. I have not come across such a remark on the PM's office in the past 60 years. It is the PM's duty to reply to the comment immediately," Advani said.

The CPM, justifying the apex court's poser, fired the second salvo. It asked Singh to explain why he refused to order a probe into the scam for a much longer period despite repeated requests.

The CPM reminded the PM that its Rajya Sabha member Sitaram Yechury wrote to him seeking an inquiry way back in 2008. "The PM should explain in Parliament how this murky affair was allowed to go on for so long," the Left party said.

The Supreme Court's observations and the Comptroller and Auditor General's (CAG) damning report seem to have severely dented Singh's image as an effective administrator because he failed to anticipate and prevent the 2G spectrum allocation scam despite being forewarned.

INCIDENTALLY in 1993, Singh, then finance minister, had offered to resign because of similar criticism by a joint parliamentary committee (JPC) when he came under fire for not being able to pre-empt the multicore Harshad Mehta securities scam.

At that time, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao had convinced Singh against quitting and promised strict action against the culprits. Singh, who had become a member of the Rajya Sabha only two years earlier in 1991, continued in office.

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO), managed largely for years by Singh's principal secretary TKA Nair, accorded the rank of a minister of state, failed to detect that Raja, in his reply to a letter from the PM on November 2, 2007, had told a blatant lie to him. This fact was brought to light in the CAG report on Tuesday.

The 2G scam - which forms a series of sorts when clubbed with the Commonwealth Games mess and the appointment of P.J. Thomas as the chief vigilance commissioner - has raised disturbing questions over the effective functioning of the PMO, the conscience fount of the government and its ministers.

Evidently, the communications of Swamy and Yechury were not taken with the seriousness they deserved and someone high-up in the PMO chose to ignore the duo's whistleblowing.

A senior retired bureaucrat said: "The Prime Minister's is the highest office in the country with access to every bit of intelligence and information on any subject. It is impossible that the PMO had no knowledge about telecom minister Raja's wrongdoings.

"I believe that extremely strong political reasons must have stopped the Prime Minister from taking corrective action."

In October 2007, the department of telecom (DoT) itself asked the law ministry to seek the opinion of the attorney-general or the solicitor-general on how to handle the huge rush of fresh applications for 2G spectrum allocation.

According to the CAG report, the law ministry advised that the issue should be taken to an Empowered Group of Ministers (EGoM) and the attorney-general's opinion could be taken in the process. But the DoT described the opinion as "out of context". This, too, did not cause an alarm in the PMO.

Again on December 26, 2007, Raja wrote to Singh referring a "personal discussion" he had with the Prime Minister and then external affairs minister Pranab Mukherjee on various issues, including dual technology and new licences.

On January 1, 2008, the Prime Minister sent an acknowledgement to Raja's letter on "personal discussion".

The CAG, quoting a DoT reply to the auditor's queries sent in July 2010, says the PM was apprised of all decisions regarding spectrum allocation.

So its not plausible that the PM did not even get a whiff of Raja's wrongdoings.

"The DoT, quoting extensively from a letter written by (Raja) to the Prime Minister, stated that the PM was apprised of all decisions taken by the DoT and the letter was acknowledged by the PM," the report said.

Raja further ignored the advice of the PM and the law ministry and went ahead to "arbitrarily" decide that the cut-off date for issuing letters of intent would be advanced to September 25, 2007, and the applications received would be decided on first-come-first-served basis.

When Pm Did Not Heed Warnings

The PM failed to order Raja to not issue any licence until the differences with the law and finance ministries were resolved or the Cabinet looked into the issue as stipulated by the government of India (transaction of business) rules.

He ignored CPM leader Sitaram Yechury's Nov 2008 letter seeking an inquiry

THE PM failed to check the facts when Raja wrote to him (CAG says lied to him) that the telecom commission was against an auction as it would be unfair to new players

He sat on Janata Party leader Subramanian Swamy's plea for prosecution sanction against Raja for 11 months

He did not heed to the law ministry's advice to refer the matter to a Group of Ministers when Raja dismissed it as "out of context"

He smelt a rat but didn't act

Nov 2,2007: PM asks Raja to consider auctioning of spectrum and revision of entry fee in a fair and transparent manner

Raja replies within a few hours, claiming sufficient 2G spectrum was available to cater to the requirements of new operators and more operators will increase teledensity and bring down the tariff

Dec 26: Raja writes to the PM regarding a discussion he had with him and then external affairs minister Pranab Mukherjee on issues including dual technology & new licences

Jan 1,2008: PM acknowledges Raja's letter on personal discussion

Nov 29: Subramanian Swamy writes to PM seeking permission to prosecute Raja in the 2G scam

Oct 21,2009: The CBI files an FIR against unknown persons in the 2G scam

March 19,2010: PM refuses sanction saying Swamy's plea was premature.

(Courtesy : Mail Today)

How A Raja robbed the nation

The much anticipated CAG report on allocation of 2G spectrum by A Raja was tabled in Parliament on Tuesday, raising troubling questions about how an influential politician's greed can exploit the system, how readily many corporates join in the subversion for windfall gains, and how the compulsions of coalition dynamics can paralyse the government. "The entire process of allocation of UAS (Unified Access Service) licences lacked transparency and was undertaken in an arbitrary, unfair and inequitable manner. The Hon'ble Prime Minister had stressed on the need for a fair and transparent allocation of spectrum, and the ministry of finance had sought for the decision regarding spectrum pricing to be considered by an EGoM. Brushing aside their concerns and advices, DoT, in 2008, proceeded to issue 122 new licences for 2G spectrum at 2001 prices, by flouting every canon of financial propriety, rules and procedures," the 77-page report says.

It also mentions how Raja ridiculed officials who suggested more transparent methods to assess the value of spectrum, and went ahead with his decision to arbitrarily allot it to select companies. Raja's decision, it says, has cost the national exchequer anywhere between Rs 1,76,645 crore and Rs 57,666 crore. DoT didn't follow its own guidelines: CAG

In November 2007, PM Manmohan Singh wrote to Raja expressing concern that given inadequate spectrum and the unprecedented number of applications received from fresh licenses, an auction process be followed. Raja replied saying that the auction of spectrum was considered by both TRAI and Telecom Commission and that his ministry has come to a conclusion that an auction "will be unfair, discriminator and capricious" as it would distort the levelplaying field for new entrants.

The finance ministry questioned the "sanctity of continuing with a price determined way back in 2001 without any indexation or current valuation and sought review of the matter." DoT member (finance) agreed with the finance ministry, and sought an "in-depth analysis of the issue prior to taking any further action." To this Raja audaciously wrote: "These types of continuous confusions observed on the file whoever be the officer concerned does not show any legitimacy and integrity but only their vested interest."

As a matter of fact, DoT did not follow "its own guidelines on eligibility conditions, arbitrarily changed the cut-off date for receipt of applications post facto and altered the conditions of the FCFS procedure at crucial junctures without valid and cogent reasons, which gave unfair advantage to certain companies," the report says.

Courtesy : TOI

PM defends Raja, says he followed NDA policy

On May 24, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh defended Telecom Minister A Raja, under attack for alleged scam in granting licences in 2008, saying he had only followed the policies of the previous NDA government.

At the same time, he dismissed suggestions for Raja's removal from the Cabinet, saying "pending the investigations it is not proper for me to express any definitive opinion."

Citing the success of 3G spectrum auction, which would fetch the government over Rs 67,700 crore as against about Rs 10,000 crore that the exchequer got from new 2G licences in 2008, the opposition has been asking for Raja's resignation saying the scam caused a loss of up to Rs one lakh crore to the exchequer.

Answering a query at the first national press conference of the UPA-II, Singh said: "I have also discussed this issue with Raja... he has told me that what he did was, implemented the policies

which were in place since 2003 (NDA regime)."

Singh said Raja, who represents DMK in the Union Cabinet, has also made his position clear in Parliament and also in the media.

The Prime Minister, however, admitted that there is a huge gap in the revenue generation from 2G licences (given by Raja in 2008) compared to a whopping Rs 67,700 crore from the auction of 3G spectrum sale that concluded only last week.

"I think one has to look at the whole problem in proper perspective. There was a particular policy which was in place since 2003 before our government came into power," Singh said, adding that Raja's point was that it would amount to discrimination if different yardsticks were applied for the new entrants.

(with PTI inputs)

Supreme Court on 2G

The SC said filing the affidavit on the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, taking 16 months to respond to Mr Subramanian Swamy's petition to prosecute the former telecom minister, Mr A. Raja, was necessary to give Mr Swamy a chance to submit a reply.

"We are giving you a chance to put it on affidavit," the SC told the S-G when he said "every letter of Dr Swamy has been dealt with". The S-G, said: "I went through the records personally. He has been answered adequately and we don't want to appear that we are delaying the issue. The authorities have most appropriately dealt with it."

When the SC asked Dr Swamy whether he agreed with the statement, he said, "The only communication I received from the PM is on March 19, 2010. I have received no other letter from the PM." Dr Swamy added, "I got a letter from Raja explaining why my request for permission to prosecute him has no merit."

The SC then said, "He (Raja) is not a sanctioning authority, we will not consider it."

The S-G made it clear that the PM shall not directly file the affidavit. "An officer will file the affidavit. We should not be seen as taking time," the S-G insisted, adding, "I have confidence. I have consulted the records."

While referring to Tuesday's observations by the SC on the PM's "silence for 16 months", the S-G said, "We always take the observations of the court in a positive way."

After taking on record the copy of the CAG report along with the final report of the director-general of telecom, the SC said the petition on the main 2G spectrum issue would be taken up on November 22 while Dr Swamy's plea on the issue of granting sanction to prosecute Mr Raja would be taken up on November 23.

PTI



2G scam: Why Dr Singh's credibility is at stake

Sheela Bhatt explains why Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh is headed for politically troubled times over the 2G spectrum scam.

Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh is heading for the most crucial time of his political career. On Tuesday, no less than the Supreme Court dragged Prime Minister's Office into the massive telecom scam and that gives a hint of coming of a political storm which has the potential to damage Dr Singh.

You don't need a pundit to predict that after going through the facts and figures coming to light from the Comptroller and Auditor General report on the 2G spectrum scam, popularly known as the telecom scam.

The 2G spectrum scam of 2010 threatens to become as potent as the Bofors scam of the late 1980s. The Bofors scam had a strong emotional appeal because it was the scam related to the defence services and India's [Images] security interests; but here the sheer size of the "loot" (CAG claims Rs 176,000,000,000 was the loss because wrong method for the allotment of spectrum was adopted by the telecom ministry) that come election time would stir our political satirists.

A political tsunami is in the making in New Delhi [Images]. All eyes are on Congress President Sonia Gandhi [Images] to see if she will ssave her party first or the reputation of the PMO.

Something fundamental to current political set up is getting hit by the ongoing and slowly unfolding truth of 2G spectrum scam. All of India witnessed how Sonia refused to become the prime minister, how she nominated Dr Singh to power and trusted him to safeguard the interests of her party and reputation of her family.

Now, for first time, events show that the outsourcing of the administration of the country has failed somewhere. And, the result is the bewildering loss to the exchequer. Congressmen would now ask the outsourcing firm how did this happen?

Congressmen are trying hard to cut their losses by securing Telecom Minister A Raja's resignation but if the Opposition parties formulate the right strategy, a mix of political maneuvering and media hype, then the Congress will be on the defensive and Dr Singh may find himself insecure.

After all, one can fix value to 2G spectrum loss, but Dr Singh's credibility can't be fixed in numbers.

After Raja's brazen act of allotting the 2G spectrum in January 2008, Dr Singh reportedly wanted to take action against him by shifting him from the telecom portfolio, if not sacking him from the Union Cabinet. But compulsions of coalition politics forced him and Sonia Gandhi to go slow on the issue.

Dr Singh could not overcome the pressure from the Congress in tackling the Raja scam before it went into the realm of Opposition politics. This will prove very costly for the prime minister and his party. As it's a well known fact that politically, Dr Singh was always weaker than the party. The inherent weakness of the personal arrangement between Dr Singh and Sonia Gandhi has contributed heavily in the making of this scam.

As things are unfolding it's becoming clear that Raja has not lost steam. This man as minister of telecommunications has used power brazenly and although he has now fallen from grace, Raja still remains quite an intelligent man.

He is going to fight his legal battle alone but his political battle will be sharper and he will club all his actions with the PMO.

Also, the bottom-line of the 2G spectrum is that behind the ugly story is corporate wars and greed. Anil Ambani [Images] and his company Reliance's [Get Quote] name has already emerged as the beneficiary but other big telecom stars are not far behind. The climax is still far away for this story. As we in media know that so many leaks in the story are made possible, also, by corporate houses.

All those tainted companies who got the cream of 2G spectrum are playing a game and might be keeping pressure on the Congress, the PMO and even the Opposition parties to not demand cancellation of the allotment.

It's believed that the only option to keep the 2G scam under check is to cancel the 2008 allotment, kick out the tainted telecom companies and prosecute Raja. It's a tall order for any government.

So, as Raja now embarks upon a long drawn fight for survival, he will have high nuisance value. The Congress will, as it is the old habit of the old party, try to differentiate between "the party" and "the party-led government."

Notwithstanding the fact that the government is led by Dr Singh, who is the most loyal Congressman, it's very likely that he will be isolated if the people of India do not buy the argument that "the PM's advice not heeded by Raja."

A former cabinet secretary, in an off the record interview, tore apart PMO's defence. He told rediff.com, "The entire bureaucracy in India is looking at the event with shock. Don't you know what the Transaction of Business Rules, 1961 is? Who are you fooling? The prime minister has unrestricted right to get any file, any record from any ministry. The finance minister, too, has the right to ask for any file if there are financial implications."

Under the Transaction of Business Rules any decision above Rs 500 crore has to go through the Union Cabinet.

The retired bureaucrat further said, "The 2G spectrum scam is the total failure of the PMO. Who is the boss in the government? Who is the custodian of the Indian people's interest? It would take ten minutes to stop Raja from going ahead so brazenly for someone like the PM's Principal Secretary T K A Nair or the cabinet secretary. Nair has to just pick up the phone and tell the telecommunication secretary to meet Dr Singh, immediately."

He further said, "Do you think any IAS officer would defy the PMO's call?" When the scam took place in Raja's office in January 2008, the cabinet secretary was S M Chandrashekhar. The retired cabinet secretary said, "He must clarify what was he doing, then? Kindly, don't fool the people of India."

"Even D S Mathur, the retired official of the telecom ministry who has spoken out so late against Raja, can't be defended," said the retired bureaucrat.

"When the nation is being looted, you can't sulk and go home. Mathur went home instead of participating in the wrongdoings of his minister; but he should have gone to Chandrashekhar and given him all in writing. How can you keep quiet?" he asked.

The official went on to say, "What I am saying is that the cabinet secretary should have written a two-line letter to the department of telecommunication that before allotment of the license for 2G spectrum, get it approved from the Union Cabinet. That would have been enough to stop the scam."

In fact, the PMO had told Raja to take the issue to the Empowered Group of Ministers. Raja ignored the PMO. The story of Raja is that the minister took the decisions disregarding the PM's and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of India's advice.

The official said, "But then why did the PMO not initiate action to scrap the procedure which was violating all rules as they knew well? What stopped the PMO from responding to the likes of Subramanian Swami and many others?"

Of course, the former cabinet secretary told rediff.com, CAG has not indicted Dr Singh nor his officers directly in its report but if and when the matter goes to next stage, then Cabinet Secretary Chandrashekhar will have a lot to answer for.

The retired official said, "People of India should know this much that PM of the country has absolute power in running the country. He could have undone the decisions in no time even if Raja had flouted the rules and code of ethics."

Prashant Bhushan, the senior lawyer whose petition on 2G spectrum is being heard in Supreme Court, told rediff.com, "After all, the ministers in the Union Cabinet function at the pleasure of the prime minister. Therefore, he was serious about this then it was not enough to make some noises. If he is trying to say that he was really serious, then he should have removed Raja long back."

(Courtesy: Rediff News)

BJP's First Information Report on Commonwealth Games Loot

Press statement issued by BJP National President, Shri Nitin Gadkari on October 19, 2010

Our sportspersons have made India proud at the recently concluded 19th Commonwealth Games-Delhi 2010 with their stupendous performance in various disciplines. All speculations about India's potential to develop a sports culture and come of age as a sporting nation have been put to rest by the first ever three figure medal tally. The opening as well as the closing ceremony was indeed spectacular and so were the foolproof security arrangements. I congratulate the entire Indian contingent for its outstanding performance and felicitate those who have won medals. I salute all the securities agencies for making the Commonwealth Games a "security milestone" in the face of intelligence reports of threats by some groups to carry out terrorist attacks against the athletes. I also commend the flawless presentations by the performing artistes, school children and all others in making the games events a great success.

