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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI, INDIA

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**PARLIAMENTARY  
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**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI**

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## THE JOURNAL OF PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION

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*The Journal of Parliamentary Information (JPI)*, a quarterly publication brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat since 1955, aims at the dissemination of authoritative information about the practices and procedures in Indian and foreign Legislatures. The Journal serves as an authentic recorder of important parliamentary events and activities. It provides a useful forum to members of Parliament and State Legislatures and other experts for the expression of their views and opinions, thereby contributing to the development and strengthening of parliamentary democracy in the country.

The Journal welcomes articles on constitutional, parliamentary and legal subjects for publication. The latest books on parliamentary and constitutional subjects are reviewed in the Journal by members of Parliament and scholars. Books intended for review should be sent to the Editor-in-Chief.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE



The Journal of Parliamentary Information (JPI) is a respected publication of the Parliament of India. Since 1955, this journal has served as a repository of institutional memory and vehicle for dissemination of information, primarily related to the legislative domain. JPI has been providing a platform to parliamentarians, legislators, scholars and parliamentary officials for sharing thoughts and ideas which have been honed on the anvil of their unique experiences gained from their close association with legislative bodies. Over the years, eminent parliamentarians from India and abroad have enhanced the prestige of the journal through their scholarly contributions. However, JPI received a setback during the pandemic years in 2020-21 when academic contributions to the publication dwindled and consequently, the offerings of the journal for its readers diminished considerably. It was the inspiration and encouragement from Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla that has goaded the editorial team to revive the journal.

The new issue of JPI in September 2025 carries an article from the Speaker, Lok Sabha on Artificial Intelligence (AI), a technology that is poised to revolutionise traditional methods of information and knowledge management in legislative bodies around the world. Further, the subject of AI and issues related to this transformative technology has been deconstructed for the benefit of uninitiated readers in a scholarly article “Artificial Intelligence: Contours and Contents” by Shri Sujeet Kumar, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha. The current issue also carries an article, “The Constitution and Indian Nationhood” by Dr. Shashi Tharoor, Member of Lok Sabha and Chairman of the Standing Committee on External Affairs, excerpted with his permission from his book *Our Living Constitution: A Concise Introduction & Commentary*. This issue has included an article on subordinate legislation which is an interesting, *albeit* a somewhat lesser understood subject. Shri N. K. Singh, author of a book on this subject and an ex-senior officer of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat has contributed an article titled ‘Parliamentary Oversight of Subordinate Legislation: Balancing efficiency and Accountability’ to explain the significance of delegated legislation in modern governance systems.

The September issue of JPI introduces a new section ‘*From the pages of Parliamentary Archives*’. The objective is to refresh readers with thought provoking addresses in our Parliament by eminent global leaders. The first address in this series “Confluence of the Two Seas” was delivered on 22nd August, 2007 by the late Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Shinzo Abe in the Central Hall of *Samvidhan Sadan*. This issue will carry a selection of important speeches of Speaker, Lok Sabha delivered in national and

international fora to help understand the position and perspectives of the Parliament of India on domestic and global issues of common concern.

Readers will find in this issue a feature titled “*Remembering our Freedom Fighters*” to showcase the life and contributions of relatively little known freedom fighters from different parts of the country. This volume will carry a biographical sketch of late Kumar Kalika Prasad Singh, a freedom fighter and legislator by Dr. Ranbir Kumar, former Director, Lok Sabha Secretariat who is also an author of a biography of the freedom fighter.

This issue of JPI carries two book reviews. The first is a review article “Making of the Constitution” by Shri Bhartruhari Mahtab, an erudite and senior Member of Lok Sabha on a recent book “Our Constitution, Our Pride” authored by Shri Ram Madhav. The second is a review by Dr. Rupa Narayan Das of the iconic reference book - ‘Practice and Procedure of Parliament’, now in its 8th edition. The ‘Practice and Procedure of Parliament’ since its first publication in 1968, has served as authoritative compendium for consultation and reference by parliamentarians and secretariat officials on the parliamentary system in India. It has been our endeavour to introduce through the Book Review Section recent scholarship on parliamentary and legislative systems and related subjects.

In its seven decades long journey, JPI has been immensely enriched through the intellectual patronage extended by Members of Parliament, Presiding Officers of national parliaments and State legislatures, parliamentary and legislative secretariat officers, scholars and academicians in the form of articles, book reviews, memoirs, etc.

This volume of JPI is being produced in print and digital versions for convenience of a wide and varied readership. We hope and trust that the new issue of JPI will meet with the expectations of readers.

***Utpal Kumar Singh***  
*Editor-in-chief*



*-Shri Om Birla  
Speaker, Lok Sabha*

## Salience of Artificial Intelligence (AI)

The world of technology is in a state of ferment. The creative disruption unleashed in the wake of the advent of Artificial Intelligence (AI) is ubiquitous. It fashions the way business is conducted, entertainment, knowledge and information are served to us – in short, the way we lead our lives in a universe powered by the force and versatility of AI technologies. The wide range of possibilities that AI offers in diverse domains when considered in conjunction with other emerging and cutting-edge innovations, present unique opportunities and challenges. Parliaments around the world could not have stayed aloof from the potential benefits that are likely to accrue from adoption of AI and digital technologies. AI has already made its appearance in various avatars in many parliaments, each being guided by the common objective of enhancing ease, efficiency, quality and effectiveness in the way business is conducted in the legislative chambers. Increasingly, AI tools are also deployed to protect parliaments and its members from cyber-security attacks.

Parliament of India has sought to embrace AI

technologies in a variety of ways, such that parliamentary business – its practices, procedures and processes – is conducted effortlessly, and Members of Parliament find it easy to engage with the proceedings and debates in a meaningful manner. To take a telling example, parliamentary papers – agenda, questions, bulletins, papers laid on table and parliamentary debates etc. were hitherto provided only in Hindi and English languages. Now, AI powered machine translation based on Natural Language Processing (NLP) has enabled the Parliament of India to make a beginning by providing select parliamentary papers in several languages recognized by the Constitution of India. As the AI generated output gets further refined, the day is not far when all papers including parliamentary debates will become available to MPs and the general public in their preferred choice of language. One can only imagine the immense benefits that are likely to flow from this single innovative step in a multi-lingual Parliament like ours. By facilitating use of regional languages in our national Parliament, this initiative also helps to re-affirm the dignity in

which our regional languages are held in the apex legislative body of the land.

A significant mission undertaken by Parliament of India, and where significant progress has already been made so far, is in facilitating AI-driven search on AI-based time tagged transcript duly indexed with the audio-video content of debates. The objective of this exercise is to provide user-friendly access and navigation facility through parliamentary audio-video resources. Audio video recordings of important debates on important pieces of legislation and speeches by our national leaders on the floor of the House on contemporary issues can be viewed on our computers or mobile screens effortlessly. Parliamentary debates and questions are also being digitized as part of a parallel initiative so that AI may enable metadata extraction of relevant portions of debates for the use of parliamentarians, citizens and researchers. AI can also serve as an incisive analytical tool to help dissect the voluminous parliamentary records and provide useful insights into a whole range of issues and subjects.

The AI-driven transcription tools hold great potential for real time and accurate record keeping. Parliament of India has started working on Proof of Concept for real time AI-based speech-to-text facility. This speech-to-text technology captures speech in real-time and converts it into the target language. The Parliament of India having realized the importance of this tool is already committed at developing it at a fast pace so the software can be rolled out once the quality of output crosses acceptable benchmarks.

The proposed Generative AI Knowledge Platform in the Parliament of India is set to revolutionize access to, and understanding of parliamentary rules, processes, and procedures. The AI tool will draw from a wide repository consisting of the Constitution of India, of parliamentary rules of procedure, directions of Presiding Officers, conventions and precedents and other official and credible sources etc. so that AI-driven search functionality on the knowledge platform is able to formulate well-considered, factually correct and relevant information.

A potential area where AI based technologies can prove useful is in providing simultaneous interpretation in multiple languages with a high degree of fidelity. In the Parliament of India, Members

are free to speak in any of the 22 languages recognised in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution. At present, real time simultaneous interpretation is provided with the help of trained officials in the physical voice mode. However, with suitable refinements in the software, simultaneous interpretation facility has the potential to be deployed both inside the House Chambers and outside during national and international parliamentary conventions and meetings.

India's AI Mission is premised on the principle of "AI for All"! Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi has clearly enunciated that the objective of India's AI policy is to foster progress and well-being of all. India being a founding member of the Global Partnership on Artificial Intelligence has advocated responsible development and application of AI keeping human rights, inclusion, diversity, creativity, and economic prosperity in our sights. However, as global citizens, we need to be cognizant of risks posed by the application of AI technologies in domains stretching from ethics, data protection, global peace and security, *etc.* These risks can be mitigated with a comprehensive and united global response, involving both developing and developed nations. Parliaments can provide a lead in this direction by helping forge consensus on legal and regulatory frameworks

that assure fairness, transparency and accountability.

In the 27<sup>th</sup> Standing Committee Meeting of the Conference of Speakers and Presiding Officers of Parliaments (CSPOC) held in Guernsey, Presiding Officers of participating Parliaments noted the steps being taken in the Parliament of India towards adoption of AI technologies. A decision was taken in the meeting to include as an agenda item, the theme of AI application in parliamentary functioning for plenary discussion at the 28<sup>th</sup> CSPOC meet in India next year.

The use of digital technology and AI has the potential for empowering our legislators in the discharge of their parliamentary responsibilities more effectively and efficiently. Equally, AI technology also offers constituents and citizens to understand better, the contributions and efforts of Parliamentarians in raising peoples' voices in the hallowed Chambers of the Parliament. The future holds great promise as the horizon of this technology is being continuously expanded to open up newer possibilities. The Parliament of India is fully committed to adoption of Responsible and ethical AI to serve the people of India with greater diligence and commitment.



**-Sujeet Kumar**  
*Member, Rajya Sabha*

## Artificial Intelligence: Contours and Contents

The core issue addressed in this article is the establishment of liability for Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the challenges associated with assigning legal responsibility and liability to such systems. Currently, the legal framework, specifically in India, lacks clear judicial precedents, legislative measures, or international covenants/conventions that address AI's role when in conflict with the law. Such absence of a clear legal structure may be a factor for complexity while determining cases where AI systems<sup>1</sup> are involved. An urgent question arises: whether there should be new laws regulating AI activities or if the existing legislation should be tweaked to be able to regulate this new form of technology. The 'Artificial Intelligence (GPAI) New Delhi Declaration', which was chaired by same need for a regulatory framework was acknowledged in the 2024 Global Partnership India that year<sup>2</sup>.

AI systems are fundamentally different from humans in several key ways. They are not considered equivalent to people or entities

with legal personhood due to various technological, philosophical and legal distinctions. Machines are essentially artefacts, products of human creativity and intellectual effort, rather than autonomous beings with intrinsic rights or responsibilities. There is no ontological basis for equating machines with humans, unless they exhibit a form of strong autonomy-meaning they would need to demonstrate self-determination, both in setting goals and in choosing how to achieve them. Currently, AI operates more as a metaphor for intelligence, reflecting similarities in rational processes between humans and machines, rather than possessing genuine, autonomous decision-making capabilities. The challenge lies in reconciling the capabilities of AI with legal concepts that are traditionally based on human behaviour and intent, underscoring the need for a nuanced legal approach to address these emerging issues.

Sometimes, the issue with present or existing laws is that some are either in conflict with other legislation or they are obsolete with the ongoing

development of technology. The incorporation of vague language within the statute opens up the gateway for either the government to exercise unfettered discretion leading to the violation of the rights of the individual or the offender, using the loopholes of ambiguous laws. But, for actualising accountability, it is necessary for the relevant law or statute, formulated or pronounced by the competent authority, to be constructed in a manner so precise that an individual may foresee its liability and adjust his/ her conduct accordingly. A statute must be sufficiently precise to regulate the conduct of an individual and must not be open to broad interpretations and avoid vagueness that carries the risk of a slippery slope.

Advanced technology has always enhanced the human potential - from the invention of the wheel to the steam-powered engine to the advent of modern computers. This trend is illustrated by newly developed technologies, including self-driving automobiles and auto-generative artificial intelligence instruments. For instance, the self-driving car

market is projected to grow at a Compounded Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of 33%, from 2024 to 2033<sup>3</sup>. Some foresee the potential growth to \$469 billion from \$238 billion, between 2020 and 2030<sup>4</sup>. Likewise, NASSCOM anticipates the AI market will grow to \$17 billion by FY 2027 at a CAGR of between 25%-15% in India<sup>5</sup>. These projections depict the future of transformation across various sectors, including healthcare, finance, education, and law, et al.

Given this significant impact, it is necessary to define the accountabilities and liabilities associated with AI. Properly defining compliance responsibilities and sanctioning violations are crucial to ensuring meaningful compliance consequences; thereby encouraging adherence to legal and ethical standards. This is imperative, given that the level of automated decision-making in these systems varies and there is no standardised method for the creation or development of AI, or for the assessment of their intelligence. The complexity of AI, which involves data applications and technology, requires a detailed approach in terms of regulation and liability, so that the systems are not abused and to ensure that domestic legal frameworks can adapt to these evolving technologies.

### What is AI?

The primary issue that must be unearthed at this stage is the need for a precise definition of 'Artificial Intelligence' or 'AI'. Currently, there is no universally accepted definition, which hinders progress in creating the legislation required to combat this activity. The refinement of the concept involves paving the way to a correct formulation of laws that properly address the right set of technologies under the definition and ambit of AI. Without such a common understanding, legal frameworks risk being either too broad, potentially stifling innovation, or too narrow, failing to address all relevant aspects of AI. Defining AI with precision helps legislators develop the laws essential for governing the technology, together with the capability to encourage more innovation while dealing with emerging challenges.

NITI Aayog, the Indian Government thinktank, in its 'National Strategy for Artificial Intelligence', attempted to define AI as: "*AI is a constellation of technologies that enable machines to act with higher levels of intelligence and emulate the human capabilities of sense, comprehend and act*"<sup>6</sup>. The issue with this definition is that it neither differentiates between hardware and software nor does it attempt to classify the 'AI' as weak or strong.

It may not be out of place; rather, it may be pertinent to highlight a few other definitions of AI. Executive Order on the Safe, Secure, and Trustworthy Development and Use of Artificial Intelligence, defines AI in Section 3(b)<sup>7</sup> of the order as:

"(b) The term 'artificial intelligence' or 'AI' has the meaning set forth in 15 U.S.C. 9401(3): a machine-based system that can, for a given set of human-defined objectives, make predictions, recommendations, or decisions influencing real or virtual environments. Artificial intelligence systems use machine- and human-based inputs to perceive real and virtual environments; abstract such perceptions into models through analysis in an automated manner; and use model inference to formulate options for information or action."

Another important piece to be mentioned here is the definition proposed by the Safe and Secure Innovation for Frontier Artificial Intelligence Models Act<sup>8</sup> of California, which defines AI under Section 3(b) of the Act as:

"(b) Artificial intelligence' means an engineered or machine-based system that varies in its level of autonomy and that can, implicit objectives, infer from the input it for explicit receives how to generate outputs that can influence physical or virtual environments."

Along the US and California, OCED (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) in its 'Recommendation of the Council on Artificial Intelligence'<sup>9</sup> defines AI system as:

“AI system: An AI system is a machine-based system that, for explicit or implicit objectives, infers, from the input it receives, how to generate outputs such as predictions, content, recommendations, or decisions that can influence physical or virtual environments. Different AI systems vary in their levels of autonomy and adaptiveness after deployment.”

When discussing AI, it is expedient to make a distinction with regards to the components as well as the functioning of such systems. AI software implemented on a small computer or over a computer network can be called 'AI algorithms' or 'software agents.' These algorithms are essentially designed with the purpose of doing work like data processing, pattern recognition, and decision making on the basis of data fed or received into the system.

In contrast, when AI system incorporates hardware components like sensors, cameras, and other devices, they are usually termed 'robot agents.' These systems integrate

AI algorithms with physical hardware to perform more complex functions, such as autonomous navigation, object manipulation, or real-time environmental interaction. The combination of software and hardware enables robot agents to execute tasks that require both computational intelligence and physical interaction with the world.

With regards to the weak or strong AI classification, 'Weak AI', or 'Narrow AI', refers to systems designed to perform specific tasks, like Natural Language Processing (NLP) or image recognition and 'Strong AI' or 'General AI', aims to achieve human-like intelligence across a wide range of activities, with the ability to learn and apply knowledge autonomously.

'Weak AI' refers to systems which are designed for a particular problem domain or to handle specific tasks or applications, such as NLP or image recognition. These systems are developed for specific tasks and do not possess general intelligence or the ability to learn beyond their designated tasks. They operate based on predefined algorithms and data, excelling in their specific areas but lacking broader cognitive abilities. 'Strong AI', on the other hand, aims to achieve a level

of intelligence comparable to human cognition across a wide range of activities. This type of AI seeks to develop systems that can understand, learn, and apply knowledge autonomously in diverse contexts. Strong AI would be capable of general reasoning, problem-solving, and adapting to new situations with a level of flexibility akin to human intelligence, representing a more advanced and ambitious goal in the field of artificial intelligence.

In light of the above, we can define AI as, “*A system or interrelated technology based on an algorithm or computer programme integrated with hardware components built to perform tasks requiring human-like intelligence to make decisions or generate outputs without explicit human guidance.*”

In all of the above cases, whether it is software agents, robot agents, Weak AI, or Strong AI, the most crucial element is 'data'. This data is imperative to build and train artificial intelligent systems. Especially for the latest AI generations, the quality and amount of data, strongly translate and influence and AI's learning capability and its performance. In the absence of data, AI systems would not be able to operate or make informed decisions. Consequently, data is seen to be

the building block on which all AI technologies are developed and improved.

### **Working of Artificial Intelligence**

The evolution of technology is a boon as well as a bane for any nation and its legal system. A concrete scientific definition for artificial intelligence does not exist.<sup>10</sup> Still, in layman's language, it can be termed as a computer resource with the capacity to adapt or improve in response to inputs, in order to solve issues and address scenarios that extend beyond the specified set of inquiries and instructions that the computer was programmed with<sup>11</sup>. Artificial intelligence and autonomous robotic systems are gradually being implemented in many facets of our lives, and they interact with people on a regular basis<sup>12</sup>. Along with the various advantages that such innovations are predicted to provide, the chance that such systems would inflict physical, emotional, or economic pain or damage to individuals or property is also expected to rise<sup>13</sup>. It is imperative to note that AI doesn't need to have physical appearance or existence (e.g. robots), but it can also be a mere abstract existence (e.g. software programmes)<sup>14</sup>.

The rapid advancement of AI is reshaping our world through various transformative dimensions, with 'Machine Learning (ML)' being a pivotal component. Machine

learning enables algorithms and software to acquire new skills and improve their performance by analysing and learning from data. The US Executive Order on the Safe, Secure, and Trustworthy Development and Use of Artificial Intelligence defines ML as follows: "The term 'machine learning algorithms means a set of techniques that can be used to train AI to improve performance at a task based on data."<sup>15</sup>

Unlike traditional programming, where specific instructions are programmed while developing an AI system, ML algorithms are based on millions of iterations, refining their accuracy and efficiency as they process more data. This ability to learn and make predictions based on data allows for nuanced applications such as personalised recommendations, adaptive customer service, and automated diagnostics where the results of AI systems become increasingly accurate, efficient, and relevant to the users' needs as time passes.

Furthermore, ML has significantly enhanced human-computer collaboration, interaction, and group intelligence sharing and facilitates the processing of data collated from various geographical jurisdictions. ML systems support more informed decision-making and enable more effective interaction between humans and technology

by processing diverse datasets and identifying patterns. For instance, the ML that is seen today has transformed the potential and capacity for autonomous operation, exemplified by self-driving cars and other intelligent systems. These systems use continuous learning to actively respond to new situations and navigate complex environments. This is achieved through the utilisation of continuous learning, which has fundamentally altered and revolutionised industries, driving innovation. Collectively, machine learning is poised with the potential to revolutionise the present in how humans interact with technology, offering unprecedented levels of automation, efficiency, and adaptability.<sup>16</sup>

'Deep Learning' (DL) is a narrow field of machine learning using neural networks, containing more than one layer, for analysis and comprehension of large arrays of data. Unlike traditional ML, where the process of identifying patterns often relies on feature extraction by humans, deep learning automates this process. It uses Artificial Neural Networks (ANNs) which mimic the structure of the human brain for learning the raw data, in contrast to the traditionally framed methods. Each and every layer of the network extracts different degrees of abstraction, from simple components in the first

layer to the complex patterns in the successive levels, to enable the system to handle very complex problems.

This is especially effective for solving the problems which are hard for traditional programming approaches because of the complexity and size. For example, in image recognition, it is possible to define tasks and find objects in comparison with millions of labelled images that the deep learning algorithms use. Likewise, in NLP, deep learning models can comprehend and produce human language after analysing big piles of texts. “Since deep learning models can learn from new data through evolving patterns, they are capable of powering technologies such as self-driving cars, healthcare diagnostics, and recommendation systems.”

The key ability we often attribute to DL is the ability to work with unstructured data or tasks that depend on understanding and interpretation. The use of models which can learn with examples in order to make decisions is the most valuable asset in DL approaches and something which is hard to achieve with traditional programming models. This capability of transformation is already prompting dramatic change across nearly every field

imaginable; from healthcare to finance and entertainment to everything else in-between, it is revolutionising automation, prediction, and personalisation. Instead, DL belongs to a category of ANNs, which are inspired by the structure and function of the human brain. These networks are made up of layers of interconnected nodes or neurons that make up the system and are designed to take in input data and pass the information to other layers that have been developed within the system. In a technique called training, the strength and the structure of the connections between the neurons in the network adapt by receiving data to be processed over time, allowing it to gain the capacity to analyse complex patterns and make correct assumptions. This training process can entail fairly massive datasets and substantial computation, but the end product that comes from it is object classifiers, NLP algorithms, and prediction engines of truly extraordinary capabilities.

When DL models are seamlessly integrated into AI systems, they enable these systems to efficiently process commands and generate desired results. For instance, self-driving cars use deep learning models to interpret real-time sensor input for object recognition, predict the

behaviour of pedestrians and other automobiles, and make driving decisions. Likewise, in healthcare, deep learning techniques can integrate medical images and ascertain disease diagnosis at its preliminary stage with high accuracy. These two models’ performances in learning from data and adapting to other conditions make it easier for the AI system to solve a lot of problems that need higher-order understanding and decision-making processes.

Deploying deep learning in an AI model/system means switching from traditional rule-based strategies to more free-form, data-based techniques. This shift enables solving problems that have high variability and uncertainty that cannot be solved using rule-based AI. DL makes use of neural nets, and is characterised by an ability to learn and to become more enhanced as samples of data pour in, hence making the systems more capable in their performance of accurate and reliable results. This capability places deep learning at the heart of current advances within artificial intelligence and its application across the many domains and sectors for the improvement of necessary problem-solving and decision-making processes.

Artificial Intelligence, machine learning, and deep

learning can be considered as having interconnected and overlapping of a given technology, but are not the same. Each term represents a different aspect of how computers can be programmed to mimic human intelligence, with varying degrees of complexity and capability. AI is the broadest concept, which means any form of technology capable of decision-making and solving problems on its own. ML is a subset of AI that allows systems to improve and adapt as they are exposed to the same data without being programmed for every job. There are two principal branches: supervised and unsupervised, with the latter divided even further into clustering and dimensionality reduction. DL takes Multilayer Learning a step contain neural networks for intricate pattern interpretation for tasks such as image and speech processing. These technologies are connected, as AI defines the structure of the whole system, ML shows how to learn from data, and DL describes advanced approaches to solve complicated data and problems.

It's important to note that AI encompasses a general idea of designing a machine or system capable of undertaking tasks best done by human intellect. Such tasks may include performing logical operations, decision-making, natural language processing, and visioning/interpretation

of the stimuli. AI includes a broad list of approximations referring to the accumulation of methodologies, strategies, techniques, or algorithms designed to make machines intelligent, like human beings. Others state that the scope of artificial intelligence strengthens the vision of developing a type of intelligence higher than what human beings are capable of. This notion is explained by the theories of the 'singularity, according to which it is possible for the existence of an AI that will be non-interpretable by a human brain.<sup>17</sup>

ML is an imperative subset of AI, dealing with the building of a model that empowers the computer to modify its work based on data, without explicit programming. Unlike traditional AI systems that provide fixed instructions followed in decision-making, ML systems are able to train themselves from big data using pattern recognition techniques. This leaning process allows them to make predictions or decisions based on the data they have been exposed to. A key distinction from traditional programming is that ML models adapt and refine their behaviour through experience. There are various types of ML, such as 'supervised learning', where the model is trained on labelled data to map inputs to known outputs, and 'unsupervised learning', where the model detects

patterns without predefined labels. 'Reinforcement learning' is another environment and receives feedback in the form of rewards or penalties. As ML models are exposed to more data, they become better at identifying relevant features and improving their predictions. The learning ability, as well as the ability to adapt and automate all forms of tasks, makes ML especially relevant in such areas of operation as image and voice recognition, NLP, self-driving cars, and recommendation systems. The applicability of ML also helps in its ability to work with vast amounts of data at once, which is vital in current industries.

DL can be described as a subset of ML that can teach ANNs with multiple layers, thus permitting their understanding of data using models that arrange the data hierarchically. These networks are the imitation of the human brain; they contain layers of neurons that successively analyse the input data with the capability of the model to learn features and patterns inherent at various abstraction levels. Due to this, DL is especially useful in applications that include image classification, NLP, and speech recognition, to mention but a few, as it surpasses regular ML approaches. Unlike other machine learning where features are designed in advance, DL models can do the feature

extraction on their own from raw, unformatted data, making them highly versatile for a wide range of applications.

There are networks in DL, such as Convolutional Neural Network (CNNs) and Recurrent Neural Network (RNNs), which are employed for specific sets of data categories like image data and sequence data. These models demand large datasets and lots of computational resources; however, their generality and effectiveness in these roles have made progress in areas such as sickness identification, and translation between languages. Even though DL is computationally expensive in many cases and, in some instances, it is difficult to decipher what has been learned, DL's capacity to learn from humongous amounts of data has placed the field at the core of modern-day AI technologies.

In summary, while AI is the broad concept of creating intelligent machines, ML is a subset of AI that focuses on learning from data, and DL is a further subset of ML that involves neural networks with multiple layers. DL represents a more advanced and specialised form of ML, capable of handling complex tasks and achieving state-of-the-art performance in various domains and driving innovation in technology and

industry in specified areas. Each of these concepts plays a crucial role in advancing the capabilities of intelligent systems.

In a nutshell, the working of an AI system can be understood as a multifaceted process that involves several interconnected stages, each crucial for its functioning. It begins with data collection, which serves as the foundation, drawing from diverse sources such as sensors, databases, or the internet. This raw data then undergoes pre-processing, where it is cleaned, normalised, and transformed to make it suitable for analysis. After that, AI models are trained using pre-processed data by mapping different algorithms and techniques.

Model training is followed by evaluation, wherein the performance of the trained model is assessed using separate validation datasets to ensure its effectiveness and generalisability. Once validated, the trained model is deployed into the organisation's production environments where it is incorporated into current systems or in unique systems for making predictions or decisions. Post-deployment, further evaluation and updating of the model is essential to ensure its ongoing performance and accuracy. This involves tracking

key metrics, detecting any drift or degradation in performance, and periodically retraining the model with new data to keep it relevant. This iterative process or feedback loop of data gathering, preparation, model development, testing, implementation, and updates constitute the foundation of the AI; at the same time, it provides the general framework for the formation of intelligent systems across many fields.

### **Levels of Automation**

SAE International (2018)<sup>18</sup> identifies six levels of driving automation. Level 0 (No Automation) means the system can give warnings or briefly act but does not control the vehicle for long. Level 1 (Hands-On) has both the driver and the system working together, like with Cruise Control or Parking Assistance, but the driver must be ready to take control. In Level 2 (Hands Off), the system handles acceleration, braking, and steering, but the driver Level 3 must keep an eye on the road and act quickly if necessary. (Eyes Off) allows the driver to focus on things other than driving, like texting or watching a movie, but they must still be ready to take over in a set timeframe. Level 4 (Minds Off) means the driver does not need to pay attention for safety, allowing them to sleep

or leave the seat. Finally, Level 5 (Steering Wheel Optional) signifies complete automation, where no human help is needed, as in fully autonomous<sup>19</sup> vehicles.

**AI Ecosystem**

AI systems do not operate in isolation; they work within a larger group of linked technologies, known as the “AI Ecosystem.” This ecosystem includes AI’s connections with other current technologies like the Internet of Things (IoT), blockchain, sensors, and data networks. These elements come together to allow AI systems to examine and process large volumes of data. The continuous creation, exchange, and analysis of data form the foundation of

this ecosystem, allowing AI to function in increasingly dynamic and real-time environments. Data is collected from various sources-IoT devices, sensors, blockchain transactions and is pooled, reassessed, and shared, enabling AI systems to refine their operations. These interactions allow AI to function more effectively, but they also introduce significant liability risks.<sup>20</sup>

Each technology within the AI Ecosystem, whether it’s IoT devices, blockchain systems, or data networks, brings its own set of liability issues. For example, if a sensor fails to accurately report data or if blockchain protocols are breached, it could lead to system malfunctions or misinformation, causing

harm or financial loss. As these technologies are increasingly integrated and interdependent, the liability landscape becomes more complex, with risks overlapping and compounding across systems. When AI interacts with these technologies in real-world applications, such as autonomous vehicles, smart cities, or healthcare diagnostics, the potential for multi-layered liability emerges. It becomes difficult to determine and pinpoint fault when harm occurs- is it the AI’s algorithm at fault, the sensor that fed it inaccurate data, or the blockchain that failed to verify the integrity of the data?

In this context, legal and regulatory frameworks struggle to keep pace with the rapidly

Level	Name	Description	Driver Role
Level 0	No Automation	Automated system issues warnings or momentary interventions, but no sustained control.	Driver has full control at all times.
Level 1	Hands-On	Shared control with systems like Cruise Control or Parking Assistance. Driver must always be ready to take over.	Driver must constantly supervise.
Level 2	Hands off	Automated system handles acceleration, braking, and steering. Driver must still monitor the system and be ready to intervene.	Driver supervises and intervenes if necessary.
Level 3	Eyes off	Driver can divert attention from driving tasks (e.g., texting, watching a film) but must intervene within a specified time if necessary.	Driver can focus on other tasks but must be ready to act.
Level 4	Minds Off	No driver attention required for safety. Driver can sleep or leave the driver’s seat, but the system is limited to specific conditions (e.g., geographic areas).	No driver intervention needed during specific conditions.
Level 5	Steering Wheel Optional	Full automation with no human intervention required. Applicable in all environments and conditions, such as fully autonomous taxis.	No human intervention needed at all.

evolving AI Ecosystem, requiring new models of liability that address the interconnectivity of technologies and the role of human actors. The layered nature of the ecosystem means that when something goes wrong, fault could be spread across multiple parties—manufacturers, programmers, data providers, and users—each contributing to the final outcome in different ways. This raises questions about how to fairly allocate responsibility in an increasingly complex technological landscape.

