

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(English Version)

Sixth Session

(Sixteenth Lok Sabha)



(Vol. XIII Contains Nos.1 to 10)

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

NEW DELHI

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF SIXTEENTH
LOK SABHA

[English]

Adhikari, Shri Deepak (Dev) (Ghatal)

Adhikari, Shri Sisir Kumar (Kanthi)

Adhikari, Shri Suvendu (Tamluk)

Adityanath, Yogi (Gorakhpur)

Adsul, Shri Anandrao (Amravati)

Advani, Shri L. K. (Gandhinagar)

Agrawal, Shri Rajendra (Meerut)

Ahir, Shri Hansraj Gangaram (Chandrapur)

Ahlawat, Shrimati Santosh (Jhunjhunu)

Ahluwalia, Shri S. S. (Darjeeling)

Ahamed, Shri E. (Malappuram)

Ahmed, Shri Sultan (Uluberia)

Ajmal, Shri Badruddin (Dhubri)

Ajmal, Shri Sirajuddin (Barpeta)

Ali, Shri Idris (Basirhat)

Amarappa, Shri Karadi Sanganna (Koppal)

Ananthkumar, Shri (Bangalore South)

Angadi, Shri Suresh C. (Belagavi)

Antony, Shri Anto (Pathanamthitta)

Anwar, Shri Tariq (Katihar)

Arunmozhithevan, Shri A. (Cuddalore)

Azad, Shri Kirti (Darbhanga)

Babu, Dr. Ravindra (Amalapuram)

Badal, Shrimati Harsimrat Kaur (Bhatinda)

Baheria, Shri Subhash Chandra (Bhilwara)

Baig, Shri Muzaffar Hussain (Baramulla)

Bais, Shri Ramesh (Raipur)

Baite, Shri Thangso (Outer Manipur)

Baker, Shri George (Nominated)

Bakshi, Shri Subrata (Kolkata Dakshin)

Bala, Shrimati Anju (Misrikh)

Balyan, Dr. Sanjeev (Muzaffarnagar)

Bandyopadhyay, Shri Sudip (Kolkata Uttar)

Banerjee, Shri Abhishek (Diamond Harbour)

Banerjee, Shri Kalyan (Sreerampur)

Banerjee, Shri Prasun (Howrah)

Bansode, Adv. Sharadkumar Maruti (Solapur)

Barman, Shri Bijoy Chandra (Jalpaiguri)

Barne, Shri Shrirang Appa (Maval)

Basheer, Shri E. T. Mohammad (Ponnani)

Bhabhor, Shri Jasvantsinh Sumanbhai (Dahod)

Bhagat, Shri Bodh Singh (Balaghat)

Bhagat, Shri Sudarshan (Lohardaga)

Bhamre, Dr. Subhash Ramrao (Dhule)

Bharathi Mohan, Shri R. K. (Mayiladuthurai)

Bharti, Sushri Uma (Jhansi)

Bhatt, Shrimati Ranjanben (Vadodara)

Bhole, Shri Devendra Singh (Akbarpur)

Bhonsale, Shri Chh. Udayanraje (Satara)

Bidhuri, Shri Ramesh (South Delhi)

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Biswas, Shri Radheshyam (Karimganj)

Bohra, Shri Ramcharan (Jaipur City)

Bose, Prof. Sugata (Jadavpur)

Brahmpura, Shri Ranjit Singh (Khadoor Sahib)

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Chand, Shri Nihal (Ganganagar)

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Chaudhary, Shri P. P. (Pali)

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Chaudhary, Shri Ram Tahal (Ranchi)

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Chaudhury, Shri Jitendra (Tripura East)

Chauhan, Shri Devusinh (Kheda)

Chauhan, Shri P. P. (Panchmahal)

Chautala, Shri Dushyant (Hisar)

Chavan, Shri Ashok Shankarrao (Nanded)

Chavan, Shri Harishchandra (Dindori)

Chavda, Shri Vinod Lakhmashi (Kachchh)

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Chhotelal, Shri (Robertsganj)

Chinnaiyan, Shri S. Selvakumara (Erode)

Choubey, Shri Ashwini Kumar (Buxar)

Choudhary, Col. Sonaram (Barmer)

Choudhary, Shri Babulal (Fatehpur Sikri)

Choudhary, Shri Birendra Kumar (Jhanjharpur)

Chouhan, Shri Nandkumar Singh (Khandwa)

Chowdhury, Shri A. H. khan (Maldaha Dakshin)

Chowdhury, Shri Adhir Ranjan (Baharampur)

Chudasama, Shri Rajeshbhai (Junagadh)

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Devi, Shrimati Rama (Sheohar)

Devi, Shrimati Veena (Munger)

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Dhotre, Shri Sanjay (Akola)

Dhruvanarayana, Shri R. (Chamarajanagar)

Dhurve, Shrimati Jyoti (Betul)

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Dubey, Shri Nishikant (Godda)

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Dwivedi, Shri Harishchandra alias Harish (Basti)

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Fatepara, Shri Devjibhai G. (Surendranagar)

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Gandhi, Shri Rahul (Amethi)

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Patel, Shri Subhash (Khargone)

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Patel, Shrimati Jayshreeben (Mahesana)

Pathak, Shrimati Riti (Sidhi)

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Patole, Shri Nana (Bhandara-Gondia)

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Radhakrishnan, Shri T. (Virudhunagar)

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Rajput, Shri Mukesh (Farrukhabad)

Raju, Shri Ashok Gajapathi (Vizianagaram)

Raju, Shri C. S. Putta (Mandya)

Raju, Shri Gokaraju Ganga (Narsapuram)

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Ram, Shri Vishnu Dayal (Palamu)

Ramachandran, Shri K. N. (Sriperumbudur)

Ramachandran, Shri Mullappally (Vadakara)

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Ranjan, Shri Rajesh (Madhepura)

Ranjan, Shrimati Ranjeet (Supaul)

Rao, Shri Konakalla Narayana (Machhilipatnam)

Rao, Shri M. Venkateswara (Eluru)

Rao (Avanthi), Shri Muthamsetti Srinivasa (Anakapalli)

Rao, Shri Rayapati Sambasiva (Narasaraopet)

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Rathore, Col. Rajyavardhan (Jaipur Rural)

Rathore, Shri Hariom Singh (Rajsamand)

Rathwa, Shri Ramsinh (Chhota Udaipur)

Raut, Shri Vinayak Bhaurao (Ratnagiri-Sindhudurg)

Raval, Shri Paresh (Ahmedabad-East)

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Ray, Shri Bishnu Pada (Andaman and Nicobar Islands)

Ray, Shri Ravindra Kumar (Kodarma)

Reddy, Shri A. P. Jithender (Mahabubnagar)

Reddy, Shri Ch. Malla (Malkajgiri)

Reddy, Shri Gutha Sukender (Nalgonda)

Reddy, Shri J. C. Divakar (Anantapur)

Reddy, Shri Konda Vishweshwar (Chevella)

Reddy, Shri Kotha Prabhakar (Medak)

Reddy, Shri Mekapati Raja Mohan (Nellore)

Reddy, Shri P. Srinivasa (Khammam)

Reddy, Shri P. V. Midhun (Rajampet)

Reddy, Shri S. P. Y. (Nandyal)

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Satpathy, Shri Tathagata (Dhenkanal)

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Scindia, Shri Jyotiraditya M. (Guna)

Senguttuvan, Shri B. (Vellore)

Senthilnathan, Shri P. R. (Sivaganga)

Sethi, Shri Arjun Charan (Bhadrak)

Shah, Shrimati Mala Rajyalakshmi (Tehri Garhwal)

Shanavas, Shri M. I. (Wayanad)

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Sharma, Dr. Mahesh (Gautam Buddha Nagar)

Sharma, Shri Ram Kumar (Sitamarhi)

Sharma, Shri Ram Swaroop (Mandi)

Shekhawat, Shri Gajendra Singh (Jodhpur)

Shetty, Shri Gopal (Mumbai North)

Shetty, Shri Raju (Hatkanangle)

Shewale, Shri Rahul (Mumbai South Central)

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Shirole, Shri Anil (Pune)

Shivajirao, Shri Adhalrao Patil (Shirur)

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Siddeshwara, Shri G. M. (Davangere)

Sigriwal, Shri Janardan Singh (Maharajganj)

Simha, Shri Pratap (Mysore)

Singh, Capt. Amarinder (Amritsar)

Singh, Dr. Bhola (Begusarai)

Singh, Dr. Jitendra (Udhampur)

Singh, Dr. Nepal (Rampur)

Singh, Dr. Prabhas Kumar (Bargarh)

Singh, Dr. Satya Pal (Baghpat)

Singh, Dr. Yashwant (Nagina)

Singh, Gen. (Retd) Vijay Kumar (Ghaziabad)

Singh, Kunwar Bharatendra (Bijnor)

Singh, Kunwar Haribansh (Pratapgarh)

Singh, Prof. Sadhu (Faridkot)

Singh, Rao Inderjit (Gurgaon)

Singh, Shri Abhishek (Rajnandgaon)

Singh, Shri Bharat (Ballia)

Singh, Shri Bhola (Bulandshahr)

Singh, Shri Brijbhushan Sharan (Kaiserganj)

Singh, Shri Dushyant (Jhalawar-Baran)

Singh, Shri Ganesh (Satna)

Singh, Shri Giriraj (Nawada)

Singh, Shri Hukum (Kairana)

Singh, Shri Kirti Vardhan (Gonda)

Singh, Shri Lallu (Faizabad)

Singh, Shri Nagendra (Khajuraho)

Singh, Shri Pashupati Nath (Dhanbad)

Singh, Shri R. K. (Arrah)

Singh, Shri Radha Mohan (East Champaran)

Singh, Shri Rajnath (Lucknow)

Singh (Raju Bhaiya), Shri Rajveer (Etah)

Singh, Shri Rakesh (Jabalpur)

Singh, Shri Rama Kishore (Vaishali)

Singh, Shri Ravneet (Ludhiana)

Singh, Shri Satyapal (Sambhal)

Singh, Shri Sunil Kumar (Chatra)

Singh, Shri Sushil Kumar (Aurangabad)

Singh, Shri Uday Pratap (Hoshangabad)

Singh, Shri Virendra (Bhadohi)

Singh, Shrimati Pratyusha Rajeshwari (Kandhamal)

Sinha, Shri Jayant (Hazaribagh)

Sinha, Shri Manoj (Ghazipur)

Sinha, Shri Shatrughan (Patna Sahib) \

Sinha, Shrimati Renuka (Cooch Behar)

Sivaprasad, Shri Naramalli (Chittoor)

Solanki, Dr. Kirit P. (Ahmedabad)

Somaiya, Dr. Kirit (Mumbai North East)

Sonkar, Shri Vinod Kumar (Kaushambi)

Sonker, Shrimati Neelam (Lalganj)

