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23 Vaisakha, 1934 (Saka)

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RAJYA SABHA
OFFICIAL REPORT
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RAJYA SABHA

Sunday, 13th May, 2012/23rd Vaisakha, 1934 (Saka)

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

MEMBER SWORN

Ms. Anu Aga (Nominated)

DISCUSSION ON SIXTY YEARS' JOURNEY OF INDIAN PARLIAMENT

MR. CHAIRMAN : Today, we are having a special sitting to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the first sitting of Parliament of India. Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the House, to initiate a discussion on the sixty years' journey of the Indian Parliament.

THE PRIME MINISTER (DR. MANMOHAN SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I congratulate you, the Members of this august House and the people of India as we celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the first sitting of Parliament of India.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Rajya Sabha is an institution whose deliberations, over the years, have enriched our parliamentary democracy, nurtured the strength of our federal polity and served as a bulwark against the transient impulses of the moment.

This House has a unique position in our Republic. It is both a Council of States and a House of Elders. As a Council of States, it provides a unique platform for every region of our vast and diverse country to have its voice heard at the highest forum of our democracy. As a House of Elders, we are called upon to reflect and guide, with patience and sobriety, on the issues and challenges our nation faces. This House brings balance and sincerity to the deliberations of the day and the legislation at hand. Through thoughtful interventions enriched by experience, intellect and a spirit of national bonding, Members of the Upper House have contributed to forging a national consensus on critical issues enabling us to face the challenges of the present and the future as a united nation.

Many of our great leaders have served this House with great distinction. Replying to felicitations at his election as the first Vice-President of India and the first Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Dr.S.Radhakrishnan had observed, and I quote, "There is a general impression that this House cannot make or unmake governments and therefore, it is a superfluous body. But there are functions, which a revising chamber can fulfil fruitfully.

[DR. MANMOHAN SINGH]

Parliament is not only a legislative but a deliberative body. So far as its deliberative functions are concerned, it will be open to us to make very valuable contributions, and it will depend upon our work whether we justify this two Chamber system, which is now an integral part of our Constitution. So, it is a test to which we are submitted. We are for the first time starting, under the parliamentary system, with a Second Chamber in the Centre, and we should try to do everything in our power to justify to the public of this great country that a Second Chamber is essential to prevent hasty legislation”.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been a proud Member of this august House for the past 21 years. I have personally witnessed and participated in some very enriching and lively debates in this august House. This House has always been a repository of wisdom that has proved invaluable to the functioning of our parliamentary democracy. It has considered and passed historic legislations institutionalizing land reforms through the first Constitutional amendment, abolishing privy purses and nationalizing banks. More recently, legislations passed by this House have expanded the entitlements of our people to education, information and minimum employment.

So, I can say with conviction that we have met the test of essentiality that Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke about. I can say with confidence today that, looking at the history of the functioning of this House over the last sixty years, the trust reposed in us by the founding fathers of our Constitution has been substantially fulfilled.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, that is not to say that we should not reflect with concern on the repeated disruptions of proceedings and a regrettable unwillingness, on occasion, to engage in informed discussion. On this momentous occasion of the completion of 60 years of the functioning of the House, I hope that we can write a new chapter and restore to it the sense of dignity and decorum that is expected of a House of Elders.

The resilience of our pluralistic democracy is the proudest achievements of the Indian State and the Indian people. The people of India have repeatedly and regularly reposed their faith in the institutions of Parliamentary democracy. In recent years, they are making their voice heard more forcefully by voting in increasing number in Parliamentary, State Assembly and Panchayat elections.

There is thus no doubt that one reason for our growing global stature in the world is our unflinching commitment to pursuing a democratic path to achieving our social and economic salvation.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us to respect the great institutions of our democracy and respect the spirit of what is expected from the elected representatives.

Mr. Chairman, I once again congratulate all the distinguished Members congregated here and commend them to the noble task of nation building and service to the people of India. Thank you.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join you, as also the hon. Prime Minister, in wishing all our colleagues and the Indian people the very best on this momentous occasion when the Indian Parliament has completed its sixtieth year. I feel privileged to be in the company of Mr. Rishang Keishing, the eldest Member of this House, who has the distinction of serving as a Member of the first Lok Sabha in 1952. It is not only a tribute to his good health and stamina but also to his credibility that he has sustained the upheavals of politics for more than six decades, and we are privileged to have him amidst us today. Sir, today is an occasion for us to celebrate. It is an occasion to rejoice. It is also an occasion to introspect and prepare ourselves for the challenges of the future. The hon. Prime Minister just now, in his very scholarly address, has highlighted the role of this House and the functions that it has performed over the last six decades. He has also briefly, towards the end, referred to the challenges which lie ahead of us. Sixty years, Sir, is a very major event in the life of an individual. We regard it, for an individual, as an age of maturity. The Governments regard it as an age where individuals get fatigued and they retire them. But, in the life of a nation, sixty years is only a drop in the ocean. Sixty years, in the life of a nation, is a period where the foundations of a system are laid down and a direction to each society is given. It is this direction which we got in the last sixty years which has brought us to where India stands today. Sir, sixty five years ago, when we achieved our independence, we had many goals. But amongst our principal targets was to preserve the unity and integrity of India, how to develop India into a functional democracy and how to sustain the very institutions which are so vital to our democracy. We also had the target of fighting the curse of poverty and backwardness which long years of foreign rule had inflicted on us. We were particularly faced with the challenge of unity and integrity and the preservation of the Indian state because that was the period when many countries in the world were breaking up. The prophets of doom were not very sure whether India would ever survive as one state, in the size and shape in which it got its independence. We faced more wars than most countries in the world; we faced natural calamities almost by the year. Nobody else has faced cross-border terrorism longer than what we faced. We were a country of different regions, different languages, different religions, different tribes and different castes. Many regarded us as a puzzle. How could this survive? In the last 60-65 years, we have demonstrated to the whole world that we not only survived but we survived to become a major power and a major force in the world. It is a tribute to our sense of nationhood, our heritage, our cultural personality and the deep sense of patriotism of the Indian people that we have survived in this manner. It is a tribute to our Parliamentary system that despite divergence, despite ideological differences when it came to the call of the nation, we all stood up and spoke in one voice. In December 2001, when this very Parliament was attacked, it was not merely an attack on a building; it was an attack on the very idea of India, on our institution of Parliamentary democracy, perhaps

[SHRI ARUN JAITLEY]

a conspiracy to eliminate a large section of India's political leadership. I pay my tribute, Sir, to our security personnel and others who guarded us on that day and gave up their own lives in the process. On each of these occasions, various constituents of Indian democracy spoke up in one voice, and that, I think, was the best tribute to the nation that we have created in the last sixty five years.

The last six decades have seen many democracies in the world collapse. They collapsed to monarchies; they collapsed to dictators; and they collapsed to despotic rulers. For any developed economy in the world that has tasted the fruits of economic prosperity, to survive as a democracy was always easy. But for a poor State, to survive and strengthen its democracy was the biggest challenge. From poverty, we evolved to a developing economy. Not only did we survive, but we also have the distinction of becoming the world's largest parliamentary democracy. Sir, we had a challenge because poverty can provoke cynicism; it can provoke anger. Despite that, we did not allow this, in any way, to interfere with our democratic functioning. And this, Sir, perhaps is the greatest tribute to the founding fathers of our Constitution who envisaged this great system of parliamentary democracy and a bicameral legislature about which the hon. Prime Minister just now spoke. The system of parliamentary democracy perhaps best suited to us where all shades of opinion, ideological or otherwise, became a part of decision-making process in this country. The advantage of a bicameral legislature is that you have a House that is directly elected by the people and you have the States, through this House, participating in the governance of the Central Government. We, as their representatives constituting the Council of States, participate as much as the House of People in the formulation of laws and most other businesses of the Central Government. Sir, we can take satisfaction from the fact that we sustained our permanent Executive in terms of our civil service over the last six decades, and despite fissures, have always tried to strengthen our system of federalism in this country and remain committed to governance by the rule of law. We gave primacy to fundamental rights. We created independent institutions like the institution of judiciary, which can check us when we go wrong. We also learnt from our mistakes. We made the basic structure of our Constitution non-amendable, so that nobody can tinker with it. After the experience of mid-70s, we made fundamental rights non-suspendable even during an emergency. Not only this, Sir, we learnt from the experiences of our neighbours and created a professional armed force completely detached from the domestic politics of the country. Our system of conducting free and fair elections is emulated by even the most developed nations of the world. These were our strengths. But then we also have challenges for the future. People look upon both the Houses of Parliament to improve the quality of politics and governance. The power of politics is immense. It influences the life of a nation, and therefore, the stature of the men, who man this system, must always measure up to the responsibility that the country vests in them. This improved quality of politics has to lead to good quality of governance. We have always taken

satisfaction from the fact that we grow by 7-9 per cent. We do this despite various difficulties and challenges in governance. If we were to perfect the model of good governance, perhaps this figure, which the hon. Prime Minister repeatedly speaks about, could even be far higher. Sir, once our norms of accountability improve, cynicism with regard to Parliament and parliamentary functioning will have to be brought to an end. Cynicism leads to anger. Anger can lead to crowd on roads. But it is Parliament which is accountable; mobs are never accountable. And, therefore, there is no substitute for the credibility of parliamentary institution and a popular faith as far as its functioning is concerned.

Sir, over the years, our Constitutional values have also evolved. They have never remained static. Between 1950 and today, there is a fundamental change. We had more of Centralised governance, Centralised planning and Centralised schemes because we thought that the unity and integrity of the country was paramount. Today, we can be rest assured that we have overcome those challenges. Today, it's the regional aspirations of the people which are posing more challenges and, therefore, to lean greater in favour of federalism seems to be the need of the hour today.

Sir, this House represents really, in action, the Parliamentary democracy and the political system of India. We have the challenge that this country must achieve its full potential. Poverty, backwardness, discrimination, etc. are all curses and, therefore, on all these social and economic agendas, we endeavour to have a larger consensus to the extent possible so that we can respond to the challenge which this country really has vested in us.

Sir, social justice, emphasis on education, elimination of poverty, healthcare, women empowerment, etc., are all challenges which are going to be greater challenges in the decade to come. We still continue to face the curse of terrorism and insurgency. Let us resolve that there is no politics on these issues. They are a threat to this country and, therefore, eventually, even with regard to the insurgency, we not only eliminate it but the strength of our Parliamentary democracy would be that one day, perhaps, we are able to get those who rebel outside the system within this Parliamentary system.

Lastly, Sir, the Central Parliament is only the pivotal agency of Parliamentary democracy. We have the State Legislatures. We now have decentralised democracy. We have the Municipalities, Zilla Panchayats and Panchayats. The way we conduct ourselves is going to be a role model for each of these agencies which are also so vital to our democracy. Our conduct, our quality of debates, our ability to resolve differences and finally work in national interest perhaps is the area where people judge us. I am sure this is an important occasion in the life of our nation where we can discuss and perhaps resolve how to overcome these challenges and give to the people of India what they really expect from this Parliament. Thank you very much.

सुश्री मायावती (उत्तर प्रदेश) माननीय सभापति जी, भारतीय संसद की प्रथम बैठक की 60वीं वर्षगांठ मनाने के उपलक्ष्य में अपने लोकतंत्र व अपनी लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था पर चिंतन-मनन करने के लिए आज जो विशेष बैठक आयोजित की गई है, जिसमें हमारी पार्टी की ओर से आपने मुझे भी अपने विचार रखने का मौका दिया है, इसके लिए मैं आपकी बहुत-बहुत आभारी हूँ।

(उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे.) कुरियन) पीठासीन हुए)

मान्यवर, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है कि भारतीय संसद अपने देश के लोकतंत्र का अति महत्वपूर्ण स्तम्भ है, जिसका ज्यादातर श्रेय अपने देश के भारतीय संविधान के निर्माता परम पूज्य बाबा साहब डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर को ही जाता है। बाबा साहब डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने इसके लिए यह प्रेरणा खास तौर से महात्मा ज्योति राव फूले के जीवन संघर्ष से, श्री छत्रपति शाहू जी महाराज की रियासत की कार्यप्रणाली से तथा आज से हजारों साल पहले यहाँ समता, न्याय व बंधुत्व पर आधारित बौद्ध काल के लोकतंत्र से ली है। इन्होंने फिर इनकी सोच के आधार पर चल कर यहाँ भारतीय संविधान का निर्माण किया, जिसकी दुनिया भर में आज भी प्रशंसा की जाती है।

मान्यवर, जहाँ तक अपने देश की तरक्की और यहाँ की जनता के विकास व उत्थान में अपनी भारतीय संसद के 60 वर्षों की जो उपलब्धियाँ, विशेषताएँ व कुछ कमियाँ आदि रही हैं, उनके बारे में कुछ मुद्दों को लेकर मुझसे पूर्व हमारे देश के माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी और विपक्ष के हमारे सम्मानित नेता ने काफी विस्तार से अपनी बात रखी है। इसलिए उन मुद्दों पर मैं और ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहना चाहती हूँ, लेकिन फिर भी मैं कुछ महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दों एवं पहलुओं के संदर्भ में माननीय सदन व सरकार का ध्यान जरूर आकर्षित कराना चाहती हूँ।

मान्यवर, भारतीय संसद के 60 वर्षों के इतिहास के बारे में मुझे यह कहते हुए कतई संकोच या हिचकिचाहट नहीं है कि अपनी भारतीय संसद के 60 वर्षों में से शुरू के लगभग 30 वर्षों के कार्यकाल में संसद की हर गतिविधि व कार्यवाही में देश व जनता का हित ज्यादातर प्राथमिकता के आधार पर पहले नम्बर रखा जाता था और राजनीतिक हित को अकसर पीछे रखा जाता था। लेकिन इसके बाद आगे के लगभग 30 वर्षों की अवधि में हमें इसमें कुछ परिवर्तन होता हुआ नजर आया है। इस अवधि के दौरान हमें संसद की ज्यादातर कार्यवाही व गतिविधियों में देश व जनता का हित बाद में और राजनीतिक हित पहले देखने के लिए मिला है, जो अपने देश व यहाँ की जनता के लिए काफी चिंता की बात है। इस बात का ताजा-ताजा उदाहरण यह है कि अभी हाल ही में कुछ दिन पहले दिनांक 3 मई, 2012 को इसी हाउस में देश के एससी/एसटी वर्ग के लोगों की पदोन्नति में आरक्षण व वरिष्ठता को लेकर और दिनांक 19.10.2006 को एम. नागराज के केस में माननीय सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की संवैधानिक पीठ के आए निर्णय पर संशोधन लाए जाने के लिए जो कई घंटों की चर्चा यहाँ हुई थी, जिसके लिए उस दिन लगभग पूरा हाउस सहमत था, इसके बावजूद भी कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेतृत्व में चल रही यूपीए की वर्तमान केन्द्रीय सरकार ने अपने राजनीतिक हित को प्राथमिकता देते हुए इस मामले को यह कह कर टाल दिया था कि इसके लिए हम अलग से सर्वदलीय बैठक बुलाएँगे। सरकार के इस प्रकार के रवैये को देखकर, दुखी हो कर फिर हमें उस दिन हाउस से बहिर्गमन करना पड़ा था। इन सबकी वजह से अब अपना देश व यहाँ की जनता हर क्षेत्र काफी ज्यादा सफर कर रहे हैं।

इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि पिछले काफी वर्षों से संसद की ज्यादातर कार्यवाही में राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के हावी होने की वजह से आज हम लोग अपने देश की अनेकों गंभीर आंतरिक समस्याओं का अभी तक भी समाधान नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। जैसे उदाहरण के तौर पर अपने देश में जम्मू-कश्मीर में कश्मीर की समस्या है, इसके अलावा आबादी के हिसाब से देश के सबसे बड़े प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश में पूर्वान्चल, बुन्देलखंड, अवध एवं पश्चिमी प्रदेश, और आन्ध्र प्रदेश में तेलंगाना तथा महाराष्ट्र में विदर्भ आदि इन नये राज्यों के गठन की समस्या, इसी प्रकार उत्तर प्रदेश व देश के अन्य कुछ राज्यों में ओबीसी की कुछ जातियों को एससी/एसटी

के आरक्षण का कोटा बढ़ाने की शर्त के साथ इनकी सूची में इन्हें शामिल किए जाने की समस्या है। इसके साथ-साथ देश में मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई, पारसी व बौद्ध आदि तथा अपरकास्ट समाज में गरीब लोगों को भी आर्थिक आधार पर अलग से आरक्षण दिए जाने की समस्या, पंजाब हरियाणा, राजस्थान आदि में नहरों व नदियों के पानी के बँटवारे की समस्या तथा देश में लगभग हर वर्ष किसी न किसी राज्य में सूखा पड़ने या बाढ़ आने के कारण अपने किसानों की हो रही तबाही व बर्बादी की विकट समस्या और इसके साथ ही केन्द्र सरकार की गलत आर्थिक नीतियों के कारण अपने देश में सर्वसमाज में लगातार बढ़ रही गरीबी, बेरोजगारी व जानलेवा महंगाई की समस्या, दिन-प्रतिदिन अपने देश में लगातार बढ़ रही जनसंख्या व आए दिन पर्यावरण का बिगड़ रहा मिजाज़ आदि ये सभी समस्याएँ प्रमुख हैं।

इसके अलावा संसद की ज्यादातर कार्यवाही व गतिविधियों में राजनैतिक स्वार्थ के हावी होने की वजह से ही अभी तक हम लोग अपने देश में आंतरिक व बाहरी आतंकवाद को भी खत्म नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। और अब अपने देश में पिछले कुछ वर्षों से तेजी से पनप रहे नक्सलवाद की, यह आंतरिक आतंकवाद की भी समस्या यहाँ सबसे बड़ी समस्या बनी हुई है, जबकि इसके लिए हमारी पार्टी ज्यादातर केन्द्र व राज्यों की सरकारों को ही दोषी मानकर चलती है और इस संदर्भ में मेरा यह कहना है कि अपने देश में ज्यादातर गरीब एवं कमजोर वर्गों के लोग ही यहाँ मजबूरीवश नक्सली बने हुए हैं, जिसका मुख्य कारण इन लोगों की उपेक्षा करके हमारे देश का बनाया गया फॉरेस्ट कानून है। इस संदर्भ में मैं यहाँ यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो लोग अपने देश में वर्षों से जंगलों में रह कर अपना जीवन बसर कर रहे थे, उन्हें हमारे देश की सरकार ने नये-नये नियम-कानून बना कर जंगलों से तो बेदखल कर दिया है, लेकिन उनके भरण-पोषण के लिए इन्होंने अभी तक भी कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाये हैं, जिसकी वजह से फिर इन लोगों को अपनी जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए मजबूरी में नक्सली बन कर इन्हें यहाँ अनेकों गलत रास्ते अपनाने पड़ रहे हैं। इसलिए, इन लोगों को गलत रास्तों से हटाने के लिए, रोकने के लिए, इनके विकास व उत्थान की तरफ केन्द्र के साथ-साथ राज्यों की सरकारों को भी विशेष ध्यान देना जरूरी होगा और इस मामले में उत्तर प्रदेश के नक्सल-प्रभावित क्षेत्रों में हमारी पार्टी ने अपनी सरकार के दौरान काफ़ी ठोस कदम उठाए हैं, जिसके कारण मेरी सरकार के रहते हुए उत्तर प्रदेश में कोई भी नक्सली वारदात नहीं हो सकी है। इस ओर भी केन्द्र व राज्यों की सरकारों को जरूर ध्यान देना होगा, वरना यह आंतरिक समस्या, अर्थात् जो नक्सलवाद की आन्तरिक समस्या कहाँ अपने देश में व्याप्त है, यह जल्दी से खत्म होने वाली नहीं है। इसके अलावा जहाँ तक अपने देश में पनप रही बाहरी व अन्य और आतंकवादी गतिविधियों का सवाल है, जिसका शिकार अपनी संसद भी हो चुकी है, इसके कारण तो अनेकों हैं, जिनकी जानकारी माननीय सदन को भी है, इसलिए मैं उन्हें दोहराना नहीं चाहती हूँ। लेकिन, फिर भी इस मामले में यहाँ सबसे ज्यादा ध्यान देने की बात यह है कि इस मामले में भी पिछले कुछ वर्षों से अब संसद के अन्दर व संसद के बाहर भी राजनीति बहुत ज्यादा हावी हो चुकी है, जिसके कारण अब अपने देश में धर्मनिरपेक्षता की जड़ें भी आए दिन कमजोर होती जा रही हैं।

इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि हमें इस बात की तरफ भी विशेष ध्यान देना है कि केन्द्र में सत्ता के परिवर्तन होते ही हमारी हर मामले में राष्ट्रीय व अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर आर्थिक नीति भी अकसर प्रभावित हो जाती है, जिसका कुछ हद तक हमारी विदेश नीति पर भी प्रभाव पड़ता है। और यह सब अपने देश व जनता के हितों के लिए ठीक नहीं है। इसके साथ ही, पिछले कुछ वर्षों से अपनी संसद की ज्यादातर कार्यवाही व गतिविधियों में राजनैतिक स्वार्थ के हावी होने की वजह से इसका सबसे ज्यादा नुकसान यहाँ अपने देश में सर्व समाज में से गरीब एवं मध्यम वर्गों के लोग उठा रहे हैं। जैसे, उदाहरण के तौर पर केन्द्र सरकार के विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में देश के गरीब एवं मध्यम वर्गों के लोगों के विकास व उत्थान के लिए जो भी योजनाएँ हमारी संसद द्वारा बनायी जाती हैं, उनका पूरा लाभ सत्ता परिवर्तन होते ही अपने देश के गरीबों एवं मध्यम वर्गों के लोगों को नहीं मिल पाता है। और इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि पुरानी सरकार की ज्यादातर योजनाएँ समाप्त कर दी जाती हैं और यही रवैया हमें राज्यों में भी देखने के लिए मिलता है। इस बात का ताजा-

[सुश्री मायावती]

ताजा उदाहरण हमारा उत्तर प्रदेश भी है। इसलिए, इन सब मामलों में भी हमारी संसद को ही अब कोई सख्त कदम जरूर उठाने होंगे, ताकि इन लोगों के ऊपर सत्ता परिवर्तन का कोई बुरा प्रभाव न पड़ सके। और इन सभी जरूरी बातों के साथ-साथ अब मेरा यह भी कहना है कि हमारी संसद की कार्य प्रणाली तो ठीक है, लेकिन शुरु से ही केन्द्र सरकार को चलाने वाले लोगों की ज्यादातर जातिवादी मानसिकता वाली सोच होने की वजह से अपने देश में यहाँ सदियों से जातिवादी व्यवस्था के शिकार चले आ रहे दलित एवं अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों के विकास व उत्थान के लिए अभी तक हमारी संसद द्वारा जो भी नियम-कानून बनाए गए हैं, उनमें इसी ही मानसिकता के तहत चल कर कुछ न कुछ ऐसी कमियाँ छोड़ दी जाती रही हैं, जिनसे इन वर्गों की सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक एवं आर्थिक स्थिति में आज तक भी कोई खास बदलाव नहीं आ पा रहा है। इसलिए, इनके हितों के लिए अब इस किस्म की मानसिकता को भी अपने देश के शासक कर्ताओं को जरूर त्यागना होगा, अर्थात् इन्हें अपनी सोच को “सर्वजन हिताय व सर्वजन सुखाय” वाला बनाना होगा।

इसके साथ ही, पिछले कुछ वर्षों से हमें यह देखने को मिल रहा है कि संसद की ज्यादातर कार्यवाही एवं गतिविधियों में राजनीतिक नफे-नुकसान का प्रभाव होने की वजह से हमारे देश की धर्मनिरपेक्षता की जड़ें भी अब धीरे-धीरे ढीली होती जा रही हैं और यहाँ साम्प्रदायिक ताकतें ज्यादातर मजबूत बनती जा रही हैं, जो अपने देश के भविष्य के लिए ठीक नहीं है। और इससे अपने देश में सभी धर्मों के लोग किसी न किसी रूप में जरूर प्रभावित हो रहे हैं। कुछ धर्म के लोग ज्यादा प्रभावित हो रहे हैं और कुछ धर्म के लोग कम प्रभावित हो रहे हैं। इसके साथ-साथ संसद की अधिकांश कार्यवाही एवं गतिविधियों में पिछले कुछ वर्षों से, यहाँ में पूरे 60 वर्षों की बात नहीं कर रही हूँ, बल्कि मैं पिछले कुछ वर्षों की बात कर रही हूँ अर्थात् संसद की अधिकांश कार्यवाही एवं गतिविधियों में पिछले कुछ वर्षों से राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के साथ-साथ व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ के भी हावी होने की वजह से हम लोग यहाँ अपने देश में हर स्तर पर फैले हुए भ्रष्टाचार को भी जड़ से खत्म करने में कामयाब नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। इसलिए, फिर मजबूरी में अपने देश की जनता को इस मामले में लोकपाल बिल के लिए संसद पर अपना दबाव बनाना पड़ रहा है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि अपने देश की संसद के 60 वर्षों में से आखिर के कुछ वर्षों का जो इतिहास रहा है, तो उससे यही पता चलता है कि उस अवधि के दौरान अपने संसद की ज्यादातर कार्यवाही व गतिविधियों में राजनीतिक हित एवं स्वार्थ काफी हद तक हावी रहा है। जिसकी वजह से अपने देश व यहाँ की जनता को लगभग सभी मामलों में काफी ज्यादा नुकसान उठाना पड़ रहा है।

और इसके साथ ही हमारी भारतीय संसद की गरिमा एवं इसके महत्व पर भी इसका कुछ हद तक जरूर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ा है, इसलिए इन सब बातों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए अब हमें संसद के आगे के वर्षों में अपने राजनैतिक हित व व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ के लिए संसद की गरिमा एवं महत्व को किसी भी कीमत पर प्रभावित नहीं होने देना है, ताकि यहाँ अपने देश में लोकतन्त्र की जड़ें हमेशा मजबूत बनी रहें।

और अब अंत में, संक्षेप में यहाँ मेरा यही कहना है कि हमें अपनी संसदीय प्रणाली व लोकतन्त्र पर तो गर्व है, लेकिन संसद में हर स्तर पर हमारा किरदार व कार्यशैली अधिकांश ऐसी होनी चाहिए, जिससे भारतीय लोकतन्त्र भी हम पर गर्व महसूस कर सके। इस उम्मीद के साथ अब मैं अपनी संसद के उज्ज्वल भविष्य की कामना करते हुए अपनी बात यहीं समाप्त करती हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Thank you, Kumari Mayawatiji for sticking to the time.

Hon. Members, since we have to finish the Session on time for the Central Hall's function, I will, for the convenience the Members, in advance, tell what is the maximum time each Member can take. Shri Sitaram Yechury, you can take maximum ten minutes.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal) : Sir, I rise to join all the hon. Members of Parliament, the hon. Prime Minister and Leader of the House, the hon. Leader of the Opposition and the entire country in celebrating the Sixtieth birthday of Independent India's Parliament.

As it was invoked in some of our cultures, there is a belief that sixty years is the completion of "Shashtipurthi." "Shasthipurthi" means the beginning of a new life. But some of these cultures don't define that as a better life. It is the beginning of a new life and it is incumbent upon all of us in Parliament today to make this into a better life. Therefore, while I share the sentiments and very justified compliments to the entire House and the system which the hon. Leader of the Opposition and the hon. Leader of House have expressed, I think, we must pay sufficient attention in order to create a better life in the coming period to. There are least, four aspects which I want to flag off today.

But, before saying that, there were many who left us. When they ruled us for nearly two centuries in a colonial rule and when they left us they thought that this country would break up. This cannot sustain. The idea of "India" cannot work. But, at the same time, there were some like Prime Minister of Britain at that time, Sir Anthony Eden, said — when our Parliamentary process began — and I wish to quote what he said. And, I think, we have proven him right in these sixty years. He said, "Of all the experiments in Government, which have been attempted since the beginning of time, I believe that the Indian venture into Parliamentary Government is the most exciting. The Indian venture is not a pale imitation of our practice at home, but a magnified and multiplied reproduction on a scale we have never dreamt of." And, indeed, during these six decades, we have consolidated this process, enriched the content, safeguarded the idea of "India" and we are, actually, in the process of realizing these ideas. But, having said this, Sir, I think, it is necessary for us to recall the centrality of our Constitution lies in the sovereignty of the people. This centrality is exercised by those elected to the legislatures — Parliament or Assemblies — and by making the executive accountable to the legislature which, in turn, is accountable to the people. This is a Constitutional scheme of things. The efficiency of this mechanism, however, depends, to a large extent, on the duration and proper conduct of parliamentary proceedings. On this core, I am afraid, all of us will have to introspect and accept, on the basis of our own experience, that some corrective action is required.

During the last two decades the Parliament never sat for more than 100 days in a year. The closest was in 1992 with 98 sittings. The 14th Lok Sabha, Sir, was marked by the least in the Parliament history with 332 sittings with an average of 66 a year. Worse, 24 per cent of this time was lost due to disruptions and adjournments. Sir, the British Parliament, on an average, meets for, at least, 160 days a year. Now, clearly, unless the Parliament sits for a longer duration, its vigilance over the Government is

[SHRI SITARAM YECHURY]

not effective. Thus, the executive's accountability to the legislature becomes the casualty. This seriously undermines our Constitutional scheme of things and engenders authoritarian tendencies. This needs to be corrected. And, I would suggest that we seriously consider, through a Constitutional Amendment, if necessary, making it mandatory for 100 sittings a year. Sir, 100 sittings in a calendar year should be Constitutionally mandated. I think, that is necessary as a corrective step for the future.

The second issue is relating to the role of judiciary, as being both the interpreter of the Constitution, the law and the custodian of the rights of the citizens. During the last session, the hon. Law Minister informed us that 3.2 crores of cases are pending in the High Courts and the subordinate courts. There are 56,383 cases pending before the Supreme Court. As on December, 2010, there were 3,50,003 under-trials languishing in jails. The cases have not been decided upon. They have not been proven guilty. But, they are languishing in jails. As all of us know that justice delayed is justice denied. The system of delivery of justice thus needs to be urgently beefed up.

Further, recent experience of judicial activism has blurred the delineation between the three organs of democracy. The judiciary interprets the law. But, I think, respectfully, we have to say that it cannot make laws; the legislature alone can do that. The Constitutional mandate is for a judicial review, not for judicial activism. So, this needs to be corrected.

Thirdly, the maturation of Indian democracy needs to be accompanied by certain structural changes to enrich this process further.