### **Need for Liability**

The advent of AI and autonomous systems introduces complex legal and ethical challenges, particularly concerning liability and accountability for wrongful acts committed by these systems.<sup>21</sup> Traditional legal frameworks, designed primarily to handle human actions, struggle to accommodate the unique characteristics of AI, necessitating a nuanced examination of responsibility and liability. As argued by many, AI is competent enough to inflict physical as well as non-physical damage to society at large in varied aspects.<sup>22</sup> For instance, physically, AI systems could cause damage through autonomous vehicles, weaponry, or other machinery

that might malfunction or be misused. On the other hand, non-physically, AI could impact society through the manipulation of information, privacy violations, and the spread of misinformation, potentially undermining trust and social cohesion. The broad range of potential harms underscores the need for careful consideration and regulation of AI technologies.

One of the primary issues is the lack of established legal precedents specifically addressing the liability of AI and autonomous systems. Existing laws typically rely on concepts of human agency and intent, but AI systems operate based on algorithms and machine learning, which lack these human attributes. This fundamental difference complicates the process of attributing responsibility, as AI actions are the result of programmed responses and data inputs rather than deliberate human decisions. Moreover, the use of AI and autonomous systems often lead to a significant reduction in direct human oversight and control. These systems are designed to perform tasks independently, which inherently reduces the level of human responsibility in their operations. This creates a challenge in determining who should be held accountable

when something goes wrong. The traditional concept of “command responsibility,” where individuals are held liable for actions taken under their authority, becomes less clear when decisions and actions are executed by autonomous entities. Unlike traditional devices, which simply follow pre-set instructions and perform tasks mechanically, AIs possess the ability to make autonomous decisions. This autonomy in decision-making sets AI apart, as they can adapt and respond to new situations independently, whereas ordinary devices strictly adhere to the commands programmed by their human creators. This difference raises intriguing questions about the nature of intelligence and autonomy in artificial entities.

The type of liability applicable in cases involving AI can also vary. ‘Product liability’ might hold manufacturers and developers responsible if an AI system is deemed defective and causes harm. However, proving a defect in the complex and often opaque algorithms of AI can be challenging. Alternatively, negligence might apply if operators or users of AI systems fail to maintain or supervise the AI adequately, leading to harmful outcomes. Establishing a standard of care for the use and oversight of AI systems, however, is still an evolving area of law.

Overall, the integration of AI and autonomous systems into various sectors necessitates a rethinking of legal frameworks to address these emerging challenges. Ensuring accountability and protecting public safety will require legal innovation and possibly new regulatory approaches to effectively manage the unique risks posed by these advanced technologies.

### **Asimov's Three Laws of Robotics: Ethical Foundations and their Impact on AI and Robotics**

Isaac Asimov's 'Three Laws of Robotics', highlighted in his fiction, are a set of ethical guidelines designed to govern the behaviour of robots and ensure their actions align with human safety and ethical standards. The rules were introduced in Isaac Asimov's 1942 short story, "Runaround," which is part of his 1950 collection I, *Robot*.<sup>23</sup> However, similar restrictions had been implied in Asimov's earlier stories. These laws have significantly influenced both science fiction and real-world discussions on robotics and artificial intelligence.

The First Law states that *a robot may not injure a human being or, through inaction, allow a human being to come to harm*. This law prioritises human safety above all else, ensuring that robots are fundamentally programmed to protect human

life. It establishes a proactive duty of care, requiring robots to not only avoid causing harm directly, but also to take action to prevent harm if it is within their capability. This law forms the cornerstone of 'ethical robotics', emphasising that the primary purpose of robots is 'to serve and safeguard humans'.

The Second Law stipulates that *a robot must obey the orders given to it by human beings, except where such orders would conflict with the First Law*. This law ensures that robots remain subservient to human commands, reinforcing their role as tools and assistants to humans. However, it introduces a crucial caveat: robots must disobey any orders that would result in harm to humans. This creates a hierarchy of priorities, where human safety trumps obedience, thereby preventing malicious or harmful use of robots by humans.

The Third Law states that *a robot must protect its own existence as long as such protection does not conflict with the First or Second Law*. This law acknowledges the value of the robot's self-preservation but subordinates it to the higher priorities of human safety and obedience. By ensuring robots maintain their functionality and avoid unnecessary risks, this law supports the sustainability and reliability of robots in performing their duties. However, if a situation arises where protecting itself would

result in harm to a human or disobeying a direct order, the robot must sacrifice its own safety.

Together, Asimov's 'Three Laws of Robotics' form the basis of a comprehensive ethical framework designed to guide the behaviour of robots and ensure their integration into human society in a safe and controlled manner. The First Law prioritises human safety above all, establishing a fundamental principle of non-harm. The Second Law reinforces the importance of human command while ensuring that such commands do not compromise safety. The Third Law balances the robot's self-preservation with its duties to humans and their directives. These laws not only serve as a narrative tool in science fiction but also provoke thoughtful discussions about the ethical design and use of autonomous systems. By addressing both the protection of humans and the operational integrity of robots, Asimov's laws provide a foundational perspective on creating responsible and effective robotic technology.

### **Conclusion**

As we embark on our exploration of liability creation for Artificial Intelligence, it's evident that we stand at a critical juncture in the evolution and interface of technology and law. The issue of AI liability has shifted from science fiction

into a pressing real-world concern. Situations that once seemed confined to novels and films are now becoming part of our everyday lives, presenting complex ethical, legal, philosophical and societal challenges. The rapid advancement of AI technologies, from machine learning algorithms to autonomous vehicles, has outpaced our legal frameworks, presenting us with the formidable challenge of bridging this gap. The absence of a universally accepted definition of AI remains a primary hurdle, as precisely defining the subject matter is crucial for constructing effective laws and regulations. Moreover, the unique ability of AI systems, to make autonomous decisions, complicates traditional notions of liability, blurring the lines of responsibility in ways that conventional devices do not.

The lack of established judicial precedents specifically addressing AI liability leaves us in uncharted territory, with courts and legislators grappling to apply existing legal principles to these novel technologies. As we move forward, we must strike a delicate balance

between fostering technological innovation and ensuring accountability, recognising that overly restrictive regulations could stifle progress, while insufficient oversight could lead to unintended consequences.

To address these challenges, we need to develop flexible legal frameworks that can evolve alongside AI technologies. This may involve creating new categories of legal personhood or liability specifically tailored to AI systems. Inter-disciplinary collaboration between legal experts, technologists, ethicists and policymakers will be crucial in creating comprehensive and effective solutions. Given the borderless nature of AI technologies, international cooperation in establishing standards and regulations will be essential to ensure consistency and prevent regulatory arbitrage.

As we develop liability frameworks for AI, it's crucial to address the ethical implications alongside legal considerations. Incorporating principles like transparency, fairness and accountability into our legal approaches will ensure that AI

systems are used responsibly and that their impacts are properly managed.

Given the rapid evolution of AI technology, it is essential for our legal responses to be dynamic and adaptable. Regularly reviewing and updating liability laws will be necessary to effectively address emerging challenges and ensure that legal frameworks keep pace with technological advancements. While the creation of liability for AI presents significant challenges, it also offers an opportunity to reimagine our legal systems for the digital age. By addressing these challenges head-on, we can create a framework that not only protects individuals and society, but also fosters responsible innovation in AI technologies. The path forward may be complex, but it is one we must navigate to ensure that the potential of AI is realised within a framework of accountability and ethical responsibility. As we continue to grapple with these issues, our ability to adapt and innovate in our legal thinking will be as important as the technological innovations themselves.

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## The Constitution and Indian Nationhood\*

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The very idea of India is of one land embracing many. It is the idea that a nation may accommodate—indeed, celebrate—differences of caste, creed, colour, culture, cuisine, conviction, costume, and custom, and still rally around a democratic consensus. That consensus is around the simple constitutional principle that in a democracy under the rule of law, you do not really need to agree all the time—except on the ground rules of how you will disagree. The reason India has survived all the stresses and strains that have beset it for nearly eight decades, and that led so many to predict its imminent disintegration, is that it maintained consensus on how to manage without consensus. Today those in positions of power seem to be scorning these ground rules, which are enshrined, alongside the idea of India, in our Constitution. This is why it is imperative, today more than ever, to reaffirm those rules, that idea, and—above all—our Constitution.

The Constitution had to incorporate, in its very essence, this idea of Indian nationhood,

which had emerged from the nationalist movement. Nationalism, to my mind, is essentially divisible into those forms that are changeless (like ethnicity and identity-based nationalism) and those where the sense of nationhood inheres in institutions, practices and systems enshrined in a Constitution and reaffirmed regularly through a democratic vote—in other words, civic nationalism. Whereas ethnic nationhood inheres in the body, civic nationalism appeals to the mind; it is a nationalism of constitutions and institutions you respect, rather than identities you are born into. In using ‘ethnic nationalism’ as shorthand for which most people traditionally understand by the idea of nationalism, I admit, of course, that nationalism always goes a step further than mere ethnocentrism, in that it seeks and demands loyalty to a politically distinct entity requires membership in an organized mass social group or community, insists on fealty to a formalized ideology, and requires of its adherents the performance of certain actions or behaviors to confirm their

allegiance to the nation, such as saluting the flag, singing the anthem, or swearing loyalty to the state. Still, if its basis is the unchanging qualities, one largely acquired by the accidental circumstance of birth, it falls into the category of ‘classic’ ethnic nationalism. Civic nationalism, while still nationalist, is distinguished from ethnic nationalism by the very fact that ethnicity and its trappings are irrelevant to a nationalist’s sense of allegiance to his country. It is this latter idea that the Constitution of India implicitly incorporated.

Civic nationalism is a concept that drives those states that derive their political legitimacy not from ethnicity, religion, language, culture, or any of the immutable trappings that people acquire from birth, but from the consent and active participation of their citizens, as free members of a democratic polity. Ideas of civic nationalism are said to have originated from the writings of European philosophers like John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and especially with the latter’s 1762 book. *The Social Contract*,

which describes the legitimacy of government being derived from the 'general will' of the people. Membership of the civic nation is voluntary and can be acquired not only by birth but by immigration and usually (except in a handful of countries) renunciation of other allegiances. Civic nationalism requires liberal democratic institutions, constitutionalism that guarantees freedom of speech and association, and representative democracy, and is, therefore the form of nationalism most closely associated with the modern state. Since these essential attributes are not totally inconsistent with the majoritarian impulse prevalent in ethno-nationalist 'illiberal democracies', civic nationalism rests on liberal constitutionalism to prevent such distortions. While the United States of America and France are often described as prototypes of civic nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism like India's evolved into civic nationalism, and, arguably, a once ethnic nationalism like Germany's has been transformed into the same variant today.

Indian civic nationalism thus required allegiance to an idea of India transcending religious, ethnic, linguistic and other sub-national identities. 'I do not want that our loyalty as Indians should be in the

slightest way affected by any competitive loyalty,' said Ambedkar, 'whether that loyalty arises out of our religion, out of our culture or out of our language. I want all people to be Indians first, Indians last and nothing else but Indian.'<sup>1</sup> He was explicitly rejecting the divisions by religion, caste, region, and language which the likes of Churchill would have seen as definitive. The Constitution set about formally and legally establishing who 'Indians' were.

In doing so, and in their attempt to give the country the best Constitution they could, its framers borrowed from and were inspired by models from around the world. The structure of Parliament, including the roles of the Lok Sabha (House of the People) and the Rajya Sabha (Council of States), and concept of a cabinet system of government, where the executive is responsible to the legislature, were inspired by the British system. The idea of a written Constitution and the inclusion of a Bill of Rights, along with the concept of judicial review, allowing the judiciary to strike down laws that violate the Constitution, were inspired by the US Constitution. The words 'equal protection of the laws'<sup>2</sup> in Article 14 were taken from the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution. The exceptions

to the freedom of speech and expression incorporated in Article 19(2) were included in emulation of the Irish Constitution. The phrase 'procedure established by law'<sup>3</sup> in Article 21 was borrowed from Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy, as we have seen, were inspired by the Irish Constitution. The concept of a strong Central Government with a federal structure, in which powers are divided between the Central and State Governments, was influenced by the Canadian model. The idea of emergency provisions, allowing the Central Government to take control during times of crisis, was inspired by Weimar Constitution of Germany. The concept of concurrent powers, where both the Central and State Governments can legislate on certain subjects was borrowed from the Australian Constitution. And the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which are enshrined in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution, were inspired by the French Revolution.

This did not sit well with some nationalist members of the Constituent Assembly. As early as 30 August, 1947, a member of the Assembly, P.S. Deshmukh,<sup>4</sup> deplored that India seemed to be borrowing its Constitution from those of Ireland and the British Raj's Government of India Act.

Such charges continued to be laid over the following year of deliberations, prompting Ambedkar to respond, while presenting a first draft in November, 1948.

It is said that there is nothing new in the Draft Constitution, that about half of it has been copied from the Government of India Act of 1935 and that the rest of it has been borrowed from the constitutions of other countries. Very little of it can claim originality. One likes to ask whether there can be anything new in a Constitution framed at this hour in the history of the world. More than hundred years have rolled over when the first written Constitution was drafted. It has been followed by many countries reducing their Constitutions to writing. What the scope of a Constitution should be has long been settled. Similarly, what are the fundamentals of a Constitution are recognized all over the world. Given these facts, all Constitutions in their main provisions must look similar<sup>5</sup>.

Having acknowledged and justified this seeming lack of originality, Ambedkar then proceeded to explain why it was unfair to view the Indian version as entirely borrowed.

The only new things, if there can be any, in a Constitution

framed so late in the day are the variations made to remove the faults and to accommodate it to the needs of the country. The charge of producing a blind copy of the Constitutions of other countries is based, I am sure, on an inadequate study of the Constitution. I have shown what is new in the Draft Constitution and I am sure that those who have studied other Constitutions and who are prepared to consider the matter dispassionately will agree that the Drafting Committee in performing its duty has not been guilty of such blind and slavish imitation as it is represented to be.<sup>6</sup>

‘I make no apologies’, he added, because ‘there is nothing to be ashamed of in borrowing. It involves no plagiarism. Nobody holds any patent rights in the fundamental ideas of a constitution.’<sup>7</sup> Still, he was right in claiming to have ‘accommodated’ external ideas to the ‘needs of the country’, In Article 21, for example, the Constitution avoided the American phrase ‘due process of law’ because the drafters were aware that the US Supreme Court had used this language to strike down social welfare legislation during the Great Depression, and they did not want to give Indian courts the same power. Similarly,

the exceptions to free speech enumerated in Article 19(2), though the idea was inspired by the Irish Constitution, included the words ‘friendly relations with foreign states’ in the Indian Constitution in order to restrict the right to advocate, as some were doing, the forcible reintegration of Pakistan into India.<sup>8</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru’s opening remarks when he moved the motion at the newly established Constituent Assembly on 13 December, 1946 gives us a sense of the immense pressure and responsibility on the lawmakers to ensure that they responded fittingly to the situation and did justice to the task of Constitution-making. They were conscious they had to preserve the essential past while marching towards the future. Nehru said:

We are at the end of an era and possibly very soon we shall embark upon a new age; and my mind goes back to the great past of India, to the 5,000 years of India’s history, from the very dawn of that history which might be considered almost the dawn of human history, till today. All that past crowds around me and exhilarates me and, at the same time, somewhat oppresses me. Am I worthy of that past? When I think also of

the future, the greater future I hope, standing on this sword's edge of the present between this mighty past and the mightier future, I tremble a little and feel overwhelmed by this mighty task.<sup>9</sup>

Dr. Ambedkar's concluding remarks to the Constituent Assembly in the 'The Grammar of Anarchy' speech he gave on 25 November, 1949 offered a fitting coda. He spoke of the maladies of India and its ideal state, to be ensured by the rule of law. In a magisterial expression of India through the prism of politics, law, and social hierarchies, he highlighted the fact that 'there is complete absence of two things in Indian society'-equality and fraternity. 'On the 26<sup>th</sup> of January, 1950, he declared, 'we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and 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 long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life?'<sup>10</sup>

In calling for a social and not merely political democracy to emerge from the Constitution, Ambedkar stressed the absence of fraternity as the second major

ingredients that was missing in India. 'Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians-of Indians being one people. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life.'<sup>11</sup> But thanks to the caste system-the entire structure of caste, he averred, was 'anti-national'-religious divisions and the absence of a sense of nationhood among some Indians, fraternity had not yet been achieved. But it was indispensable, since liberty, equality, and fraternity were all intertwined and could not flourish independently of one another. 'Without equality,' he pointed out, 'liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things. It would require a constable to enforce them.'<sup>12</sup>

Ambedkar's eloquent assault on discrimination and untouchability, for the first time, cogently expanded the reach of the Indian idea to incorporate the nation's vast, neglected underclass. Ambedkar-a product of Columbia University and the London School of Economics, and the first Indian principal of the prestigious Government Law College in Bombay-was

deeply troubled by the iniquities of the caste system and the fear of many Dalits that national independence would merely lead to the social and political dominance of the upper castes. As an opponent of caste, and a nationalist, he believed that the Dalits must support India's freedom from British rule but they must pursue their struggle for equal rights within the framework of the new Constitution that he had a major hand in drafting.

Today, over seventy-five years later, it is well worth asking what progress we have made to achieve the aims of the Constitution's drafters, and in particular to fill the lacunae that Ambedkar identified. Equality has advanced, no doubt with the abolition of untouchability being accompanied by the world's oldest and farthest-reaching affirmative action programme, in the form of reservations, initially for Scheduled Castes and then for the Other Backward Classes. These reservations, which were initially intended to be temporary, have now been entrenched in our system and may be said to be politically unchallengeable. But the task of promoting social and economic equality, which Ambedkar pointed to, is far from complete. The clamour for further opportunities for those who believe that Indian society continues to deny them the

equality of outcomes that their numbers warrant, continues to roil our politics. The escalating demand for a caste census is bound to have further implications for the evolution of India's constitutional practice.

As for fraternity, the mobilization of votes in our contentious democracy in the name of caste, creed, region and language have ensured that the social and psychological sense of oneness that Ambedkar spoke about is still, at best, a work in progress. But there is no doubt that the sense of nationhood-that he felt had not yet come into existence-has now become embedded across the country. One only needs to

look at the crowds at a cricket match involving the Indian team, or the national mourning after an international conflict like the Kargil War of 1999 or the Galwan incident of 2020, to be aware that there is a strong sense of nationhood despite the persistence of local or sectarian identities.

Yet, by entrenching caste reservations, India has promoted equality but arguably undermined fraternity. Fraternity had a special place in Ambedkar's vision; the word was, in many ways, his distinctive contribution to India's constitutional discourse. It also had an economic dimension, with the implicit idea that the assets

of the better-off would be used to uplift the untouchables and other unfortunates. Fraternity would both result from and lead to the erosion of social and caste hierarchies. But as the sociologist Dipankar Gupta has argued,<sup>13</sup> the extension of the reservations to the Other Backward Classes saw caste as 'an important political resource to be plumbed in perpetuity', Gupta avers that this 'is not in the spirit of enlarging fraternity, as the Ambedkar proposals are; while Ambedkar's ultimate aim was the annihilation of caste from Indian society, for Mandal, caste was not to be "removed", but to be "represented". It entrenched caste rather than eliminating it from public life.

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**-Bhartruhari Mahtab**  
Member, Lok Sabha

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### Making of the Constitution

#### (*Our Constitution, Our Pride* by Ram Madhav)

Although there is no dearth of quality books on Indian Constitution starting from the Granville Austin's "Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation" to the recent one "Our living Constitution" by Shashi Tharoor, not to mention the much-touted D.D. Basu's "Introduction to the Indian Constitution" and "Commentary on the Indian Constitution", Ram Madhav's "Our Constitution: Our Pride" has a distinctness in its own right. The concise book has seven insightful chapters including the conclusion. While other books have interpreted articles of the Constitution and alluded to deliberations in the Constituent Assembly, Ram Madhav very succinctly reconstructs the context to the text in a historical perspective. He quotes Honourable President Smt. Droupadi Murmu's words which she spoke in the Central Hall on the occasion of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic that "...in the true sense, it (the Constitution) was the outcome of our long freedom struggle..." which started with the First War of Independence or the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. It

was against this backdrop that the then British Prime Minister Lord Palmerstone decided to end the rule of British East India Company by enacting the Government of India Act 1858 which established direct control of British Crown over India. There was no organised opposition to the Act; it was when the Congress Party came into existence that opposition to the Act was galvanised.

Another milestone in the consolidation of the British rule in India was the enactment of the Government of India Act 1919; also known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the author writes in the first chapter of the book. This Act aimed at "gradual development of self-governing institutions". He recalls that this Act too denied any significant role for Indians at the Central level; all powers remained in the hands of the Viceroy and his hand-picked executive council. At this juncture, the First World War ended in 1919, and Woodrow Wilson, President of US, came forward with a 14-point plan to establish world peace- the precursor to the establishment of League of Nations. The

British supported the plan, but declined the principle of self-determination to India which in turn intensified the yearning for freedom and independence.

Although Gandhi came to India from South Africa in 1915, he had started talking about a constitution for India to be drafted by its own people since the time of his writing the *Hind Swaraj* in 1909. Gandhi's opposition was not only to the British rule in India, he was critical of the British model of Parliamentary democracy as well. Ram Madhav writes that Gandhi continued to oppose both British rule and British model of Parliamentary democracy until Jawaharlal Nehru and others persuaded him to water down his views. He further mentions that Gandhi was instrumental in preparing a Constitution for the princely state of Aundh in collaboration with Raja Bhawantrao Pant and Maurice Frydman, in 1939. The details of his blueprint merits mention. Gandhi envisioned a decentralised government comprising village *Panchayats*, *taluks* formed by *Panchayat* presidents and Legislative Assembly constituted by the

members sent by *talukas*. Gandhi believed that such a bottom-up approach would ensure the chances of a member of village Panchayat becoming Prime Minister of Aundh. Ram Madhav writes that thanks to Gandhi's efforts, Aundh became the first modern Constitutional republic in South Asia.

In the second chapter, the author recapitulates the composition of the Constituent Assembly and framing of the Constitution. In the third chapter of the book titled *The Content*, alluding to universal adult suffrage envisaged in the Indian Constitution Ram Madhav, mentions that although the US Constitution came into existence in 1789, it took 130 years for women to get voting rights and 175 years for the Black Americans to get full civil rights. Referring to India's democratic heritage, he writes that there was a time when India was studded with republics, and even where there were monarchies, they were either elected or limited. They were never absolute. It is not that India did not know Parliaments or parliamentary procedure. He adds that a study of the Buddhist Bhikshu Sanghas discloses that not only there were Parliaments-for, the Sanghas were nothing, but Parliaments.

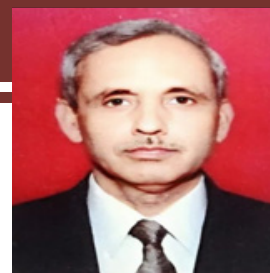
In the fourth chapter, the author chronicles the working

of the Constitution in the last 75 years of its operation. He recounts the chequered history of the passage of the Hindu Code Bill. Commenting on Fundamental Duties which were incorporated in the infamous 42<sup>nd</sup> Amendment to the Indian Constitution during the tumultuous period of National Emergency, the author recalls Gandhi's views that by fulfilling one's duties, one can protect the rights of others and there is no other way. In this insightful chapter, he also elucidates other landmark issues such as the Abrogation of Article 370 and Uniform Civil Code. In the fifth chapter "Misuse of the Constitution", the author throws light on certain glaring aberration of the provisions of the Constitution such as the Emergency provisions covered in Articles 352-360 and also the Shah Bano Case.

In the sixth chapter "Reform to Perform Better" which is very suggestive, the author opines that so far there is no clear definition about the Basic Structure. In general, it is argued that the Preamble, Article 1 and Part 3, which deals with Fundamental Rights are, inviolate parts of the Constitution. Unfortunately, it is these parts that face major scrutiny today. In Conclusion, the author very thoughtfully quotes Deen Dayal Upadhyaya

who opined that "democracy is not mere rule of the majority. In a majoritarian government there will be at least be one segment of the public whose voice has been stifled even though it may be right. This form of democracy cannot for every one's welfare and good... Any one, who has a different opinion from the majority, even if he is single individual, his viewpoint must be respected and incorporated into the governance."

The book has also six important annexures which have direct bearing on the contents of the book. The annexures are Nehru's address in the Constituent Assembly on 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1946, Ambedkar's speech on 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1949 in the Constituent Assembly while adopting the Constitution, President Rajendra Prasad's address on 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1949 on the conclusion of the drafting of the Constitution, Prime Minister Modi's address in Lok Sabha at the Special discussion on 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution and President Smt. Droupadi Murmu's address on 26<sup>th</sup> November on 7<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the adoption of the Constituent. Over all the book is a seminal contribution to the literature on Indian Constitution and in understanding of the Constitution in historical perspective.



-N.K. Singh

Secretary to Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha

## Parliamentary Oversight of Subordinate Legislation: Balancing Efficiency and Accountability

Theoretically speaking laws are made by legislature, government executes and Judiciary interprets them. It may sound strange though; this is not the case always in actual practice. The operational dynamics of parliamentary system of governance is such that laws are not made by legislature alone. These are prepared in draft form by the administrative ministries, to be discussed and approved by the legislature. Any changes or amendment in it can be made by the legislature only with the concurrence of the government, as it enjoys majority in the lower House. The draft of a law (Bills), in fact, provides only a broad framework of the policy that the government of the day wants to implement. Such legislature-approved laws are too generic to be implemented on the ground level. This is one part of the law-making. Other part of the laws i.e. detailed rules, regulations etc. under an Act passed by legislature are left to be framed, notified and implemented by the administrative Ministries/ Department, subordinate offices, statutory bodies, local authorities etc.

### Why Delegation of Legislative Powers?

Law-making thus is a multi-staged and long process in which parent Acts are made in the legislature and detailed rules/regulations etc. are delegated to be done by the government. Legislative procedure being longish as it is, it might take years to get a Bill passed by Parliament. If the detailed rules, regulations to be made under an Act are also required to be passed by Parliament, time taken would be enormous. In a fast-changing world, long delay in law-making may have immense social and economic costs to the nation and its people. A nation can be left far behind in this fast-changing times if the required laws are not made available in time. Hence, the delegation of a part of legislative powers by the legislature.

The system of delegating the legislative powers (of making the detailed rules and regulations) to the government has proved to be mutually beneficial to all the stakeholders in the governance – legislature, government, administration and the people at large. Practical limitations such as, lack of

time, expertise, etc. with the legislature; flexibility in making the rules and regulations as per the local needs and demands; quick action in emergent circumstances to address people's problems are some inherent merits of this practice. It presents a convenient system of shared responsibility between the legislature and executive mainly on practical considerations.

### Extent of Delegation

In simple terms, while the principal or parent laws are finalized by the legislature, the delegated, subsidiary or ancillary laws are made by agencies subordinate to the legislature. In some countries, these are also called 'administrative' or quasi-legislation. In India, for such laws, the term 'subordinate legislation' is used. This term has dual meaning; it refers to both – the process (of rule making) as well as the product (i.e. rules, regulations etc.). It, however, needs to be made clear that delegated legislation in India does not mean 'delegation of the legislative powers' which Parliament cannot do; what it actually delegates is the power to make ancillary and

subsidiary laws with a view to work out details for achieving the objectives of the policy underlying an Act passed by Parliament – which is its core and inalienable responsibility. In short, while the policy-making is the exclusive preserve of Parliament, implementation thereof is that of the government's, that is done with the help of detailed rules and regulations framed by the government. Therefore, in implementation of a policy, subordinate legislations have a vital and central role. These rules, regulations etc. are published in the official Gazette as Notifications. These laws made under proper authority lay down a binding rule of conduct, hence are as enforceable as are the Acts passed by legislature.

### **Types of Delegated Legislation**

President of India is also empowered to make 'regulations' under Article 240 for peace, progress and good governance of certain Union territories. This also finds mention in the definition of regulation provided in the Section 3(50) of the General Clauses Act. Article 240 (2) itself makes it clear that any regulation so made may repeal or amend any Act made by Parliament or any other law which is for the time being applicable to that Union territory and when promulgated,

shall have same force and effect as an Act of Parliament. This kind of 'regulation', therefore, is in the nature of principal legislation and not a subordinate legislation. Apart from the rules and regulations, other terms used for subordinate legislation instruments are: Bye-laws, orders, schemes, notifications, ordinances, directions, circulars, etc. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, Lok Sabha and that of Rajya Sabha also refer to them and provide to call them collectively as 'Orders'.

### **Is Delegated Law-Making Undemocratic?**

Be that as it may, these subsidiary laws, in fact, affect virtually all aspects of a citizen's life. As such, the policy contained in an Act passed by Parliament is implemented at the ground by the detailed rules, regulations, orders schemes, etc. framed by the executive authorities. It results, thus, into the vesting of law-making powers in the executive which is also responsible for administering those laws. This is not only undemocratic but also carries potential for authoritarianism and arbitrariness; as cautioned by Montesquieu theory of separation of powers. Sometimes it is described as 'devil is in details'.

Governing by subordinate legislation, therefore, was seen

initially to be antithetical to the basic democratic principles – the rule of law, separation of powers, etc. This practice, therefore, was described by Lord Hewart as 'New Despotism' in his book way back in 1929. A high-powered parliamentary committee was constituted in the UK in 1932 to examine the merits and demerits of these administrative laws and to suggest the best possible way out. The Committee concluded that this practice, no doubt, had germs of administrative arbitrariness; it was unavoidable for the quick and efficient governance in the emerging scenario. It, therefore, suggested to retain this practice but to be exercised under strict supervision and control of Parliament. As such, the subordinate legislation is practiced in most of the democratic legislatures with their specific institutional and procedural systems for ensuring parliamentary oversight and scrutiny of the executive-made rules and regulations.

### **Safeguards on Subordinate Law-making**

Therefore, such a mechanism, even if unavoidable, must not be allowed to be exercised without reasonable check and restraint under strict monitoring by the one who delegates *i.e.* Parliament. The delegate – the government

is also bound to facilitate the legislature to exercise such a monitoring and scrutiny.

Parliament of India has laid down elaborate procedures emanating from Acts, Rules of Procedures, practices and precedents, Guidelines of the government, for keeping a watch on of subordinate law and their making. It also enjoys the power to amend or even annul the rules, regulations, etc. if they have not been made as per the letters and intent of the parent law. Therefore, all the subordinate legislations are required to be laid before both Houses of Parliament and with this, MPs get right to give notice for their modifications or disallowance altogether. Besides MPs may keep watch on all the enabling provisions the Bills whether being considered in the Houses or in the Committees to flag the issues of concern or move for their amendment during consideration stage. They can also use general devices to raise issues related to subordinate legislation.

Besides, each House of Indian Parliament has separate Committees on Subordinate Legislation consisting of Members of Parliament from major political parties to supervise the processes of making and scrutiny of the rules, regulations, etc. to see if these were in order as per the rules of procedure and guidelines laid down for the purpose. It

also makes substantive scrutiny of the rules/regulations to see if these are within the scope and intent of the law under which these have been made. The committees report to their respective Houses if the rules and regulations are found to have been framed improperly and without due diligence; if these are beyond *vires* of the Constitution or have excessive delegation. The Committees examine these notifications on the parameters given in the Rules of Procedure as also on those recommended by its Reports, from time to time.