Sonowal, Shri Sarbananda (Lakhimpur)

Soren, Shri Shibu (Dumka)

Srinivas, Shri Kesineni (Vijayawada)

Sriram, Shri Malyadri (Bapatla)

Sriramulu, Shri B. (Bellary)

Sule, Shrimati Supriya (Baramati)

Suman, Shri Balka (Peddapalli)

Sundaram, Shri P. R. (Namakkal)

Supriyo, Shri Babul (Asansol)

Suresh, Shri D. K. (Bangalore Rural)

Suresh, Shri Kodikunnil (Mavelikkara)

Swain, Shri Ladu Kishore (Aska)

Swaraj, Shrimati Sushma (Vidisha)

Tadas, Shri Ramdas C. (Wardha)

Tamta, Shri Ajay (Almora)

Tanwar, Shri Kanwar Singh (Amroha)

Tarai, Shrimati Rita (Jajpur)

Tasa, Shri Kamakhya Prasad (Jorhat)

Teacher, Shrimati P. K. Shreemathi (Kannur)

Teli, Shri Rameshwar (Dibrugarh)

Teni, Shri Ajay Misra (Kheri)

Thakur, Shri Anurag Singh (Hamirpur)

Thakur, Shrimati Mamata (Vangaon)

Thakur, Shrimati Savitri (Dhar)

Thambidurai, Dr. M. (Karur)

Tharoor, Dr. Shashi (Thiruvananthapuram)

Thomas, Prof. K. V. (Ernakulam)

Tirkey, Shri Dasrath (Alipurduars)

Tiwari, Shri Manoj (North East Delhi)

Tomar, Shri Narendra Singh (Gwalior)

Tripathi, Shri Sharad (Sant Kabir Nagar)

Trivedi, Shri Dinesh (Barrackpur)

Tumane, Shri Krupal Balaji (Ramtek)

Udasi, Shri Shivkumar (Haveri)

Uddin, Shri Tasleem (Araria)

Udhayakumar, Shri M. (Dindigul)

Usendi, Shri Vikram (Kanker)

Utawal, Shri Manohar (Devas)

Vaghela, Shri L. K. (Patan)

Vanaroja, Shrimati R. (Tiruvannamalai)

Vardhan, Dr. Harsh (Chandni Chowk)

Varma, Shrimati Dev (Bankura)

Vasanthi, Shrimati M. (Tenkasi)

Vasava, Shri Manshukhbhai Dhanjibhai (Bharuch)

Vasava, Shri Parbhubhai Nagarbhai (Bardoli)

Velagapalli, Shri Varaprasad Rao (Tirupati)

Venkatesh Babu, Shri T. G. (Chennai North)

Venugopal, Dr. P. (Tiruvallur)

Venugopal, Shri K. C. (Alappuzha)

Verma, Dr. Anshul (Hardoi)

Verma, Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh (Jalaun)

Verma, Shri Parvesh Sahib Singh (West Delhi)

Verma, Shri Rajesh (Sitapur)

Verma, Shrimati Rekha (Dhaurahra)

Vichare, Shri Rajan (Thane)

Vijaya Kumar, Shri S. R. (Chennai Central)

Wanga, Shri Chintaman Navasha (Palghar)

Yadav, Shri Akshay (Firozabad)

Yadav, Shri Dharmendra (Badaun)

Yadav, Shri Hukmdeo Narayan (Madhubani)

Yadav, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan (Banka)

Yadav, Shri Laxmi Narayan (Sagar)

Yadav, Shri Mulayam Singh (Azamgarh)

Yadav, Shri Om Prakash (Siwan)

Yadav, Shri Ram Kripal (Pataliputra)

Yadav, Shri Tej Pratap Singh (Mainpuri)

Yadav, Shrimati Dimple (Kannauj)

Yediyurappa, Shri B. S. (Shimoga)

Yellaiah, Shri Nandi (Nagar Kurnool)

OFFICERS OF LOK SABHA

THE SPEAKER

Shrimati Sumitra Mahajan

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER

Dr. M. Thambidurai

PANEL OF CHAIRPERSONS

Shri Arjun Charan Sethi

Shri Hukmdeo Narayan Yadav

Shri Anandrao Adsul

Shri Pralhad Joshi

Dr. Ratna De (Nag)

Shri Ramen Deka

Shri Konakalla Narayana Rao

Shri Hukum Singh

Shri K. H. Muniyappa

Dr. P. Venugopal

SECRETARY GENERAL

Shri Anoop Mishra

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

CABINET MINISTERS

Shri Narendra Modi

The Prime Minister and also in-charge
of:

(i) Ministry of Personnel, Public
Grievances and Pensions;

(ii) Department of Atomic Energy;

(iii) Department of Space; and

All important Policy issues and all
other portfolios not allocated to any
Minister.

Shri Rajnath Singh

The Minister of Home Affairs

Shrimati Sushma Swaraj	The Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Overseas Indian Affairs
Shri Arun Jaitley	The Minister of Finance, Minister of Corporate Affairs and Minister of Information and Broadcasting
Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu	The Minister of Urban Development, Minister of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation and Minister of Parliamentary Affairs
Shri Nitin Gadkari	The Minister of Road Transport and Highways and Minister of Shipping
Shri Manohar Parrikar	The Minister of Defence

Shri Suresh Prabhu

The Minister of Railways

Shri D. V. Sadananda
Gowda

The Minister of Law and Justice

Sushri Uma Bharti

The Minister of Water Resources, River
Development and Ganga Rejuvenation

Dr. Najma A. Heptulla

The Minister of Minority Affairs

Shri Ramvilas Paswan

The Minister of Consumer Affairs,
Food and Public Distribution

Shri Kalraj Mishra

The Minister of Micro, Small and
Medium Enterprises

Shrimati Maneka Sanjay Gandhi The Minister of Women and Child Development

Shri Ananthkumar The Minister of Chemicals and Fertilizers

Shri Ravi Shankar Prasad The Minister of Communications and Information Technology

Shri Jagat Prakash Nadda The Minister of Health and Family Welfare

Shri Ashok Gajapathi Raju The Minister of Civil Aviation

Shri Anant Gangaram Geete The Minister of Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises

Shrimati Harsimrat Kaur Badal	The Minister of Food Processing Industries
Shri Narendra Singh Tomar	The Minister of Mines and Minister of Steel
Shri Chaudhary Birender Singh	The Minister of Rural Development, Minister of Panchayati Raj and Minister of Drinking Water and Sanitation
Shri Jual Oram	The Minister of Tribal Affairs
Shri Radha Mohan Singh	The Minister of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare

Shri Thaawar Chand Gehlot The Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment

Shrimati Smriti Zubin Irani The Minister of Human Resource Development

Dr. Harsh Vardhan The Minister of Science and Technology and Minister of Earth Sciences

MINISTERS OF STATE (INDEPENDENT CHARGE)

Gen. (Retd.) Vijay Kumar Singh The Minister of State of the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs and Minister of State in the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs

Rao Inderjit Singh The Minister of State of the Ministry of Planning and Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence

Shri Santosh Kumar Gangwar The Minister of State of the Ministry of Textiles

Shri Bandaru Dattatreya The Minister of State of the Ministry of Labour and Employment

Shri Rajiv Pratap Rudy The Minister of State of the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship and Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs

Shri Shripad Yesso The Minister of State of the Ministry of Naik Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy (AYUSH) and Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

Shri Dharmendra The Minister of State of the Ministry of Pradhan Petroleum and Natural Gas

Shri Sarbananda The Minister of State of the Ministry of Sonowal Youth Affairs and Sports

Shri Prakash Javadekar The Minister of State of the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change

Shri Piyush Goyal The Minister of State of the Ministry of Power, Minister of State of the Ministry of Coal and Minister of State of the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy

Dr. Jitendra Singh The Minister of State of the Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Minister of State in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Minister of State in the Department of Atomic Energy and Minister of State in the Department of Space

MINISTERS OF STATE

Shri Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi The Minister of State in the Ministry of Minority Affairs and Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs

Shri Ram Kripal Yadav The Minister of State in the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation

Shri Haribhai Chaudhary The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs

Prof. Sanwar Lal Jat The Minister of State in the Ministry of Water Resources, River Development and Ganga Rejuvenation

Shri Mohanbhai
Kalyanjibhai
Kundariya

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Agriculture and Farmers Welfare

Shri Giriraj Singh

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

Shri Hansraj
Gangaram Ahir

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Chemicals and Fertilizers

Shri G. M.
Siddeshwara

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Heavy Industries and Public
Enterprises

Shri Manoj Sinha

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Railways

Shri Nihal Chand The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Panchayati Raj

Shri Upendra The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Kushwaha Human Resource Development

Shri Pon The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Radhakrishnan Road Transport and Highways and
Minister of State in the Ministry of
Shipping

Shri Kiren Rijiju The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Home Affairs

Shri Krishanpal Gurjar

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

Dr. Sanjeev Balyan

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare

Shri Mansukhbhai
Dhanjibhai Vasava

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Tribal Affairs

Shri Vishnu Dev Sai

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Mines and Minister of State in the Ministry of Steel

Shri Sudarshan Bhagat

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Rural Development

Dr. Ramshankar Katheria The Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development

Shri Y. S. Chowdary The Minister of State in the Ministry of Science and Technology and Minister of State in the Ministry of Earth Sciences

Shri Jayant Sinha The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance

Col. Rajyavardhan Rathore The Minister of State in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

Shri Babul Supriyo The Minister of State in the Ministry of Urban Development and Minister of State in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation

Sadhvi Niranjana Jyoti

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Food Processing Industries

Shri Vijay Sampla

The Minister of State in the Ministry of
Social Justice and Empowerment

LOK SABHA DEBATE

Vol. XIII First day of Sixth Session of Sixteenth Lok Sabha No.1

LOK SABHA

Thursday, November 26, 2015/Agrahayana 05, 1937 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[HON. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

NATIONAL ANTHEM

(The National Anthem was played.)

11. 04 hours

MEMBER SWORN

HON SPEAKER: Now, the Secretary-General to call the name of the new Member for taking oath/affirmation.

SECRETARY GENERAL: Shri Dayakar Pasunoori

SHRI DAYAKAR PASUNOORI (WARANGAL) - Oath -Telugu

11. 05 hours**OBITUARY REFERENCES**

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, I have to inform the House about the sad demise of thirteen former Members Shri Roshan Lal, Shri K. Parasuraman, Shri Radhey Shyam Kori, Shri A. Venkatesh Naik, Shri Raghuvir Singh Kaushal, Shri Vishwanath Das Shastri, Shri Mitrasen Yadav, Shri Balkrishna Wasnik, Shri Sadhan Gupta, Shri Rudra Pratap Singh, Shri B. D. Singh, Shri Parasram Bhardwaj and Dr. Parshuram Gangwar.