Consider the fact, Sir, that not once in our history since the first General Elections in 1952 – Mr. Keishing is here; we are very proud of the fact that he entered this House, in the year that the Parliament was born, and I was born in the same year – did we have a Government that had the command of more than 50 per cent of the votes cast; never. The closest was the Government of Shri Rajiv Gandhi in 1984 that polled 48.1 per cent. We have never crossed that 50 per cent mark. If democracy is the rule of the majority, don't we need to fine-tune the system to ensure that there are more people who vote for a Government in office than who vote against the Parties which are in Government, in office? Now, this is a strange anomaly which needs to be corrected, Sir. We have had Governments at the Centre that ran for five years with only 36 per cent of the popular vote. Therefore, I think we need to seriously consider the issue of proportional representation. We can begin by having two adjoining constituencies put together and with every individual having two votes, one for the Party and one for the individual, so that the diversity of India does not become a casualty. And then, the percentage of votes that the Party receives could be presented, according to the pre-given list, to the Election Commission on the basis of priority. Then, we would have individual as well as Party representations, and the Government that would be formed

would necessarily have to be formed with 50 per cent-plus votes. I think we must seriously consider this. In fact, the Constituent Assembly had considered it very seriously. The 1928 Motilal Nehru Commission had recommended this to be the form of Government for India in future. But, then, it was forgotten. I think the time has come for us to consider this. It has many other advantages.

I know you are looking at the clock, Sir. So am I, but there are many other issues I wish to talk about. Apart from these three pillars, we also have the fourth pillar.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : You must conclude now, Mr. Yechury.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY : Sir, that fourth pillar is the media. The responsibility of the media, the Fourth Estate, is also an issue on which, I think for the future, we will have to do certain fine-tuning without encroaching and, most respectfully, upholding the right to expression, the fundamental right to expression, which is necessary.

Finally, Sir, I would like to raise this issue. The hon. Prime Minister is here. We talk of inclusive growth, but the reality in the last few years has been that we have not been able to achieve this. In this context, I must quote from Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's final speech that he had made in this very Constituent Assembly — we would meet this evening in the same hall — when he was presenting the Draft of the Constitution. This is what he had said while concluding his speech when he presented the Draft for the final consideration and approval of the Constituent Assembly. I quote: "On 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we have equality and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognizing the principle of one man-one vote, one vote-one value; in our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment, or else, those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up." This was said on the 25th of November, 1949.

Sir, the Parliament must enact the necessary laws to heed this warning today. If this political democracy has to be strengthened for the future, Babasaheb's warning must be heeded. Therefore, I would like to make this final statement. The colour of our Rajya Sabha is red; the colour of Lok Sabha is green. If the Lok Sabha, by mistake, shows a green flag to get a law passed, we must rise and show our red flag and stop it in the interest of our country and in the interest of our people. Therefore, we must play

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our role, and with this hope that we would do so for the future of India, I take your leave.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी। तिवारी जी, 10 मिनट से ज्यादा न लें।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी (बिहार) : मुझे खुशी है कि जब हम लोगों की बारी आयी तो आप समय का ध्यान रख रहे हैं, पहले आपने समय का ध्यान नहीं रखा था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : सबके लिए।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : महोदय, आज हम अपनी संसद की 60वीं वर्षगांठ मनाने के लिए इकट्ठे हुए हैं। यह हमारे लिए एक मुबारक दिन है और यह इसलिए भी मुबारक दिन है कि जिस समय हमारा मुल्क आज़ाद हुआ, उसके आसपास जो भी मुल्क आज़ाद हुए, उनमें से अधिकांश मुल्कों में जम्हूरियत चल नहीं पायी, लोकतंत्र चल नहीं पाया। उस मामले में हम यह दावा कर सकते हैं कि हमारे यहाँ लोकतंत्र मज़बूती के साथ चल रहा है और हम दुनिया के एक बड़े लोकतंत्र के रूप में स्थापित हैं।

महोदय, 1952 में जब हमारा पहला चुनाव हुआ, उसके बाद से अब तक हमारे लोकतंत्र का जो सबसे बड़ा काम हमको दिखायी देता है, वह यह कि हमारा भारतीय समाज, हजारों वर्षों से एक जड़ समाज रहा है। इस समाज में कुछ लोगों के हाथ में सामाजिक सत्ता रही है। उन्हीं के निर्देशों पर हमारा देश चलता रहा और हजारों वर्षों से चलता रहा है। इस सामाजिक व्यवस्था के कारण देश की बहुत दुर्गति हुई है। हम देश के हजार वर्ष का इतिहास देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि हमारा देश कहीं घुटने टेक कर खड़ा रहा है, हमेशा समर्पण किया है, लेकिन उस जड़ता को तोड़ने का काम वोट के अधिकार ने किया। उसने शानदार काम किया और जड़ता को तोड़ा और जिन समूहों का वर्चस्व रहा, वह वर्चस्व टूट गया है, वोट की ठेकेदारी खत्म हो गयी है, वंचितों का विशाल समूह अपने अधिकार के प्रति जागा है और उसने नारा लगाया है कि, “वोट हमारा राज तुम्हारा, नहीं चलेगा, नहीं चलेगा।” यही वजह है कि हमारी संसद और विधान सभाओं में बहुमत उन तबकों का है, जो हजारों से वंचित रहे हैं, हाशिए पर रहे हैं। आप इस पार्लियामेंट का भी अगर शुरू से हिसाब लगाकर देखें तो 1977 का चुनाव पहला चुनाव है, जब यहा पिछड़े लोगों, वंचित समूह ने ओवर टेक किया जोकि सदियों से सत्ता पर काबिज़ थे। हम इसे एक बड़ी उपलब्धि के रूप में देखते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दूसरी ओर हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ायी का जो सपना था, महात्मा गाँधी कांग्रेस पार्टी से बड़े थे और महात्मा गाँधी ही देश के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के नायक थे, उन्होंने एक सपना देखा था और उन्होंने कहा था कि मुझे कोई एतराज़ नहीं, अंग्रेज़ हमारे देश में बस जाएँ, लेकिन अंग्रेज़ियत को इस देश से जाना चाहिए। इस देश से अंग्रेज़ तो चले गए, लेकिन इस देश को आज भी अंग्रेज़ियत से किसी भी मामले में मुक्ति नहीं मिल पायी है। हम देखते हैं कि लोक सभा और राज्य सभा की कार्यवाही देसी भाषा में नहीं होती। अंग्रेज़ों की जो भाषा है, जिनके हम 250 वर्षों तक गुलाम रहे, आज उन्हीं की भाषा में काम कर रहे हैं। हम आज़ादी के 60 वर्ष बाद भी अपने अंदर इस क्षमता का विकास नहीं कर पाए हैं कि हम देश की देसी भाषाओं में, देश की समस्याओं पर विचार-विमर्श कर पाएँ। यह क्षमता हम हासिल नहीं कर पाए और हमको लगता है कि यह हमारे लिए फख्र की नहीं बल्कि शर्मिंदगी की बात है। दूसरी ओर हम यह कहना चाहते हैं, इस सदन में भी इस विषय पर चर्चा हो चुकी है, गाँधी जी ने कहा था कि जो गरीब लोग हैं, उनको इज़्ज़त के साथ रोटी मिलनी चाहिए, लेकिन आज क्या हालत है? प्रधान मंत्री जी सदन में मौजूद हैं, इनकी बहुत बड़े अर्थशास्त्री के रूप में देश और विदेश में प्रतिष्ठा है, वर्ष 1991 में इन्होंने देश की जिस आर्थिक नीति की शुरुआत की थी, देश आज उसी आर्थिक नीति को चला रहा है, लेकिन हमने क्या उपलब्धि हासिल की है? हम आपसे कहना चाहते हैं, कुछ दिन पहले जब देश में कुपोषित बच्चों, भूखे बच्चों के बारे में प्रधान मंत्री जी की मौजूदगी में एक रिपोर्ट जारी हुई थी, तो प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि यह राष्ट्रीय शर्म की बात है।

प्रधानमंत्री जी से हम पूछना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि आजाद देश में आजादी के बाद सबसे अधिक शासन आपकी पार्टी ने चलाया है और 1991 के बाद से आज तक देश आपकी बनाई हुई आर्थिक नीतियों पर चल रहा है, तो आज यह देश कहाँ पहुँचा है? एक तरफ संपत्ति का केन्द्रीकरण, जबर्दस्त केन्द्रीकरण हुआ है। हमें याद है, 1916 में महात्मा गाँधी ने देश के वाइसराय को कहा था, जब उनकी सुरक्षा पर इतना ज्यादा खर्च हो रहा था, उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर आपको जिंदा रखने के लिए इतना ज्यादा पैसा खर्च किया जा रहा है तो उससे अच्छा है कि आप मर जाएँ। आज देश की ऐसी हालत है कि 42 परसेंट बच्चे कुपोषित पैदा हो रहे हैं। हमारे देश में गरीबों की कितनी तादाद है, उसका अनुमान आज तक यह सरकार नहीं लगा पाई है। प्लानिंग कमीशन का एक से एक बयान आता है। हम देखते हैं कि देश के गरीबों के लिए जो योजना बनाने वाले लोग हैं, वे लोग इस देश के गरीब इलाकों का जितना भ्रमण नहीं करते हैं, उससे ज्यादा अमरीका, इंग्लैंड और यूरोप का भ्रमण करते हैं और जिससे लगातार टी.ए., डी.ए. का खर्चा बढ़ता जा रहा है। आजादी के आंदोलन में हमारे पुरखों ने, महात्मा गाँधी ने एक सपना देखा था और संकल्प लिया था कि आजाद मुल्क में हम लोगों को गरीबी से, भूख से, लाचारी से और गैर-बराबरी से मुक्त करेंगे और यह बात हमने अपने संविधान के डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल में भी लिखी है। उस समय एक ऐसा मुल्क बनाने का संकल्प लिया गया था, जिसमें सबको इज्जत और सुकून के साथ जिंदगी गुजारने का मौका मिलेगा, लेकिन आज हम कहाँ पहुँचे हैं? इस सदन को इस पर विचार करना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वह जो कसौटी बनाई गई थी और आजादी के आंदोलन का जो संकल्प लिया गया था, उस कसौटी पर अगर हम आज इस साठवीं वर्षगांठ के मौके पर अपने आपको रखकर देखें, तो हमको कहीं से गर्व नहीं होता बल्कि हमको अपने लोकतंत्र पर थोड़ी शर्मिंदगी होती है। जो वंचित समूह था, गरीब तबके के लोग थे उनको हमने सोशल स्पेस तो दिया, लेकिन उनको आर्थिक स्पेस कहाँ दिया है? आज आप देखिएगा, एक अंतर्विरोध है। जो गरीब आदमी है, जो पिछड़ा है, दलित है, वह लोकतंत्र का हिमायती है और हिमायती इसलिए है, क्योंकि हिमायती रहते हुए भी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को गाली देता है, अपने जन-प्रतिनिधि को गाली देता है। अगर उससे बात कीजिएगा कि क्या वोट का अधिकार नहीं रहना चाहिए, तो वह तत्परता के साथ जवाब देता है कि नहीं, वोट का अधिकार रहना चाहिए। वह महसूस करता है कि समाज में जो आज उसकी हैसियत बढ़ी है, उसका कारण वोट का अधिकार ही है। एक जमाना था, जब वोट की ठेकेदारी होती थी। हम वोट माँगने वाले लोग गाँव में जाते थे और जो गाँव का मजबूत आदमी होता था उसके दरवाजे पर बैठते थे। वहाँ से खा-पीकर जब चलते थे, तो वह कहता था कि आप जाइए, इस गाँव से निश्चित रहिए। उस गाँव से वोट मिल जाते थे, लेकिन आज हालत ऐसी है कि हम लोगों को, अधिकांश लोगों को चुनाव लड़ने का तजुर्बा है, हम लोगों को आज मुसहर के दरवाजे पर भी वोट माँगने के लिए जाना पड़ता है। हम उसके सामने भी हाथ जोड़ते हैं। यह जो अधिकार मिला है, यह जो उसको स्पेस मिला है, वह छोड़ना नहीं चाहता है। इसलिए आप देखिएगा कि वोट डालने में उसकी मुस्तैदी सबसे ज्यादा रहती है। जो पढ़ा-लिखा तबका है, वह तो मान रहा है कि लोकतंत्र फिजूल हो गया है, यहाँ तो ऐसे-ऐसे लोग आते हैं, जो सुअर पालते थे, गाय चराते थे, भेड़ चराते थे और हम जो पढ़े-लिखे लोग हैं, जिनमें देश और राज चलाने की सलाहियत है, हमको बाहर फेंक दिया गया है। वही लोग आज बाहर बैठ करके लोकतंत्र को गाली दे रहे हैं और यह जो सदन है, यह सदन और वह सदन, इसकी गरिमा को गिराने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। उनका यही मतलब है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अंत में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। सीताराम येचुरी जी मार्क्सवादी हैं। मार्क्स साहब ने एक बार कहा था कि धर्म जो है, अफीम है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि आज जो कन्ज्युमरिस्ट कल्चर है, उपभोक्तावादी संस्कृति है, वह अफीम से भी ज्यादा नशीली और मारक है। आज हमारे देश में जो संकट है, उसका मूल कारण यही है। आदमी के अंदर जो लालच है, जिसको सारे धर्मों ने रोकने की, ढकने की, उसको कमजोर करने की कोशिश की, उसको आज कन्ज्युमरिस्ट कल्चर चलाने वाले जो लोग हैं, वे आदमी की इस कमजोरी का लाभ उठाकर पूरे देश में लालच को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं। इसलिए कभी-कभी जब चर्चा होती है, हमारे देश में जो फाइनेन्शियल डेफेसिट है, उसके बारे में गंभीर चिंता प्रकट की

[श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी]

जाती है, तो हमको लगता है कि उससे ज्यादा चिंता जो इथिकल डेफेसिट है, जो हमारे देश पर नैतिकता का संकट है, उस पर प्रकट होनी चाहिए। आज जो यह चारों तरफ भ्रष्टाचार दिखाई दे रहा है, चारों तरफ जो लूट दिखाई दे रही है, उसके भी पीछे यही इथिकल डेफेसिट कारण है, जो डेफेसिट कन्ज्युमरिस्ट कल्चर के कारण पैदा हुआ है।

अंत में मैं एक गंभीर खतरे की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आज हम 60 बरस के बाद यहाँ बैठे हैं, हमको लगता है कि इस डेमोक्रेसी के सामने एक गंभीर संकट यह है कि हमारे यहाँ कट्टरवाद बढ़ रहा है और हम असहमति के अधिकार को सीमित करते जा रहे हैं। हम देख रहे हैं कि आए दिन ताकत के आधार पर यह तय करने की कोशिश की जाती है कि हम कौन सी किताब पढ़ेंगे, कौन सी किताब नहीं पढ़ेंगे, कौन सा लेख लिखा जाएगा, कौन सा लेख नहीं लिखा जाएगा, कौन सा कार्टून बनेगा, कौन सा कार्टून नहीं बनेगा। आज यह सब ताकत के आधार पर तय किया जा रहा है और हम असहमति के अधिकार को जगह नहीं दे रहे हैं। प्रधान मंत्री जी और लीडर ऑफ दि अपोजीशन से हम पूछना चाहते हैं कि अगर असहमति का अधिकार नहीं होगा, तो लोकतंत्र कैसे चलेगा? असहमति का अधिकार तो लोकतंत्र की आत्मा है और अगर वही नहीं मिलेगा...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : तिवारी जी, अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी - मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। जब मायावती जी बोल रही थीं, उस समय आपने घड़ी नहीं देखी...(व्यवधान)... यहाँ साहस की कमी है और मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो कट्टरवादी ताकतें हैं, आप उनके सामने समर्पण करते जा रहे हैं। इसीलिए ये कट्टरवादी ताकतें मजबूत होती जा रही हैं और उनका विस्तार होता जा रहा है। यह नियम सबके लिए है, चाहे मजबूत हो या कमजोर हो, नियम सबके लिए है। आप ताकत के साथ उस कुर्सी पर बैठे हैं, आपको नियम का अनुपालन करना चाहिए। कोई मजबूत बोले, तो आप चुप और कोई कमजोर बोले, तो आप घड़ी देखें और कहें तिवारी जी, समाप्त कीजिए, यह नहीं चलता है।

श्री सतीश चन्द्र मिश्रा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मायावती जी को 15 मिनट का समय मिला था और वे 15 मिनट ही बोली थीं। आपने शायद तिवारी जी को बताया नहीं कि मायावती जी को 15 मिनट का समय मिला था।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ। मैं कह रहा हूँ कि असहमति का अधिकार लोकतंत्र का मौलिक अधिकार है। अगर सरकार असहमति के अधिकार की रक्षा नहीं करती है, जो उसका संवैधानिक दायित्व है, तो आप लोकतंत्र की रक्षा भी नहीं कर सकते हैं और यह बहुत चिंताजनक है। इस मौके पर मैं गुज़ारिश करूँगा कि हमें इस पर गंभीरता से चिंतन और मनन करना चाहिए। मैं पूरी संजीदगी के साथ कहता हूँ कि इसके लिए हमारे पास ज्यादा वक्त नहीं है। हमें सावधान होना पड़ेगा और लोकतंत्र को बचाने के लिए, मजबूती से असहमति के अधिकार को बचाने का प्रयास करना होगा तथा कट्टरवादी ताकतों पर लगाम लगानी होगी, अन्यथा लोकतंत्र नहीं बचेगा। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : See, the Chair need not explain, yet I have to say that 15 minutes time was allotted to that party, उन्होंने 15 मिनट लिए।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कुर्सी पर बैठते ही आपको नियम बता देना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : हम नियम के अनुसार ही चलते हैं। उनके लिए 15 मिनट का समय allot किया गया था, उन्होंने सिर्फ 15 मिनट ही लिए। आपके लिए 10 मिनट का समय दिया गया है, आप 10 मिनट तक बोलिए। Others में केवल 5 मिनट का समय दिया गया है। So, this difference is there. It is not that time for everybody is equal.

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज का दिन बहुत स्पेशल है, आज इन चीजों की चर्चा नहीं होनी चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Ravi Shankarji, I really want that, but the problem is at 5.30, we have an important sitting in the Central Hall. So, at least, by 4.30 we should finish. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD: Let us rise above all this. ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): By 4.30 we have to complete this sitting. As you know, a large number of speakers are there. That is the point. ...(Interruptions)... 43 speakers are there.

श्री नरेश अग्रवाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, चेयर के लिए अलग से 15 मिनट रखे जाएँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : चेयर को समय जरूर मिलता है, लेकिन चेयर वह समय नहीं लेती है।

SHRI SUKHENDU SEKHAR ROY (West Bengal): Thank you, Sir. On this auspicious moment, I am carrying a message from one of the ten great personalities of the world, Ms. Mamata Banerjee - a message of best wishes and wellbeing for all Members of Parliament and millions of our countrymen who have stood for Parliamentary Democracy in India for a long time. Sir, in our great epic, the Mahabharata, it is said:

“न सः सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धाः।
वृद्धाः न ते ये न वदन्ति धर्मम्।।”

It means : “That is an Assembly where there are no elder men. Those are not elders, who do not speak with righteousness.” While we look at the 60 years of journey of Indian Parliament, we find as to how significantly this House of Elders has contributed to make the journey a memorable one. Over the decades it is a journey of freedom fighters, scholars, leading men and women from different fields that the world of democracy has witnessed. The Indian nation is immensely indebted to them and we bow to them on this auspicious occasion.

Sir, during the past sixty years, the Indian society has undergone a sea change; thanks to the rich contributions made by our people, in general, and the Parliamentarians, in particular. Shri Atulya Ghosh, a freedom fighter and a Member of the first Lok Sabha, wrote in his autobiography that despite a significant development in our socioeconomic arena, there seems to be a kind of people in our country who are ‘*hahakarbadi*’. They raise a hue and cry on each and every occasion whenever something happens, notwithstanding its positive impact on our society as a whole. I am afraid such a political cynicism is going on day by day. However, as a student of Political Science and Law, and as an ardent believer in parliamentary democracy, I am delighted to see participation of many of those disgruntled outfits in our polity — who used to say ‘यह आज़ादी झूठी है’, and used to burn copies of the Indian Constitution on the streets or having daydreams to ‘wreak the Constitution from within’ – is, perhaps, one of the major achievements of our parliamentary democracy.

[SHRI SUKHENDU SEKHAR ROY]

When I, for the first time, entered this majestic building and, particularly in the Central Hall, I would see in my mind's eyes the Bhagat Singh and Battukeshwar Dutta throwing two bombs consecutively on 8th April 1929, and later found Mr. Asaf Ali reading a statement in the court on behalf of them. I would only refer only one line from the text of that statement, made on 6th June, 1929, "We dropped the bomb on the floor of the Assembly Chamber. Our sole purpose was to make the deaf hear and to give the heedless a timeless warning". Those were the days, but no bomb was required thereafter because our great parliamentarians have always risen to the occasion and have raised their voice in favour of the suffering Indians during the past sixty years, which strengthened the very roots of our democracy.

During these sixty years of Indian Parliament, as rightly pointed out by the hon. Leader of the Opposition, hysteric warmongers thrust four major wars upon our country in 1962, 1965, 1971 and 1998, which remained abortive and unsuccessful. However, terrorist attacks continued in different modes in different parts of the country, resulting in further loss of lives of innocent people. One such attack was made on the Parliament House on 13th December, 2001. Our hon. Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, had rightly characterized those terrorists as 'merchants of death' who came from across the border. But, the Indian nation has withstood the shock and trauma of such cowardice, inhumane and barbaric attempts to denigrate and belittle our democratic functioning.

Sir, with the nomination of a few great personalities from the world of sports and film, a question is now being raised as to whether such presidential nominations are befitting to Rajya Sabha. Having keen interest in history, when I look back, I find that even in 1952, when an actor, Prithviraj Kapoor of famous Prithvi Theatre, and a great poet, Maithili Sharan Gupta, were nominated, someone in this House sarcastically remarked that the Rajya Sabha shall from now onwards witness dramas and listen to poetries. Reacting to that the 'Movie Mughal' Prithvirajji said, "We may be flying to the skies but our contact with the earth must never be lost. If we read too much of economic and politics, our contact with the earth begin to disappear, our soul gets parched and dried up. It is from that drying up of the soul that our politician friends have to be guarded and saved. And, it is for that purpose that the nominated Members are here." Similarly, Shri Maithili Sharan Guptaji said, "When the Britishers were here and when the Sword of Damocles was hanging over the people, there were revolutionaries like Maithili Sharan Gupta, who had courage to write 'Bharat Bharati'. So, those who could dare then would certainly brook no bosses today. They will bow before reason and love and nothing else."

Shri Maithilisharan Gupta was the only Parliamentarian who always spoke in this House in verse and his poetic rendering is, perhaps, still being reverberated in the corridors of this huge structure.

Sir, as the tallest temple of our Parliamentary Democracy, this august House reflects the federal ethos of our polity and, at times, rises to the occasion in safeguarding our federal structure in the right earnest, cutting across party affiliations, as has been witnessed very recently by the entire world.

Sir, at this remarkable moment of my life, I cannot but mention the only feeling which is being generated in my mind as a fresher that we are, perhaps, required to concentrate more and more on raising high standards of behaviour through greater appreciation and application of Parliamentary rules and procedures to sustain the public trust reposed in us by the people of this country, as otherwise, I am afraid, a momentum may gather in the near future over the demand for Right to Recall or Reject, as is being propagated now by some agent provocaters. Such a situation may give rebirth to the demand for plebiscite or Refrendum or a right to secede from the Union, as it happened in the USA during the Presidentship of Abraham Lincoln.

Sir, we are not living in city States like Rome, Sparta, Athens or Troy of Ancient Greece, not to speak of the primitive society when life of the people was solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short, when the human society was engaged in a perpetual war. It is a matter of great pride that we are living in the largest democracy of the world, the Indian Federation. On this solemn occasion, let us take pledge to work together against the concentration of power, be it social, political or economic, and redeem all our resources for common cause for the people living even at the remotest corners of India. On this glorious occasion, let us once again render our unified voice in the words of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore – *O AMAR DESHER MAATI, TOMAR PARE THEKAI MATHA* (Oh, my motherland, we bow to you.) Thank you.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : श्री मोहन सिंह। आपके पास दस मिनट हैं।

श्री मोहन सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी आज्ञा से आज संसद के साठ वर्ष पूरे होने पर, यह संसद हजार वर्ष तक और शानदार तरीके से दुनिया के संसदीय लोकतंत्र को दिशा निर्देश देने का काम करे, ऐसी मैं प्रभु से प्रार्थना करता हूँ। श्री रिशांग कीशिंग, जिन्होंने अपनी राजनैतिक जिंदगी की शुरुआत समाजवादी आन्दोलन के साथ की थी, जिन्होंने डॉ. राम मनोहर लोहिया और जय प्रकाश नारायण जी के नेतृत्व में इस संसद में भी पदार्पण किया और समाजवाद के विचारों और सिद्धांतों को पूरे पूर्वोत्तर में फैलाया, आज की तारीख में हम इनके माध्यम से अपने पुरखों का आशीर्वाद ग्रहण करते हैं और इनके सौ वर्ष से भी अधिक जीवित रहने और इसी तरह के समर्पित राजनैतिक जीवन की कामना करते हैं, जिससे आगे की पीढ़ी अपना रास्ता तय कर सके, उस आगे की पीढ़ी को दिशा निर्देश करने का आग्रह करते हैं।

महोदय, इस देश के लोकतंत्र की सबसे बड़ी बात है कि हमने साठ वर्ष में बहुत सारे अवरोध देखे और उनके ऊपर काबू पाया। मैंने जब अपनी राजनैतिक जिंदगी की शुरुआत इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय में की तो उस जमाने में भारत के महान प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी खुली गाड़ी में आते थे, जनता से प्रधान मंत्री का रिश्ता सीधा रिश्ता हुआ करता था। हमारे विश्वविद्यालय में यूनियन में भाषण करते हुए पंडित जी ने उस जमाने में ब्रिटेन के एक बहुत बड़े राजनैतिक दार्शनिक को उद्धृत करते हुए कहा था कि “लोकतंत्र में बहुत सारी खामियाँ हैं। मैं इसका कायल नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मैं इसको मान्यता केवल इसलिए

[प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन]

देता हूँ कि अभी तक इंसानियत ने इससे अच्छी व्यवस्था ढूँढकर हमको नहीं दी और जब तक इससे कोई अच्छी व्यवस्था हमको दिखाई नहीं पड़ती, मैं लोकतंत्र का तहे दिल से समर्थक हूँ और आजीवन रहूँगा।”

मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि इस देश को जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी का एक शानदार नेतृत्व मिला था और मैंने उस युग में, उस ज़माने में प्रवेश किया, जब इस देश के हर चौराहे और गली में यह बहस चलती थी, ‘who after Nehru’? जो एक कथित बुद्धिजीवी काफी हाउस के टेबल पर विचार और बहस की धारा उबेरने वाले लोग हैं, उनकी यह घोषणा थी कि जवाहर लाल जी के बाद यह देश बिखर जाएगा और इस देश में फूटन आ जाएगी। लेकिन परिस्थितियों ने शास्त्री जी को पैदा किया और हमने शास्त्री जी को भारत-पाकिस्तान युद्ध के बाद इलाहाबाद में उमड़ी हुई भीड़ का अभिवादन खुली गाड़ी में करते देखा और एक शानदार नेतृत्व उसके बाद मिला यह इतिहास ने हमको साबित किया। उनकी असामयिक मृत्यु हुई। भारत ने उन सभी जीती हुई सरहद की जमीनों को पाकिस्तान को वापिस किया। Brezhnev के सहयोग से हिन्दुस्तान में ताशकंद से शास्त्री जी की लाश और भारत-पाकिस्तान के बीच में एक हाथ में समझौते का पत्र, दोनों हमारे देश में आए। फिर बहस शुरू हो गई, शास्त्री जी रहे नहीं, इस देश का नेतृत्व कौन करेगा? श्रीमती इंदिरा गाँधी इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री बनीं। एक turmoil की स्थिति पूरे देश में पैदा हुई और उत्तर भारत के 8-9 राज्यों में कांग्रेस पार्टी बुरी तरह हार गई, गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारें बन गईं। दक्षिण के एक सबसे बड़े राज्य तमिलनाडु में श्री अन्नादुरई साहब के नेतृत्व में डीएमके की पहली सरकार बनी और 1967 के बाद, जो उस राज्य से कांग्रेस पार्टी बेदखल हुई, फिर से वापिस उस राज्य में नहीं आ सकी। लेकिन बाकी राज्यों में जो गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारें बनीं, उनके जनक डॉ. राम मनोहर लोहिया का देहान्त बहुत जल्दी हो गया, अक्टूबर, 1967 में। नतीजा हुआ इस देश की राजनीति पर श्रीमती गाँधी का कब्जा हो गया और कांग्रेस पार्टी के अंदर एक भूचाल आया, जब 1969 में राष्ट्रपति का पद खाली हुआ। उस चुनाव के लिए कांग्रेस पार्टी को अपने उम्मीदवार का चयन करना था। बंगलुरु की बैठक में बहुमत से सिंडीकेट के उम्मीदवार नीलम संजीव रेड्डी को कांग्रेस पार्टी ने अपना उम्मीदवार घोषित किया। प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा जी के उम्मीदवार, श्री जगजीवन राम जी, कुछ मतों से हार गए। श्रीमती गाँधी ने स्वयं अपने हाथ से संजीव रेड्डी साहब का नामांकन दाखिल किया। श्री वी.वी. गिरि साहब, जो इसी सदन के सभापति हुआ करते थे, उन्होंने निर्दलीय परचा भरा। लोक सभा के स्पीकर रेड्डी साहब और राज्य सभा के सभापति श्री गिरि साहब, दोनों आमने-सामने हो गए। एक नये किस्म की राजनैतिक शुरुआत भारत के लोकतंत्र में हुई और राष्ट्रपति पद के उम्मीदवार का पर्चा प्रधान मंत्री ने खुद भरा। कुछ दिन बाद कहना शुरू हो गया कि व्हिप से वोट नहीं होगा, आत्मा की पुकार के हिसाब से वोट होगा। नतीजा हुआ राष्ट्रपति की कुर्सी श्री वी.वी. गिरि साहब को मिली और फिर राजनीति के ऊपर श्रीमती गाँधी का वर्चस्व स्थापित हो गया। दो बड़ी घटनाएँ उनके जीवन काल में हुईं और मैं दोनों का साक्षी हूँ। एक बड़ी घटना हुई भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच में लड़ाई, जिसमें बंगलादेश आज़ाद हुआ और हवाई अड्डे से लेकर राष्ट्रपति भवन तक केवल जनता थी, जब श्रीमती गाँधी शेख मुजीबुर रहमान को अपनी गाड़ी में बिठाकर राष्ट्रपति भवन तक ले गईं। केवल दिल्ली की सड़क पर ऐसे लगता था जैसे पूरा हिन्दुस्तान आ गया। पूरे देश की राजनीति पर उनका नियंत्रण हो गया। लेकिन एक संकट फिर आया। उनके खुद के चुनाव के ऊपर इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट ने उनके खिलाफ याचिका स्वीकार की और उनका चुनाव रद्द घोषित हो गया। उनको किसी तरह का स्टे नहीं मिला। पार्टी के भीतर नेतृत्व परिवर्तन की मांग होने लगी। नतीजतन उनको दबाव में, इस देश में इमरजेंसी लागू करनी पड़ी। प्रेस सेंसरशिप हुई, लोगों की आज़ादी छीनी गई, बीस-बीस महीने, मेरे जैसे लड़कों ने, लाखों की संख्या में जेल काटी। लेकिन उस स्थिति पर भी इस देश ने काबू पाया और लोकतंत्र का एक नये सिरे से अभियान इस देश में हुआ और जनता पार्टी की सरकार आई। मेरे कहने का आशय यह है कि इस देश के लोकतंत्र के ऊपर एक बार नहीं अनेक बार संकट आए, समय और परिस्थिति के हिसाब से इस देश ने उनके ऊपर काबू पाया। आज दुखद स्थिति इस देश में है कि भारत की संसद के ऊपर हमला हो रहा है। व्यवस्था की नियामक सरकार होती है, संसद तो पहरेदार होती है। लेकिन पहरेदार के ऊपर

ही आक्रमण के पीछे मानसिकता कुछ दूसरी तरह की है। मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ जैसे हम इतिहास के बहुत सारे निर्णायक मोड़ पर, अपनी सारी बाधाओं को दूर करके, अपनी मंजिल दर मंजिल ऊपर चढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। इस परिस्थिति को अभी हम पार करेंगे, क्योंकि मैं उत्तर प्रदेश असेम्बली का मेम्बर था और उस दौर में दो बड़ी घटनाएँ हुईं। 1977 में बड़ी घटना हुई और उसके बाद 1984-85 में भारत के प्रधान मंत्री की उनके घर में हत्या हो गई। मैं अपनी आंखों से देखता था कि पूरे हजरतगंज में जो वहाँ की सबसे बड़ी मार्केट है, उसमें पुलिस ही, जो हमारे सिख और सरदारों की हिफाजत के लिए खड़ी थी, वह ही उनकी दुकानों को लूटती थी। उस समय तिवारी जी उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री थे। मैंने उनसे जाकर कहा कि जो रक्षक हैं, वे ही भक्षक हैं। उन्होंने कहा दिखाओ। हमने कहा कि सुबह 4 बजे उठिए और मेरे साथ चलिए। उस दिन 4 बजे देख रहे हैं कि तीन दुकानें सरदारों की, एक टायर की और दो कपड़े की, उनको लूटकर पुलिस भाग रही है। मुख्य मंत्री खुद ही बीच में कूद पड़े। उनको देखकर पुलिस वाले भाग गए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो पी.जे. कुरियन) : मोहन सिंह जी, आपके बोलने का टाइम खत्म हो गया है। आप conclude कीजिए।

श्री मोहन सिंह : हम लोग सिर पीटते थे कि क्या हिन्दुस्तान की सामाजिक एकता रहेगी, क्या भारत एक बना रहेगा, लेकिन आज मुझे गर्व है कि भारत एक बना हुआ है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो पी.जे. कुरियन) : आपके बोलने का टाइम खत्म हो गया। Please conclude.