But all was not well with the Commonwealth Games-Delhi 2010.

It all looked fine and on track till the bid was won. Then where did we fail and who all nearly let us down? The world community in general and the people of India in particular need to know.

India won the bid in November 2003, and it took 16 months to put the Commonwealth Games Organizing Committee (CGOC) in place and the 35-member committee included Rahul Gandhi, Kapil Sibal, Jyotiraditya Scindia, Ajay Maken, Jitin Prasad and Sandeep Dikshit.

The first meeting of the Infrastructure Coordination Committee

held in Delhi on March 15, 2005 took note of the requirements of venues and their up-gradation and the construction of the Games village giving all the government bodies like the Urban Development Ministry, the DDA, the Delhi Government & other agencies more than five years to accomplish the task without compromising international standards. Their proposals were approved by a group of ministers and later ratified by the union cabinet. The irregularities and bungling in the tendering process of these projects was scandalous involving several thousand crores .

The first story about malpractices and corruption in Commonwealth Games came to light on July 30, 2010 when the UK-based AM Films highlighted the case of payments with no written contract agreement. The CGOC is alleged to have paid AM Films, an Indian-owned firm in London, over 450,000 pounds (over Rs.30 million) for services during last year's Queen's Baton Relay inaugural without proper tendering and paperwork.

Corruption was suspected in award of tenders for different projects of the games including the stadia and other infrastructure and granting of contracts in hiring or purchase of equipment such as air conditioners and treadmills and even toilet paper.

The Comptroller and Auditor General of India commented adversely on the cost overruns for the stadium being built or refurbished for the Games.

Stung by corruption charges and allegations of sub-standard infrastructure and inordinate delays made by the BJP leaders in parliament and outside, and amidst adverse media campaign, the central government went into overdrive to assure the participating nations that the stadium will be completed on time for the Oct. 3-14 Commonwealth Games.

A panicky Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) President Mike Fennel rushed to Delhi and said at a press conference that "We (CGF) do not and will not tolerate any corruption."

Fennel said "reports of corruption should be investigated thoroughly and acted upon as per the law of the land". Fennel met Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit to voice his concern over the issues related to the Games and infrastructure development.

But things did not improve. An under construction footbridge just outside the main venue Jawaharlal Nehru stadium collapsed, 27 people were injured and a false ceiling at the weightlifting arena caved in. It was left to the armed forces to salvage the situation.

All this infuriated the Supreme Court to remark that the Commonwealth Games projects have bred corruption and that it cannot shut its eyes on the "rampant corruption" and criticized the Indian government on its preparations for the international sporting event.

There are numerous allegations of bungling and irregularity in the tendering process for all games contracts which need to be looked into.

Senior BJP leaders including Smt. Sushma Swaraj, Shri Arun Jaitley, Shri Kirti Azad, Shri Navjot Singh Sidhu & Shri Anurag Thakur have been raising these issues in both houses of parliament. Senior BJP leader, Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra, party general secretary, Shri Vijay Goel and Delhi BJP chief, Shri Vijender Gupta and the BJP Sports Cell Convener Shri Mahinder Lal have led the BJP's campaign against the games scandals in Delhi.

All these BJP leaders and Secretary, Shri Kirit Somiaya have worked relentlessly to marshal all the facts and figures about the games mismanagement and prepared a

"BJP's First Information Report on Commonwealth Games Loot" long with a voluminous annexure highlighting the callousness and total apathy and insensitivity of the government agencies and sports bodies in unabashedly wasting the tax payers money which resulted in the games budget initially billed at Rs. 2000 Crores going up to a whopping Rs. 70,000 crores.

The Prime Minister's Office has instituted an inquiry to be conducted by the former CAG Shri V. K. Shunglu. Several government agencies like the Enforcement Directorate, the CVC, the CAG, the CBI, the Revenue Intelligence and other outfits are also engaged in their respective investigations into specific charges of corruption, irregularities and malpractices etc.

Now the Commonwealth Games dirty linen is sought to be washed in public by Sheila Dikshit, Suresh Kalmadi & others, with

Kalmadi demanding probe not only into the CGOC Rs. 1,620 Crore budget but also into the Rs. 16,000 Crore budget of the Delhi Government.

The BJP strongly believes that all these inquiries and investigations must be expedited to reach some logical conclusions at the earliest so that the guilty could be punished without any further delay.

In view of the multiplicity of the agencies involved in this task, we demand that a high-power coordination committee headed by the cabinet secretary should be set up to ensure an effective and concerted effort to unearth the scandals.

All these investigations must reveal the extent and magnitude of the corruption in different deals and the role of the agencies involved therein for which those found guilty must be taken to task as per the law of the land.

The BJP will extend full cooperation to all the investigating agencies and make them available the information gathered by its leaders to facilitate an impartial and meaningful inquiry into all allegations of corruption and bungling.

But at the same time, I strongly feel that there is an urgent need to pin point accountability on those who cleared these projects and sanctioned fund allocations from time to time overlooking the serious discrepancies in the project reports and the unreasonable exorbitant cost escalations.

It is high time to expose the nexus between the partners in the Commonwealth Games loot and those providing them political patronage by condoning this mess.

People of India have a solemn constitutional right to know who the real culprits of this national shame are.

The truth must prevail and shall prevail only if a comprehensive inquiry in the public domain is held and that is possible only through a Joint parliamentary probe.

The BJP demands the setting up of a Joint Parliamentary Committee at the earliest to probe into this monumental scam of Commonwealth Games Multi-Million Loot.

The terms of reference of the proposed JPC, among other things, should include devising a foolproof mechanism to ensure complete transparency in hosting a corruption and scandal free international sporting event in future.

Gadkari's questions to PM

On 18 November 2010 BJP National President, Shri Nitin Gadkari's posed Questions to the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to break his silence on rampant corruption under UPA.

Q.1 Why no criminal action has been taken so far against the Prasar Bharti CEO Shri B.S. Lalli who overruled the objections by the Finance Department and gave the Rs 246-crore telecast rights of the Commonwealth Games to an illegal entity which produced a fake registration number and had no service tax number?

Is Mr. Lalli, who speedily paid out 80% of the contract fee even before the Games concluded, is being shielded because of his high connections?

It is astonishing that the UPA government has so far maintained a studied silence over the findings of the Income Tax department that the broadcast deal was bagged by a little-known UK-based company, SIS Live, which came into being in January 2010, four months after the bidding formalities were over.

The Income Tax department on October 6, 2010, sent a letter to Prasar Bharati asking it to freeze all future payments while seeking attachment of the company's account in a Mumbai branch of the Royal Bank of Scotland.

When I-T officials surveyed SIS Live office in Delhi they found that the company had maintained no accounts nor kept any bills. Further probe revealed SIS Live had violated

several conditions. It had outsourced the work to a company, Zoom Communications, which was also found to be operating from the same premises in Okhla. SIS Live officials failed to produce the papers related to the sub-contract worth Rs 177 Crore.

In its observation, the I-T report says SIS Live was formed ``solely with the purpose of...implementing the CWG contract...and the assessee is not likely to remain in India."

Q2. What are the connections of Mr. Kanishk Singh, a close aide of Mr. Rahul Gandhi, with the proprietors of the EMAAR MGF, the company which built filthy CWG flats?

At whose instance the DDA paid a bailout package of Rs. 750 Crore plus Rs. 827 Crore for the international zone? Don't you think merely invoking EMAAR MGF bank guarantee for not fulfilling the responsibility is only an eye-wash to absolve Rahul Gandhi's aide Kanishk Singh and his family?

Q. 3 Can you deny the fact that the provision of Rs. 126 Crore in the plan budget of the Ministry of Youth Affairs & Sports for OVERLAYS in the year 2009-2010 was revised to 687 Crore of which Rs. 557 crore was given as an advance to the Organising Committee? Will you please enlighten the country about the rationale of the steep escalation in the provisions for the CWG OVERLAYS?

Q. 4 Your Sports Minister has admitted in the Rajya Sabha that there were cost escalations in the CWG projects because the preliminary estimates were approved on the basis of INCOMPLETE/ SKELETAL information and all the estimates of various CWG related projects were approved by the Union Cabinet.

Isn't it an admission of the criminal negligence on the part of the government, which you are heading?

Q. 5 Who is responsible for approving an advance of Rs. 1669.42 Crore to the Organising Committee for the sporting event and another Rs. 687 Crore for OVERLAYS (temporary fittings and fixtures etc.) of which Rs. 557 was actually disbursed, and another Rs. 87 Crore as grant for Timing,

Scoring and Results Systems (TSR) and Games Timing Equipment of which Rs. 81 Crore was actually disbursed?

Now that the total earnings have fallen short of the estimated income from the games, how are you going to realise the huge balance? There have been no earnings from advertisement as such and the sale of tickets has generated only revenue of Rs. 39.17 Crore, while sponsorship of Rs. 114.5 Crore was received as against the contracted value of Rs. 375 Crore and in granting the international TV rights Rs. 137.71 Crore was received against the contracted value of Rs. 213.45 Crore.

Q. 6 Whom will you blame for the dismal turnout for the CWG events and the ticketing mess? Are you aware of the fact that only half of the eleven & a half lakh tickets printed were bought by spectators?

I think you must have been told by your Sports Minister that widespread ticketing bungling was reported during the Oct. 3 opening & the Oct. 14 closing ceremony with spectators complaining that they were often surrounded by empty seats, despite officials claiming that all tickets had been sold out.

Whom are you going to make a scapegoat for indiscriminate printing of complimentary tickets and multiple tickets with the same seat numbers for the opening and closing ceremonies?

Q. 7 Your government claims to have initiated action against contractors, officials and some firms connected with the CWG projects. What about action against the political masters who connived in the CWG loot?

According to your Sports Minister, 14 meetings of the Group of Ministers were held under the chairmanship of the HRD Minister from March 22, 2007 and another 34 meetings were held under the chairmanship of the Urban Development Minister who headed the reconstituted GOM from June 23, 2009 till the games.

Who will probe their share in the CWG booty? The behind-the-

scene actors in the CWG scam can be unmasked only by a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) which the BJP has been demanding in Parliament & outside.

Q.8 What about the Rs. 300 Crore your government allocated to Delhi University for CWG project which it handed over to Nagarjun Constructions? The work was hardly of few Crores covering 7000 sq ft. construction work and one acre of beautification. Where has the money gone?

Q.9 Similarly the nation is awaiting your response to some of the irregularities and corruption cases relating to --- Queen's Baton Relay, SMAM scam, Treadmills, Sponsorship, Games Website, Tennis surface, Catering, Merchandising, Accreditation for 22,000 volunteers, over 2,000 staff and thousands of media, sportspersons and delegates, Parking, Connaught Place redevelopment plan, Chandni Chowk, Paharganj, Karol Bagh, Shivaji Stadium, Talkotra Stadiums.

Q.10 What is preventing you from answering a simple question about the lengthy delay on your part in taking a decision on a plea to sanction the prosecution of Mr. A Raja in the controversial 2-G spectrum allocation issue. Why don't you explain it to the people.



Rampant corruption in CWG under the nose of UPA Govt. : Anurag Thakur

The nation was aghast at the every day disclosures of ever increasing instances of corruption and irregularities being comitted in preparations for the Commonwealth Games right under the nose of Congress-led UPA Government. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on August 9, 2010 BJYM President Sh. Anurag Thakur and Shri Kirti Azad highlighted the instances of corruption that had made India bow its head in shame.

I am an ex-sportsman and at present I am President of Himachal Pradesh Cricket Association and General Secretary of Olympic Association. Today, every citizen of India wishes a successful organization of these games because it is related with the prestige of the nation.

It is a matter of concern that today in the name of games, the cases of bungling, corruption and extravaganzas are coming out on daily basis. It is a very strange that the responsibility of organization of these games was entrusted to the country in 2003, but upto 2008, i.e. for 5 years Sports Minister keeps mum on the sanctions and approvals. In the year 2003, the Budget of organization of these games was estimated Rs.800 crore which has escalated and today it has been estimated Rs.20,000 crore. Manipulation of figures will not serve any purpose. I would like to say that we should not try to cover up this matter in the House. If the stadium had been ready in 2006, it would have been a facility for our athletes for their practice.

Today it is said that an amount of Rs.687 crore is being spent on training of athletes but I would like to ask for how many days

these athletes got training in these stadium. Manifold of the amount is being spent on the rent of the sports instruments than that of their costs. Treadmill can be purchased with the amount of Rs.7 lacs but Rs.9,75,000 is being spent on its rent for 45 days. Rs.6,308 is being spent for a field umbrella. Rs.4,138 is being siphoned out for tissue rolls. The cost of one cluster of diesel power has been estimated Rs.15 per unit, on the other cluster it has been Rs.80 per unit. Likewise, a number of allegations of corruptions have been leveled. I would like to say that we should be apprised of the complete knowledge of such happenings in the House itself instead of we get it from media. In Himachal Pradesh, we got constructed a stadium of international standard at the cost of Rs.48 crore in a record time. One stadium of the capacity of 32,000 viewers was set up in Indore at the cost of Rs.40 crore, one having capacity of 40,000 viewers with the cost of Rs.80 crore in Hyderabad, one having capacity of 45,000 viewers with the cost of Rs.84 crore in Nagpur and one having capacity of 43,000 viewers with the cost of Rs.85 crore was set up in Delhi. But here, I would to know what type of renovation has been done with Rs.961 crore? On Indira Gandhi Complex Stadium having the capacity of 14,000 viewers, an amount of Rs.669 crore was spent. On the Dr. S.P. Mukherjee Swimming Complex with a capacity of 5000 viewers, Rs.377 crore spent. On Dr. Karni Singh Shooting range Rs.149 crore were spent and on Siri Fort Sports Complex having capacity of 7,862 viewers, Rs.241 crore were spent. It is taxpayers' money. The country wants to know if the Budget for these games was Rs.1,899 crore, how was the amount of Rs.961 crore spent on one stadium only?

Thousands of people from the Jhuggi cluster are being shunted out of Delhi and 100 crore rupees were spent for this purpose. An amount of more than Rs.900 crore was spent only on the renovation of Connaught Place. The facts regarding tampering of email, the allegation of which has been leveled on O.C. Officers by Indian High-Commission should have been brought to the knowledge of this House. Near about 23 % commission to the SMAM, a Sports Marketing and Management Committee was in the news. The allegation of diversion of more than Rs. 700 crore from SC, ST fund has also been made. ■

Who is responsible for all these irregularities in CWG : Kirti Azad

This type of Commonwealth Games has never been held in the past and never will be held in future. A Sports Minister in UPA-I has given a very serious statement. He was perhaps first such Sports Minister who was not concerned with sports. We read many statements from him in daily newspapers. He said that the people organizing these games are devils. He said that these games are nothing but loot. The hon. Members from the Opposition raised the issue of diversion of special provision funds for SC/ST. I would like to know from the Government as to who will reply to these questions. The Sports Minister says that his responsibility is limited to construction of stadium. The Government of Delhi says that they are limited to creating infrastructure. The Sports Minister in UPA-I has stated that India is spending the half of Rs.70000 crores on Commonwealth Games kept for loan waiver of 40 crore families of farmers in order to boost its international image.

I would like to have a reply from the Government about the truth in this statement. One day a television channel revealed about the CVC report. In this report it was stated that irregularities to the tune of crores of rupees have been committed by the various departments of the Central Government, the State Government and the DDA. Within 24 hours a letter regarding irregularities committed by the Organising Committee in the Baton relay was given to another news channel. This is my serious charge and I want a reply from the Government. The Officials Secrets Act has been violated. This report within 24 hours was broken in order to hide the irregularities reported by the CVC. The person responsible for this lapse who has committed this gross irregularity should immediately be punished. The price of an item of Re.1 has been tendered for a price ten times higher. It is a very serious report

from the CVC. There is not a single agency on which allegation has not been leveled. It has a mention about the DDA as well which is directly under the Lieutenant Governor. A minimum of 50 per cent quality assurance was not there in the work. Who is responsible for all these irregularities mentioned in the CVC report? CAG report says that there is no coordination. Who is responsible for this? Hon. Minister of Sports says that he is not concerned. The Committees formed in the meeting of Consultative Committee entrusted the foremost responsibility on the Minister of Sports. Commonwealth Games Federation, Organising Committee, Youth Affairs and Sports Ministry, Group of Ministers and the Lt. Governor of Delhi, everyone was assigned its task. I would like to know this much only as to why we are being let down throughout the world while we are discussing here about the bungling and corruption being done by various departments of the Government of India and the State Government of Delhi.