Shri Roshan Lal was a Member of the 10th Lok Sabha representing Khurja parliamentary constituency of Uttar Pradesh. He was a Member of the Committee on External Affairs and the Joint Committee on Offices of Profit.

Shri Roshan Lal passed away on 24 May, 2015 in Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh at the age of 85.

Shri K. Parasuraman was a Member of the 11th Lok Sabha representing the Chengalpattu Parliamentary Constituency of Tamil Nadu. He was a Member of the Committee on Railways. Shri K.

Parasuraman worked for the upliftment of the downtrodden and promotion of education amongst the weaker sections of the society.

Shri K. Parasuraman passed away on 6th August, 2015 in Chennai at the age of 80.

Shri Radhey Shyam Kori was a Member of the 14th Lok Sabha representing the Ghatampur Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh. Shri Kori was a Member of the Committee on Commerce. Earlier, Shri Kori was a Member of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly for two terms. He also served as Minister of State in the Government of Uttar Pradesh from 1997 to 2002.

Shri Radhey Shyam Kori passed away on 12 August, 2015 in Kanpur at the age of 76.

Shri A. Venkatesh Naik was a Member of the 10th, 12th, 13th and 14th Lok Sabha representing the Raichur Parliamentary Constituency of Karnataka.

Shri Naik was a sitting Member of the Karnataka Legislative Assembly at the time of his death. An able parliamentarian, Shri Naik was a Member of the Committee on Home Affairs; Committee on Defence; Committee on Science and Technology, Environment and Forests and Committee on Government Assurances.

Shri A. Venkatesh Naik passed away on 24 August, 2015 in Penukonda, Andhra Pradesh in a train accident at the age of 79.

Shri Raghuvir Singh Kaushal was a Member of the 13th and 14th Lok Sabhas representing the Kota Parliamentary Constituency of Rajasthan.

An able parliamentarian, Shri Kaushal served as a Member of various parliamentary committees. Earlier, Shri Kaushal was a Member of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly for four terms. He also served as Cabinet Minister in the Government of Rajasthan from 1993 to 1998.

Shri Raghuvir Singh Kaushal passed away on 24 August, 2015 in Kota at the age of 82.

Shri Vishwanath Das Shastri was a Member of the 10th Lok Sabha representing the Sultanpur Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh. Shri Shastri was a Member of the Committee on Transport and Tourism.

Shri Vishwanath Das Shastri passed away on 24th August, 2015 in Delhi at the age of 65.

Shri Mitrasen Yadav was a Member of the 9th, 12th and 14th Lok Sabhas representing the Faizabad Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh.

He was a Member of the Committee on Agriculture; Committee on Rural Development; and Committee on Science & Technology, Environment & Forests. Shri Yadav served as a Member of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly for five terms. An agriculturist by profession, Shri Yadav actively participated in land reform movements and established various educational institutions in Uttar Pradesh.

Shri Mitrasen Yadav passed away on 7 September, 2015 in Lucknow at the age of 81.

Shri Balkrishna Wasnik was a Member of the 2nd, 3rd and 7th Lok Sabhas representing the Bhandara Parliamentary Constituency of the erstwhile State of Bombay and the Gondia and Buldhana Parliamentary Constituency of Maharashtra, respectively.

Shri Wasnik served as a Member of various parliamentary committees during his term in Lok Sabha. He worked for the welfare of the downtrodden and backward sections of the society through active association in several trade unions, educational institutions and social organisations.

Shri Balkrishna Wasnik passed away on 10th September, 2015 in Nagpur at the age of 86.

Shri Sadhan Gupta was a Member of the 1st and 2nd Lok Sabhas representing the erstwhile Calcutta South-East and Calcutta East Parliamentary Constituencies of West Bengal, respectively.

Shri Gupta was our country's first visually-challenged Parliamentarian and also the first differently abled Advocate General of West Bengal. He was the founder-president of the National Federation of the Blind and was also the first president of the Indian chapter of the Disabled Peoples' International.

Shri Gupta also served as a Member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Shri Sadhan Gupta passed away on 19 September, 2015 in Kolkata, West Bengal at the age of 98.

Shri Rudra Pratap Singh was a Member of the 5th Lok Sabha representing the Barabanki Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh.

Shri Singh was a Member of Rajya Sabha from 1980 to 1992 for two terms. He also served as a Member of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly and Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council. Shri

Rudra Pratap Singh passed away on 8 October, 2015 in Lucknow at the age of 79.

Shri B. D. Singh was a Member of the 7th Lok Sabha representing the Phulpur Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh.

He was a Member of the Committee on Absence of Members from the sittings of the House.

Shri B. D. Singh passed away on 14 October, 2015 in Allahabad at the age of 78.

Shri Parasram Bhardwaj was a Member from 7th Lok Sabha to 12th Lok Sabha representing the Sarangarh Parliamentary Constituency of Madhya Pradesh.

During his long and illustrious parliamentary career, Shri Bhardwaj served as the Chairman of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and as a Member of various Parliamentary Committees during the 10th Lok Sabha.

Shri Bhardwaj worked for the upliftment of the backward and marginalised sections of the society.

Shri Parasram Bhardwaj passed away on 19 October, 2015 in Janjgir, Chhattisgarh at the age of 67.

Dr. Parshuram Gangwar was a Member of the 10th Lok Sabha representing the Pilibhit Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh.

Dr. Gangwar was a Member of the Committee on Estimates; Committee on Agriculture and Committee on Papers Laid on the Table.

Dr. Gangwar passed away on 29 October, 2015 in Pilibhit, Uttar Pradesh at the age of 78.

We deeply mourn the loss of our former colleagues and I am sure the House would join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved families.

Hon'ble Members, as you are all aware, today is the seventh anniversary of the violent terror attack in Mumbai. The House pays its tribute to the innocents who lost their lives or were grievously injured on 26th November, 2008.

It was on this day, in November, 2009 that the House had resolved to unite and come together to fight against terrorism.

Today, we reaffirm our pledge and strengthen our commitment to work together to root out the forces of terrorism from our country and the world. The House recalls the exemplary courage and acts of gallantry and selfless service exhibited by our valiant security forces

while fending off the terror attacks. The House stands in abiding solidarity with the families and relatives of the victims of this attack.

11. 12 hours

The Members then stood in silence for short while.

11. 15 hours**ADDRESS BY THE SPEAKER****Commitment to India's Constitution as part of 125th Birth
Anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar**

HON. SPEAKER: I deem it a great privilege and honour to welcome you all to this historic occasion in this special sitting of this august House to commemorate the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. On this day on 26th November, 1949, 66 years before, the Constituent Assembly had adopted the Constitution of India and now this day is being celebrated as the Constitution Day. Let us at the outset, pay our homage to the revered memory of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and the principal architects of the constitution and also to the memory of all the sagacious minds who were the distinguished Members of the Constituent Assembly who with their political acumen and wisdom laid the foundation of the vibrant democracy in our country. It is most befitting that we should have a two days special sitting of the House during the Sixth Session of the Sixteenth Lok Sabha to discuss our 'commitment to India's Constitution'.

Our Constitution is our supreme national document which reflects the values, ideals and our thoughts which are embedded in our national conscience. This is also manifestation of age old ethos and ideology of Indian society together with it is main protector of the Constitutional ideals, values and rights of the citizens. Recognising the centrality of the Constitution in our democratic polity, let us, today bow our heads in reverence to the founding fathers of the republic who bequeathed to us this monumental document.

The first Law Minister of Independent India, Dr. Ambedkar was also the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution which comprised eminent luminaries like Shri K.M. Munshi, Shri Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayengar, Shri Madhav Rao, Md. Saadullah , Shri B.L. Mittar, Shri D.P. Khaitan and Shri T.T. Krishnamachari I would like to make a special mention of Shri B.N. Rao who had presented that draft of the Constitution on which the Drafting Committee of the Constitution worked under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar. Combining tremendous foresight and erudite scholarship, they elaborated the philosophy and wisdom behind various provisions of the draft Constitution.

The ideals and principles as enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution set out the fundamental nature of our Constitution. The Preamble begins with the words 'We, the people of India' which places the people at the centre of our democratic setup. The Preamble declares that we have given to ourselves this Constitution to constitute India into a sovereign, socialist, secular democratic republic and set out the basic principles of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity to be granted to every citizen in their dealings with the State and with each other.

During the last 65 years, our Constitution has risen to the time and occasion. The ideals and values set out by our Constitution are the soul of our vibrant democracy. Our Constitution has established the rule of law and has steered the direction for achieving social, economic and political objectives. The ideals and values of the Constitution has strengthened the social fabric of our democracy giving stability to its political democracy. I hope and believe that we can strengthen the basic concept of unity in diversity in our political set up by adhering to the enlightened values set out by our founding fathers.

The constitutional jurists have identified various features of the Constitution as basic or fundamental to it. The most important of these

include the parliamentary system of government, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles, secularism, the protection of minority rights, federalism, republicanism, the people as masters of their destiny, independence of Judiciary and the power of judicial review. The basic structure doctrine has evolved over the years and several features have been progressively incorporated that cannot be tampered with by any organ of the state. In that sense, our constitution is partly adaptable to the changing times and partly immutable especially in its basic nature.

In adopting our Constitution, our founding fathers have chosen parliamentary democracy as the system of governance for the nascent Republic as in the parliamentary democracy, the assessment and evaluation of the Executive is carried out on daily and periodical basis. On one hand, the daily assessment is carried out by Hon. Members through different parliamentary instruments like Parliamentary Questions, Resolutions, No Confidence Motions, Adjournment Motions and debate on the other periodical assessment is carried out by voters during elections. The Draft Constitution while recommending the parliamentary system of governance has given priority to more duties over more stability.

India is, indeed, recognised globally as the largest democracy in the world as the centrality of the people in our democracy has been attested to by casting their votes with their discretion and wisdom in sixteen General Elections and have also changed the governments eight times ensuring smooth transition of power. Undoubtedly, our people have successfully worked a democratic constitution and shown our commitment to a democratic polity and democratic way of life. Here, I would like to quote our first President and chairman of Constituent Assembly Dr. Rajendra Prasad who had expressed his unflinching faith in the democratic maturity of the people, I quote:.

[English] “Some people have doubted the wisdom of adult franchise. Personally, although I look upon it as an experiment the result of which no one will be able to forecast today, in my opinion, our people possess intelligence and common-sense. They also have a culture which the sophisticated people of today may not appreciate, but which is solid. They are not literate and do not possess the mechanical skill of reading and writing. But, I have no doubt in my mind that they are able to take measure of their own interest and also of the interest of the country at large if things are explained to them. ”

[Translation] Our Constitution, while focusing on Fundamental Rights, has guaranteed equal rights to all citizens. It grants each person the freedom of faith, religion and worship. Top of all, it provides direct access to the highest court of the land to enforce any of the Fundamental Rights whenever and wherever they are infringed or suppressed.