श्री मोहन सिंह : इसलिए मैं विश्वास करता हूँ कि भारत की संसद सम्पूर्ण भारत की एकता, सामाजिक एकता और राष्ट्रीय एकता की धुरी है। यह धुरी इतनी मजबूत होगी कि आने वाले दिनों में हम सम्पूर्ण भारत के उस भूगोल को, जिसको हमारे पुरखों ने हमें धरोहर के रूप में दिया, हमारे उस समाज को जिसको हमारे पुरखों ने हमको दिया, दोनों की एकता रखते हुए, इस देश के लोकतंत्र को मजबूत रखेंगे। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, Shri Tiruchi Siva. You can take a maximum of nine minutes.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): I assure you, Sir, the bell won't ring.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to join in the discussion, initiated by the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Leader of Opposition to commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the Parliament, not only on my behalf but also on behalf of my Party to which I have the honor to belong to, the DMK, and its leader, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi, who has cherished the values of the Parliamentary democracy of having an unbeaten innings, crossing more than half-a-century in the Tamil Nadu Legislature, upholding the principles of the democracy.

Sir, democracy, by itself, means tolerance. Listening to the extreme criticism is the foremost quality of democracy. Sir, this forum is meant for that. We debate, we discuss, we deliberate and we decide on a consensus. Sir, our leader, in the Assembly, has patiently listened to the Opposition's views of extreme criticism, and we are very happy to work in that Party under his leadership.

Sir, my party opened its account in the Lok Sabha in the year 1957 with two representatives. In the year 1962, in this august House, our great founder leader, whom my senior colleague, Shri Mohan Singh, also mentioned, Dr. C.N. Annadurai, fondly and preferable called as 'Anna', was in this House and he contributed valuable deliberations, which are in the annals of history. Sir, in the year 1962, when the Chinese

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aggression took place and when the country proclaimed an Emergency, he spoke on the Resolution. In that Resolution, he said very clearly, "We shall all march with one face, wedded to one principle with one aim, to safeguard the country from the aggressors." He also asked the Government to enter the name of DMK in the Roll-Call of Honour for the safety, for the dignity and for the future of this country. Sir, we stem from the Justice Party, which spread the ideals of equality and equal rights to all. Sir, one Mr. Andre Malraux, a French intellectual once met Chief Mao and asked him about the impact of the French Revolution on the world. Mao famously replied, "It is too early to say anything about the impact of French Revolution on the world." And when Mao said that, it was 150 years after the French Revolution. Sir, 60 years ago, when this Parliament first met, sceptics had a field day. Their conventional wisdom was that India did not have the political, the social and the educational resources to successfully maintain and continue a parliamentary democracy based on the basis of universal adult franchise. But, Sir, our founding fathers of this Constitution and our leaders were relentlessly pursuing to institute a representative institution and they succeeded. History has proved, very clearly, that the pessimists are wrong. The Parliament has established itself as a most important institution of democracy in the country. Sir, we are very happy that elections are still based on universal adult franchise and the Indian democracy, apart from all other things, is a functional one. Sir, over the last sixty years, the democratic process has touched the lives of millions of people. Many of these people, before they felt the impact of democracy, were not even aware of their own rights and the enormous power that their votes were carrying. Democracy empowered millions of poor and illiterate Indians who used their ballots to send their representatives to the Parliament. Sir, in the early days of our democracy, Members of the elite offered themselves as candidates in the elections and sought the support of the ordinary people who lived in the villages. The 'growing sense of empowerment' meant that ordinary people wanted one of their own to represent them in the Parliament. Sir, the inherent right of people to participate in the governance of the country stems from Article 21 (3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which provides that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the Government. The smooth and periodic transfer of power is a very essential thing of a successful parliamentary democratic system. Sir, our constitutional framework has also resulted in the economic progress and the social emancipation of this society. Sir, if we look around the nations, which are near to us, we can be proud of our resilient - living Constitution, which has proved itself and which has stood over time to changing circumstances, needs and requirements. Indeed, our Constitution has proved itself to be a model for Constitutions of other countries.

Sir, I would like to quote Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He said, "As experience proves, rights are protected not by law but by social and moral conscience of the society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognise the rights which

law proposes to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no Parliament, no Judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word." Hence, it is the people of the country who are paramount and sovereign. They are the determining factor that ensures that the social fabric of this country remains intact.

Sir, as far as our House is concerned, for the last sixty years, Rajya Sabha has maintained checks and balances on Lok Sabha and vice versa. It is this fraternal bond and mutual respect shared by both the Houses that is reflective in the laws passed by the Indian Parliament, the laws that have withstood the test of time.

Sir, when Km. Mayawati spoke, she said that political interests overtake the people's interest. Sir, while we agree to that, she is not here, I would like to point out as to what actually is the reason and what the experience has taught us. The lesson is that it is imperative for the leadership to ensure that politicians avoid exploiting the system and the people. So, it does not come from elsewhere. Often, the rule-makers become the rule-breakers. It should not happen. And, we have some responsibilities to fulfil in the coming days. We are proud of our rich past heritage, how the Parliament has evolved, and the contribution it has given to the world at large. At the same time, Sir, we have some responsibilities. Sir, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, in December, 1996, said, "Our Parliament is a pre-eminent institution of our polity. Members of Parliament are the true representatives of the people, and it is the people's interest which they articulate in the context of a larger and broader national vision." I think, this is the reply to the apprehension which Km. Mayawati expressed.

Sir, I would like to proudly mention here a couple of developments which have happened in our Parliament all these years. These developments are of positive nature, that is, introduction of Committee system and the televising of parliamentary proceedings. Sir, the introduction of Standing Committees has improved the parliamentary scrutiny of the Union Budget and the Bills that are introduced in the Parliament, so also the televising of the proceedings of the Parliament has lifted the veil on the Parliament and has brought it closer to the people. People are able to watch the Parliament in its true colours and watch their elected representatives how they perform. I should also say that it has improved the performance of the Members of Parliament, for they are well aware that they are being watched; what they are doing and what they are saying is being watched. Sir, I think, this is an improvement. We have to accept that. Earlier, it was not so. But now, it is so.

In 1950, the motto was, "Simple living and high thinking." We have to keep that in our mind. Sir, other issues are: public concern over the fall in ethical standards, the abysmal attendance in the Parliament and the dysfunction of the Parliament due to disruptions. These are the concerns of the people which we have to address. At the same time, the Government, the Parliament and the nation have some challenges to

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confront which are in the form of poverty, corruption, backwardness and along with that, communalism and terrorism.

Sir, there is vast gap arising between the people and the Parliament, not only here, even in U.K. I make use of this good opportunity to say that the House of Commons has established a Parliamentary Committee which will reach to the people.

Sir, I would like to conclude with the quotation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which he made in 1955. He said, "Members of Parliament are not only Members of this or that particular area of India, but each Member of Parliament is a Member for India and represents India." Sir, our Parliament has turned 60. It is neither tired nor retired. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Now, Shri Tariq Anwar; take maximum nine minutes.

SHRI TARIQ ANWAR (Maharashtra): Sir, I will try to finish before that.

उपसभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले तो मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आज के इस ऐतिहासिक और महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर आपने मुझे कुछ कहने का मौका दिया। प्रधान मंत्री महोदय, विपक्ष के नेता और उनके साथ तमाम दलों के नेताओं ने आज के इस ऐतिहासिक दिन यहाँ अपनी जो भावना रखी है, मैं भी उनकी भावना से अपने आपको जोड़ते हुए अपनी कुछ बात कहना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने लगभग 60 वर्ष पूरे किए हैं। इन 60 वर्षों के लम्बे सफर में देश के सामने बहुत सारी चुनौतियाँ आईं और हमने सफलतापूर्वक उनका सामना किया, लेकिन आज के इस अवसर पर हमें अपने उन पूर्वजों को और खास तौर पर उन स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को नहीं भूलना चाहिए, जिनकी बेइंतहा कुर्बानियों की वजह से आज हमने अपने आपको एक आजाद और एक लोकतांत्रिक देश का नागरिक कहने का गौरव प्राप्त किया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब इस देश के संविधान की रचना हो रही थी, तो बहुत सारे लोगों की यह धारणा थी कि शायद हम एक सफल लोकतांत्रिक देश नहीं बन पाएँगे। उसकी वजह यह बताई जा रही थी कि हमारे देश में गरीबी है, निरक्षरता है, बहुआयामी आबादी है, अलग-अलग जाति, अलग-अलग बिरादरी, अलग-अलग भाषा और क्षेत्रवाद है। इन तमाम चीजों को एक साथ समेट कर लोकतंत्र की व्यवस्था को चलाना बहुत मुश्किल था। उस समय लोगों को यही उम्मीद थी कि शायद आने वाले दिनों में भारत लोकतंत्र की रक्षा नहीं कर पाएगा। लेकिन समय ने साबित किया कि उनकी वह धारणा गलत थी, उनका यह अनुमान गलत था। आज हमारा देश एक संसदीय लोकतांत्रिक देश ही नहीं, बल्कि दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा लोकतांत्रिक देश है। समय के साथ-साथ हमने लोकतंत्र को मजबूत करने का काम किया और कठिन-से-कठिन समय पर हमने खरा उतरने का काम किया। देश ने विश्व को दिखाया कि अपने तमाम कमियों के बावजूद हमारे देश की जनता, हमारे देश के मतदाताओं ने लोकतंत्र को मजबूत बनाने में कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी। देश के लोगों ने अपनी जिम्मेदारी का निर्वाह सही ढंग से किया। जब समय आया, जब कभी देश की जनता ने महसूस किया कि सत्ताधारी हुकूमत की तरफ से या पार्टी की ओर से सही ढंग से काम नहीं हो रहा है, जनता के हितों का ध्यान नहीं रखा जा रहा है, तो जो लोकतांत्रिक तरीका होता है, उसने उस शक्ति का भी प्रदर्शन किया और समय-समय पर सत्ता का परिवर्तन भी किया। बहुत ही शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से हमारे देश में कई बार सत्ता का बदलाव हुआ। लेकिन आज इस मौके पर, जहाँ हमारी उपलब्धियाँ रही हैं, वहाँ हम लोगों को विश्लेषण करने की भी आवश्यकता है, इंद्रोस्पेक्शन करने की भी आवश्यकता है कि इन 60 सालों में कहाँ हमारी कमियाँ रहीं और किस तरह हम

आगे आने वाले दिनों में उनका सुधार कर सकते हैं, हमने संसदीय लोकतंत्र के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में जनता के हितों का कितना ध्यान रखा और नियम के अनुसार हमने इस प्रणाली को कितना मजबूत करने का काम किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था में हमारी जो सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि रही है, वह यह है कि जो समाज के वंचित और असहाय लोग हैं, इस संसदीय प्रणाली ने उनका सशक्तीकरण करने का काम किया है और इस संसदीय व्यवस्था ने समाज के कमजोर वर्ग के लोगों को सत्ता में भागीदारी देने का काम किया है।

इसके साथ-साथ हमें यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए और महात्मा गाँधी का जो मंत्र था, उस बात को आज हमें याद करना चाहिए, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था, “आप जब भी कोई फैसला लेते हैं, उस समय हमेशा इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि जो समाज का सबसे अंतिम व्यक्ति है, उस पर उसका क्या असर होने वाला है, इस बात का ध्यान रख कर ही कोई क़ानून या कोई व्यवस्था बननी चाहिए”। मैं समझता हूँ कि आने वाले समय में हम उन बातों को अवश्य याद रखेंगे।

अभी इस बात को कहा गया कि कई बार हमने यहाँ सदन के समय का सदुपयोग नहीं किया और इन 60 सालों में लगभग 30% समय हम लोगों ने नष्ट किया। बहस करने के बजाए, चर्चा करने के बजाए हमने उस समय को हंगामे में तब्दील करने की कोशिश की और जो संसदीय परम्परा है, हमने उससे हट कर काम करने का प्रयास किया। आवश्यकता है कि अगर हम अपनी संसदीय व्यवस्था को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं, तो जब भी कोई वाद-विवाद हो अथवा किसी बात का विरोध करना हो तो सदन में उस पर बहस होनी चाहिए, चर्चा होनी चाहिए, तभी हम किसी सही निष्कर्ष पर पहुँच सकते हैं।

डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी, जो हमारे देश के प्रथम राष्ट्रपति थे, उन्होंने देश के संविधान के बारे में एक बात कही थी, जिसे मैं कोट करना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा, “If the people who are elected are capable and men of character and integrity, they would be able to make the best even of a defective Constitution. If they are lacking in this, the Constitution cannot help the country. After all, the Constitution is like a machine, is a lifeless thing. It acquires life because of men who control it and operate it. India needs today nothing more than a set of honest men who will have the interest of the country before them”. ये पंक्तियाँ डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी की हैं, जिसमें उन्होंने संविधान के बारे में अपनी राय दी थी।

आज हमारे सामने कई चुनौतियाँ हैं। भ्रष्टाचार, अपराधीकरण, आतंकवाद, उग्रवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद और तमाम ऐसी चीजों के लिए हम लोगों को ऐसे उपाय करने चाहिए कि उन पर किसी तरह से अंकुश लग सके। इन तमाम चीजों को हटाया जाना बहुत आवश्यक है, चाहे कोई भी हुकूमत हो या कोई भी राजनीतिक दल हो। अगर इस देश में लोकतन्त्र को मजबूत रखना है, तो हमारे लिए यह आवश्यक है कि इन चीजों को हम किसी न किसी प्रकार से रोकने का काम करें, ताकि हमारा संसदीय लोकतन्त्र मजबूत हो सके। संसदीय लोकतन्त्र में उग्रवाद के लिए, अपराधीकरण के लिए अथवा इस तरह की किसी भी चीज के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है, इस बात का सदैव ध्यान रखने की आवश्यकता है।

आप समय की ओर देख रहे हैं, इसलिए मैं भी अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। उर्दू के बहुत मशहूर शायर Dr. Allama Iqbal ने शायद इसी मौके के लिए यह शेर कहा था :

तू शाहीन है परवाज़ है काम तेरा,

तेरे सामने आसमां और भी हैं।

सितारों के आगे जहाँ और भी हैं,

अभी इश्क़ के इम्तिहाँ और भी हैं।।

इस शेर के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

श्री मंगल किसन (ओडिशा) : वाइस-चेयरमैन सर, आज पार्लियामेंट की स्थापना के 60 साल के उपलक्ष्य में हम लोग हीरक जयन्ती मना रहे हैं। इन 60 सालों में देश के अन्दर Parliamentary form of democracy कैसी चली और देश के सामने क्या दिक्कतें आईं, क्या समस्याएँ आईं, उनका समाधान करने के लिए हमारी पार्लियामेंट ने ठीक से काम किया अथवा उसमें कहीं कमी रही, इसके बारे में भी चर्चा होनी चाहिए।

इन 60 सालों में पहले 50 परसेंट साल का जो समय था, वह समस्या-रहित समय था और बाकी के जो 30 साल हैं, उनमें देश के सामने सारी समस्याएँ, जिनका समाधान होना चाहिए था, जो समस्याएँ नहीं होनी चाहिए, वे सारी समस्याएँ आकर जमा हुईं। The problems were related to poverty and backwardness, inequality in distribution of wealth, ये सारी प्रॉब्लम्स देश के अन्दर आईं। देश के 80 परसेंट सिटिजंस जो हैं, वे सबसे पिछड़े हैं। इनमें Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes और poor sections या working class के लोग हैं। सही मायने में देश के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की जो व्यवस्था है और जो parliamentary form of decocracy है, इनसे वे लोग बहुत दूर हैं। Parliamentary form of democracy में इन sections को welfare देने की काबिलियत नहीं है। यह बात देश की साधारण जनता, 80 परसेंट जनता के मन में है। इसके 60 साल जो पूरे हुए, उनमें से पिछले 30 सालों में ये प्रॉब्लम्स उतनी नहीं थीं, जितनी प्रॉब्लम्स next 30 सालों में देश के सामने आ रही हैं। मोटा-मोटी तौर पर social justice, health care, election problem भी देश के सामने आईं हैं। अभी एक और नयी प्रॉब्लम regarding federal system भी है। उसके बारे में स्टेट गर्वमेंट्स के मन में दुविधा है। Good quality of governance, जो सरकार चलाने के लिए, देश चलाने के लिए अति अनिवार्य है, उसके बारे में आम जनता के मन में, वोटर्स के मन में question mark arise हो रहा है। इन सारी चीज़ों का समाधान करने के लिए हम लोगों की सरकार को 60 साल पूरा होने के इस अवसर पर पार्लियामेंट में इनके बारे में विचार-विमर्श करना चाहिए।

सर, इसके बाद देश के सामने सबसे बड़ी problems unemployment, corruption and absence of good governance की हैं। ये तीन चीज़ें आज इस देश के सामने और पार्लियामेंट के सामने prevailing हैं। इनके बारे में इस सदन में चर्चा होनी चाहिए, whether the present parliamentary form of democracy is able to solve the problems of country. This should be scrutinised and examined and it should be discussed vividly. देश के सामने अभी जो सबसे main organs हैं, वे electoral process, administrative system, judicial system और legislative system या parliamentary system हैं। The people who are sitting over there form the fourth pillar of the democracy. इनके बारे में सोचना चाहिए, क्योंकि डेमोक्रेसी के ये जो 4 बुनियादी systems हैं, इन बुनियादी systems में से किसी का अन्य दूसरे के साथ integration नहीं है या समन्वय नहीं है। एक-दूसरे को नीचा दिखाने के लिए सारी-की-सारी शक्तियों को apply किया जा रहा है, जिसके चलते इतने सुन्दर parliamentary form of democracy के बारे में grassroot के लोगों के बीच total parliamentary system of democracy, administration, judiciary और सामाजिक न्याय के बारे में हर वक्त उनकी पार्लियामेंट चलती रहती है।

लेकिन, इस पार्लियामेंट में हम लोगों ने एक दिन भी नहीं सुना होगा कि पार्लियामेंट्री सिस्टम या गवर्नमेंट या जुडिशरी या एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ने अच्छा काम किया है। हमें एक दिन भी यह अच्छा शब्द 'good governance' डिबेट या डिस्कशन में सुनने को नहीं मिलता है। इसके चलते आम जनता के दिमाग में, जो मालिक है, पार्लियामेंट का मालिक है, सरकार का मालिक है, जुडिशरी का मालिक है, एक प्रश्न आता है कि whether this system is good, whether this system is fit and whether this system is complete to give good governance to the common people of this country. आम जनता, जो

पढ़ी-लिखी नहीं है, जो मजदूरी करके जीती है, जो जंगल में रहती है, जो खेत-खलिहान में काम करती है, हम लोगों के बारे में और इस सिस्टम के बारे में प्रश्नचिन्ह लगा रही है। इसलिए, इस सिस्टम को अच्छे से चलाने की आवश्यकता है, ताकि इसका लाभ देश की जनता को मिल सके। इस देश में जो समस्या है, उसका समाधान करने के लिए इस पार्लियामेंट को कुछ रास्ता निकालना चाहिए, लेकिन पार्लियामेंट से बहुत कम विषयों पर ही समाधान आता है। शायद गवर्नमेंट के लोग, जो उधर बैठते हैं, जो लोग पार्लियामेंट की बात को, पार्लियामेंट की डिबेट एण्ड डिस्कशन को, पार्लियामेंट की आत्मा को, जानने और महसूस करने का कभी प्रयास नहीं करते हैं। जिसके चलते यह जो **mental disintegration of the voters, intellectual mass and society** है, वह शायद सारे देश में एक ऐसा माहौल पैदा कर रही है, जिसके चलते अगर हम लोग यह बोलते हैं कि हम लोग अच्छे हैं, तो ऐसा बोलने पर भी सबको एक लाठी से ही मारते हैं, यानी सबको गलत बताते हैं। क्या पार्लियामेंट का हर सदस्य फिट नहीं है? क्या मंत्रिमंडल का हर मंत्री काबिल नहीं है? क्या पार्लियामेंटी सिस्टम का जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है, वह देश का शासन चलाने के लिए ठीक नहीं है? अगर कुछ ठीक नहीं है, तो ठीक क्या है? अगर आज हर चीज की आलोचना होती है, तो ठीक क्या है? मेरे हिसाब से जो ठीक है, उसके बारे में चर्चा होनी चाहिए और जो ठीक नहीं है, उसके बारे में भी चर्चा होनी चाहिए। आज देश की 80 प्रतिशत जनता सरकार के खिलाफ, सिस्टम के खिलाफ और हमारी व्यवस्था के खिलाफ है। **Mentally, they are against the system. These things should be sorted out by a high level discussion or by a high forum to keep peace in this country and maintain integration of this country. Thank you.**

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu) : Thank you, Sir. The time target for me is six minutes, six minutes to undertake 60 years' journey of Indian Parliament. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once said, To watch history is good but, to be part of history is something better.

As I stand before you on this historic and momentous occasion, I remember with gratitude my Party supremo, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi, who gave me this opportunity to be here today.

Bharatvarsha, the ancient name of modern day India, still arouses the feeling of the glory, the prosperity, rich cultural treasure, exalted spiritual, literary and social traditions, sound and healthy civilisation and what not. It was not that Bharatvarsha was only materially rich rather it was par excellence, developed, prosperous and rich in every walk of life. Even foreign scholars and historians being enticed and enchanted by our prosperity have showered bountiful and lavish praises on our cultural legacy and heritage. I would like to quote here a few of them.

Mark Twain said, "India is the cradle of the human race, the birthplace of human speech, mother of history, grandmother of legend, and the great grandmother of tradition. Our most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India only".

French scholar, Romain Rolland, remarked: "If there is one place on the face of Earth where all the dreams of living men have found a home from the very earliest days when man began the dream of existence, it is India".

Swami Vivekananda on his return from the tour of the western countries said, "I

[DR. V. MAITREYAN]

loved my motherland dearly before I went to America and England. After my return, every particle of dust of this land seems to be sacred to me”.

‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam’, universal and axiomatic human qualities and values of *Kshama, Daya, Tapa* and *Tyag* were all the gospels taught by our great ancestors and forefathers which differentiate human beings from animals.

It is this rich and glorious past which distinguishes us from the rest and make India the largest and the most successful democracy in the world and the epitome of democracy — the Indian Parliament is today celebrating its 60th Anniversary.

The AIADMK was founded by the late legendary MGR whose statue adores the lobby of Rajya Sabha. The illustrious son of Tamil Nadu Perariagnar Anna is the guiding spirit of our party. The AIADMK has the name ‘Anna’ appended to the party’s name. And Anna’s statue decorates the lobby of Lok Sabha. Perariagnar Anna was a Member of this august House of Rajya Sabha from 1962-1967. My party supremo, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi, was also a Member of this august House of Rajya Sabha from 1984-1989. Both Perariagnar Anna and Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi after their stint in the Rajya Sabha went on to become Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu. It is a sweet coincidence that the division number of both of them in the Rajya Sabha was 185.

As a Parliamentarian, Anna displayed his deep knowledge on various issues with his skilful presentation of facts and arguments. From price rise to drinking water shortage, from Kashmir problem to non-alignment, Anna spoke on various issues with conviction and brilliance. While Anna electrified the entire nation with his maiden speech in 1962, the theme of Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi’s maiden speech on 23rd April, 1984, was dedicated to the subject of electricity.

Being mass leaders from a regional party, both Anna and Madam fought in this House several times on the rights and aspirations of the State. What Anna spoke in December, 1963, was quoted by Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi in her maiden speech in April, 1984, that is, 21 years later and I am quoting today what Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi quoted in 1984, that is, 28 years later:

“The working of the federal structure all these years has created a sense of frustration in the minds of the States. The State are fast becoming dole-getting corporations. They feel that they are relegated to the background and there is the very natural instinct in them that they should be given more power”.

Between 1963 and 1984 and 2012 the situation has not changed a bit.

In this regard, I would like to draw the attention of this House to Dr. Ambedkar’s observation in the Constituent Assembly which clarifies the powers of States: “The Constitution is a Federal Constitution in as much as it establishes a dual polity. The

Union is not a league of States, united in a loose relationships, nor are the States the agencies of the Union, deriving powers from it. Both the Union and the States are created by the Constitution, both derive their respective authority from the Constitution”.

[1.00 P.M.]

Of late, there has been a tendency and systematic effort to undermine the concept of federalism. It is high time that as we complete 60 years of Parliamentary democracy, Rajya Sabha, being the Council of States, should undertake a serious relook on Centre-State relationship and cooperative federalism.

As a Member of Parliament, I have been a witness to three important pieces of legislation of far reaching consequence: One, POTA, which was passed in the Joint Session of both the Houses of Parliament; two, the Women’s Reservation Bill – passed in the Rajya Sabha but still lingering in the Lok Sabha, and three, the Lokpal Bill – passed in the Lok Sabha but had a dramatic turn in the Rajya Sabha.

There is no denying the fact that we have made progress and our country is considered as a fast emerging superpower in the world. Our scientists have really made us proud. Technically capable manpower, particularly, in the IT sector, have made their presence felt all over the world. Green and White Revolution no doubt has played a vital role in our advancement.

But there are certain areas where a lot needs to be done, like education, health, agriculture, environment, etc.

The Rajya Sabha, also known as Council of States, as part of Parliament, is essentially an assembly to discuss, debate, reflect and articulate the aspirations and problems of the people and seek their redressal in an amicable manner through the Government. However, it has been experienced that Members, particularly, those belonging to smaller parties and nominated ones, do not get enough time and opportunity to raise the voice of the people in the House owing to paucity of time, which, to my mind, somehow defeats the very purpose for which the Parliament was created. The desire of the Members to give vent to the people’s interest and aspirations thus gets suppressed and this exercise quite often leads to acrimonious exchanges between the Chair and the Members. I, therefore, on this pious occasion, would like to raise this issue so as to evolve such a mechanism which facilitates Members get enough opportunities to speak out their mind in a free and open manner without the fear of the Chairperson ringing bells to remind them to wrap up their speeches.

Sir, I urge upon the House and through this august House to the entire country that on this solemn and auspicious occasion, let us resolve, let us pledge to redeem the lost glory to undo the damages done to our rich cultural heritage and let us once again stand united to make our country that advanced, that prosperous, that rich and that Golden Sparrow which it used to be in the past.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Hon. Members, it has been decided that there will be no lunch break today. But lunch has been arranged in Room No. 70 by the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs. Members can go for lunch one by one. Now Shri Devender Goud.

SHRI DEVENDER GOUD T. (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, I deem it a privilege and honour to be a part of this momentous occasion which witnesses 60 years journey of the Indian Parliament. I am proud to be a part of this notable journey which started exactly on this very day 60 years ago. And, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this historic occasion. I feel fortunate enough to sit with Shri Rishang Keishing, a distinguished Member of this august House and Member of the First and Third Lok Sabhas.

At the outset, I bow my head with all humility and salute all those patriots, guided by the Father of the Nation, who fought relentlessly and tirelessly against the colonial oppression and suppression and without whom we would not have got Independence, would not have written the Constitution and would not have been celebrating this occasion, the Sixtieth Anniversary of Parliament of India.

The objectives of the Constitution are laudable. This becomes clear if one looks at the Preamble of the Constitution which clearly states that we have to secure to all our citizens Social, Political and Economic Justice, Liberty of Thought and Expression, Equality of Status and Opportunity and Fraternity. We have to introspect ourselves and ask our hearts and souls whether we have been able to fulfil these valuable objectives of our founding fathers. I would say, a big 'No.'