The Committees were constituted in January, 2005. Did the reports of the irregularities not come up before these Committees from 2005 to 2010? If not, then who is responsible and if the reports were received, why no action was taken. Who is responsible for not taking action? I doubt that the Hon. Minister of Sports will be able to provide reply regarding all these departments. Was not the Government aware of the discussions of the High Level Committee? Who is responsible for the corruption at such a large scale?

The sportsmen do not have home advantage since the stadia are not ready. The good and renowned sportsmen are refusing to take part in this event. The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports claims that an amount of Rs. 11,494 crore has been spent while the CAG says that an amount of Rs. 12,888 crore has been spent. So, where is this difference of amount of Rs. 1500 crore being spent? Where has it gone? Nobody knows. Recently, a new cricket stadium has been built in Nagpur at the cost of Rs. 90 crore. But for the renovation only of Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, an amount of Rs. 961 crore has been spent. What was the condition of the Velodrome when the Hon. Minister went there for its inauguration? Due to its defective nature, it is yet to receive the No Objection Certificate. Has the defectiveness of the Karni Singh Shooting Range come up

or not? The website of the Cycling Federation of India does not have information with regard to its members and the names of the sportsmen who are likely to take part in the event. The most serious thing is that we have not even thought about the sportspersons. What is the condition of the practice at the Shooting Range? The office bearers and the sportsmen of the Federation have claimed that they have not been provided equipment. We do not know whether cycles have come or not for the Cycling Federation. The stadiums are not ready as yet for these sports. I would like to submit a few things about the Government of Delhi. The Government of Delhi got Rs. 4720 crore. People said that Delhi is being beautified. Around 90 to 95 per cent money has been spent on building these stadium and creating the infrastructure. Even today there is shortage of water and power in Delhi. Every where there are dilapidated roads and the problem of water logging. The Yamuna has been polluted for years together. I fail to understand as to what sort of infrastructural development is going on. Hostels have been got vacated from the students. Even after that the infrastructure is not ready. DDA was supposed to construct 5000 flats. Today, they say that only 1500 flats will be constructed and handed over. Where will the linesmen, umpires and technical people stay?

The CPWD has leveled an allegation on the Organising Committee that the delay in construction of the stadium is due to frequent changes in the design suggested by the Organising Committee. Whether these changes in the design were got approved or not? Stern action should be taken against the persons found guilty. A Joint Parliamentary Committee should be set up or a CBI enquiry should be got conducted and this scam should be enquired into. ■

Editorials & Opinions



Singh must respond

Manmohan Singh must respond his refers to the report, "SC puts T PM in dock, Govt under pressure" (November 17). Mr Manmohan Singh, almost from the very beginning when he took over as Prime Minister in 2004, displayed his bureaucratic tendency to sit over decision-making and not lead firmly as required by his office.

Around the same time, there were some voices stressing the fact that UPA chairperson Sonia Gandhi exercised influence over the PMO to a large extent, which even devalued the office. Thus, the impression that Mr Singh was in office but not in power gained ground.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has let the grass grow under his feet as he has delayed or failed to take corrective measures at numerous instances in the past. The delay in responding to the allegations of corruption in the 2G Spectrum scam serves as a fine example of his tendency to put off. In the last two years when the scam first came to the fore, the Prime Minister did little to rein in his Cabinet colleague, former Union Telecom Minister A Raja, notwithstanding the latter's claim that the PMO was always apprised at every stage of the decision-making.

What is the use of much-vaunted, much-celebrated personal probity and honesty of Mr Singh if he fails to take prompt actions against blatant wrongdoings? In each recent cases of corruption like the Commonwealth Games or the 2G Spectrum allocation, the required action is too little, too late.

The Supreme Court has appropriately put the Prime Minister

in the dock for inaction and silence for too long. Is it not a national shame for a supposed man of integrity to be found wanting by the top most judiciary? At any rate, in a democracy where all are supposed to be equal in the eyes of law, why should there be any special protection for Ministers and senior bureaucrats in the form of prior approval of the Government to prosecute them if they are accused of any illegal acts? It is arbitrary and undemocratic. ■

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Over To The Opposition

By Shalini Singh

After Raja's ouster, parliamentarians must help take the 2G scam clean-up to its logical conclusion

The media-led telecom investigation into the 2G spectrum scam was wrapped up nice and clean between May 2007 and 2008. Now, after two years of inertia, the CAG's corroboration of facts and the intervention of the courts have ensured that telecom minister A Raja - the poster boy of the spectrum scam and the ugly face of coalition politics - has finally gone.

Despite Raja's refusal to acknowledge blame, his being edged out of office has lent a sense of public vindication, a reaffirmation of belief in justice. But this is just the first step. Real justice is a few miles away and it remains to be seen whether the government bridges this distance on a cycle rickshaw or a bullet train.

Simply put, investigations must be effectively and swiftly concluded and the culprits brought to book by those who have an impeccable track record - perhaps a special investigative team (SIT) under the Supreme Court's oversight. This could require special effort considering there is sufficient correspondence between Raja and the prime minister, which requires the PM to

explain his position. At least five letters between the two were made public between November and December 2007. From these, it is fairly clear the PM was well aware of both the problem with Raja's first-come-first-served (FCFS) policy of allocating spectrum as well as the solution (auction), but did not stop Raja. Raja has further claimed in DoT's affidavit that the telecom ministry never received any legal opinion before proceeding with licence/spectrum allocation, although there is evidence of the law ministry recommending that he consult an eGoM. The PM still failed to restrain Raja.

The role of law officers in the scam is also highly questionable. Several existing procedures were circumvented such as changing the definition of FCFS and advancing the cut-off date of 2G licence applications to benefit private interests. The CAG documents serious allegations of procedural violations, including providing advanced insider information to companies and processing of a large number of applications that failed the eligibility criteria. None of this could have happened without explicit directions from Raja backed by supporting legal opinion. Who gave those opinions if the law ministry did not? This requires vigorous questioning of senior DoT officials at the rank of joint secretaries and above.

Lastly, powerful corporates which, according to the CBI's FIR, entered into criminal conspiracy and collusion that resulted in a loss of Rs 1.76 lakh crore to the public purse could be liable for criminal prosecution. The Delhi high court ruling of July 1999 confirms legal violation and this judgment has not been set aside by the SC in spite of all DoT attempts. In most cases, the promoters of these beneficiary companies could be involved. These investigations are likely to uncover serious violations that go beyond procedure and precedent and require special handling that is way above the CBI's expertise.

The collusion between government officials and businesses will be fortified further as the fire starts to spread beyond the telecom ministry. It is reasonable to expect that investigating agencies will find it hard to delve deep and pierce through the battalions of lawyers these firms will throw at them.

While the size of the scam - and therefore the scope for

derailment of investigations - is mindnumbing, the good news is that the investigation is simplified by the fact that all documents are limited to a dozen or so files, seven or eight officials in Sanchar Bhavan, and three to four senior politicians. With a few exceptions, most documents are available for the asking. Given the relative lack of experience of Raja and his beneficiaries - mostly non-telecom companies - it is clear that many smoking guns would have been left along the way. In addition, the CAG report and the PIL in the SC are fairly watertight evidence to establish the allegations of illegality and compelling culpability of several powerful stakeholders.

Considering these wins, the opposition parties would do well to shift tack from aggression to cool, calculated debate on the findings of the CAG report. Meaningless shouting going forward could undermine the gains of the last five days. A serious debate in Parliament this week, followed by a well thought out strategy for an effective investigation, is likely to deliver far better results than blocking Parliament.

A public debate will force the government to defend the indefensible, which will only confirm the allegations of the BJP and the Left parties. The opposition has on its side, facts, figures, the government auditor's report indicting Raja, the scalp of a tainted minister, a PIL being heard in the SC and, most importantly, growing public outrage backed by media support for bringing the guilty to book. It will do well to convert this to serious political advantage by ripping open the mystery of the scam and informing the public how this affects their lives. Since the Congress and DMK have no explanations to offer, the opposition is best advised to leave meaningless shouting to them by offering them ample opportunity to expose themselves.

So far, the media and the CAG have overcome all hurdles to emerge powerful catalysts in the 2G scam relay race. Is the opposition ready to take up the baton and play a meaningful role in taking the investigation to its logical conclusion? Wellinformed debate is critical to pin the blame - and that can only happen in Parliament. ■

A tense balance

The appearance of a judiciary-executive faceoff would not help in the clean-up

In an unusual and attention getting move, the Supreme Court has asked why the prime minister had done nothing for over 11 months, in response to a petition sent by Janata Party leader Subramanian Swamy, asking for action against former Telecom Minister A. Raja. That question is indeed pressing, and what the whole country wants to know.

Why did the prime minister straddle the fence for so long when he was clearly aware of the rulebending over the 2G spectrum allocation? Manmohan Singh has certainly squandered some moral capital over this spectrum scandal. The image of integrity is arguably the biggest strength he has, and by letting this scam fester for so long, the prime minister and the Congress party have put that at risk. This is why it is important that the DMK does not get the telecom ministry back.

Even so, the Supreme Court is treading dangerous territory. The relationship between the judiciary and the executive is delicate and tremendously important. When an institution as august as the apex court makes these remarks, they cannot be easily swatted away. The last thing that the court or the executive would like is the appearance of a judiciary-government faceoff. At the moment the government and the Congress party face a crisis of credibility for accommodating the telecom swindle for so long. The investigations into the full dimensions of the spectrum scam -the political actors, the civil servants, lobbyists and corporations -must be thorough, just and punishing.

This intense attention on the prime minister is a good thing -it

has sent a powerful ripple through the political system, and will certainly drive home the point that India is more unforgiving of corruption than ever before. Manmohan Singh, as the man who leads this government, cannot evade responsibility for cleaning up now. But it must still be remembered that the fight against corruption must proceed along established procedures of law, and not insinuation -to resolutely focus on the prime minister and vent all the disappointment and anger might be satisfying for the public and convenient for the opposition, but it distracts from the harder work of finding out how processes were subverted. Culpability must be assigned with care, and a sense of proportion. ■



CAG's damning report

After such knowledge, what forgiveness?

The much-talked about and speculated upon report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General on the shameful manner in which 2G Spectrum was allotted to certain corporate entities, many of them shell companies, at a throwaway price by then Telecom Minister and now disgraced DMK MP A Raja, has been made public by the Government, obviously with the intention of blunting the Opposition's relentless and eversharpening attack. But if the idea of placing the report in Parliament was to try and put a lid on the scandal that is threatening to tar the Congress and has raised a big question mark over the Prime Minister's ability to exercise his authority over wayward Cabinet colleagues, then it is unlikely to work. The CAG's report is a damning indictment of a venal politician high on bluster and low on scruples who was given charge of an important Ministry and who converted it into a cash-and-carry counter, corrupt bureaucrats who willingly colluded with their political master for reasons that do not require elaboration and greedy corporates that think nothing of violating laws in their lust for windfall profits. The report also exposes, though not for the

first time, two important aspects of public life in India: The system of checks and balances which we believe exists lies in a shambles; and, the regulatory mechanism without which the private sector becomes a happy hunting ground for carpet baggers and buccaneers is more often than not an anaemic institution staffed with time-serving babus for whom a regulator's job is a post-retirement sinecure, a reward for services rendered in the past. Last, though not the least, the report shows the vice-like grip which lobbyists have come to wield on Ministries and institutions of the state by resorting to the expedient means of greasing palms to subvert policy or get it tailored to suit the requirements of their clients.

Audit reports are never laudatory, nor are they expected to be. Often the CAG's office gets obsessed with obscure rules and regulations that have been rendered meaningless in the post-liberalisation phase. It's also true that the CAG's office is known to needlessly nit-pick and highlight inconsequential details if only to demonstrate that it does a thorough job of combing files. But it would be uncharitable to describe the CAG's report on the 2G Spectrum scam as an exercise in picking holes and no different from any of its other reports. If anything, the 2G Spectrum report belongs to the same category as the CAG's devastating indictment of the Rajiv Gandhi Government for signing the flawed Bofors deal which involved payment of bribes to individuals and entities (it was later proved that the primary beneficiary was the Italian middleman Ottavio Quattrocchi known for his proximity to the Congress's first family). The Opposition, as with the Bofors bribery scandal, this time too is demanding the setting up of a Joint Parliamentary Committee to look into charges of corruption. Irrespective of whether or not that demand is conceded by the Government, it is expected to initiate action in accordance with the findings contained in the CAG's report. Indeed, if Mr Manmohan Singh wishes to mend the tattered image of a Prime Minister who chose not to stop his Minister from pulling off a `1.76 lakh crore scam, he should take the initiative without any delay. ■

Congress's corruption raj

Sacking Chavan or Kalmadi a mere ruse

The Congress has clearly painted itself into T a corner over the issue of corruption in the UPA Government and in Maharashtra where the party is in power with Mr Sharad Pawar's NCP. When the involvement of Chief Minister Ashok Chavan in the Adarsh Cooperative Housing scam -in which prime property belonging to the defence forces was grabbed for building a block of exclusive apart ments by violating every possible rule and law -was exposed, the Congress's top leaders were understandably stunned. They could not have expected such damning evidence of senior party leaders being caught with their hands in the till; worse, the disclosures came within weeks of the ey in the guise of organising the Commonwealth scandalous loot of public money in the guise of organising the Commonwealth Games becoming public knowledge. Earlier, the Congress had desperately sought to gloss over the corrupt ways of a senior Minister in the Union Cabinet affiliated to the DMK, a major ally of the party. But its efforts to pretend that Mr A Raja had committed no wrong in what has come to be known as the `2G scandal' have come to naught: The party which leads the UPA itself stands denuded of probity and integrity; it cannot be expected to cover up for others. True, the Congress has tried to cut its losses by issuing marching orders to Mr Chavan whose name shall now feature on Maharashtra's rather long list of former Chief Ministers, but in the popular perception this `disciplinary' action is too little, too late. After all, it's not Mr Chavan alone who was involved in the Adarsh scam but a large number of Congress leaders in Maharashtra.

Similarly, little will be achieved by the Congress in sacking Mr Suresh Kalmadi, chairman of the Commonwealth Games Organising Committee, from his post as parliamentary party secretary. Once again, he alone is not to blame for the 'Great CWG Robbery' which took place under the watch of the Congress Government in Delhi headed by Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit. If the Congress had been sincere about purging the party of corrupt leaders, then it would have acted against others too. The sacking of Mr Kalmadi is no more than a ruse, a ploy to distract attention from the party's failure -critics would say reluctance -to punish those who are to blame for the shame and ignominy heaped on India for their brazen misappropriation of taxpayers' money.

We will no doubt see the Congress feigning hurt innocence; the party will accuse the Opposition of levelling baseless allegations to soil its pristine image.

But that's unlikely to carry conviction. Whenever the Congress has come to power, its leaders have resorted to every possible trick to feather their nests.

The story of the Congress and the saga of corruption in India are part of the same narrative of declining ethics and vanishing probity. It is this cynical attitude that ensures corrupt Ministers affiliated to the Congress's partners remain untouched despite overwhelming evidence against them. It is this criminal indifference that makes a Prime Minister whose publicists do not tire of projecting him as a man of impeccable integrity hostage to the misdeeds of his Cabinet colleagues. And it is this abuse of power to protect corrupt individuals that has led to the exoneration of crooks like Ottavio Quattrocchi. India, which is seen as one of the most corrupt countries in the world, deserves far better than a party which sees nothing wrong with public money being diverted to private accounts. Probity must be restored to public life. ■

It's Reigning Scams

Corruption pervades but it can be halted

The collapse of an unauthorised building in Delhi, killing 67 people as its dismally-constructed floors gave way to seepage, demonstrates how corruption has become a way of life. Recent news has been dominated by one disgrace following another. Barely had the dust from the Commonwealth Games exposes settled that the Adarsh housing scam appeared, the nation shocked by the army standing alongside disgraced politicians. Meanwhile, A Raja's resignation following the 2G spectrum scam provides little relief either, with new improprieties unearthed everyday.

Gaining inappropriately from a range of sectors, cattle fodder to civil aviation, corruption knows no limits. Its width and depth cut across party lines. While the Congress must shoulder shame for the reign of scams it has given the public, the BJP, represented by Karnataka's Yeddyurappa regime, is no better. First accused of shielding the Reddy brothers, infamous for illegal mining deals, Yeddyurappa now stands charged of improper land allotments to family.