The Committees on Subordinate Legislation of both the Houses have been proactive in monitoring the framing; laying; as also scrutinizing of the rules and regulations made by the government. The Committees in their reports, from the very beginning, have brought out innumerable instances of repeated lapses and non-compliances by the administrative ministries including delays in framing and laying of the notification as also in implementing the Committee's recommendations. Expressing annoyance and strong views by the Committees against the Ministries for these aspects have been a routine affair.

Ironically, what was adopted as the most practicable and convenient way out by both the government as well as

legislatures, has posed a bigger challenge - how to monitor the delegated law-making and examine them in view of its ever-expanding volume and complexity. The parliamentary supervision as well as scrutiny of the delegated law-making in India is well established now, it however currently leaves much to be desired. The monitoring of rule making as well as scrutiny of rules, regulations, orders, schemes etc. are not as comprehensive and deeper as it should be. This, no doubt, remains a serious cause of concern requiring urgent attention of the government as well as Parliament. Parliament of India has always been aware of the implications of a weaker parliamentary control in this regard, from the very beginning. Therefore, immediately after the Parliament of the republic came into being, it had very proactively tried to put in place the necessary mechanisms and procedures for legislative supervision and control of delegated law-making. The Committee on Subordinate Legislation was set up on the advice of the then Union Law Minister Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar in the year 1953. The Speakers initially used to address the members of this Committee to sensitize them about the critical significance of its mandate- supervision as well as scrutiny of the subordinate legislation. This Committee was set up in the Rajya Sabha

in 1964. Both these Committees consistently have ensured that all the essential procedures were laid down and that were followed by the Ministries and also strengthened over the time.

Parliament of India has always remained ready to make this control more effective. It has encouraged evaluation studies to see how the existing procedures and mechanism have worked, what had been its weakness and grey areas and how to make the parliamentary oversight of this important aspect more comprehensive and real. A study of the reports of the Committees on Subordinate legislation of both houses shows how have they through their consistent pressure and persuasive efforts been able to lay down necessary guidelines and force the Ministries/ Departments to follow those guidelines. Their efforts lead to putting a robust system in place for this purpose. The Executive's reluctance to follow rules of procedure and guidelines, although have improved, it still remains far from the willing and proactive cooperation. Parliamentary oversight of subordinate law-making in fact, is the joint responsibility of legislature and executive which eventually is meant for the improving the rule, regulations. The Ministries must not consider it as an adversarial exercise.

The processes and procedures of any Parliament need to be revisited periodically in the light of changing circumstances and future challenges. We are in the 75<sup>th</sup> year of the adoption of our Constitution. Nobody can deny the need for strengthening of the existing system of parliamentary supervision and scrutiny.

There are two kinds of scrutiny that is carried out by Committee on Subordinate Legislation, the preliminary scrutiny and the substantive scrutiny. While the Committee is carrying out preliminary scrutiny of almost all the notifications containing rules and regulations laid on the Table of the Houses, they are able to take up only around three per cent of those rules and regulations for a deeper substantive scrutiny by the Committee. This scrutiny as it is done, takes longer time and this is what at best can be achieved within the available time, manpower etc. with the Committee. While carrying out scrutiny of the rules, regulations, Committee has to depend for many things upon administrative Ministries/ Departments who may have their own priorities. Apart from examining rules, regulations, the Committees also monitor the process of framing thereof by the executive. As such, the

nature and volume of work involved keeps officers of the Committee Secretariat very busy throughout the year. Above all, members of the Committee performing multiple roles, legislators, constituency representatives, meetings of the Committee cannot be held with short intervals. Yet, these Committees do meet quite regularly.

This subject-matter undoubtedly assumes critical importance at the present time when the volumes of statutory rules and Orders made by the Ministries/Departments under the Acts passed by the Parliament are increasing in numbers as well as volume. These are likely to further increase in future as the laws passed particularly, those for regulating the new and emerging areas. The Acts being generally skeletal in form leave technical and other details - rules/regulation to be made by the administrative Ministries. As such, we are faced with a situation, leaving larger role and discretion for the rule-making authorities. In such a situation, a weak and perfunctory parliamentary supervision/scrutiny of subordinate legislation may result not only in excessive administrative discretion but also in a weak executive accountability.

## **Parliamentary Oversight in India**

India has no doubt, come a long way in laying down the processes, procedures and mechanisms essential for the parliamentary oversight of subordinate legislation. The entire architecture of parliamentary control, however, can be described as weaker as compared to those of the other established parliamentary democracies such as UK, Australia, New Zealand, etc. Foremost among them is the absence of a stand-alone statute for regulating every aspect involved in pre- and post-legislative spheres, such as public consultations, framing of rules and regulations, laying them on the Table, notifying them in the official Gazette etc. Incorporating every such procedure with specific timeline and other requirements in a statute makes these mandatory for both, parliament as well as government, and any failure on their part may render the concerned statutory instrument null and void. Such laws are there in major parliaments viz. The Statutory Instruments Act 1946 in U.K.; The Statutory Instruments Act 1970 in Canada and the Legislative Instruments Act 2003 in Australia. The state of Victoria in Australia also has a Subordinate Legislation Act 1994. Some such statutes in USA are: the Congressional Review Act 1996; and the Administrative Procedure Act 1949.

The absence of such a law in India, renders the monitoring and scrutiny of subordinate law-making by parliament difficult and time taking exercise. Currently, important procedures to be followed by the ministries and departments are only directory and suggestive in nature, not mandatory. These things are contained in and regulated mostly by the Guidelines laid down at the insistence of the Subordinate Legislation Committees and the parliamentary manual on subordinate legislation made under there. As a result, several lapses such as inadequate public consultations, delay in framing of the rules as also in laying them before the Houses, including implementation of the Committee's recommendations by the ministries and departments are noticed even today. As a result of consistent efforts made by the subordinate legislation committees of both Houses during more than seventy-five years things have no doubt improved, yet it leaves scope for lot of improvements.

In India, there are two standard Sections commonly known as 'rule-laying section' and 'rule-making section' that are inserted in every Act having provision for delegated legislation. These sections have been worded in very broader terms leaving even the basic things related thereto unspecified. This leaves enough scope for ministerial discretion,

excessive delegation, etc. The rule-making section in the Act that empowers the administrative ministry to frame the rules and regulations under the Act are not comprehensive, these are illustrative only. It does not specify all the aspects on which rules are to be made under the Act leaving scope for confusion even in the ministry, people affected and other stakeholders. The Parliament also in some cases is not sure as to which rules were to be framed under an Act. This makes parliamentary scrutiny little difficult. Similarly, the rule-laying sections in the Acts providing for laying of the rules and regulations before Parliament also needs to be redrafted in plain language for making it more inclusive, clear and easily understandable. It is difficult for even for a legal person to understand the way it has been worded. For example, it says that rules have to be laid before the House for thirty days and if no action is taken by the Parliament during this time, rule is treated as negatively approved. But how these thirty days will be counted and what will be the notice period for the MPs to move for amending or annulling the rules is not clearly laid out. As a result, there comes a lot of quarries from the ministries on this account. After this limit of thirty days, the House and its members cannot seek to move motions to amend the rules and regulations

even if infirmities are noticed. The Subordinate Legislation Committee however, has no such limitation and it may pick up them for scrutiny at any time. But due to limitation of time, manpower and other wherewithal, it is able to take up very small number of rules for examination. Therefore, there is a need to allow the MPs also to give notice for statutory motions for amending or annulling the rules and regulations at any time, if these are still in force.

The sheer volume of delegated legislation produced by the executive in India is immense. On an average, between 12-1500 notifications containing rules, regulations are laid in Parliament every year that comes roughly to 400-500 per session. Apart from numbers, their volume also sometimes is very large and nature very technical. Currently, not more than three per cent of the total notifications in a year are being taken up for substantive and detailed scrutiny by Committees of both the Houses. Such coverage, by all means, is highly inadequate and needs to be enhanced.

In the beginning, the rules and regulations in India were not enforced before they were laid on the Tables of both Houses of Parliament, which later on was relaxed to provide that government may enforce

them first and bring before the Parliament thereafter. This was done to allow the government to enforce a law as soon as the rules etc. are made to avoid any delays due process of parliamentary approval being time-consuming. Secondly, Parliament is not in Session throughout the year. The relaxation in this regard had been made on the request of the Ministries. The provision for this was incorporated in the Rule-laying Sections of the Acts for saving the actions taken under those rules in case the rule is amended/annulled by Parliament later.

Ideally, all the rules and regulations need to be approved by Parliament before these are enforced as also most of these, if not all, be put under substantive scrutiny by the committees. This may be desirable but is practically not possible. Control by Parliament of rule-making powers beyond a point might go against the very idea and need for delegating the legislative powers.

### **Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight**

Strengthening parliamentary oversight in India has to be a multi-dimensional effort, involving legislative reform, procedural re-design, institutional empowerment and technological modernization, among others. As regards the

institutional empowerment, the Committees of Subordinate Legislation are doing tremendous work, the alertness and vigilance of these committees has paid good dividend. However, the need for further strengthening and empowering these Committees can hardly be overemphasized in India.

Empowering these Committees, as the main and effective tool of parliamentary scrutiny of the rules and regulations, is crucial *inter alia*, for upholding democratic accountability as also preventing the executive from overstepping its authority in legislative domain. First and foremost, these Committees need to be provided more dedicated research and analytical staff to help understand complex technical rules and regulations to scrutinize them meaningfully and identify areas of improvements. It would increase not only the quantity of the scrutiny but its quality as well. It would also ensure relevant recommendations for amendments by the Committees.

Members of Parliament in general and specially the Committee Members need to be sensitized about the importance of this parliamentary responsibility. Lack of awareness among them is reflected in the fewer notices

of statutory motions received every session, sometimes none. In the initial years the Speaker used to address the members of this Committee to emphasize the importance of the Committee's mandate. During Orientation Programs of the new members, special sessions on Subordinate legislation including legislative interpretation, legal drafting, etc. must be organized to help them understand theoretical and practical intricacies of parliamentary oversight in this regard. Shift from one- or two-year rotating systems for Members to multi-year terms must be considered to build expertise amongst them for a stronger oversight. Members of the Committee also need dedicated, non-partisan and high-quality research support for helping them study rules/regulations laid on the Table, collecting non-government inputs and identifying specific amendments to be proposed through statutory motions. Doing so would keep the Ministries and the officials alert and careful.

The need for taking key recommendations, as identified by the Committees for debate in the Houses particularly high impact rules and those meant for regulating the new and emerging areas. The rules regulating the impact of emerging technologies such as AI etc. should be put to reviews after regular intervals. For this purpose, idea for having a

Subordinate legislation Hour in a month can also be considered.

Parliamentary oversight of subordinate legislations a multi-staged, long and complex activity. It involves supervision of rule-making processes as well as detailed scrutiny of the rules regulation so made. In view of the complex nature and huge volume of such laws to be made in India, it becomes impossible for one Committee to do justice with its mandate. Model of UK Parliament to have more Committees to look after different aspects of legislative oversight needs to be considered. All Bills having high impact rule-making provisions stand referred to the Delegated Legislation Committee for examining only those provisions which provide for delegation of rule-making. It has to report to the House its findings before the Bill is taken for consideration and passing in the House.

There is need to have a Committee of Rajya Sabha to look into subordinate laws being made by the States under laws passed by Parliament. Number of such laws is increasing now. Although Committees of the respective Assemblies are supposed to do this work, there is no system for reporting back to Parliament about their scrutiny. Parliamentary-oversight remains non-existent in respect of the State made rules under Union or concurrent

laws. A joint committee was set up under late Shri Pranab Mukherjee to study among others, overlapping mandates of parliamentary committees, particularly after Department Related Committees were created. It contained suggestions for redistribution of their mandates that need to be examined in the present context for removing overlapping, if any.

Rule-making Clauses, as mentioned earlier, in the parent acts authorizing government to make rules are often broad and generalized. This can lead to excessive delegation leading to bypassing the legislative intent. These should contain clear, precise and specific aspects on which rules are to be made, avoiding broad and vague language that gives executive excessive discretion. Currently, if Committee asks a Ministry to tell exactly how many rules it had to make and how many have been made under a particular Act, reply is only about how many have been made.

The system of negative approval in a parliamentary system, in fact, limits the chances of moving statutory motions for amending the rules laid before the Houses by the members from ruling party/combine, notifications being government instruments. Since these motions are to be adopted by both Houses, it becomes impossible for such motions to

be adopted by the lower Houses where government has majority. No Rule, therefore, has ever been amended or annulled by this method in India so far. There are Parliaments where rules have to be amended even if the amending motion is passed by only one House.

Memoranda of delegated legislation accompanying the Bills need to be made more comprehensive explaining the necessity, scope and potential impact of the proposed legislation. It would allow MPs to pay more attention to the enabling provisions in the Bill more carefully, in consideration stage. For promoting transparency in the rule-making and public participation, pre-legislative scrutiny and consultations, need to be strengthened. Inviting public submissions via digital platforms, allowing controlled online oral evidence for high impact rules may also be considered. Compliance by the Ministries of the existing Pre-legislative Scrutiny Policy leaves much to be desired.

Ministries response and attitude in facilitating parliamentary oversight is another aspect that needs to be taken seriously in the Ministries and Departments. Instances of lack of required seriousness in timely making and laying the Rules, responding to

Committee's communications and also in implementing the accepted recommendations, etc. are far too many. In-house monitoring of rule-making within the Ministries and reporting the cases of inordinate delays to the Secretary and the Minister is not done regularly. Parliamentary affairs Ministry also needs to play a more proactive role in coordinating with the Ministries and Parliament. It argues that this is out of their mandate.

Committee Reports, all rules, regulations and guidelines should be made available in searchable and the user-friendly format and in regional languages to ensure wider accessibility. It also may include metadata (date of notification, status, expiry, etc.). Public Dashboards may be launched for tracking Committee recommendations ministerial responses and governmental compliances. AI tools can be used to monitor trends, volume of rules laid, delays made in making as also laying before legislature, deadlines missed by administrative ministries in implementing committee's recommendations etc. and to generate real time alerts for MPs and the Committees. It will foster greater accountability among the Ministries and Departments of the government.

These are some basic proposals, amongst many

more, that can be considered for reforms. By having a stand-alone law mandating transparent and time-bound rule-making procedures (which are currently being done under mere manual/Guidelines), sensitizing MPs and building their capacities, strengthening/expanding Committees, considering best practices for adoption available in Parliaments of the UK and Australia, integrating modern technologies and expanding citizen engagements, Indian Parliament can strengthen monitoring and scrutiny of delegated legislations by it to a greater extent without affecting its efficiency of the Ministries. This author met our former President late Shri Pranab Mukherjee before undertaking a study of the existing parliamentary oversight of subordinate legislation in India. It was done under a Fellowship granted by the Lok Sabha Secretariat. His concluding observation was that even the existing framework for this purpose in India can do wonders, if our Members of Parliament get time and necessary support to study tons of notifications laid on the Table every Session; and the administrative Ministries, particularly the Department of Legislative Drafting, start taking this constitutional duty more seriously.

## 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly in Tashkent, Uzbekistan (5<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> April 2025)

An Indian Parliamentary Delegation led by the Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla, participated in the 150<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and related meetings in Tashkent from 5<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> April 2025. The Delegation consisted of Shri Harivansh, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha; *Sarvashri* Bhartruhari Mahtab, Anurag Singh Thakur, Vishnu Dayal Ram, Smt. Aparajita Sarangi, Smt. Lata Wankhede and Smt. Bijuli Kalita Medhi, all members of Lok Sabha; Dr. Ashok Kumar Mittal, Dr.



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla held a bilateral meeting with H.E. Ms. Tanzila Narbajeva, Chairperson of the Senate of the Oliy Majlis of Uzbekistan, on the sidelines of the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU General Assembly in Tashkent, on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2025

Sasmit Patra and Smt. Kiran Choudhry, all member of Rajya

Sabha; Shri Utpal Kumar Singh, Secretary General, Lok Sabha; and Shri P.C. Mody, Secretary General, Rajya Sabha.



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla addressing the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU General Assembly on 'Parliamentary Action for Social Development and Justice' at Tashkent on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2025.

During the visit, the Lok Sabha Speaker addressed the Assembly in the High-Level Segment of the General Debate on the theme "Parliamentary Action for Social Development and Justice." Members of the Indian Parliamentary Delegation participated in the meetings of various IPU bodies including the Governing Council, Executive Committee, the four Standing Committees, and various



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla met H.E. Mr. Nurdinjon Ismoilov, Speaker of the Legislative Chamber of Uzbekistan, on the sidelines of the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2025. Also seen in the picture is the Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh.

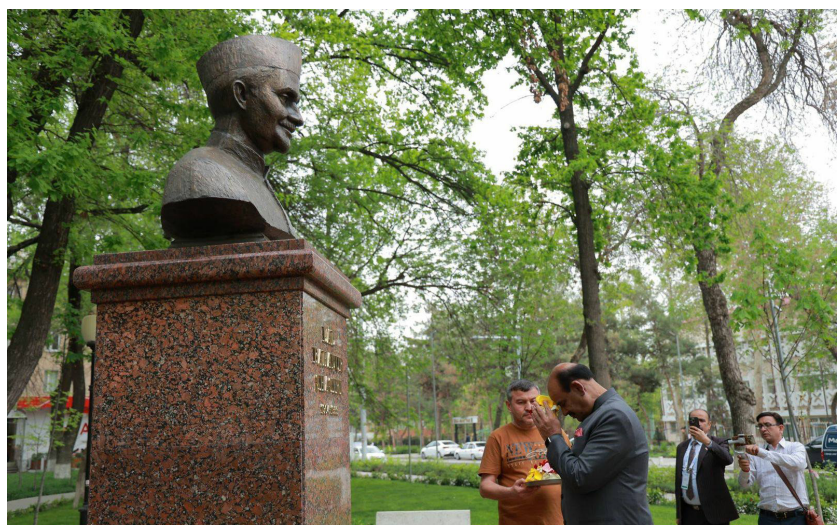
thematic panel discussions which were held during the Assembly. The Members of the Delegation holding positions in the various IPU bodies also attended the Bureau meetings of their respective bodies. In addition to the participation in the Assembly, the Lok Sabha Speaker also met with his counterparts during sidelines bilateral meetings. Members of the Delegation also interacted with the Indian diaspora/ students and Indologists during the various programmes organized by the Embassy of India in Uzbekistan.

During the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly, members of the Indian Parliament were elected as members of following IPU bodies: (i) Shri Anurag Singh Thakur (Bureau of the Standing Committee on Democracy

and Human Rights); (ii) Ms. Sambhavi (Bureau of the Forum of Women Parliamentarians); (iii) Ms. Himadri Singh (Bureau of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians); and (iv) Smt. Kamaljeet Sehrawat (Committee to Promote Respect for International Humanitarian Law).

The meeting reflected the strength of the India-Israel strategic partnership and a shared commitment to democratic values. The two leaders revisited discussions held in New Delhi from 16-20 April 2023, and explored avenues to deepen parliamentary cooperation, enhance people-to-people exchanges, and broaden engagement across sectors such as innovation, defence, water, agriculture, and higher education. Shri Birla also highlighted the work of PRIDE, Lok Sabha Secretariat in legislative capacity building and welcomed Israel's participation in its initiatives.

Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla held a bilateral meeting with H.E. Ms. Tanzila Narbayeva, Chairperson of the Senate of the Oliy Majlis of Uzbekistan, on the sidelines of



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla paying tribute to former Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, at his bust in Tashkent on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2025.



During the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly in Tashkent, Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla met with H.E. Mr. Amir Ohana, Speaker of the Knesset of Israel on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2025.

the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU General Assembly in Tashkent on 6 April 2025. The two leaders discussed deepening parliamentary cooperation and enhancing bilateral ties rooted in democratic values, shared aspirations, and mutual goodwill.

Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla met H.E. Mr. Tran Thanh

Man, Chairman, Vietnam's National Assembly on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2025 at Tashkent. The meeting took place on the sidelines of 150<sup>th</sup> Assembly of IPU. Lok Sabha Speaker highlighted that with our commitment to 'Developed India 2047' and Vietnam's 'Vision 2045', both the countries are moving



Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla met H.E. Mr. Tran Thanh Man, Chairman, Vietnam's National Assembly this morning at Tashkent. The meeting took place on the sidelines of 150<sup>th</sup> Assembly of IPU on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2025

towards sustainable economic and national development. The dignitaries discussed about strengthening parliamentary cooperation between the two countries, capacity building of legislators and officials of Vietnam legislature through PRIDE and contributions of Indian students there to achieve the shared vision of India and Vietnam.

Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla met H.E. Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev, President of Uzbekistan, in Tashkent on the sidelines of the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly on 7 April 2025. He thanked the President for the warm hospitality and congratulated him on Uzbekistan's remarkable progress under his visionary leadership.

The meeting underscored the deep-rooted civilizational ties. Discussions focused on enhancing parliamentary cooperation, trade, education, and collaboration in AI, digital innovation, and clean energy.

Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla met H.E. Mr. Nurdinjon Ismoilov, Speaker of the Legislative Chamber of Uzbekistan, on the sidelines of the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly on 9 April 2025. Shri Birla highlighted the transparency of India's electoral system and the role of active citizen



Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla met H.E. Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev, President of Uzbekistan in Tashkent on the sidelines of the IPU general assembly on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2025. Also seen in the picture are Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh, along with Secretary-General, Lok Sabha, Shri Utpal Kumar Singh.

participation in its democratic journey. He called for continued parliamentary dialogue to deepen bilateral cooperation and strengthen mutual goodwill.

### **Keynote address of the Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha at the 150<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly**

*Excellency, Presiding Officers, Members of Parliament, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

On behalf of the 1.4 billion people of the world's largest democracy, I extend a hearty welcome and greetings to all of you in this historic 150th Assembly of the IPU, which is constantly adding new dimensions to the global parliamentary cooperation.

Excellency, the theme selected for this Assembly of

IPU is manifestation of the spirit of '*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*' inherent in Indian culture, tradition and philosophy of life.

The spirit of considering all citizens equal, providing them equal opportunities and bringing the people of deprived and backward classes into the mainstream through special efforts is an integral part of the Indian Constitution.

In recent years, the Parliament of India has passed many bills to provide social justice, social security and social inclusion to all sections of the society.

Our Parliament has taken effective measures to safeguard the interests of all sections of the society by

enacting laws like 'Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act-2016', The Transgender Persons protection of Right Act, 2019 and '*Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam-2023*'. In addition to that, new Labour laws and Labour codes have been formulated for the welfare and social security of workers engaged in the unorganized sector.

We have accorded top priority to the justice delivery system by replacing the 'Indian Penal Code' with the '*Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita*'.

Parliamentary Committees of India work as 'Mini Parliament'. These committees review policies and schemes related to social security, social justice, economic empowerment and welfare of the people and also give suggestions for better implementation thereof. They also sanction the demands for grants.

Excellency, India has been the world's fastest growing economy during the last 10 years by achieving 105% growth rate in GDP under the able guidance of our hon'ble Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi ji. We are rapidly marching ahead to achieve the goal of *Viksit Bharat -2047*.

Presently, India is the fifth largest economy in the world and is soon going to become the third largest economy of the world.

Excellency, India is today playing a prominent role in the field of Innovation, AI, Start Ups, Space and Defense Technology, IT and Fintech etc. in the world. We have implemented the world's largest health scheme "Ayushman Bharat Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana". Under this scheme, free health insurance cover has been provided to about 550 million people of economically weaker sections of the country which constitute around 40 percent of the population of India.

Excellency, I am confident that by sharing the innovative ideas, best practices and experiences of the parliaments of the different countries of the world related to the issues of social justice and development and by mutual deliberations we can find solutions to these problems.

We should also make best efforts and perform our duties to ensure a fair and a just society.

I once again welcome all the honorable members.

### **General Debate on 'Parliamentary Action for Social Development and Justice'**

Hon'ble Speaker Lok Sabha also addressed the IPU Assembly

during the General Debate on the theme "*Parliamentary Action for Social Development and Justice.*" In his address Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha highlighted the inclusive and welfarist nature of Constitution of India, mentioning that "the spirit of the Indian Constitution is to treat all citizens equally, provide them with equal opportunities, and integrate the marginalized and backward sections of society into the 'mainstream of progress'".

Hon'ble Speaker also observed that "In recent years, the Indian Parliament has passed several legislations that promote social justice and security and encourage the inclusion of all sections of society." Referring to the Parliament's perennial concern for safeguarding the interests of the vulnerable segments of society, he added that "Bills like the 'Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act-2016', the 'Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019', and the 'Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam-2023' safeguard the interests of all sections of society." In this context, he also referred to new Labor laws and codes passed by Parliament for the welfare and social security of workers in the unorganized sector. Stressing that Indian Parliament has taken several measures prioritising justice and rule of law, Hon'ble Speaker mentioned that "By

replacing the 'Indian Penal Code' with the 'Bharatiya Nyay Sanhita', India has established the primacy of justice".

*After the end of the General Debate, the Assembly adapted an Outcome Document namely Tashkent Declaration. During the General Debate, the Speaker of Pakistan made some unwarranted remarks on Kashmir, which was befittingly replied by Dr. Sasmit Patra, MP exercising the Right of Reply.*

### **Special Accountability Session**

IPU General Debate also included a segment on special accountability designated to facilitate an exchange of good practices among IPU member Parliaments with respect to implementation of various IPU Resolutions. Shri Harivansh, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman Rajya Sabha participated in the Special Accountability Session and apprised the participants of India's initiatives in the context of the previous IPU Resolutions. Gist of Speech is as follows;

*"Through Digital India programme, India has revolutionized governance and service delivery, particularly in remote and underserved areas, while through its biometric identification system, Aadhaar, it ensured that welfare benefits reached those most in need. India enacted data protection legislation and is integrating*

*artificial intelligence (AI) to improve its multilingual support, streamline operations and provide better access to the vast parliamentary archives. In response to the ongoing rapid technological changes, India's vibrant parliamentary democracy is driving global solutions to pressing issues”*

### **Discussions on the subject items of the four Standing Committees of IPU**

The four Standing Committees of IPU met during the Assembly. The members from delegation participated in the deliberations and details are as under:

**(i) Standing Committee on Peace and International Security:** The Committee considered the draft resolution on the theme “The Role of Parliaments in advancing a two-state solution in Palestine”. Shri Bhartruhari Mahtab, MP participated in the deliberations on the resolution. During the opening debate, Hon'ble MP made an intervention highlighting India's point of view on the subject of the resolution. As the final resolution was in line with India's approach, we supported the adoption of the Resolution.

**(ii) Standing Committee on Sustainable Development:** The Committee considered the

draft resolution on the theme “Parliamentary strategies to mitigate the long-lasting impact of conflicts, including armed conflicts on sustainable development”. During the deliberations on the resolution, Shri Vishnu Dayal Ram, MP articulated India's point of view and proposed amendments to some paras of the resolution. After deliberations, most of the amendments proposed by India were incorporated in the resolution. Also, India's reservation to the operative para 18 of the resolution, which mentions about the linkages between the issues of climate and security, was reflected in the final resolution.

He expressed appreciation for the reference in the draft resolution to the need for comprehensive strategies to protect sustainable development during conflicts. He proposed a deletion in preambular paragraph 12 to provide cohesion and eliminate redundancy. The proposed amendment to operative paragraph 16 emphasized that climate change and security are addressed through different international mechanisms and conventions. He also emphasized that the Operative paragraph 19 should be deleted as it is unclear which body would oversee the mechanisms

to select experts. He also highlighted that the Indian democratic governance model strongly advocates for dialogue, non-interference and peaceful dispute resolution. Rigorous parliamentary scrutiny ensures accountability within security and development policies, while collaboration with regional and global parliaments shapes best practices for peacebuilding and sustainable development. India advocates for the meaningful participation of all society in political and economic processes, and uninterrupted access to essential services in conflict-affected areas.

**(iii) Standing Committee on Democracy and Human Rights:** The Committee organized a preparatory debate on the next resolution of the Committee on “Recognizing and supporting the victims of illegal international adoption and taking measures to prevent this practice”. Dr. Lata Wankhede, MP participated in the above debate and highlighted India's perspective on the subject. Dr Sasmit Patra, MP and one of the co-rapporteurs for the above resolution joined the other co-rapporteurs and summed up the debate.

In her speech Dr. Lata Wankhede observed that the victims of illegal intercountry

adoption have lost their homes, cultures and identities. Often, their families have not consented to the adoption and did not know what has happened to their children. Such adoptions represent a serious human rights issue which parliamentarians must work to prevent. Stronger international laws are necessary to ensure legal, fair and honest adoptions.

The Committee also organized sessions on the follow-up on implementation of its previous resolutions on the following themes:

- (a) Orphanage trafficking: The Role of Parliaments in reducing harm
- (b) The impact of AI on democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

Dr. Lata Wankhede, MP, Lok Sabha and Smt. Bijuli Kalita Medhi, MP, Lok Sabha participated in the discussion on the sessions mentioned at (a) and (b) above, respectively and apprised the participants about initiatives of India in this context. In her speech Smt. Bijuli Kalita Medhi emphasised that Indian Parliament has ensured that AI respects human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Parliament has enacted the Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023, and used AI to streamline the legislative workflow and

improve the accessibility of parliamentary proceedings. The Lok Sabha uses AI to analyse debates in real time and to provide parliamentarians with contextual information during discussions. Machine translation ensures documents, such as agendas, question lists and bulletins, are available in regional languages. Natural language processing and other AI technologies simplify complex legal and political language to help citizens engage with and understand the legislative process. AI-driven platforms, such as the national e-Vidhan application, enabled citizens to access legislative content, track bills and participate in discussions, which fostered greater transparency and public engagement. AI helps to digitalize records; manages historical data generated in debates, speeches and proceedings; and to categorize and index those records to facilitate access for citizens, media and policymakers. By improving the efficiency and accessibility of parliamentary procedures, AI supports legislative processes, enabled citizens to hold elected representatives accountable, and fosters an informed and participatory democracy.

(iv) **Standing Committee on UN Affairs:** The Committee held a session on the theme

*“The growing role of the BRICS in international relations; what impact for the UN”*. Dr. Ashok Kumar Mittal, MP, Rajya Sabha participated in the above session and articulated India’s point of view. In his speech Dr. Mittal opined that since the inception of the United Nations in 1945, its membership has increased fourfold while the number of Permanent Security Council members remained the same. Without reform to reflect the realities of an emerging multipolar world, the Security Council would continue to hamper the maintenance of international peace and security. Concerning the BRICS, the significant expansion of its membership has enhanced its global energy influence and strengthened its geopolitical presence, highlighting its intention to reshape global governance by amplifying voices from the Global South. With its economies accounting for over one third of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and its well-capitalized New Development Bank offering an alternative to traditional financial institutions, the BRICS is creating a self-sustaining ecosystem and substantially influencing the global economy. A rebalanced global system must have stronger foundations of equity and representation, with the

BRICS playing a consequential role in the multipolar world order.

### **Forum of Women Parliamentarians**

The Forum contributed to the work of the 150th Assembly from gender perspective. In this context, the forum discussed the draft resolution of Standing Committee on Peace and International Security on ‘The Impact of artificial intelligence on democracy, human rights and the rule of law’ and of Standing Committee on Sustainable Development on ‘Parliamentary strategies to mitigate the long-lasting impact of conflicts, including armed conflicts, on sustainable development’ from gender perspective and issue recommendations on amendments to be submitted to the concerned Standing Committees.