Many people say that 65 years in the history of a nation is not a long journey. I beg to differ with them. Sir, 65 years is a reasonable journey in the history of any nation and these 65 years are sufficient to achieve the basic goals of any nation. But, unfortunately, we are still struggling with universalisation of elementary education and have failed to provide basic health facilities to the poor and downtrodden. There is malnourishment among the poor. There is gender disparity. The mortality and morbidity rates are very high. There are regional disparities. There is growing discrimination on the basis of caste, colour and creed. Poor are becoming poorer and wealth is concentrated in a handful of people. The S.C.s, the S.T.s, OBCs, minorities and other poorer sections of the people are denied of their due and legitimate share. This is a very, very dangerous trend. The gap between "Shining India" and "Suffering India" is growing up. The Government is talking about inclusive growth and saying that it is for *Aam Aadmi*. Where have these gone? This is not what Dr. Ambedkar had dreamt of, and it is against the spirit of the Constitution. So, we have to resolve, at least, now that we would, henceforth, work tirelessly to bridge the gaps.

Our Constitutional-makers had clearly demarcated powers and responsibilities

in the form of federal structure. But, in spite of this, there is concentration of power at the Centre. Everybody is looking towards Delhi for each and everything. The States are not given a free hand and their hands are tied up in one way or the other. A country of this magnitude cannot run effectively if powers are concentrated at the Union level. I and my party strongly oppose *Tanashahi* in any form. If this continues, I apprehend that it will lead to collapse of the federal structure and disintegration of the country. We all have to stop that. So, it is in our hands to make or mar this country. Hence, I request this august gathering to introspect and resolve that we will do all that we can to maintain the federal character of this nation.

We have experienced the Permit Raj, Inspector Raj and the Bureaucratic Raj on the one hand and, on the other, in the name of liberalisation, we are also witnessing that the Governments are relinquishing their social responsibilities. We are witnessing these two extreme things. It is also not a healthy sign. It is the responsibility of all of us to work as per the Constitution on which we have taken oath. Corruption is growing in the country by leaps and bounds. There is no accountability. Sir, democracy without accountability is a contradiction in values. Every profession or instrumentality of State is answerable to the people, not arbitrarily, but on just and reasonable grounds. Decentralisation, electoral, judicial and administrative reforms are the need of the hour. Now-a-days, elections have become so expensive that poor are eliminated from this process. I don't want to see that Parliament becomes a 'rich man's House.' It should not become an Adda for anti-social elements and goons. And, equally, the Chambers should not sub-serve the vested interests. Otherwise, it will shake the foundation of our Constitution. We have to further strengthen this democratic institution and our ultimate goal is to achieve a just and equitable society where every citizen of this country lives with dignity and freedom.

With these words, I thank the Chairman once again for having given me this opportunity.

PROF. M. S. SWAMINATHAN (NOMINATED) : Sir, I have been here for the last five years. But before that I have been following, for the last sixty years, the outcome of the proceedings of this august House as well as the Lok Sabha. What has been the role of parliamentary democracy in shaping what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called 'Our tryst with destiny'? I want to take two examples of our 'tryst with destiny' and see how well we have performed. First, our independence was born in the backdrop of the great Bengal famine where over two million children, women and men died out of hunger. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi said at Noakhali, that 'to those who are hungry God is bread' and the first and foremost duty of Independent India is to ensure that this 'God of bread' resides in every home and hut. Responding to this situation, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, said in Parliament that 'Everything else can wait, but not agriculture.' From that time, Parliament Members, including this

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august House, have been giving considerable attention to the problems of farmers and farming in our country. During the first twenty years of our Independence, we were living in what foreign experts call 'a hip to mouth existence.' A ship had to arrive with food before we can feed our Public Distribution System. Most of the foodgrains came from the PL 480 programme of the United States. Today, in contrast, sixty years later, Parliament is examining the proposed National Food Security Act which is designed to make access to food a legal right. When passed and implemented, we will be operating the world's largest social protection measure against hunger with the help of wheat, rice, millet etc. grown by our farmers, not grown by foreign farmers, but our own farmers. This, Mr. Vice-Chairman, represents a historic transition in our tryst with destiny, from a ship to mouth existence to a legal right to food for all our people. On the occasion of this historic transition, I would like to emphasise, food sovereignty is fundamental...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ (Odisha) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on this occasion, the Treasury Benches are absolutely empty and there is not even a single Minister sitting here!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No; please, Mr. Punj, don't raise such points. You know this is between one o'clock and two o'clock.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : There is not even a single Minister sitting here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : No; please... Dr. Natchiappan, please get a Minister.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : He is not a Minister!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : This is a Special Session, and it is lunch time also. Why do you want to score a point now?

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : They should show respect on this occasion. The Treasury Benches must take it seriously. There must be some Minister to represent...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Why do you want to score a point today? This is a Special Session. Mr. Punj, that is not correct.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : There has to be some Minister. This shows the indifference of the Government on this solemn occasion. The Prime Minister has left, and the rest of the Ministers and MPs have all walked out!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : This is unfair. I do not permit those comments. Those comments are not needed now. It is lunch time. You see, Mr. Punj, so many are absent on both sides. Why do you say like this? This is not Government Business. This is our Business, the Business of this House. There is no need of blaming each other now. Don't try to score a point today. This is not the day for that.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : I am not blaming, Sir. This is my observation. I am not blaming anybody. I am bringing it to your notice that Treasury Benches are indifferent to the occasion. They are not serious about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Don't call it indifferent. It is lunch time. The message has already been given. It is lunch-break time. We are not allowing lunch-break. So, you should have some consideration. Don't call it 'indifferent'. It should not be called as 'indifferent'.

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, you can adjourn half-an-hour for lunch.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : You can go and have your lunch.

SHRI D. RAJA : He has a point in saying it so.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : I have already announced that there would not be any lunch break. See, Rajaji, I have no objection. But, when I announced about it, you did not raise any objection. So, let us proceed. Swaminathanji, please continue.

PROF. M.S. SWAMINATHAN : Sir, I need hardly mention to this House that food sovereignty is basic to our national sovereignty. Smt. Indira Gandhi was very alive to this fact of the relationship between food self-sufficiency and an independent Foreign Policy. The first question she asked me in late 1966 was, "How soon can we build a grain reserve of 10 million tonnes?" This was because, during 1966, we imported 10 million tonnes of wheat, largely, from the United States under its PL-480 Programme to keep our PDS alive. Our former President, Dr. Abdul Kalam, used to mention that our Pokhran experiments in relation to nuclear implosion could not have taken place had we not been selfsufficient in food. All hon. Members know what is happening in case of North Korea. Since they need food, their foreign policy decisions have to be curtailed. I think, this is very important to remember that food sovereignty is basic to our national freedom and sovereignty. An effective food security Act, when adopted by Parliament, will represent the brightest jewel in the crown of Indian Parliament since it will mark the fulfillment of Mahatma Gandhi's vision of a hunger free India.

Sir, one more significant contribution of Parliamentary democracy, including all the Members of this august House, is the pan political support extended to science and scientists. As a scientist, I am very proud of the fact that their support to science is pan political. The spectacular progress we witnessed, during the last sixty years, in various fields of scientific endeavour such as agriculture, industry, health, Defence, atomic energy, space, information and communication technology, would not have been possible but for the strong support from Parliament and the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Science and Technology. Our former Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari

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Vajpayeeji, gave expression to the support by adding 'Vigyan' to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's slogan 'Jai Jawan and Jai Kisan' as the third pillar of our freedom. Jawan, Kisan and Vigyan represent the three pillars of our trust with destiny.

On this historic occasion, I wish to pay, as a scientist and on behalf of the scientific community, my tribute to the past and present Members of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha for their commitment to national integration, to promoting harmony with nature and goodwill towards each other and, above all, harnessing the best in science and technology for our economic improvement.

Mr. Chairman, may I conclude by saying that we can achieve the Indian dream of having a hunger and poverty-free India and also a country which is characterized by social and gender equity if we follow individually and collectively the advice given by John F. Kennedy to his own countrymen. I quote, "Ask not what the country will do for you, but ask what you will do for our country." This will be hallmark of our Platinum Jubilee of this House. Thank you.

DR. BHARATKUMAR RAUT (Maharashtra) : Sir, at the outset, let me pay homage to all those stalwarts who build the image of Indian Parliament as the supreme temple of democratic deliberations. Sir, I salute them all.

Sir, I have also brought with me the greetings and good wishes from Shiv Sena Chief, Bala Saheb Thackeray, on this occasion. Sir, I consider myself fortunate of being a Member of this House when the Indian Parliament is celebrating its 60th Anniversary.

Sir, though this is my first term as Member of Parliament, I have had the opportunity, as a journalist, to cover the proceedings of the House from the Press Gallery. Therefore, it is not only that my experience has widened because of the deliberations, but also the fact that I have a pan-India view while looking at smallest incidents taking place anywhere in the country.

Sir, as we celebrate our 60th anniversary, it is time to look back and take stock of what we have achieved and what we have missed in this journey of 60 years. Surely, the Indian Parliament has achieved many things. The very fact that despite many issues, incidents of violence, aggression, terrorists' strikes, India has remained united and it is continuing to march ahead, shows that Indian Parliament has been working effectively.

Sir, Parliament has passed many path-breaking legislations which were instrumental in India's socio-economic progress, whether it was the abolition of Privy Purses, nationalization of private banks, the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme or the Right to Education, Parliament has always been the torch-bearer of the social, cultural and economic change in the country.

But, Sir, then, the question arises why there is this criticism and why people are getting disillusioned with the functioning of Parliament. People now think that the working of Parliament is becoming irrelevant. Every time, when elections take place, there is a discussion that the youth of the country doesn't want to vote and that the voting percentage of the youth has been going down; the youth finds the democratic system of Parliament irrelevant and not up to the mark. Sir, is it that the Parliament and its Members have lost their connect with the masses? My answer to that is a big 'no'. This is because every Member of Parliament has to face the 'last man' of the society after every five years. Therefore, there cannot be a disconnect between Members and the people at large. But, still, the image remains that there is a major disconnect between Members of Parliament and the masses. Sir, the reason is that, we, as Parliament, have not been able to reach out to the people so far as the working of the Parliamentary systems is concerned. In schools, children study about Parliament only for a year or two, that too, just as one of the subjects, the evaluation of which is only for 10 or 15 marks. Later, only those who take up Civics or Political Science as their major subjects, are exposed to the working of the Parliament. The rest remain totally ignorant about the functioning of Parliament, as also the importance of Parliament in the life of this nation and in their own lives too. Therefore, they fall prey to the mischief of those who want to weaken our democratic system. There are elements in the country and outside who want to weaken our society. Their goal is to weaken the faith in the democratic system. Ours is parliamentary democracy. So, the first attack is on Parliament. They say that it is a useless system, and the youth falls a prey to this argument. Sir, I appeal to all MPs, as also the Government, to make efforts to ensure that people develop an understanding of the working of Parliament. If that happens, when they watch MPs fighting for people's cause and people's issues in Parliament and outside Parliament, they would not feel that tax-payers' money has been wasted. Every time there is criticism, they say so much time of Parliament is wasted. But for whom? It was for the welfare of the people. Students who have not studied the functioning of Parliament, do not understand it. Then, Sir, if we give proper attention, it would also prevent extra-constitutional centres sitting at Ramlila Ground or at Jantar Mantar from grabbing people's attention.

Why do people get attracted towards that? Because, people at large, do not understand the working of Parliament. That is why they feel it irrelevant. We are not open to any criticism, I think, is not fair. Sir, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the creator of the Indian Constitution has entrusted this Parliament to us with a great hope and trust. He wanted India to grow for which Parliament is the best instrument. Let us prove his faith right. Thank you.

DR. KARAN SINGH (NCT OF DELHI) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today is a day for rejoicing. That is what we are all doing. It is also a day for introspection.

[DR. KARAN SINGH]

Rejoicing because for sixty years we have nurtured a vibrant democratic system, a free press and an independent Judiciary, justiceable fundamental rights and vigorous Parliamentary system for one-sixth of the human race, an experiment that has never before been conducted on this scale anywhere in human history. We have confounded the doomsayers who had predicted that when the colonial rulers leave, India was going to fall to pieces. Even Winston Churchill, if you remember, said as much when he said, "Once we go, India will fall into pieces and will disintegrate." We have not only disproved that, we have shown also that the Parliamentary system has inner power and has the capacity to meet all challenges. This is homage as much to our unique and resilient Constitution which is a great document, which is open to amendment; almost a hundred amendments have been done. While it is a great document, it is not a rigid document. It gives an opportunity for reflecting the changing will of the people.

So, it is a homage to them and also homage to the great leader who inspired this nation before and after Independence. It would be invidious to mention any particular person, but, I would like to mention the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who introduced the whole concept of national involvement and democratic functioning in the country, and the first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who for 17 years laid the foundation of the democratic set up. There, were lots of other people have made contributions; I cannot even begin to mention them, because if you begin to mention about the Constitution, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the Chairman of the Steering Committee. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was President of the Constituent Assembly. His role has often been underrated but he played a very, important role in forming the Constitution. And, there were great lawyers like Sir B.N. Rao and Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer who did the drafting of the Constitution. I was following it very carefully and I am aware of the fact that a whole galaxy of brilliant people gathered together to produce the Constitution and to produce the system of which we can justly be proud.

Sir, rejoicing because Parliament has provided political stability to our incredibly diverse and rapidly changing political mood in the country. All the way from Kashmir down to Kanyakumari, from Gujarat to Arunachal Pradesh, this country has remained united. A country which was formed in the name of religion has broken but, our country which is dedicated to pluralism, to multi-culturalism, has maintained its unity for all these years. I think the credit has got to go largely to Parliament. Parliament has ensured smooth transfers of power. We have witnessed in our own life-times, dramatic shifts of power, but, never once has there been any question that the will of the people as represented by Parliament would not immediately prevail.

And that itself is a major thing because one of the hallmarks of a democracy is to have smooth transfers of power, which we find is missing in autocracies or in dictatorships, either of the right or of the left.

Sir, through its extensive legislation, Parliament has empowered vast sections of our society, including women, who, for centuries, had been sidelined and neglected. Vast areas of this country, where hardly anybody could go, vast sections of our population were not involved at all in the political processes; they have now been included. And, now, we find, we are moving more and more towards an inclusive polity in this country, where every single citizen, wherever he may be, in the vastnesses of Arunachal or in the snowy slopes of Ladakh or in the beautiful islands of Lakshadweep, every single individual now has a stake in our democracy, and this is something that our Parliament has achieved.

Sir, Parliament, despite all the sound and fury that it generates from time to time, is an institution of which we can be justly proud. That is why today we celebrate its 60th birthday. But, as I said, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is also a day for introspection, for *atamnirikshan*. Are we upholding the high standards of behaviour and probity which the people of India expect from us? Are the disruptions of Parliamentary proceedings, from time to time, including the sacrosanct Question Hour, not stalling serious debate on crucial issues and long pending legislations? Are we, by our individual and collective actions, sometimes eroding not only our own credibility but even that of the Parliamentary system itself, particularly now that it is telecast live? Sir, these are some of the questions upon which we have to ponder very deeply, even as we celebrate this occasion.

Quite clearly, there is scope for improvement. One cannot, on this occasion, go into details, but there is scope for electoral reform, a very complex matter, but we have to move forward on that. There is scope for modifications in Parliamentary Procedures and Practices; there is scope for further strengthening of the Committee System. I agree with Shri Tiruchi Siva, when he says that one of the most positive innovations that we have introduced in Parliament, since I first joined, is the system of Committees. The Committee System now enables us to look much more deeply into the Budgets, into the Reports, and into the functioning of various wings of the Government, which the entire Parliament by itself is unable to do. So, there are many innovations that need to be taken. There has to be a serious debate, and, if possible, overwhelming majority of opinion, for more electoral reforms, for more Parliamentary procedure reforms. We should try to have, if we cannot get a national consensus, at least, as large a majority of political opinion as possible to support these measures.

Sir, may I, for a moment, recall my own association? I remember the day that Parliament first sat in 1952 because that was the time when I had been elected *Sadr-i-Riyasat* of Jammu and Kashmir. So, as it were, my public life is co-terminus with the public life of Parliament. It is the very same year, when this Parliament sat in 1952, that the whole feudal system in Jammu and Kashmir was changed, and an elected *Sadr-i-Riyasat*, elected by the State Assembly, came into position.

[DR. KARAN SINGH]

Sir, my own association with Parliament goes back 45 years, in 1967, when I joined the Union Cabinet. Since then, I have had the privilege of being elected four times to the Lok Sabha and four times to the Rajya Sabha. Therefore, I have been a witness to the whole political process, from both sides of the House, in both Chambers; in the Lok Sabha, and Rajya Sabha I have been on the Treasury Benches and in the Opposition.

So, I have a perspective, perhaps, a unique perspective of how this whole system functioned, of all its failings, all its flaws and yet the inherent dynamism that ultimately prevailed. We may be individually foolish but collectively there is something in the Indian psyche that takes the correct decision. That decision may be unpalatable to one party or another but whenever the people of India have been called upon to give their collective opinion, They have taken the right turn and that is reflected in the Parliament. That is why I have found this to be an incredibly valuable learning experience which I will always treasure. One might be Ph.D in political science, which I was, but I did not have the faintest idea of how politics actually works until I get into the rough and tumble of politics.

I remember, Sir, when I came in as a Minister I used to come once a week to the Rajya Sabha to answer questions. In the Lok Sabha the attack used to come from the front. There were brilliant people; there was Hirenda; there was Nath Pai; there was A.K. Gopalan, they were outstanding figures. In the Rajya Sabha the attack always came to me from behind because there was a group of Young Turks led by Chandrasekhar who were constantly attacking us from behind. So, there was a qualitative difference between the ambience of Lok Sabha and the ambience of Rajya Sabha. But, both, I must say, were very important, very significant and very meaningful.

श्री बलबीर पुंज : खतरा तो पीछे से है।

डॉ. कर्ण सिंह : मैं उस समय नहीं था। We have upon our shoulders, Mr. Vice-Chairman, an awesome responsibility to build truly a great India, the great India of which our seers and sages and our political savants and our political leaders have dreamed for centuries. Overcoming all challenges, we have to build an India that is truly great, great in economic strength and that is growing day by day, great in political influence which is also growing, but above all, Sir, great in moral and spiritual stature. That is the true civilizational role of India and that is the role that we have to fulfil and that is the role we have always to keep in mind as we get involved in the rough and tumble of politics. And in the sound and the fury of confrontation we must never forget the basic civilisational role that India has played. For thousands of years India has sent the message of pluralism, of inclusion across the world. आ नो भद्राः कृतवो यन्तु विश्वतः Let noble force come to us from every side. एकं सद्दिग्ग्रा बहुधा वदन्ति The truth is one, the wise call it by many names. India has been the origin of the four of the great world religions

and four of the great religions have come here from the West and they have all flourished in India. We must never forget these civilisational responsibilities regardless of our party, regardless of our religion, regardless of our caste, regardless of our class. We must rededicate ourselves on this occasion to building that India, the ideal India, the India of creative imagination. Therefore, Sir, I will end with an ancient prayer that has come down to us for millennia down through the long and torturous corridors of Time and that prayer says, let us work together, let us think together, let us achieve together, may there never be any hatred between us.

ॐ सहनाववतु सहनौ भुनक्तु सह वीर्यं करवाव है।
तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु मा विद्वषाव है।।

Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : धन्यवाद डॉ साहब। Now, hon. Dr. Najma Heptulla.

DR. NAJMA A. HEPTULLA (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, you have made my task more difficult by calling me soon after the erudite speech of a person of eminence, Dr. Karan Singh. Hon. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today when I stand here to speak on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of our Parliament, lots of thoughts are going through my memory lane of the 30 years that I have spent in this House, out of which 17 years in the Chair which you are adorning today. I am reminded of the great sacrifices made by our Freedom Fighters in getting us not the Freedom alone but also a strong Constitution, which, in its preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy, has no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, religion, and significantly, gender, which gave us an adult franchise and a parliamentary system of governance.

Sir, I was seven years old when India got freedom. My father woke me up from the sleep to be a part of that historic moment. I did not understand, but he made me to listen to the historic speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, 'A tryst with destiny at the midnight hour when the world sleeps'. I did not understand the significance at that time, but I definitely never ever imagine that I would be a part of this great edifice of democracy, our Parliament. In the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, the first Vice-President and Chairman of this House, and I quote, "Parliament is not only a legislative, but it is a deliberative body. So far as its deliberative functions are concerned, it will be open to us to make very valuable contributions and it will depend on our work whether we justify or do not justify this two-chamber system, which is now an integral part of our Constitution".

At this point of time, when I turn the pages of the record of the valuable contributions made by all the hon. members, whose names I cannot mention, of the Rajya Sabha in the last sixty years, I feel we have performed our duty by deliberating on the issues, which concern the nation from time to time as a second chamber and definitely not as a secondary chamber.

[DR. NAJMA A. HEPTULLA]

The Lok Sabha is elected directly under the concept of universal suffrage while the Rajya Sabha is an elected body of our States, representing our federal structure. Every deliberation and contribution on the legislation reflects our concern of the State we represent.

There was a time when one party ruled the Centre and most of the States. Now, the time has changed. There is a coalition culture and the States are governed by different regional parties. In such a situation, the role of Rajya Sabha becomes more important in articulating issues pertaining to the States.

We have seen during the river water disputes or about the implementation of the policy pertaining to global warming or inter-State issues where Members of the House have risen above party lines to speak on the issues of their States. On these issues, the Central Government brings the legislation before the Parliament, but the responsibility of the implementation is left to the States. There are laws relating to women, children, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, right to education, environment, international treaties, insurgency and terrorism, in which the States have a lot of stake. The implementation of such laws depend upon the will and the capacity of States they represent. The Rajya Sabha can effectively debate and discuss on such complex issues and make public opinion and articulate the concern of the State, they represent.

Sir, the Rajya Sabha has a very special character which demonstrates inclusiveness of our democracy through the twelve nominated members by the hon. President from different fields of art, culture, science and other social services. Perhaps, these persons of eminence may not be elected otherwise.

However, these Members represent the voices of different segments of population. I have seen, during the course of time, significant contributions made by such Members in the Rajya Sabha.

I have witnessed scientists like Dr. Raja Ramanna, musicians like Pandit Ravi Shankar, Ornithologist Dr. Salim Ali, the great expert on birds who used to attend the House with a binocular around his neck – of course, Ravi Shankarji never brought his sitar to the Parliament. I have mentioned just a few of them; of course, the list is very long.

Sir, Rajya Sabha has not remained content with its role merely as a revisory chamber. In a number of cases, it has, in fact, asserted itself. Rajya Sabha was able to introduce amendments in the Constitution (Forty-fifth Amendment) Bill, in 1978, which was accepted by Lok Sabha and it became the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1978. This amending Act, *inter alia*, took away from the category of Fundamental Rights, the Right to Property and put the Right to Life and Liberty on a secure footing. This Act also provided safeguards against the misuse of emergency provisions and guaranteed the media the right to report freely the proceedings of Parliament and the

State Legislatures. In 1989, the Constitution (Sixty-fourth Amendment) Bill and the Constitution (Sixty-fifth Amendment) Bill pertaining to the Panchayati Raj and Nagar Palika Institutions respectively, which had earlier been passed by Lok Sabha were defeated in the Rajya Sabha. That night I did cry at home. In the year 2002, Rajya Sabha rejected the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2001, as passed by Lok Sabha, which was later passed in a joint sitting of both the Houses of Parliament.

On many occasions, some of the Bills passed by the Lok Sabha and sent to the Rajya Sabha for consideration and passage have been referred by the Rajya Sabha to its Select Committee for examination and report to the House. On many occasions, the Committee totally re-wrote the Bills and they were presented to the House.

Sir, perhaps, I am the only woman Member who would be speaking in this House. ...(*Interruptions*)... Mayawatiji spoke on a different subject, Sir. ...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, maybe, I am the last, but I am the first to speak on the issues of women. She took the issues of downtrodden, I am taking the issue of worst of the downtrodden on the Floor of the House. Since the inception of Rajya Sabha in 1952, woman Members, whether they were elected to the House or nominated by the President of India, have endearingly demonstrated, through their talents and abilities, their role as Legislators.

In fact, out of 14 Private Members' Bills and Resolutions adopted in this House, at least seven of them have been moved by the woman Members of Parliament — Dr. (Smt.) Seeta Parmanand, on anomaly between the Hindu Marriage Act and the Special Marriage Act; Shrimati Lilavati Munshi's Resolution to prohibit exhibition of undesirable films was adopted by the House in 1954; Dr. Rukmini Devi Arundale moved a Resolution on Cruelty against Animals, which motivated the Government to bring forward a legislation to that effect. Similar is the case of Ela Bhat regarding hawkers. After the UN Conference of Women in Beijing, I, on 8th March, 1996, moved a Resolution asking for adequate representation of women in Parliament, which was unanimously adopted by the House and which led to the Bill providing reservation of 33 per cent seats for women in Lok Sabha and State Legislatures. We have passed this Bill in the Rajya Sabha. I request the hon. Prime Minister to get this Bill passed in the Lok Sabha, where it is pending.

As thousands of women at the Panchayat and grassroot democracies are getting empowered in our country, I hope, on this good occasion, memorable occasion of the 60th Anniversary of our Parliament, the hon. Prime Minister will give this gift to the nation and to women of our country.

Having said that, I would request the leaders of the various political parties in this House to increase the number of women members, where there are only 24 lady Members, to make our democracy equally representative. In spite of their small numbers, their contributions have been quite valuable.

[DR. NAJMA A. HEPTULLA]

Sir, Shrimati Violate Alva was the First Deputy Chairman of the House. Shrimati Indira Gandhi was a Member of this House when she became the First woman Prime Minister of this country. Shrimati Pratibha Patil was Deputy Chairman, and she is now our 1st woman President of India. Dr. Jai Jayalithaaji was a Member of this House and she is the first woman to be the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

Sir, it humbles me to mention that I was the First woman to be unanimously elected as the President of Inter-Parliamentary Union of 157 Parliaments of the world, in the history of 123 years.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Yes; all of us congratulated you.

DR. NAJMA A. HEPTULLA : Sir, though Rajya Sabha does not have much role regarding money and certain categories of Financial Bills, the Rajya Sabha has provided most of the outstanding Finance Ministers. The Finance Ministers, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Shri S.B. Chavan, Shri Narayan Dutt Tiwari, Shri V.P. Singh, Dr. Manmohan Singh and Shri Yashwant Sinha, all belonged to Rajya Sabha when they presented the Budget in the Lok Sabha.

Sir, the Rajya Sabha has also given many Prime Ministers to the country. As I mentioned, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was a Member of this House; Shri H.D. Devegowda, Shri I.K. Gujral and Dr. Manmohan Singh were Members of this House, and, as reminded by Dr. Saheb, Shri V.P. Singh, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Chandra Shekhar, at one time, were also Members of the Rajya Sabha.

Sir, I remember the thoughts of Charles Dickens who said, 'We had best of the times, we had the worst of times.' Best of the times, of course, most of us will love to rejoice and worst of times, people will tend to forget. But I cannot forget when our Parliament was attacked by the terrorists and the future of some of us, including the democracy, looked in peril, the unarmed Rajya Sabha Security Officers like Jagdish Prasad Yadav and Matbar Singh Negi rose to the occasion and wrote another chapter of valour and bravery in the annals of history of the country with their blood and sacrificed their lives to save this temple of democracy. I salute their memories. One of them was my personal Security Officer.

I would like to mention here the services rendered by the Secretariat employees who are always eager to help the Members. When we go to sleep, these people burn midnight oil and keep us posted about the proceedings and business so as to reach the papers to us with the first rays of the Sunrise. They are the backbone of our Parliament. There are around 5000 employees in the Parliament, including about 500 women. There are no facilities of crèche or schools for the children of the Parliament employees. While the other Government servants get facilities like schools, clubs and other such

perks, why is our Parliament staff deprived of such facilities? It is our duty to speak for them, and I request the hon. Prime Minister and the Presiding Officers of both the Houses to give them some gift on this 60th Anniversary of our Parliament.

Sir, we are proud of our vibrant, inclusive, representative and interactive democracy.

But, I would fail in my duty if I do not mention that the issues and concerns of the nation are increasing, like prices in the country, while the time of the Sessions is decreasing. We need more time to deliberate on new and emerging challenges before the nation and make our contribution.

Sir, in sixty years, whether we sat on the left, right or the centre of the House, we, the Members of the House of Elders, have tried to perform our duty. In one of the domes of Parliament, in Rajya Sabha, a Sanskrit shloka from the Mahabharata is written – Dr. Karan Singh would correct me — which says,

‘न सा सभा यात्रा, न शांति वृद्धा...’, which means, ‘That is not an Assembly where there are no elder men; those are not elders who do not speak with righteousness; that is no righteousness where there is no truth; that is not the truth which leads one to deceit.’

Sir, in the end, I would say, we do not know if we have been able to live up to the expectations of the nation, which expects, perhaps, much more out of our deliberations and contribution, but I am reminded of a famous couplet of Sir Muhammed Iqbal, who said, ‘खुदी को कर बुलंद इतना कि हर तकदीर से पहले खुदा बंदे से खुद पूछे- बता तेरी रज़ा क्या है।’ I would give a translation to that: Live so beautifully that if death is the end of life, God may feel sorry for having ended the life.”

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Thank you, Madam. Now, Dr. Ashok Ganguly. You may speak for five minutes.

DR. ASHOK S. GANGULY (NOMINATED) : Sir, I consider being called to speak on this occasion and being present in this event as the highest honour in my lifetime, and also being nominated for the country, rather than from a constituency alone, because I feel proud as an Indian.

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) in the Chair)

Although my mother tongue is Bengali, I grew up in Mumbai. I did not know the difference between Bengalis, Maharashtrians, Konkans, Parsis and Gujaratis. I speak all these languages. I did not know that one has to belong to a particular community to be identified as so and so. So, it is a particularly noteworthy that I got nominated as a part of the whole country rather than a constituency, although I am very proud to

[DR. ASHOK S. GANGULY]

belong to Maharashtra as well. It is also a great honour to be nominated by the hon. President of this country and leaders of political parties because I never expected to be in this august House and in such august company. It has been an experience of enormous learning, and I thank both my colleagues in the Opposition and those on the Ruling Benches, as well as those who are nominated like me in this House, because they have not only shared their wisdom through their debates, but since I come with no political background, and I have got no political utility, I greatly value their friendship, their camaraderie and their making us feel as if we are one of them. Thank you very much.

Sir, since childhood, and as we grew older, we have looked up to our M.P. leaders and to the Houses of Parliament to not only protect the independence of India, but to transform this nation, which was under foreign rules for 1000 years, to take its own place in the Comity of Nations.

[2.00 P.M.]