These scams highlight the controls India's government retains on physical resources and contracting processes. Systems of managing them are byzantine in nature, fatiguing citizens with opaqueness and red tape. That offers ample opportunities for rent extraction, as bribery becomes a quick way to get permits. A 'crony' culture also exists, with contracts being awarded to the most fawning of supporters backing a municipal officer, MLA, MP or minister. India is not alone in this. Such tendencies develop where government retains tight-fisted control over land and services. In

2008, an earthquake in China killed 70,000 people. Around 10,000 children were killed in collapsed schools alone, built with poor materials, developers evading building codes, pandering to other demands. The situation in India, with unaccountable and corrupt authorities persecuting the ordinary while permitting the impermissible, is truly worrying.

Yet there are ways forward. The Chinese state sentences those guilty of corruption even to death. Our media does a commendable job in unearthing scams. However, it is not enough that the accused resign. They should be arrested, with thorough coverage of probes and sentencing thereafter. Municipal and commercial norms should be simplified, becoming conducive to genuine enterprise, not bribery or cronyism. Using tools like the RTI and PILs, citizens' groups should seek information about officials, offenders, builders and destroyers, demanding to know why streets stay pot-holed, how structures made of sand pop up and who the least and most ethical public officers are. Activism should encompass the poor. The east Delhi building contained units employing child workers, many killed as the structure collapsed. Corruption must be halted as a way of life before it becomes one of death as well. ■



Articles

Who spawned this culture?

By Chandan Mitra

Sonia Gandhi's lament against greed and graft sounds ironic considering the Congress's predominant role in breeding corruption in the country

UPA chairperson Sonia Gandhi has lamented that "greed and graft" are increasing by leaps and bounds in India even as the country is growing rapidly. Few would disagree with her profound observation. But some may well find it difficult to suppress a snigger. Of all the mind-boggling scams that have come into the public domain in recent days, almost each has a Congress imprint on it. So, are we to conclude that a saddened Sonia Gandhi actually had in mind the culpability of the very party of which she is president? There is hardly a single major case of financial irregularity, defalcation of public funds, suppression of evidence and dilution of cases against the accused, in which the Congress is, willy-nilly, not involved.

Arguably it was a DMK Minister who was involved in the "mother of all scams" which cost the exchequer Rs1.76 lakh crore. Certain other cases concerning possession of assets disproportionate to income hanging fire in the Supreme Court concern non-Congress leaders such as Ms Mayawati, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav and Mr Laloo Prasad Yadav. But in these cases too, the Union Government is a big player because it happily uses the CBI to turn the heat on or simmer it down as and when political expediency demands. The Congress is past master at manipulating the system and the two

UPA regimes, directly controlled by Ms Sonia Gandhi, have employed these skills to the hilt. Her party's Governments in the States have deftly garnered vast sums of money by processing deals involving land, power projects and other development works. By all reckoning the Congress has accumulated a huge stockpile of cash over the last few years.

I know Ms Sonia Gandhi does not like to be reminded of Bofors. Arguably, she may not have had any direct role in the case that marked the beginning of the contemporary saga of corruption in high places. Many believe her deceased husband was too new to politics, too naïve and too malleable when the scam happened and probably got trapped into it. But if Ottavio Quattrocchi, the controversial India head of Snam Progetti, had nothing to do with the Bofors kickbacks, why did he run away from India and why has he fought bitter legal battles in Malaysia and Argentina to ward off deportation? Why was the UPA Government in unseemly hurry to close the Bofors case and unblock Quattrocchi's bank account in London in which the Government suspected the Bofors kickbacks were stashed away? The country could never authoritatively find out who got the bribe money although it was admitted that Rs 64 crore (a laughable amount by today's scam standards) was paid back to 'facilitators' in the Bofors deal.

To be fair, not every major instance of corruption in high places involves the country's First Family. Rajiv Gandhi's successor, PV Narasimha Rao, did not emerge unscathed from charges, first in the Harshad Mehta suitcase transaction and later in the urea pilferage. In the second case, although the investigative agencies got two Turkish dealers back to India and locked them up in Tihar Jail (they have spent more than 15 years behind bars for being stupid enough to return to the scene of crime), the money is nowhere near recovery. A sum of Rs 150 crore was paid by way of kickbacks although not one kilo of urea actually landed in India. So, where did the money go? Although the needle of suspicion points to the obvious, we will never know. Indian investigative agencies are well trained in the art of obfuscation and diversion of inquiry to ensure that the real culprits are never brought to book.

Similar instances involving the Congress and its exalted leaders

can be multiplied indefinitely. The point, however, is simple. The culture of "greed and graft" that suddenly appears to have worried Ms Sonia Gandhi is a gift to the nation by the party over which she has presided continuously for the last 14 years. She is not responsible for spawning this culture; but certainly she has done nothing to curb it and, many believe, she has been one of its biggest beneficiaries. It is not that other parties are doodh ka dhula (sparkling clean). The BJP came under fire during its tenure at the Centre for scams of various magnitudes although most turned out to be inconsequential. Even the CPI(M), which prides itself on probity, has been charged with corruption in the Lavalin scandal in Kerala and certain land deals in West Bengal.

Giving the benefit of the doubt to Ms Sonia Gandhi, it is possible that after successive jolts over CWG, Adarsh Housing Society and 2G in recent months, she has decided things have spun out of control. She may have realised that the brazen actions of Spectrum Raja have ignited fires that may singe even 'Mr Clean' Manmohan Singh. That realisation may have prompted her to don the mantle of crusader against graft, no matter how ill it might fit on her frame.

If so, Ms Sonia Gandhi would do well to call for some material on how her native country combated the scourge of corruption in public life in the 1980s and 1990s. She could look up case studies of the so-called Tangentopoli trials in Milan in which public spirited citizens (today's civil society), the media, some honest law-enforcement officials and sections of the judiciary came together to expose a section of politicians, bureaucrats and the underworld that had corrupted the system almost beyond redemption. Maybe the model is not entirely replicable. It hinged on a few local politicians being arrested for graft and then tried in court, which in an unprecedented move ordered that the trials be televised live. People sat glued to their sets for months as politicians and bureaucrats were grilled, and those found guilty handed severe jail sentences. Fear gripped the corrupt throughout the country and Italy cleaned up its act.

But will Ms Sonia Gandhi have the courage to order a purge? Will she direct the agencies to round up all the scam tainted Union and State Ministers and put them on trial? Can she afford to put in

the dock babus who have done her party's bidding all these decades? Can it be ensured that the cases will be heard only by judges that are comparable to Caesar's wife? Will the Government at least agree to remove its handpicked CVC who as Telecom Secretary had drafted a note arguing that telecom issues must be kept out of the CVC's purview? Despite intense media activism in India can it be said with certainty any more that top bosses in media houses are not susceptible to influence-peddling if not direct beneficiaries of the prevailing culture of graft?

All this may sound cynical, although I am not a pessimist by nature. But one thing is certain: As long as the Congress retains its dominance over India's political culture, greed and graft will only rise, never abate. ■

(Writer is Editor-in-Chief of the Pioneer and a Rajya Sabha MP)

Yatha praja tatha Raja

By Kanchan Gupta

It's virtually impossible to check the veracity of AIADMK leader J Jayalalithaa's assertion that the loss to the public exchequer on account of l'affaire Raja is more than the cumulative loot of India by its colonial masters during the days of John Company and later the British Raj. We could try and compute the official gains of the Empire from records in India House, but the value of the loot, in the strictest sense of the term, would be anybody's guess. It is possible that the profits, both legitimate and illegitimate, that filled coffers in Britain over 200 years of its colonial enterprise in this part of the world added up to less than Rs1.76 lakh crore. Or, it is equally possible that it far exceeded the net worth of the Empire of Greed that A Raja built during his tenure as Telecom Minister under the tutelage of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Politicians are

given to exaggeration and Ms Jayalalithaa is no exception.

Yet, the enormity of Raja's loot can be minimised only at the risk of aping spokespersons of the Congress who refuse to accept that spectrum was sold for a song to firms many of whom came into being only to grab a slice of the 2G pie. There is the additional risk of being seen as justifying the Prime Minister's refusal to prevent the 'Great 2G Spectrum Robbery' since not to do so would be to repudiate the dharma of coalition politics. Needless to say, there was nothing dharmic about either Raja's stunningly bald-faced defiance of all norms of probity or the Prime Minister's resounding silence over the plunder that took place under his watch. By no stretch of the imagination does coalition politics mean allowing allies to denude the nation of its wealth: Rs1.76 lakh crore is not exactly pocket money even in these days of rampaging inflation.

The outpouring of moral outrage over Raja's crime may have served the purpose of forcing one of the most corrupt Ministers (by no means was he the lone wolf in the Cabinet) in the present regime to quit office in disgrace although he remains defiant as ever. But it has also swamped a revealing report on Global Financial Integrity that was released last week. The details of the report indicate the extent of corruption in India and confirm what we refuse to accept: We are a corrupt society with a corrupt system; a nation that silently indulges in corruption while raucously protesting against it, as is being witnessed at the moment.

The GFI report says, "From 1948 through 2008, India lost a total of \$213 billion in illicit financial flows (or illegal capital flight). These illicit financial flows were generally the product of: Corruption, bribery and kickbacks and criminal activities." Illicit financial flows pertain to the "cross-border movement of money that is illegally earned, transferred, or utilised"; they generally involve "the transfer of money earned through illegal activities such as corruption, transactions involving contraband goods, criminal activities, and efforts to shelter wealth from a country's tax authorities". The total of \$213 billion is a misleading figure because "the present value of India's illicit financial flows is at least \$462 billion," the GFI report explains, adding, "This is based on the short-term US Treasury bill rate as a proxy for the rate of return on assets."

What we are looking at is illicit financial flows of Rs 20.85 lakh crore over 60 years. This, however, is not the sum total of all illicit gains through corrupt practices. "This estimate is conservative," the GFI report says, adding a cautionary note, "as it does not include several major forms of value drainages out of poorer countries not represented by money." Among these 'major forms of value drainages', the report says, are trade mispricing that is handled by collusion between importers and exporters within the same invoice; the proceeds of criminal and commercial smuggling such as drugs, minerals and contraband goods; and, mispriced asset swaps where ownership of commodities, shares and properties are traded without a cash flow. All this should sound very familiar to Indian ears.

The GFI report points out that the "total capital flight represents approximately 16.6 per cent of India's GDP as of year-end 2008"; that "illicit financial flows out of India grew at 11.5 per cent per year"; and, that "India lost \$16 billion per year between 2002-2006". Who are responsible for this huge outflow of illicit funds? High net-worth individuals and private companies were found to be the "primary drivers of illicit flows". India's "underground economy is also a significant driver of illicit financial flows".

The report explains that from 1948 through 2008, "the Indian private sector shifted away from deposits into developed country banks and towards increased deposits in offshore financial centres", also known as 'tax havens' from where money was accessed by many of the fly-by-night operators who benefited from Raja's largesse. The fact that deposits in tax havens have increased from 36.4 per cent of illicit financial flows in 1995 to 54.2 per cent in 2009 tells its own story.

The GFI report also provides some other interesting insights. For instance, contrary to the claims of successive Governments, more vociferously by the UPA regime, India's underground economy, which is "closely tied to illicit financial outflows", continues to expand by the day. The present value of illicit assets held abroad (\$462 billion) "accounts for approximately 72 per cent of India's underground economy - which has been estimated to account for 50 per cent of India's GDP (\$640 billion at the end of 2008)". Just above a quarter of illicit assets are held domestically.

Champions of unrestricted free market economics and liberalisation insist that these will help fight the menace of corruption and the acquisition of illicit wealth. This is what the GFI report says: "In the post-reform period of 1991-2008, deregulation and trade liberalisation accelerated the outflow of illicit money from the Indian economy. Opportunities for trade mispricing grew and expansion of the global shadow financial system - particularly island tax havens - accommodate the increased outflow of India's illicit capital flight." What should also cause concern is the statistical correlation between increasing illicit financial flows and deteriorating income distribution.

A country where lobbyists have Ministers wrapped around their little fingers and can get policy tweaked to suit the interests of unscrupulous corporate, a society which sees nothing wrong with greasing the palms of babus, policemen and politicians to get services to which people are entitled, a nation whose people believe it is perfectly alright to jump the queue by paying middlemen and bribing the crook at the counter, and a people inure to the crime of corruption should not feign anger and outrage over Raja emptying the till while cocking a snook at one and all, including the Prime Minister.

We are what we are, and so are those whom we elect to office.■

(Courtesy : The Pioneer)

Storm warning

By Arun Nehru

Two years after an estimated loss of `1,76,000 crore to the exchequer from former Union telecom minister A. Raja's allocation of 2G spectrum, he has finally been ousted from the Cabinet. The 2G scam is like a theatre owner buying the entire lot of tickets available for a Bollywood blockbuster like Dabangg on the first day and then selling the tickets in black, on a "first come
A government of the scams, by the scams, for the scams

first serve" basis to the public.

"Spectrum Raja" may have left but the issues persist, foremost among them the question of "coalition blackmail". While all initial steps are positive, the fact is that it took more than 15 months for action to be initiated. Few, if any, are confident of a fair probe by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), which is very much in control of the United Progressive Alliance-2 government.

The Supreme Court has sought an explanation from the government as to why the Prime Minister did not act on the letter written by former law minister Subramanian Swamy seeking sanction to prosecute Mr Raja.

We will now witness a flurry of activity on the alleged corruption in Commonwealth Games-related projects. Recently, two key aides of Commonwealth Games organising committee chief Suresh Kalmadi - T.S. Darbari and Sanjay Mohindroo - were arrested by the CBI for their alleged involvement in the Queen's Baton Relay scam and Mr Kalmadi, along with many others, may soon follow.

We could have a similar situation in the Adarsh Cooperative Housing Society scam. I wonder if all this will put the 2G-spectrum scam in the background? It remains to be seen whether the Congress will try to deal with this through the usual procedures and technicalities or will it act firmly against fraud and corruption.

The Congress would make a serious error of judgment in opposing a free and fair probe into this scam. The nation has been robbed and this issue will not fade away soon. It will take little effort to reveal the details - the intelligence agencies, along with the enforcement directorate (ED) and the income-tax department, have all the audio tapes. Few things will remain secret in this investigation.

I think there is little alternative but for the Supreme Court to monitor this investigation as the CBI has little credibility. If cases in Gujarat can be monitored by the Supreme Court then should it be any different in the case of the 2G spectrum scam?

MR RAJA is sure to drag down the entire Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) family, their associates and many industry stalwarts along with a host of politicians cutting across party lines.

As we have seen in the Indian Premier League controversy, besides cash there is also a system of "sweat equity" (people who have contributed their time and effort), minority share holdings and offshore investors in Mauritius and other countries.

The payouts on hundreds of thousands of crores are very difficult to hide and all concerned will fight a ferocious battle for survival and create diversions. But one should not forget that besides the interests of the ruling party and the Opposition, an impartial media exists, most of which, fortunately, is not in control of anyone.

There is little point in talking of high personal standards of integrity unless these are reflected in governance. Clearly, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has much to do in the next few days.

The financial mafia is destroying political authority. Unless all political parties get together and find a way to establish a transparent system of political funds, this cancer will continue to grow.

The Opposition is united in its approach and if there is even the slightest hint of any delay or a cover-up, the scam will hit Dr Singh and UPA-2.

We do not live in a perfect world and in politics, over the years, things have changed, both for the better and the worse. Coalitions, by nature, are fragile, but since we cannot form a new government every year, compromises are necessary. And this is what we have seen in the case of the 2G scam.....■

(The writer is a former Union minister)

(Courtesy : The Asian Age)

BJP National Spokesperson, Smt. Nirmala Sitharaman on Adarsh Housing scam on 30 October 2010

- ❖ Yet another scandal has come out of the corrupt Congress stables. It is fast emerging as the Corruption Party of India.
- ❖ As related to Shri Ashok Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, this is the second scandal. It is relevant here to remind ourselves that the matter of paid news in which the CM's name is connected is sub-judice.
- ❖ The 2G scam, the Commonwealth scam, the foodgrains scam and now the Adarsh Co-operative Housing society scam.
- ❖ This is a copy book case of corruption and nepotism going hand in hand. Congress politicians, bureaucrats, a select group of military top brass and their kith and kin have worked together to bend rules, manipulate clearances and all for this pecuniary gains.
- ❖ Irony is that this whole scandal has been shamelessly put up in the name of Kargil war widows and veterans.
- ❖ The 31 storey, 104 flats complex is built on land which is a part of Colaba defence station. The land was in the custody of the Army. The Army has reiterated that the complex is a security threat while replying to defence ministry's enquiry. A defence ministry's initial probe also indicates criminal conspiracy involving politician, bureaucrats and generals.
- ❖ The pecuniary gain to the society members is striking. The society had paid only just over Rs. 16 crore to the state government for this prime land measuring about four acres which individual members will pay only 10% of the going rate in the area. Let us remind ourselves that some of the society members are private individuals who are also relatives of politicians and bureaucrats.