Dr. Lata Wankhede, MP, Lok Sabha and Smt. Bijuli Kalita Medhi, MP, Lok Sabha participated in the discussion on the abovementioned resolutions, respectively and shared India’s perspective with participants on the subjects of the aforesaid resolutions.

The Forum also organized a panel debate on the topic “Women in Politics”. Smt. Bijuli Kalita Medhi, MP, Lok Sabha participated in the debate.

### **Panel Discussions/Workshops**

- Various thematic workshops/ panel discussions were held on the sidelines of the Assembly. Smt. Kiran Choudhry, MP participated in the following workshops/ panel discussions;
- Beliefs and social norms: What impact on women’s health?

- Tackling weapons of mass destruction: A humanitarian perspective
- Harnessing religious and ethical values to advance parliamentary dialogue and peaceful coexistence
- Parliamentary diplomacy and mediation

Dr. Ashok Kumar Mittal, MP, Rajya Sabha participated in the workshops on the themes (i) Enhancing parliamentary communication and advocacy for climate action, and (ii) The role of parliaments in tackling the effects of armed conflict on children. Dr. Sasmit Patra, MP, Rajay Sabha participated in the workshop on “Reducing methane emissions: A critical pathway for addressing the climate crisis.”

## 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum (Brasilia, Brazil, 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> June 2025)

The 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum was held in Brasilia, Brazil from 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> June 2025, with participation from the parliaments of all 10 member countries, including India. The Indian delegation was led by the Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla, along with a high-level parliamentary team consisting of Shri Harivansh, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha; Shri Surendra Singh Nagar, Member of Rajya Sabha; Shri Vijay Baghel; Shri Vivek Thakur; and Dr. Shabari Byreddy, all members of Lok Sabha; Shri Utpal Kumar Singh, Secretary General, Lok Sabha; Shri P.C. Mody, Secretary General, Rajya Sabha, and senior officers from the Lok Sabha Secretariat. The ten BRICS countries represented in this year's forum were: India, Brazil, Russia, China, South Africa, Iran, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Ethiopia and Indonesia. Delegations from the parliaments of these countries actively participated in the conference and played a key role in shaping the joint declaration. After multiple rounds of intensive discussions and deliberations, a broad consensus was reached on key global issues such as the responsible use of



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla addressing the 2<sup>nd</sup> working Session on '*BRICS Parliamentary action in Search of new paths for economic development*' at the BRICS Parliamentary Forum in Brasilia, Brazil

Artificial Intelligence (AI), Global Trade and Economy, Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation, Global Peace and Security. India's stance on various issues was widely appreciated and was unanimously incorporated into the final joint declaration. In particular, India's firm policy on countering terrorism was strongly acknowledged. India unequivocally condemned all terrorist attacks and emphatically advocated for the adoption of a zero-tolerance policy towards terrorism. The joint declaration strongly condemned the recent terrorist attack in Pahalgam, India, and member parliaments agreed to act collectively against terrorism.

The Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla delivered addresses during 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Working Sessions. Shri Birla

also addressed the Concluding Session.

The Lok Sabha Speaker articulated India's views in following four thematic sessions of this Forum: (i) Towards stronger and more durable BRICS inter-parliamentary cooperation; (ii) BRICS parliaments united for the reform of the multilateral peace and security architecture; (iii) Inter-parliamentary cooperation for responsible and inclusive artificial intelligence; and (iv) BRICS parliamentary action in search of new paths for economic development.

The Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha addressed the Forum during the following Sessions: (i) BRICS Inter-Parliamentary Alliance for Global Health; and (ii) BRICS Inter-Parliamentary Dialogue on Climate and Sustainability.



Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Shri Harivansh while speaking at the Working Session on "BRICS Inter-Parliamentary Dialogue on Climate and Sustainability" on 5<sup>th</sup> June 2025.

Dr. Shabari Byreddy participated in the Sessions of the Meeting of Women Parliamentarians. Shri Surendra Singh Nagar, Shri Vijay Baghel and Shri Vivek Thakur participated in the Sessions of the Chairs of the Committees on the International Affairs of BRICS Parliament.

At the end of the Forum, a comprehensive Joint Declaration was adopted by consensus. The Joint Declaration inter-alia condemned in the strongest terms the terrorist attack at Pahalgam in Jammu and Kashmir on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2025. It also condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations including cross-border terrorism, terrorism financing and safe havens. It underlined that those who are involved in and supporting terrorist activities must be held accountable and brought to justice in accordance with national and international law. It

underlined India's policy of zero tolerance towards terrorism.

With India being the next chair of BRICS, the Presidents of Senate and Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of Brazil handed over to the Lok Sabha Speaker, the chairmanship of the 12<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum to be held in India in 2026. The Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla congratulated Brazil's Parliament for the success of this

forum and invited Parliamentary leaders of BRICS and Partner countries to visit India for the 12<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum to be hosted by the Parliament of India next year.

### **Bilateral Meetings on the side-lines of 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum**

On the sidelines of the Forum in Brasilia, the Delegation led by the Lok Sabha Speaker also held bilateral meetings with the following dignitaries: (i) H.E. Mr. Hugo Motta Wanderley da Nóbrega, President of the Chamber of Deputies, Brazil; (ii) H.E. Mr. David Samuel Alcolumbre Tobelem, President of Federal Senate of Brazil; (iii) H.E. Mr. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, Speaker of Islamic Parliament of Iran; and (iv) H.E. Mrs. Ana Maria Mari Machado, Vice-President of the National Assembly of Cuba.



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla with President of the Chamber of Deputies of Brazil, H.E. Mr. Hugo Motta in Brasilia, Brazil, on 4<sup>th</sup> June 2025. Also seen in the picture are Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh, along with Secretary-General, Lok Sabha, Shri Utpal Kumar Singh.

## **Address delivered by the Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Working Session of 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum**

On behalf of 1.4 billion citizens of India, I extend a heartfelt welcome to all of you. I congratulate the Parliament of Brazil for successfully organizing this event and thank them for their warm hospitality.

Today, the BRICS group has emerged as a formidable force in the global economic landscape. It represents nearly 43% of the world's population and contributes over 40% to the global GDP based on Purchasing Power Parity.

Friends, despite global challenges, BRICS nations have made inspiring progress in the

realm of economic development. India believes that to further strengthen this progress, we must enhance intra-BRICS trade, investment, and financial cooperation.

We welcome the recent expansion of the BRICS grouping. This will make our collaboration more inclusive and impactful.

India supports a fair and rule-based global trading system—one that adequately addresses the needs and aspirations of the Global South.

Friends, we are concerned that representation of developing

countries in international institutions remains inadequate. This imbalance hampers global equity and balanced development. Therefore, BRICS countries must collectively make concrete efforts to enhance the participation of the Global South in such institutions. Global crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic have disproportionately affected the Global South.

In addition, we are also facing Challenges related to food, security and health. If we do not take Concrete and Coordinated action, we will have to face more challenges. We need to make collective



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla while speaking at the 5<sup>th</sup> Working Session on “BRICS Parliaments United for the Reform of the multilateral peace and security architecture”

effort to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

India's economic journey over the past decade has been remarkable. Despite global uncertainties and domestic challenges, India has consistently outperformed the global growth average.

Rising from the 10<sup>th</sup> largest economy in 2014 to the 4<sup>th</sup> largest today, is a testament to India's robust policies and the strength of its people. From 2014-15 to 2024-25, India's GDP has grown at an average rate of over 7%, making it the fastest-growing major economy in the world.

India is not only the world's largest and most vibrant democracy but also a nation with stable governance, strong constitutional institutions, the rule of law, a transparent and accountable tax system, and decisive leadership that has earned the trust of global investors.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, India has made unprecedented progress in infrastructure. Our greatest strength is our youthful population. Over 65% of Indians are under the age of 35. This youthful energy will lead India

and the World on the path of development.

Friends, India is constantly transforming its economic scenario. Following the Indian philosophy of '*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*' BRICS Countries should make Coordinated efforts.

BRICS Countries need to Work together in the field of culture, trade and economy. I thank once again all the BRICS Countries for having a dialogue in the forum to make Coordinated efforts for the development of the Countries.

Thank you very much.

## **Address delivered by the Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla during the 5<sup>th</sup> Working Session of 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum**

*Hon'ble Presiding Officers,  
Members of Parliament, Ladies  
and Gentlemen,*

This historic BRICS Parliamentary Forum is a vital and influential platform for collective deliberation on essential reforms in the global peace and security framework. It is a matter of immense pride for me to share India's perspective in this forum.

This topic is deeply aligned with the core principles of BRICS—justice, inclusivity and representation. It also reflects the growing importance of parliamentary diplomacy in shaping the discourse on multilateral reforms.

India firmly believes that we need to create a global order that is founded on friendship, mutual respect and cooperation. Our civilizational ethos naturally fosters a spirit of dialogue and collaboration. To this end, India stands ready to work closely with the parliaments of BRICS nations.

We are in the midst of an era of global complexities and multipolar realignment. Hence, there is an urgent need to make the global peace and security architecture more inclusive, representative and responsive.

India is fully committed to the principles of the United Nations Charter—sovereignty, equality, and peaceful coexistence.

I take this opportunity to draw your attention to a matter of utmost sensitivity and primary importance. The recent terrorist attack in India in Jammu and Kashmir in which 26 innocent citizens were brutally killed, has deeply shaken us. These heinous killings are not just an attack on India but an assault on all of humanity.

As Pakistan took no concrete action against the terrorist infrastructure operating from its territory, India exercised its right to respond and prevent future cross-border attacks. India's actions were targeted, non-provocative, measured, and responsible. The sole objective was to destroy terrorist infrastructure and neutralize the capabilities of terrorists.

Today, India stands firm on a zero-tolerance policy towards all forms of terrorism. Under the able leadership of Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, India has a clear policy that all forms and acts of terrorism would be dealt with in a decisive, effective and stringent manner.

BRICS nations must make united and coordinated efforts to deal with the challenges of global terrorism. We need to work together to halt terror financing, share intelligence, prevent the misuse of modern technologies and ensure coordination in investigations and judicial processes.

India, the land of peace and compassion, inspired by Lord Buddha and the tradition of non-violence, also embodies a firm stance against injustice and aggression as part of its civilizational ethos. It is our collective responsibility to unequivocally condemn terrorism in all forms and take resolute action against it.

As responsible nations and representative parliaments, embodying the aspirations of our people and the principles of democracy, let us resolve to take a more active role in shaping a just and peaceful global order.

Thank you.

### **Gist of addresses delivered by Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha during 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Parliamentary Forum**

Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha addressed the Forum during the following Sessions:

**(i) BRICS Inter-Parliamentary Alliance for Global Health:** PostCOVID-19, ‘the Global Health Alliance’ underscores the urgent need for collective action, not only in strengthening health systems, but also for coordinated responses to emerging health challenges. India has been actively engaged in the BRICS health tracks, contributing to discussions and initiatives that drive the implementation and advancement of BRICS health priorities. Hon’ble Deputy Chairman also highlighted achievements under India’s flagship Ayushman Bharat Programme — an initiative to reach the objectives of Universal Health Coverage.

**(ii) BRICS Inter-Parliamentary Dialogue on Climate and Sustainability:** Despite India’s very low contribution to historical emissions and to the current levels of global emissions, India has taken several climate actions. These are based on equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities in the light of different national circumstances. He also urged the BRICS nations to join India led global sustainability initiatives like the International Solar Alliance, Leadership

Group for Industry Transition, and Global Biofuel Alliance to facilitate the ongoing efforts to address climate change.

#### **Interventions by Other delegates**

Dr. Shabari Byreddy, MP, Lok Sabha participated in the Sessions of the Meeting of Women Parliamentarians. Shri Surendra Singh Nagar, MP, Rajya Sabha, Shri Vijay Baghel, MP, Lok Sabha, Shri Vivek Thakur, MP, Lok Sabha participated in the Sessions of the Chairs of the Committees on the International Affairs of BRICS Parliament.

Dr. Shabari Byreddy, MP, Lok Sabha participated in the following Sessions of the Meeting of Women Parliamentarians;

**(i) Women in the Age of Artificial Intelligence: Between the Protection of Rights and Female Inclusion in the Digital Economy:** India views AI as an enabler to women’s participation in the digital economy, accessing online marketplaces, and exploring work-from-home opportunities, thus promoting financial independence. India has taken landmark initiatives to promote women’s inclusion in the digital economy and protect their rights. India

emphasizes the use of gender-disaggregated data in AI systems to ensure that these technologies are developed with a gender-inclusive approach, benefiting women in sectors like healthcare, education, and agriculture.

**(ii) Empowering Women to Face the Climate Crisis: BRICS Perspective:** Women can succeed in implementing sustainable solutions, including promoting clean energy, sustainable agriculture, and climate-resilient infrastructure. Women-inclusive approach in climate decision-making processes ensures that the solutions will be more effective and equitable. Through education and skill development, particularly in areas like technology and sustainable practices, women can be empowered to enhance their ability to address climate challenges.

**(iii) Building the future: Women Parliamentarians and the BRICS 2025 Agenda:** India, under the leadership of Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, has firmly embraced the principle of women-led development. We believe that empowering women is not merely a matter of social justice, but a prerequisite for national and global progress. India firmly believes that the

empowerment of women is an investment in our collective future. The world has recognized India's approach to women-led development, especially during our G20 Presidency. We are committed to working closely with our BRICS partners to ensure that the 2025 Agenda is truly transformative and places women at the heart of our developmental efforts.

**Participation in the Sessions of the Meeting of the Chairs of the Committees on International Affairs of BRICS Parliaments**

**(i) 1st Working Session on Strengthening BRICS Trade in the Current International Scenario (Shri Vijay Baghel, MP, Lok Sabha):** Highlighting India's unwavering commitment to strengthening Intra BRICS trade, Hon'ble MP emphasized that strengthening BRICS trade in the current scenario requires a multi-pronged approach,

focusing on reducing trade barriers, streamlining customs procedures and promoting greater transparency. This will enhance the flow of goods and services among BRICS nations.

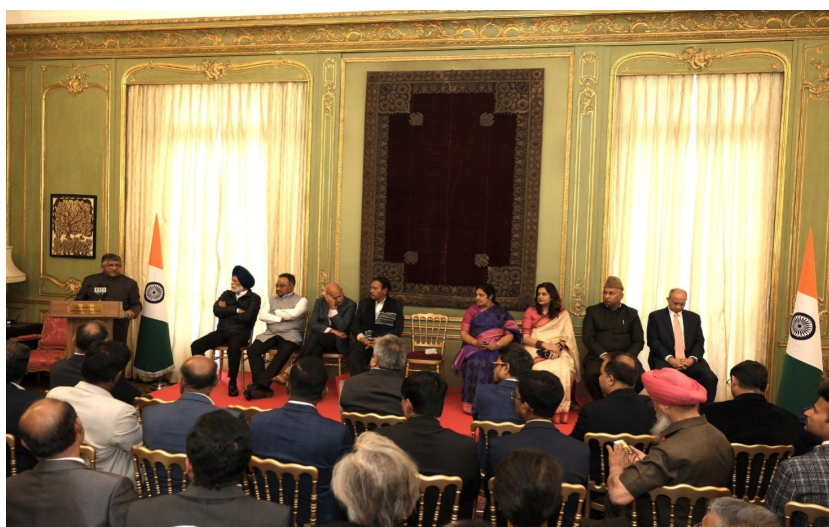
**(ii) 2nd Working Session on Promoting Investment and Technology Transfer for Sustainable Development (Shri Vivek Thakur, MP, Lok Sabha):** We must acknowledge that the multitude of challenges of today's dynamic and interdependent world can best be fought unitedly at the global level. SDGs Agenda 2023 speaks about strengthening the means of implementation and revitalization of the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development. Despite its own resource constraints, India has been sharing its developmental experiences and technical expertise with other countries in the spirit of "*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*"- the World is one Family

**(iii) 3rd Working Session on International Affairs of BRICS Parliaments-Financial Instruments for a More Resilient and Sustainable BRICS (Shri Surendra Singh Nagar, MP, Rajya Sabha):** The New Development Bank (NDB) has a key role in promoting infrastructure and sustainable development. We look forward to its further development and improvement in corporate governance and operational effectiveness towards the fulfilment of the NDB's General Strategy for 2022-2026. The blended finance is an effective way to mobilize private capital to finance infrastructure projects, and thereby contributing to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals in accordance with the specific needs and priorities of our respective countries.

## Visit of all Party Parliamentary Delegations abroad on Terror Attack, May - June 2025

Seven All Party Parliamentary Delegations visited foreign countries in the aftermath of the Pahalgam attack on 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 2025. The object of the visit was to explain India's fight against terror attack. The delegations were as under:

The **Group 1** delegation was led by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) MP Shri Baijayant Jay Panda consisting of Dr. Nishikant Dubey MP, BJP, Smt. Phangnon Konyak, MP, BJP, Smt. Rekha Sharma, MP, BJP, Shri Asaduddin Owaisi MP, AIMIM, Shri Satnam Singh Sandhu, MP Nominated, Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad and Amb.



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-2)*

Harsh Shringla to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Algeria.

The **Group 2** delegation was led by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) MP Shri Ravi Shankar Prasad consisting of

Dr. Daggubati Purandeswari, MP, BJP, Smt. Priyanka Chaturvedi, MP, Shiv Sena (UBT), Shri Ghulam Ali Khatana MP, Nominated, Dr. Amar Singh, MP, INC, Shri Samik Bhattacharya MP, BJP, Shri M. J. Akbar and Amb. Pankaj Saran to UK, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, and European Union.



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-1)*

The **Group 3** delegation was led by Janata Dal (United) leader Shri Sanjay Jha consisting of Smt. Aparajita Sarangi, MP, BJP, Shri Yusuf Pathan, MP, AITC, Shri Brij Lal, MP, BJP, Dr. John Brittas, MP, CPI(M), Shri Pradan Baruah, MP, BJP, Dr. Hemang Joshi, MP, BJP,



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-3)*

Shri Salman Khurshid and Amb. Mohan Kumar to Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, Japan, and Singapore.

The **Group 4** delegation was led by Shiv Sena's MP Shrikant Eknath Shinde consisting of Smt. Bansuri Swaraj, MP, BJP, Shri ET Mohammed Basheer, MP, IUML, Shri Atul Garg, MP, BJP, Dr. Sasmit Patra, MP, BJD, Shri Menan Kumar Mishra, MP, BJP, Shri SS Ahluwalia and Amb. Sujan Chinoy to United Arab Emirates, Liberia, Congo, and Sierra Leone.

The **Group 5** delegation led by Congress's MP Shri Shashi Tharoor, Smt. Shambhyavi, MP,



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-5)*

LJP (Ram Vilas) consisting of Dr. Sarfaraz Ahmad, MP, JMM, Shri G.M.Harish Balayogi, MP, TDP, Shri Shashank Mani Tripathi, MP, BJP, Shri Bhubaneswar Kalita, MP, BJP,

Shri Milind Murli Deora, MP, Shiv Sena, Amb. Taranjit Singh Sandhu and Shri Tejasvi Surya, MP, BJP to United States of America, Panama, Guyana, Brazil, and Colombia.

The **Group 6** delegation led by Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) MP Kanimozhi Karunanidhi consisting of Shri Rajeev Raj, MP, SP Shri Mian

Altaf Ahmad, MP, NC, Capt. Brijesh Chowta, MP, BJP, Shri Prem Chand Gupta, MP, RJD, Dr. Ashok Kumar Mittal, MP, AAP, Amb. Manjeev S. Puri and Amb. Jawed Ashraf to Spain, Greece, Slovenia, Latvia, and Russia.



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-4)*

The **Group 7** group Nationalist Congress Party (Sharad Pawar) leader Smt. Supriya Sule consisting of Shri Rajiv Pratap Rudy, MP, BJP, Shri Vikramjeet Singh Sahney, MP, AAP, Shri Manish Tewari, MP, INC, Shri Anurag Singh Thakur, MP, BJP, Shri Lavu Sri



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-6)*

Krishna Devarayalu, MP, TDP, Shri Anand Sharma, Shri V. Muralaeeharan and Amb. Syed Akbaruddin to Egypt, Qatar, Ethiopia, and South Africa.



*Photograph of the All-Party Parliamentary Delegation (Group-7)*

*\*Photograph Source: PIB, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India.*

# ADDRESSES

## Speech of Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla during the National Conference of Chairpersons of Estimates Committees of Parliament and the State/Union Territory Legislatures, held in Mumbai, Maharashtra, from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> June 2025

### Inaugural Address

The two-day National Conference of Chairpersons of Estimates Committees of Parliament and the State/Union Territory Legislatures was held in Mumbai, Maharashtra from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> June 2025. The Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla delivered the Inaugural and the Valedictory Addresses during the Conference.

In this anniversary celebration of 75 years of glorious history of the Estimates Committee, we have among us today the popular Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Hon'ble Devendra Fadnavis ji; Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Dr. Harivansh ji; Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Eknath Shinde ji; Chairman of Legislative Council, Shri Ram Shinde ji; the illustrious Speaker

of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, Shri Rahul Narvekar ji; Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Council, Smt. Neelam Gorhe ji; Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Shri Anna ji; Chairman of the Estimates Committee of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, Shri Arjun Khotkar ji, under whose leadership this program is being organized; Chairman of the



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla, while delivering the Inaugural Address at the National Conference of Estimates Committees of Parliament and State/Union Territory Legislative Bodies at Maharashtra Vidhan Bhavan, Mumbai on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025.

Estimates Committee of Lok Sabha, Dr. Sanjay Jaiswal ji; all the honourable members of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, Chairpersons of the Estimates Committee of the State Legislative Assemblies, Members, Brothers and Sisters!

This moment is not only a tribute to the legacy of our Estimates Committees, but also a reflection on their contribution, their efforts, their experience and the important role they played in bringing about transparent and accountable financial governance.

We are pleased that in this 75 years journey of democracy,

our democracy has been glorious and in this 75 years journey, we have also tried to fulfil the needs and aspirations of the people. There were many challenges before us. Despite these challenges, India's parliamentary democracy has remained unique and with India's parliamentary history, heritage and modernity in the world, we can say that India is the largest democracy in the world and a vibrant democracy. Its diversity serves to unite India.

This is the land of the Chhatrapati Shivaji. A number of important decisions have

been taken on this land of valour, bravery and spirituality. A new history of social and economic change has been created in Maharashtra on account of several important decisions taken in this very Assembly Hall.

I appreciate the vision of our first Speaker of Lok Sabha who decided to constitute the Estimate Committee with an aim to make Parliamentary Committees work as regulators along with financial discipline in governance. The Committee on Estimates has been working with accountability and new technology with its glorious



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla releasing a Souvenir commemorating the 75th Anniversary of the Committee on Estimates of the Parliament of India during the Inaugural Session of the National Conference of Estimates Committees of Parliament and State/ UT Legislative Bodies in Mumbai, Maharashtra on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025.

heritage in the history of democracy since 10<sup>th</sup> April 1950.

I would also like to remember all those visionary Chairmen under whose leadership the Committee on Estimates played an important role in bringing about financial transparency and accountability in its decisions and recommendations. Along with financial monitoring, the Committee on Estimates reviews the Budget, Budget Estimates, ensures accountability, transparency in governance and proper utilization of funds and reviews the expenditure on social and economic welfare.

The efforts of the Committee on Estimates have prevented the mispending of public funds, brought efficiency, transparency and accountability in governance and a number of major decisions have been taken. Besides, some important decisions have also been taken in the Committee on Estimates to improve the efficiency of the Government in the present circumstances.

That is why, in the previous years, the estimates were made at the time of financial allocations, as Devendra ji who also served as a member has mentioned how the Committee on Estimates regularly works as monitoring mechanism and keeps an eye on every financial budget allocation, proper

planning of funds along with the expenditure. This is our strength in democracy.

When we adopted parliamentary democracy, Baba Saheb had said that true democracy will be achieved only when the people working thereunder will work with honesty and dedication. I am glad that during these 75 years of journey, Parliamentary Committees have made crucial contributions.

Whether it is a State Parliamentary Committee or a Lok Sabha Parliamentary Committee, it works as a mini-parliament, because a number of important issues are also discussed in the Parliament apart from policies and programmes. Therefore, the Parliamentary Committees monitor the policies, programmes, schemes of the Government and the funds spent thereon. The Committees also ensure that the funds are actually spent under the head for which it was earmarked. They bring about improvement, transparency and accountability in governance.

Several major decisions have been taken by the Committee on Estimates. The Committee has also made very good recommendations in relation to important public issues such as reorganization of the Government Secretariat, rail

and road connectivity among the initial decisions.

I am pleased that 90 to 95 percent recommendations of the Committee on Estimates have been accepted by the Government in the Lok Sabha and several State Assemblies. Through the recommendations of several Estimates Committees, we have worked towards reducing corruption, bringing transparency, accountability in governance and bringing about changes in the accounting system. The Parliamentary Committees have a huge contribution in ensuring transparency in governance and accountability in the executive.

The representatives in the Parliamentary Committees are connected with the public and know the sentiments of the public and from time to time they go to the field and evaluate the funds allocated for policies, schemes and programmes and verify their estimates. It is also reviewed whether the funds were used properly or not and how much social and economic change was brought about by the same. If the representatives of the people monitor the work properly, then definitely we will bring accountability in governance and administration. That is why we are sitting here today.

Today, Chairpersons and Members of the Estimates

Committees of State Legislative Assemblies from across the country have come here. Members of our Parliamentary Committees have also come. They will share their experiences. This conference will definitely provide a platform to share the experience of the Legislative Assemblies which have developed mechanisms to bring about economic, social change and financial discipline with transparency through the best practices adopted and decisions taken in the Committee on Estimates.

The Committees on Estimates at the Centre and in the States will cooperate and coordinate with one another to develop a mechanism that ensures accountability and effective functioning of all State Estimates Committees. Today is the time of change and technology. Technology has brought transparency and accountability. Our endeavour will be that all the members of the Committees on Estimates also use technology and AI properly.

For this, when you will discuss and communicate, in the coming time, we will try to set up training camps for the members of the Committee on Estimates and officials.

The more we use AI, do analysis, bring transparency and accountability in financial governance, the more accountable the governance will be, and we will be able to fulfil the expectations and aspirations of the people who elect us.

In the coming times, the decisions which will be taken, the discussions which will take place, our Committee on Estimates will try to adopt the best practices of the State Estimates committees which have worked better on the basis of experience and technology. I think the strength of democracy is that it moves forward with dialogue, discussion, agreement, disagreement and then decision.

I hope that in this conference, in the next two days, you will have meaningful discussions and formulate plans for addressing the challenges

of the future, develop a system through which we can ensure financial discipline, transparency, accountability in the state and the centre through the Committee on Estimates and devise the ways to prevent misspending of funds so as to bring about social and economic transformation in the society.

I hope that this conference will conclude with new ideas, meaningful dialogue and new inspiration so that we can establish a prosperous and an accountable system of governance.

I would like to thank the Hon'ble Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and the Hon'ble Chief Minister of the state for organizing this conference in the economic capital of the country, Mumbai. The economic capital will make its important and meaningful contribution as a leader in bringing in stable financial discipline in the country.

Thank You Very Much.

## Speech of the then Governor of Maharashtra Shri C. P. Radhakrishnan during the National Conference of Chairpersons of Estimates Committees of Parliament and the State/Union Territory Legislatures, held in Mumbai, Maharashtra, from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> June 2025

I touch and salute the holy feet of Bharat Mata, the Most Powerful and the Most Merciful.

Shri Om Birla Ji, Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha, Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh Ji, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Prof. Ram Shinde, Hon'ble Chairman of Maharashtra Legislative Council, Adv. Rahul Narwekar, Hon'ble Speaker of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, Dr Sanjay Jaiswal, Hon'ble Chairman, Estimates Committee of Lok Sabha, Smt. Neelam Gorhe, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman of Maharashtra Legislative Council, Shri Anna Saheb Bansode, Hon'ble Deputy Speaker of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, Shri Ambadas Danve, Hon'ble Leader of the Opposition in the Maharashtra Legislative Council, Shri Arjun Khotkar, Hon'ble Chairman, Estimates Committee of Maharashtra Legislature, Distinguished Chairpersons and Members of Estimates Committees from Parliament and from various States and Union Territories, Secretary Generals of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha,

Dr. Prashant Narnaware, Secretary to the Governor, Secretaries of Maharashtra State Legislature, Hon'ble Members of Maharashtra State Legislature, Respected Officers, Esteemed Invitees, Media persons, Baheno aur Bhaiyo,

At the outset, I extend a very warm welcome to the Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha Shri Om Birla Ji and other esteemed dignitaries to the State of Maharashtra.

It is a matter of great pride and honour that Maharashtra has been chosen as the host for this National Conference of Estimates Committees, coinciding with the 75th anniversary of the Republic and the 75th Anniversary of the Parliamentary Estimates Committee – a diamond jubilee milestone in our democratic journey.

I congratulate the Organizers for this timely and forward-looking initiative.

I am sure, since yesterday, you have had a fruitful discussion the role of the committees, the changes in their functioning and their relevance in the present context.

Distinguished delegates, Maharashtra is a land of Bhakti, Shakti and Pragati. The foundation of Hindavi Swaraj was laid in this holy land by the greatest ruler Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj.

Maharashtra has since remained the leading state of Mother Bharath. The Maharashtra State Legislature has had a long and illustrious history, giving it a unique status in the country. Only last year, the Maharashtra Legislative Council celebrated one century of its meaningful existence and service in the august presence of the Hon'ble President of India.

Maharashtra has given the nation some of the unique ideas and schemes. The revolutionary Employment Guarantee Scheme was conceived and unveiled in Maharashtra way back in the 1970's. Later, it was adopted at the national level.

One thing I always admire about the Maharashtra is that there are extremely cordial relations between the Treasury Benches and the Opposition at the personal level. This is

something many States can learn from Maharashtra.

The first Speaker of Lok Sabha late Shri G. V. Mavalankar had been the Speaker of this Assembly. Former President Smt Pratibha Patil was a member of this House. The Late Shri R S Gavai, former Governor of Kerala and the father of present Chief Justice of India was Chairman of this Legislative Council.

Towering personalities like Y B Chavan, Vasantdada Patil, S.B.Chavan, Shripad Amrut Dange, S.M.Joshi, Nanasaheb Goray, Manohar Joshi, Sharad Pawar, had also graced the floor of Maharashtra Legislature. On an occasion like this one also remembers firebrand parliamentarians like George Fernandes, Barrister Nath Pai and others.

Sisters and Brothers,

Our founding fathers made a bold and wise choice in adopting Parliamentary Democracy. In this system, Legislative Committees, especially financial committees like the Estimates Committee, act as the backbone of accountability and transparency in governance.

As a Member of Parliament from 1998 to 2004, I was Chairman of the Committee

on Textiles. I was also a Member of the Committee on PSUs, Finance, and the Stock Exchange Scam Inquiry. I can personally vouch the important role these committees play in our democratic set up.

Over the past 75 years, the Estimates Committee has evolved into a formidable instrument of oversight, guiding the efficient allocation of public funds, reviewing performance and recommending improvements across ministries and departments.

In a democratic setup, the consensus-driven, non-partisan nature of Estimates Committees gives them moral strength. Their constructive and fearless analysis has improved decision-making and reinforced public trust in our institutions.

As government spending continues to expand in both scale and complexity, the Committee's role will only become more critical and challenging. With States often spending more than 55% of their revenue receipts on committed expenditures like salaries, pensions and interest payments, there is an urgent need to look beyond traditional methods.