We have a liberal polity which ensures the trinity of 'Liberty, Equality and Justice' as central to the scheme of governance in our democracy. Common good is as important as individual rights and freedom.

India has successfully assimilated the unity in diversity in its institutional democracy. The impact of the civil society and citizens' network is part of the process of our policy formation. The criticism and dissent are a part of our democracy especially through media and intellectual discourses. It is pertinent to mention the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the debate of the Constituent Assembly in this context:

[English] “We have prepared a democratic Constitution. But successful working of democratic institutions requires in those who have to work them, willingness to respect the view points of

others, capacity for compromise and accommodation. Many things which cannot be written in a Constitution are done by conventions. Let me hope that we shall show those capacities and develop those conventions. ”

[Translation] The Directive Principles of the State policy in our Constitution seek to secure and protect a just social order. Social justice and inclusive development are central to our development programme. There are various provisions in our Constitution to strive to achieve them in an atmosphere of social harmony.

In our Parliamentary democracy, it is endeavoured to ensure peaceful coexistence and progress of all communities irrespective of caste, creed, religion and language. People of all faiths, sects and ideology live in our country. These are our social ethos, culture to have respect for each others views and promote goodwill for all religions.

Over the years, democratization at all levels and across different sections of the society has deepened our democratic experience. The heightened political activism has brought into focus the interests and the aspirations of the hitherto marginalized sections. The dramatic increase in the number of political parties representing a diverse range of interests has also accentuated the federal character of our polity

enabling us to maintain unity in diversity. The alliance governments completing their terms are indicative of our political maturity. In the presence of political parties in large number, the representation of as many as 35 parties together with independent leaders is a testimony to our political pluralism and strength of our democracy.

Our Constitution provides for strong institutions as the fundamental pillars of our democracy. Most importantly, the three organs of the state - the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary - while being separate institutions, are the creation of the Constitution and draw their authority from it. The Constitution visualizes all the three organs of the State to work as coordinate partners in ensuring good governance. It does this by providing exhaustive provisions to give more certainty and stability into the system so as to prevent them from becoming competing centres of powers. It does not contemplate any assumption of the roles and functions of one organ by the other and respect each others jurisdiction. They will continue to do so in future as well which is what is expected from them.

I am glad to say that the flexibility in our Constitution has enabled our Parliament to initiate and enact various amendments to the Constitution having far reaching significance. It has made possible for us to institute affirmative action measures for the socially and

economically backward segments of the society together with provision for equal justice for poor and marginalised sections and free legal aid. It has also enabled us to have right to education as fundamental right in our Constitution.

Today, we have an independent and active judiciary, an independent and active judiciary, a robust system of political parties, a vibrant and vigilant media and a thriving civil society. Our democracy has an array of institutions such as an effective Election Commission, an autonomous Union Public Service Commission, a proactive watchdog of public accounts in the Comptroller and Auditor General, an independent National Human Rights Commission, to name but a few. The institutional efficacy of these democratic institutions is beyond doubt.

Today, India's institutions of democratic governance are hailed across the world, especially in the developing world, as a model political system. The values enunciated by a country find its roots in the constitution and the world looks up to India with admiration due to its thriving democracy, excellent constitution and constitutional systems. First and last, we are Indians and constitution further strengthens the concept of Indianness. The beauty of our constitution lies in its being free from any discrimination.

I remember the statement said by Dr. Ambedkar regarding the Constitution. He said:

[English]"I feel that it is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time. Indeed, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new Constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad Constitution. What we will have to say is that man was vile."

[Translation] These are ample provisions in our constitution to safeguard against despotism of any person. History tell us that such efforts have always been rejected by the people.

However, in spite of all the achievements, it is no time for us to rest on our laurels. There are innumerable developmental challenges before us. It is time to work even harder to achieve our objectives in some of the important areas of concern like education and literacy, health and nutrition, infrastructural development, farmers' welfare and women's security. I also strongly feel that inadequate representation of women in our legislative bodies is still an issue of services concern which we have to tackle urgently. The Constitution of our country is such a tool to our social, economic and political development whose

judicious application will ensure the pace and direction of our country's development. In this context, I remember a statement of Dr. Rajendra Prasad ji.

[English] “Whatever the Constitution may or may not provide, the welfare of the country will depend upon the way in which the country is administered. That will depend upon the men who administer it. If the people who are elected are capable and men of character and integrity, they would be able to make the best even of a defective Constitution. If they are lacking in these, the Constitution cannot help the country. ”

He further says.

“We have communal differences, caste differences, language differences, provincial differences and so forth. It requires men of strong character, men of vision, men who will not sacrifice the interests of the country at large for the sake of smaller groups and areas and who will rise over the prejudices which are born of these differences. We can only

hope that the country will throw up such men in abundance.
”

[Translation] He had expressed this hope at that time.

[English] "I have no doubt that when the country needs men of character, they will be coming up and the masses will throw them up. In India today, I feel that the work that confronts us is even more difficult than the work which we had when we were engaged in the struggle. We did not have then any conflicting claims to reconcile, no loaves and fishes to distribute, no powers to share. We have all these now, and the temptations are really great. Would to God that we shall have the wisdom and the strength to rise above them, and to serve the country which we have succeeded in liberating. ”

[Translation] If we pay heed to the teachings of our constitution-builders and carrying it on the path of welfare, they all have urged us to remain steadfastly active on the path of national welfare its strengthening its foundation as a stronger nation. Here, I quote some lines from Robert Frost's poem, which was the inspiration for the work

of our former Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and it is said that it was written like a poem on his bedside -

[English] "The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep. ”

[Translation] Nehruji was of the opinion that we have to go a long way in building a strong nation and carry it on the path of development and we have to work incessantly for achieving this objective. Similarly Babasaheb Ambedkar was of this firm belief that a vibrant and stable democracy can be found only on the basis of social harmony. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had conceived notion building on the basis of purity of character and integrity. We should march forward in union and evolve in our hearts for building a stronger India while carrying a feeling of patriotism in our bosom to face the global situation staring us. Here, these lines of Hon. Atal ji are very relevant, echoing the feeling of taking everyone along: -

“Baadhaen aatee hain aeen, ghiren pralay kee ghor ghataen,
Paanvon ke neeche angaare, sir par barase yadi jvaalaen,

Nij haathon mein hansate-hansate, aag lagaakar jalana hoga,
Qadam milaakar chalana hoga, qadam milaakar chalana hoga.”

["Let obstacles come as they may, let clouds of doom gather in
their fury;

Even if embers scorch beneath our feet, even if flames rain upon
our heads

With a smile, we shall set the fire ourselves and embrace the blaze.

We must march ahead, step by step, together.”]

In the conclusion, I would like to say that consensus building is very crucial element in democratic governance. It requires elected representatives of the people to engage with each other and work together to address the issues and find solutions to all problems faced by the common man. Among the many verses mentioned in the Parliament House, one verse which is about consensus, has to be kept in mind:-

Samano mantrah samitih samani samanam manah
sahachittameshaam.

Samanam mantramabhi mantraye vah samanem vo havisha
juhomi..

Hamaara sankalp ek ho,

Ham nirnay sarvasammati se len,

Hamaaree aashaon-aakaankshaon mein samaanata ho,

Hamaaree chetana sadbhaav se bharee ho,

Hamaaree praarthana sabake kalyaan ke lie ho,

aur hamaaree aahuti bhee sabake kalyaan ke lie ho.

[Let our resolve be one,
Let us take decisions unanimously,
There should be equality in our hopes and aspirations,
May our consciousness be filled with harmony,
Our prayers should be for everyone's welfare,
And our sacrifice should also be for the welfare of all.]

Thank you.

11. 38 hours**DISCUSSION ON THE COMMITMENT TO INDIA'S
CONSTITUTION AS PART OF 125TH BIRTH
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR**

HON. SPEAKER: Now Shri Rajnath Singh.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJNATH SINGH): Madam Speaker, first of all I would like to thank you for allowing me to speak on the Commitment to India's Constitution as part of 125th birth anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Madam, your opening remark at the beginning of the discussion on this topic today, I believe that your opening remark was really perfect, for which I would like to congratulate you on my behalf.

Madam Speaker, today is the 26th of November, and the 26th of November is observed as Constitution Day. We have decided to hold a discussion in this temple on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, a pivotal figure in Indian democracy. The Drafting Committee, under the Chairmanship

of Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, along with the Constituent Assembly of India, after deep deliberations, had presented the draft of the Constitution, which ultimately became the Constitution of India. Today, through this discussion, we reaffirm our commitment to the Constitution. I firmly believe that Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar was the founding Member of the Indian Constitution. There is no difference of opinion on that. But, Madam Speaker, the Constitution that we have today and which we have adopted is not the result of the effort of one man alone. It carries within it the contribution of many great men. I would like to say that the role played by the Constituent Assembly under the Chairmanship of Dr Rajendra Prasad deserves the highest appreciation, and no amount of praise would be sufficient. Therefore, today, I would like to place on record my heartfelt reverence and respect for all those who played a significant role in the making of our Constitution. Moreover, in the capacity of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar played an especially pivotal role. It is in this spirit that we celebrate his 125th birth anniversary. I believe that on this occasion, as we celebrate his 125th anniversary and deliberate upon the extent of our commitment to the Constitution of India, and how it must remain in the future, this discussion itself becomes the greatest tribute to Babasaheb Ambedkar.

For it is indeed the greatest achievement of this commemoration that today, in this temple of democracy, the Parliament of India, we are collectively reaffirming our commitment to the Constitution of India.

Madam Speaker, on the 15th of August, 1947, our nation got independence. We are all well aware of the fact that at the time of Independence, our country was fragmented into hundreds of princely states. It is said there were 565 princely states into which our land was divided. At that time, there was great scepticism both within the country and abroad. People wondered: yes, India has gained independence, but divided into so many principalities, inhabited by people of so many castes, creeds, communities and religions, will India remain united? Will India be able to stay together as one? Yet, if there was one towering personality who played the most crucial role in integrating all these princely states into the Union of India, it was none other than Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He achieved extraordinary success in merging these princely states into the Indian Union. At that time, many commentators spoke of fault-lines. They would say that even after integration, so many fault lines remained visible that if a political or social earthquake were to strike, the country would collapse. Such doubts were voiced repeatedly. But none of those fears came true, and it was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who gave us the vision

of a united India. However, Madam Speaker, once this united form of India was achieved, there was a need for a binding substance, a binding material, that would hold India firmly together. I submit that if there is any sacred text which has played the most powerful and effective role as this binding force—keeping India whole, keeping India united, keeping India strong—it is our Constitution. The Constitution of India has performed this role with immense significance. Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. We all know how much neglect, humiliation, and scorn he had to endure throughout his life. His heart must surely have been wounded many times. Yet, despite such pain, he exercised remarkable restraint and, setting aside personal grievances, presented before us an objective and visionary framework for India's future. That was the greatness of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. He never said that because he was subjected to indignities and discrimination in India, he would forsake this land. He was a man of immense capability, well-educated, and having attained higher learning even from abroad. But he declared with conviction that he would live and work only for India. He resolved to draw from India's traditions, its culture, and its many diverse streams of thought to dedicate himself to building a strong and united nation. That was his solemn pledge.