- ❖ The Vice-Admiral Sanjeev Bhasin wrote to the State Chief Secretary, Principal Secretary, Urban development and the municipal commission about the security risk the tower poses even 3 months ago.
- ❖ The change in land use has happened with malafide intentions. Wasn't Shri Ashok Chavan the Revenue Minister then? And Shri Vilas Rao Deshmukh was the Chief Minister then?
- ❖ A few entrepreneurs with malafide intentions have roped in a select band of high ranking officers, politicians and bureaucrats. The enormity of the scandal can be understood by the fact that four members of the State Chief Minister's household are directly involved in this scandal; including Late Smt. Bhagwati Sharma. Other members in the society are :
 - ♦ son of ex-Chief Secretary of the State, Mr. D.K. Sankaran
 - ♦ ex-Army Chiefs, Gen. N.C. Vij and Gen. Deepak Kapoor
 - ♦ an ex-Naval Chief, Admiral Madhvendra Singh
 - ♦ ex-Vice Chief of Army, Lt. Gen. Shantanu Chowdhary
 - ♦ family members of Union Minister Sharad Pawar
 - ♦ former Admiral Raman Prem Suthan
 - ♦ Lt Gen Gurbaksh Singh
 - ♦ Major General T K Kaul, GOC, Maharashtra and Gujarat Area
 - ♦ Maj Gen Varinder Singh
 - ♦ Ramchandra Sonelal Thakur, Subdivisional officer, Defence Estates
 - ♦ Mamta Kanade, wife of senior IAS officer Ramesh Kanade
 - ♦ P V Deshmukh, deputy secretary, urban development department
 - ♦ Six relatives of senior Maharashtra IAS officers
 - ♦ State legislators and bureaucrats etc.

The direct complicity of the Maharashtra Chief Minister has been irrefutably established by documents indicating that he was in touch with Adarsh Cooperative Housing Society office-bearers even as the State Revenue Minister in 2000 and that so many

of his relatives own flats in this Society. In 1999-2000, when the file was being processed, Ashok Chavan was the Revenue Minister, a department that deals with land allotments in the state. And when the project got its final clearance by the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA), he is the Chief Minister and the MMRDA reports to him.

- ♦ The BJP fully recognises the dignity honour dedication and commitment of every soldier of the Indian Armed Forces. We hope and demand that nothing is done to dishonour the services or de-motivate their rank and file. Why is the Congress silent?

The BJP demands

- ♦ A comprehensive probe by a sitting Supreme Court judge.
- ♦ The Central Government should invoke the Defence of India Rules, a legislative that empowers the centre to act in the security interest of India, to cancel the Society's Occupation Certificate.
- ♦ Large extents of lands belong to the Army and the Railway both of which are with the central government. The Union Government should take immediate steps to provide safeguard and a systematic protection of their lands.



घोटालों की सरकार : संप्रग सरकार

संप्रग सरकार द्वारा किए गए अनगिनत घोटालों से न केवल संसद और देश की जनता स्तब्ध है, बल्कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट भी प्रधानमंत्री की रहस्यमयी चुप्पी पर हैरान है। यह घोटाले कोई सामान्य घोटाले नहीं हैं, बल्कि इतने बड़े घोटाले हैं कि इनमें देश का पूरा रक्षा बजट समा सकता है। घोटाले सिर्फ एक दो नहीं, बल्कि कई हैं। इनमें टू जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन घोटाला, आदर्श हाउसिंग सोसाइटी घोटाला एवं राष्ट्रमंडल खेल आयोजन में हुए घोटाले इसके ताजातरीन घोटाले हैं।

सुप्रीम कोर्ट भी प्रधानमंत्री की चुप्पी पर परेशान है। आजादी के बाद यह पहला मौका है, जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने प्रधानमंत्री की कार्यशैली को लेकर इस तरह के प्रश्न खड़े किये।

हालांकि भ्रष्टाचार के गंभीर आरोप से घिरे ए. राजा की विदाई हो गई, लेकिन उनसे त्यागपत्र लेने में जिस तरह जरूरत से ज्यादा समय लिया गया और संप्रग सरकार जिस प्रकार उसके बचाव में खड़ी रही उससे यह साफ है कि यह सरकार भ्रष्टाचार को लेकर गंभीर नहीं है।

अशोक चव्हाण को तब हटाया गया जब इसके अलावा और कोई चारा नहीं रह गया था और सुरेश कलमाड़ी के खिलाफ कार्रवाई करने में अभी भी संकोच किया जा रहा है। कलमाड़ी को कांग्रेस के एक मामूली पद से हटाना देश की आखों में धूल झोंकना है। राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों की तैयारियों में भारी भ्रष्टाचार इसलिए नहीं हुआ कि कलमाड़ी कांग्रेस के पदाधिकारी थे, बल्कि इसलिए हुआ कि वह इन खेलों की आयोजन समिति के अध्यक्ष थे।

इन सभी बातों से यह स्पष्ट है कि मनमोहन सरकार में भ्रष्टाचार से लड़ने की राजनीतिक इच्छाशक्ति शून्य है। यह इसी शून्य राजनीतिक इच्छाशक्ति का परिणाम रहा कि राजा इतने लंबे समय तक अपने पद पर बने रहे। कायदे से उनकी छुट्टी तभी हो जानी चाहिए थी जब पहली बार यह उजागर हुआ

था।

राजा की मनमानी के खिलाफ दिल्ली हाईकोर्ट ने भी प्रतिकूल टिप्पणी की थी और नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक ने भी, लेकिन केंद्र सरकार ने उन्हें क्लीनचिट दे दी। कृपया गौर करें कि यह क्लीनचिट किसी और ने नहीं, खुद प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह ने दी थी।

2जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन की जांच करने वाली सीबीआई को उच्चतम न्यायालय ने फटकार लगाई और यह सवाल खड़ा किया कि दूरसंचार मंत्री अभी तक अपने पद पर क्यों विराजमान हैं?

कैंग ने यह आकलन पेश किया कि 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम के मनमाने आवंटन से राजस्व को हुई क्षति एक लाख 76 हजार 379 करोड़ रुपये है।

हद तो तब हो गई जब उच्चतम न्यायालय में एक हलफनामा पेश कर यह कहा गया कि राजा ने कोई गलती नहीं की है और 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन का उद्देश्य राजस्व जुटाना नहीं, बल्कि टेलीफोन की उपलब्धता बढ़ाना था।

केंद्र सरकार हरसंभव तरीके से इस तथ्य की अनदेखी करती रही कि राजा ने किस तरह उन कंपनियों को भी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटित किए जो पात्र नहीं थीं और इनमें से कुछ कंपनियों ने किस प्रकार अपनी हिस्सेदारी बेचकर अपनी झोली भर ली?

यूनीटेक नामक एक कंपनी ने 1631 करोड़ रुपये में 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम हासिल किया और फिर कुछ ही महीनों बाद 67 प्रतिशत हिस्सेदारी एक विदेशी कंपनी को 6200 करोड़ रुपये में बेच दी। उसने 33 प्रतिशत हिस्सेदारी भी बचा ली और बिना कुछ किए 4569 करोड़ रुपये भी बना लिए। बावजूद इसके केंद्र सरकार देश को यह समझाने में लगी रही कि स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन में कोई गड़बड़ी नहीं हुई।

राजा के मंत्रालय ने 2008 में 122 कंपनियों को 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटित किए। इनमें से 85 कंपनियां यूनीटेक सरीखी थीं यानी जो पात्रता शर्तें को पूरी नहीं करती थीं।

इस भी प्रकरणों में संप्रग सरकार राजा के पक्ष में खड़ी थी। केंद्र सरकार यदि चाहती तो वह बहुत आसानी से अक्टूबर 2009 में उसी दिन राजा से मुक्ति पा सकती थी जब सीबीआई ने उनके विभाग में छापेमारी की थी। जो सरकार एक वर्ष एक माह तक अपने परम भ्रष्ट मंत्री का बचाव करती रही

वह किस मुंह से यह कह सकती है कि उसे भ्रष्टाचार सहन नहीं? सबसे अधिक आघातकारी सरकार द्वारा उच्चतम न्यायालय में पेश हलफनामे का यह विवरण है कि उसे कोई राजस्व हानि नहीं हुई।

केंद्र सरकार 2-जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन में अनियमितता और राजस्व क्षति संबंधी नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक की रपट को भी महत्वहीन बता रही है। वह यह देखने के लिए तैयार नहीं कि 2-जी स्पेक्ट्रम हासिल करने वाली कुछ कंपनियों ने किस तरह चंद दिनों में अपनी हिस्सेदारी बेचकर मोटा मुनाफा कमाया। आश्चर्य नहीं कि इस मुनाफे का एक हिस्सा संप्रग नेताओं की जेबों में गया हो।

स्पष्ट है कि उसे 1,76,379 करोड़ रुपये न मिलने का कोई गम नहीं। इस धनराशि से सैकड़ों स्कूल, अस्पताल, पुल आदि निर्मित हो सकते हैं। यह शर्म से डूब मरने वाली बात है कि इस देश में कुपोषण के कारण प्रति वर्ष लाखों बच्चे पाच वर्ष की आयु पूरी करने के पहले ही मर जाते हैं और फिर भी केंद्र सरकार शपथपत्र देकर कहती है कि 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन का उद्देश्य राजस्व जुटाना नहीं था।

दकडु Hkny | drk gsf d dx d usckQk Zrki | krs ean ykyh
[kkus ds vkj ki h vks/kfo; ks Dok=kph dks fd | rjg cpdj fudy
tkusfn; kA ckQk Zrki | kknk gkrs gh Dok=kph ds fLol cid fLFkr
[kkrs ea 70 yk[k Mkyj dh jde ds s vk xb]

vVy fcgkj h okt i s h | j dkj usDok=kph ds cid [kkrs eajkd
yxk nh] yfdu dae ea l dx dh | j dkj vkrs gh ; g jkd
vk'p; t ud rjhds l sgVok nh xbA dkbZ Hkh ; g l e> | drk gS
fd ; g dke 10] tui Fk ds ncko eafd; k x; kA ; g 10] tui Fk ds
ncko dk gh urhtk Fk fd vnkyr ea l hchvkbZ dh vkj l s; g dgk
x; k fd Dok=kph ds f[kykQ ekeyk ugha curkA

हम सभी जानते हैं कि राजस्व के अभाव में शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य ढांचे का खर्च बढ़ाना मुश्किल हो रहा है। उक्त हलफनामे से यह साफ हो गया कि यह संप्रग सरकार की प्राथमिकता में ही नहीं कि शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य पर खर्च बढ़े और शायद यही कारण है कि एक के बाद एक रपटों में यह सामने आ रहा है कि भारत कुपोषणग्रस्त एवं शिक्षा-स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं से वंचित बच्चों और 30 करोड़ से अधिक गरीबों का ठिकाना बना हुआ है।

आदर्श हाउसिंग सोसाइटी घोटाला:

कारगिल शहीदों के प्रति कांग्रेस की खास श्रद्धांजलि!

महाराष्ट्र सरकार के भ्रष्ट नेताओं ने कारगिल युद्ध में शहीद हुए जवानों को इस घोटाले की मार्फत अपने खास अंदाज में श्रद्धांजलि दी है। महाराष्ट्र के कोलाबा में इन शहीदों की विधवाओं के लिए आवंटित भूमि पर बनने वाली आदर्श हाउसिंग सोसाइटी में नेताओं, नौकरशाहों और सेवानिवृत्त सेना प्रमुखों द्वारा जिस प्रकार अपनी राजनीतिक पहुंच का फायदा उठाते हुए अपने और अपने रिश्तेदारों के नाम मकान आवंटित कराए गए, वह पूरे राष्ट्र के लिए शर्म की बात है।

इस घोटाले ने नैतिकता के सभी मापदंड तोड़ दिए। जिस प्रकार नियमों की अनदेखी कर सोसाइटी का निर्माण और इसके प्लैटों का आवंटन हुआ, वह साधारण भ्रष्टाचार नहीं है। इसमें भ्रष्टाचारियों ने कारगिल के नायकों के परिवार वालों के लिए बने प्रमुख स्थान के प्लैटों को हथियाने के लिए सभी नियमों की धज्जियां उड़ा दी। इस तरह यह मामला एक व्यवस्थागत सड़ांध को उजागर करता है। इसलिए मामला सिर्फ चव्हाण का इस्तीफा स्वीकार करने या पद पर बने रहने का नहीं है। यह मामला पूरी भ्रष्ट व्यवस्था से है। क्या कारण है कि महाराष्ट्र में कांग्रेस को कोई स्वच्छ नेता नहीं मिल रहा।

जिस भूखंड पर आदर्श को-ऑपरेटिव हाउसिंग सोसाइटी बनी है, वह देश के सर्वाधिक संवेदनशील माने जाने वाले कोलाबा डिफेंस स्टेशन का हिस्सा है। रक्षा मंत्रालय के दस्तावेज बताते हैं कि कोलाबा की जिस जमीन पर आदर्श सोसायटी का निर्माण हुआ, देश की आजादी से पहले उस पर ब्रिटिश आर्मी का कब्जा था। जब देश आजाद हुआ तो वह जमीन रक्षा मंत्रालय और सेना के कब्जे में आ गई और रक्षा संपदा विभाग के नियंत्रण में रही।

90 के दशक तक यही स्थिति बनी रही, लेकिन इसके बाद इसके दस्तावेजों से छेड़छाड़ आरंभ हो गई। इस जमीन को न केवल लैंड यूजर में परिवर्तित किया गया, बल्कि इसे महाराष्ट्र सरकार की जमीन भी बना दिया गया। बिना कैबिनेट की मंजूरी के रक्षा मंत्रालय की जमीन राज्य सरकार को दिया ही नहीं गया, बल्कि उस पर निर्माण के लिए अनापत्ति प्रमाण-पत्र (एनओसी) भी दे दिया गया।

इस इलाके में जमीन की कीमत अमूमन साठ से अस्सी हजार रुपये प्रति वर्ग फुट है। इस हिसाब से इस इलाके में दो से तीन बेडरूम वाले मकान की कीमत छह से आठ करोड़ रुपये के आसपास बैठती है, लेकिन मकान जिनके-जिनके नाम आवंटित हुए, उन्हें महज साठ लाख से अस्सी लाख रुपये तक ही अदा करने पड़े। आदर्श हाउसिंग सोसायटी में लैट पाने के लिए नेताओं ने जो दस्तावेज जमा किए, उसमें उनकी मासिक आमदनी महज बीस हजार या उससे भी कम बताई गई है, जो हास्यास्पद-सी लगती है।

केंद्रीय पर्यावरण एवं वन मंत्रालय ने इस बात से साफ इनकार किया है कि आदर्श हाउसिंग को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी में बनने जा रही किसी आवासीय इमारत के लिए कोई अनापत्ति प्रमाण-पत्र जारी किया था। मंत्रालय ने यह भी साफ कर दिया है कि तटीय विनियमन जोन-2 के अंतर्गत पड़ने वाली इस भूमि पर बनने वाली बहुमंजिली इमारत के लिए कोई पर्यावरण मंजूरी नहीं ली गई थी।

चिंताजनक बात यह है कि सेना ने रक्षा मंत्रालय द्वारा पूछे जाने पर बार-बार अपने उत्तर में यह कहा था कि संबंधित क्षेत्र सुरक्षा के दृष्टिकोण से खतरनाक है। वाइस-एडमिरल संजीव भसीन ने राज्य के मुख्य सचिव, शहरी विकास विभाग और नगरपालिका आयुक्त को लिखित तौर पर कई बार आगाह किया था कि सुरक्षा कारणों से यह क्षेत्र बेहद संवेदनशील है, लेकिन कांग्रेसी नेताओं के कानों में जूं तक न रेंगी और अपनी राजनीतिक शक्ति का दुरुपयोग करते हुए इस 31 मंजिला इमारत के निर्माण की अनुमति दे डाली।

कॉमनवेल्थ खेल:

99 प्रोजेक्ट में हुआ ५२७ करोड़ का घपला

घोटालों की चपेट में कामनवेल्थ गेम्स भी अछूता नहीं रहा। कॉमनवेल्थ खेलों से जुड़े 11 प्रोजेक्ट में करीब 527 करोड़ रुपये के घपले की आशंका है। सूचना के अधिकार के तहत केंद्रीय सतर्कता आयोग (सीवीसी) से कॉमनवेल्थ खेलों में भ्रष्टाचार के आरोपों की जांच के बाबत मांगी गई सूचना के जवाब में सीवीसी ने 293 पेजों के जवाब से यह बात सामने आई है। सीवीसी इसकी जांच कर रहा है।