As of 2024, the combined outstanding liabilities of all Indian states and UTs reached ₹83.3 lakh crore.

Committees must proactively harness tools of data analytics, dashboards, and AI-powered audit platforms to track budget performance and service delivery in real time.

Recently, we had the visit of the Speaker of the Russian Duma Mr Vyacheslav Volodin to Maharashtra. He spoke of inter-parliamentary cooperation at the regional legislature level.

This 'Amritkaal' presents us with a valuable opportunity to make collective efforts towards establishing Bharat as a global leader.

We must strive to develop modern systems across all democratic institutions, inspired by the Bharatiya thought process, so that our nation secures its rightful place on the world stage as a strong, prosperous country dedicated to the welfare of all.

I congratulate the Estimates Committee of Parliament on completing 75 years of distinguished service. I also compliment the Maharashtra Legislative Secretariat for hosting this significant 2 – day Conference with such excellence and warmth.

Dhanyavad!

Jai Hind ! Jai Bharath ! Jai Maharashtra !!

## Speech of Chief Minister of Maharashtra Shri Devendra Fadnavis during the National Conference of Chairpersons of Estimates Committees of Parliament and the State/Union Territory Legislatures, held in Mumbai, Maharashtra, from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> June 2025

Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla Ji, Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh Ji, Chairman of the Legislative Council, Shri Ram Shinde Ji, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Shri Rahul Narvekar Ji, our popular Deputy Chief Minister, Shri Eknath Shinde Ji, Deputy Chairperson Neelam Gorhe Ji, Deputy Speaker Anna Bansode Ji, Chairman of the Estimates Committee of Lok Sabha, Dr. Sanjay Jaiswal Ji, Chairman of the Estimates Committee of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, Arjun Khotkar Ji, Shri Utpal Kumar Singh Ji, Shri P.C. Modi Ji, Shri Jitendra Bhore Ji, all our distinguished Members of Parliament, the respected Chairmen of the Estimates Committees from various Legislative Assemblies, the members of the Estimates Committees, all the distinguished members of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council, and ladies and gentlemen present here in this conference.

First of all, I extend a warm welcome to the Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha and all of you to Maharashtra, the land of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. We all know that this is the

birthplace of Bharat Ratna Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Ji, who gave our country the world's best constitution. It is because of that constitution, we are all present here today, acting as vehicles of democracy in our country. I am very happy that this Estimates Committee conference is being held in Maharashtra. I am present among you not only as the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, but also as a member who served in the Estimates Committee for six years.

As we know, our Constitution is so beautifully crafted that our Parliament or Legislative Assemblies keep a check on the government. Very often, when we say that our government is accountable to Parliament, this does not mean that the government must prove its accountability only during the three sessions. Rather, even more than the sessions, our committees act as a check on the government. These committees work throughout the year, except during sessions. Our Constitution has created a continuous process whereby our Parliament and Legislative Assemblies can keep a check on the government, and the government must constantly remain responsible and accountable to Parliament.

I am pleased that since we established this system, it has steadily matured. Today, whether it is the Parliament or the Legislative Assemblies of the country, this system is functioning very efficiently everywhere. Within this framework, I believe our Estimates Committee is a very important committee, as many of our committees are postmortem committees. They act after an incident or a death. For example, the Public Accounts Committee, which is a very important committee, considers and makes recommendations only after everything is over. If there is any committee that works in a dynamic manner, it is the Estimates Committee. It is because this committee constantly monitors the budget estimates, the demands made in them, whether they were justified, and whether the expenditure is being properly spent. In a way, the Committee on Estimates serves as a check on this entire process. Actually, *Prakkalan* is a Sanskrit word, in which *Prak* means first and *Kalan* means calculation. Anything that is calculated first, estimated, and projected is called an estimate. When the budget is presented to us, it is still an estimate. There is a very scientific process behind

this estimate. Each department is given an estimate of how much money can be allocated, and based on that, they must submit demands. They must put up their demand in Parliament that if they have been allocated an amount of Rupees twenty thousand crore, they would spend the money on various heads determined by them. When Parliament approves that demand through a vote, the demand is approved and the amount is granted to that department as budget allocation. Throughout this process, it is taken care of whether the budget estimate prepared, would prove to be correct? Is the demand for allocation actually required? If the demand was made after considering upon its actual need, was it spent appropriately? The Committee on Estimates examines all these factors. I feel that if any department is to be forced to follow the right path, then it must prove its responsibility when it appears before the Estimates Committee and also prove that the budget demand was correct and the expenditure incurred was correct. This creates a sense of accountability. This also inculcates efficiency. Through this, we can identify the amount of money we are spending and whether the department is working in accordance with the government's policies and guidelines. I believe that the committee system in our democracy is very important.

Many times people comment on this, criticize it, saying that though we have prepared a very good committee system, but these committees have the right to make recommendations and when their report is presented to the Parliament or the Legislative Assembly, it is not necessary that their report and all the recommendations would be accepted by them. If this does not happen, then what is the meaning of it? I can say about the Legislative Assembly of Maharashtra and more or less the same situation prevails in all the Legislative Assemblies or in Parliament that out of the total recommendations made in such reports, 65 to 70% of the recommendations are actually implemented. There are only 30 percent of recommendations which are not implemented. I believe that the work done by committees significantly compels the government to bring about changes in its administration, and the changes do occur. Therefore, I believe that the system of committees that we have developed is very important. Secondly, the most important thing it does is that since we have all worked in committees, it creates a sense of fear in the administration. Meetings with these committees also prevent the administration from repeating its mistakes. Therefore, I believe the Estimates Committee is a very important committee. Through

this committee, we can guide the effectiveness of our budget, which is a means to fulfill the hopes, aspirations and expectations of all the people. This Estimates Committee possesses such power. Therefore, as we all gather here during this Estimates Committee's *Amritkal* (auspicious time), let us all hold further discussions on making it more efficient. We should consider upon how to make it more effective. Any system in operation will develop flaws over time. We should assess these flaws and consider how we can eliminate them.

If we consider upon how to set new standards for the future generations of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies, I hope this seminar will prove to be very meaningful.

I express my gratitude to the Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha and the Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha for choosing Maharashtra and giving Maharashtra the opportunity to host such a wonderful event. Our Chairman Sir and Speaker Sir have made excellent arrangements. If there are any shortcomings in the system, we will certainly try to improve them. Once again, I cordially welcome you all and conclude my speech.

Thank you. Jai Hind.

# ADDRESSES

## Speech delivered by the Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla during the Inaugural Session of the Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association India Region Zone-II, held at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh, from 30<sup>th</sup> June to 1<sup>st</sup> July 2025

The two-day Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association India Region Zone-II was held in Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh from 30<sup>th</sup> June to 1<sup>st</sup> July 2025. The Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla delivered the Inaugural Address during the Inaugural Session at the Conference.

At this regional conference of CPA Zone-II, I extend a warm welcome to the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, Shri Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu ji;

the Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Dr. Harivansh Narayan Singh ji; Speaker of Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania ji; Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Shri Harshwardhan Chauhan ji; Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Shri Vinay Kumar ji; and all the esteemed Presiding Officers, Deputy Chairpersons; Party Whips and Hon'ble Members of Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils.

This Conference is being

held in the courageous, spiritual, and culturally rich land of Dharamshala in Himachal Pradesh, a place renowned for its unique cultural heritage. It has a rich democratic heritage and is a centre of spiritual energy.

This land is a centre of peace and goodwill and I believe that this Conference will provide us with new energy and new guidance. I believe our democratic institutions will be able to keep pace with the changing times to meet the



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla, while delivering the Inaugural Address at the Annual Conference of CPA India Region Zone-II at Tapovan, Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2025.

expectations and aspirations of the people by way of new ideas and new ways of thinking.

This land of Himachal Pradesh has a great democratic legacy. In 1921, the first Presiding Officers' Conference was also held in this State in Shimla. Hon'ble Chairman of the Central Legislative Council, Shri Vithalbhai Patel ji was elected as the Chairman of the Central Legislative Council on this soil. This land has been instrumental in ushering-in democratic reforms.

Himachal Pradesh has made vital contributions in every transitional moment in our democracy.

Today, Shri Harivansh ji has outlined a few topics of

discussion for this meeting. We will discuss these issues and our legislatures will hold substantive discussions on them in their respective Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils. We will share our experiences, embrace innovation, and harness technology to strengthen our legislative institutions. These three processes are the need of the hour. We must monitor and manage the resources created by nature and by humans. We should conduct a comprehensive review of the anti-defection law. By using AI, we can bring legislative institutions closer to the people. I urge our esteemed members to use AI to enhance their capabilities to fulfil the expectations and aspirations of the people.

Friends, India is the largest democracy in the world. India has unparalleled diversity and the world's most vibrant Constitution. Therefore, it is our responsibility to strengthen our democratic institutions and make them more accountable and transparent. India and its legislative institutions should serve as a global beacon for democratic innovation.

Babasaheb Ambedkar said that the success of a constitution, or any institution depends on the conduct of the individuals who work for it. It is important that we strengthen our institutions. We must conduct discussions and dialogues in institutions in a manner befitting their dignity and prestige. These are the finest traditions of democracy.

Furthermore, the dignity and prestige of the institution should be enhanced by the conduct and behaviour of the representatives elected to it. At the same time, through our legislative institutions, we must also address the expectations, aspirations, and challenges of the people who have put their trust in us and elected us.

We should address the major issues of this state also and upgrade the basic infrastructure while taking care to preserve its



On his arrival at Tapovan, Dharamshala on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2025 to inaugurate the Annual Conference of CPA India Region Zone-II, Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla was warmly welcomed by Speaker, Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania; Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh, Shri Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu and other dignitaries. Lok Sabha Speaker was also accorded the traditional 'Guard of Honour'

natural heritage. Today's theme of discussion also focuses on how we can monitor and manage our resources more effectively.

Hon'ble Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh shared an insight. He said that although the life of people in hilly areas is full of hardships and challenges, they possess remarkable courage, unwavering self-confidence, and strong willpower. Therefore, you will see that the tales of bravery of the people of India's hilly regions are spread across the world. Mountain dwellers are patriots and people of character. They are dedicated to serving the nation.

Hence, our legislative institutions should hold comprehensive discussions and dialogue to ensure effective implementation of policies and programmes in these regions. We should share our experiences and ideas. We should strive to make the country aware of the challenges before us.

This CPA Zone-II Conference is an important platform for exchange of ideas between legislatures of various regions. It is a centre for legislators to share their experiences, perspectives and thoughts as well as the innovative processes they have adopted.

I believe that if every legislator takes the feedback received from the people seriously, considers their challenges, adopts best practices, embraces new technologies, and raises regional issues within the framework of legislative rules and procedures—while also offering practical solutions tailored to their state's problems—it will enrich our democracy even more.

I believe that if members express their meaningful arguments and views with dignity and substance then it enhances not only their own dignity but the dignity and reputation of the institution is also enhanced as well.

That is why, in a democracy, from time to time, we organise conferences wherein we hold discussions, dialogues and deliberations on our issues. We present our ideological viewpoint with the confidence that we have to establish the best traditions and bring forward the best innovations in the world.

I am happy that the Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly has the distinction of being the first paperless Legislative Assembly. Now all the Legislative Assemblies have moved towards becoming paperless. Now, the Legislative Assemblies have started using

new techniques and technology. They have started using AI technology.

The Parliament of India has also started using all available AI tools in legislative businesses, legislative debates and discussions. Being the central legislature, it is our responsibility to lead from the front in this regard. We want to share those AI technology tools and innovations with the legislative assemblies of the States and with the members of the State Legislatures based on our expertise and experiences regarding the best technologies in the world. AI technology brings transparency and accountability in governance.

We can work with more accountability and transparency through our work culture in Parliamentary Committees. Our Parliamentary Committees work as mini parliaments. The participation of our members in Parliamentary Committees, especially in legislative assemblies should increase. The participation of the public, various stakeholders and those who are affected should be increased in Parliamentary Committees. The more we promote public participation while making laws, the better laws we will be able to make. For this, in the changing scenario, we can also make better use of technology.

I hope that in the times to come, the Lok Sabha will very soon make all the State Legislative Assemblies aware of AI technology, other new technologies and techniques and will also assist their Hon'ble members in learning to use these technologies. The Parliament has become paperless and has created a platform called Digital Sansad, where all the proceedings are to come on one platform. In this context, many legislative assemblies have also done a very good job of digitising all the debates and discussions on all the major issues or laws that have been enacted and bringing them on one platform.

The Prime Minister of India had said in Kevadia - "One Country, One Legislative Platform". We have started working on this. I would like to request the State Assemblies that whatever technical expertise they require, the Parliament of India will provide them. Our target is to bring all the State Assemblies and the Central Legislative Assembly (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha) on one platform by the year 2026.

For example, in States, there are various legislative

works related to formulation of social welfare schemes, other welfare schemes, budget and its allocation, discussion on budget, participation in budget, the issue of making new laws. When all this legislative work will come on one platform, then definitely, every Legislative Assembly will work in a better way competing with each other in a healthy manner and the Union Government will also learn from their experiences and adopt the innovations of those State governments which perform well, so that maximum welfare of the people is ensured.

The Government's job is to create infrastructure and also to ensure social welfare. It is not only the Government's job to change the life of the last man standing in the queue through social welfare, but it is also the responsibility of legislative institutions and legislators to contribute in this regard. We should be able to fulfill the expectations and aspirations of the people who have given us the responsibilities and elected us. That is why we will make all the elected institutions of the country, from Gram Panchayat to Municipalities and all other institutions, the centers of the

best discussions and dialogues. By ensuring comprehensive discussions, more dialogue, more innovations, and more sharing of our experiences we will make these institutions better and will also be able to fulfil the goal of bringing about change in these elected institutions along with effecting social and economic changes in the lives of the people.

On this occasion, I thank all the Hon'ble Presiding Officers and all the Hon'ble members. This land has been the land of democratic heritage and change.

I hope that the first conference of CPA Zone-II, which is held in Himachal and hosted by Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania ji, will definitely give a new direction to our discussions and dialogues, our new thinking and our new approach; and we will make our legislative institutions the best legislative institutions and will work collectively to make our elected representatives the best public representatives.

I once again thank Kuldeep Singh ji and the Chief Minister of the State for organising this Conference. Thank you very much to all of you.

## Speech delivered by the Governor of Himachal Pradesh Shri Shiv Pratap Sukla during the Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association India Region Zone-II, held at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh, from 30<sup>th</sup> June to 1<sup>st</sup> July 2025

Hon'ble Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh Ji who is present in this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, India Region, Zone-II, two-day annual conference, has been an excellent journalist but while serving as Deputy Chairman of the House, he never diverted his attention towards journalism. The proceedings of the House must be conducted while upholding the spirit of *Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas*.

The treasury benches and opposition benches both do present their views in the House and the Chair takes decision after considering the views of each side. As Governor of Himachal Pradesh, I welcome you all to my State. Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania ji who is sitting next to me has a marvellous record of smoothly conducting the proceedings of Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly and making landmark decisions by taking treasury and opposition benches on board.

The Government has to keep many things in mind while taking decisions, but Deputy Chief Minister, Shri Mukesh

Agnihotri ji always takes everyone along. Deputy Speaker of Legislative Assembly of Himachal Pradesh, Shri Vinay Kumar ji; Hon'ble Speakers, Deputy Speakers, Chief Whips, and Whips of different States, the dynamic Speaker of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly Shri Satish Mahana ji, who is a special invitee, hon'ble members of Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly, all the officers and friends from the media, I believe none of you would ever have imagined such an amazing Session.

Our Hon'ble Speaker of Himachal Pradesh has made such a splendid session possible through his connections and contacts and it has got wide publicity in the newspapers and media also. Therefore, I appreciate this event. Today, I am expressing my views in a different capacity. Sometimes, I use the term "My Government" in the House. Today, I have come here to express my views on the issues discussed and deliberated upon by you all. Normally whenever I visit the House, the Speaker, who presides over the sittings, sits next to me, and I have to read

whatever is provided to me in writing or in written format. But today, the topic here is something different.

Although, the Government takes decisions on all the issues related to the Governor but, the order is issued on behalf of the Governor. In such manner a harmonious relation is maintained between the Government and the Governor in a democratic form of governance. It is a matter of pleasure for all of us that this conference has been inaugurated by Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla ji. He always insists to raise the standards of all the Legislative Assemblies and ensures that the dignity of the Assembly is not compromised. He has replicated this thing in Lok Sabha also and Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh has ji also set an exemplary record by maintaining the same standard in Rajya Sabha.

I have been a Member of Rajya Sabha and I have seen how Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh ji in the capacity of a Presiding Officer would instruct the Ministers of the Government to be present in the House on

time and if they fail to do so he would ask them that since you were not present in the House on time so we have taken up another matter. We will take up this matter at some other time. One should have the courage to say this. As Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh ji has stated that everyone has appropriately expressed his views.

I think I am using the term 'appropriately' as Governor of Himachal Pradesh and the Members of our State Legislative Assembly also express their views appropriately in the Assembly. All the members whether they belong to the ruling party or the opposition, work in complete coordination. You have had a discussion on the subject "The Role of Legislatures in the Management of the State's Resources and Development of the State" on 30 June 2025. Ultimately, if a matter is passed as per the decision of Speaker, it is considered as passed by House unanimously. I have seen the style of functioning of Shri. P.C. Modi. I have seen him working as a Minister and particularly in the capacity of Minister of Finance.

Simply put, the Government of India has taken a decision to constitute a GST Council. I can state with certainty that anonymous decisions are not

taken in the State Legislative Assemblies, but the GST Council is such a body that, no matter which political party is in power in a State, this Council takes its every decision unanimously. No matter which political party is in power, the Finance Minister or any other minister nominated by the Government, attends the meetings of the council to present his views.

I have seen that if a unanimous decision is not taken in the first instance, it is usually taken unanimously either in second or third sitting. The GST Council decided to compensate for the losses of every state for five years. The Government of India complied by the decision of GST Council in letter and spirit by compensating for the losses incurred by the States for five years, not as a compulsion, but to honour the decision of GST Council. The revenue losses, be it Rs. 2000, Rs. 4000 or Rs. 5000 crore, the Government of India compensated for it fully. After a period of five years, it is naturally incumbent upon all the State Governments and people to raise their own sources of revenue. On the current topic I would like to say that in a democracy, the legislature is not merely a law-making body, but it is an institution that sets the direction for the equitable,

transparent and responsible use of economic, natural as well as human resources of a State.

The MLAs raise the matters and problems of their constituencies and urge upon the Government to solve them. The Government or the concerned Minister while replying on the issue, promises to resolve those problems. It is a hilly region. The Government of India contributes 90 percent of the Budget for North-Eastern States and for all the hilly areas on some conditions. The State Governments have to make provision for the remaining 10 percent of the Budget. Thus, there is a ratio of 90:10 percent. North-Eastern States, have to contribute for just 10 per cent of their total Budget from their own resources and that too is compensated once they pass their Budget. In such a manner, hundred percent Budget is being provided by the Government of India. This Budget is a kind of hotch-potch. I have gone through the statement of a Minister that the Union Government is providing about Rs. 3000 crores for construction of roads in Himachal Pradesh.

I would like to assert that there is nothing wrong in having ideological differences and dissents. But as Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh ji has said 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas',

while debating on these issues we should also keep in mind as to what financial resources are available with us. On the basis of the available financial resources, we must ensure that legislatures play a positive, far-sighted and pro-people role in preparation and monitoring of Budgets, policies and schemes. There is a proverb – “Cut your coat according to your cloth.” We should limit our needs as per available resources and if we are not doing this and fall into troubles, then we should not hold the scarcity of resources accountable for our problems.

It is obvious that we must be mindful of our resources before implementing the schemes. The State Governments must formulate their plans commensurate with their financial resources, as per the principle of federalism. I believe that irrespective of any Political Party in power, Union Government works in the interest of nation. I would like to urge Hon’ble Speaker that we must focus on our resources and there should be an open debate among the MLAs on such issues. The Government should take any decision with full responsibility keeping in view its agenda so that the public also feels satisfied. When plans of the Government fail to materialize, MLAs also suffer its consequences. We must also respect the dignity of MLAs, and to ensure this,

we must evaluate the situation in advance. Many a times, such issues arise before us when we have the opportunity to strengthen democracy by establishing harmony between the Central and State Governments. If this matter is raised on the basis of facts, I am sure it will be quite effective. As Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh said, when the budget is passed, there must be a review to ensure its full utilisation.

When the Government’s report comes to me, I also go through the same. We always complain about the resources, but we never scrutinise whether the departments have fully utilized the budget passed in the Legislative Assembly. I can name several departments which are not able to spend the entire budget passed in the Legislative Assembly, causing it to lapse at the end of the budget year. When the budget lapses, you don’t receive further funds to complete projects. As the Union Government would assume that you don’t need the budget, it won’t approve the same. The State suffers this loss, and if this loss is due to the negligence of an official, I believe that review meetings should be held with all the departments to seriously consider the issue. Such meetings should be chaired by the Chief Minister and Ministers to ensure that the approved budget for the

projects is fully utilised by the respective departments. This will also strengthen the power of MLAs. The public is unaware of the approved budget for each department and the spending of the same. The people want to know why the work promised by their MLA hasn’t been completed. We must seriously consider such issues.

The second issue is the anti-defection law. Issues such as the Section pertaining to disqualification under the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution and the use of AI in legislatures have been discussed here. The issue of defection has been around for a long time. In the past, only a few individuals would muster the courage to defect. You may be aware that after the Communist Party Government was toppled in Kerala, the issue of defection gradually came to the fore. This was the first Government in the country since independence to be dismissed by the Union Government. When that Government was dismissed, questions were raised about the role of Governors, which were unwarranted.

The Governors act as representatives of the Union Government and reports were sought from them, but now the situation regarding presenting a report is different. When the cash-for-query scam took place

in Parliament, it eroded trust in democratic process. When we are raising this issue, we should speak openly. A Member of Parliament has lost his membership, but in such cases, the ruling of the Speaker has always been accepted. When this issue came up here, media persons also asked me, "What decision are you going to take in the matter?" I told them that the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly has full authority to rule on points of order in the Legislative Assembly. Whatever decision the Speaker takes in the Legislative Assembly will be acceptable to all. I hold a constitutional post, and on that basis, I cannot make any decision that deviates from this. We should have the courage to voice our opinion, but people tend to act rashly. There are people who also encourage them to act like this, but one should act according to his/her position, as he/she is bound to act by the rules associated with that office. Therefore, if a person makes a decision, he/she should consider whether it is rectifying the system or making mockery of the same. Regardless of what happened in the Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly, you have full authority to give ruling in the affairs of the Legislative Assembly.

Hon. Speaker Sir, today I am asking for the first time that if the Himachal Pradesh Police interrogates the MLAs in a police station then you will have to ponder as to whether this is right or wrong? I am emphasizing that an MLA is an MLA and has his/her own privileges. Whether he/she is disqualified as a Member or not depends on the Act, but if such an issue has arisen, I believe that it should be considered seriously, otherwise, what will be the point of being an MLA? The anti-defection law was enacted to protect the sanctity of democracy, but over the time, the complexities related to its interpretation and the complexities of political discretion have increased. It is imperative to have a broad national debate on the issue to maintain people's faith in democratic institutions and prevent disrespect for public mandate.

This issue must always be approached with seriousness. I believe that if the Hon'ble Speaker pays attention to this, many things will improve. Before becoming the Governor, I served as a Member of Legislative Assembly in Uttar Pradesh and I also served in the State and the Union Governments.

I believe that every Government has had unwavering faith in Parliamentary and Legislative Bodies because they are where the sovereignty of the people finds its fullest resonance and expression. The diversity of our society, as well as the political, economic, and social constraints, are reflected in the Houses of our Legislatures. In a vibrant and dynamic democracy like ours, it is obvious that the heated debates take place on the floors of the Legislative Assemblies but it is our duty to ensure that the discussions remain meaningful, constructive and address the concerns of those sections of society which are still deprived of basic amenities. In Himachal Pradesh, MLAs are elected from tribal areas. Our first priority should be the development of such areas. Undoubtedly, there should be intense deliberations on the matter. Although Himachal is divided into Upper Himachal and Lower Himachal.

I understand that even within the tribal areas, there are areas that are more prosperous than the areas falling in Lower Himachal. We have visited such areas and we have seen their produce. Himachal is the first State in the country where farmers do not need to go to the markets to sell their produce.

Buyers from the Delhi markets come and buy produce directly from the farmers and the farmers conduct business from the comfort of their homes.

I have also witnessed this aspect of the farmers of Himachal. But despite this, efforts should be made not only to alleviate their economic backwardness but also to empower them socially. Perhaps it is for this reason that the system of reservation continues to exist to promote their advancement in the social sphere. In this respect, it is beneficial in every way. Hon. Members, the strength of our democracy lies in its culture of debate, discussion and dialogue. This conference is a powerful example of that tradition. I am confident that the views presented during these two days will not only make the functioning of the state legislatures more effective but also strengthen the roots of Parliamentary democracy. In today's era, this conference has focused on topics such as "Good Governance in the Digital Age, Resource Management,

Safeguarding Democracy and Embracing Innovation," which are not only the need of the hour but also set a direction for future generations. Digital technologies have enabled more efficient resource management, enhanced transparency in service delivery and increased public participation in policymaking. Good governance is no longer just an ideal but now it has become a pragmatic approach in which strengthening democracy through innovation and digital empowerment must be our priority. This transformation also inspires legislatures to become more accountable and responsive while embracing technology and transparency. It is true that AI is controlled by the human mind.

We must ensure that the data fed into AI systems must be beneficial to all. We also need to ensure that such data does not dominate our minds and our thoughts. Therefore, moving forward with AI requires great caution. This is the need of the hour but we are the masters, the key is in our hands. Therefore, we must always be mindful of

the data we put into the system to ensure that AI plays a positive role. We must ponder over the issue very seriously so that it does not lead to any destructive situation in the future.

Finally, I would like to thank all the Hon. Members for their active contribution and particularly thank the organizing committee, technical partners, and the host, Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly for making this event a success. Let us all work together to make India's democracy more vibrant, accountable and people oriented. Though, I have written a letter for the Hon. MLAs of Himachal Pradesh, which was mentioned by Mukesh ji also. I have written to all the MLAs to protect the people from becoming victims of calamities in their constituencies. For this, your constant involvement is paramount. Please engage as much as possible.

I thank the Hon. Speaker of the Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly and all of you for inviting me here. Jai Hind, Jai Bharat, Jai Himachal.

# ADDRESSES

## Speech delivered by the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh Shri Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu during the Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association India Region Zone-II, held at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh, from 30<sup>th</sup> June to 1<sup>st</sup> July 2025

At the very outset, I would like to thank Shri Om Birla, Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, for gracing this solemn occasion with his presence. He arrived here at around 3 a.m. last night and taking stock of the situation of the hills for the first time, got himself acquainted with the problems of our State. I extend a very warm welcome to you in this hilly State.

Hon'ble Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh ji; Hon'ble Speaker of Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania and Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Shri Vinay Kumar; Hon'ble Speaker of Delhi Legislative Assembly, Shri Vijender Gupta and Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Shri Mohan Singh Bisht; Hon'ble Chief Whip, Shri Abhay Verma; MLAs Smt. Shikha Roy and Shri Jitendra Mahajan; Hon'ble Speaker of Punjab Legislative Assembly, Sardar Kultar Singh Sandhwan; Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sardar Jayakrishan Singh Rowdy; MLAs Sardar

Kulwant Singh Pandori, Sardar Manjeet Singh Bilaspur and Ms. Narinder Kaur Bharaj; Chief Whips in Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly, Shri Mubarak Gul; Shri Nizamuddin Bhatt (INC) and Shri Mohammad Fayyaz (PDP); Hon'ble Speaker of Haryana Legislative Assembly, Shri Harvinder Kalyan and Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Shri Krishan Lal Middha; MLAs Shri Bhagwan Das, Shri Yogendra Singh Rana, Shri Ghanshyam Das and Chief Whip, Shri Ram Kumar Kashyap; Hon'ble Speaker of Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Shri Satish Mahana; Hon'ble Speaker of Telangana Legislative Assembly, Shri Gaddam Prasad Kumar; Hon'ble Chairman of Telangana Legislative Council, Shri Gutha Sukender Reddy; Hon'ble Speaker of Karnataka Legislative Assembly, Shri U.T. Khader Fareed; Hon'ble Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Himachal Pradesh, Shri Harshvardhan Chauhan and Hon'ble Minister of AYUSH, Shri Yadvinder

Goma; Secretary-General, Lok Sabha, Shri Utpal Kumar Singh; and Secretary-General, Rajya Sabha, Shri P.C. Modi ji, I extend my warm welcome and greetings to all of you for participating in this Conference. It is indeed a matter of great honour and pride for us that the renowned Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), India Region, Zone-II, is being organised in the Tapovan Assembly Complex at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh. I extend a special welcome to all the delegates who have come from the States falling under Zone-II - Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. This Conference is a significant endeavour in making our democratic institutions more efficient and accountable. I am pleased to note that among the galaxy of Hon'ble Speakers of the Legislative Assemblies of Karnataka, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Telangana invited to grace this Conference as Special Guests, only the Hon'ble Speakers of Assam and

Gujarat Legislative Assemblies could not attend due to certain reasons. The presence of all of you here is a matter of honour for us. Your cooperation and dialogue will further strengthen our democracy. The objective of this Conference is to strengthen legislative processes, promote democratic dialogue, and encourage regional cooperation. I am confident that this forum will serve as an excellent platform for exchange of ideas and will provide all Members an opportunity to learn from each other's experiences. The Government of Himachal Pradesh is firmly committed to upholding democratic values and enhancing legislative transparency. Our Government and the Legislative Assembly have been consistently working towards strengthening democratic ideals, promoting good governance through the use of technology, and ensuring direct engagement with the people. In the year 2014, Himachal Pradesh created history by becoming the first State in the country to establish a completely paperless Legislative Assembly, thus taking a pioneering step towards a digital legislative system. The e-Vidhan system has not only made our functioning more transparent and accessible but has also significantly contributed to

environmental conservation by reducing paper consumption. All Hon'ble Members are now able to access real-time information and feedback from their constituencies through the e-mobile application, thereby strengthening the process of good governance. The Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly has fully adopted the 'NeVA' - National e-Vidhan Application - developed by the Government of India, with effect from 11<sup>th</sup> January, 2024. By embracing technological innovation, the State and the Legislative Assembly have brought about a transformation in traditional working methods. In our Legislative Assembly, all Questions, Notices, replies, and other official documents are submitted and circulated exclusively through online mode. During the sessions, the entire proceedings are live-streamed and made available to the public through the official website, thereby ensuring public participation and complete transparency. The daily proceedings, Questions and Answers, and other records of the Legislative Assembly are made available on the official website regularly. Separate dashboards have been developed for Members, Ministers, Secretaries and Officers to ensure convenience, clarity, and timeliness in the execution

of work. Easy and digital access to the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly has been ensured for the press, media personnel and researchers. The system for issuance of visitor passes and the process of police verification for all visitors to the Assembly have also been completely digitized. Our system exemplifies responsibility towards environment, transparency, good governance and technological capabilities. The State Legislative Assembly has not only served as a technological guide for other Legislative Assemblies but is also a source of inspiration for digital democracy. We take pride in the fact that State Assemblies across the country are now being inspired by this initiative of Himachal Pradesh and are moving forward in the direction of '*One Nation, One Application*'. On this occasion, I would like to inform all the dignitaries present here about all the policies, schemes and programs being run by the State Government for the welfare of the people.