I am again very proud to be present in this House on the 60th Anniversary of the Parliament of India as India is gradually emerging as one of the leading nations of the world in terms of economic freedom, technology leadership, competence and capability of showing what a multi-cultural, a multi-lingual nation can be all about. We must look at the challenges also that we face. As Prof. Swaminathan was talking a little while earlier, we have moved a state of from food insecurity to a certain degree of food security. We are not there as yet. We have to yet face the challenges of universal education, total food security, the problems of our geography and national security and we the endless fight against poverty. There are many challenges that still remain. While we talk about people who read newspapers, people who come to this House and people who are able to listen to some of the debates of this House, there is a very large section of our community, who remains below the radar screen. Their definition in Hindi is not 'गरीब'. The described in Hindi, which happens to be a new term — even I learnt it — is 'अति गरीब'. They have no access to food, nutrition or to the vudiments of civilized society. When people do not have access to food, the hunger pangs reduces their existence as human beings to the lowest level. Continuous and prolonged hunger pangs leads to mental degeneration, mortality and hopelessness that you and I cannot evon imagine. I think 'गरीबी हटाओ' will take a very long time to achieve. Let us be practical about it. We must formally resolve on the 60th Anniversary of this Parliament that अति गरीबी हटाना is our responsibility. हिन्दी में बोला जाता है कि अति गरीबी की जो दुश्मनी है, वह गरीबी की दुश्मनी से बहुत ज्यादा है, वह विदेशी दुश्मनी से भी बहुत भयंकर है और बेशर्मा की बात यह है कि हमारे देश में हम अभी भी इसको बर्दाश्त करते हैं कि बच्चे, आदमी, बूढ़े, औरत दिन प्रति दिन खाने के बिना अभी भी मर रहे हैं या किसी तरह से वे अपना गुजारा कर रहे हैं। But it is not only the responsibility of this House, but also the responsibility of every Indian. My message is for every Indian across India. It is not their visible consumption; it is not their visible agitation, but it must be the concern and the effort of every Indian to make sure that our progress is more

evenly shared across the most defined in our country. Above all, we must continue to defend an equitable and a tolerant society. We must guard against intolerance in India and we must guard against the selfishness of inequitable consumption. I once again thank you, hon. Chairman and the House for welcoming us, nominated Members, and treating us as your brothers. Thank you, very much.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY CHAIR

Regarding Submission of articles/Messages by Members for publication on occasion of 60th Anniversary of first setting of Parliament

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Hon. Members, I wish to inform you that on the occasion of 60th Anniversary of the First Sitting of Parliament, you are requested to send your articles to the Secretary-General on the theme “Sixty Years Journey of the Indian Parliament”. The article should not exceed the length of 1200 words and it may be written either in English or in Hindi. The articles may please be sent by the 22nd May, 2012. Members are also requested to record their messages in about sixty words on the theme “Sixty Years Journey of the Indian Parliament” in the register kept in the inner lobby for the purpose. These articles and messages would be edited and published separately in a book form, which would be published as a special volume being brought out on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the First Sitting of the Parliament.

DISCUSSION ON SIXTY YEARS' JOURNEY OF INDIAN PARLIAMENT – contd.

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, I join everyone to celebrate the great journey of Indian Parliament for six decades. Sir, I am proud to state that the Communist Members, in both the Houses, have played a great role and made a great contribution in strengthening the functions of Indian Parliament and the Parliamentary democracy. Comrade Somnath Lahiri, one of the veteran Communist leaders, was part of the Constitution Drafting Committee for a brief period. After that, in the independent India, when the Parliament was set up, we had galaxy of Communist leaders – comrade Hiren Mukherjee, comrade S.A. Dange, comrade Indrajit Gupta, comrade Bhupesh Gupta and comrade A.K. Gopalan. Such a galaxy of leaders made a very valuable contribution in strengthening our Parliamentary democracy. It was under the leadership of comrade Indrajit Gupta that a Parliament Committee discussed the question of electoral reforms and policy of state funding of elections. I think, the time has come when the Government will have to take note, political parties will have to take note that India needs a comprehensive electoral reform, including the proportional representation system and state funding of elections. Sir, comrade Indrajit Gupta was

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the first recipient of the Best Parliamentarian Award in Indian Parliament. Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, speaking in this very House, referred to certain extraordinary situations which can pave the ground for the emergence of extra-Constitutional authority. It was the first time that the concept of extra-Constitutional authority was discussed in Indian political discourse.

Sir, having said that, as Communists, we have been articulating our concerns based on an ideology, cutting across the faiths, the castes and the religions of the country, but based on common humanity. We have been articulating our concerns, our worries, how we should strengthen the federal governance of our country, federalism, secular democracy, social justice and above all, equality, which one can refer to as 'socialism'. We have been articulating this. Look at the history of our Parliament. It embodies the vision of peaceful transformation. Our country was under colonial rule. It was plundered. And, it was none other than Dr. Ambedkar who said, "India suffers from a graded social inequality." And, Dr. Ambedkar believed that India could be changed, our society could be changed through peaceful Parliamentary, Constitutional methods and the legislative institutions. The concept of legislative institutions is not new to India. Way back in 1898, it was Swami Vivekanand who spoke about need for India to have more legislative institutions for its progress. After Independence, we had set up this Parliament. How do we understand this Parliament and its functions? Sir, for that, we will have to understand the very concept of Parliamentary democracy, the political democracy. Shri K.R. Narayanan, who occupied that Chair once, who became the President of this country, mentioned and summarised, "Mahatma Gandhi gave a moral mass dimension to our freedom movement. At the same time, Jawaharlal Nehru gave an economic and socialist dimension to our freedom movement. It was Dr. Ambedkar who gave a challenging social and democratic vision to our Parliamentary democracy." Now, let us ask ourselves what we have done to achieve the challenging social democratic vision that Ambedkar set before us.

Sir, it is true that Mahatma Gandhi set moral standards, ethical standards in public life which brought more women into the freedom movement, and, also into the public work. At the same time, we will have to understand that when we adopted the Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar said that India, with its new Constitution, has to recognize the principle of 'One Man, One Vote' but putting the larger question, he added that we have to realize the principle of 'One Vote, One Value'. Here, we will have to understand the mass and moral dimension given by Mahatma Gandhi, which brought the ordinary citizen, particularly, women, and, the economic and socialist dimension of Nehru's modern India. Even that moral dimension of Gandhi has been tarnished by the decline in values, mounting scandals and corruption cases in India today, and, whereas, Sir, Ambedkar's vision remains as a vision. That is why, there is a need to follow Ambedkar who had prescribed the method of education, agitation and organization. In fact, what

he prescribed was the constitutional and parliamentary method. On the 60th anniversary of our Parliament, it is important to uphold parliamentary and constitutional methods.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Time is over. Please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA : Here, Sir, I would like to remind the House what Mr. K.R. Narayanan said, "Parliament is a mighty substitute for a bloody and violent revolution". It is what Mr. Narayanan said. A couple of days back, we discussed the issue of how Dr. Ambedkar was presented in an NCERT textbook. There were concerns outside the Parliament, and, Parliament took serious note of those strong sentiments. At the same time, Parliament does not undermine the importance of academicians and scholars. There is a view that the issue was blown out of proportion. Yes, there is a point. At the same time, we hold our academicians, intellectuals and scholars in high esteem. Sir, I must point out that nobody has the right to go and ransack academician's house for certain things, and, that bunch of people should understand what Mr. K.R. Narayanan said, "Parliament is the mighty substitute for a bloody and violent revolution." That has to be understood.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA : I am concluding, Sir. I think, what Dr. Maitreyan said will be kept in mind when you deal with the speakers. The Parliament will have to move forward, and, we will have to face many challenges. For instance, way back, Dr. Ambedkar tried to amend the Hindu Code Bill for empowering the women, and, the same very House passed the Women Reservation Bill, although, it is still pending. Sir, we have been enacting a large number of legislation for the common good of the people. At the same time, poverty, inequality, injustice, backwardness continue to haunt the whole nation. Unless the Parliament spends its valuable time to deliberate on these issues and pass meaningful legislation, our country cannot be taken forward. So, I think, Parliament has to work for more number of days in comparison to what we are doing today.

Sir, the Parliament is supreme and we should understand that in a democracy, Parliament has a predominant role and responsibility towards people. Sir, people look forward to Parliament and if Parliament does not perform or discharges its duty, it will lead to cynicism, as also mentioned by the Leader of the Opposition, and, we should not allow that cynicism to grow in this country.

Therefore, Sir, we all have the common responsibility to strengthen this Parliament as an institution, improve the functioning of Parliament in the coming days in order to instill confidence in the minds of the people that Parliament responds, Parliament is

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sensitive to their concerns. Finally, Sir, I join everyone in celebrating this occasion and give my good wishes to everyone who is associated with the Parliamentary work.

SHRI K. RAHMAN KHAN (Karnataka) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on this historic occasion, I greet all my colleagues in this House and also the people of India. Today is a historic day. Sixty years back, this temple of democracy was born and we are celebrating this historic event today. It is time for all of us to look back as to how our democracy has functioned and how our Parliament has functioned during the last sixty years. Sixty years is not a long period in the history of a nation, though sixty years is an age of retirement in an individual's life. The greatest satisfaction today for all of us is that our democracy is deep-rooted. We are a functional democracy and a democracy which we are proud of. Our Parliamentary institutions have succeeded to a great extent in addressing the hopes and aspirations of the people, though not to the extent as the people expected. I salute the past Members of Rajya Sabha for their contribution as Members of this House and for serving and strengthening this great institution. We, the Members of Parliament, are fortunate that we have been given this opportunity to serve the people. From 1952 till now, 2067 Members have served this Parliament with dignity. Almost 161 nominated Members from different fields of expertise have also served in this House. We have a great responsibility not only to represent the people but also to address the hopes and aspirations of the people. Our responsibility is to safeguard the Fundamental Rights of the citizens and to provide social justice, economic justice and liberty. In this aspect, still we have to go a long way in protecting the Fundamental Rights of the citizens, in providing social and economic justice, in removing inequality in the society and in overcoming discrimination in the society. Parliament is a supreme institution which represents the collective will of the people. No other organ of the Constitution represents the will of the people and is directly accountable to the people. Sir, we are a country of multiple religions, multiple languages and multiple cultures. We have diverse views, yet we are a successful and vibrant democratic country. Sir, in February, I was in Riyadh to attend the G-20 Speakers' Consultative Conference. One of the subjects in the Conference was interfaith dialogue on how it helps in building the world economy. I was speaking in the Conference as to how, with different languages, different religions, different cultures and diversity, we are a united democratic country. We have been following this tradition for the last thousands of years.

After the Conference, the Speaker of Turkey came to me. He said, "I am proud of your country. I cannot imagine how democracy can succeed with so many religions and languages, and where people have different culture. And still you are a vibrant democracy. If I attend any more conference on 'Interfaith Dialogue', I will use only three words, 'go to India'." This is the credibility our country enjoys. This is the credibility our democratic institutions enjoy. We should be proud of it. Just because we

cannot achieve everything, we cannot take a negative approach and say that we have not achieved everything. We have achieved a lot, and we have yet to achieve a lot. Certain far-reaching events have happened. Direct telecast of parliamentary proceedings was a very important event. We have had divergent views on whether we should have our own channel to telecast it. We deliberated upon it and ultimately did it. We are directly connected to the people. We are elected by the people. Whatever we are doing is watched not just by the few Members who are sitting here. Sometimes the attendance will be thin. Sometimes you will be talking to empty benches. Now the whole nation is watching us, so we have to be very careful. In early years of Parliament, we have had only the print media. We were at the mercy of the print media. It was up to them to report or not to report. Only a few people used to watch the proceedings from the Visitors' Gallery. But that is not the case today. Now the entire nation is watching us. We have to assess what we have gained and where we have not performed. In the last sixty years, we had done a lot. We passed several far-reaching legislations, which had changed the lives of the people. I am not going into the details of all those important legislations that we had passed. We amended the Constitution. It gave the people their fundamental rights. Nationalisation of Banks, Right to Information, Right to Education, MGNREGA, Abolition of Zamindari, Abolition of Privy Purses, land reforms, Panchayati Raj Institution, etc., are some of the far-reaching legislations. We are proud of them.

As many hon. Members have said, another important thing is the evolution of Committee System. It is a very, very important thing which we have done in Parliament. Very few parliaments have this system. Even our State Legislatures are not having that. The fundamental duty of a parliamentarian is to give a good law to the people. A good law cannot be made in haste. Every Bill introduced in Parliament is scrutinised by Committees. And our Committees function in such a way that we evolve consensus. The law, which we pass here, is not the law of the Executive or the party in power. The laws are deliberated and carefully scrutinised in Committees and they evolve consensus. Most of the recommendations of the Standing Committees are unanimous.

Where have we failed? We have failed in following the Rules of Procedure of this House.

Everyday, we break the Rules of Procedure. We pass law. We expect the people to follow those laws but, in Parliament, everyday, we break rules and create disturbance in the House. I had the opportunity to preside over this House for the last eight years. Sometimes, I used to feel very bad when even a minute was wasted. Why are we disturbing the House? What is it that we get by disturbing the House? Why do we give up Question Hour? This is the question we have to ask now. We have to introspect. Why should we give up our own right? For whose sake are we doing it? Is it going to help the people? Is it going to create any better place for the people? Are we legislating

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better laws for the people? So, although it is time to celebrate, it is also time for us to introspect whether we should follow it.

Now, the hon. Member, Mr. Yechury, said that we have to sit for 100 days in a year. We sit for 50-60 days. Out of that, we waste 30 per cent of the time. So, if you have 100 days, again, 30 per cent will be lost. So, let us first make use of the number of days we are working and then, I fully agree and I endorse that there should be more than 100 days. We have deliberated upon it here in this House. A Private Member's Bill was brought forward saying that the minimum number of sittings should be 100 days. That has not been followed. I hope the Government would take note of it and come out with a proposal.

Time has come for us to introspect. We have to restore the confidence of the people. Our major concern is, people should not lose confidence in the democracy. The way we function is sometimes criticised by the media. We are shown in a very bad light by the media saying that Members of Parliament are not working. We are working but, we have to restore the confidence of the people. Our failure to perform and make the Executive accountable will lead to judicial activism which will further erode the authority of Parliament. If you do not realise the faults and failures then, people will be forced to come out on streets.

On this occasion, I appeal to all the political Parties in this House to rise to the occasion. It is not the individual Members who are responsible for disturbance in the House. Every individual Member hates to disturb the proceedings but, he is bound by the Party dictates. Let us resolve today that we will not disturb the Question Hour which is the right of individual Members. We will not resort to disturbing the House by coming into the Well of the House. We will oppose the Government through debates and use constitutional methods to oppose the move of the Government if we feel that we have to oppose it.

Our role in Rajya Sabha is not what we are performing today. We are a revising chamber. The very creation of the Council of States is to strengthen our federal structure, be a watchdog to protect the rights of the States and keep check on hasty legislations. I hope we rise to the occasion and earn people's goodwill for our Parliament.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am fortunate to be in this House for the last 18 years. I have learnt a lot from some of the stalwarts and Parliamentarians. My last eight years as Deputy Chairman of this august House have been very eventful. I have had the privilege of working with two Chairmen, that is, Late Shekhawatji and the present Chairman, Mr. Mohammad Hamid Ansari. I enjoyed the confidence and goodwill of all the Members of this House which I cannot forget. I am grateful to my Party and my Party President, Madam Soniaji, for giving me this opportunity to serve in this House

and to our hon. Prime Minister who has always blessed me and encouraged me. I also had the privilege of serving under him as the Deputy Leader when he was the Leader of the Opposition.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to say something in Urdu.

आज इस साठ साला जश्न के मौके पर मेरी दुआ है कि हमारा जम्हूरी इदारा राज्य सभा और लोक सभा, पार्लियामेंट अपनी आबोताब के साथ हमेशा कायम रहे। हमारा मुल्क हिन्दुस्तान जम्हूरी तरीकों पर मुल्क और अवाम की खिदमत अंजाम देता हुआ तरक्की की मंज़िलें तय करे और दुनिया के तरक्कीयाफ्ता मुल्कों में शामिल होकर क़द्रोमंज़िलत हासिल करे।

† آج اس ساٹھ سالہ جشن کے موقع پر میری دعا ہے کہ ہمارا جمہوری ادارہ
راجیہ سبھا اور لوک سبھا پارلیمنٹ اپنی آب و تاب کے ساتھ ہمیشہ قائم رہے۔
ہمارا ملک ہندوستان جمہوری طریقوں پر ملک اور عوام کی خدمت انجام دیتا ہوا
ترقی کی منزلیں طے کرے اور دنیا کے ترقی یافتہ ملکوں میں شامل ہو کر قدر و
منزلت حاصل کرے۔

Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E. M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Thank you. Thank you very much for maintaining the time also. Mr. Shanta Kumar.

श्री शान्ता कुमार (हिमाचल प्रदेश) : सम्माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, संसद के साठ वर्ष पूरे करने पर आज का यह कार्यक्रम पूरे राष्ट्र के लिए गौरव, स्वाभिमान एवं उल्लास का एक स्वर्णिम अवसर है। मैं सबसे पहले देश के उन लाखों देशभक्तों और शहीदों को श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ, जिन्होंने अंडमान के काले पानी की काल-कोठरियों से लेकर अंग्रेजों के फांसी के फन्दों तक अपना बलिदान देकर देश को आज़ाद कराया और हमें अपने देश में अपनी संसद बनाने का सौभाग्य मिला। आज प्रथम क्रान्तिकारी वासुदेव बलवंत फड़के याद आ रहे हैं। अंडमान की भयंकर काल कोठरी में वर्षों की यातना सहने वाले वीर सावरकर, अस्सी साल के कुंवर सिंह, तेईस वर्ष की झांसी की रानी, भगत सिंह, चन्द्रशेखर आज़ाद, अशफ़ाकुल्ला खान, मदनलाल दींगरा, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस और फिर आज़ादी के आन्दोलन को संजोकर एक mass movement बनाने के लिए राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गाँधी जी की याद आ रही है। मैं उन सबके चरणों में नमन और उनका अभिनन्दन करता हूँ।

महोदय, अंग्रेज़ देश के दो टुकड़े करके चले गए। विश्व के कुछ लोगों को आशंका थी कि विभिन्न जातियों और भाषाओं के भेदों में बंटा भारत कैसे अपना संविधान बनाएगा, कैसे आज़ादी को संभालेगा? परंतु इन पैंसठ वर्षों के इतिहास ने उन सबको झुठला दिया। देश ने संविधान बनाया, लागू किया और संसद ने विश्व के सबसे बड़े लोकतंत्र को एक सफल, गौरवपूर्ण स्थान दिलाया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज का दिन गौरव का है, स्वाभिमान का है, उल्लास का है, परंतु आज का

† Transliteration in Urdu Script

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दिन आत्मविश्लेषण, आत्मनिरीक्षण और नए संकल्प करने का भी है। संसद की गरिमा व स्तर में कुछ कमी आई है। चर्चा, विवाद और संवाद की परिपक्वता में गिरावट आई है। आज पूरे समय का पूरा उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है और हम सब में दायित्व बोध कम होता जा रहा है। पूरी राजनीति में नैतिक मूल्यों का अवमूल्यन चिंता का विषय है। विश्व के सबसे बड़े लोकतंत्र की सबसे बड़ी इस प्रतिनिधि संस्था की गरिमा और शुचिता को बनाए रखने की चुनौती आज हमारे सामने है।

महोदय, आज आधुनिक भारत के महान निर्माता, देशभक्त संन्यासी स्वामी विवेकानन्द याद आ रहे हैं। विश्व इतिहास में स्वामी विवेकानन्द एक अकेले ऐसे संन्यासी हैं, जिन्होंने मोक्ष के लिए घर-बार, परिवार को तो छोड़ा ही, परंतु देश के लोगों की गरीबी को देखकर उन्होंने उस मोक्ष को भी छोड़ दिया। उन्होंने समुद्र के किनारे कन्याकुमारी की शिला पर ऐतिहासिक घोषणा की - “प्रभु, मुझे मोक्ष नहीं चाहिए। जब तक मेरे देश का प्रत्येक व्यक्ति भर-पेट भोजन नहीं कर लेता, तब तक मैं बार-बार जन्म लूँ, बार-बार मातृभूमि की सेवा करूँ।” उन्होंने “दरिद्र नारायण” का मंत्र दिया और यह कहा कि गरीब ही देश का देवता है, उसकी सेवा ही भगवान की सच्ची पूजा है।

मुझे याद आ रही है, राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी की, जिन्होंने समाज के सबसे नीचे के व्यक्ति से विकास आरम्भ करने के लिए अन्त्योदय का मंत्र दिया था, ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था और सामाजिक न्याय की बात कही थी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश के भ्रष्टाचार से परेशान होकर जब जनता सड़क पर आती है, तो हम यह कहते हैं कि कानून बनाने का अधिकार हमारा है। सचमुच कानून बनाने का अधिकार हमारा है, लेकिन क्या इस बात का कोई जवाब हमारे पास है कि लोकपाल जैसा महत्वपूर्ण बिल हम पिछले 42 सालों से नहीं बना सके? हमारे पास इसका कोई उत्तर नहीं है। आज हम ऐतिहासिक दिन मना रहे हैं। मैं इस सदन के सभी सदस्यों से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि हम इस सत्र में लोकपाल बिल पास अवश्य करें और लोकपाल बिल पास किए बिना यह सत्र समाप्त न हो। यह क्रेडिबिलिटी का सवाल है। फिर यह बात ठीक होगी कि हमारा अधिकार है। अधिकार है तो 42 साल से उस अधिकार का उपयोग हमने क्यों नहीं किया?

महोदय, मैं चुनाव कानूनों में बदलाव की आवश्यकता का अनुभव करता हूँ। आज हो क्या रहा है? चुनाव लड़ने के बाद हम जीत जाते हैं और सबसे पहला काम यह करते हैं कि चुनाव आयोग के सामने खर्च का हिसाब-किताब देते हैं। क्या हम सही हिसाब-किताब देते हैं? लोकतंत्र की शुरुआत असत्य से होती है। जिन्होंने लोगों की सेवा करनी है, कानून बनाने हैं, वे जब हिसाब-किताब देते हैं तो सच्चा हिसाब-किताब नहीं दे सकते, असत्य हिसाब-किताब देते हैं। फिर चुनाव के लिए धन कहाँ से आता है? मैंने कहा, आज आत्मनिरीक्षण का दिन है, केवल खुशी मनाने का दिन नहीं है, साठ वर्षों के बाद आत्मालोचन करने का दिन है। चुनाव के लिए धन सफेद नहीं होता है। जिस लोकतंत्र की शुरुआत असत्य से होती है, जिस लोकतंत्र की शुरुआत काले धन से होती है, वह लोकतंत्र कितना सफल होगा? इसलिए यह एक चुनौती है, इकट्ठे बैठकर इसका कोई रास्ता निकाला जाए। स्वामी विवेकानन्द, महात्मा गाँधी और फांसी के फंदों को गले लगाने वाले शहीदों की एक ही इच्छा थी कि भारत स्वतंत्र हो, नैतिकता, शुचिता और खुशहाली आए तथा एक भी व्यक्ति भूख से पीड़ित न हो। आइए, आज हम हिम्मत से इस बात को स्वीकार करें कि उन सबका वह सपना अभी भी अधूरा है। आज उस सपने को पूरा करने का नया संकल्प करने की आवश्यकता है। देश के इस प्रकार के बुनियादी सवालों पर पार्टी से ऊपर उठकर एक राष्ट्रीय सहमति बनायी जाए। प्रधान मंत्री जी इनिशिएटिव लें। यह संसदीय प्रजातंत्र की आज की सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है। श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी के शब्दों में, पार्टियों की दीवारें बहुत छोटी होती हैं पर राष्ट्र का मंदिर बहुत ऊँचा होता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज से चालीस साल बाद संसद के एक सौ साल पूरे होने पर, हम तो नहीं रहेंगे, जब अगली पीढ़ी आएगी और सौ साल पूरे होने के बाद जब अगली पीढ़ी इसी तरह से, इसी सदन में आज का दिन, शताब्दी उत्सव मना रही होगी तब राष्ट्र संघ के खाद्य कार्यक्रम में यह न कहा जाए कि विश्व में सबसे अधिक भूखे लोग भारत में रहते हैं, तब यह न कहा जाए कि कुपोषण से करने वाले बच्चों

की संख्या दुनिया में सबसे अधिक भारत में है, तब ट्रांसपेरेंसी इंटरनेशनल को यह न कहना पड़े कि विश्व के भ्रष्ट देशों में भारत का नाम शामिल हो गया है। आज के दिन यह संकल्प करना ही आज के दिन को मनाने का सबसे बढ़िया तरीका है। अगर कुछ महत्वपूर्ण करके नहीं दिखाया तो जनता कहेगी कि एक रस्म अदा कर दी गयी, साठ साल के बाद एक कार्यक्रम कर दिया गया, रस्म अदा कर दी गयी। अगर लोकपाल का बिल पास किए बिना हम घर जाएँगे, तो मैं भी उन लोगों में शामिल हो जाऊँगा, जो यह कहेंगे कि रस्म थी, रस्म अदा कर दी गयी। 42 साल से रुका हुआ आवश्यक लेजिस्लेशन अगर हम नहीं कर पाए तो यह हमारी बहुत बड़ी विफलता होगी।

महोदय, देश के करोड़ों भारतीयों को बधाई। प्रभु शक्ति दे, हम उन महापुरुषों और शहीदों के सपनों का भारत बना सकें। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री नरेश अग्रवाल : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। इस संसद को आज 60 साल हो गए। इतनी आज़ादी तो आज हमको होनी चाहिए कि हम इस पर बोल सकें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Let us see how the time is.

श्री नरेश अग्रवाल : सर, अगर आज भी आपने हम लोगों को नियमों में बाँध दिया, तो हम अपने विचार कब व्यक्त कर पायेंगे, यह बता दीजिए। सर, 60 साल के बाद तो 75वीं साल गिरह मनेगी, तब तक गारंटी नहीं है कि हम इस सदन के सदस्य रहेंगे। जो सदस्य बोलना चाहें, उन्हें बोलने दीजिए। यह बात अकेले हम नहीं कह रहे हैं, यह सभी सदस्यों की राय है कि जो सदस्य अपने विचार रखना चाहते हैं, उनके लिए नियम को तोड़कर, आप सबको बोलने के लिए allow करने की घोषणा करें। मैं चाहूँगा कि हमारी व्यवस्था पर आप अपना जवाब दें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Actually, there are still 25 names, and we have to conclude before 4.30 p.m. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let us work out the time.

SHRI NARESH AGARWAL : You have given time to all the Independent Members. Our party has eight Members, and only one Member has been given the chance. Please give us also some time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Now, Shri H.K. Dua.

SHRI H.K. DUA (NOMINATED) : Sir, I have been associated with the Rajya Sabha in two capacities. Firstly, as a young journalist I was reporting Parliamentary proceedings sitting in the Press Gallery, and after some decades, I have landed here in the angust House. And I am privileged to share the Bench with eminent men like Prof. M.S. Swaminathan; this has been in deed a privilege. And among others, who have adorned these Benches in the poet, include none else than Dr. Zakir Husain, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, scientists like Dr. Satyendra Narayan Sinha, Dr. Raja Ramanna, Dr. Kasturirangan, and poets like Maithilisharan Gupt, Amrita Pritam, and legal luminaries like M.C. Setalvad and Shri C.K. Daphtary. Sir, to sit on these Benches adds to our responsibilities, and you are asking me to speak in just five minutes that has been allotted to me. But I would like to spare you the pain of ringing the bell.

[SHRI H.K. DUA]

Sir, all these decades, what I have seen of the Rajya Sabha and Parliament, as such, is that the House represents unity in diversity. You come any day and you will get a flavour of India in this House with all its pluses and minuses. And that has been its strength. What I am proud of this House and Parliament, as such, is that it has upheld the concept of democracy in the country. It is not a mean achievement considering that the world was laughing at our decision after Independence to give Universal Adult Franchise, to our people. Now, it marvels at our achievements in the last 64 years of our Independence. Our democracy has shown enough resilience to tackle occasional crisis that it comes to face. This House, particularly, has got united at times, amazingly to the extent which is not expected, whenever there is a common danger. It is not only the December 13 attack which was referred to in the House earlier in the debate, but it also adjusts to the political crisis rather well and comes out with a suitable response. Sir, the Rajya Sabha is not just the Council of States, but it is much more than that. Over the years, this House has evolved as a regular House of Parliament and not just a revisionary body. And it has sought to curb legislations, which come out of passions. When public agitations get exercised in the Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha has been a bit of a restraining influence and, at times, it has succeeded in becoming the people's voice as well. So, it is not just the Council of States, but it is much more than that, and its impact on policy-making and decision-making has been tremendous.

The Rajya Sabha it has been a bulwark of democracy. Recently when there were pressures from outside on Parliament, much was being said in utter moods of cynicism and much is being said even now, in the street, about Parliament and behaviour of MPs, but this House stood as a rock against those pressures, as it happened only last year, in the last couple of Sessions or so, Parliament certainly gets united to resist those pressures.

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

Recently, there were some noises made by an Army officer. Even then, Parliament spoke with one voice, 'nothing doing, there has to be supremacy of the civil authority'. In that context, the Rajya Sabha has stood up to institutional pressures on Parliamentary democracy, whether they are from the Executive, whether they are from the Judiciary, whether they are from public mobs, whether these come from Jantar Mantar Road or whether they are from Ramlila Ground. Those pressures have been withstood very ably by our Members, cutting across party lines, they have stood up, which is quite remarkable. But there is unfinished agenda before the country, before the Parliament, and certainly, before this House. Issues of governance are basic. During the last few years, people are feeling disappointed, somewhat disillusioned. Despite our tremendous achievements in 64 years, the people are getting cynical about our achievements. Related to education, we have passed, The Right to Education Act. But how long will it take to give education to every child in India? We have the RTI. Do all people know about the

RTI although, it is being misused, also? What about jobs? What about drinking water? Most of the villages in India do not have clean drinking water. Most of the villages in the country don't have even toilets, 64 years after freedom. Those are unfinished items of agenda and the massive problems involve crores of people and require massive efforts. Sir, we are fairly in the beginning, of the 21st century. Although eleven years have been already lost of the new century, we are poised to make India a great, political, economic and nuclear power of the 21st Century. There are no differences among the political parties on this one central aim, which is now guiding the political parties, hopefully so, and guiding the country, guiding the younger generation who have inherited this 21st Century. To achieve the aim, what we require is a consensus which, sometimes, is found missing. Consensus on three to four issues will help a great deal. One, is terrorism which is a major threat. It is not abated, and the tomomists can spring a surprise. Two on fighting Maoism, both on the social and economic development level and in the field otherwise. (Time-bell rings) On security challenges, both internal and external. Besides terrorism and other issues there has to be a consensus on the running of Parliament. Otherwise, the people's attitude towards MPs and Parliament will become were very cynical. Thank you very much.