सीवीसी की ओर से दी गई जानकारी के मुताबिक कॉमनवेल्थ खेलों के

लिए प्रायोजक तलाशने का काम जिस ऑस्ट्रेलियाई फर्म एसएमएम को सौंपा गया था, वह भी सीवीसी की जांच के दायरे में है। इस फर्म की सेवाएं अगस्त, 2010 में खत्म कर दी गई थीं।

आरटीआई के तहत मांगी गई जानकारी के जवाब में सीवीसी की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि खिलाड़ियों के वॉर्म अप के लिए 45 दिनों तक किराए पर ली गई हर एक ट्रेड मिल के एवज में चुकाया गया 9.75 लाख रुपये की राशि भी जांच में शामिल है। इसके अलावा सीवीसी की जांच के घेरे में मेडिकल उपकरणों की खरीद भी शामिल है।

इसके अलावा क्वींस बेटन रिले की गाड़ियों की ग्राफिक्स, बैनर और होर्डिंग के निर्माण का काम, कम्युनिकेशन नेटवर्क को सुरक्षित रखने के नाम पर खर्च और 3 डी शेरा की सप्लाई करने वाली कंपनी का सौदा भी शक के घेरे में है, जिसकी जांच सीवीसी कर रही है।

बैडमिंटन कोर्ट की खरीद में करीब डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये की हेराफेरी का शक है। सीवीसी के डाक्युमेंट साफ होता है कि कॉमनवेल्थ खेलों से जुड़ी पांच बड़ी परियोजनाओं—तालकटोरा इंडोर स्टेडियम, रिंग रोड बाईपास, बारापुल रोड, एसपी मुखर्जी स्विमिंग पूल और राजाराम कोहली मार्ग ग्रेड सेपरेटर का निर्माण असामान्य रूप से ऊंची दर पर हुआ है।

इसमें निर्माण कार्य में इस्तेमाल कच्चे माल का दाम और मजदूरी की दर को बढ़ाना शामिल है। सीवीसी के डाक्युमेंट के मुताबिक तालकटोरा स्टेडियम में 15 कंक्रीट क्यूब में 14 को बेहद कमजोर पाया गया। इनके निर्माण में इस्तेमाल सीमेंट की मात्रा काफी कम पाई गई।

रिंग रोड बाईपास प्रोजेक्ट में श्रमिकों के ट्रांसपोर्ट चार्ज के तौर पर 3.68 करोड़ रुपये का खर्च दिखाया गया है। सीवीसी की रिपोर्ट में स्विमिंग पूल प्रोजेक्ट में खर्च को बढ़ा दिया गया ताकि ज्यादा खर्च पर निर्माण के टेंडर को मंजूरी मिल सके। सीवीसी की इस रिपोर्ट में सीरी फोर्ट स्पोर्ट्स कॉम्प्लेक्स और ध्यान चंद नेशनल स्टेडियम का भी जिक्र है, जिसकी जांच सीवीसी कर रही है।

इन सभी घोटालों के अलावा पिछले 15 साल में 14 बड़े घोटाले हुए, जिनमें 22,376 करोड़ रुपये की हेराफेरी हुई, लेकिन 13 मामलों में कुछ नहीं बरामद हुआ और सिर्फ 10 लोगों को सजा दिलाई गई। 1200 करोड़ के दूरसंचार घोटाले में सिर्फ 5 करोड़ 36 लाख रुपये ही जब्त किए जा सके।

इन घोटालों में देश के 22,371 करोड़ रुपये डूब गए। इनकी जांच पड़ताल करने में करोड़ों रुपये अलग से खर्च हुए। इससे साफ है कि संप्रग सरकार भ्रष्टाचारियों को बचाने में लगी हुई है।

इस बात की पुष्टि केंद्रीय सतर्कता आयोग के पद पर पीजे थामस की नियुक्ति से स्पष्ट हो जाती है। थामस स्वयं भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप से लिपटे हुए हैं। केरल के पॉम आयल घोटाले से वे अभी भी मुक्त नहीं हुए हैं। थामस की नियुक्ति से कांग्रेस ने न केवल यह संकेत दिया है कि उसे भ्रष्टाचार पर अंकुश लगाने के इरादे से बनाई गई संस्थाओं की निष्पक्षता की परवाह नहीं, बल्कि यह भी कि उसे न्यायपालिका के निर्देशों की चिंता नहीं।

अब जब थामस केंद्रीय सतर्कता आयुक्त के पद पर हैं तब यह अपेक्षा कैसे की जा सकती है कि वह टू-जी स्पेक्ट्रम अथवा अन्य घोटालों की नीर-क्षीर ढंग से तहकीकात कर सकेंगे अथवा इन मामलों की जांच की सही तरह निगरानी कर सकेंगे।

वास्तव में कांग्रेसी सरकार सदा से ही न केवल भ्रष्टाचार में लिप्त रही, बल्कि भ्रष्टलोगों को बचाने में भरपूर मदद की। चाहे राजा का मामला हो या क्वात्रोची को बचाने का, कांग्रेसियों ने भ्रष्टाचारियों को सदैव राष्ट्रहित के उपर रखा।



प्रधानमंत्री डा. मनमोहन सिंह निम्न प्रश्नों पर अपनी चुप्पी तोड़े : नितिन गडकरी

*Hkk t i k d s j k " V h ; v è ; { k J h f u f r u x M d j h } k j k
18 u o E c j] 2010 d k s i d o k r k l e a t k j h o D r 0 ;*

i / u 1 प्रसार भारती के मुख्य कार्यकारी अधिकारी श्री बी.एस लाली के विरुद्ध अभी तक कोई आपराधिक कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं की गई, जिन्होंने वित्त विभाग की आपत्तियों को अनदेखा किया और राष्ट्रीयमंडल खेलों के 246 करोड़ रुपये के प्रसारण अधिकार, एक ऐसी अवैध कम्पनी को दिये, जिसने फर्जी रजिस्ट्रेशन नम्बर दिया और जिसके पास कोई सेवाकर नम्बर नहीं था?

क्या श्री लाली को, जिन्होंने खेल समाप्त होने से पूर्व ही संविदा फीस की 80 प्रतिशत राशि का तुरन्त भुगतान कर दिया, उनके उच्च सम्बंधों के कारण—संरक्षण दिया जा रहा है? यह बड़ी आश्चर्यजनक बात है कि संग्रह सरकार ने अभी तक आयकर विभाग के इन निष्कर्षों पर पूर्णतय चुप्पी साधी हुई है कि प्रसारण सौदा इंग्लैंड की एक कम जानी पहचानी कम्पनी, एसआई एस लाइन (SIS Live) ने हासिल किया था।

जो बिड सम्बंधी औपचारिकताओं के पूरा होने के चार महीने बाद अस्तित्व में आई थी।

आयकर विभाग ने 6 अक्टूबर 2010 को एक पत्र भेजा था जिसमें भविष्य में किये जाने वाले सभी भुगतानों पर रोक लगाने के लिये कहा गया था और इसके साथ-साथ एकाटलैंड के रायल बैंक की मुम्बई शाखा में कम्पनी के खाते को जब्त करने के लिए कहा गया था। जब आयकर अधिकारियों ने दिल्ली में एसआईएस

लाइव के कार्यालय की छानबीन की तो उन्हें पता चला कि कम्पनी ने कोई खाता नहीं रखा और न ही कोई बिल रखे। आगे छानबीन से यह पता चला कि एसआईएस लाइव ने अनेक शर्तों का उल्लंघन किया। इसने एक अन्य कम्पनी, जूम कम्युनिकेशन (Zoom Communications) को उप-ठेके पर सौंप दिया, जो ओखला में उसी परिसर से अपना कार्यसंचालन करती हुई पाई गई। एसआईएस लाइव अधिकारी 177 करोड़ रुपये के उप-ठेके सम्बंधी इस्तावेज प्रस्तुत नहीं कर पाये थे।

अपनी टिप्पणी में आयकर रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि एसआईएस लाइव व "राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों सम्बंधी ठेके को पूरा करने के एकमात्र उद्देश्य से बनाई गई थी और कर-निर्धारिती के भारत में रहने की कोई संभावना नहीं है।"

i / u 2 श्री कनिष्क सिंह, जो श्री राहुल गांधी के निकट सहायक है के ईएमएएएआर एमजीफ के मलिकों के साथ क्या सम्बंध है जिसने घटिया राष्ट्रमंडल खेल लैटों का निर्माण किया ?

किसके कहने पर दि0वि0प्रा0 द्वारा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जोन के लिये 750 करोड़ रुपये एवं 827 करोड़ रुपये का वेलआउट पैकेज दिया गया ? क्या आप यह नहीं मानते कि उत्तरदायित्व पूरा न करने के लिए केवल ईएमएएएआर एमजीफ बैंक गारंटी की शर्त रखना राहुल गांधी के साथी कनिष्क सिंह और उनके परिवार को बचाने के लिये मात्र दिखावा है।

i / u 3 क्या आप इस तथ्य से इंकार कर सकते हैं कि वर्ष 2009-10 Overlays के लिए युवा कार्य एवम खेल मंत्रालय के योजना बजट में 126 करोड़ रुपये के प्रावधान में संशोधन करके उसे 687 करोड़ कर दिया गया जिसमें 557 करोड़ रुपये आयोजन समिति को अग्रिम रूप से दिए गए। कृपया क्या आप कॉमनवेल्थ खेलों के अमृतसंले के लिए किए गए प्रावधानों में इस प्रकार की भारी वृद्धि के औचित्य के बारे में देश को कुछ बता सकते हैं?

i / u 4 आपके खेल मंत्री ने राज्यसभा में यह स्वीकार किया है कि राष्ट्रमंडल खेल परियोजनाओं की लागत वृद्धि का कारण यह है कि प्रारंभिक अनुमान अधूरे, कम जानकारी के आधार पर स्वीकृत किए

गये थे और राष्ट्रमंडल खेल संबंधी विभिन्न परियोजनाओं के विभिन्न अनुमानों को केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल द्वारा स्वी.त किया गया था।

i / u 5 इस खेल कार्यक्रम के लिए आयोजन समिति को 1669.42 करोड़ रु की अग्रिम राशि की स्वी.ति देने और OVERLAYS (अस्थायी फिटिंग एवं फिक्सचर इत्यादि) के लिए 687 करोड़ रु. की अग्रिम स्वी.ति देने के लिए कौन उत्तरदायी है, जिसमें से 557 करोड़ रु. वास्तव में दिए गए और टाईमिंग, स्कोरिंग तथा रिजल्ट सिस्टम (TSR) और खेल टाईमिंग उपकरण के लिए अनुमोदित 37 करोड़ रु. में से वास्तव में 81 करोड़ रु. दिए गए?

अब जबकि खेलों से प्राप्त होने वाली अनुमानित आय से हुई कुल आय कम है तो आप इस भारी अंतर को किस प्रकार पूरा करने जा रहे हैं? विज्ञापनों से कोई आय प्राप्त नहीं हुई है और टिकिटों की बिक्री से केवल 39.17 करोड़ रु. का राजस्व प्राप्त हुआ है जबकि 375 करोड़ रु. की तयशुदा मूल्य की तुलना में 114.5 करोड़ रु. ही स्पॉन्सरशिप के रूप में प्राप्त हुए और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय टेलीविज़न अधिकारों के दिए जाने से 213.45 करोड़ रु. की तयशुदा मूल्य की तुलना में केवल 137.71 करोड़ रु. वसूल हुए।

ç' u 6 कॉमनवेल्थ खेलों में लोगों की निराशाजनक उपस्थिति और टिकिट बिक्री में घपले के लिए आप किसे दोषी ठहराते हैं? क्या आपको इस तथ्य की जानकारी है कि साढ़े ग्यारह लाख छापी गई टिकिटों में से केवल आधी टिकिट ही दर्शकों द्वारा खरीदी गई?

मैं समझता हूँ कि आपके खेल मंत्री ने आपको यह भी बताया होगा कि 3 अक्टूबर के उद्घाटन और 14 अक्टूबर के समापन के दौरान टिकिटों की बिक्री में भारी घपला हुआ है, जिसके बारे में दर्शकों ने यह शिकायत की कि अनेक आसपास की सीटें खाली थी, जबकि अधिकारियों का दावा है कि सभी टिकिटें बिक गई हैं।

उद्घाटन और समापन समारोह के लिए निःशुल्क टिकिटों को भारी संख्या में छापने और एक ही सीट के लिए कई टिकिटें छापने के लिए आप किसे बलि का बकरा बनाने जा रहे हैं?

ç' u 7 आपकी सरकार ने यह दावा किया है कि राष्ट्रमंडल परियोजना से

संबंधित ठेकेदारों, अधिकारियों और कुछ फर्मों के विरुद्ध उसने कार्यवाही शुरू की है। लेकिन, राष्ट्रमंडल खेल लूट में शामिल राजनैतिक व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध क्या कोई कार्रवाई की गई है?

आपके खेल मंत्री के अनुसार, 22 मार्च 2007 से लेकर मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्री की अध्यक्षता में मंत्री के समूह की 14 बैठकें हुईं और पहले शहरी विकास मंत्री की अध्यक्षता में 34 अतिरिक्त बैठकें हुईं जिन्होंने 23 जून, 2009 से खेलों तक फिर से बनाए गए मंत्रियों के समूह की अध्यक्षता की थी।

राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों की लूट में उनको मिले हिस्से की छानबीन कौन करेगा? राष्ट्रमंडल खेल घोटाले में शामिल व्यक्तियों का पर्दाफाश केवल संयुक्त संसदीय समिति के गठन से ही हो पाएगा, जिसके लिए भाजपा संसद में और संसद के बाहर मांग करती आ रही है।

ç' u 8 राष्ट्रमंडल खेल परियोजना के लिए दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय को सरकार द्वारा आवंटित 300 करोड़ रु. का क्या हुआ जो नागार्जुन कंस्ट्रक्शन को सौंपा गया था। इस कार्य पर मुश्किल से कुछ करोड़ ही खर्च होते, जिसमें 7000 वर्ग फीट में निर्माण कार्य होना था और एक एकड़ क्षेत्र का सौंदर्यकरण होना था। यह धनराशि कहां गई?

i / u 9 इसी प्रकार निम्नलिखित मामलों में की गई अनियमितताओं और भ्रष्टाचार के बारे में राष्ट्र को आपके प्रति उत्तर की प्रतीक्षा है।

क्वींसबैटन रिले, SMAM घोटाला ट्रेडमिल्ल्स स्पॉन्सरशिप, गेम वेबसाइट, टेनिस सरफेस, क्रेटरिंग, मर्कंडाइजिंग 22,000 स्वयं सेवकों की मान्यता 2,000 से अधिक स्टॉक और हजारों मीडियाकर्मियों, खिलाड़ी और प्रतिनिधियों, पार्किंग कर्नाटप्लेस पुर्नविकास योजना, चांदनी चौक, पहाड़गंज, करोलबाग, शिवाजी, तालकटोरा स्टेडियम।

i / u 10 विवादास्पद 2जी स्पैक्ट्रम निर्धारण मामले में श्री ए. राजा पर मुकद्दमा चलाने की स्वीकृति देने से आपके द्वारा निर्णय लेने में होने वाले विलंब संबंधी सीधे-सीधे प्रश्न के उत्तर देने से आपको कौन रोक रहा है। आप इस बारे में लोगों को क्यों नहीं बता रहे?