Our Assembly has created history. Harivansh Narayan Singh ji was referring to the 10<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Constitution of India, I can say it with conviction that if any institution has invoked the Anti-Defection law in the right spirit, which was enacted to strengthen democracy, it

is definitely the Legislative Assembly of Himachal Pradesh. I would like to extend my felicitations to our Speaker, Kuldeep Singh Pathania ji for this achievement. Politics permeates the democratic system and has always shown its presence there. It's not something new to us. When our Government was confronted with such a threat we responded prudently by seeking protection of law. After the Rajya Sabha polls, it was for the first time in the history of democracy of Himachal Pradesh that the threat was looming large on our Government. The MLAs, who violated the whip after winning on the party's election symbol, were disqualified by the Hon'ble Speaker Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania ji and he set first such an example before the country in the history of democracy. Going a step further, our Government passed a bill that those who come under the purview of this disqualification and if they become MLAs again, will not be entitled to pension and privileges, this bill has been sent for the Governor's assent. The Speaker of this Legislative Assembly and the Government have not only paved the path for digital democracy in the

country, but have also paved the path to determine the grounds for disqualification.

Good governance requires good administration. Ever since our Government has come to power, we ensure that debate and dialogue take place between the Treasury Benches and the Opposition and then we move forward. The topography of our hilly region poses its own challenges. All the States like Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, etc. have their respective challenges according to their own geographical conditions. When our government thought of 'systemic transformation' in view of the state's natural beauty, I would like to mention the positive outcomes that resulted from that systemic transformation. I had a meeting with the NITI Aayog and also discussed my concerns with the Hon. Speaker (Lok Sabha) that whenever a policy is formulated, it is formulated for the entire nation. But I believe that there should be a separate policy for the hilly States across the country. I will not be able to participate in the discussion here after my address, so I would like to make a few points here.

No country can progress unless all its States stand by it

in the path of progress. In all the hilly States in India, whether it is Uttarakhand, Jammu and Kashmir or North East States, if you implement any policy which is meant for the States located in plains, then it can neither be successful here nor can the hilly States develop. Therefore, there should be a separate policy 'across the hilly States.' I would also use this platform as the Hon. Speaker (Lok Sabha) is sitting here and I believe he would listen to our voice and understand our pain. I would like to say that no river flows in Punjab and Haryana. Every river flowing to Punjab goes through Himachal and Jammu and Kashmir, means five rivers flow to Punjab from Himachal Pradesh. What are the resources of Himachal? Himachal Pradesh has suffered the most after the implementation of GST because GST is consumer-based. Baddi is one of the biggest pharma hubs in Asia. Before the implementation of GST, Himachal used to earn Rs. 4000 crores revenue from the Baddi area and after the implementation of GST, today it is not even getting Rs. 200 crores. Our population is close to 75 lakh and it will never touch 1 crore in future because our population has started moving towards declination. If this

continues, we will never get the benefit of GST. We deliberated upon what could yield us benefits and realised that the water flowing in the State is our 'gold'. I would like to cite an example because Punjab is our elder brother.

When we were part of Punjab, the State made all round development, but when it comes to claiming our rights, Himachal now being a small State, we cannot raise our voice as strongly on the democratic platform like Uttar Pradesh. The Total Budget allocation for Himachal Pradesh is 58,000 crore rupees. We have a total budget outlay of 52,000 crore rupees and a deficit of 6 thousand crore rupees. A major company like SJVNL company was established by harnessing the water available in Himachal Pradesh. The company has a net worth of 67,000 crore rupees in the last 35 years. How did this happen? It's like we had no money and we harness 12,000 megawatts of hydropower. We should have received free royalties because the raw material is water. When a Thermal Plant is established, it involves mining and transportation costs, while Hydro never incurs costs because the raw material is water and the finished product is electricity. We also want to fight for the right to water should be

recognized as a resource and our entitlements are duly protected. I am stating this because, you may take the example of any state, industry hasn't yielded much benefits, while hydro, dairy industries, and tourism sectors yield more benefits as they are gifted by nature. Our government has made efforts to promote the said sectors.

We consider water our asset and have raised this issue on several platforms. I raised this issue with the NITI Aayog, and the Hon. Prime Minister has also acknowledged my point that setting up an industry in the mountains is quite a task. The raw materials are very expensive here. Therefore, water is their most valuable raw material, and we will protect your rights.

Our government has launched the "*Sarkar Ganv Ke Dwar*" programme as part of the systemic transformation. So far, the Chief Minister and the Hon. Ministers have visited more than one thousand Panchayats and directly interacted with the people. This is helping to resolve local issues on the spot. Our government has restored the Old Pension Scheme in its first cabinet to provide social and economic security to 1.36 lakh employees. Approximately 3 lakh women are receiving a monthly honorarium of

Rs. 1,500 under the '*Indira Gandhi Pyari Behna Sukh Samman Nidhi Yojana*', and more women are being covered under the said scheme in a phased manner.

Himachal Pradesh has become the first State in the country to implement Minimum Support Price on milk, providing benefits of Rs. 51 per litre for cow milk and Rs. 61 per litre for buffalo milk. Transport subsidy of Rs. 2 per litre is also being provided. The government has fixed a support price of Rs. 40 per kilogram for maize grown by organic farming, Rs. 60 per kilogram for wheat, and Rs. 90 per kilogram for raw turmeric.

To promote border tourism, we have initiated border tourism activities at the Shinkula Pass, situated at an altitude of 3930 meters (14,000 feet), on the Indo- China border. This will give a new dimension to tourism in the tribal areas of Kinnaur district. The Mansarovar journey after Shipki La will be reduced to only 91 kilometres. We have requested the Hon. Prime Minister, and I would also request the Hon. Speaker (Lok Sabha), to extend us all possible assistance in this matter, as there is only a two-kilometre distance between India and the Chinese roads. If the Union Government constructs the said two kilometres, we will be able to reach the Chinese frontier road.

Furthermore, under the Chief Minister's Startup Scheme, loans for solar energy will be provided with an interest subsidy of 4 percent in non-tribal areas and 5 percent in tribal areas. A scheme has been launched for small farmers and cattle rearers to purchase organic fertilizer and vermicompost at a rate of Rs. 300 per quintal. The Rajiv Gandhi Startup Scheme, worth Rs. 680 crore, has been launched to provide self-employment opportunities to thousands of youths. The state-of-the-art Rajiv Gandhi Day-Boarding Schools are being opened in every assembly of the state to revolutionize the education sector. Additionally, the Dr. Y.S. Parmar Student Loan Scheme and the Sukh Shiksha Yojana have so far helped more than 2,000 students in pursuing higher education. Under the Rajiv Gandhi Startup Scheme, a 50 percent subsidy is being provided on e-vehicles, meaning that if someone purchases a vehicle for Rs.30 lakh, the government will provide a subsidy of Rs.15 lakh. These vehicles are also being engaged in government offices and approximately 150 vehicles are deployed in government offices. In this way, employment is being given to the youth. With the efforts of our government,

Himachal Pradesh has made remarkable progress in the field of education. Recently, in the Parakh-2025 (NAS), the state has secured fifth position in the country, while in the year 2016-17, the state had reached the 15<sup>th</sup> position and in the year 2021-22 and 2022-23, the state had reached the 21<sup>st</sup> position. We have secured the fifth position with a lead of 16 points. This historic achievement has been recorded in respect of the state due to the effective policies of our government, commitment to quality education and continuity of educational reforms. The State government is constantly striving to provide quality and state-of-the-art treatment to the people. In this series, the introduction of robotic surgery in the state is a historic step. Atal Institute of Medical Super Specialties, Shimla has become the first institute in the state where this state-of-the-art technology will be available.

It is the result of the visionary thinking of our government that Himachal is becoming self-reliant and a leading state in health services. We have adopted a policy of zero tolerance against drug smuggling in the state. Keeping in view the need for provision of a strong legal system for the

treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, our government has passed the Himachal Pradesh Organised Crimes (Prevention and Control) Bill, 2025 and made a provision for attachment of illegally acquired property in addition to sentencing death penalty, life imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 10 lakh to drug traffickers. For the first time in the state, special Mutation courts have been started at tehsil and sub-tehsil level to provide relief to the people in pending revenue cases. So far, more than 2.75 lakh cases of mutation, 16,258 cases of partition, 27,404 cases of demarcation and 7,260 cases of correction have been disposed of.

For the children who have lost their parents, our government has made such a law in the state so as to provide right to the orphaned children over the property of the state. Our government has awarded the 'Children of the State' status to those children, considering the government as their guardian. The government will bear the expenses from the time of their birth till they attain the age of 27 years and they are given a stipend of Rs. 4000 at the age of 18. The government of Himachal Pradesh bears the entire cost of their education

and hostel facility in the country and the state. The government also gives them 6000 rupees for stay in a three-star hotel and an air journey once a year.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Vidhan Sabha Secretariat and all the supporting institutions for organizing this conference and making it a success. I convey my best wishes to all the delegates and hope that this conference will become a vehicle for the richness of ideas and the strengthening of democracy. I am confident that this conference will be a source of knowledge, experience and inspiration for all of us.

I would like to place one more thing before the Hon. Speaker that we are moving towards One Nation One Election. There is a legal flaw.

Therefore, the by-election should be held in a year instead of six months because repeated imposition of the code of conduct affects the development works. I have also taken up the matter with the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. This amendment should be made in the Constitution, hence you are requested to take care of this aspect in this regard. I once again thank the Hon'ble Speaker, Shri Kuldeep Pathania ji. Hon. Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Shri Om Birla ji who has come to Himachal Pradesh and seen the state with his own eyes. Himachal Pradesh is a very beautiful state. The responsibility of maintaining the natural beauty of Himachal Pradesh lies with the people of Himachal Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh, which is called the lungs of Northern India, has

68 per cent forest land and the people own 32 per cent of the land. Therefore, we also save trees for the clean air or oxygen that goes to Delhi from the forests of Himachal Pradesh. There is a provision of punishment for cutting trees here. The circumstances of our State are different from other States. I thank you once again for your visit. I also thank Shri Harivansh Narayan Singh ji for coming here and today he is celebrating his birthday on this Devbhoomi for which I wish that God's blessings may always be upon him. With this, I welcome the Speakers, Deputy Speakers, Whips, Deputy Whips and MLAs who have come from all the states to Devbhoomi Himachal Pradesh. Thank you. Jai Hind, Jai Himachal.

## “Confluence of the Two Seas”

Speech delivered by H.E. Mr. Shinzo Abe, the then Prime Minister of Japan at the Central Hall of Parliament House (Now, *Samvidhan Sadan*), on 22 August 2007



H.E. Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan addressing the Joint Session of Parliament. Also seen in the photograph are Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India; Shri Mohammad Hamid Ansari, Vice-President of India; and Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Speaker, Lok Sabha.

Your Excellency Mr. Mohammad Hamid Ansari, Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Your Excellency Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister, Your Excellency Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Honourable Parliamentary representatives of the Indian people, Honourable Cabinet members, Your Excellencies Ambassadors, Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to begin my remarks today by extending my sincerest condolences to many victims of nature's great fury, the people of India who have suffered tremendous damage from the recent torrential rain cantered in Bihar state, who are even at this very moment struggling against enormous hardships.

Today I have the great honour of addressing the highest organ of state power in this largest democracy in the

world. I come before you on behalf of the citizens of another democracy that is equally representing Asia, to speak to you about my views on the future of Japan and India.

*“The different streams, having their sources in different places, all mingle their water in the sea.”*

It gives me tremendous pleasure to be able to begin my address today with the words of Swami Vivekananda, the great

spiritual leader that India gave the world.

My friends, where exactly do we now stand historically and geographically? To answer this question, I would like to quote here the title of a book authored by the Mughal prince Dara Shikoh in 1655. We are now at a point at which the *Confluence of the Two Seas* is coming into being.

The Pacific and the Indian Oceans are now bringing about a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity. A “broader Asia” that broke away geographical boundaries is now beginning to take on a distinct form. Our two countries have the ability -- and the responsibility -- to ensure that it broadens yet further and to nurture and enrich these seas to become seas of clearest transparenance.

This is the message I wish to deliver directly today to the one billion people of India. That is why I stand before you now in the Central Hall of the highest chamber, to speak with you, the people’s representatives of India.

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A number of times in history, Japan and India have attracted one another.

Vivekananda came to be acquainted with Tenshin Okakura, a man ahead of his time in early modern Japan

and a type of Renaissance man. Okakura was then guided by Vivekananda and enjoyed also a friendship with Sister Nivedita, Vivekananda’s loyal disciple and a distinguished female social reformer. Many people are aware of all that.

Tomorrow I will be taking a morning flight to Kolkata, where I expect to meet the son of Justice Radhabinod Pal. Justice Pal is highly respected even today by many Japanese for the noble spirit of courage he exhibited during the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

People from the Bengal who forged a relationship with Japan -- be it the person whose name now graces Kolkata’s international airport (Chandra Bose), or, going back a bit further in time, the ageless poet Rabindranath Tagore -- were engaged in at the deepest level of their soul with their Japanese contemporaries. Indeed, the depth and the richness of the exchanges that the intellectual leaders of Japan and India enjoyed during the early modern age are in some ways beyond what we in the modern day can imagine.

This rich history notwithstanding, I would like to state one firm conviction here. The changes now beginning to take place between India and Japan are those that truly have no precedent. First of all, as we

can see from recent fascination among the Japanese people with India and the increasing eagerness among Indians to learn Japanese, the interest shown to each other goes far beyond a limited stratum of society but reaches the general public.

Behind this is, of course, the great expectation that economic relationships between our two countries will be deepened. The most eloquent evidence of this is the fact that almost 200 business executives, including Nippon Keidanren Chairman Mr. Fujio Mitarai, have accompanied me on my visit.

Secondly, the feeling of Japanese general public who has started to show interest in India is now trying to catch up to the reality of this “broader Asia.” Japan has undergone “*The Discovery of India*”, by which I mean we have rediscovered India as a partner that shares the same values and interests and also as a friend that will work alongside us to enrich the seas of freedom and prosperity, which will be open and transparent to all.

I wonder, here in India, whether there is now a similar change underway in your perception of Japan. If, by some chance, this has not yet taken place, would you allow me to say that it started here, now, with all of you?

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Here I would like to share with you my own views on the many contributions that India has made -- and can make -- to the world. I realize that it may seem odd to speak of India's contributions to a congregation such as this, but I ask your indulgence, as it ties in to what I will touch upon soon afterwards.

I would argue that among many contributions that India can make to the world history, there is first of all its spirit of tolerance. I would like to quote, if I may, Vivekananda again, part of the conclusion of deeply meaningful remarks he delivered in Chicago in 1893. He said,

*“help and not fight,”  
“assimilation and not  
destruction,” “harmony and  
peace and not dissension.”*

If you insert these exhortations into the context of the modern day, it is clear that these words preaching tolerance can hardly be considered relics of the past. Instead, we can recognize that they now hold a tone that is even more compelling than before.

From the reign of Ashoka the Great, to Mahatma Gandhi's satyagraha movement of nonviolent resistance, the Japanese people are well aware of the unbroken spirit

of tolerance in Indian spiritual history.

I would like to emphasize today to the people of India that the Japanese people stand ready to work together with the Indian people so that this spirit of tolerance becomes the leading principle of this century.

In my view, the second contribution of India is the enormous challenge that it faces today.

All statistics indicate that India will become world's most populated nation by 2050. According to United Nations forecasts, even if we look ahead only as far as 2030, some 270 million people in India are expected to stream anew from the countryside into towns and cities.

India is trying to fight poverty that still persists today and to overcome social issues that are symbolic of demographic movement while consistently upholding democracy, and, at the same time, striving to achieve high economic growth. This, I believe, is precisely the challenge that India faces today.

As a person responsible for setting the direction of a nation, the scope of your aspiration and the enormity of the difficulties that are likely to accompany their realization leave me at

loss for words. The world has its eyes focused on you as you undertake these challenges, and I too will be watching in great anticipation.

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My friends, Japan and India have come of late to be of the same intent to form a “Strategic Global Partnership.” in which the two countries are going to expand and fortify their relations. As for how Japan has come to such a conclusion, I hope that through what I have just laid out as my personal views you have come to understand the recognition and expectations Japan has towards India.

This partnership is an association in which we share fundamental values such as freedom, democracy, and the respect for basic human rights as well as strategic interests.

Japanese diplomacy is now promoting various concepts in a host of different areas so that a region called “the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” will be formed along the outer rim of the Eurasian continent. The Strategic Global Partnership of Japan and India is pivotal for such pursuits to be successful.

By Japan and India coming together in this way, this “broader Asia” will evolve into an immense network spanning

the entirety of the Pacific Ocean, incorporating the United States of America and Australia. Open and transparent, this network will allow people, goods, capital, and knowledge to flow freely.

Can we not say that faced with this wide, open, broader Asia, it is incumbent upon us two democracies, Japan and India, to carry out the pursuit of freedom and prosperity in the region?

In addition, as maritime states, both India and Japan have vital interests in the security of sea lanes. It goes without saying that the sea lanes to which I refer are the shipping routes that are the most critical for the world economy.

From now on let us together bear this weighty responsibility that has been entrusted to us, by joining forces with like-minded countries, shall we not, ladies and gentlemen?

The question of what Japan and India should do cooperatively in the area of security in the years to come is one that the officials in charge of diplomacy and defence in our countries must consider jointly. I would like to put that before Prime Minister Singh for his consideration.

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If you would kindly allow me to digress here for a minute, I would like to touch upon

the fact that there are some recurring themes appearing in Japan's ODA to India. Those are none other than "forest" and "water."

For example, in the states of Tripura, Gujarat, and Tamil Nadu, Japanese ODA has been operating in conjunction with the local people to conserve the forest and to assist in reforestation so that people can make a living without cutting down trees of the forest. In Karnataka, we have advanced tree planting efforts by working hand in hand with the local people and, at the same time, promoting projects that also create means to overcome poverty.

In addition, sewerage facilities have been constructed and repaired to clean up Mother Ganges, water supply and sewerage facilities have been established in Bangalore, and purification of the water in Hussain Sagar Lake in the middle of Hyderabad have all been undertaken by means of Japan's strong hope for India to be blessed with pure water.

Through these projects you will come to know the wishes that Japanese people hold for India. The Japanese are a people who treasure their forests and cherish their abundant water. What's more, the Japanese are also aware that the people of India have an acute sensitivity through which they perceive life in every tree and every blade of

grass and read spirituality into all of creation. With Japanese and Indians both holding the natural world in such great reverence, it is impossible not to believe that the people of our nations share something in common.

We, the people of Japan, hope strongly that the Indian people will nurture their forests and enable them to thrive and also be able to enjoy the blessings of an abundance of clean water. That is why cooperation from Japan in the form of ODA invariably includes items to assist in forest conservation and water quality improvement, year in and year out.

Not long ago I presented to the world an initiative to address global warming entitled "Cool Earth 50." Under this initiative, I proposed to cut global emission of greenhouse gases by 50% from the current level by the year 2050.

I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to you regarding this proposal. I would like to work together with India towards the target of "reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 50% by 2050".

The post-Kyoto framework I have envisioned would include all major emitters, and in that sense it would have to move beyond the current Protocol. The framework

must be flexible and diverse, taking into consideration the circumstances of each country. And the structure must achieve compatibility between environmental protection and economic growth by utilizing advances in technologies to the greatest extent possible.

It is to you, the representatives of the Indian people, to whom I am appealing. There is no nation on earth for whom leading the fight against climate change would be so entirely fitting, because no people have had a harmonious coexistence with nature so central to their philosophy throughout history as the people of India.

I urge you to walk with us down this difficult but unavoidable road where we strive to strike a balance between economic growth and fight against climate change. Of course, the assistance that Japan would be able to offer can be expected to be of some significance, particularly in the field of energy efficiency related technology.

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As I mentioned a few moments ago, there are close to 200 executives from major Japanese companies who have accompanied me on this visit. They are now, at this very

moment, holding a forum with Indian business leaders and discussing ways to strengthen relations between our countries.

In consideration of this, it is incumbent upon me to urge the Japanese negotiators to work to conclude promptly a comprehensive and high-quality economic partnership agreement between Japan and India, which will set an example for the world. I likewise urge the Indian side to give their support to enable the early conclusion of this agreement.

The amount of trade between our two countries will be increasing dramatically in the immediate future. It would be no mistake to say that in only the next three years, we can expect it to reach about 20 billion US dollars.

Prime Minister Singh has demonstrated great enthusiasm in executing plans to connect Mumbai, Delhi, and Kolkata with a freight corridor totalling 2,800 kilometres in length, with average speed to be 100 km per hour. In two months, final reports of the feasibility studies will be drawn up. This is a project of tremendous significance, and Japan is actively considering means for financial assistance.

Furthermore, Japan and India are now engaged in a

wide-ranging discussion upon the so-called Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor, for which the Dedicated Freight Corridor will serve as its backbone. I would like my government to closely cooperate with the Indian side particularly towards the establishment of a dedicated fund that should help bring about the Industrial Corridor.

This evening, I will be meeting with Prime Minister Singh, and we will be discussing the roadmap by which we can chart the direction in which relations between Japan and India should proceed. I believe that after our discussions, we will likely be able to make an announcement about our progress.

What I would like to convey to you, the representatives of the citizens of India, is that Prime Minister Singh and myself are steadfastly convinced that "Japan-India relationship is blessed with the largest potential for development of any bilateral relationship anywhere in the world." We are also in perfect agreement that "a strong India is in the best interest of Japan, and a strong Japan is in the best interest of India."

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Now, as this new "broader Asia" takes shape at the confluence of the two seas of

the Indian and Pacific Oceans, I feel that it is imperative that the democratic nations located at opposite edges of these seas deepen the friendship among their citizens at every possible level.

With that in mind, I have decided that over the next five years, we will welcome to Japan 500 Indian youth per year, out of which about 100 will be allocated for those studying Japanese or teaching Japanese. This is precisely an investment towards future generations.

Moreover, this is not only an investment for the two countries but also for the future of this new “broader Asia”. It is an attempt to bring about freedom and prosperity in the world as well as “coexistence” between different peoples, as Vivekananda preached.

The friendship that unites India and Japan will no doubt touch the deepest soul of the people of our two countries; of this I am convinced.

It was exactly 50 years ago that my grandfather, Nobusuke Kishi, became the first Japanese Prime Minister ever to visit India. Then-Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru brought my grandfather to an outdoor “civic reception” at which tens of thousands of people had gathered, introducing him to

a crowd energetically saying, “This is the Prime Minister of Japan, a country I hold in the greatest esteem.” This is a story I heard as a little boy from my grandfather. As the leader of a defeated nation in a war, he must have been very much delighted.

Kishi was also the Prime Minister who launched Japan’s first post-war ODA. Japan was then still a poor country herself, but as a matter of honour we wanted to provide ODA. At that time, the country that had accepted Japan’s ODA was none other than India. My grandfather never forgot that fact either.

I know that the Indian Parliament without fail offers prayers every year on the day which atomic bomb was dropped on Japan. And over the years, the children of Japan have been sent four elephants as a gift from your country.

Prime Minister Nehru kindly gave Japan an elephant that bore the name of his daughter Indira. Since that time the government of India has donated three other elephants to Japanese zoos in total, and each of these has a name that is hard to forget: Arsha (“hope”), Daya (“benevolence”), and Suriya (“the sun”).

Suriya arrived in Japan in May 2001, just as Japan was

struggling to wrest itself from a grinding recession. Suriya was our reminder that “the sun will indeed rise again”.

For all of these things, please allow me to extend my sincere gratitude on behalf of the people of Japan.

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In closing today, let me pose a brief question to you. When Japanese people come to India, what do you think they almost invariably marvel at?

It is none other than Indian dancing, such as the “Bharatanatyam” and “Kathak dance”, in which the contrasts of the static and the dynamic are lively and brilliant. The breathing of the dancers and the musicians match perfectly at the culmination of incredibly delicate rhythms, as if scripted that way. Watching it, one can hardly help but think that it is a result of very complex computations.

We, India and Japan, want to become partners who exhibit just this type of perfect match with each other. No, let me state here that we most certainly can become just such partners.

Thank you for your time. It was a true honour to be able to address you today.



**-Dr. Ranbir Kumar**

*Former Director, Lok Sabha Secretariat*

## Remembering Kumar Kalika Prasad Singh

Kumar Kalika Prasad Singh (1895-1953) popularly known as Hiraji was an outstanding freedom fighter on the Indian political firmament, representing the generation which decisively contributed to the struggle for the attainment of freedom. An illustrious son of India, a valiant freedom fighter, a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, a student leader of Benaras Hindu University, a brilliant orator, an accomplished legislator, a great visionary and revolutionary, Kalika Prasad was a noble, selfless and dedicated social worker who fought throughout his life for the cause of Independent India. He had very impressive and imposing physical features with a broad shining forehead, prominent aquiline nose and large sober eyes. He was always clad in immaculate Khadi and spoke in eloquent style and baritone voice.

He belonged to the first generation of the elected legislators who made significant contributions to the strengthening of parliamentary institutions. A great patriot from

the Gidhaur Raj family, he had the privilege of being associated with Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya J.B. Kripalani and Vinoba Bhave and remained their true disciple throughout his life. He also had the privilege of working with the makers of modern Bihar, including Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sri Krishna Singh, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Mazarul Haq, Sachchidanand Sinha and Mohammad Shah Zubair during the initial stages of the freedom movement.

Patriotism was in his blood and it was rather natural that he was attracted to Mahatma Gandhi right from his student days. On Mahatma's appeal, he discontinued his brilliant academic career at the famed Benaras Hindu University in 1920 and plunged into the vortex of freedom struggle. Such was his faith in Mahatma Gandhi and love for his motherland that he always stood for ethical values and was a real follower of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Discarding the comfort and luxury of a princely life, he opted for a spartan life of sacrifice and hardship. He

strongly espoused the cause of freedom and liberation of the nation from colonial rule.

A cursory glance at the life and works of Kalika Prasad, as available today, amply reveals that he was one of the pioneers of the freedom movement in Bihar, who contributed immensely to the cause of independence. His eventful life marked with four terms of imprisonment as well as four terms as elected Legislator, can broadly be divided into three phases. In the early part of life as a youth, he was a fearless revolutionary and a great visionary. In 1920s, there were three milestone instances which were testimony to his greatness. First, it was making a boldly written stunning statement in the Court in 1921, appearing before the Court as a prisoner of war, visualising the Congress Government and thereby asserting national sovereignty. Second, in 1928, while delivering his epoch-making speech in the Bihar Legislative Council, Kalika Prasad stated that "Power is never given through philanthropy but only wrested

through discipline and sacrifice from unwilling hands”<sup>1</sup>. Third, at the Bihar Provincial Youth Conference, Monghyr in 1929, he challenged the mighty British rule in these words, “*This country is our country. The Englishmen can live here only at our will. They can live here only as our helpers and our servants and not as our masters*”<sup>2</sup>. In the middle of his political career, he was a legislator *par excellence* enjoying mass support and in the later part of life, he turned into a great saint. However, there is one continuity throughout his life, he remained a dedicated servant of the people. No doubt, he was one of the prominent exponents of a revolutionary configuration in the 1920s and cavalier approach which ceased to burn even when revolutionary fervour subsided. A man of versatile genius and vast potentialities, Kalika Prasad could not come into prominence and secure a high position in the party and government solely because he always preferred to remain as an ordinary worker and kept himself away from power politics. Yet another possible interpretation is that he was not inclined to make use of the opportunities available.

One of the striking characteristics of Kalika Prasad’s personality was his rebellious nature. One of the

leading journalists described: “he was a born rebel”<sup>3</sup>. All through his life, he fought against the pro-establishment forces and opposed power politics. In his youthful days, he challenged the mighty British Rule in an unprecedented way and rebelled against his own Gidhaur Raj family and when his parent party Congress assumed power, he rebelled against the Congress. If one analyses his speeches delivered on a wide range of issues in the Legislative Council and the Assembly in Bihar from 1927 to 1952, almost all are full of a scathing attack on the treasury Benches, be it the British or the Congress party. His oratorical skill greatly influenced by Annie Besant<sup>4</sup>, especially in English, was excellent superb in clarity and presentation of theme. It was, indeed, an exemplary oratory that the first generation of legislators of Bihar and Orissa heard from Kalika Prasad in the Council. His oratory contributed greatly in arousing and inspiring the people of Bihar and making it a leading Province in the nationalist movement. When Kalika Prasad made his speech on Simon Commission in the Bihar Legislative and Orissa Council in August 1928, the audience was kept enthralled and spell-bound and Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, the

father of modern Bihar, was highly moved and rushed to him from the Lobby at the end of his speech and embraced him. His address to the Bihar Provincial Youth Conference at Monghyr in December 1929 drew the attention of Rahul Sanskrityan from Tibe<sup>5</sup>.

As a frontrunner in the beginning of the nationalist movement, a prominent member of the Legislative Council and the Assembly and as proposer/seconded for election to the post of the Speaker in 1927, 1937 and 1946, he did not ask for any position for himself. When India attained freedom and opportunity came to enjoy the fruits of freedom and power, he disassociated himself from the Congress Party. Many lucrative posts were offered to him by the leaders of the Congress, but he remained unmoved in his principled stand. He was, indeed, a *karma yogi*!

Glowing tributes were paid to Kalika Prasad on his passing away. A leading columnist rightly observed that ‘he was like Garibaldi, a patriot not a politician, a soldier not a statesman and like Mazzini an indefatigable singer of freedom and democracy and not adept in the vile game of politics and intrigue’<sup>6</sup>. Similarly, one of his close associates, Sri Krishna Singh, Chief Minister of Bihar,

while making obituary reference on 11 September 1953 in the Bihar Legislative Assembly, said that the heroic acts of Kumar Saheb were comparable to the act of Christopher Columbus. In his words, *“to understand the greatness of a person, one must see the surroundings in which he has been living and the way in which he has displayed his bravery. Today, a person easily travelling across the Atlantic can reach America but he cannot be equated with Columbus who discovered America. In those days, there was no machine or big modern luxury ship but he, with an ordinary boat and at a risk to his own life, took the adventurous journey and finally succeeded in discovering America. Similarly, if a person does something, it should be evaluated in the given contemporary scenario. Keeping this in mind, I consider Hiraji was a living symbol of greatness and extraordinarily courageous”*.<sup>7</sup>

Many people believe that Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew were the first to be convicted during the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921, but the present study amply demonstrates that Kalika Prasad was the first person to be convicted. Ali Brothers were arrested on 14 September 1921

and the final judgment came on 2 November 1921, while Kalika Prasad was arrested on 19 October 1921 and the verdict came on 22 October 1921, eleven days earlier than Ali Brothers.