He never entertained the idea that, because of neglect and insult he should abandon India and settle elsewhere in the world. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar never thought so.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please, what is the objection in this?

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: There is nothing objectionable in this.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Salim Sahib, please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar accomplished a task of immense difficulty. Nearly 7,435 amendments were received during the drafting process, of which over 5,100 had to be set aside. Ultimately, he succeeded in incorporating around 2,431 amendments, and as a result, we now have before us the framework of the Indian Constitution. I would like to submit that if Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel may rightly be described as a unifying force for our nation, then it would be no exaggeration to say that Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar must be regarded as the binding force of this country. He gave us a Constitution that has held India together in spirit and in practice. Today, as I rise in this august House to participate in

the discussion on our commitment to the Constitution, I would like to recall another great personality. I also do so because we have recently observed his 125th birth anniversary. I refer to the first Prime Minister of our nation, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There is no doubt that in his tenure as Prime Minister, he made a significant contribution towards laying the foundation of democracy in India. Since his 125th birth anniversary concluded only a few days ago, on the 14th of November, I take this opportunity to express my respect and reverence for him as well. It cannot be denied that in strengthening Indian democracy, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's role was indeed substantial.

Madam Speaker, concerning Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, I would like to state that many people, even in common discourse, attempt to present him merely as a Dalit leader. But I firmly believe that Babasaheb Ambedkar cannot and should not be seen through such a narrow lens. The role he played in preserving the unity of India was far greater. I would go so far as to say that Babasaheb Ambedkar was truly a Rashtra Rishi, a sage of the nation, and I would like to describe him in that light.... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH (MAVELIKKARA): How can he say that? ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL (ALAPPUZHA): How is it related to leaving the country? ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HARINDER SINGH KHALSA (FATEHGARH SAHIB): This is totally unnecessary. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH: If anybody wants to leave the country, they should think about it seriously. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL: Thanks for mentioning. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: All these are national leaders.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam, Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar laid the very foundation for establishing several important institutions in this country. I would like to remind you, and through you, this august House, that Dr Ambedkar worked tirelessly for labour welfare as well as for the development of agriculture and irrigation facilities. We are all well aware of his immense contributions in these areas. He consistently expressed his views on what measures should be undertaken for the welfare of labourers, what kinds of laws would be required, and how their rights could be safeguarded. Babasaheb

Ambedkar played a pivotal role in shaping the concept of labour rights and labour welfare in India. For instance, in formulating policies related to social security, he was instrumental. He spoke about the necessity of minimum wages for workers, he put forth his ideas on the institution of provident funds, and he stressed the importance of continuous dialogue between labour and employers. I firmly believe that Dr. Ambedkar repeatedly emphasised the need for strong legal provisions to ensure labour rights and welfare. We are also well aware of the fact that several landmark projects in India were indeed the brainchild of Babasaheb Ambedkar. I would like to place on record that the plan for establishing the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission was conceived by him. The Damodar Valley Project, the Hirakud Project, the Son River Valley Project and many other irrigation initiatives were all the outcome of the visionary mind of Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar.

Madam, we regard Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar as the architect who provided a constitutional framework for India. However, I firmly believe that alongside this constitutional framework, he also laid the foundations for an economic framework for our nation. This fact cannot be denied by anyone. At the time of the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India, the recommendations of Dr Ambedkar to the

Hilton Young Commission were taken as the basis. Not only this, Babasaheb Ambedkar was also the architect behind the creation of the Finance Commission of India. How he was the architect, I would like to explain. During his research at Columbia University, he wrote a thesis in 1924 titled The National Dividend of India. In that thesis, he presented the very concept of a Finance Commission, and it was on the basis of this concept that the Finance Commission of India was later established. Babasaheb Ambedkar held the firm conviction that untouchability was a curse upon this country and that it must be eradicated. He believed that everyone should be accorded equal status. It was precisely to ensure this equality that Babasaheb Ambedkar introduced the system of reservations. According to him, reservations were not a political expediency but a socio-political necessity. If we were to truly bring all sections of society onto an equal footing, then reservations were indispensable. But, before this, untouchability had to be abolished from our country. This was his insistence, and he raised his voice fearlessly against it. At times, I observe with concern that the monumental contributions of Babasaheb Ambedkar are reduced to political issues. Take, for instance, the matter of reservations. I firmly believe there is no scope for any debate on this. As I have already stated, it was a socio-political necessity. It was not

an electoral issue, nor merely a political one. It was, and remains, a constitutional arrangement.

Madam, the reservation system crafted by Babasaheb Ambedkar was the result of deep thought and careful deliberation. I hold that it should not be diluted under any circumstances. This is our clear and firm conviction. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar also envisioned an ideal society. In one of his writings, in an article, he mentioned that...

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[English]

“My ideal would be a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity.”

[Translation]

He had clearly stated that this was our ideal. When the Constitution of India was being drafted, he drew inspiration from the French Revolution and adopted the three words such as Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These words left such a deep impression on the political and social philosophy of Dr Ambedkar that he ensured their inclusion in the Preamble of the Constitution of India. The Preamble has rightly been regarded as the very soul of the Constitution. Even today, we

continue to regard it as such. It embodies the fundamental values and the philosophy of life upon which our constitutional framework rests.

Madam Speaker, our Constitution-makers had originally conceived that the Preamble is indeed the soul of the Constitution, and therefore, it should never undergo any alteration. This was their conviction and their vision. Yet, notwithstanding this belief, I must say and I hope no one takes offence at this remark that the 42nd Amendment brought about a change in the Preamble. I understand that the two words socialist and secular have been inserted....

(Interruptions) Please, let me complete my point first....

(Interruptions) Socialist and secular, these two words were inserted in the Preamble of the Constitution of India. I'm not saying I don't believe in him. What has happened, has happened. ... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: It will not be like this. You speak in your own time. [English] This is not the way. [Translation] You discuss till night.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: That is why, I would like to remind that our commitment towards the Constitution of India should remain the same. This commitment should never be missed, so I would like to discuss it. ... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: He is not yielding. Ahmed ji, please sit down. He is not sitting down. This should not turn into a question–answer session. If he takes his seat, then you may proceed.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Are you yielding?

[Translation] Okay, Kharge ji, you speak.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE (GULBARGA): Hon. Minister is delivering a very lengthy speech, but I must say the finest speech has been that of the Hon. Speaker, as he has covered all the points. However, regarding these words, Socialist and Secular, which were added through the 42nd Amendment, he seems to have some objection. But I would like to point out that Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar himself wanted to include the words Socialist and Secular; it was only due to the prevailing environment of that time that it could not be incorporated. ... (*Interruptions*) Please listen. Just as Babasaheb Ambedkar had wished to introduce the Hindu Code Bill, but at that time, there was opposition to it. Shall I name who opposed it? Therefore, you should refrain from such commentary. We are here celebrating the 125th Birth Anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar. Let

us speak positively so that such controversial issues do not arise. Did Dr Babasaheb ever wish to leave this country? He was a son of this soil, a true Indian. ...* We, too, are the original inhabitants of this land; we are not those who would run away, but those who will save this country, who will defend this nation. For 5,000 years we have endured hardships and yet we stand here firmly. ... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Please Kharge ji, now this is over.

... (*Interruptions*)

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: I would like to request all of you that we have the whole day to speak on this subject. Kindly make your interventions at your own allotted time. This is not proper because we are deliberating upon a very serious matter; it is not meant to be a debate or an exchange of arguments. Therefore, everyone will get an opportunity to express their views. Please put forth your points at the appropriate time. I am saying this for all the Members, not just for you.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: This is not the way.

12. 00 hours

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: This is not right.

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, I believe that the Leader of the Congress Party has reacted without listening to my full statement. What I had said was this: as far as I know, and you would also be aware that the founding Members of the Constitution intended that the Preamble, which is the very soul of the Indian Constitution, should never be altered. That was their thinking, and yet, despite this,

changes were made through the 42nd Amendment. I firmly believe that if it had truly been necessary to insert the words Socialist and Secular, then certainly Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar would have included those very words in the Preamble of the Constitution at that time itself. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please, don't argue, you may speak when your time comes. No, I am not allowing this.

... (*Interruptions*) ... *

[English]

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing, except the speech of Shri Rajnath Singh, will go on record.

... (*Interruptions*) ...*

[Translation]

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar perhaps did not use the words Socialism and Secularism for the very reason that he believed these were already inherent in the basic nature, in the very soul of India. He felt there was no need to make a separate mention of them in the Preamble. I would like to recall here the very soul of our Constitution, which we call the

* Not recorded.

Preamble. Its very first word is Sovereign. Sovereign means the ability to preserve our independent existence. With pride, we can say that India is the only nation in the world which, despite withstanding storms and upheavals since time immemorial, continues to exist in its original form. And perhaps it was this reality that Allama Iqbal had captured when he wrote:

‘Yoonaan, Misr, Romaan, sab mit gaye jahaan se,
kuchh baat hai ki hastee, mitatee nahin hamaaree.’

[‘Empires of Greece and Egypt and Rome are gone away,
Yet something in our being shall never decay.’]

Madam Speaker, perhaps keeping this very thought in mind, Dr. Ambedkar did not make mention of certain things at that time, which were later incorporated. Today, we can say with conviction that if there exists any civilization in the world that has been sovereign since antiquity, it is the civilization of India. This is our sovereign civilization, Madam Speaker, and we can proudly affirm it.

The second word used in the Preamble is Democracy. All will agree to this truth that democracy resides in the very nature of Indian society. I submit that if one looks into the ancient history of India, who could be more democratic than Lord Rama Himself? At the mere

questioning by even the humblest in society, He compelled His dearest wife, Sita, to undergo the trial by fire. Such was His regard for the voice of the people. These are the ancient cultural values of India which Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar kept in mind while drafting the Preamble to our Constitution. The next word is Republic that is Gantantra. If we look into our Vedas—though I know that even a reference to the Vedas may invite objections from some quarters here... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Why would there be any objection?... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: There will not be. If there is no objection, then please remain calm. ... (*Interruptions*) Madam Speaker, it is precisely for this reason that Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar used the word Republic in the Preamble. He knew that if the world's most ancient republic, and later in the 12th century, the Anubhava Mantapa established by Saint Basavanna in South India, existed anywhere, it was in India. Nowhere else in the world will one find such ancient republics before this, and hence, he included the word Republic in the Preamble. As far as the meaning of the word Socialist is concerned, I believe the intent behind it is to ensure economic harmony.