SHRI NARESH GUJRAL (Punjab) : Sir, today, as we have assembled here to celebrate 60 years of Parliament, we must consider ourselves blessed and pay homage to all those brave men and women who fought relentlessly for over a century to attain our freedom. Men like Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai and countless others made the supreme sacrifice for their motherland. Others spent long years in prison so that coming generations could breathe free and shape their own destiny. This nation was fortunate enough to have visionaries such as Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and many such eminent personalities as our founding fathers. They left us rich legacy, that we so cherish, called Parliamentary Democracy. This empowered the poorest of the poor and socially downtrodden with the right to vote. Barring a few countries, Universal Adult Franchise was unheard of 65 years ago.

Sir, today, this august House must reflect and introspect if we have lived up to the expectations and dreams of our freedom fighters who sacrificed their entire lives for the 'idea of India.' There is no doubt that the country has accomplished a lot. Democracy has gone down to the grassroots, which is evident if you look at the lakhs of elected representatives from Panchayats to Parliament. It has become the binding force which holds this diverse nation together.

India has earned the respect of the world community. Our young men and women have made this country proud, especially in the field of science and technology, IT, pharmaceuticals, literature, sports and business. Our economy has grown at an enviable pace despite adverse world economic conditions.

[SHRI NARESH GUJRAL]

However, despite these massive strides in the last 65 years, the country has left behind a large section of our society which has barely been touched by the India's growth story.

Sir, roughly, 70 per cent of our population is dependent on agriculture and, unfortunately, a vast majority of these people, despite the Green Revolution, still live without safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, proper health care, decent education, electricity or proper road connectivity and above all, hope. Thousands of depressed farmers continue to commit suicide yearafter-year. Despite a huge food reserve which is going waste, millions of our toiling masses go to bed hungry. Sir, 1/3rd of our districts are victims of extremism or Naxalism and the number keeps growing. Devoid of hope, our young men and women have taken up the gun, for they feel that democracy has not only failed to impact their lives but the State has exploited them in every manner possible.

Dr. Ambedkar once remarked,

“How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality, will blow up the structure of political democracy.”

Sir, even after 65 years of Independence, we have not been able to rid ourselves from the shackles of caste and religious hatred. The girl child is still, by and large, considered a burden. We have 20 million orphan children in need of care and millions more who are physically or mentally challenged. Yet, there is no adequate State structure to deal with this problem.

Today, corruption like a cancer has eaten into the moral fiber of our society. No organ, be it the legislature, executive, judiciary or even the press, is left untouched. Money and muscle power is striking at the very root of our democracy. Almost every political party is sustained and nurtured by black money. Yet, we conveniently turn a blind eye to all that is happening around us.

Sir, today, as we are celebrating our democracy, I don't wish to be negative. There are challenges ahead. Let us take a pledge, as the highest representatives of our people, that we shall resolve to bury our political differences where national interest is involved and fight jointly to eradicate corruption by enacting a strong and effective Lokpal and make growth more inclusive by not opposing economic reforms and legislation that would positively impact the lives of our poor.

Sir, Jawaharlal Nehru said :

“Parliamentary democracy demands a large measure, of cooperation, of self-discipline, of restraint. We must endeavour to earn back the respect of our people which has certainly been compromised in recent years.”

Finally, we must bring back hope and provide succor to the marginalized and dispossessed.

Sir, if we fail in our task and let our people down, history shall never forgive us and as the poet Azeem Nizami wrote:

ये ज़ब्र भी देखा है तारीख़ की नज़रों ने
लम्हों ने ख़ता की थी, सदियों ने सज़ा पाई।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya. Take only five minutes.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Assam) : Thank you, Vice-Chairman, Sir, for having given me this opportunity to speak on this historic occasion.

Sir, on this occasion, I would like to salute those who fought for the freedom of the country. I would also like to salute those who fought for the rights of the people and for strengthening democracy in our country. On this historic occasion, I would also like to greet each and every Member of Parliament, as also the people of India. We are celebrating the sixty years' journey of our Parliament today. On this historic occasion, I would like to congratulate Rishan Keishingji who hails from the North-Eastern Region. He was elected to the Lok Sabha from the State of Manipur in 1952. He had fought that election as a Praja Socialist Party candidate.

Sir, in these last sixty years, the State of Assam faced several serious problems. On all such occasions, Members of Parliament hailing from that Region worked to protect the interests of their people. I would like to give you a small example, Sir. In 1962, when China had attacked India, the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said a 'goodbye' to the people of Assam, at that time, our Member of Parliament, late Hem Barua, had fought in Parliament to protect the interests of the State, especially against the announcement made by the late Prime Minister. On this historic occasion, I would like to salute late Shri Hem Barujaji.

Sir, I would also like to salute Shri Dinesh Goswami. In 1983, * elections were imposed on Assam. Many people were killed during these elections.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA (Assam) : I am on a point of order, Sir. The word * should be expunged, Sir. When elections are held according to the the Constitution of India, they cannot be called *.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. K. KURIEN) : All right.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA : Okay, Sir. But the fact is that people who were declared elected had got only three per cent votes. These elections had been

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA]

held against the wishes of the people of Assam. I was a member of Parliament even then ...*Interruptions...*

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD : Sir, what is this? Why is he not being allowed to speak? What he is saying is a part of history. Everybody knows that. He should be allowed to speak ...*Interruptions...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : All right. That is his view. Your point is valid.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA : So, Sir, our Members of Parliament had at that time fought for the rights of the people in Parliament.

Then, Sir, everybody is talking about black money today. Electoral reforms is the need of the hour. Without electoral reforms, we cannot strengthen our democracy. I would like to request all Members of Parliament to think seriously about this aspect. I would also like to request everybody here to see to it that the Dinesh Goswami Commission report for electoral reforms in our country is implemented.

Sir, in democracy, rights of the media are a very important aspect. Our Parliament has always upheld the rights of the media. On this occasion, I would like to quote the speech of late Shri Feroze Gandhi who spoke in 1956 in favour of upholding the rights of the media. I quote, "This is not your House or my House. It is the House of the people. It is on their behalf that we speak and function in this Chamber. These people have the right to know what their chosen representatives say and do." This was a part of the speech given by late Shri Feroze Gandhi in favour of upholding the rights of the media.

Sir, today, we are celebrating 60 years of journey of the Indian Parliament. We are Members of the Rajya Sabha. We are representatives of the States. We speak on behalf of the respective States. But there is a problem. Small States have only one or two Members in this House.

[3.00 P.M.]

Although all Members have equal right to speak in this House, all Members are not getting equal time for speaking, to reflect the opinion of their respective States. So, some change is necessary in the interest of those Members who come from small States so that they get equal right to express their points, on behalf of their people. Sir, a change in this mechanism is required in the interest of the House. I think, everybody would rise above and look at this problem seriously. I would appeal to everybody to look into our problem. Each and every Member, maybe from small State or big State, should get the equal time to speak.

On this occasion, I would like to salute those who fought for the fundamental

rights of this country. I would like to say one more thing, Sir. I am always in favour of the supremacy of this Parliament. The supremacy of the Parliament should be maintained at any cost.

While concluding, again I would like to salute those who fought for the Freedom Struggle of our country. I would also congratulate Rishang Keishingji who got elected to Lok Sabha in the year 1952. Thank you, Sir.

DR. V. MAITREYAN : Sir, when we sit at the Central Hall for a cup of coffee, we would like to watch the proceedings of this House. But, there, the TV monitors are showing only the Lok Sabha proceedings and the Rajya Sabha proceedings are not shown. I request you to kindly look into this thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : I ask the Secretary-General to look into this.

SHRI SATISH CHANDRA MISRA: Sir, the hon. Prime Minister was in the House then ...*Interruptions*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : ठीक है, मैं इसको दिखवाला हूँ कि क्या हुआ है? It will be taken care of. Ram Kripal Yadavji now. I request all Members to stick to the five minutes' time.

श्री रामविलास पासवान (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, उन्होंने जो मामला उठाया है, उस पर आपका क्या कहना है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं?

श्री रामविलास पासवान : उन्होंने जो कहा कि सेंट्रल हॉल में सिर्फ दो ही टी.वी. सेट्स चलते हैं। ...*(व्यवधान)*... वहाँ सिर्फ लोक सभा चैनल ही दिखाया जा रहा है, राज्य सभा चैनल नहीं दिखाया जा रहा है। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : The Parliamentary Affairs Minister would like to react on this. Mr. Minister, only the Lok Sabha channel is shown.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Only Lok Sabha channel is shown and not Rajya Sabha channel ...*(व्यवधान)*... आप कहिए कि हम राज्य सभा का ही चलाएँगे। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : वे इसके बारे में बताएँगे। ...*(व्यवधान)*... प्लीज़, प्लीज़ ...*(व्यवधान)*...

संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री राजीव शुक्ल) : सर, वहाँ शाम के फंक्शन की तैयारी चल रही है, इसलिए ...*(व्यवधान)*... मैं बता रहा हूँ कि सेंट्रल हॉल में शाम के फंक्शन की तैयारी चल रही है। उसमें टी.वी. पर बार-बार देख कर उसका ट्रायल किया जा रहा है। अगर वहाँ राज्य सभा चैनल नहीं चल रहा है, तो पूरे देश में तो यह दिखाई दे रहा है। आप अपनी बात कहिए और पूरे देश को सुनाइए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री रामविलास पासवान : वहाँ लोक सभा चैनल चल रहा है, तो राज्य सभा चैनल भी चलाने में क्या दिक्कत है? ...(व्यवधान)... सेंट्रल हॉल सिर्फ लोक सभा के लिए नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राजीव शुक्ल : वहाँ एक ही टी.वी. चल रहा है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सतीश चन्द्र मिश्रा : आप तो इसी सदन के हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रामविलास पासवान : आप राज्य सभा के ही सदस्य हैं, ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राजीव शुक्ल : इस पर राजनीति नहीं। ...(व्यवधान).... उसमें लोक सभा चैनल चल रहा है, तो उसको बदल कर राज्य सभा चैनल कर देते हैं। उस पर लोक सभा वाले भी चिल्लाएँगे। ...(व्यवधान).... अभी चलने दीजिए। ...(व्यवधान).... आप चिन्ता मत करिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सतीश चन्द्र मिश्रा : वहाँ एक में News 24 चल रहा है और दूसरे में लोकसभा चैनल ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : The point is that both should be shown. Rajya Sabha proceedings showing should not be secondary. राम कृपाल जी, सिर्फ पाँच मिनट। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव (बिहार) : सिर्फ पाँच मिनट? ...(व्यवधान).... सर, हमारी संसद के 60 बरस हो गए, आप हमें क्यों कंट्रोल कर रहे हैं?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : हाँ, कंट्रोल होना है।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : आज़ादी के साथ बोलने दीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : बोलिए, बोलिए।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : धन्यवाद, सर। आज हम सब एक ऐतिहासिक अवसर को यादगार बनाने के लिए एकत्र हुए हैं। हमारी यह संसद साठ साल की हो गयी है। यह हमारे लोकतंत्र की सफलता का प्रमाण है। यह कहने में कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं कि संसद लोकतंत्र का मन्दिर, मस्जिद, गिरिजाघर और गुरुद्वारा है। इन पूजा-स्थलों के प्रति जो पवित्र भाव हमारे मन में होता है, वही पवित्र भाव संसद के प्रति भी हमारे मन में होना चाहिए। संसद की सदस्यता ग्रहण करते समय हम जो शपथ लेते हैं, उसमें वही भाव है कि अपने संविधान में आस्था रखते हुए देश के हित में बिना किसी राग या द्वेष के अपने कर्तव्यों का निष्ठापूर्वक निर्वहन करेंगे।

यह पवित्र भाव ही संसद की मार्यादा और गरिमा है। हमें हर हालत में अपने आचरण और व्यवहार से इस गरिमा की रक्षा करनी चाहिए, तभी लोकतंत्र के इस मंदिर की पवित्रता को हम बरकरार रख सकते हैं।

महोदय, आधुनिक काल में 15 अगस्त, 1947 ई. को स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद एक नए युग का आरंभ हुआ। हमारे स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के महापुरुषों और राष्ट्रीय नेताओं ने स्वतंत्र भारत के लिए संसदीय लोकतंत्र को स्वीकार किया। संविधान सभा के पहले अस्थायी अध्यक्ष डॉ. सच्चिदानन्द सिन्हा बने। इसके बाद स्थाई अध्यक्ष डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को बनाया गया। यह हमारे लिए गौरव की बात इसलिए है, क्योंकि ये दोनों महानपुरुष यानी डॉ. सच्चिदानन्द बाबू और डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद बिहार की धरती के पुत्र थे। हम इनको नमन करना चाहते हैं, इनके प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करना चाहते हैं। 19 अगस्त, 1947 ई. को संविधान सभा की प्रारूप समिति गठित हुई, जिसके अध्यक्ष डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर बने। उनकी अध्यक्षता में 24 जनवरी, 1950 को संविधान के प्रारूप को अंतिम रूप दिया गया और 26 जनवरी, 1950 को संविधान के प्रारूप को

अंतिम रूप दिया गया और 26 जनवरी, 1950 को भारत गणतंत्र घोषित होने के साथ हमारा संविधान लागू हो गया।

सर, आज हम डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के प्रति भी उनके चरणों में श्रद्धा-सुमन अर्पित करते हैं। हम salute उनको करते हैं, क्योंकि अगर डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर नहीं होते, तो शायद हमारे जैसे गरीब तबके के लोग आज पार्लियामेंट में नहीं आ पाते। यह गौरवशाली इतिहास उनको याद रखने का काम करेगा।

सर, भारत के संविधान के अनुरूप प्रथम आम चुनाव 1951-52 में हुए, जिसके फलस्वरूप पहली संसद का गठन हुआ। सन् 1952 में गठित यह संसद 2012 में अपनी यात्रा का साठ साल पूरा कर रही है। इन साठ वर्षों में इसने बहुत उतार-चढ़ाव देखे। तब से लेकर अब तक साठ वर्षों का एक लम्बा सफर संसद ने तय किया है। हमारी संसदीय प्रणाली में ब्रिटेन या अन्य देशों की तरह द्विदलीय व्यवस्था नहीं है, बल्कि यहाँ बहु-दलीय व्यवस्था है। इससे हमारा लोकतंत्र मजबूत हुआ है। सातवें दशक तक संसद में एक दल, यानी कांग्रेस का ही बहुमत हुआ करता था, किन्तु 1977 के बाद यह परिदृश्य बदल गया। भारत के संसदीय इतिहास में एक नए दौर की शुरुआत हुई। संसद में अब किसी एक दल के बहुमत की बजाय गठबंधन का युग आ गया और लगातार विभिन्न दलों के माध्यम से हम गठबंधन की सरकार को चलाने का काम कर रहे हैं।

अपने 60 साल के जीवन में हमारी संसद ने भीतरी और बाहरी अनेक प्रकार के संकटों का मुकाबला किया है। 13 दिसम्बर, 2001 में तो यह संसद आतंकी हमलों का शिकार बन चुकी है, वह काला दिन था। उस समय दलीय सीमाओं से ऊपर उठ कर पूरी संसद ने जिस साहस और एकजुटता का परिचय दिया, वह इसकी परिपक्वता और दृढ़ता का सूचक है। संसद के भीतर कई बार अग्रिय स्थिति भी बन जाती है, जिससे संसद की मर्यादा पर चोट पहुँचती है। समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों में सांसदों के आचरण और व्यवहार को लेकर तल्ख टिप्पणियाँ भी की जाती हैं। संसद की सर्वोच्चता पर सवाल खड़े किए जाते हैं। अतः यह आवश्यक है कि जागरूक जन प्रतिनिधि के रूप में संसद के सदस्य अपने संवैधानिक दायित्वों का निर्वहन करें, ताकि संसद की गरिमा अक्षुण्ण रहे।

डॉ. राम मनोहर लोहिया ने संसद में अपने भाषण में एक बार कहा था, “संसद को देश की जनता का दर्पण होना चाहिए और यह दर्पण जितना साफ होगा, जनता की तस्वीर उतनी ही साफ दिखाई देगी।” डॉ. लोहिया का इशारा था कि जनता की ताकत से ही संसद का गठन होता है, इसलिए उस जनता की सही-सही आवाज संसद में उठनी चाहिए। (समय की घंटी)।

महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था में संसदीय प्रणाली और संसद सर्वोपरि है, लेकिन आज हमारी संसदीय प्रणाली को अस्त-व्यस्त करने की एक साजिश हो रही है। साजिश यह हो रही है कि जो गरीब तबके के लोग पहले इस पार्लियामेंट में नहीं आया करते थे, जो पिछड़े और दलित समाज के लोग पहले इस पार्लियामेंट में नहीं आया करते थे, अब वे आने लगे हैं, तो जिन्होंने भारतीय संस्कृति, सभ्यता और शिक्षा पर हमेशा अपना वर्चस्व रखने का काम किया है ...**(व्यवधान)**... वैसी ताकतें और शक्तियाँ आज हम लोगों को पार्लियामेंट में आने से रोकना चाहती है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... इसलिए इस पर भी ख्याल करना चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Now, Shri G. N. Ratanpuri.

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : सर, यह मेरा लास्ट प्वाइंट है।

सर, मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ कि आज हम देश की पार्लियामेंट के 60 साल मना रहे हैं, लेकिन निश्चित तौर पर इस देश की आज़ादी के 65 साल बाद भी इस देश का जो अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय है, ...**(व्यवधान)**... उसके साथ भेदभाव बढ़ता जा रहा है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : राम कृपाल जी, अब आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... राम के नाम पर आप अपने को रोक लीजिए और बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : जो गरीब तबके के लोग हैं, उनके हितों को आज इग्नोर किया जा रहा है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : छः मिनट हो गये, अब आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : अगर आप देश की इतनी बड़ी आबादी को इग्नोर करने का काम करेंगे ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : अब रतनपुरी जी ने बोलना शुरू कर दिया है, बस, अब आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... हो गया, अब आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : अगर आप उसके अधिकारों को देने का काम नहीं करेंगे, तो लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था अस्त-व्यस्त हो जाएगी। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : नहीं, नहीं। अब आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... बस, अब आपका हो गया। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : इसलिए मैं इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों से निवेदन करूँगा कि आइए, हम सोचें कि वह वर्ग और वह तबका, जिसको हमने अधिकार देने का काम नहीं किया है, ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : It is no more going on record. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : It is not going on record. ...**(Interruptions)**... No, please. You always take this extra freedom. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : मैं क्या करूँ? ...**(व्यवधान)**... राम कृपाल जी, आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप मेरे बड़े अच्छे दोस्त हैं, आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... क्या करें, अभी बहुत लोगों को बोलना है, राम कृपाल जी, आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... बैठिए।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आपका नाम अच्छा है। आप राम के नाम पर कृपा कर दीजिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... अब आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : It is not going on record. ...**(Interruptions)**... It cannot go like this. ...**(Interruptions)**... It is not going on record. ...**(Interruptions)**...

अब बोलने से क्या फायदा है, यह रिकॉर्ड पर नहीं जा रहा है? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

* Not recorded.

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आप सात मिनट बोल चुके। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : It is not going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Everybody is taking five minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... आप बोलिए।

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Ram Kripalji, it is unfair. ... This is unfair. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is unfair. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please, ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, hon. Members, it is not my fault. We have to conclude it at 4.30. ...*(Interruptions)*... There are still 18 speakers. This is my problem. Otherwise, I would like Ram Kripalji to speak for one hour, I have no problem. ...*(Interruptions)*... Ratanpuriji, take only five minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI (JAMMU AND KASHMIR) : Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I would like to start with a quote from an interview of the eldest Member of this House. Sixty years ago when Mr. Reishing Keishing met the Prime Minister for the first time in the corridors of this august House, he wanted to know whether Mr. Nehru would like to meet emissaries. ...*(Interruptions)*... Ravi Shankar Prasadji, Shri Keishing will be the last speaker. Mr. Keishing wanted to know whether Mr. Nehru would like to meet an emissary of Naga rebel Zapu Phizo. “Why should I meet them?” retorted the Prime Minister and Mr. Keishing protested, “Why are you shouting at me? I wanted to hear a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ from you.” Sir, if somebody’s house is on fire, heaven has no attraction for him. North-East and Jammu & Kashmir are witnessing violence for more than six decades. These have been probably the most important political issues with international ramifications confronting the nation for the last 60 years. These issues, particularly Kashmir issue, have dominated the newspaper columns, discussions in office chambers and in the drawing rooms of bureaucrats, journalists and intelligence officers, working and retired. Ironically, it has not attracted enough attention of the Parliament of India, while world over authors have rolled out hundreds of books on this subject.

Our approach has swung from one extreme to another, from lackadaisical to neurotic anxiety. At one moment, the hon. Prime Minister has enough time to watch all the TV discussions on the issue, he stops in the lobby of this House to seek suggestions from the least wise Member, among this repository of wisdom and solicits his frequent

* Not recorded.

[SHRI G.N. RATANPURI]

meetings. But soon he discovers that he cannot spare 10 minutes for first audience in two years to this very Member.

I am thankful to Ms. Mayavati for mentioning the Kashmir problem in her speech. She had rightly diagnosed that political interests have overtaken the national interest. One cannot disagree with the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Arun Jaitley, when he says that while celebrating and rejoicing the 60th Anniversary of the first sitting of the Parliament we also have to introspect. I am encouraged by the esteemed colleagues, particularly, young parliamentarians, whose idealism has not been consumed by electoral politics and party interests. And, I give a call for true justice and reconciliation in Jammu & Kashmir.

The nations, which fought each other for hundreds of years have obliterated the borders, have now common economies, common currency and common agenda. They are sharing all, good and bad, and growing stronger and stronger day by day. Why cannot we forget the past for those who strayed for a while, whom we used to call बच्चे भूले भटके हुए? We asked them to come back home when they were wielding guns. And, once they have turned back to home, we cannot discriminate against the people who are distantly relatives of erstwhile militants or anybody who had, at certain point of time, taken to international activities. We cannot move forward if we do not forget and forgive. Magnanimity is expected from the stronger party. It cannot go on promising moon and saying sky is the limit, but not being generous when it comes to delivery. Why should we expect selective amnesia? As hon. Shri Sitaram Yechuri has said, we are starting a new chapter. Let us unshackle the unfortunate from the burden of past. (Time-Bellings) मेरे दो मिनट पहले ही कंज्यूम हो चुके थे, उनके बोलने के कारण।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : बस, हो गया।

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : No law provides for punishment to an orphan or a widow for the sins of their father or husband. आपने ऐन उसी वक्त पर घंटी बजा दी जब मैं generosity की अपील कर रहा था। We are a small party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Everybody is being given five minutes.

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : Nobody should suffer for the wrong doings of his relatives. I request the hon. Prime Minister and this august House to revisit the rehabilitation policy and include every orphan and widow in it, provide a chance to every Indian child with equal opportunities to grow and develop into a responsible citizen. Only then we may have claim to being a civilized and democratic society. Many promising and capable students have been denied passports and, thus, opportunity to avail scholarships and higher studies at institutions of international repute, outside the country, only because they are distantly related to somebody who was involved in

some anti-national activity at certain point of time. (Time-Bellings) Sir, I understand that time may not be right to address the larger political issue, but don't expect the time to solve all issues. The solution to our problem will come from Gandhian philosophy, and not Machiavellian policy and machinations. (Time-Bellings) Dr. Karan Singh has put it, "India is identified with moral and spiritual achievements and our economic strength and political influence come after that." We may not grant autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir now, but nothing should stop us from giving economic autonomy, stability and fair share of resources to this State. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Okay. Thank you very much. ...(*Interruptions*)... Thank you. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : Jammu & Kashmir has been deprived of its own waters through Indus Water Treaty. (Time-Bellings) Annual losses have been estimated as Rs. 6,500 crores and these losses need to be compensated. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Okay. You have made all the important points. Now conclude. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : Sir, just one more minute please. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : No; no.

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : This needs to be compensated. Tourism is the backbone of Jammu & Kashmir economy and if the Government of India does not provide 100 per cent funding for development of tourism infrastructure, we would not be able to harness it. (Time-Bellings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : No; no. You have already taken seven minutes. ...(*Interruptions*)... Please take your seat. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : Sir, the last word. (Time-Bellings) The sense of discrimination, deprivation and disempowerment should be removed from wherever it is. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Okay. Please take your seat. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G.N. RATANPURI : Be it the North-East or be it the Jammu & Kashmir. ...(*Interruptions*)... Thank you, Sir.

श्री रामविलास पासवान : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सब से पहले मैं रिशांग कीशिंग जी को बहुत-बहुत नमन करता हूँ कि वे हमारे बीच में, इस House of Elders में सब से elder मेम्बर के रूप में उपस्थित हैं। हम सब लोग उनका स्वागत करते हैं। हमारी तमन्ना है कि वे सैकड़ों साल जिंदा रहें और इसी तरह से हम लोगों का मार्गदर्शन करते रहें।

सर, ज्यादा समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं कुछ points यहाँ रखना चाहता हूँ। देश की आज़ादी का मुख्य मुद्दा "वोट का राज" था और "वोट के राज" का मतलब "छोट का राज" होता है अर्थात जितना

[श्री रामविलास पासवान]

अधिकार देश के राष्ट्रपति को है, उतना ही अधिकार चपरासी को भी है, जितना अधिकार राजा को है, उतना ही अधिकार प्रजा को भी है, लेकिन आज दुर्भाग्य से वोट का राज खत्म करने की साज़िश चल रही है जब कि इसी वोट के राज की वजह से आज़ादी के 60 साल बाद भी देश में प्रजातंत्र की जड़ें और मजबूत हो रही हैं। सर, आज उस राज को खत्म करने की साज़िश हो रही है। आज इस बात की जरूरत है कि पार्लियामेंट को एकजुट रहना चाहिए और देखना चाहिए कि देश में “छोट का राज” खत्म न होने पाए।

सर, मैं 1969 में, आज से 43 साल पहले एमएलए बना था और 1977 में एमपी बना। मैं उस समय दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा वोटों से जीता जिस कारण गिनीज बुक ऑर रिकॉर्ड्स में मेरा नाम भी दर्ज है, सर, रिशांग कीशिंग साहब भी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी से चुनकर आए थे और हम लोग भी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी से थे। मैं जब एमएलए बना था तो उस समय ideology की राजनीति चलती थी। हम लोग सुयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में गीत गाते थे :

“संसोपा ने बाँधी गांठ, पिछड़ा पावे सौ में साठ।
राजपाठ है किसके हाथ, अंग्रेजी और ऊँची जात।
ऊँची जात की क्या पहचान, गिटपिट बोले करे न काम।
छोटी जात की क्या पहचान, करे काम और सहे अपमान।
अंग्रेज यहाँ से चले गए, अंग्रेजी को भी जाना है,
अंग्रेजी में काम न होगा, फिर से देश गुलाम न होगा।
राष्ट्रपति का बेटा हो या चपरासी की हो संतान,
बिरला या गरीब का बेटा, सबकी शिक्षा एक-समान।
करखनिया दामों की कीमत, आने खर्च से ड्योढ़ा हो,
अन्न के दाम की घटती बढ़ती, आने सेर के भीतर हो।
सौ से कम न हजार से ज्यादा, समाजवाद का यही तकाज़ा।”

सर, इस तरह की ideology हम लोग सुनने का काम करते थे, लेकिन हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि श्री नंदी येल्लैया साउथ के हैं, लेकिन ये हमेशा हिंदी में बोलते हैं और कुछ लोग नॉर्थ के हैं, वे हमेशा अंग्रेजी में बात करते हैं।

दूसरी बात social revolution यानी सामाजिक चेतना की है। इस देश में नेता की कमी नहीं है, इस देश में नीति की भी कमी नहीं है, लेकिन इस देश में सबसे बड़ी कमी नेताओं की नीयत की है। यदि हमारी नीयत साफ हो जाए तो जैसा कि बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर ने कहा था कि 10 साल के बाद देश में आरक्षण की आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी, लेकिन आज भी स्थिति ज्यों-की-त्यों है। हमें सबसे अधिक दुःख इस बात का है कि जो विधायिका है, जो कार्यपालिका है और जो न्यायपालिका है - इन तीनों का जो दायरा है, उसमें हम लोग अपने-अपने दायरे में रहते हैं, लेकिन न्यायपालिका अपने दायरे से बाहर चली जाती है। मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि मंडल कमीशन का मामला आया, जोकि पिछड़ी जाति को अधिकार देने के बारे में था, लेकिन न्यायपालिका ने मंडल कमीशन के ऊपर जजमेंट में कह दिया कि अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति के लोगों को पाँच साल के बाद प्रमोशन में रिजर्वेशन नहीं रहेगा। उसके लिए सन् 1977 में संविधान संशोधन हुआ। बाद में कहा कि seniority नहीं रहेगी और फिर संविधान संशोधन हुआ। फिर कहा कि 50 परसेंट से ज्यादा रिजर्वेशन नहीं रहेगा, फिर उसका संविधान संशोधन हुआ। फिर कहा कि efficiency के ऊपर compromise नहीं होगा, फिर उस पर वर्ष 1995 में दो बार संविधान संशोधन हुआ और दो बार वर्ष 2000 में हुआ और जब नागराज का केस गया तो उस पर आदेश आया कि प्रमोशन में रिजर्वेशन रहेगा, लेकिन कई क्लॉज लगा दिए। इसका मतलब क्या है?

