

# 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)

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## DISCUSSION ON SIXTY YEARS' JOURNEY OF INDIAN PARLIAMENT

MR. CHAIRMAN : Today, we are having a special sitting to commemorate the 60<sup>th</sup> 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 पूर्वोत्तर, 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 काफी 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 कमज़ोर 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 Mayawati 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." "Shashtipurthi" 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 हजारों 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 गुजारिश 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 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 provocateurs. Such a situation may give rebirth to the demand for plebiscite or Referendum 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 कीर्शिग, 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 ढूँढ़कर 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 हज़रतगंज में जो वहाँ की सबसे बड़ी मार्केट है, उसमें पुलिस ही, जो हमारे सिख और सरदारों की हिफाज़त 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 आई 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 चीज़ों के लिए हम लोगों को ऐसे उपाय करने चाहिए कि उन पर किसी तरह से अंकुश लग सके। इन तमाम चीज़ों 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 चीज़ों 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 चीज़ 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 आसमाँ 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 आई 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 पार्लियामेंटरी 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



[PROF. M. S. SWAMINATHAN]

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

[PROF. M. S. SWAMINATHAN]

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 tryst 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 सद्भिर्बहुधा 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 सहनावतु 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 Indira Gandhi 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, Konkanis, 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 बेशर्मी 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.

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#### **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.

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#### **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