To maintain economic harmony in society, we in Indian culture have values such as "tena tyaktena bhunjitha," meaning that whatever we consume or enjoy, it must be with a sense of renunciation and sacrifice. These values, if they exist anywhere, are deeply embedded in Indian culture itself. Babasaheb Ambedkar understood this reality. Perhaps this is why he did not use the word Socialist in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution.

Madam Speaker, it is indeed our tradition that the highest reverence is accorded to those who embody tyaga, the spirit of sacrifice. You are well aware that in this land, it is not material possessions or wealth but sacrifice which commands the greatest respect. If I look at our leaders, I do not wish to dwell upon who was more popular or less popular. Still, it is undeniable that the most revered figure has been Mahatma Gandhi, before independence as well as after independence, because he led a life of sacrifice. It is for this reason that he enjoyed such moral authority.

As far as the word Secular is concerned, I must say that in today's politics, perhaps no word has been more misused than this word. ... (*Interruptions*) Our submission is that this misuse must stop. The official Hindi translation of the Constitution does not render Secular as Dharmnirpeksh (religionless), but as Panthirpeksh, impartial

towards all sects. The truth is that India's own dharma is inherently panthirpeksh. Babasaheb Ambedkar understood this reality as well. That is precisely why, Kharge ji, he did not include the word Secular in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. ... (*Interruptions*) Even at that time, there were numerous forms of worship, diverse faiths, and countless deities venerated across the land. Yet he did not feel the need to insert this word, for the character of India had always been panthirpeksh by its very nature. I have spoken about this in this very House before, and today I would like to reiterate it once again.

Even though the Parsi community may have faced persecution in many countries of the world, it is only in India that they have received the greatest respect. Nowhere else have they been accorded such honour, and this fact is acknowledged by the Parsi community itself.... (*Interruptions*)

I would also like to say something about the Jewish community. After the establishment of Israel, when they recorded their own history, they clearly mentioned that compared to other countries of the world, it was only in India that the Jewish community received the highest respect. ... (*Interruptions*) This has been explicitly noted in the history they themselves wrote after the formation of the State of Israel.

As far as the Muslim community is concerned, there are in total 72 sects. Nowhere else in the world will one find all these 72 sects of Islam existing together. The only country where all 72 sects can be found is India, and nowhere else. ... (*Interruptions*) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar understood this reality, and that is why he did not feel the need to use the word Secular. ... (*Interruptions*) In common parlance, the word Secular is often translated and used as Dharma Nirpeksh, religionless or against religion. But Madam Speaker, I would like to ask even above your Chair, it is inscribed 'Dharmachakra Pravartanaya.' Does this mean that it should also be erased? Through this august House, I would like to humbly submit that the use of the word Dharma Nirpeksh must be stopped. The correct and formal translation of 'Secular' is 'Panth Nirpeksh'. Only this word should be used. ... (*Interruptions*) We must not attempt to mislead the nation or society. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: You speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, I would like to say in the words of Atal ji... (*Interruptions*) I would like to say this in the words of Atal ji, he had said that

“Jag ke thukaraaye logon ko,

Lo mere ghar ka khula dvaar
Main sab kuchh apana loota chukka
Phir akshay hai, hai dhanaagaar."

["To those rejected by the world, I open wide my humble door,
Though I have given all I had, my treasure flows forevermore."]

It means, those who want to come, should come, we are ready to accept everyone, this has been the tradition of India, which he has also mentioned in this poem. ... (*Interruptions*) I would only like to say that the Preamble of the Constitution is not only the soul of the Constitution but it is a permanent reflection of the soul of India, we should also understand this reality. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Rajnath ji, please speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

... (*Interruptions*) ...*

HON. SPEAKER: Only your speech is being recorded, you speak.

* Not recorded.

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: I would like to tell the leaders of the Opposition that whatever I am saying, I am saying with this intent... *(Interruptions)* I believe that the Constitution should be regarded as the Constitution itself, as a sacred text. No word of the Preamble of the Constitution should be subjected to political misuse. It is for this reason that I am placing all these points before this House.... *(Interruptions)* Therefore, I say that whatever may have been done at that time... *(Interruptions)* owing to the political misuse of these words, the social harmony and communal harmony that we wish to establish in this country is being hindered somewhere or the other. That is why I have deliberately mentioned it here.... *(Interruptions)* As you had said, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar had stated this. *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: You will speak in your time. You will also get the same amount of time. Please sit down.

... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: No, I am sorry.

... *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: The Constitution of India is flexible, the Constitution of India is strong, and you have said this in your opening remarks. ... (*Interruptions*) I believe that the Constitution of India is workable and it is very sacred.... (*Interruptions*) Babasaheb believed that the Constitution of India is not written words but it is such an effective tool through which all sections of the society can get justice. This was his thinking. ... (*Interruption*)

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: Madam Speaker... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please sit down. Your leaders will speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: She will speak. This is not the way.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Speak when people speak on your behalf. No one is forbidden to speak. This discussion is going on.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: This is not the way.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Your leaders will also speak. Don't you think?

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, as you mentioned in your opening remarks, I would like to refer to the same here. Particularly for the exploited, the deprived and the oppressed backward classes, the rights that have been provided in the Indian Constitution and the effective manner in which Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar discharged his role, as also our Constitution-makers, deserves boundless appreciation. I am saying this because perhaps if such immense diversities had existed in other countries and an attempt had been made to frame such a Constitution, there might have been a blood revolution. But I can say that the adoption of the Indian Constitution is nothing less than a bloodless revolution. If anyone has had the major contribution in this, it is Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar and all those Members who were part of the Constituent Assembly. Here I would like to refer to Articles 14, 15 and 17 of the Indian

Constitution, which confer equal rights to every Indian and protect them against discrimination. Especially, I would like to highlight Article 17 of the Indian Constitution, which completely abolishes untouchability and confers dignity upon human beings. But how should untouchability be eradicated? What should be the commitment of our Government in this regard?... (*Interruptions*)

Madam Speaker, you too are aware that sweeping used to be considered a very menial and inferior task earlier. The way people engaged in this work were looked down upon, I need not elaborate here. For the first time in the history of independent India, our Government under the leadership of our Prime Minister Shri Narendra Bhai Modi launched the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Madam Speaker, Mahatma Gandhi did it first in this country. ... (*Interruptions*) Gandhiji swept the streets. ... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: I would like to speak here about our commitment towards the Constitution of India.... (*Interruptions*) Whether it was the Prime Minister, whether it was the highest

constitutional authority of this country, the Hon. President, whether it was any Minister or any Governor, all came out on the streets of India carrying a broom. We succeeded in conveying the message that no work is small, every work has its own importance, and that sweeping does not render anyone untouchable.... (*Interruptions*) I firmly believe that the campaign which our Government initiated is an expression of our commitment to the Constitution of India.... (*Interruptions*) I personally also believe, and any sociologist will accept this truth, that the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan is indeed a social movement, a true social movement, which our Government has commenced.... (*Interruptions*)

With the objective of giving every Indian a dignified life, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar made provision for Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of India. You also made a reference to Fundamental Rights in your opening remark. Through Articles 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18, the Constituent Assembly provided the Right to Equality. Through Articles 19, 20, 21 and 22, it provided the Right to Freedom. Articles 23 and 24 gave the Right against Exploitation. Through Articles 25, 26, 27 and 28, the Right to Freedom of Religion was also given. I believe that such a detailed exposition of Fundamental Rights as has been mentioned by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the Constitution of India may perhaps not be found in the Constitution of any other country in

the world. To safeguard our Fundamental Rights, provision for the Right to Constitutional Remedies has been made in Article 32. Madam Speaker, I believe that in the Preamble of our Constitution, if we accept the Preamble to be the soul of India, the soul of the Constitution of India, then I would like to say that these Fundamental Rights are the lungs of our Constitution, they are the very lungs of the Constitution of India. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MOHAMMAD SALIM (RAIGANJ): What about the minorities' rights? ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: If the Preamble is the soul of the Constitution of India, then the Fundamental Rights are its lungs, this is our belief.... (*Interruptions*)

Another great beauty of the Constitution of India is that despite its integrated form, its character is federal. This is the greatest beauty of our Constitution. The federal character of the Constitution of India is unique, and the power of the Centre functions by taking along all the arms of the States, that is, all the States. Such provision has been made in the Constitution of India. Respecting the federal system in the country, the present Union Government has not only maintained this arrangement but has also increased the States' share in revenue, which earlier was 32 percent, to 42 percent.

I believe this too is an expression of our commitment to the Constitution of India. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also believed that social unity is essential for democracy to blossom and flourish in India. In this context, I would like to refer to Articles 29 and 30, which give every Indian citizen, particularly the minorities, and the right to establish institutions of their choice under social and educational rights.... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

... (*Interruptions*) ...*

[Translation]

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: In India, no matter to which caste, sect, religion, or faith one belongs, everyone born from the womb of Bharat Mata is an Indian, and all are brothers to one another. This is the thinking of our Government, and it is on the basis of this thinking that we are working. I make this reference because the makers of our Constitution gave the right to establish social and educational institutions, yet they did not feel the need to repeatedly raise the slogan of secularism. That is why I am mentioning it here...

* Not recorded.

(Interruptions). As far as the education system is concerned, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar believed that education is not merely a means of livelihood, but it is essential for the holistic development of an individual. He laid special emphasis on education, and he held that education must be made available to everyone without exception. Our Government is committed that even if a person is sitting on the last rung of society, if he or she desires education, adequate education should be provided based on his or her merit and capability.

I would also like to refer here to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's concept of women empowerment... *(Interruptions)*. He spoke of women's empowerment, and to provide equality between men and women, he gave them equal legal rights. At the same time, by giving them property rights, that is, the right to adoption and the right in property, he also provided them with social security... *(Interruptions)*. Regarding social security, the vision of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar... *(Interruptions)* was that women must be given social protection. It is in this very spirit that, under the leadership of our Hon. Prime Minister, the Government has taken a significant step related to the Ministry of Home Affairs. I would like to inform you that we have decided that women should be given 33 percent reservation in the paramilitary forces as well as in the police and paramilitary forces. In

this regard, advisories have been sent to all States. This is our commitment... (*Interruptions*). It is also the outcome of our Hon. Prime Minister's commitment towards the Constitution that the 'Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Abhiyan' has been launched by us as a nationwide programme. This too is a manifestation of our commitment towards women empowerment. For this initiative, we have selected 100 districts where the child sex ratio is the lowest... (*Interruptions*). We have identified 100 such districts.