सर, यहाँ समाज के गरीब और हर तबके के लोग चुनकर आते हैं। हम यहाँ कानून बनाते हैं, लेकिन न्यायपालिका में जाकर वह उलट दिया जाता है। इसीलिए हम बार-बार माँग करते हैं कि यदि इस देश को मजबूत करना है तो न्यायपालिका में भी आरक्षण की आवश्यकता है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी आरक्षण की आवश्यकता है। आज हमारी मीडिया के सब साथी हैं, आप developed countries में चले जाइए, वहाँ मीडिया के चार आदमियों में से एक आदमी ब्लैक दिखायी देगा, लेकिन यहाँ आपको एक भी आदमी अनुसूचित जाति का नहीं मिलेगा, एक अनुसूचित जनजाति का नहीं मिलेगा, हो सकता है कि बैकवर्ड क्लास का आदमी कहीं-कहीं मिल जाए। इसलिए प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी आरक्षण की आवश्यकता है।

चौथी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आदिवासियों की अपनी समस्या है। आज नक्सलाइट कहाँ है? आदिवासियों के यहाँ है। नक्सलाइट किस क्षेत्र में है और क्यों है? क्योंकि नक्सलाइट वाले क्षेत्र में सबसे ज्यादा खनिज पदार्थ हैं, आदिवासियों हम संपत्ति लेते हैं, लेकिन उसमें उनको हिस्सेदारी नहीं देते हैं। नतीजा यह है कि वहाँ आज नक्सलाइट बढ़ रहा है। आप हमेशा याद रखिए कि गरीब का आँसू तब तक आँसू रहता है जब तक वह पानी रहता है, लेकिन जब आँसू तेजाब बन जाता है तो इतिहास के पन्ने को चीरता हुआ निकल जाता है। जमीन के नीचे गर्म पदार्थ हैं। यदि जमीन से इस गर्म पदार्थ को धीरे-धीरे निकलने का मौका दिया तो ज्वालामुखी नहीं फूटता है और यदि उसे दबाकर रखने की कोशिश की तो ज्वालामुखी फूटता है और जब ज्वालामुखी फूटता है, तो विनाश होता है। अंग्रेजी में एक कहावत है- 'He that is down needs fear no fall.' 'जो सबसे नीचे होता है, उसे गिरने का भय नहीं होता है। आज हमारी पार्लियामेंट को साठ साल हो रहे हैं। हमने संविधान के प्रीएम्बल में लिखा था कि हम भारत के लोग शपथ लेते हैं कि हम सामाजिक न्याय, आजादी, स्वतंत्रता को कायम रखेंगे। आज हमें इसको फिर से दोहराने की आवश्यकता है और जात-पात, धर्म-मजहब से ऊपर उठकर काम करना है। अब जैसे रोड है, रोड में कोई गड्ढा होता है तो आप वहाँ ज्यादा मिट्टी देने का, कंकरीट देने का काम करते हैं, उसी तरह से समाज में जो पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं आप उनको विशेष अवसर देकर समान धरातल पर लाइए। यदि किसी दिन लोकतंत्र को खतरा होगा, तो यह अमीरी-गरीबी का जो फर्क है, उससे होगा। एक तरफ अमीरी का कैलाश और दूसरी तरफ जो गरीबी का पाताल है, इसी से ही कभी देश को खतरा हो सकता है। हमारा लोकतंत्र जो पिछले 60 सालों में मजबूत हुआ है, इसके लिए हम भारतवासियों को और विशेषकर पार्लियामेंट के दोनों सदनों, लोक सभा और राज्य सभा के सभी सदस्यों को धन्यवाद देना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि सबने मिलकर इस संस्था को मजबूत बनाया है। हमें चाहे कोई कितनी गाली दे, चाहे कितना भी कुछ कहे, लेकिन हमारी जो पार्लियामेंट है इसकी अपनी संवरता है, अपना इतिहास है और यह इतिहास हमेशा अमर रहेगा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Then, Lalming Liana; not present. Then, Shri Biswajit Daimary; not present. He is usually present. Now, Shri Khekiho Zhimomi; not present. ...(*Interruptions*)... No, this is done on the basis of certain principles. We can't call all persons. We have to give representation to every group. You heard the complaint here that small groups are not given time. So, here, we are giving representation to every small group. So, I have to call the names. If they are present, they will speak. But if they are not present, the others can get the time. But I have to call them. Okay. Then, Dr. Barun Mukherji. Dr. Mukherji, you must be happy to get a chance so early because others are absent.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI (West Bengal) : Thank you, Sir, for having given me this opportunity.

Since the transfer of power on 15th August 1947, India, i.e., Bharat, enacted its own Constitution through the Constituent Assembly in 1949, which followed the creation of our Parliament with two Houses, namely, the Council of States and the House of the People in 1952, when the Parliament of our country, the largest democracy in the world, crosses today the threshold of the 60th year of which we are very proud and honoured indeed.

Since the Parliament functions in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, we may recall its Preamble outlining its basic objectives which states, “We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; in our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.”

In view of this solemn Preamble of our Constitution, we may assess the performance of the Parliament and revisit the sixty years of journey of Indian Parliament.

Fortunately, we have volumes of compilation of Parliament proceedings and commentaries. In fact, compilation of our Parliamentary proceedings in different languages along with simultaneous translations are, indeed, very commendable. All these communicated to us the many dramatic and exciting moments in Parliament during the last 60 years. Through careful readings, it is as if we are listening to the many eloquent speeches delivered on the floor of this House by distinguished Members of Parliament, such as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, Annaji, Shri Hiren Mukherjee, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohiya, Madhu Limaye, Chitta Basu, Tridib Chaudhury and many others during the past decades. These distinguished Members impressed the House not through high-pitched voices, but more by emotion and arguments. Many scams and exciting incidents were exposed in the House. This created an additional interest for the people and the media. Moreover, the Indian Parliament had the additional responsibility of handling many regional languages, reflecting our diversity, which the Parliament of many countries in Asia, Europe or America do not have to face. The Indian Parliament has done this job creditably. Incidentally, it should be noted that our Parliament Library is one of the biggest in Asia. We should further improve the regional languages collection. It goes without saying that no MP can improve his performance without the help of an updated reference library service.

Sir, sixty years of Indian Parliament have definitely contributed a lot to improve and strengthen our Parliamentary democratic system. This is well reflected through a large number of innovative practice and procedures followed in our Parliament. A

well-documented, big volume of practice and procedure of Parliament by M.N. Kaul and S.L. Shakhder published for the Lok Sabha Secretariat would testify this. We fully agree with his observation that the Parliament of India, being the political nerve centre of our country, plays a pivotal role in keeping our system of governance vibrant.

Sir, in the functioning of our Parliament, it must be admitted that the Opposition has always played, more so in recent times, a vital role irrespective of who is in the Ruling or the Opposition side. Of late, a single-Party majority rule has become almost a thing of the past. Presently, it is an age of coalition which is always not based on ideological affinity, but rather a proximity of convenience. Many a time, it creates obstacles in governance. Still, it is accepted as a compulsion of coalition politics.

Sir, the other aspect of the Indian Parliamentary system is the tendency of political bipolarization, as is commonly practised in the two-Party system of the UK or the USA. This may not help in changing the basic economic policy of the Government and, hence, may not be beneficial for the suffering people. On the other hand, conflict and competitiveness between Right and Left Wing politics may lead to building a better socio-economic polity. Incidentally, we may recall a great idea advocated by the most distinguished Speaker of the Indian Parliament, the late Shri G.V. Mavalankar. It will be clear that though questions would be decided by majorities, Parliamentary Government will not be possible if it is reduced to a mere counting of heads or hands. If we are to go merely by majority, we shall be fostering the seeds of fascism, violence and revolt. If, on the other hand, we could help to foster a spirit of tolerance, a spirit of freedom to discuss, and a spirit of understanding, we shall be fostering the spirit of democracy.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to make a couple of observations about our Parliamentary system.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude. You don't have much time left. You have already taken six minutes.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE : Sir, I would take one more minute. Firstly, I appreciate the great importance of the Parliamentary Standing Committees attached to the various Ministries.

These Committees have a vital role in scrutinizing an incoming Bill and giving important suggestions. But I feel that these Committees should be made more serious in functioning with active participation of all Members of Parliament. (Time-bellings) Secondly, of late, some sort of gross accusations against the MPs are often thrown by a section of people or media. There are charges of corruption, malpractice, use of money and muscle power in elections. Allegations are also made about the suitability of status of one to become an MP. (Time-bellings) It is also alleged that Parliament has

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become a house of disorder ...(*Interruptions*)... All this has tarnished the image of MPs as a whole. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please take your seat. You have already taken seven minutes.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : It is a matter of concern. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : You have already taken two minutes extra. ...(*Interruptions*)... We have to conclude at 4.30. ...(*Interruptions*)... That is the problem. ...(*Interruptions*)...

DR. BARUN MUKHERJI : All these charges may not be correct in all cases. But still we cannot ignore them. It is a matter of selfintrospection.

श्री रणवीर सिंह प्रजापति (हरियाणा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारी संसद ने साठ साल पूरे किए हैं। 1952 में हमारी पार्लियामेंट का गठन हुआ था। बाबा भीमराव अम्बेडकर की अगुआई में जब हमारा संविधान बना, तब संविधान निर्माताओं ने इस बात का प्रयास किया कि समाज के अंदर हर वर्ग का हित सुरक्षित हो और पार्लियामेंट के अंदर बैठने वाले सदस्यों की यह जिम्मेदारी है कि किसी भी वर्ग के साथ कोई अन्याय न हो, लेकिन आज दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि समाज के अंदर जो **most backward** तबका है, वह आज भी शोषित है और उसके साथ न्याय नहीं हो रहा है। देश में जहाँ **Backward Classes** को 27 परसेंट आरक्षण मिला हुआ है, वहीं हरियाणा प्रदेश के अंदर अब भी **Backward Class** के लोगों को **Class One and Class Two** में केवल 10 परसेंट आरक्षण ही मिला हुआ है, यानी जो हक उनको मिलना चाहिए, वह उन्हें नहीं मिल रहा है। पार्लियामेंट में हम जो बिल पास करते हैं, उसमें हमें इस तरह की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि देश के अंदर किसी भी वर्ग के लोगों के साथ अन्याय न हो, क्योंकि हमारा समाज एक जातिगत समाज है और उसी हिसाब से विभिन्न जातियाँ विभिन्न वर्गों के अंदर आती हैं, इसलिए उनको न्याय मिलना ही चाहिए।

महोदय, हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है, लेकिन आज देश में किसानों की हालत ज्यादा अच्छी नहीं है। आज कहीं अगर किसानों की फसल अच्छी हो जाती है, तो उनको पूरा भाव नहीं दिया जाता। उनको अच्छे बीज भी उपलब्ध नहीं कराए जाते, तो यह हम सबकी जिम्मेदारी बनती है कि अपने देश के किसानों का हम विशेष तौर से ध्यान रखें। आज भी मंडियों में, जैसे हमारे हरियाणा में गेहूँ पड़ा हुआ है और सरकार की तरफ से उसको उठाने की और पूरे भाव देने की कोई समुचित व्यवस्था नहीं है। इस तरह की जो बातें हैं, उनमें हम सबकी जिम्मेदारी बनती है, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ ज्यादा न बोलते हुए मैं पुनः आप सबको बधाई देता हूँ कि हमारी संसद ने बढ़िया तरीके से आज साठ साल पूरे किए हैं, धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Shri Sanjiv Kumar; not present.
Shri Rajeev Chandrasekhar.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR (KARNATAKA) : Sir, can I take his three minutes?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : If you want his time, you should be ready to give your funds also. Are you ready for that?

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : I will stick to five-minute limit.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY : Sir, in the morning, you were very strict.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Now, some Members are absent.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : Sir, many of my colleagues have spoken today about the history of Parliament, and what they have said reminds us about idealism, strong sense of duty, service and commitment.

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : सर, उनके जो तीन मिनट बच गए हैं, वह हमें दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : उनका टाइम आपको दे देंगे, फिर क्या आपका एमपी फंड उन्हें दे दें?

श्री राम कृपाल यादव : आप कहेंगे तो आपको भी दे देंगे।

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : Sir, the history of our Parliament, through the last six decades, reminds us about the idealism, the strong sense of duty, service and commitment to the idea of India that was the hallmark and signature of our early Parliamentarians. When our founding fathers referred to the majesty of the Parliament, they were, no doubt, referring to the moral authority of Parliament based on this idealism and commitment to the country of its MPs.

Sir, it should be our endeavour on this day, and indeed in the coming days, to introspect on the functioning and efficacy of Parliament as an institution.

Sir, let us start by acknowledging that while our Parliamentary democracy is vibrant and well, as our free and fair elections bear out, the cynicism about our Parliament and Parliamentarians is at an all time high. Our usual response to this is that it is media driven or it is middle-class angst, or we use some other alibi to move the focus away from the message to the messenger who is delivering this message. But, Sir, there are reasons for this decline in credibility that go way beyond just corruption and insensitivity. It is the almost absolute disappearance of idealism from our politics to be replaced by a strange form of political pragmatism that is inconsistent with the thoughts, beliefs and views of our founding fathers.

Sir, we all know that Parliament has two very important functions – first, to legislate, and secondly, to ensure oversight of the Executive and ensure accountability and transparency in governance.

Let me quote from a seminal work on Indian Parliament by Pratap Bhanu Mehta and Devesh Kapur, “The idealized view of Parliament, as a deliberative body, where all of the considerations relevant to legislation are aired and discussed, and outcomes reflect the weight of the stronger arguments, is a far cry from reality in any setting. However, in the Indian case, the problem is more acute and has worsened in recent years. Parliament, in the public mind, is essentially a site for adversarial combat rather

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than of deliberative clarity. It is for this reason, that disruptive adjournments have become main tools of parliamentary opposition rather than reasoned arguments.”

So, this perception of Parliament in the minds of the people needs changing, and can be changed if we can have a few special sessions of Parliament every year that are dedicated to deliberations on national priority issues that are bipartisan in nature – security, poverty, institutional performance – where Parliamentarians are seen to be earnestly engaged in discussing solutions to some of these common challenges. Such sessions will serve to get the attention of the media and the people of India to focus on the real challenges facing us, and re-assure them that we are sincerely engaged in this process of finding solutions and a way. I and a few of my colleagues like Naresh Gujralji have already written to the Prime Minister and hon. Chairman suggesting this. I hope some consideration will be given to this.

Similarly, Parliament can do a lot more on the issue of oversight and accountability of the Executive. Let me quote from the same work again, “In one sense, the incentives for monitoring and oversight of the Executive simply do not exist. The effort is high and the potential pay-off limited. Opposition MPs are likely, therefore, to focus more of their attention on political scandals such as financial scams and corruption, where they can attack individuals, rather than try to force institutional and systemic changes. During the 1999-2004 NDA Government, the then opposition, Congress, used all of its might to stall proceedings. Post 2004, the BJP in opposition has acted very similarly. Even with opposition focussed on corruption scams, almost all of the Parliamentary probes into these scandals have led nowhere. In some cases, it likely reflects collusion within the political class to avoid institutional changes.”

Sir, I am not necessarily agreeing or disagreeing with what is being said, but we cannot avoid the fact that this is the popular perception about Parliament. To address this, one solution is that the current form of oversight through Parliament and Standing Committees should be given more respect and space. Let the Governments of today and tomorrow not continue this strange tradition of ignoring the Standing Committees when they choose to do so. Let Standing Committee reports and deliberations be made available to the public as written or video transcripts. That will give people confidence that Parliament is indeed playing a role in keeping Governments honest and accountable.

Sir, in addition, the Parliament should meet more often. Mr. Yechury spoke about this, and, I am adding to what he said. This current trend of declining days of sittings needs to be reversed. My erstwhile colleague, Shri Mahendra Mohan ji even moved a Private Members’ Bill in this connection. He withdrew the Bill reportedly after the Government gave him an assurance that the number of sittings would be increased. I look forward to the Government fulfilling its assurance.

Sir, I am concluding in a minute. Lastly, coming to the issue of Parliament House, Sir, this building is the repository of the great history of our democracy and Republic.

Great men and women have walked here and great thoughts and ideas have been debated here. But in recent times, instead of representing the majesty of Parliament, it is beginning to resemble, feel and smell like many other Government offices which are there all over Delhi. The incident of a few days ago, should trigger us into taking action to bring back our Parliament House to its past glory and dignity from its current decaying state. Thousands of young Indians visit Parliament House. Let them go inspired by this building instead of holding their nose and underwhelmed by the papers and rubbish strewn, and, chaos all over the building. Sir, this is my request to you and the hon. Parliamentary Affairs Minister. Let us treat this building as a monument to our democracy and start a programme of restoring it to its pristine historical state.

Sir, I conclude by wishing the people of India, people of my State Karnataka and my city Bangalore, and, all my colleagues in Parliament the very best on this 60th anniversary of Parliament, and, to all my seniors my respects, and my most grateful thanks to the political leaders who have given me an opportunity to be a part of this House for the last six years and the coming six years. It is my privilege to serve and to be here. Thank you, Jai Hind.

श्री अहमद सईद मलीहाबादी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, आज 13 मई, 2012 को हम अपनी पार्लियामेंट की 60वीं सालगिरह मनाने के लिए खुसूसी इजलास में बैठे हैं। यह तारीखी यादगार दिन है। 60 वर्ष पहले हमारे बुजुर्गों और पुरखों ने आज की तारीख पर जम्हूरियत का एक आलीशन मंदिर बनाया था। ये वे लोग थे, जो आज़ादी की लड़ाई जीतकर और उस आग की भट्टी में कुंदन बनकर निकले थे। उन्होंने जो पौधा लगाया था, वह 60 साल में एक तनावर, सायेदार दरख्त बनकर, शान से सिर उठाए खड़ा है, यह हमारी पार्लियामेंट है, यह हमारी जम्हूरियत का घर है। इसे सजाकर, संवारकर, सम्भालकर रखें, यह हमारी और आने वाली नस्लों की जिम्मेदारी और फरीज़ा है।

आज़ादी जम्हूरियत के बगैर बे-मानी है और जम्हूरियत की सेहत और जिंदगी के लिए जम्हूरी निज़ाम यानी पार्लियामेंट्री सिस्टम को सही सलामत हालत में रखना जरूरी है। जिसके तहत हमारे आज़ादाना इंतखाबात होते हैं और हमारा पार्लियामानी निज़ाम रियासती असेम्बलियों से लेकर पार्लियामेंट तक चलता है। यह निज़ाम इतने वर्षों में मजबूत बुनियादों पर कायम हो गया है, इसे सारा ज़माना मानता है और यह हम सब हिन्दुस्तानियों के लिए फ़ख़ की बात है। हमने 60 वर्षों में एक लम्बा सफ़र तय किया है, जो कठिन भी था और रास्ते में बहुत से रोड़े और कांटे भी थे, जिनसे कभी हम बचकर निकले और कभी हमारे पांव जख्मी हुए। मगर सफ़र रुका नहीं, कारवां अपनी मंज़िल की जानिब, रवां दवां रहा। आज से 40 साल बाद, 100 साल पूरे होने पर, हमारी पार्लियामेंट अपनी 100 साला सालगिरह मनायेगी। हममें से कितने ही उस वक्त नहीं होंगे, मगर हमें यह इत्मीनान होगा कि अपने पीछे हम एक हरा-भरा, बा-रौनक, पुरशिकोह घर छोड़ आए हैं, जिसमें एक खानदान की तरह मिल-जुलकर, एक-दूसरे की इज्ज़त और मुहब्बत के साथ सब रहते हैं।

हमें इस बात का बहुत ध्यान रखने की जरूरत है कि हमारी पार्लियामेंट के अंदर तहजीब, शाइस्तगी और बात करने के सलीके की रवायत कायम रहे, जिसे देखकर हमारी कौम के लोग आदाबे गुप्तगू सीखें और किसी को उंगली उठाने का मौका न मिले। इधर कुछ दिनों से बाज़ इस्तेमारी ताकतों के कारिन्दों ने पार्लियामेंट की तोहीन करने का वतीरा अख्तिyar कर रखा है।

अवाम के चुने हुए मेम्बरों को सड़कों पर बुरा-भला कहा जा रहा है। उनको लोग गालियाँ दे रहे हैं,

[श्री अहमद सईद मलीहाबादी]

* कह रहे हैं। ये वे लोग हैं, जिन्हें हमारा जम्हूरी निज़ाम पसन्द नहीं है। वे तानशाही के वकील हैं। उनके हमलों और नापाक इरादों से अपनी पार्लियामेंट की हिफाज़त करना और उसकी इज्जत और हुंरमत को बचाना, हमारा फरीज़ा है। पार्लियामेंट क्रोम की अमानत है, यह देश की आवाज है। क्रोम ने हमें इसका रखवाला बनाकर भेजा है। अपने क्रोल, फ़ैल और किरदार से क्रोम की उम्मीदों और ऐतमाद पर, हमें खरा उतरना है। आज के तारीखी दिन यही अहद करके, यहाँ से उठना है। आखिर में जनाब, एक कहावत है, 'साठ पाठ', आदमी साठ साल की उम्र में भी पाठ हो सकता है। हमारी पार्लियामेंट साठ साल की हुई है, जवान हुई है, इसके ऊपर शबाब आ रहा है। हमारी दुआ है कि तुम सलामत रहो हजार बरस और हर बरस के दिन हों पचास हजार। बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

† جناب احمد سعيد مليح آبادی (مغربی بنگال): ڈیپٹی چیئرمین صاحب، آج

13 مئی، 2012 کو ہم اپنی پارلیمنٹ کی 60 ویں سال گرہ منانے کے لئے خصوصی اجلاس میں بیٹھے ہیں۔ یہ تاریخی یادگار دن ہے۔ 60 سال پہلے ہمارے بزرگوں اور پرکھوں نے آج کی تاریخ پر جمہوریت کا ایک عالیشان مندر بنایا تھا۔ یہ وہ لوگ تھے، جو آزادی کی لڑائی جیت کر اور اس آگ کی بھٹی میں کندن بن کر نکلے تھے۔ انہوں نے جو پودھا لگایا تھا، وہ 60 سال میں ایک تناور، سائے دار درخت بن کر، شان سے سر اٹھانے کھڑا ہے۔ یہ ہماری پارلیمنٹ ہے، یہ ہماری جمہوریت کا گھر ہے، اسے سجا کر، سنوار کر، سنبھال کر رکھیں، یہ ہماری اور آنے والی نسلوں کی ذمہ داری اور فریضہ ہے۔

آزادی جمہوریت کے بغیر بے معنی اور جمہوریت کی صحت اور زندگی کے لئے جمہوری نظام یعنی پارلیمنٹری سسٹم کو صحیح سلامت حالت میں رکھنا ضروری ہے۔ جس کے تحت ہمارے آزادانہ انتخابات ہوتے ہیں اور ہمارا پارلیمانی نظام ریاستی اسمبلیوں سے لے کر پارلیمنٹ تک چلتا ہے۔ یہ نظام اتنے سالوں میں مضبوط بنیادوں پر قائم ہو گیا ہے، اسے سارا زمانہ مانتا ہے اور یہ سب ہم ہندوستانیوں کے لئے فخر کی بات ہے، ہم نے 60 سالوں میں ایک لمبا سفر طے کیا ہے۔ جو کٹھن بھی تھا

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

† Transliteration in Urdu Script

اور راستے میں بہت سے روڑے اور کانٹے بھی تھے، جن سے کبھی ہم بچ کر نکلے اور کبھی ہمارے پاؤں زخمی ہوئے۔ سفر مگر رکا نہیں، کارواں اپنی منزل کی جانب، رواں دواں رہا۔ آج سے 40 سال بعد، 100 سال پورے ہونے پر، ہماری پارلیمنٹ اپنی 100 سالہ سالگرہ منائے گی۔ ہم میں سے کتنے ہی اس وقت نہیں ہوں گے، مگر ہمیں یہ اطمینان ہوگا کہ اپنے پیچھے ہم ایک برا بھرا، بارونق، پرشکوہ، گھر چھوڑ آئے ہیں، جس میں ایک خاندان کی طرح مل جل کر، ایک دوسرے کی عزت اور محبت کے ساتھ سب رہتے ہیں۔

ہمیں اس بات کا بہت دھیان رکھنے کی ضرورت ہے کہ ہماری پارلیمنٹ کے اندر تہذیب، شائستگی اور بات کرنے کے سلیقے کی روایت قائم رہے، جسے دیکھ کر ہماری قوم کے لوگ آداب گفتگو سیکھیں اور کسی کو انگلی اٹھانے کا موقع نہ ملے۔ ادھر کچھ دنوں سے بعض استعماری طاقتوں کے کارندوں نے پارلیمنٹ کی توہین کرنے کا وتیرہ اختیار کر رکھا ہے۔ عوام کے چنے ہوئے ممبروں کو سڑکوں پر برا بھلا کہا جا رہا ہے۔ ان کو لوگ گالیاں دے رہے ہیں، * کہہ رہے ہیں۔ یہ وہ لوگ ہیں، جنہیں ہمارا جمہوری نظام پسند نہیں ہے۔ وہ تاناشاہی کے وکیل ہیں۔ ان کے حملوں اور ناپاک ارادوں سے اپنی پارلیمنٹ کی حفاظت کرنا اور اس کی عزت اور حرمت کو بچانا ہمارا فریضہ ہے۔ پارلیمنٹ قوم کی امانت ہے، یہ دیش کی آواز ہے۔ قوم نے ہمیں اس کا رکھوالا بنا کر بھیجا ہے۔ اپنے قول، فعل اور کردار سے قوم کی امیدوں اور اعتماد پر، ہمیں کھرا اترنا ہے۔ آج کے تاریخی دن یہی عہد کر کے، یہاں سے اٹھنا ہے۔

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[श्री अहमद सईद मलीहाबादी]

آخر میں جناب، ایک کہاوت ہے، 'ساتھ پاٹھا'، آدمی ساٹھ سال کی عمر میں بھی پاٹھا ہو سکتا ہے۔ ہماری پارلیمنٹ ساٹھ سال کی ہوئی ہے، جوان ہوئی ہے، اس کے اوپر شباب آ رہا ہے۔ ہماری دعا ہے کہ تم سلامت رہو ہزار برس اور ہر برس کے دن ہوں پچاس ہزار۔ بہت بہت شکریہ۔

SHRI A.V. SWAMY (ODISHA) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for allotting time to me on this unique event, that too for my maiden speech. I should not forget to thank and express my gratitude to the Chief Minister, Naveen Patnaik, who made it possible for me to come into this House. That happened rather as an exception in the entire country. I am a social worker and he chose me and put me up to the other political parties since the last elections that they had in Odisha for the third candidate got into such a turmoil, horse trading and all that. Therefore, he chose a novel method of putting up a candidate and then appealed to the other political parties to support someone who has contributed to the State of Odisha as a social worker or in any other form. That is how I am here. I not only got the support of all the political parties, but I was also not required even to pay my security deposit. That also was collected by the MLAs themselves and they sent me uncontested as an independent candidate. Therefore, my gratitude is to all the political parties and also to the Chief Minister who has taken the lead. And it is a message that has been sent out to the other political parties across the country that whenever you don't have your own majority to set up your own candidate, please do seek the assistance of other parties to set up a consensus candidate rather than to go in for elections on party basis which will invariably lead to horse trading. Everyone of us should get that message.

Sir, I have never indulged in politics in my life, even though five Chief Ministers of Odisha happened to be closest to me and I had their blessings. It was never necessary for me. I was chosen because of the need of circumstances which I have said. It is because of Naveen Patnaik who wanted to avoid horse trading. Some friends had also suggested me that why don't you go for this. You have been working with the tribals and poor people all these years, throwing back your degree in engineering, law, foreign degrees and all that. Now, it is the time that you should serve the political party by putting up your candidature. I did that and I am here. Sir, I am 82 years old, 22 years elder than the Parliament which sat 60 years back.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Mr. Swamy, I think you are under the impression that it is your maiden speech. Since this is a Special Session, don't avail yourself of this opportunity now. You can avail yourself of that opportunity some other day. You conclude it in five-six minutes.

SHRI A.V. SWAMY : Thank you, Sir. I thought that I would explain the circumstances as to how I got into this.

I want to draw the attention of this House to a burning issue in the country where the entire parliamentary system and panchayati raj institution may go under fire. I come from Koraput, the hot bed of Naval movement. It is a tribal district. I was born and brought up amongst the tribals. I know their psychology and all that. They are the people whom I even called 'the angels', not because I lived and grew with them. Their simplicity, love for nature, camaraderie and compassion for others were unparalleled. I worked with them. When Vinobha Bhave came to Koraput in 1955 for Bhoodan-Gramdan Movement, they were getting frustrated with the State Government and the Government of India for broken promises given to them under the constitution. When the 1942 Movement started — there will be a disconnect if I do not explain why I am talking about Naxalism which is a vital issue — I was twelve years old. My native place in Koraput in Nabarangapur, which happened to be the epicentre of freedom movement. As a 12-year old boy I was used by the freedom fighters to monkey pedal and carry the secret messages into the villages. Therefore, I was very close to them. When they were fighting against the British during the Quit India Movement, they were shot and their properties were confiscated. When the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh happened, seven kilometres away from my place at Paparandi, freedom fighters were marching to hoist the flag on the police stations. They were interrupted. Seventeen people were shot dead and many others suffered bruises and other injuries. When they came out, I asked this from one of them. These are the words which everyone should remember. They allowed me because I was 12 years old.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude.

SHRI A.V. SWAMY : Sir, this is very important. I want to send this message across because there is the Naxalite movement, that the genesis of which should be understood fully. And this should be happening in a place where Vinoba Bhave got 80,000 acres of land as donation...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude. You have already taken six minutes. This is not your maiden speech.

SHRI A.V. SWAMY : Sir, I am not talking about maiden speech. Today, our saving the Parliament have become conditional to the anger that is there amongst the tribals who have been denied their rights over land and forests. This is of utmost point to save our democratic institution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : You will get another opportunity to say these things some other day.

SHRI A.V. SWAMY : Sir, I thought it was my maiden speech. Otherwise, I would have said it in short. Thank you, Sir.

श्री परिमल नथवानी (झारखंड) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ। आज मैं खुद को बहुत खुशानसीब समझता हूँ कि जब इस देश की स्वतंत्र संसद अपनी 60वीं वर्षगांठ मना रही है, तब मैं इस सदन का सदस्य हूँ। मुझे इस बात की बहुत खुशी है। जिन मान्यवर सदस्यों ने अपनी प्रतिभा, ज्ञान और जनता के प्रति सेवा भाव से इस संसद की गरिमा बढ़ाई है, उन सभी को आज के शुभ अवसर पर मैं प्रणाम करता हूँ।

महोदय, स्वतंत्रता मिलने के बाद डॉ. बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर के नेतृत्व में बनी संविधान समिति के सभी सदस्यों ने जो संविधान देश को समर्पित किया, उसी के फलस्वरूप आज की संसद है। इसके ऊपर न सिर्फ मुझे, बल्कि सारे देशवासियों को गर्व है। भारत ने गत 65 वर्षों में जो प्रगति की और जो नियम-कानून बनाए, जिनकी आवश्यकता थी, वे सभी संसद ने पारित किए हैं।

[4.00 P.M.]