A great champion of national unity and integration, Kalika Prasad played a crucial role in safeguarding the rights of the minorities and also worked immensely for communal harmony in the surrounding areas of Jamui on many occasions. He resolved amicably communal violence between Hindus and Mussalmans at Dhrampur in May 1929. Similarly, he diffused communal tension which erupted on the issue of *Kurbani* during Bakrid celebrations at Ekaria village in 1938. His speech on cow slaughter in the Bihar Legislative Assembly on 26 June 1938 was, indeed, a testimony to his great vision on communal harmony. He also spoke eloquently on the issue of the rights and privileges of the minority during the discussion on the Resolution of constituting a Constituent Assembly on the floor of Bihar Legislative Assembly on 6 September 1937. He emphatically stated, *“When freedom comes, it comes like God’s air and sunshine for all. It comes for the strong as well*

*as for the weak; for the diseased as well as for the healthy; it comes for the rich and for the poor alike. When it comes, it will come for the Mussalmans as much as for the Hindus.”*

Summing up, Kalika Prasad’s defiance to the mighty British Empire, almost alone and unaided, constitutes a glorious saga of a young Rajput prince’s valour for the cherished principle of freedom and liberty for the motherland. The bravest and most courageous freedom fighter from Bihar, his method of fighting against colonial rule was unique and rare in the history of the freedom movement of India. He proved that verbal skill, words and speeches, not lethal weapons and arms, are the most powerful means available to the common man and he chose the strongest words to assert national sovereignty against the mighty British rule. When the history of the freedom movement would be written, Hiraji (Kalika Prasad) would occupy a high place among those who sowed the seeds of the movement, struggled, sacrificed and suffered with their heads aloft, amidst storms and died without getting their due recognition.<sup>8</sup> However, as a token of immense affection and veneration for this great freedom fighter, the people of Jamui had set up

the Kumar Kalika Memorial College in 1955.

Like Kalika Prasad, there are many unsung heroes across the country who played a valiant role in our long-drawn fight for freedom from the yoke of colonial rule. They remained local heroes, without getting the

recognition that is due to them at the national level. These are the people who sacrificed their life for the nationalist cause, yet their contributions have not been chronicled befittingly. Kalika Prasad is a classic example of this deplorable tradition. He died with his genius unblossomed.<sup>9</sup> This

publication is a small tribute to the heroic personality of Kalika Prasad about whom there is hardly any published literature available. There is an imperative to bring the stories of such unsung heroes into limelight for the benefit of posterity.

### **Reference Notes**

1. *Op. cit.*, *Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council Debates*, 21 August 1928, p. 309.
2. *Op. cit.*, File No. 300/1929, Speech delivered by Kalika Prasad at the Bihar Provincial Youth Conference, Monghyr, 8 December 1929.
3. N.N.P. Srivastav, *A Born Rebellion* (published in *Searchlight*, Patna 15 December 1979).
4. *The Searchlight*, Patna, 10 September 1954.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Op. Cit.*, *Bihar Legislative Assembly Debates*, 11 September 1953, Part II, p. 2.
8. *Op. Cit.*, *The Searchlight*, 10 September 1954.
9. *Ibid.*

## CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

### **The Second Parliamentary Conference on “Interfaith Dialogue”**

The Second Parliamentary Conference on Interfaith Dialogue was held in Rome, Italy from 19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> June 2025. The Conference was jointly organized by the Parliament of Italy and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva. The overall theme of the Conference was “*Strengthening trust and embracing hope for our common future.*” The Parliament of India was represented by Smt. S. Phangnon Konyak, Member of Rajya Sabha.

### **The Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP) Network**

The Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP) Network convened in Nassau, the Bahamas, for a four-day workshop under the theme ‘Parliamentarians as Drivers of Women’s Economic Empowerment’ from 29<sup>th</sup> April to 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2025.

Hosted in partnership with the Parliament of the Bahamas, the workshop brought together

Parliamentarians from across the Commonwealth, including representatives from India led by Dr. D. Purandeswari, Member of Lok Sabha; Smt. Sadhana Singh, Member of Rajya Sabha; Smt. U. Pratibha and Shri. P.K. Basheer, both members of the Kerala Legislative Assembly; Smt. Umashree, Member of Karnataka Legislative Council; Smt. Roopakala M., Member of Karnataka Legislative Assembly; Smt. Kalpana Devi and Dr. Priyanka Chowdhary, both members of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly; and Smt. Aditi Singh and Dr. Ragini, both members of Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly also attended the workshop.

### **Asia – Pacific PAC Regional Workshop in Nadi, Fiji**

The Asia – Pacific PAC Regional Workshop was held from 19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> May 2025 in Nadi, Fiji. The workshop was attended by Shri. K. C. Venugopal, Member of Lok Sabha and Chairperson, Public Accounts Committee; Shri Kova Laxman, Member of Rajya Sabha and Member, Public Accounts Committee.

### **Meeting of Commonwealth Women Parliamentarian (CWP) Steering Committee**

A Virtual Meeting of Commonwealth Women Parliamentarian (CWP) Steering Committee was held on 17 June 2025. The meeting was attended by Dr. D. Purandeswari, MP, Lok Sabha and Member, CWP International Steering Committee.

### **National Conference of Estimates Committees of Parliament and States/Union Territory Legislatures**

The National Conference of Estimates Committees of Parliament and State/UT Legislative Bodies was held from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> June 2025 at Mumbai, Maharashtra to mark the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the functioning of the Estimates Committee.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025, the Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla inaugurated and addressed the Conference. Shri Harivansh, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha; Shri Devendra Fadnavis, Chief Minister of Maharashtra; Shri. Eknath

Shinde, Deputy Chief Minister Maharashtra; Prof. Ram Shinde, Chairman, Maharashtra Legislative Council; Shri Rahul Narwekar, Speaker, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly; Dr. Sanjay Jaiswal, Chairperson, Committee on Estimates, Parliament of India; and Shri Arjun Khotkar, Chairperson, Committee on Estimates, Maharashtra Legislature also addressed the Inaugural Session. Dr. Neelam Gorhe, Deputy Chairman, Maharashtra Legislative Council delivered the Vote of Thanks. The Conference was attended by 23 Chairpersons of the Estimate Committees of Parliament and State/Union Territory Legislatures.

Extensive deliberations were held on the theme of this conference - *“Role of Estimates Committee in effective Monitoring and Review of Budget Estimates for ensuring Efficiency and economy in Administration”*.

The Valedictory Session of the Conference was held on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2025 and was addressed by the Governor of Maharashtra, Shri C. P. Radhakrishnan; Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh; Dr. Sanjay Jaiswal, Chairperson, Committee on Estimates, Parliament of India; and Shri Ambadas Danve, Leader

of the Opposition, Maharashtra Legislative Council. Vote of thanks was delivered by Shri Anna Bansode, Deputy Speaker, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly.

### **Annual Zone - II Conference of CPA India Region**

Annual Zone-II Conference of CPA India Region was held on 30<sup>th</sup> June and 1<sup>st</sup> July 2025 at Tapovan, Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh on the theme *“Good Governance in the Digital Era: Managing Resources, Defending Democracy and Embracing Innovation”*.

Shri Om Birla, Lok Sabha Speaker and Chairperson, CPA India Region inaugurated the Conference on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2025 and addressed the distinguished gathering at the event. Shri Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu, Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh; Shri Harivansh, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha; Shri Kuldeep Singh Pathania, Speaker, Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly and Chairperson of Zone-II, Shri Harshwardhan Chauhan, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs of Himachal Pradesh also addressed the gathering. The theme of the Conference was *“Good Governance in the Digital Era: Managing Resources,*

*Defending Democracy and Embracing Innovation”*.

During the two days Conference, discussions were held on the following agenda items: (i) Role of Legislatures in Managing the State Resources vis-à-vis Development of the State; (ii) Provisions as to Disqualification on Grounds of Defection under 10<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Article 102(2) & 191(2); (iii) Usage of AI (Artificial Intelligence) in Legislatures.

The event was attended by Presiding Officers and delegates from CPA India Region Zone-II viz., Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and J&K. Further, Presiding Officers from Karnataka, Telangana and Uttar Pradesh also attended the Conference as Special invitees.

### **Show Round of Parliament**

Show Round of Parliament was arranged for: (i) a delegation from Chile led by H.E. Mr. Jose Garcia Ruminot, former President of the Senate of Republic of Chile, on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2025. The Delegation also witnessed the proceedings of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha; (ii) a delegation from Jamaica led by Dr. the Honourable Christopher Tufton, MP, Minister of Health and Wellness of Jamaica on 11<sup>th</sup> April 2025; (iii) a delegation from Nepal led by Hon'ble Kamal

Bahadur Shah, Chief Minister, Government of Sudurpaschim Province, Nepal, on 30<sup>th</sup> April

2025; (iv) a delegation of Russian Media, on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2025; and (v) a Parliamentary

Delegation from Victoria, Australia, on 30<sup>th</sup> May 2025 & on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2025.



A Sri Lankan Parliamentary Delegation, led by Hon. Dr Rizvie Salih, Deputy Speaker & Chairman of Committees, called on Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla in Parliament on 27<sup>th</sup> May 2025.

# PARLIAMENTARY EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

## BIRTH ANNIVERSARIES OF NATIONAL LEADERS

On the birth anniversaries of national leaders whose portraits adorn the Central Hall of Samvidhan Sadan, and also on the birth anniversaries of former Speakers of Lok Sabha, functions are organized under the auspices of the Indian Parliamentary Group (IPG) to pay tributes to the leaders. Booklets containing the profiles of these leaders, prepared by the Library and Reference, Research, Documentation and Information Service (LARRDIS) of the Lok Sabha Secretariat, are distributed on the occasion.

The birth anniversaries of the following leaders were celebrated during the period from 1<sup>st</sup> April to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2025:

**Dr. B.R. Ambedkar:** On the occasion of the birth anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a function was held on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2025 in the Parliament House Complex. The President of India, Smt. Droupadi Murmu; Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar; Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi and Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Union Ministers; Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha, Shri Mallikarjun Kharge and other dignitaries paid floral



President of India, Smt. Droupadi Murmu; Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Jagdeep Dhankhar; Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi; Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Union Ministers, Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha, Shri Mallikarjun Kharge; and other dignitaries after paying floral tributes at the statue of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar at Prerna Sthal in Parliament House Complex on the occasion of his birth anniversary on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2025.

tributes at the statue of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar at Prerna Sthal in Parliament House Complex.

Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Union Ministers; Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha, Shri Mallikarjun

Kharge; Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha, Shri Rahul Gandhi; Chief Minister, Delhi, Smt. Rekha Gupta; Members of Parliament and other dignitaries paid floral tributes at the portrait of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Union Ministers; Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha, Shri Mallikarjun Kharge; Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha, Shri Rahul Gandhi; Chief Minister, Delhi, Smt. Rekha Gupta; Members of Parliament and other dignitaries after paying floral tributes at the portrait of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar in the Central Hall of Samvidhan Sadan, on his birth anniversary on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2025.



Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha Mallikarjun Kharge offerings floral tribute to Late Shri B. R. Ambedkar on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2025.

**Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore:** On the occasion of the birth anniversary of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, a function was held on 9<sup>th</sup> May 2025 in the Central Hall of the Samvidhan Sadan. Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla and other dignitaries paid floral tributes at the portrait of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore.

**Dr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy:** On the occasion of the birth

Central Hall of the *Samvidhan Sadan*.

**Pandit Motilal Nehru:** On the occasion of the birth anniversary of Pandit Motilal Nehru, a function was held on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2025 in the Central Hall of the Samvidhan Sadan. Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Members of Parliament and other dignitaries paid floral tributes at the portrait of Pandit Motilal Nehru.



Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla and other dignitaries after paying floral tributes to Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore at his portrait in the Central Hall of Samvidhan Sadan, on his birth anniversary, on 9<sup>th</sup> May 2025.



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Members of Parliament and other dignitaries after paying floral tributes to Pandit Motilal Nehru at his portrait in Central Hall of Samvidhan Sadan on his birth anniversary on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2025.

anniversary of Dr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, a function was held on 19<sup>th</sup> May 2025 in the Central Hall of the Samvidhan Sadan. Dignitaries paid floral tributes at the portrait of the former Speaker of Lok Sabha, Dr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy.

**Swatantryaveer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar:** On the occasion of the birth anniversary of Swatantryaveer Vinayak



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Union Minister of Health and Family Welfare and Chemicals and Fertilizers, Shri J.P. Nadda, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh, Members of Parliament, former Members and other dignitaries paid floral tribute to Swatantryaveer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, at his portrait in Central Hall, Samvidhan Sadan, on his birth anniversary, on 28<sup>th</sup> May 2025.

Damodar Savarkar, a function was held on 28<sup>th</sup> May 2025 in the Central Hall of the Samvidhan Sadan. Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri

Om Birla; Union Minister of Health and Family Welfare and Chemicals and Fertilizers, Shri J.P. Nadda; Deputy Chairman,

Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh; Members of Parliament, former Members and other dignitaries paid floral tributes at the portrait of Swatantryaveer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.

**Shri K.S. Hegde:** On the occasion of the birth anniversary of Shri K.S. Hegde, a function was held on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2025 in the Central Hall of the Samvidhan Sadan. Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh and other dignitaries paid floral tributes at the portrait of the former Speaker of Lok Sabha, Shri K.S. Hegde.



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla; Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri Harivansh and other dignitaries after paying floral tribute to former Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri K.S. Hegde, at his portrait in Samvidhan Sadan, on his Birth Anniversary, on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2025.

## EXCHANGE OF PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS

### Foreign Parliamentary Delegation Visits India

**Japan:** A Parliamentary Delegation arrived Delhi on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2025. Delegation led by H.E. Mr. Nukaga Fukushima



Japanese Parliamentary Delegation led by Speaker of the House of Representatives of Japan H.E. Mr. Nukaga Fukushima called on Lok Sabha Speaker Shri Om Birla in Parliament, on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2025.

Nukaga Fukushima, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Japan visited India from 1<sup>st</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> May 2025 under the bilateral exchange. The Japanese

On 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2025, the Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla and the visiting Speaker held the Bilateral Dialogue. The Lok Sabha Speaker hosted



Japanese Parliamentary Delegation led by Speaker of the House of Representatives of Japan, H.E. Mr. Nukaga Fukushima called on Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla in Parliament, on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2025.

a Banquet Lunch in honour of the visiting Delegation. On 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2025, the Delegation visited Guwahati where they interacted with the leadership of Assam before returning to Japan.

### Meetings of Foreign Parliamentary Delegations with Parliamentary Committees

(i) A Parliamentary Delegation from Chile led by H.E. Mr. Jose Garcia Ruminot, former President of the Senate of the Republic of Chile, had a meeting with Standing Committee on External Affairs on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2025.

(ii) A Delegation of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Armed Forces of the French Senate had a meeting with Standing Committee on External Affairs on 20<sup>th</sup> May 2025.

### Indian Parliamentary Delegation Visits Abroad

An Indian Parliamentary Delegation (IPD) led by the Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla transited through Lisbon on 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2025 while on its way to Brazil for the BRICS Parliamentary Forum meeting

and then on 7<sup>th</sup> June on the way back to India.

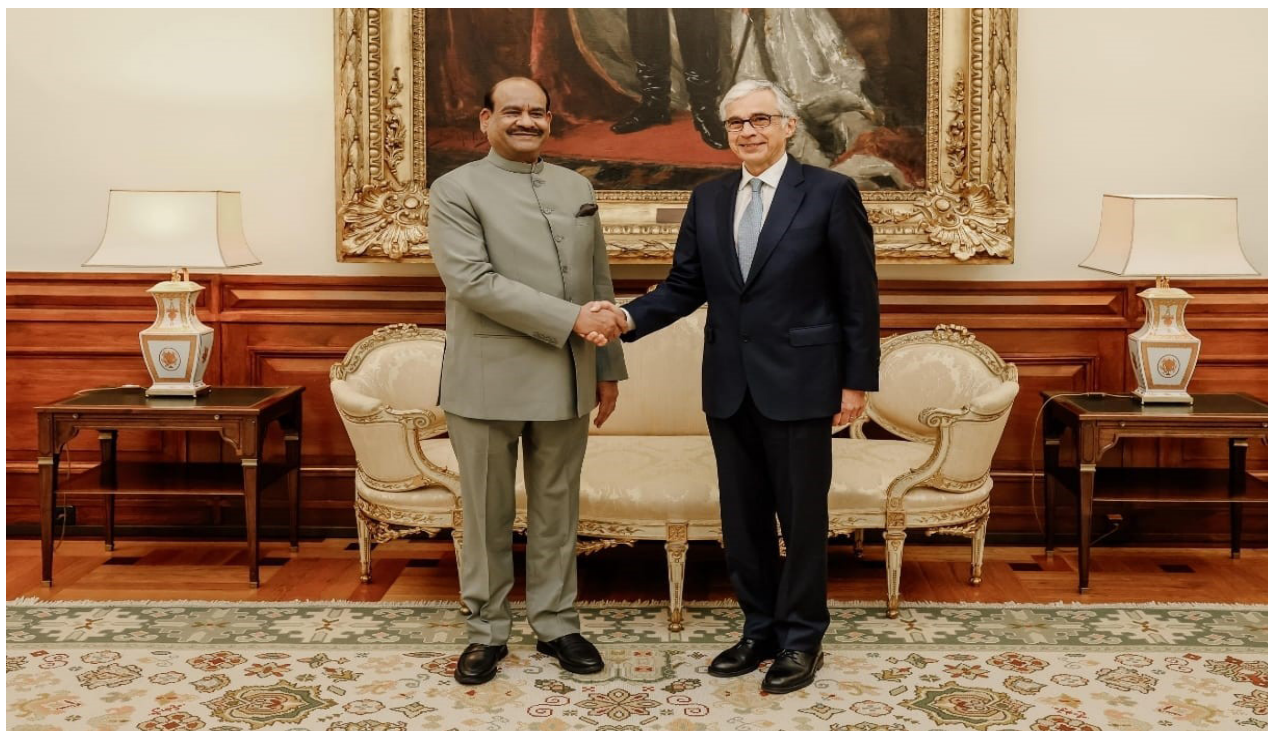
On 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2025, the Lok Sabha Speaker met with Mr. Jose Pedro Aguiar-Branco, President (Speaker) of the Assembly of the Republic of Portugal. Hon'ble Speaker also attended a Reception hosted in his honour by the Indian Ambassador during which he interacted with a wide cross section of people, including members of Parliament, journalists, academia, government officials, opinion makers, members of Indian diaspora including Indian researchers working in various universities

and institutions of Portugal. Among other things, the Lok Sabha Speaker spoke about 50 years of the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and India's fight against terror including Operation Sindoor. At Lisbon, H.E. Mr. Maina Talia, Minister for Home Affairs, Climate Change and Environment of Tuvalu called on Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2025.

On his return journey on 7<sup>th</sup> June 2025, Shri Om Birla inaugurated 'India Day' at Lisbon where he interacted with hundreds of members

of the Indian community. In his address, Hon'ble Speaker applauded the contributions made by the Indian community as a living bridge between the two countries. He also spoke about India's war against terror especially in the context of Operation Sindoor. He also paid tributes to the statues of Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba Gandhi.

On the same day, the Lok Sabha Speaker also launched the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the International Day of Yoga in Portugal.



Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Om Birla with H.E. Mr. José Pedro Aguiar- Branco, President of the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic in Lisbon, Portugal on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2025.

# PARLIAMENTARY AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS (1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2025)

Events covered in this Feature are based primarily on the information available in the public domain, including the official websites of the Union and the State Legislatures, the Election Commission of India, and also reports appearing in daily newspapers. As such, the Lok Sabha Secretariat does not accept any responsibility for their accuracy, authenticity or veracity.

## INDIA

### DEVELOPMENTS AT THE UNION

*Elections to Rajya Sabha:* The following members have been elected to the Rajya Sabha during the period from 1<sup>st</sup> April to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2025:

Sl. No.	Name and Party affiliation & State	Date of Election	Date of Commencement of term	Date of taking Oath
1.	Shri Paka Venkata Satyanarayana (Bharatiya Janata Party) Andhra Pradesh	02.05.2025	02.05.2025	28.05.2025
2.	Shri Kanad Purkayastha (Bharatiya Janata Party) Assam	12.06.2025	15.06.2025	--
3.	Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya (Asom Gana Parishad) Assam	12.06.2025	15.06.2025	--

*Vacation of seats by Members of Rajya Sabha:* The details of the Vacancies caused during the period from 1<sup>st</sup> April to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2025:

Sl. No.	Name of Member, Party affiliation and State	Date of Vacancy Caused	Reason for the cause of Vacancy
1.	Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya (Asom Gana Parishad) Assam	14.06.2025	Retirement
2.	Shri Mission Ranjan Das (Bharatiya Janata Party) Assam	14.06.2025	Retirement

**AROUND THE STATES**

**GUJARAT**

*Assembly Bye-election Results:* Bye-elections to the two seats of the State Assembly were held on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2025. The results were announced on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025. Following is the list of members elected and their respective constituencies:

Sl. No.	Name of the Elected Candidate	Party	Constituency
1.	Shri Rajendrakumar (Rajubhai) Daneshwar Chavda	Bharatiya Janata Party	Kadi
2.	Shri Italia Gopal	Aam Aadmi Party	Visavadar

**KERALA**

*Assembly Bye-election Result:* On 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025, Shri Aryadan Shoukath, member of the Indian National Congress was declared elected from the Nilambur Assembly Constituency, in the bye-election held on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2025.

**PUNJAB**

*Assembly Bye-election Result:* On 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025, Shri Sanjeev Arora, member of the Aam Aadmi Party was declared elected from the Ludhiana West Assembly Constituency, in the bye-election held on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2025.

**TAMIL NADU**

*Resignation of Ministers:* On 27<sup>th</sup> April 2025, the Minister for Forest, Shri K. Ponmudy and the Minister for Electricity, Shri V. Senthilbalaji resigned.

*Oath of new Minister:* On 28<sup>th</sup> April 2025, the Governor, Shri R.N. Ravi administered oath of office and secrecy to the newly-inducted Minister, Shri T. Mano Thangaraj.

**TELANGANA**

*Oath of new Ministers:* On 8<sup>th</sup> June 2025, the Governor, Shri Jishnu Dev Varma, administered oath of office and secrecy to the three newly-inducted ministers, Sarvashri Gaddam Vivek Venkat Swamy, Adluri Laxman Kumar and Vakiti Srihari.

**WEST BENGAL**

*Assembly Bye-election Result:* On 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2025, Ms. Alifa Ahmed, member of the All India Trinamool Congress Party was declared elected from the Kaliganj Assembly Constituency, in the bye-election held on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2025.

**EVENTS ABROAD**

**ECUADOR**

*Oath of President:* On 24<sup>th</sup> May 2025, Mr. Daniel Noboa was sworn in as the President of Ecuador.

**GERMANY**

*Oath of Chancellor:* On 6<sup>th</sup> May 2025, Mr. Friedrich Merz was sworn in as the Chancellor of Germany.

**MONGOLIA**

*Resignation of Prime Minister:* On 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2025, the Prime Minister, Mr. Luvsannamsrai Oyun-Erdene resigned.

*New Prime Minister:* On 12<sup>th</sup> June 2025, Mr. Zandanshatar Gombojav was appointed as the Prime Minister of Mongolia.

**POLAND**

*New President:* On 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2025, Mr. Karol Nawrocki was elected as the President of Poland.

**ROMANIA**

*Oath of President:* On 26<sup>th</sup> May 2025, Mr. Nicusor Dan was sworn in as the President of Romania.

**SOUTH KOREA**

*Removal of President:* On 4<sup>th</sup> April 2025, the Constitutional Court of South Korea removed the President, Mr. Yoon Suk Yeol from the Office.

*Oath of President:* On 4<sup>th</sup> June 2025, Mr. Lee Jae-myung was sworn in as the President of South Korea.

## (STATE LEGISLATURES)

### HARYANA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Material provided by the Haryana Legislative Assembly Secretariat

The Second Session of the Fifteenth Haryana Legislative Assembly commenced on 7<sup>th</sup> March 2025 and was adjourned *sine die* on 28<sup>th</sup> March 2025. There were 13 sittings in all.

*Address by the Governor:* On 7<sup>th</sup> March 2025, the Governor, Shri Bandaru Dattatraya addressed members of the State Legislative Assembly. The Motion of Thanks to the Governor for the Address was moved by Shri Ghanshyam Dass and seconded by Shri Yoginder Singh Rana. The discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the Governor's Address was held from 10<sup>th</sup> March 2025 to 12<sup>th</sup> March 2025. As many as 45 members participated in the debate. The Chief Minister, Shri Nayab Singh replied to the debate. The Motion of Thanks to the Governor for his Address was adopted on the same day.

*Financial Business:* On 17<sup>th</sup> March 2025, the Chief Minister, Shri Nayab Singh presented the Budget for the year 2025-26. The General Discussion on the Budget was held on 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> March 2025. Forty-six members participated in the

discussion. The Chief Minister replied to the discussion.

The Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget for the year 2025-26 were approved by the House on 27<sup>th</sup> March 2025 and the related Appropriation Bill was also passed.

*Legislative Business:* During the Session the following eighteen Bills were introduced, considered and passed: (i) The Haryana Village Common Lands (Regulation) Amendment Bill, 2025; (ii) The Panchkula Metropolitan Development Authority (Amendment) Bill, 2025; (iii) The Sports University of Haryana (Amendment) Bill, 2025; (iv) The Haryana Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 2025; (v) The Seeds (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 2025; (vi) The Insecticides (Haryana Amendment) Bill, 2025; (vii) The Haryana Honourable Disposal of Dead Body Bill, 2025; (viii) The Haryana Registration and Regulation of Travel Agents Bill, 2025; (ix) The Haryana Prevention of Public Gambling Bill, 2025; (x) The Haryana Contractual Employees (Security of Service) Amendment Bill, 2025;

(xi) The Haryana Appropriation (No.1) Bill, 2025; (xii) The Haryana Panchayati Raj (Amendment) Bill, 2025; (xiii) The Haryana Horticulture Nurseries Bill, 2025; (xiv) The Aparna Institution (Taking Over of Management and Control) Bill, 2025; (xv) The Haryana Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 2025; (xvi) The Haryana (Exchange of Prisoners) Repeal Bill, 2025; (xvii) The Haryana Legislative Assembly (Medical Facilities to Members) Amendment Bill, 2025; and (xviii) The Haryana Legislative Assembly (Facilities to Members) Amendment, 2025.

*Obituary References:* During the Session, obituary references were made on the passing away of Dr. Manmohan Singh, former Prime Minister of India; Chaudhary Om Prakash Chautala, former Chief Minister of Haryana; Shri Satpal Sangwan, former Minister of Haryana; Dr. Kripa Ram Punia, former Minister of Haryana; Shri Surinder Singh Aujla, Chaudhary Karma Singh, Shri Hem Raj, all former members of Haryana Legislative Assembly; and Sardar Baaj Singh, Freedom Fighter.

## Chronicling India's Parliamentary Practices



*-Dr. Rupa Narayan Das*

In 1954, few years after India's Independence in 1947, former British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden alluding to India's tryst with destiny, said, "The Indian venture is not a pale imitation of our practice at home, but a magnified reproduction in a scale we have never dreamt of. If it succeeds, its influence on Asia is incalculable for good. Whatever the outcome, we must honour those who attempted it." The success of the Indian Republic over the last 75 years has vindicated the cautious optimism of Sir Anthony Eden. The credit for this must go to the dynamic nature of India's constitution and the healthy parliamentary practice and procedure. As rightly pointed out by Sir Anthony Eden, India's political edifice is not a mechanical transplant of the Westminster model or its replica, but a creative adaptation of the British model of Parliamentary democracy to suit the native soil.

Over the last 75 years India has constantly moved forward deepening and strengthening its Parliamentary edifice and emerging as the fifth largest

economy of the world. The treatise under review, the 8th edition of "Practice and Procedure of Parliament" is likened to the Erskine May's classical work of the same title regarded as the Bible of Parliamentary practice of Great Britain whose 26<sup>th</sup> edition is scheduled to be launched in January next year. Meticulously edited and updated by Utpal Kumar Singh, a learned retired civil servant of the country and the incumbent Secretary-General of Lok Sabha, the popular Chamber of Indian Parliament, the volume is a ready reckoner for Parliamentary officials, legal practitioners, journalists and civil servants. It is a must for the Parliamentary officials of the Anglo-Saxon countries and more so for officials of India's state legislatures. Survival and strengthening of Parliamentary democracy is contingent up on the creative interpretation and application of the provisions of the Constitution, the laws of the land by the Presiding Officer (Speaker) of the House who is the custodian of the rights and privileges of the House and its members. The chair

has a quasi-judicial role while interpreting and applying the written words and the spirit of the Constitution. Here lies the salience of the rulings, observations and direction of the Chair. Their compilation with proper annotations is a seminal contribution to understand and appreciate the success of Parliamentary democracy. Additionally procedural innovations add up to the resilience of Parliamentary democracy. The updated and revised volume provides all these and much more.

India's experience of handling the competitive electoral politics, its resonance on the functioning of Parliament both within and outside, and contestation among and between organs of the state such as the legislature, judiciary and the executive throw light on the harmonious function of these organs of the state apparatus. If the Indian Constitution is a living Constitution, the practice and procedures of Parliament have also been constantly evolving in response to political dynamics. The great Harvard University Professor in his seminal work

“Political Order in Changing Societies” elucidated on institution building to withstand the stresses and strains on the system. If institution building is important, so also are the practice and procedure of Parliament.

The rich contents in the volume illuminate the innovative structures of Parliamentary Committees which touch up on the entire gamut functioning of Parliament. These Committees are like the microcosm of Parliament. The Standing

Committees of Parliament may be in vogue in the Commonwealth Parliaments; nevertheless, it is worth a while on part of the Parliamentary officials to browse through the contents of the volume and adapt the best practices relevant to their Parliament. Over the years, these Parliamentary Committees have not only eased the work load of Parliament, but have also co-opted the opposition parties in the governance enabling them to be stakeholders in the stability

of the government. Similarly, the chapter on Parliamentary privileges is very instructive and useful.

Given the broad and extensive nature of parliamentary practice and procedure, it is hoped that future editions will provide more in-depth coverage by dedicating separate chapters to key areas such as Anti-defection law and parliamentary diplomacy, both of which play critical roles in the functioning of legislative bodies.