प्रधानमंत्री की नाक के नीचे

घोटाला दर घोटाला : रविशंकर प्रसाद

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l n h k z e a f n ; k t k u k v f u o k ; l g S*

वास्तव में ये बड़े अचंभे और आश्चर्य की बात है कि कल से मंत्री और कांग्रेस के नेता अचानक 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम आवंटन संबंधी भारी घोटाले के बारे में प्रधानमंत्री के बचाव में आ गये हैं। इस घोटाले से राष्ट्र को लगभग 1.76 लाख करोड़ रुपए की भारी हानि हुई है। फिर भी, इस अचानक 'राग दरबारी' से यह अटल सत्य छुपाया नहीं जा सकता।

यह एक ऐसा स्पष्ट मामला है, जिसमें प्रधानमंत्री डा. मनमोहन सिंह का 'चुप्पी साधने का षड्यंत्र', 'उदासीनता का अपराध' और 'अकर्मण्यता की पराकाष्ठा' होना स्पष्ट प्रतीत होता है, जबकि व्यवस्था का भारी दुरुपयोग करके उनकी नाक के नीचे एक मंत्री द्वारा राष्ट्र की संपत्ति को लूटा जा रहा था और फिर भी सरकार के मुखिया डा. मनमोहन सिंह कहीं और ही देखते रहे। प्रधानमंत्री की निष्ठा के बारे में प्रशंसा किये जाने से उनकी निष्क्रियता और लापरवाही के धब्बे को नहीं धोया जा सकता। राष्ट्र को अपना स्वयं का निर्णय लेने का अधिकार है।

भाजपा चाहेगी कि प्रधानमंत्री जी परेशान करने वाले उन प्रश्नों का उत्तर दें जो राष्ट्र के लिए दो वर्ष से अधिक समय तक परेशानी का कारण बने रहे।

1. जब खुली लाइसेंस प्रणाली की सिफारिश की गई थी और 1 अगस्त, 2007 तक आवेदन मांगे गये थे, तब बाद में, 25.9.2007 को, कृत्रिम अंतिम तारीख निर्धारित की गई और 25.9.2007 और 1.10.2007 के बीच

प्राप्त आवेदनों को देखते ही क्यों रद्द कर दिया गया। प्रधानमंत्री जी! आप उस समय क्यों खामोश रहें जब ये सब प्रक्रिया शुरू होने के बाद प्रक्रिया संबंधी नियमों में परिवर्तन किए गए और इसके बारे में दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालय ने भी बहुत ही प्रतिकूल टिप्पणी की थी।

2. किसी भी लाइसेंस को तब तक परिचालित नहीं किया जा सकता जब तक किसी व्यक्ति को स्पेक्ट्रम, जो एक दुर्लभ राष्ट्रीय संसाधन है, नहीं मिल जाता। आपने इसे वर्ष 2007 में 2001 के विद्यमान मूल्य पर बेचने की अनुमति क्यों दी जबकि देश में टेली-घनत्व बढ़कर 7 गुना हो गया था। इस प्रश्न का उत्तर उन्हें देना ही होगा क्योंकि 2 नवंबर, 2007 को प्रधानमंत्री जी ने श्री राजा को स्पेक्ट्रम के सही मूल्य के लिए निलामी की पारदर्शी प्रणाली का इस्तेमाल करने के लिए एक पत्र लिखा था। फिर भी प्रधानमंत्री ने 3 जनवरी, 2008 के अपने पत्र के द्वारा दूसरा दृष्टिकोण अपनाया जिसके अनुसार तत्कालीन संचार मंत्री श्री राजा 'ऑपरेशन लूट' को चालू रख सकते हैं।
3. प्रधानमंत्री ने समूची फाइल को अपने पास क्यों नहीं मंगाया और अपनी प्रतिकूल टिप्पणी क्यों नहीं दी जबकि सभी मापदंडों का खुले तौर पर भारी उल्लंघन किया जा रहा था?
4. प्रधानमंत्री ने 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम के समूचे आवंटन की पुनरीक्षा करने और जांच करने के आदेश क्यों नहीं दिए जबकि 3जी स्पेक्ट्रम निलामी से सरकार को 35 हजार करोड़ रुपए लक्ष्य की तुलना में 1 लाख करोड़ का भारी लाभ हुआ।
5. प्रधानमंत्री उस समय क्यों मौन रहे जब 85 अयोग्य कंपनियों (कैंग रिपोर्ट के अनुसार) को आशय-पत्र दिये गये और इससे भी ज्यादा आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि जिन कंपनियों को लाइसेंस मिले उन्हें स्पेक्ट्रम के व्यापार करने की अनुमति भी दी गई। इसके परिणामस्वरूप 'स्वान टेलीकॉम', जिसे 15 सौ करोड़ रुपए का लाइसेंस मिला और यूनिटेक, जिसे लगभग 16 सौ करोड़ का लाइसेंस मिला और अन्य अनेक कंपनियों ने अपनी इक्विटी का कुछ हिस्सा अपने विदेशी सहभागियों, जो रातो-रात अस्तित्व में आ गई, को 7000-9000 करोड़ रुपए के मूल्य पर बेच दिया। जब ऐसा सब कुछ हो रहा था तो प्रधानमंत्री जी क्यों चुप्पी साधे रहे जबकि 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम को जान-बूझकर कम मूल्य पर बेचने के कुछ

प्रमाण सामने आ गये थे।

6. इस समूचे मामले पर संसद में जुलाई 2009 में विस्तृत चर्चा की गई थी और इस संबंध में एक अस्पष्ट उत्तर दिया गया जबकि उपर्युक्त सभी तथ्य और आज कैंग द्वारा कही गई अधिकांश बातें भाजपा द्वारा ध्यान में लाई गई थीं।
7. सीबीआई ने अक्टूबर 2009 में मामले की छानबीन आरंभ कर दी थी और अंतिम रिपोर्ट में यह पाया कि लगभग 25 हजार करोड़ का घोटाला हुआ। दूरसंचार मंत्रालय में पड़े छापे के बावजूद सीबीआई को दूरसंचार सचिव और अन्य प्रमुख अधिकारियों से पूछताछ करने की अनुमति क्यों नहीं दी गई? ए राजा से पूछताछ करने की अनुमति देना अथवा उसके विभाग को बदलने (उन्हें हटाने से बहुत नीचे की बात) की बात तो दूर रही, प्रधानमंत्री ने दूरसंचार सचिव को जबरदस्ती सीवीसी नियुक्त करके निष्ठा के स्तर को बहुत नीचा कर दिया है।

ये कुछ परेशान करने वाले प्रश्न हैं जिनका उत्तर प्रधानमंत्री जी ने जान-बूझकर और सोच-समझकर नहीं दिया। भारत में एक चिंताजनक एवं दुखदायी स्थिति उत्पन्न हो रही है। प्रधानमंत्री दावा करते हैं कि वे एक महान निष्ठा वाले व्यक्ति हैं और ईमानदारी की पैरवी करते हैं, फिर भी उनकी नाक के नीचे लाखों करोड़ों रुपए की धनराशि ऐसे लोगों द्वारा बड़े व्यवस्थित ढंग से लूटी जा रही है जो सरकार का एक हिस्सा हैं और उनके अधीन कार्य करते हैं।

यह 2जी स्पेक्ट्रम का घोटाला हो या राष्ट्रमंडल खेल आयोजन का घोटाला या कोई और घोटाला। राष्ट्र इस बेसुरा राग दरबारी पर विश्वास नहीं करेगा और जनता अपना निष्कर्ष खुद निकालेगी।

प्रधानमंत्री जी ने विपक्षी दलों से संसद चलने दिए जाने और चर्चा करने के लिए अपील की है। भाजपा प्रधानमंत्री जी को बताना चाहेगी कि हमने बार-बार चर्चा और वाद-विवाद किए और प्रश्न पूछे। प्रधानमंत्री जी आपने शुरू में श्री राजा का बचाव किया और सच तो यह है कि संसदीय दबाव के कारण ही आपने उन्हें त्याग-पत्र देने को कहा। प्रधानमंत्री जी आप चर्चा चाहते हैं लेकिन भाजपा कार्रवाई चाहती है और चाहती है कि उत्तरदायी व्यक्तियों को गिरफ्तार करके जेल भेजा जाए और भ्रष्टाचार निवारण अधिनियम के तहत उन पर मुकदमा चलाया जाए। हम चाहते हैं श्री ए राजा और लाभ

पाने वाले व्यक्तियों सहित उनके सहयोगियों से पूछताछ की जाए। उन्हें गिरफ्तार कर उन पर मुकदमा चलाया जाए। केवल संयुक्त संसदीय समिति ही ऐसा माध्यम है जिसके द्वारा ऐसा सबकुछ करना सुनिश्चित हो सकता है। यह बात याद करने योग्य है कि सभी विपक्षी दलों की एक बैठक श्री प्रणव मुखर्जी के साथ संसद में हुई जिसमें सभी विपक्षी दलों ने एक स्वर से संयुक्त संसदीय समिति की मांग की थी और जिसमें दोनों सदनों में विपक्ष की नेता श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज और अरुण जेटली भी उपस्थित थे। श्री मुखर्जी ने बैठक में आश्वासन दिया था कि वह प्रधानमंत्री से सलाह-मशविरा करने के बाद आपके साथ पुनः बैठक करेंगे। आज तक उन्होंने कोई औपचारिक प्रस्ताव नहीं भेजा जिससे विपक्षी दल अपना अंतिम दृष्टिकोण तय कर सकें।



2जी स्पैक्ट्रम घोटाले ने यूपीए की कलई खोली : प्रकाश जावडेकर

*Hkk't i k ds jk'Vh; çoDrk o l kd n Jh çdk'k tkoMcdj }kjk
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तीन चौकाने वाले रहस्य जो आज ही जनता के सामने आये हैं, से 2 जी स्पैक्ट्रम घोटाले में संप्रग सरकार की संलिप्तता और उसे दबाने के उनके इरादों का पूरी तरह पर्दाफाश हो गया है।

भारत के सॉलिसिटर जनरल, श्री गोपाल सुब्रहमण्यम की उपस्थिति में जांच कर रहे सीबीआई अधिकारियों और राजा के वकील की विधि अधिकारी द्वारा बुलाई गई बैठक घोटाले को दबाने का स्पष्ट प्रमाण है और ऐसा करना माननीय उच्चतम न्यायालय की अवमानना भी है। जब उच्चतम न्यायालय की पीठ के समक्ष सोमवार को मामले की सुनवाई तय है तो विधि अधिकारी उच्च अधिकारियों के निर्देश के बिना इस प्रकार की उच्च स्तरीय बैठक आयोजित नहीं कर सकते। हमारी जानकारी के अनुसार अन्य अधिकारियों के अलावा सॉलिसिटर जनरल, राजा के वकील, अनीता शिर्नॉय, डीआईजी (एसीबी) श्री पलसानिया और जांच कर रहे सीबीआई संबंधित अधिकारी श्री विवेक प्रियदर्शी को भी इस बैठक में आमंत्रित किया गया था। इस बैठक में यह निर्णय लिया जाना था कि उच्चतम न्यायालय के समक्ष किस प्रकार की एकी. त रणनीति अपनाई जाये। इस प्रकार की बैठक और ऐसे प्रयास के बारे में पहले कभी नहीं सुना गया।

यह पूर्णतया अनैतिक है तथा मामले को सरकार द्वारा दबाने का स्पष्ट प्रमाण है। बावजूद इसके बैठक की बात लीक होने पर संयोजक अधिकारी का तबादला कर दिया गया है।

दूर-संचार विभाग के पूर्व सचिव, श्री डी.एस. माथुर का साक्षात्कार इस

बात का ठोस प्रमाण है कि 2जी स्पैक्ट्रम प्राकृतिक न्याय अथवा समान और पारदर्शी नीति के किसी भी सिद्धांत का पालन न करते हुए अलॉट किया गया था।

श्री राजा का एजेंडा पहले दिन से पूरी तरह स्पष्ट था। वह अपेक्षित प्रक्रिया का पालन किए बिना और इस बात की परवाह किए बिना कि क्या स्पैक्ट्रम उपलब्ध है या नहीं, 500 नये लाइसेंस जारी करना चाहते थे। यद्यपि वह स्पैक्ट्रम की सार्वजनिक नीलामी का हमेशा विरोध करते रहे, तथापि अब यह बात स्पष्ट हो गयी है कि यह एक प्रकार की "निजी नीलामी" थी। चौकाने वाली बात यह है कि राजा किस प्रकार लाइसेंसों के लिए आवेदनों पर कार्यवाही करने की "कट-ऑफ" तारीख बढ़ाते रहे और किस प्रकार कुछ ईमानदार अधिकारी इस निर्णय से सहमत नहीं हुए और कुछ तो समय से पूर्व सेवानिवृत्त हो गये। ये बातें आँखें खोलने वाली है। यहां तक कि सक्षम आवेदकों के बारे में निर्णय लेने हेतु कोई नीति न बनाना भी इस बात का प्रमाण है कि अलाटमेंट एक पूर्व निर्धारित षड्यंत्र था।

निर्धारित समयावधि में कार्य आरम्भ न करने के लिए लाइसेंसों को अब तक रद्द कर दिया जाना चाहिए था।

परन्तु ऐसा करने से श्री राजा के प्रयासों की सरकारी संरक्षण मिलना साबित होता है। अब टीआरएआई मामले को देखेगी।

प्रधानमंत्री एक मूकदर्शक बने नहीं रह सकते और इस मामले में वह अब तक जो कर रहे थे अब उससे हट कर कार्यवाही करें।

भाजपा कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष, श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी और महासचिव श्री राहुल गांधी से अपना दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट करने की भी मांग करती है वे दुविधा पैदा करने वाले मुद्दों पर न बोलना पसन्द कर सकते हैं, लेकिन उन्हें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि कोई भी व्यक्ति लोगों को सदैव बेवकूफ नहीं बना सकता।



राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों से उजागर हुआ कांग्रेस का भ्रष्टाचारी चरित्र : नितिन गडकरी

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हमारे खिलाड़ियों ने हाल ही में सम्पन्न हुए 19वें राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों – दिल्ली 2010 में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में अपने शानदार प्रदर्शन से भारत को गौरवांविता किया है। खेल संस्कृति पैदा करने की भारत की क्षमता और एक खेल प्रधान देश बनने के बारे में सभी प्रकार की अनिश्चिताएं उस समय समाप्त हो गईं जब पदकों की संख्या पहली बार 3 अंकों में पहुंची। उद्घाटन तथा समापन समारोह वास्तव में भव्य थे और इसके साथ-साथ सुरक्षा प्रबंध भी त्रुटिविहीन थे। मैं सभी भारतीय खिलाड़ियों को उनके शानदार प्रदर्शन के लिए बधाई देता हूँ और उन खिलाड़ियों का अभिनंदन करता हूँ, जिन्होंने पदक जीते हैं। मैं एथलीटों के विरुद्ध कुछ गुप्तों द्वारा आतंकी हमले करने की धमकियों की आसूचना रिपोर्टों के बावजूद राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों में पूर्ण सुरक्षा बरतने के लिए सभी सुरक्षा एजेंसियों को सलाम करता हूँ। मैं खेलों को पूरी तरह सफल बनाने में भाग लेने वाले कलाकारों, स्कूली बच्चों तथा अन्य सभी व्यक्तियों की भी प्रशंसा करता हूँ, जिन्होंने शानदार प्रदर्शन किया है।

बिड जीतने तक सब कुछ ठीक-ठाक प्रतीत होता था। उसके बाद हम कहां असफल हुए और वे सब कौन हैं, जिन्होंने हमें बदनाम किया? सामान्य रूप से सारा विश्व और विशेष रूप से भारत की जनता यह जानना चाहती है।

भारत ने नवम्बर, 2003 में बिड जीती थी और राष्ट्रमंडल खेल आयोजन समिति बनाने में 16 महीने का समय लगा। इस समिति में राहुल गांधी, कपिल सिब्बल, ज्योतिर्आदित्य सिंधिया, अजय माकन, जितिन प्रसाद और संदीप दीक्षित सहित 35 सदस्य थे।

आधारभूत ढांचा समन्वय समिति की पहली बैठक 15 मार्च, 2005 को दिल्ली में हुई, जिसमें स्टेडियम तथा उनके अपग्रेडेशन और खेल गांव के निर्माण संबंधी आवश्यकताओं पर विचार किया गया और इन सभी कार्यों को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मानकों से समझौता किए बिना पूरा करने के लिए सभी सरकारी निकायों जैसे कि शहरी विकास मंत्रालय, दिल्ली विकास प्राधिकरण, दिल्ली सरकार तथा अन्य एजेंसियों को 5 वर्ष से अधिक का समय दिया गया। उनके प्रस्तावों को मंत्रियों के एक गुप द्वारा स्वी.ति प्रदान की गई और बाद में केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल का अनुसमर्थन प्राप्त हुआ। इन परियोजनाओं के लिए टेंडर मंगाने की प्रक्रिया में अनियमितताएं तथा गड़बड़ी हुई, जिनमें कई हजार करोड़ रूपए की राशि शामिल है।

राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों में कदाचारों तथा भ्रष्टाचार संबंधी पहली कहानी का 30 जुलाई, 2010 को पता चला जब यू.के. की एक कम्पनी ए.एम. फिल्मस् ने बिना किसी लिखित करार के भुगतानों का मामला उजागर किया। ऐसा आरोप है कि राष्ट्रमंडल खेल आयोजन समिति ने ए.एम. फिल्मस् जोकि लंदन में एक भारतीय-स्वामित्व वाली फर्म है, को बिना टेंडर मांगे और बिना कागजी कार्यवाही किए गत वर्ष के दौरान क्वीन्स बैटन रिले उद्घाटन समारोह के लिये किए गये कार्यों हेतु 4,50,000 पाउंड से अधिक (30 मिलियन रूपये से अधिक) की राशि का भुगतान किया।

खेलों की विभिन्न परियोजनाओं, जिनमें स्टेडियम तथा अन्य आधारभूत ढांचा शामिल है, के लिए टेंडर देने तथा एअरकंडीशनर, ट्रेडमिल्स और टॉयलेट पेपर जैसे उपकरणों को किराए पर लेने या खरीदने के लिए ठेके देने में भ्रष्टाचार अपनाया गया प्रतीत होता है।

भारत के नियंत्रक और महालेखा परीक्षक ने खेलों के लिए बनाए जा रहे/नवीकरण किए जा रहे स्टेडियम पर होने वाले व्यय में भारी वृद्धि के बारे में भी प्रतिकूल टिप्पणी की है।

संसद और संसद के बाहर भाजपा नेताओं द्वारा लगाये गए भ्रष्टाचार के आरोपों और घटिया आधारभूत ढांचे संबंधी आरोपों और मीडिया द्वारा चलाए गए प्रतिकूल अभियान को ध्यान में रखते हुए केन्द्र सरकार ने खेलों में भाग लेने वाले राष्ट्रों को यह आश्वासन दिया है कि 3-14 अक्टूबर के राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों के लिए स्टेडियम पूरे हो जाएंगे।

राष्ट्रमंडल खेल परिसंघ के प्रेसीडेंट माइक फेनल घबराकर दिल्ली पहुंचे

और एक प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में उन्होंने कहा कि "हम (राष्ट्रमंडल खेल परिसंघ) किसी प्रकार के भ्रष्टाचार को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे। फेनल ने कहा "भ्रष्टाचार की रिपोर्टों की पूर्ण जांच की जानी चाहिए और कानून के अनुसार उन पर कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए।" फेनल ने खेलों तथा आधारभूत ढांचे के विकास संबंधी मामलों पर अपनी चिंता व्यक्त करने के लिए दिल्ली की मुख्यमंत्री शीला दीक्षित से भी मुलाकात की।

परंतु कहीं कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ। मुख्य स्थल जवाहरलाल नेहरू स्टेडियम के बिल्कुल सामने एक निर्माणाधीन पैदल पुल टूटकर गिर गया, जिसमें 27 लोग घायल हो गये और भारोत्तोलन क्षेत्र में एक फाल्स सीलिंग टूट गई। स्थिति से निपटने के लिए सेना की मदद ली गई।

इन सब बातों से उच्चतम न्यायालय ने उत्तेजित होकर टिप्पणी की कि राष्ट्रमंडल खेल परियोजनाओं ने भ्रष्टाचार को जन्म दिया है और वह "व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार" के प्रति अपनी आँखें बंद नहीं रख सकता और उसने भारत सरकार की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय खेल कार्यक्रम के लिए उसकी तैयारियों के लिए आलोचना की।

खेलों संबंधी सभी ठेकों के लिए टेंडर मंगाने की प्रक्रिया में धांधली और अनियमितताओं के अनेक आरोप हैं, जिनकी जांच की जानी चाहिए।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज, श्री अरूण जेटली, श्री कीर्ति आजाद, श्री नवजोत सिंह सिद्धू तथा श्री अनुराग ठाकुर सहित वरिष्ठ भाजपा नेता संसद के दोनों सदनों में ये मामले उठाते रहे। वरिष्ठ भाजपा नेता, श्री विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा, पार्टी के महासचिव, श्री विजय गोयल एवं दिल्ली भाजपा अध्यक्ष, श्री विजेन्द्र गुप्ता तथा खेल प्रकोष्ठ संयोजक, श्री महिन्दर लाल ने दिल्ली में खेलों संबंधी घोटालों के विरुद्ध अभियान चलाया।

भाजपा के इन सभी नेताओं तथा सचिव श्री किरीट सोमैया ने खेलों में कुप्रबंधन के बारे में तथ्य एकत्रित करने के लिए अथक प्रयास किए और "राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों में लूट संबंधी भाजपा की प्रथम सूचना रिपोर्ट" तैयार की। इसके साथ उन्होंने एक भारी भरकम अनुबंध भी तैयार किया, जिसमें सरकारी एजेंसियों और खेल निकायों द्वारा कर-दाताओं के धन की पूर्णतया बरबादी के प्रति दिखाई गई बेदरदी एवं पूर्ण उदासीनता उजागर होती है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप खेल बजट जो शुरु में 2000 करोड़ रुपये का था बढ़कर 70,000 करोड़ रुपये की भारी भरकम राशि का हो गया।

प्रधानमंत्री कार्यालय ने पूर्व सीएजी, श्री बी.के. शुंगलु की अध्यक्षता में एक जांच समिति बनाई है। अनेक सरकारी एजेंसियों को जैसे प्रवर्तन निदेशालय, मुख्य सर्टकता आयुक्त, सीएजी, केन्द्रीय जांच ब्यूरो, राजस्व आसूचना, तथा अन्य एजेंसियां, भ्रष्टाचार, अनियमितताओं तथा कदाचारों आदि को विशिष्ट आरोपों की अपनी-अपनी जांच करने के लिए इसमें शामिल किया गया है।

अब शीला दीक्षित, सुरेश कलमाडी तथा अन्य लोगों द्वारा राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों के बारे में खुले में कीचड़ उछाला जा रहा है, जहां कलमाडी न केवल राष्ट्रमंडल खेल आयोजन समिति के 1620 करोड़ रुपये के बजट की जांच की मांग कर रहे हैं बल्कि दिल्ली सरकार के 16,000 करोड़ रुपये के बजट की जांच की भी मांग कर रहे हैं।

भाजपा की यह पुरजोर मांग है कि ये सभी जांच तथा छानबीन शीघ्रताशीघ्र पूरी की जानी चाहिए, जिससे किसी तर्क संगत निर्णय पर पहुंचा जा सके ताकि दोषियों को बिना विलंब किए दंडित किया जा सके।

इस कार्य में अनेक एजेंसियों के शामिल होने की बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए हम मांग करते हैं कि मंत्रिमंडल सचिव की अध्यक्षता में एक उच्च शक्ति प्राप्त समन्वय समिति गठित की जाए ताकि घोटालों का पता लगाने के लिए प्रभावी और समेकित प्रयास सुनिश्चित किये जा सकें।

इन सभी प्रकार की जांचों के माध्यम से यह पता लगाया जाना चाहिए कि विभिन्न सौदों में कितना और किस प्रकार का भ्रष्टाचार हुआ और इनमें शामिल एजेंसियों ने क्या भूमिका अदा की ताकि दोषी पाये गए व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध उचित कानूनी कार्यवाही की जा सके।

भाजपा सभी जांच एजेंसियों को पूरा सहयोग प्रदान करेगी और भ्रष्टाचार और धांधली के सभी आरोपों की निष्पक्ष एवं अर्थपूर्ण जांच करने में इसके नेताओं द्वारा एकत्रित सूचना उपलब्ध कराएगी।

परन्तु इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि शीघ्र ही उन लोगों की जिम्मेदारी निर्धारित की जाये, जिन्होंने इन परियोजनाओं को स्वीकृति प्रदान की और जिन्होंने परियोजना प्रतिवेदनों में गंभीर त्रुटियों को अनदेखा करते हुए समय-समय पर निधियों का आवंटन किया और जो इन परियोजनाओं की अनुचित भारी लागत वृद्धि के लिए उत्तरदायी है।

अब समय आ गया है कि राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों में लूट में शामिल भागीदारों

तथा इस गड़बड़ी को अनदेखा करके उन्हें राजनीतिक संरक्षण प्रदान करने वालों के बीच सांठ-गांठ का पर्दाफाश किया जाए।

भारत के लोगों को यह जानने का पूरा संवैधानिक हक है कि इस राष्ट्रीय बदनामी के लिए असली अपराधी कौन है।

सच्चाई तभी समाने आएगी जब एक खुली विस्तृत जांच कराई जाए और वह एक संयुक्त संसदीय जांच के माध्यम से ही हो सकता है।

भाजपा मांग करती है कि राष्ट्रमंडल खेलों में करोड़ों की लूट संबंधी इस महत्वपूर्ण घोटाले की जांच शीघ्रताशीघ्र एक संयुक्त संसदीय समिति गठित करके कराई जाए।

प्रस्तावित संयुक्त संसदीय समिति के निर्देश पदों में अन्य बातों के साथ-साथ एक ऐसे त्रुटिविहीन तंत्र का बनाया जाना शामिल होना चाहिए, जिससे भविष्य में भ्रष्टाचार तथा घोटाला मुक्त अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय खेल कार्यक्रम आयोजित करने में पूर्ण पारदर्शिता सुनिश्चित की जा सके। ■



आदर्श सहकारी आवास समिति घोटाला

कांग्रेस यानी भारतीय भ्रष्टाचार पार्टी : निर्मला सीतारमण

११/११/२०१०
३०/०८/२०१०

- भ्रष्ट कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक और घोटाले का पता चला है। यह बड़ी तेजी से भारतीय भ्रष्टाचार पार्टी बनती जा रही है।
- महाराष्ट्र के मुख्यमंत्री श्री अशोक चव्हाण से संबंधित यह दूसरा घोटाला है। हमें यह बात स्मरण रखनी चाहिए कि नकदी के एवज में समाचार (पेड न्यूज) संबंधी मामला, जिसमें मुख्यमंत्री का नाम शामिल है, न्यायालय में विचाराधीन है।
- २जी स्पैक्ट्रम घोटाला, राष्ट्रमंडल खेल घोटाला, अनाज घोटाला और अब आदर्श सहकारी आवास समिति घोटाला।
- भ्रष्टाचार का यह मामला और भाई-भतीजावाद साथ-साथ चल रहे हैं। कांग्रेसी राजनेताओं, नौकरशाहों, सेना के उच्च अधिकारियों का एक चुनिंदा ग्रुप तथा उनके परिवार के सदस्यों ने इस प्रकार आर्थिक लाभ के लिए नियमों को तोड़ा-मरोड़ा और स्वीकृति हासिल करने के लिए हेरा-फेरी की।
- दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि इस समूचे घोटाले को बड़ी बेशर्मी से कारगिल युद्ध में मारे गए जवानों की विधवाओं और दूसरे बड़े लोगों के नाम से जोड़ा गया है।
- ३१ मंजिला, १०४ लैटों वाला यह कॉम्प्लैक्स उस भूमि पर बनाया गया है, जो कोलाबा रक्षा स्टेशन का एक भाग है। भूमि सेना के कब्जे थी। सेना ने रक्षा मंत्रालय के पूछे जाने पर अपने उत्तर में बार-बार यह कहा कि यह कॉम्प्लैक्स सुरक्षा के प्रति खतरनाक है। रक्षा मंत्रालय द्वारा की

गई प्रारम्भिक जांच से एक आपराधिक षड्यंत्र का पता चलता है, जिसमें राजनेता, नौकरशाह तथा जनरल शामिल है।

- समिति के सदस्यों को होने वाला आर्थिक लाभ चौंकाने वाला है। समिति ने 4 एकड़ वाले इस महत्वपूर्ण भू-भाग के लिए राज्य सरकार को लगभग 16 करोड़ रूपए का भुगतान किया था, जिसके लिए प्रत्येक सदस्य को उस क्षेत्र में विद्यमान दर का केवल 10 प्रतिशत ही अदा करना होगा। हमें इस बात को भी स्मरण करना चाहिए कि समिति के कुछ सदस्य निजी व्यक्ति हैं, जो राजनेताओं और नौकरशाहों के संबंधी हैं।
- वाइस एडमिरल संजीव भसीन ने 3 महीने पहले ही राज्य के मुख्य सचिव, प्रमुख सचिव, शहरी विभाग और नगर पालिका आयोग को इस टॉवर से उत्पन्न होने वाले सुरक्षा खतरे के बारे में पत्र लिखा था।
- भूमि के उपयोग में परिवर्तन नापाक इरादों को ध्यान में रखकर किया गया है। क्या उस समय श्री अशोक चव्हाण राजस्व मंत्री नहीं थे ? और क्या श्री विलास राव देशमुख मुख्यमंत्री नहीं थे ?
- नापाक इरादे रखने वाले कुछ एक उद्यमियों ने कुछ चुनिंदा उच्च अधिकारियों, राजनेताओं और नौकरशाहों को अपने साथ मिला लिया। यह घोटाला इतना बड़ा है कि इसका अंदाजा इस तथ्य से लगाया जा सकता है कि राज्य मुख्यमंत्री के परिवार के चार सदस्य प्रत्यक्षतया इसमें शामिल हैं, जिनमें श्रीमती भगवती शर्मा का भी नाम है। समिति के अन्य सदस्य इस प्रकार हैं :
- राज्य के पूर्व मुख्य सचिव श्री डी.के. शंकरन के पुत्र
- पूर्व थलसेना प्रमुख जनरल एन.सी. विज तथा जनरल दीपक कपूर
- पूर्व नौसेना प्रमुख, एडमिरल माधवेन्द्र सिंह
- पूर्व थल सेना के उपप्रमुख, लेटीनेट जनरल शांतनु चौधरी
- केन्द्रीय मंत्री शरद पवार के परिवार के सदस्य
- रियर एडमिलरल रमन प्रेम सुथन
- लेटीनेट जनरल गुरबक्श सिंह
- मेजर जनरल टी.के. कौल, जी.ओ.सी., महाराष्ट्र एवं गुजरात क्षेत्र
- मेजर जनरल वरिन्दर सिंह
- रामचन्द्र सोनेलाल ठाकुर, Subdivisional officer, डिफेंस इस्टेट
- ममता कनाडे वरिष्ठ आईएएस अधिकारी रमेश कनाडे की पत्नी

- पी.वी. देशमुख, उप-सचिव, शहरी विकास विभाग
- वरिष्ठ महाराष्ट्र आईएएस अधिकारियों के 6 रिश्तेदार
- राज्य विधायक और नौकरशाह आदि

महाराष्ट्र के मुख्यमंत्री की प्रत्यक्ष संलिप्तता उन दस्तावेजों से सिद्ध होती है, जिनमें यह बताया गया है कि वह वर्ष 2000 में राज्य के राजस्व मंत्री के नाते आदर्श सहकारी आवास समिति के पदाधिकारियों के सम्पर्क में थे और यह जानते थे कि उनके कितने रिश्तेदारों के लैट समिति में हैं। वर्ष 1999-2000 में जब फाइल पर कार्य-प्रक्रिया चल रही थी तो उसे समय अशोक चव्हाण राजस्व मंत्री थे। यह विभाग राज्य में भूमि आवंटन कार्य देखता है। जब परियोजना को मुम्बई महानगर क्षेत्र विकास प्राधिकरण (एम. एम.आर.डी.ए.) से अंतिम स्वी.ति मिली तो वह मुख्यमंत्री थे और एम.एम.आर. डी.ए. उन्हें ही अपनी रिपोर्ट देता था।

भाजपा भारतीय सशस्त्र बलों के प्रत्येक सिपाही की प्रतिष्ठा, गौरव, निष्ठा तथा समर्पण भावना का आदर करती है। हम आशा करते हैं तथा मांग करते हैं कि रक्षा सेवाओं को बदनाम करने तथा जवानों को हतोत्साहित करने की कोई भी कार्रवाई नहीं की जाए।

कांग्रेस मौन क्यों है ?

Hkkttik ek d jrh gS &

- श्री अशोक चव्हाण तुरंत त्याग पत्र दें।
- उच्चतम न्यायालय के एक वर्तमान न्यायाधीश से विस्तृत जांच कराई जाए।
- केन्द्र सरकार भारतीय रक्षा नियमों को तुरंत लागू करे। यह एक ऐसा विधान है, जिससे भारत के सुरक्षा हित में कार्रवाई करने और समिति के कब्जा संबंधि प्रमाण पत्र को रद्द करने की शक्ति प्रदान करता है।
- इस भूमि का अधिकांश भाग सेना और रेलवे का है। ये दोनों विभाग केन्द्र सरकार के पास हैं। केन्द्र सरकार को इस संबंध में पर्याप्त सुरक्षा उपाय करने तथा उनकी भूमि के व्यवस्थित संरक्षण के लिए तुरंत कदम उठाने चाहिए।