देश का बजट पास करने के साथ-ही-साथ सरकार के कारोबार पर नज़र और नियंत्रण रखने के काम भी इसने किये। जब कभी किसी भी मंत्रालय में भ्रष्टाचार की आशंका निर्मित हुई, तब इसी संसद ने दोषियों के खिलाफ आवाज़ उठाई और कई बार दोषी व्यक्तियों पर उचित ऐक्शन भी लिया। जब कैश फॉर क्वेश्चन-जैसे कांड सामने आए, तब इसी संसद ने 11 सांसदों को अपने पद से निष्कासित किया।

महोदय, मैं संसद में एक बहुत छोटे राज्य, झारखंड से आता हूँ। मैं उसका प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूँ, इसलिए मेरी एक विशेष प्रार्थना है। हमारे राज्य के विकास के लिए आपको विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। झारखंड के एक छोटा राज्य होने की वजह से वह इस सदन में प्रतिनिधित्व कम रखता है। इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि हमारी समस्या कम है। हमारा राज्य तो छोटा है, लेकिन हमारी समस्या बहुत बड़ी है। हमारे राज्य की जनता केन्द्र सरकार और संसद को आशा से देख रही है। उनकी अपेक्षा पूरी करना हमारा कर्तव्य है, क्योंकि हम राज्य सभा, काउंसिल ऑफ स्टेट्स हैं।

सर, मेरी अपेक्षा है कि देश की जनता ने हमें जो जिम्मेदारी दी है, उसका हम पालन करेंगे। ऐसा करने से भारतीयों का संसदीय लोकशाही पर जो विश्वास है, वह निरंतर बना रहेगा। भारत को दुनिया में बड़ी ताकत बनाने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम एक दिल से खड़े रहें और आवाज़ में आवाज़ मिला कर बोलें- मेरा भारत महान। मैं इस मौके पर सबको अभिवादन करता हूँ। आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ। जय हिन्द।

श्री मोहम्मद अदीब (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि खुशानसीब हूँ मैं कि आज के इस इजलास में मुझे कुछ कहने का मौका मिला है।

सर, early 60s में जब मैं तालिब इल्मी के दौर में छात्र सियासत करता था, तब पार्लियामेंट के दोनों हाउसेज़ की गैलरीज़ में अपने हीरोज़ को ढूँढ़ने के लिए आता था। हीरेन मुखर्जी, कृपलानी, लोहिया मेरे वे हीरोज़ थे, जिनको मैं सुनने और देखने यहाँ आता था। मेरा एक ख्वाब था कि शायद कभी यह मौका मुझे भी मिले कि मैं इस देश को बनाने और सँवारने में कोई हिस्सा बाँट सकूँ। आज इस पार्लियामेंट में मैं आया हूँ, तो मुझे नहीं मालूम कि आज का नौजवान इन गैलरीज़ में अपने हीरोज़ को ढूँढ़ने आता है या नहीं आता है और अगर वह यहाँ आता है तो यहाँ से क्या लेकर जाता है। मुझे यकीन है कि हमने बहुत खोया है, लेकिन बहुत कम पाया है। हकीकत यह है कि हमने इन 60 सालों में यह किया कि अपने सारे बुजुर्गों को भूलते चले गए। जिन लोगों ने इस देश को आज़ाद कराकर हमें आज़ादी का यह मन्दिर दिया था, उनके नाम उन किताबों में न जाने कहाँ रख दिए गए, जिन पर गर्द की गुबार बढ़ती चली गई। कुछ ऐसा भी हुआ है कि हम मौलाना आज़ाद को भी नहीं जानते, कृपलानी को भी नहीं जानते और लोहिया को भी भूल गए। न जाने कितने लोगों के एहसान हम पर थे और हमने अपनी औलादों को, अपनी नस्लों को उनके बारे में बताया ही नहीं।

सर, हमने एक और जुर्म किया। इस मुल्क में एक अज़ीम शख्स पैदा हुआ-बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर। वह एक ऐसा अज़ीम लीडर था, जो हम सबका था, लेकिन सियासत की हवाएँ कुछ ऐसी चलीं कि उस अम्बेडकर को एक तबके ने दलित की बस्ती में स्टैचू बनाकर कहा कि यह मेरा है। उसने उसको अपना लिया और सारे देश से निकाल दिया। ऐसी ही एक साजिश गुजरात में हुई। सरदार पटेल इस मुल्क के इतने बड़े लीडर थे, उसको कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि यह गुजरात का है और हमारा है। अल्लाह का शुक्र है कि गाँधी की कौम ने गाँधी को यह नहीं कहा कि यह मेरा है, नहीं तो फिर इस मुल्क का क्या होता? हमने बहुत कुछ नुकसानात किए हैं, गुनाह किया है कि जो हमारे नेशनल लीडर्स थे, उनको बाँट कर रख दिया और यह कहा कि यह मेरा मुल्क है। यह बहुत बदनसीबी इस मुल्क में हुई है।

सर, मैं जब पार्लियामेंट में पहली बार आया, तो बहुत-सी आरजूएँ लेकर आया था। तब जो पहली बहस हुई, वह मुम्बई में हुए पाकिस्तानी अटेक पर हुई। 10 लोग हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत-सा असलहा लेकर घुस आए और हिन्दुस्तान की बेहतरीन फौज़ से 48 घंटे तक लड़ते रहे थे।

मैं नया-नया आया था और यह उम्मीद करके आया था कि इस पर बहस होगी कि इतना असलहा इस मुल्क में कैसे आ गया, लेकिन यहाँ बहस का रुख यह हुआ कि अन्तुले ने क्या बोला था। अन्तुले के ऊपर रात तक बहस होती रही कि अन्तुले ने क्या कहा था। मैं समझता था कि इस पर बहस होगी, इस पर बातचीत की जाएगी कि कौन ऐसा जालिम है, जिसने इतना असलहा पहुँचवा दिया और हम खामोश रहे। यह पहला झटका था, जो मुझको लगा, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है कि सभी गलत हैं।

इस हाउस में दूसरी लड़ाई तब देखी गई, जब चंद लोगों ने यह कहा कि पार्लियामेंट्री डेमोक्रेसी को कमजोर करना है, इलेक्ट्रेड प्राइम मिनिस्टर की जगह पर एक नॉमिनेटेड आदमी आना चाहिए और इसको लेकर चंद लोग रामलीला ग्राउंड में खड़े हो गए। उन्होंने कहा कि यहाँ * रहते हैं। उस वक्त इस पार्लियामेंट ने अपनी अज़मत का इज़हार किया। जब यह हुक्म दिया गया कि फलां-फलां तारीख को पार्लियामेंट का बिल पास कर दिया जाए, तो उस वक्त दोनों तरफ के लोगों ने अपनी अज़मत और अपनी अहमियत का अहसास दिलाया। यह अच्छा लम्हा इस पार्लियामेंट में आया है।

मेरी यह गुजारिश है कि आप आज के दिन अपनी नस्लों को जो देने जा रहे हैं, उनसे उनको इस काबिल कर दीजिए कि जैसे मेरे जैसा नौजवान, जो अपने हीरोज को दूढ़ते-दूढ़ते इस मंदिर में आ गया था, आज की नस्ल के लोग भी इस जमीन पर, इस पार्लियामेंट में आएँ, तो उनकी भी एक आरजू हो कि इस मुल्क को बनाना और संवारना है। लेकिन, हम न जाने कितने हिस्सों में बंटने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इस पार्लियामेंट में हमारी बदनसीबी यह है कि हम लोग छोटी पार्टी से आते हैं या independent हैं। जब हमारी राय लेने का वक्त आता है, तब यह हाउस खाली हो जाता है। इस पर तवज्जो भी नहीं दी जाती है। बहस होती है बड़े-बड़े लोगों की, अखबारों वही बोलता है, जो लीडर ऑफ दी ऑपोजीशन कहता है या लीडर ऑफ दी हाउस बोलता है। हम वे लोग हैं, जो ऐसे बारातियों में शुमार हैं कि आइए, खाना खाइए और चले जाइए और कोई राय मत दीजिए। इस पार्लियामेंट के ऐवान में मीडिया के लोगों से भी मेरी गुजारिश है और जनाबेआला, खास तौर से आपसे, कि हम लोगों को भी मौका दीजिए। हम इस पार्लियामेंट में आए थे, अपना contribution देने के लिए। यह खुशनसीबी है कि यह सबके लिए मुबारकबाद देने का वक्त है। (समय की घंटी)।

यह खुशी की बात है कि आज यह मुल्क दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों में सबसे ज्यादा अहम मुल्क बन चुका है। हमारी democratic policy ने, अच्छी या बुरी, खड़ी या मीठी, जो भी रही है, इस देश को मजबूत जरूर किया है। हमारी नस्लें हमको याद करेंगी, लेकिन ऐसा न हो कि हम अपने को और बाँटते

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[श्री मोहम्मद अदीब]

चले जाएँ। देश अव्वल है, मुल्क सबसे ऊपर है, उसके बाद बिरादरी, कौमें और मज़हब हैं,। यह पैगाम इस पार्लियामेंट से जाना चाहिए, जो कि इसका मकसद था। इन अल्फाज़ के साथ, बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया कि आपने घंटी नहीं बजाई। आपकी बहुत इनायत।

†جناب محمد ادیب (اتر پردیش) : سر، آپ کا بہت بہت شکریہ۔ میں سمجھتا

ہوں کہ خوش نصیب ہوں میں، کہ آج کے اس اجلاس میں مجھے کہنے کا موقع ملا ہے۔

سر، early 60s میں جب میں طالب علمی کے دور میں چھاتر

سیاست کرتا تھا، تب پارلیمنٹ کے دونوں ہاؤسیز کی گیلریز میں اپنے بیروز کو ڈھونڈنے کے لئے آتا تھا۔ بیرین مکہرجی، کرپلانی، لوہیا، میرے وہ بیروز تھے، جن کو میں سننے اور دیکھنے یہاں آتا تھا۔ میرا ایک خواب تھا کہ شاید کبھی یہ موقع مجھے بھی ملے کہ میں اس دیش کو بنانے اور سنوارنے میں کوئی حصہ بانٹ سکوں۔ آج اس پارلیمنٹ میں، میں آیا ہوں، تو مجھے نہیں معلوم کہ آج کا نوجوان ان گیلریز میں اپنے بیروز کو ڈھونڈنے آتا ہے یا نہیں آتا ہے اور اگر وہ یہاں آتا ہے تو یہاں سے کیا لے لے کر جاتا ہے۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ ہم نے بہت کھویا ہے، لیکن بہت کم پایا ہے۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ہم نے ان 60 سالوں میں یہ کیا کہ اپنے سارے بزرگوں کو بھولتے چلے گئے۔ جن لوگوں نے اس دیش کو آزاد کرا کر ہمیں آزادی کا یہ مندر دیا تھا، ان کے نام ان کتابوں میں نہ جانے کہاں رکھے دئے گئے، جن پر گرد کی غبار بڑھتی چلی گئی۔ کچھ ایسا بھی ہوا ہے کہ ہم مولانا آزاد کو بھی نہیں جانتے، کرپلانی کو بھی نہیں جانتے اور لوہیا کو بھی بھول گئے۔ نہ جانے کتنے لوگوں کے احسان ہم پر تھے اور ہم نے اپنی اولادوں کو، اپنی نسلوں کو ان کے بارے میں بتایا ہی نہیں، ہم نے ایک اور جرم کیا۔

سر، اس ملک میں عظیم شخص پیدا ہوا-بابا صاحب امبیڈکر۔ وہ ایک ایسا عظیم لیڈر تھا، جو ہم سب کا تھا، لیکن سیاست کی ہوائیں کچھ ایسی چلیں کہ اس امبیڈکر کو ایک طبقے نے دلت کی بستی میں اسٹیجو بنا کر کہا کہ یہ میرا ہے۔ اس نے اس کو اپنا لیا اور سارے دیش سے نکال دیا۔ ایسی ہی ایک سازش گجرات میں ہوئی۔ سردار پٹیل اس ملک کے اتنے بڑے لیڈر تھے، اس کو کچھ لوگوں نے کہا کہ یہ گجرات کا ہے اور ہمارا ہے۔ اللہ کا شکر ہے کہ گاندھی کی قوم نے گاندھی کو یہ نہیں کہا کہ یہ میرا ہے، نہیں تو پھر اس ملک کا کیا ہوتا؟ ہم نے بہت کچھ نقصانات کئے ہیں، گناہ کیا ہے کہ جو ہمارے نیشنل لیڈرس تھے، ان کو بانٹ کر رکھ دیا اور یہ کہا کہ یہ میرا ملک ہے۔ یہ بہت بدنصیبی اس ملک میں ہوئی ہے۔

سر، میں جب پارلیمنٹ میں پہلی بار آیا، تو بہت سی آرزوئیں لے کر آیا تھا۔ تب جو پہلی بحث ہوئی، وہ ممبئی میں ہونے پاکستانی اٹیک پر ہوئی۔ 10 لوگ ہندوستان میں بہت سا اسلحہ لے کر گھس آئے اور ہندوستان کی بہترین فوج سے 48 گھنٹے تک لڑتے رہے تھے۔ میں نیا نیا آیا تھا اور یہ امید کر کے آیا تھا کہ اس پر بحث ہوگی کہ کہ اتنا اسلحہ اس ملک میں کیسے آ گیا، لیکن یہاں بحث کا رخ یہ ہوا کہ اتنولے نے کیا بولا تھا۔ اتنولے کے اوپر رات تک بحث ہوتی رہی کہ اتنولے نے کیا کہا تھا۔ میں سمجھتا تھا کہ اس پر بحث ہوگی، اس پر بات چیت کی جائے کہ کون ایسا ظالم ہے، جس نے اتنا اسلحہ پہنچوا دیا اور ہم خاموش رہے۔ یہ پہلا جھٹکا تھا، جو مجھ لگا، لیکن ایسا نہیں ہے کہ سبھی غلط ہیں۔ اس ہاؤس میں دوسری لڑائی تب دیکھی گئی، جب چند لوگوں نے یہ

[श्री मोहम्मद अदीब]

کہا کہ پارلیمنٹری ڈیموکریسی کو کمزور کرنا ہے، الیکٹیڈ پرائم منسٹر کی جگہ پر ایک نامینیٹڈ آدمی آنا چاہئے اور اس کو لے کر چند لوگ رام لیلا گراؤنڈ میں کھڑے ہو گئے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ یہاں * رہتے ہیں۔ اس وقت اس پارلیمنٹ نے اپنی عظمت کا اظہار کیا۔ جب یہ حکم دیا گیا فلاں فلاں تاریخ کو پارلیمنٹ کا بل پاس کر دیا جائے، تو اس وقت دونوں طرف کے لوگوں نے اپنی عظمت اور اپنی اہمیت کا احساس دلایا۔ یہ اچھا لمحہ اس پارلیمنٹ میں آیا ہے۔

میری یہ گزارش ہے کہ آپ آج کے دن اپنی نسلوں کو جو دینے جا رہے ہیں، ان سے ان کو اس قابل کر دیجئے کہ جیسے میرے جیسا نوجوان، جو اپنے ہیروز کو ڈھونڈتے ڈھونڈتے اس مندر میں آ گیا تھا، آج کی نسل کے لوگ بھی اس زمین پر، اس پارلیمنٹ میں آئیں، تو ان کی بھی ایک آرزو ہو کہ اس ملک کو بنانا اور سنوارنا ہے۔ لیکن، ہم نہ جانے کتنے حصوں میں بنتے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ اس پارلیمنٹ میں ہماری بدنصیبی یہ ہے کہ ہم لوگ چھوٹی پارٹی سے آتے ہیں یا انڈیپینڈینٹ ہیں۔ جب ہماری رائے لینے کا وقت آتا ہے، تب یہ ہاؤس خالی ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس پر توجہ بھی نہیں دی جاتی ہے۔ بحث ہوتی ہے بڑے بڑے لوگوں کی، اخبارات اس کی طرف توجہ بھی نہیں کرتے کہ یہ کون لوگ ہیں، جو بول کر چلے گئے۔ اخبارات وہی بولتا ہے، جو لیڈر آف اپوزیشن کہتا ہے یا لیڈر آف دی ہاؤس بولتا ہے۔ ہم وہ لوگ ہیں، جو

ایسے باراتیوں میں شمار ہیں کہ انیے، کھانا کھائیے اور چلے جائیے اور کوئی رائے مت دیجئے۔ اس پارلیمنٹ کے ایوان میں میڈیا کے لوگوں کے لوگوں سے بھی میری گزارش ہے اور جناب عالی، خاص طور سے آپ

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

से, کہ ہم لوگوں کو بھی موقع دیجئے۔ ہم اس پارلیمنٹ میں آئے تھے، اپنا contribution دینے کے لئے۔ یہ خوش نصیبی ہے کہ یہ سب کے لئے مبارکباد دینے کا وقت ہے

... (وقت کی گھنٹی) ...

یہ خوشی کی بات ہے کہ آج یہ ملک دنیا کے دوسرے ملکوں میں سب سے زیادہ اہم ملک بن چکا ہے۔ ہماری ڈیموکریٹک پالیسی نے، اچھی یا بری، کھٹی یا میٹھی، جو بھی رہی ہے، اس دیش کو مضبوط ضرور کیا ہے۔ ہماری نسلیں ہم کو یاد کریں گی، لیکن ایسا نہ ہو کہ ہم اپنے کو اور بانٹتے چلے جائیں۔ دیش اول ہے، ملک سب سے اوپر ہے، اس کے بعد برادری، قومیں اور مذہب ہیں۔ یہ پیغام اس پارلیمنٹ سے جانا چاہئے، جو کہ اس کا مقصد تھا۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ، بہت بہت شکریہ کہ آپ نے گھنٹی نہیں بجائی۔ آپ کی بہت عنایت۔

श्री राजीव शुक्ल : सर, मैं संसदीय कार्य राज्य मंत्री के रूप में सदन के सारे सदस्यों ने जो अपने विचार रखे, उनकी सराहना करता हूँ। आज एक ऐसी बहस हुई, जिसमें हमने सचमुच संसदीय लोकतंत्र की व्याख्या और संसदीय लोकतंत्र के लिए क्या जरूरी है, ये सारी बातें कीं।

(श्री सभापति पीठासीन हुए)

सबने एक बार फिर से संसदीय लोकतंत्र में अपना विश्वास व्यक्त किया कि यही एक ऐसी व्यवस्था है, जो कारगर है, स्थाई रहने वाली है और इसी से लोगों का एवं आम जनता का भला हो सकता है तथा देश का नाम पूरी दुनिया में रोशन हो सकता है। यह विश्वास पूरे सदन में, चाहे वह नेता सदन हों, प्रधान मंत्री जी हों या चाहे नेता प्रतिपक्ष हों, वहाँ से शुरू होकर सारी तरफ से यही भावनाएँ आईं कि संसद की सर्वोच्चता हमारे लिए सबसे बड़ी जरूरत है और सबसे बड़ी प्राथमिकता है। इससे बढ़िया और कोई बात नहीं हो सकती है।

किसी भी व्यवस्था में विकृतियाँ होती हैं, aberrations होते हैं, वे इसमें भी हैं। उन aberrations को, उन विकृतियों को हमें मिल कर ठीक करना पड़ेगा। विकृतियाँ हैं और कई सदस्यों ने यह बात उठाई है कि पहली लोक सभा, दूसरी लोक सभा, तीसरी लोक सभा में लोग कैसे अपनी बात रखते थे। शायद ही कोई साल में एक बार वेल में जाता होगा। आप उस समय के बड़े-बड़े वक्ता को देखिए, मैं चाहूँ, तो उनके नाम भी ले सकता हूँ, जैसे पंडित नेहरू, राम मनोहर लोहिया जी, हिरेन मुखर्जी, श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी, कृपलानी जी, मौलाना आज़ाद, ज्योतिमय बसु, भूपेश गुप्ता, डॉ. अम्बेडकर, पीलू मोदी जी, इंदिरा जी, मधु लिमये जी, इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता, सोमनाथ चटर्जी, प्रणब बाबू, अटल जी, क्या ये लोग कभी अपनी बात रखने के लिए वेल में गए?

[श्री राजीव शुक्ल]

वे अपनी सीट से खड़े होकर जो भाषण दे देते थे, कौन-सा ऐसा अखबार था, जो उनकी बात नहीं छापता था? शोरगुल में तो कुछ नहीं छपता, बल्कि सिर्फ यह छपता है कि “हंगामे में सदन स्थगित”। जब बहस होती है, भाषण होते हैं, तो ये सबसे ज्यादा छपते हैं और इसमें सबसे ज्यादा पब्लिसिटी मिलती है, लेकिन आज तरीका बदल गया है। यह बात कई सदस्यों ने रखी और मुझे यह लगता है कि हम सबको यह सोचना चाहिए कि शोरगुल में अपनी बात जनता तक ज्यादा जाती है या बहस करके अपनी बात रखने से वह जनता में ज्यादा जाती है? यह एक विकृति है, जिसकी तरफ हमें ध्यान देना होगा।

दूसरी विकृति यह है कि एक-दूसरे पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप लगाते वक्त हम खुद यह भूल गये हैं कि इससे पूरे पॉलिटिकल क्लास की छवि गिरती जा रही है, चाहे वह आरोप सामने वाले हमारे ऊपर लगाएँ, हम उनके ऊपर लगाएँ या ये इनके ऊपर लगाएँ। अगर पूरे देश में पॉलिटिक्स की छवि गिर गयी, तो उसका असर सीधे संसदीय लोकतंत्र पर आएगा। उसका असर, जितने लेजिस्लेचर्स हैं, उनके सदस्यों के ऊपर आएगा। हम राजनीतिज्ञ की छवि सिर्फ इसलिए गिरा दें कि हम फौरी फायदा ले लें, हम आपके ऊपर गलत आरोप लगा दें, आप मेरे ऊपर आरोप लगा दें, चाहे बाद में आरोप सिद्ध हों या न हों, यह ठीक नहीं है। पॉलिटिकल फायदा लेने के लिए, चुनाव जीतने के लिए या कोई भी लाभ लेने के लिए हम मिनटों में एक-दूसरे के ऊपर आरोप लगा देते हैं और आरोप की सीमा भी ऐसी कि उसने हजारों-करोड़ रुपये लूट लिए, उसने लाखों-करोड़ रुपये लूट लिए। मतलब चाहे कुछ भी हो, जब हम बिना जवाबदेही के आरोप लगा देते हैं, तो उससे पूरे राजनीतिक वर्ग की छवि जनता में गिरती है। नेता चोर है, यह सोच बढ़ती जा रही है। ऐसे लोग, जो सचमुच पॉलिटिक्स को डाउन करना चाहते हैं, डेमोक्रेसी को नीचे रखना चाहते हैं और पार्लियामेंट्री डेमोक्रेसी में जिनका यकीन नहीं है, चाहे वे संवैधानिक संस्थाओं में बैठे लोग हों, वे इसका फायदा ले रहे हैं, क्योंकि वे तो फेसलेस हैं, उनका चेहरा तो मीडिया में आता नहीं है, लेकिन इसका बहुत बड़ा फायदा वे लोग ले रहे हैं कि नेता की छवि नीचे जाए और फिर वे आकर कब्जा करें, फिर उनकी चले और उनका वर्चस्व कायम हो। आज हम सबको यह कसम और शपथ लेनी चाहिए कि अगर हम अपने छोटे फायदों के लिए, छोटे राजनीतिक लाभ के लिए एक-दूसरे के ऊपर आरोप लगाएँ, तो बिल्कुल लगाएँ, अगर वे सही हों, तो बिल्कुल लगाएँ, पूरी तरह से लगाएँ, लेकिन हम छवि का ध्यान रखें। उस आरोप की जवाबदेही होनी चाहिए, उसकी *accountability* होनी चाहिए, जो बराबर चले। यह नहीं कि साल भर बाद अगर पूछा जाए, तो उस आरोप का पता ही न चले कि वह कहाँ गया और यह कहा जाए कि अरे साहब, वह तो उस समय कह दिया था। इसलिए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि अगर हम इन दो विकृतियों का ध्यान रखें कि सदन की कार्यवाही में सिर्फ शोरगुल की बजाएँ अच्छी बहस हो और दूसरी यह कि हम पॉलिटिकल क्लास की इमेज का ख्याल रखें, तो मुझे लगता है कि इसका बहुत बड़ा फायदा होगा।

चेयरमैन सर, आज सब लोगों ने जिस तरह से बहस में भाग लिया, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत अच्छी बहस रही और इसका बहुत अच्छा असर हुआ। मुझे बोलने की अनुमति देने के लिए आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now somebody with a unique experience of Parliamentary life. Shri Rishang Keishing.

SHRI RISHANG KEISHING (Manipur) : Hon. Chairman and hon. Members of Parliament, I am extremely happy for this opportunity to speak on this special and historic occasion when the Parliament is celebrating its 60th Anniversary. Sir, as you all know, I come from Manipur, a part of North-East. In the pre-Independent period, our relation with this nation, with this country was very remote. We were ruled by the British officers. I am very thankful to my socialist leaders, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai

Prakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia who brought me into the Indian politics. It was on the ticket of the Socialist Party that I was elected in 1952 and 1962 to the first and third Lok Sabhas. When I came to Parliament, I felt like a total stranger. When I entered into Lok Sabha, I saw a big hall and before me were all the towering leaders and heroes of the country, whose faces we used to see in newspapers; whose speeches we used to read in newspapers. We kept them as heroes in our hearts. I was so happy to be sitting with them; it was a special opportunity. As I looked towards the Treachery Benches, Pt. Nehru was sitting there, next to him were Abul Kalam Azad, Babu Jagjivan Ram and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and a host of others.

And, on the Opposition side, — I was on the Opposition side – there were Shri A.K. Gopalan, Shri Hiren Mukherjee, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and many other leaders, and the speeches in Parliament were very peaceful and constructive. The speeches made, either by the ruling party or by the opposition, were listened to with rapt attention, and the interactions were very cordial, very constructive and very peaceful. Sir, the Question Hour is always very important. In those days, the one, who gets the main Question, was given two chances, and the rest, whoever caught the eye of the Chair, could ask supplementaries. In my ten years' period, that is, five years in the First Lok Sabha and five years in the Third Lok Sabha, I never saw any occasion when Members rushed to the well of the House, and I never saw an altercation amongst Members as well. Also, what I saw in those days was, having come to Parliament fresh after the freedom struggle, our leaders, — I would say this, at least, of top leaders; I can't say of everybody – their minds were full of love and concern for the people of our country, especially, of the poorer people of our country. I come from the North-East. I belonged to the Socialist Party, but I had the greatest love and affection for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and, after him, for Shrimati Indira Gandhi. We worked with a personal touch, sympathy, understanding and love for the North-Eastern States. Actually, the integration of the North-Eastern States was made speedier and easier, and we remember them with all the love and affection. And, there is a high respect for our revered leaders, Panditji and Indiraji. Even today, their memory is always referred to by the tribal people of our Region.

Sir, in the Third Second Lok Sabha, — I was in the Socialist Party at that time – when Dr. Radhakrishnan was to address the Joint Session of Parliament, my party decided that if he did not give his Address in Hindi, they would shout and obstruct his Address. I said, "I wouldn't be a party to it." Even then they insisted that I should protest, I said, 'No', and I sat in a corner peacefully. And, when Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke, there was shouting and all that. Anyway, after that, — Sardar Hukam Singh was the Speaker. He asked me if I would like to make a statement. I told him, "No; I am leaving the party. Let it be a sweet parting not a sad parting. So, I did not make the statement. Then, Sir, in 1964, when the Chinese Invasion took place, I went to Panditji and I told him, "Sir, my region has been invaded by foreign countries. I think it is time

[SHRI RISHANG KEISHING]

that we stand together. Would you mind if I join your party?" He, immediately, called Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, the then Parliamentary Affairs Minister, and asked him to take me as an Associated Member and regularize my membership. This is all my memories of that time.

Now, Sir, I would like to suggest to this House and all the Members of Parliament that we have to follow the footsteps of our leaders. I think, today, what I feel is, — excuse me for saying this – that we have wasted very precious time of the House in matters which are not related to the the business of the House.

I think we have to gainfully and judiciously utilise this time. I feel, in those days everything was smooth and peaceful, and parliamentary system was grouing well. That was the best time as far as I remember now as I sit here in Rajya Sabha I feel happy; this is the House of the Elders. In the year 2002 after and itensures smooth, constitutive and productive functioning successfully being elected seven times in State Assembly; I lost because of interference from insurgency. I was nominated. I was elected here in Parliament. I was given the ticket. I thank our Prime Minister and Soniaji. Now I am in the second term of Rajya Sabha Membership. I requested Madam and Prime Minister not to give me a ticket or not to re-nominate me. I know my weakness. My eye-sight and my hearing will become weak. So I said, 'please don't re-nominate me.' But they re-nominated me. I am still here and I thank them for giving me the opportunity to be present in the Golden Jubilee Celebration, whtr I was welcomed by Vajpayeeji, and again this time, It is because of the favour, sympathy and love of our great leaders, to be Member of Parliament from 1950 to this day,. I thank the whole nation for what our leaders have done for me. Lastly, I would like to suggest that there are agitations in many parts of the country, especially in North-East, and in some tribal areas of the country. It is because of the non-development of the area. I think this area has to receive special attention. As far as North-East is concerned, I am very happy with Dr. Manmohan Singh because liberal financial assistance are being liberally given. But we have to check that this money is properly utilised for the people. At least, the State Government must be told that this is the money coming from the people of India and it should be properly utilised for the development of the areas. And this is a strategic area in accessible hilly regions. I would like to request that Government of India and the nation should pay great attention for the development of this area and bring it to the level of the developed States. Let us all live together peacefully as one family and work for the interest of the country. Let us all remember that we are Indians; let us not allow anybody to say that 'I am not an Indian', and all that. As a nation, we have to work hard to consolidate and strengthen it. Thank you very much.

RESOLUTION

MR. CHAIRMAN : I, now, move the following Resolution: -

“We, the Members of Rajya Sabha, meeting in a special sitting of the House to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the first sitting of Parliament :

- Remembering with gratitude, the immense sacrifices made by our freedom fighters in the nation’s struggle for independence, and the stellar role played by the founding fathers of the Constitution in mandating equality, fraternity, justice, brotherhood of mankind and the uplift of underprivileged and down-trodden sections of society;
- Acknowledging with satisfaction and pride, the maturity of the people of India, who have cherished the democratic values and worked ceaselessly for unity and integrity of the nation;
- Noting that in the last sixty years, the Parliament has, through epoch making laws, taken decisive steps towards ensuring equity and justice In all matters for establishing an inclusive society in pursuance of our deep faith and commitment to the ideals enshrined in the Constitution;
- Realizing that a lot more remains to be done; do hereby solemnly reaffirm our total and abiding commitment to the ideals cherished by our founding fathers, and resolve:
 - (a) to uphold and maintain the dignity, sanctity and supremacy of Parliament;
 - (b) to make Parliament an effective instrument of change and to strengthen democratic values and principles;
 - (c) to enhance the accountability of the Government towards the people through the oversight of Parliament; and
 - (d) to rededicate ourselves completely to the sacred task of Nation Building.”

May I take that this Resolution is adopted unanimously?

HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Resolution is adopted unanimously.

The House is adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 1100 hours.

The House then adjourned at twenty-six minutes past
four of the clock till eleven of the clock on
Monday, the 14th May, 2012.