*(The reviewer is Consultant Editor of the Journal of Parliamentary Information (JPI). The review was earlier published in the Parliamentarian, Vol. 106, Issue 2, 2025)*

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### STATEMENT SHOWING WORK TRANSACTED BY THE COMMITTEES OF LOK SABHA DURING 1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2025

#### WORKING OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES

Sl. No.	Name of the Committee	No. of Sittings	No. of Reports
(i)	Business Advisory Committee	1	1
(ii)	Committee on Absence of Members from the Sitting of the House	Nil	Nil
(iii)	Committee on Empowerment of women	7	Nil
(iv)	Committee on Estimates	4	Nil
(v)	Committee on Ethics	Nil	Nil
(vi)	Committee on Government Assurances	4	Nil
(vii)	Committee on Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLADS)	Nil	Nil
(viii)	Committee on Papers Laid on the Table	Nil	Nil
(ix)	Committee on Petitions	2	1
(x)	Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions	Nil	Nil
(xi)	Committee on Privileges	Nil	Nil
(xii)	Committee on Public Accounts	7	Nil
(xiii)	Committee on Public Undertakings	5	Nil
(xiv)	Committee on Subordinate Legislation	2	Nil
(xv)	Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	5	Nil
(xvi)	General Purposes Committee	Nil	Nil
(xvii)	House Committee	Nil	Nil
(xviii)	Library Committee	Nil	Nil
(xix)	Railway Convention Committee	Nil	Nil
(xx)	Rules Committee	Nil	Nil
(xxi)	Committee on Welfare of OBCs	3	3

#### JOINT/SELECT COMMITTEE

Sl. No.	Name of the Committee	No. of Sittings	No. of Reports
(i)	Joint Committee on Offices of Profit	Nil	Nil
(ii)	Joint Committee on Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament	Nil	Nil

**DEPARTMENTALLY RELATED STANDING COMMITTEES**

<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Name of the Committee</b>	<b>No. of Sittings</b>	<b>No. of Reports</b>
(i)	Committee on Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Food Processing	6	Nil
(ii)	Committee on Chemicals and Fertilizers	10	Nil
(iii)	Committee on Coal, Mines and Steel	8	1
(iv)	Committee on Defence	1	Nil
(v)	Committee on Energy	5	Nil
(vi)	Committee on External Affairs	5	Nil
(vii)	Committee on Finance	8	Nil
(viii)	Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution	2	Nil
(ix)	Committee on Communication and Information Technology	4	Nil
(x)	Committee on Labour, Textiles and Skill Development	1	Nil
(xi)	Committee on Petroleum and Natural Gas	1	Nil
(xii)	Committee on Railways	2	Nil
(xiii)	Committee on Rural Development and Panchayati Raj	7	2
(xiv)	Committee on Social Justice & Empowerment	2	Nil
(xv)	Committee on Housing and Urban Affairs	5	Nil
(xvi)	Committee on Water Resources	3	Nil

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX II

### STATEMENT SHOWING THE WORK TRANSACTED BY THE COMMITTEES OF RAJYA SABHA DURING 1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2025

<b>1. WORKING OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES</b>			
<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Name of the Committee</b>	<b>No. of Sitzings</b>	<b>No. of Reports</b>
(i)	Business Advisory Committee	01	NIL
(ii)	Committee on Ethics	03	NIL
(iii)	Committee on Government Assurances	04	NIL
(iv)	Committee on Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLADS)	01	NIL
(v)	Committee on Papers Laid on the Table	04	NIL
(vi)	Committee on Petitions	01	NIL
(vii)	Committee on Privileges	01	NIL
(viii)	Committee on Subordinate Legislation	NIL	NIL
(ix)	General Purposes Committee	NIL	NIL
(x)	House Committee	NIL	NIL
(xi)	Committee on Information and Communication Technology Management in Rajya Sabha	NIL	NIL
(xii)	Rules Committee	NIL	NIL

<b>2. DEPARTMENTALLY RELATED STANDING COMMITTEES</b>			
<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Name of the Committee</b>	<b>No. of Sitzings</b>	<b>No. of Reports</b>
(i)	Commerce	03	NIL
(ii)	Home Affairs	NIL	NIL
(iii)	Education, Women, Children, Youth and Sports	03	01
(iv)	Industry	02	NIL
(v)	Science and Technology, Environment, Forests and Climate Change	01	NIL
(vi)	Transport, Tourism and Culture	02	NIL
(vii)	Health and Family Welfare	01	NIL
(viii)	Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice	03	NIL

<b>3. MEMBERS ELECTED/RE-ELECTED TO THE RAJYA SABHA DURING THE QUARTER APRIL TO JUNE, 2025</b>						
<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Date of Election</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Party Affiliation</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Commencement of Term</b>	<b>Date of Taking Oath</b>
(i)	02.05.2025	Shri Paka Venkata Satyanarayana	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	Andhra Pradesh	02.05.2025	28.05.2025

(ii)	12.06.2025	Shri Kanad Purkayastha	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	Assam	15.06.2025	-
(iii)	12.06.2025	Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya	Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)	Assam	15.06.2025	-

<b>4.</b>	<b>DETAIL OF VACATION OF SEATS IN RAJYA SABHA DURING THE QUARTER APRIL TO JUNE, 2025</b>				
(i)	14.06.2025	Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya	Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)	Assam	Retirement
(ii)	14.06.2025	Shri Mission Ranjan Das	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	Assam	Retirement

<b>5.</b>	<b>NAME OF NEW MEMBERS SWORN IN WITH DATES</b>		
<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Name of Members sworn</b>	<b>Party Affiliation</b>	<b>Date on which sworn</b>
(i)	Shri Paka Venkata Satyanarayana	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	28.05.2025

<b>6.</b>	<b>CENTRALISED PASS ISSUE CELL (CPIC)</b>	
(i)	Official Gallery Passes Issued	Nil
(ii)	Public Gallery Passes Issued	98 (smart visitor card)
(iii)	DVG passes issued	12 (smart visitor card)

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX III

### STATEMENT SHOWING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LEGISLATURES OF THE STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2025

Legislatures	Duration	Sittings	Govt. Bills [Introduced (passed)]	Private Bills [Introduced (passed)]	Starred Questions [Received (admitted)]	Unstarred Questions [Received (admitted)]	Short Notice Questions [Received (admitted)]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Andhra Pradesh L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andhra Pradesh L.C.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arunachal Pradesh L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam L.A.	09.06.2025	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bihar L.A.	-	-	-	-	115(90)	-	3
Bihar L.C.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chhattisgarh L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goa L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gujarat L.A.	-	-	-	-	-	36(35)	-
Haryana L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Himachal Pradesh L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jharkhand L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka L.C.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Madhya Pradesh L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maharashtra L.A.	-	-	5	-	8277(580)	78(19)	8
Maharashtra L.C.	-	-	-	-	2354(493)	9(7)	-

\* Information received from the State/Union Territory Legislature contained Nil Report

\*\* Information not received from State/Union Territory Legislature

Manipur L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meghalaya L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nagaland L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Odisha L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Punjab L.A.	05.05.2025	1	1(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rajasthan L.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98(98)
Sikkim L.A.	30.06.2025	1	2(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamil Nadu L.A.	-	-	-	-	-	(55)	-	(791)	-	-
Telangana L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Telangana L.C.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tripura L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttar Pradesh L.A.	-	-	-	-	-	679(245)	-	1513(78)	-	-
Uttar Pradesh L.C.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttarakhand L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Bengal L.A.**	19.06.2025 to 24.06.2025	12	5(5)	-	-	1221(813)	-	17(4)	-	-
<b>UNION TERRITORIES</b>										
Delhi L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Puducherry L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

\* Information received from the State/Union Territory Legislature contained Nil Report

\*\* Information not received from State/Union Territory Legislature

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX III (Contd.)

### COMMITTEES AT WORK/ NUMBER OF SITTINGS HELD AND NUMBER OF REPORTS PRESENTED DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2025

State/ Union Territory	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Other Committees																
Joint/Select Committee																
Rules Committee																
Public Accounts Committee																
Library Committee																
House/Accommodation Committee																
General Purposes Committee																
Committee on Estimates																
Committee on the Welfare of SCs and STs																
Committee on Subordinate Legislation																
Committee on Public Undertakings																
Committee of Privileges																
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions																
Committee on Petitions																
Committee on Government Assurances																
Business Advisory Committee																
State/ Union Territory	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Andhra Pradesh L.A.	-	-	3	-	2	3	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Andhra Pradesh L.C.	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Arunachal Pradesh L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam L.A.	1(1)	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1 <sup>(a)</sup>
Bihar L.A.	-	11	11	11	-	10	22	10	12	-	10	10	10	-	-	299 <sup>(b)</sup>
Bihar L.C.	-	11	10	10	-	-	9	10	-	13	10	10	-	-	-	110 <sup>(c)</sup>
Chhattisgarh L.A.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	-	-	-	3	-	-	3 <sup>(d)</sup>
Goa L.A.	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>(e)</sup>
Gujarat L.A.	-	5	-	-	-	3	2	7	3	-	2	-	18	-	-	9 <sup>(f)</sup>
Haryana L.A.	-	9	14	-	1	14	9	13	7	-	2	-	13	-	-	41 <sup>(g)</sup>
Himachal Pradesh L.A.	-	-	1	-	1	10	3	-	8	-	-	-	10	-	-	37 <sup>(h)</sup>
Jharkhand L.A.	-	-	2	-	-	8	-	9	9	9	-	-	9	-	-	103 <sup>(i)</sup>
Karnataka L.A.	-	12	12	6	13	12	12	13	12	-	12	1	13	-	-	46 <sup>(j)</sup>
Karnataka L.C.	-	14	11	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	2 <sup>(k)</sup>
Kerala L.A.	-	12	3	1	1	14	2	8	5	-	9	7	9	-	-	85 <sup>(l)</sup>
Madhya Pradesh L.A.	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	2	3	-	-	11 <sup>(m)</sup>

\*\* Information not received from State/Union Territory Legislature

State/ Union Territory	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Maharashtra L.A.	1	2	-	-	3	4	5	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 <sup>(n)</sup>
Maharashtra L.C.	1	2	2	-	1	4	5	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 <sup>(o)</sup>
Manipur L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meghalaya L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram L.A.	-	2	-	-	-	2	4	-	3	4	2	-	7	-	-	8 <sup>(p)</sup>
Nagaland L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Odisha L.A.	-	2	2	-	-	5	1	21	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	40 <sup>(q)</sup>
Punjab L.A.	-	5	4	-	7	1	1	6	3	-	-	2	3	-	-	11 <sup>(r)</sup>
Rajasthan L.A.	-	-	18	-	14	18	-	35	34	-	15	18(3)	18	-	-	70 <sup>(s)</sup>
Sikkim L.A.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Tamil Nadu L.A.	-	3	2	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	2 <sup>(t)</sup>
Telangana L.A.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Telangana L.C.*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tripura L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttar Pradesh L.A.	-	6	21	-	-	6	18	12	12	-	1	-	15	1	-	48 <sup>(u)</sup>
Uttar Pradesh L.C.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttarakhand L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Bengal L.A.	5(5)	11	6	-	6	12	7	-	11	-	10	6	7(2)	-	-	263(7) <sup>(v)</sup>
<b>UNION TERRITORIES</b>																
Delhi L.A.	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1 <sup>(w)</sup>
Puducherry L.A.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

\* Information received from the State/Union Territory Legislature contained Nil Report

\*\* Information not received from State/Union Territory Legislature

(a)	Committee on Ethics-1
(b)	Question & Calling Attention Committee-26, Zila Parishad & Panchayati Raj Committee-10, Nivedan Committee-10, Internal Resource Committee-11, Women & Child Welfare Committee-28, Agricultural Development Industries Committee-43, Committee Regarding Tourism Industry-10, Zero Hour Committee-10, Ethics Committee-12, Bihar Heritage Development Committee-18, Minority Welfare Committee-10, Environment Conservation and Pollution Control Committee-28 and Prison Reform Committee-13
(c)	Paper laid on the Table -9, Question & Call Attention Committee-10, Human Rights Committee-10, Committee on Zila Parishad-11, Zero Hour Committee-10, Ethics Committee-10, Nivedan Committee-10, Rajbhasha Committee-10, Committee on Disaster Management and Rehabilitation-10, Financial Management and Internal Resources Committee-10 and Implementation Committee-10
(d)	Committee on Member's Honour and Amenities-1, Question & Reference Committee-1 and Local Body and Panchayati Raj Accounts Committee-1
(e)	Select/Joint Committee-1
(f)	Panchayati Raj Committee-4, Welfare of Socially and Educationally Backward Classes Committee-1 and Papers Laid on the Table Committee- 4
(g)	Committee on Local Bodies & Panchayati Raj-9, Subject Committee on Education, Technical Education, Medical Education, Vocational Education & Health Services- 9, Committee on Public Health, Irrigation, Power & Public Works (B&R)-9, Subject Committee on Environment & Pollution-7 and Subject Committee on Welfare of Youth & Youth Affairs-7
(h)	Welfare Committee-9, Local Fund Accounting-6, Public Administration Committee-6, Human Development Committee-6, General Development Committee-4 and Rural Planning Committee-6
(i)	Nivedan Samiti-9, Gair Sarkari Sankalp Samiti-10, AnagatPrashn Kriyanvayan Samiti-10, PrashnaevamDhyanakarshan Samiti-10, Pratyayukt Vidhan Samiti-10, KhadyaSarvajanikVitranavamUppbhoktaMamle Samiti-9, Jila Prishadevayam Panchayati Raj Samiti-9, Yuva Kalyaan Sanskriti evamPryatan Vikaas Samiti-10, Sadaachar Samiti-9, Mahila evam Baal Vikaas Samiti-7 and Vidhayak Nidhi Anushravan Samiti-10
(j)	Committee on Welfare of Women & Children-12, Committee on Papers Laid on The Table-12, Committee on Welfare of Backward Classes and Minorities-10 and Committee on Local Bodies and Panchayat Raj Institutions-12
(k)	Other Committee-1 and Committee on Ethics- 1
(l)	Committee on the Welfare of Senior Citizens- 16, Committee on Environment-9, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table-2, Committee on the Welfare of Backward Class Communities-11, Committee on the Welfare of Women, Transgenders, Children & Differently Aabled-7, Committee on the Welfare of Fishermen and Allied Workers-7, Committee on the Welfare of Youth and Youth Affairs-6, Committee on Official Language-3, Committee on Local Fund Accounts-7, Committee on the Welfare of Non-Resident Keralites-5, Select Committee-5 and Subject Committee (14 Nos)-7
(m)	Committee on Yachika/Abhyaavedan-3, Committee on Welfare of Backward Classes-1, Question and Reference Committees-2, Committee on Paper Laid on the Table-3 and Local Bodies and Panchayati Raj Accounts Committee-2
(n)	Committee on Welfare of Vimukta Jatis & Nomadic Tribes (VJNT)-2, Committee on Employment Guarantee Scheme-2, Committee on Leave of Absence from sittings of the House-1, Committee on Rights and Welfare of Women and Child-3, Committee on Welfare of Minority-2, Committee on Marathi Language-1 and Committee on Inspection of Private Charity Hospitals-3

(o)	Committee on Welfare of Vimukta Jatis & Nomadic Tribes (VJNT)-2, Committee on Employment Guarantee Scheme-2, Committee on Rights and Welfare of Women and Child-3, Committee on Welfare of Minority-2, Committee on Marathi Language-1 and Committee on Inspection of Private Charity Hospitals-3
(p)	Committee on Paper Laid- 2, Subject Committee III-3, and Subject Committee IV-2
(q)	House Committee on Women and Child Welfare-2, House Committee on Rehabilitation-1, House Committee on Ethics-2, House Committee on Papers Laid on the Table- 1, Special Committee on DRSC-1, Standing Committee-II-1, Standing Committee-III-3, Standing Committee-IV-5, Standing Committee-V-2, Standing Committee-VI-3 , Standing Committee-VII-2 , Standing Committee-VIII-5, Standing Committee-IX-6 and Standing Committee-X-4
(r)	Committee on Question & References-4, Committee on Local Bodies-1, Committee on Panchayati Raj Insitutions-3, and Committee on Co-Operation and Its Allied Activites-3
(s)	Women & Chil Welfare Committee-19, Question & Reference Committee-20, Committee on Welfare of Backward Class-12 and Committee on Welfare of Minorities & Environment-19
(t)	Committee on Papers Laid on the Table-2
(u)	Questions & Reference Committee-1, Committee Relating to Examination of Audit Reports of the Local Bodies of the State-24, Joint Committee Relating to Women & Child Welfare-3, Panchayti Raj Committee-15, Parliamentary Monitoring Committee-5
(v)	Committee on Bidhayak Elaka Unnayan Prkalpa-7, Committee on Local Fund Accounts-12, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table-8, Committee on Reforms and Functioning of the Committee System-7, Standing Committee on Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing and Food Processing Industries & Horticulture-6, Standing Committee on Industry, Commerce and Enterprises-11, Standing Committee on Fisheries and Animal Resources Development-12, Standing Committee on Higher Education-11(2), Standing Committee on School Education-6(1), Standing Committee on Environment, Forests and Tourism-9(1), Standing Committee on Finance and Planning-6, Standing Committee on Food& Supplies-9, Standing Committee on Health & Family Welfare-8, Standing Committee on Home, Personnel & Administrative Reforms, Correctional Administration, Law and Judicial-6, Standing Committee on Housing, Fire & Emergency Services and Disaster Management-6, Standing Committee on Information & Cultural Affairs and Youth Services & Sports-7(1), Standing Committee on Irrigation & Waterways and Water Resources Investigation & Development-9, Standing Committee on Labour-7, Standing Committee on Urban Development and Municipal Affairs-11, Standing Committee on Panchayats and Rural Development and Sunderban Affairs-11, Standing Committee on Power & Non-Conventional Energy Sources-6, Standing Committee on Public Works and Public Health Engineering-10, Standing Committee on Information Technology and Technical Education-9, Standing Committee on Self Help Group & Self Employment-10, Standing Committee on Women & Child Development and Social Welfare-7, Standing Committee on Transport-11, Standing Committee on Backward Classes Welfare-11, Standing Committee on Minority Affairs-6, Standing Committee on Land & Land Reforms-11 and Standing Committee on Co-Operation and Consumer Affairs-13(2)
(w)	Questions and Reference Committee-1

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX IV

### LIST OF BILLS PASSED BY THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AND ASSENTED TO BY THE PRESIDENT

DURING THE PERIOD 1<sup>st</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2025

—NIL—

## APPENDIX V

### LIST OF BILLS PASSED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE STATES AND THE UNION TERRITORIES DURING THE PERIOD 1ST APRIL TO 30TH JUNE 2025

#### BIHAR

1.	<i>Bihar Hindu Dharmik Nyaas (Sanshodhan) Adhyadesh, 2025</i>
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#### PUNJAB

1.	The Punjab Law Officers (Engagement) Amendment Bill, 2025
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#### SIKKIM

1.	The Sikkim Lokayukta (Amendment) Bill, 2025
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#### WEST BENGAL

1.	The West Bengal Minorities' Commission (Amendment) Bill, 2025
2.	The West Bengal Clinical Establishments (Registration, Regulation and Transparency) (Amendment) Bill, 2025
3.	The West Bengal Sales Tax (Settlement of Dispute) (Amendment) Bill, 2025
4.	The Netaji Subhash University of Sports and Entrepreneurship Bill, 2025
5.	The West Bengal Land Reforms and Tenancy Tribunal (Amendment) Bill, 2025

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX VI

### ORDINANCES PROMULGATED BY THE UNION AND STATE GOVERNMENTS DURING THE PERIOD 1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2025

Sl. No.	Title of Ordinance	Date of Promulgation	Date on which laid before the House	Date of Cessation	Remarks
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#### ANDHRA PRADESH

1.	The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes (Sub-Classification) Ordinance, 2025	16.04.2025	--	--	--
2.	The India International University of Legal Education and Research of the Bar Council of India Trust at Andhra Pradesh Ordinance, 2025	03.06.2025	--	--	--

#### BIHAR

1.	<i>Bihar Hindu Dharmik Nyaas (Sanshodhan) Adhyadesh, 2025</i>	23.05.2025	--	--	--
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#### GUJARAT

1.	The Gujarat Goods and Services Tax (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	12.06.2025	--	--	--
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#### HIMACHAL PRADESH

1.	The Himachal Pradesh Technical University (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	25.06.2025	--	--	--
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#### KARNATAKA

1.	The Gadag-Betageri Business, Culture and Exhibition Authority (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	13.05.2025	--	--	--
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2.	The Karnataka Platform Based GIG Workers (Social Security and Welfare) Ordinance, 2025	27.05.2025	--	--	--
3.	The Karnataka State Civil Services (Regulation of Transfer of Medical Officers and Other Staff) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	27.05.2025	--	--	--
4.	The Karnataka Compulsory Service by Candidates Completed Medical Courses (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	27.05.2025	--	--	--

**MAHARASHTRA**

1.	The Maharashtra Municipal Councils, Nagar Panchayats and Industrial Townships (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	15.04.2025	30.06.2025	11.08.2025	--
2.	The Maharashtra Municipal Councils, Nagar Panchayats and Industrial Townships (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	30.04.2025	30.06.2025	11.08.2025	--
3.	The Maharashtra Temporary Extension of Period for Submitting Validity Certificate (for Certain Elections to Village Panchayats, Zilla Parsihads and Panchayat Samitis) Ordinance, 2025	30.04.2025	30.06.2025	11.08.2025	--
4.	The Gadchiroli District Mining Authority Ordinance, 2025	02.06.2025	30.06.2025	11.08.2025	--
5.	The Nasik-Trimbakeshwar Kumbh Mela Authority Ordinance, 2025	04.06.2025	30.06.2025	11.08.2025	--

6.	The Maharashtra Unaided Private Professional Educational Institutions (Regulation of Admissions and Fees) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	25.06.2025	30.06.2025	11.08.2025	
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**PUNJAB**

1.	The Punjab Law Officers (Engagement) Amendment Ordinance, 2025	16.04.2025	05.05.2025	--	--
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**UTTAR PRADESH**

1.	The Uttar Pradesh Shri Bankey Bihari Ji Temple Trust Ordinance, 2025	26.05.2025	--	--	--
2.	The Uttar Pradesh Repealing Ordinance, 2025	28.05.2025	--	--	--
3.	The Uttar Pradesh State Public Service Commission (Regulation of Procedure) (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	03.06.2025	--	--	--
4.	The Uttar Pradesh Private Universities (Amendment) Ordinance, 2025	16.06.2025	--	--	--

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX VII (A)

### PARTY POSITION IN 18<sup>TH</sup> LOK SABHA (STATE/UT-WISE) (As on 30.06.2025)

Sl. No.	States/UTs	No. of Seats	BJP	INC	SP	AITC	DMK	TDP	JD(U)	SHSUBT	NCFSP	SHS	LJPRV	YSRCP	RJD	CPM	IUML	AAP	JMM	JnP	CPI(ML) (L)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1.	Andhra Pradesh	25	3	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Assam	14	9	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Bihar	40	12	3	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	5	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2
5.	Chhattisgarh	11	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Goa	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Gujarat	26	25	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Haryana	10	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	Himachal Pradesh	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	Jharkhand	14	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
11.	Karnataka	28	17	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Kerala	20	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
13.	Madhya Pradesh	29	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14.	Maharashtra	48	9	13	-	-	-	-	-	9	8	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15.	Manipur	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16.	Meghalaya	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17.	Mizoram	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18.	Nagaland	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19.	Odisha	21	20	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.	Punjab	13	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
21.	Rajasthan	25	14	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
22.	Sikkim	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23.	Tamil Nadu	39	-	9	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
24.	Telangana	17	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX VII (B) PARTY POSITION IN RAJYA SABHA (As on 16<sup>th</sup> July 2025)

SL. No.	States/Union Territories	Seats	INC	BJP	SP	CPI(M)	JD(U)	AAP	AIADMK	BSP	CPI	*Others	IND.	Total	Vacancies
1	Andhra Pradesh	11	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9(a)	-	11	-
2	Arunachal Pradesh	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
3	Assam	7	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(b)	1	7	-
4	Bihar	16	1	5	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	6(c)	-	16	-
5	Chhattisgarh	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
6	Goa	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
7	Gujarat	11	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
8	Haryana	5	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-
9	Himachal Pradesh	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
10	Jharkhand	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3(d)	-	6	-
11	Karnataka	12	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(e)	-	12	-
12	Kerala	9	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	3(f)	-	9	-
13	Madhya Pradesh	11	3	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
14	Maharashtra	19	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9(g)	-	19	-
15	Manipur	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
16	Meghalaya	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(h)	-	1	-
17	Mizoram	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(i)	-	1	-
18	Nagaland	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
19	Odisha	10	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7(f)	-	10	-
20	Punjab	7	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6	1
21	Rajasthan	10	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
22	Sikkim	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
23	Tamil Nadu	18	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	13(k)	-	18	-
24	Telangana	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4(l)	-	7	-
25	Tripura	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
26	Uttarakhand	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
27	Uttar Pradesh	31	-	24	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	1(m)	1	31	-
28	West Bengal	16	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	13(m)	-	16	-

Union Territories																				
29	The NCT of Delhi	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
30	Jammu & Kashmir	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	4
31	Puducherry	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
32	Nominated	12	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10(o)	12	-	-	-
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>

**Others:**

**(Break-up of Parties/Groups)**

- (a) YSRCP-7, TDP-2
- (b) AGP-1, UPP (L)-1
- (c) RJD-5, RLM-1
- (d) JMM-3
- (e) JD(S)-1
- (f) IUML-2, KC (M)-1
- (g) NCP-3, SS-1, RPI (ATWL)-1, SS(UBT)-2, NCP(SCP)-2
- (h) NPP-1
- (i) MNF-1
- (j) BJD-7
- (k) DMK-10, MDMK-1, PMK-1, TMC(M)-1
- (l) BRS-4
- (m) RLD-1
- (n) AITC-13
- (o) Nominated-10

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX-VII (C) PARTY POSITION IN THE STATE/ UNION TERRITORY LEGISLATURES

State/Union Territory	Seats	INC	BJP	CPI (M)	CPI	NCP	BSP	Janata Dal (U)	Janata Dal (S)	Other Parties	Independent	Total	Vacancies
Andhra Pradesh L.A.	175	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	167 <sup>(a)</sup>	-	175	-
Andhra Pradesh L.C.	58	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	52 <sup>(b)</sup>	5	58	-
Arunachal Pradesh L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam L.A.	126	26	64	1	-	-	-	-	-	34 <sup>(c)</sup>	1	126	-
Bihar L.A.	243	19	79	2	2	-	-	45	-	93 <sup>(d)</sup>	2	242	1
Bihar L.C.	75	3	23	-	1	-	-	21	-	20 <sup>(e)</sup>	7	75	-
Chhattisgarh L.A.	90	35	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>(f)</sup>	-	90	-
Goa L.A.	40	3	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 <sup>(g)</sup>	3	40	-
Gujarat L.A.	182	12	162	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 <sup>(h)</sup>	2	182	-
Haryana L.A.	90	37	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 <sup>(i)</sup>	3	90	-
Himachal Pradesh L.A.	68	40	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	-
Jharkhand L.A.	81	16	21	-	-	-	-	1	-	43 <sup>(j)</sup>	-	81	-
Karnataka L.A.	224	136	62	-	-	-	-	-	18	8 <sup>(k)</sup>	-	224	-
Karnataka L.C.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala L.A.	140	22	-	62	17	2	-	-	2	34 <sup>(l)</sup>	1	140	-
Madhya Pradesh L.A.	230	65	164	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>(m)</sup>	-	230	-
Maharashtra L.A.	288	16	132	1	-	41	-	-	-	96 <sup>(n)</sup>	2	288	-
Maharashtra L.C.	78	7	22	-	-	8	-	-	-	17 <sup>(o)</sup>	3	57	21
Manipur L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meghalaya L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram L.A.	40	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	37 <sup>(p)</sup>	-	40	-
Nagaland L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Odisha L.A.	147	14	78	1	-	-	-	-	-	51 <sup>(q)</sup>	3	147	-
Punjab L.A.	117	16	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	96 <sup>(r)</sup>	1	116	1
Rajasthan L.A.	200	66	118	-	-	-	2	-	-	5 <sup>(s)</sup>	8	199	1

\*\* Information not received from State/Union Territory Legislature

State/Union Territory	Seats	INC	BJP	CPI (M)	CPI	NCP	BSP	Janata Dal (U)	Janata Dal (S)	Other Parties	Independent	Total	Vacancies
Sikkim L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamil Nadu L.A.	234	17	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	208 <sup>(i)</sup>	-	233	1
Telangana L.A.	119	65	8	-	1	-	-	-	-	44 <sup>(ii)</sup>	-	118	1
Telangana L.C.	40	6	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	29 <sup>(v)</sup>	1	40	-
Tripura L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttar Pradesh L.A.	403	2	258	-	-	1	-	-	-	141 <sup>(vi)</sup>	-	402	1
Uttar Pradesh L.C.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttarakhand L.A.**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Bengal L.A.	294	1	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	221 <sup>(vi)</sup>	1	293	1
<b>UNION TERRITORIES</b>													
Delhi L.A.	70	-	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	22 <sup>(v)</sup>	-	70	-
Puducherry L.A.	33	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 <sup>(z)</sup>	6	30	3

\*\* Information not received from State/Union Territory Legislature

(a)	Telugu Desam Party (TDP)-135, Janasena Party (JSP)-21 and Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP)-11
(b)	Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP)-32, Telugu Desam Party (TDP)-10, Janasena Party (JSP)-2 Nominated-8
(c)	AGP-9, UPPL-7, AIUDF-15 and BPF-3
(d)	Rashtriya Janata Dal-77, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Liberation)-11, All India Majalis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen-1 and Hindustani Aavam Morcha (Secular)-4
(e)	Chairman-1, Deputy Chairman-1, R.J.D.-15, R.L.J.P.-1, HAM (Secular)-1 and C.P.I. (M.L.)L. -1
(f)	GondawanaGantatra Party-1
(g)	Goa Forward Party-1, Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party-2, Aam Aadmi Party-2 and Revolutionary Goan Party-1
(h)	Aam Aadmi Party-5 and Samajwadi Party-1
(i)	Speaker-1 and Indian National Lok Dal-2
(j)	Adhyaksh -1, Jharkhan Mukti Morecha-33, Rashtriya Janata Dal-4, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Liberation)-2, AJSU Party-1, Lok Janshakti Party (Ramvilas)-1 and Jharkhand LoktantrikKrantikari Morecha-1
(k)	Unattached Members-3, Kalyana Rajya Pragathi Paksha (KRPP)-1, Sarvodaya Karnataka Paksha (SKP)-1, Independent Member-2 and Speaker-1
(l)	Kerala Congress(M)-5, Congress (Secular)-1, Kerala Congress (B)-1, Rashtriya Janata Dal-1, Janadhipathya Kerala Congress-1, Indian National League-1, National Secular Conference-1, Independents-4, Indian Union Muslim League-15, Kerala Congress-2, Kerala Congress (Jacob)-1 and Revolutionary Marxist Party of India-1
(m)	Bharat Adivasi Party -1
(n)	Shivsena Party- 57, Shivsena (Uddhav Blasaheb Thackeray)-20, Nationalist Congress Party -Sharadchandra Pawar-10, Jan Surajya Shakti-2, Samajwadi Party-2, Rashtriya Yuva Swabhimani Party-1, Rashtriya Samaj Paksha-1, Peasant's and Workers Party of India-1, All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen-1 and Rajarshi Shahu Vikas Aghadi-1
(o)	Shivsena Party- 7, Shivsena (Uddhav Blasaheb Thackeray)-7 and Nationalist Congress Party- Sharadchandra Pawar-3

(p)	Zoram People Movement (ZPM)- 27 and Mizo National Front (MNF)-10
(q)	B.J.D.-51
(r)	Aam Aadmi Party- 93 and Shiromani Akali Dal-3
(s)	Bharat Adivasi Party-4 and Rashtriya Lok Dal-1
(t)	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam-133, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam-65, Pattali Makkal Katchi-5, Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi-4 and Speaker-1
(u)	Bharat Rashtra Samithi-37 and All India Majlis Ittehad-Ul- Mulimeen-7
(v)	Bharat Rashtra Samithi-21, All India Majlis Ittehad-Ul- Mulimeen-2 and Nominated-6
(w)	Samajwadi Party-107, Apna Dal (Soneylal) Party-13, Nirbal Indian Shoshit Hamara Aam Dal-5, Jansatta Dal Loktantrik-2, Rashtriya Lok Dal-9 and Suheldev Bhartiya Samaj Party-5
(x)	All India Trinamool Congress- 220 and Rashtriya Secular Majlis Party-1
(y)	Aam Aadmi Party- 22
(z)	All India N.R. Congress-10 and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam-6

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