Madam Speaker, the present Union Government, inspired by the vision and philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar, is working in many fields. As I said earlier, untouchability is a great curse for society. Although the abolition of untouchability was declared 65–66 years ago through Article 17 of the Constitution, it has not been completely eradicated. I have already spoken of a programme, namely the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, which we have undertaken as a social movement. But I would like to say that it is the firm resolve of our Government that we shall not rest until untouchability is completely eradicated from this country. Through you, Madam Speaker, I would like to bring this commitment to the attention of the House.

Madam Speaker, the Union Government, inspired by the economic vision of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, has launched several

schemes. I would like to mention some of them here. For whom is the 'Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana'?... (*Interruptions*) Is it for the wealthy?... (*Interruptions*) The truth is that the 'Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana'... (*Interruptions*) is one such important scheme... (*Interruptions*) so that the deprived, the Dalits, the backward, and the poor sections of society... (*Interruptions*) may be integrated into the economic system. It is for this reason that this scheme has been launched.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Mohammad Salim ji, what has happened to you today?

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: You will also get time to speak. Don't do this.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, I would be very happy to tell you today... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: When you get time to speak, then you speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: You are a senior Member. Please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJNATH SINGH: Madam Speaker, I would like to inform the House about the commitment of our Government towards the Constitution of India. Keeping these commitments in view, I would also like to mention how our Government is moving forward step by step and how various programmes are being implemented.

Madam Speaker, I also wish to inform the House that today more than 99.7 Percent of families in the country have opened bank accounts... (*Interruptions*). This is a record in the world... (*Interruptions*). We have also launched several schemes from the perspective of social security... (*Interruptions*). I would like to mention here the Atal Pension Yojana, the Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana and the Jeevan Jyoti Yojana. These schemes have been launched with the objective that the maximum benefit may reach the deprived, Dalits, backwards and neglected sections of society. Not only this, but to address the lack of capital that poor and small entrepreneurs usually face in carrying out their work, the MUDRA Bank has been established, and it is functioning effectively... (*Interruptions*). Here, I also wish to reiterate our commitment towards the poor. At the same time... (*Interruptions*) our Government is working on the basis of the vision of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar... (*Interruptions*). Our Government has launched the Deen Dayal

Gramin Kaushal Yojana, which is working for the skill development of the most deprived people in rural areas... (*Interruptions*). This scheme, working for the skill development of the poorest and most deprived in rural areas, has provisions for 50 Percent coverage for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 15 Percent for minorities, and 33 Percent for women. Such a system has been put in place by our Government... (*Interruptions*)

Ambedkar Ji desired equality for all. He also spoke of taking everyone along together. On the same basis, the establishment of a society grounded in equality, indeed with this very objective, our Hon. Prime Minister is working with full commitment towards "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas". With the vision of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas" we are moving forward... (*Interruptions*). Why are we moving forward with this vision? Because we wish to build such an India in which a child born in the hut of a poor man does not remain dependent on chance and fate. We want to build such an India, and that is why we are advancing with the concept of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas".

In conclusion, I only wish to say that our Government is truly and fully committed to the Constitution of India and remains ever vigilant towards constitutional morality. I believe that constitutional morality must be adhered to by all. It is necessary for all of us, Members of

Parliament, to take this pledge... (*Interruptions*). Whosoever may belong to whichever party, but if one is committed to constitutional morality, then I can say with confidence that no power can ever cast doubt upon the unity and integrity of the nation. This is my firm conviction.

With these words, in the end, I express my respect and reverence for Babasaheb Bhim Rao Ambedkar ji. At the same time, I conclude my submission by expressing my respect and reverence towards all the respected Members of the Constituent Assembly.

[English]

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (KARUR): Madam Speaker, I want a clarification from the hon. Minister. He spoke very well. I just want to know from him one thing. In his speech, the hon. Minister spoke about federalism, minorities and so many other things.

I want to know from the Government whether they will come forward to amend the Constitution in order to give official language status to all other Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Bengali and others.

HON. SPEAKER: It can be your suggestion only.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI: It is not a suggestion; it is our demand.

Madam, all the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu throughout have gone on repeating it and have been requesting the Government to consider our demand to see that all the Indian languages are given the status of official language. The whole country is expecting it.

HON. SPEAKER: In seeking a clarification, how can it go on like this?

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI: Why can you not make all languages of the country as official languages? When you are speaking of federalism, let me say, we all fought for freedom and brought about

this Constitution. So, we should give honour and respect to all other sections also. Why can you not bring Amendment to see that all the Indian languages become official languages of this country?

I am saying so, because if I want to speak in my own language in Parliament, I have to get the permission from the Chair to speak in Tamil. Then, translation system would be arranged at a later time. There is no simultaneous translation coming. Therefore, it is our right to speak in our own language in the Parliament to express our ideas.

That is why I am asking whether the Government will come forward to bring an Amendment to the Constitution to see that the official language status is given to all the Indian languages. This will be the spirit of true federalism, which I am expecting. Thank you...

(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, please. There is no clarification. You may speak when your turn comes.

... *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: There is no clarification. You speak on your own time.

... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Sumedhanand ji, I have received your letter. Something has not come to my attention, something was said regarding Aryans that they came from outside. You have some objections on this. [English]

SHRI SUMEDHANAND SARASWATI (SIKAR): Hon. Madam Speaker, I want to say a few words about this. Hon. Kharge ji commented on the speech of the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs...
(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: I have seen your objection. [English]
[Translation] I will see to it. Please sit down.

... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: There is a comment regarding Aryans, I will look into it.

... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: I will have to check it.

... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Now, Shrimati Soniaji

... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Khargeji, I will have to check it.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, please take your seats.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SONIA GANDHI (RAE BARELI): Madam Speaker, at the outset, on the 125th birth anniversary year of Dr. Ambedkar, we express our deepest respect towards him. Today is indeed a historic day. It was on this very day, 66 years ago, that the Constituent Assembly gave our nation its Constitution. This Constitution is a document that not only upholds democracy and the rule of law, social justice and empowerment, but also strengthens the unity of our country while celebrating its diversity. The making of our Constitution was the outcome of decades of struggle. This struggle was waged under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Inspired by him, crores of people from all sections of society united in the fight for the independence of our nation and ultimately secured freedom.

It took almost three years to draft the Constitution. There was very serious and extensive debate on it. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, presented the draft of the Constitution before the Constituent Assembly. He shed detailed light on the background, the purpose of the main articles and provisions of the Constitution and elaborated comprehensively upon the philosophy enshrined within it.

On the morning of 26th November 1949, when the draft Constitution was formally adopted, the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, while praising Dr. Ambedkar, had said: “There could not have been a better or more appropriate decision than to include him in the Drafting Committee and to appoint him its Chairman. He has not only done justice to his selection but has illuminated it.” While presenting the Draft Constitution, in his concluding speech, Dr. Ambedkar himself said in his own words: “I was greatly surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me as its Chairman. There were others on the Committee who were bigger, better and more competent than I was.” He further went on to say that it was indeed the discipline of the Congress Party which enabled the Drafting Committee to place the Constitution before the Constituent Assembly with definite knowledge of each clause and each amendment. Therefore, the entire credit for the unhindered presentation of the Draft Constitution before the Constituent Assembly belongs to the Congress Party.... (*Interruptions*) This is the history. Do you have any objection to this?... (*Interruptions*) It is often forgotten that it was the Congress Party, recognising the extraordinary talent and ability of Dr. Ambedkar, which brought him into the Constituent Assembly. That too is history.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Except for the speech of Shrimati Sonia ji, nothing else will go on record.

*(Interruptions) **

SHRIMATI SONIA GANDHI: Madam, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar received higher education in political theory and economics in the United States, Britain and Germany, and he was unmatched in his field. When he returned to India, he had a single mission: to struggle for the dignity of the Scheduled Castes and communities afflicted by discrimination, to struggle to give them a voice, and to struggle to ensure political opportunities for them.

Madam, the magnificent Constitution which we all respect, the Constitution that we pledge to uphold when we enter this Parliament, bears the imprint of such brilliant minds and great souls as are rarely born in the world. The history of our Constitution is long and is inevitably bound up with the struggle for Independence, and therefore it is intrinsically connected with the history of the Congress Party. For instance, in March 1931, at the Karachi Session of the All India Congress Committee, Jawaharlal Nehru drafted and had adopted the Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. The

* Not recorded.

influence of this Resolution is clearly visible in our Constitution, particularly in the provisions relating to social justice and equality for women. The Constituent Assembly was guided at every step by four eminent figures whose stature was widely recognised and who enjoyed the respect of all. They were Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Azad. The Constituent Assembly had eight major Committees. Their Chairmen were either Nehru, Sardar Patel or Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Maulana Azad was a key Member of five of these Committees. On 13th December 1946, the “Objectives Resolution” presented in the Constituent Assembly by Jawaharlal Nehru itself later took the form of the Preamble to the Constitution. The Constitution has proved to be extraordinarily flexible. It has undergone more than a hundred amendments, most of them necessitated by changing circumstances and emerging challenges. Yet, it is indisputable that the Constitution has given the weaker sections of our society a sense of participation and dignity. It is indisputable that secular values are enshrined in our Constitution. It is also indisputable that the Constitution has made our democracy more representative and our governance more accountable. But we must not forget Dr. Ambedkar’s warning when he said-

“No matter how good a Constitution may be, if those who are entrusted with its implementation turn out to be bad, it will surely prove to be bad. Conversely, no matter how bad a Constitution may be, if those who are entrusted with its implementation are good, it can also prove to be good.”...

(Interruptions)

The practical working of the Constitution, Madam Speaker, does not depend only on the nature of the Constitution itself. The spirit of the Constitution is as important as its words. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar himself indicated, there can be no substitute for constitutional methods in achieving our social and economic objectives.

Madam Speaker, today is a day of joy, but it is also a day of sorrow. Sorrow because the ideals and principles of the Constitution, which have inspired us for decades, are today under threat; they are under deliberate attack.... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Please sit down. Nothing will go on record.

... *(Interruptions)* *

SHRIMATI SONIA GANDHI: What we have witnessed in the past few months goes completely against the very values that the

* Not recorded.

Constitution guarantees. Those who never had any faith in the Constitution, those who had no role in its making, today chant its name; they want to project themselves as its champions; they are debating about commitment to the Constitution. Madam Speaker, what can be a bigger mockery than this?... (*Interruptions*)

Madam Speaker, in conclusion... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: No one has any exclusive role. We are all Indians. Please sit down... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: We were all born later.

SHRIMATI SONIA GANDHI: In conclusion, on behalf of the Indian National Congress, I bow and pay my respects to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad and all the Members of the Constituent Assembly who have given us this priceless legacy. Thank you.

[English]

DR. P. VENUGOPAL (TIRUVALLUR): Madam Speaker, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to take part in this historic discussion on ‘Commitment to India’s Constitution’ as part of 125th Birth Anniversary Celebrations of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Madam Speaker, on behalf of the people of Tamil Nadu, who are witnessing a truly representative government under the guidance of our able dynamic leader, hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. *Puratchi Thalaivi* Amma, I would like to reiterate our faith in the Constitution of India. The House has now taken up a discussion on our commitment to Constitution.

As one hailing from a State, which has a great legacy of upholding democracy which is evident from the *Kudavolai Murai* referred to in the *Uttiramerur Seppadu*, let me participate in this discussion. Of all forms of governance, democracy is being upheld as one that provides for the most accepted form of governance. The vibrancy of a democracy is articulated in the commitment shown to a Constitution by the people who gave it to themselves. Only when a Constitution is truly upheld by its citizens, it can become meaningful and a sacred document nation-state. Now in this august House, we are doing a purposeful exercise of revisiting our commitment to the Constitution.

It is befitting and proper to hold this discussion on the occasion of the 125th Birth Centenary Celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who had made a great contribution along with the Founding Fathers in giving us a Constitution. Ahead of many other countries, we ensured adult franchise and voting rights to all citizens earmarking reservation for depressed sections of society in the legislative forum. When we go through the debates in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's singular contribution to make our democracy a participatory one and a positive one is evident. His role is great in ensuring the positive intervention to benefit the depressed sections of society.

I would like to thank Madam Speaker and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to have initiated steps to hold this discussion on the floor of this House. I also thank my fellow Members who are actively participating in this discussion so that we all can have a collective rethinking.

Asserting individual rights, and at the same time uplifting the living standards of the depressed sections with dignity, has been ensured through the exercise of framing our Constitution. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's keen interest to provide education to all and giving a

thrust to education and educational facilities for the depressed sections needs to be mentioned as a praiseworthy one.

We call Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as the Father of the Constitution because he had made the best use of his education that he had in the land of our colonial rulers. As a student of political science, he had cultivated the scientific spirit to analyse the root cause of social maladies affecting India.

Hence, he laid stress on two very important things of empowering the depressed class through education and working for the emancipation of women. He believed that these two would be like two sides of the same coin, which will help the needy people to bargain for better living conditions ensuring their rightful place in society.

Now, the time has come for us to do a soul-search. Have we given adequate importance to Education? Of course, education has been provided to many people. But in a vast country like ours, it is still not enough. That is why, nearly one-third of the total population remains illiterate even today. Considering the size of the population, the huge number of illiteracies is an alarming figure.

Dr. Ambedkar believed that education is key to social advancement of individuals, especially, the downtrodden people. Today, in the name of economic reforms and liberalization, we are

setting goals for the economic development and social upliftment of our people. But I am afraid that we are not adequately committed to invest more in education. Education alone would open the possibilities for better economic upliftment of people. Today, we are talking in terms of skill development so that every individual of our country contributes to the economy of the nation with enhanced productivity. Acquiring skill can be perfected with better education, which is an open secret. But still, do we really allocate that much of needed funds from our GDP? It is a moot question. Are we not duty-bound to follow the tradition and improve our condition with our individual talent and commitment?

It is a coincidence that we are observing the 125th Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar at a time when we are celebrating in Tamil Nadu the Centenary Celebrations of the Justice Party days. They were the pioneers of the self-respect movement and the Dravidian movement. In Tamil Nadu, they were the pioneers to have given thrust to education and emancipation of women and deserving classes of society through a positive intervention.

The other day, I heard on the floor of this House that funds for education apportioned by countries with huge population like China are not very high when compared to that of India. But should we not

look at the size of the GDP of China? So, I would like to point out that the percentage allotted for education is still found wanting.

All of a sudden, in this year's Union Budget, the Centre had sought to shirk its responsibility of ensuring several social welfare measures. As a part of this withdrawal, funds for education has also been drastically reduced. When we profess our commitment to Constitution, we must ensure that education gets more so that it can serve as a tool for socio-economic progress and a cultured citizenry.

At this juncture, I would like to refer to the path-finding efforts made by our Government of Tamil Nadu in implementing various measures to see that education is provided with adequate infrastructure facilities. Several middle schools and high schools have been upgraded and many of the schools have been provided with better building, lab and sanitation facilities to ensure proper atmosphere for children. Special thrust is given to see that the drop-out rates among the SC, ST students are brought down. More care is given to see that girl children get more incentives to complete at least Class 8. In the last four years alone, more than 14 lakh girl-children have been saved from discontinuance from schools. More than Rs. 105 crore was spent to overcome this drop-out trend. Tamil Nadu can boast of Adi Dravidar, that is, ST Welfare Primary Schools and these

schools have been renovated with liberal sanction of funds by our Leader who wants to take our State to the foremost level by 2023. On the other hand, the Tamil Nadu Government – under the Leadership of Chief Minister, Amma – is spending more than Rs. 75,000 crore on education during the last four years.

13. 00 hours

This is possible for us because we have committed to ourselves to uphold the Constitution both in letter and spirit with keen eye to take along with us the deprived sections of society who were denied justice and education for many centuries.

Dr. Ambedkar's contribution to the framing of our Constitution is more positive from the way he was able to ensure certain committed benefits to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes of this country. Now, we can ask ourselves a question after 65 years of giving to ourselves this Constitution whether we have really achieved what was envisioned by Dr. Ambedkar.

He was of the view that we can forego several things even material benefits of civilization but we cannot afford to forego our right and opportunities to reap the benefits of education to the fullest extent. Through the prism of Constitution, we can see clearly that education ensures the safe existence of all the citizens especially the deprived

sections. Recently, an unfortunate announcement was made by the Ministry of HRD that research and development facilities in higher educational institutions and central universities will not be funded and those institutions have been asked to fend for themselves to mobilise funds for research studies. This is like leaving helpless people in the middle of the stream without really helping them to cross the stream fully. Hence, I would urge upon this Government to come out of this half-heartedness. Half done is not half complete but it is fully abandoning responsibility. Not only education but training facilities for skill development must also be given importance. We must also ensure that such educated and trained youths get both opportunities and an atmosphere to thrive as entrepreneurs. At this juncture, I would like to point out that the Government of Tamil Nadu is the pioneering State to provide more funds for self-employment ventures of youth hailing from the depressed sections of society.

Not only that, special thrust is given to help students pursuing professional courses and research degree programmes. Apart from that, doctors, lawyers and engineers coming out of the educational institutions are provided with help to establish their own offices to find a mutually helpful service atmosphere.

When it comes to women's emancipation, I would like to recall what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said. I quote:

"I measure the progress of the community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. "

In Tamil Nadu, our leader takes a lead in this regard.

We have all seen relay races as part of any athletic event. The one in the outer periphery, the farthest lane would be given an advantage to be at certain steps ahead of the others who are near the inner lane. Precisely this is what our Constitution tells us. A level playing field must be provided with a positive mindset. The talk of majorityism and minorityism must be avoided. Have we ensured that? If we are doing it, why is there a talk of tinkering with reservation? It is coming to the fore off and on. Whoever is contributing to such needless debates and whipping up passions, must mend their ways. I am not taking the name of any Party which is needlessly spreading such social tension.

We have not done enough to ensure a proper place to human dignity of every citizen in this country of whom many are leading their lives much worse than many of the inferior animals. Should we not ensure human dignity to get better attention than animals? We must not give undue importance to certain things which are not mandatory but are merely suggested principles in our Constitution.

I would request all the Hon. Members of this august House to revisit our commitment to Constitution to ensure a bright and prosperous life to all the people of our nation. With that, I conclude.

HON. SPEAKER: Now the House stands adjourned for lunch to meet again at 2. 10 p. m.

13. 04 hours

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till Ten Minutes past
Fourteen of the Clock.*

14. 13 hours

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Thirteen Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

(Hon. Deputy Speaker *in the Chair*)

**DISCUSSION ON COMMITMENT TO INDIA'S
CONSTITUTION AS PART OF 125TH BIRTH
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR
– Contd.**

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Sudip Badyopadhyay.

THE MINISTER OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT, MINISTER OF HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as Parliamentary Affairs Minister I have a small appeal to make. This two-day special sitting of both the Houses is dedicated to commitment to the Constitution and to the birth anniversary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Keeping that occasion in mind, I request upon Members on all sides

to see that we maintain decorum in the House so that a proper message will go to the people. This is not about Sudip-ji. [Translation] It is not about you. What I witnessed this morning, when Shri Rajnath Ji was speaking and when Shrimati Sonia Ji was addressing the House, such a situation should not arise. This is my humble request to all the Members.”

[English]

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (KOLKATA UTTAR): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I agree with Venkaiah Naidu-ji. We discussed yesterday also that the matter should be discussed in a dignified manner. But now the TV and media projection has, leaving the Constitution and Dr. Ambedkar behind, come to Rajnath Singh-ji and Sonia Gandhi-ji's issues thereby affecting the purpose of the Government to introduce the subject which was initiated by Hon. Speaker in a very dignified manner.

We are taking part on this issue, the Constitution Day and Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, who was the father of the Constitution making committee. Our Constitution which was adopted on 26th January, 1950 was fruition of hard work, intellectuality and foresightedness of great minds of the time, like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Shri A. K. Iyer, Shri B. N. Rao, Sir Syed Muhammed Saadulla, Shri N. Madhav Rao, Shri D. P. Khaitan, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayengar.

However, it is accepted and acknowledged by peers that Dr. Ambedkar as Chairman of the Drafting Committee had contributed the most in shaping the final Constitution of India. In the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly and later

the first President of India, "I have carefully watched the day-to-day activities from the presidential seat. Therefore, I appreciate more than others with how much dedication and vitality this task has been carried out by the Drafting Committee and by its chairman Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar in particular. We never did a better thing than having Dr Ambedkar on the Drafting Committee and selecting him as its chairman. "

I would better mention here that when the Constituent Assembly was set up, Dr. Ambedkar represented from West Bengal, though he was born in Madhya Pradesh. He was ultimately in the Constituent Assembly, representing Bengal. Along with him, there were Sarat Chandra Bose, father of Prof. Sugata Bose who is present over here and belongs to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's family, Mr. Gurung, Syama Prasad Mukherjee and Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, former Chief Minister of West Bengal. So, these people were all represented in the Constituent Assembly. Babasaheb Ambedkar was elected from West Bengal as Mahatma Gandhiji wanted him to be inducted in the Committee but Maharashtra or Madhya Pradesh did not recommend Dr. Babasaheb's name.

Amongst the diverse facets and talents of Dr. Ambedkar, the one that stands out extremely tall is his equivalent championing of social

equality for all Indian citizens, especially the Dalit communities. He was of the opinion, before Independence, that Dalits should be treated as distinct from Hindus. It was not after Independence, but before Independence that this was his feeling. To protect Dalits and oppressed classes from injustice, Dr. Ambedkar's stamp is reflected in some provisions of Part III and many parts of Part IV dealing with the constitutional mandate to ameliorate the condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. It is to be kept in mind that Article 3 deals with the protection of the minorities. Article 17 prohibits untouchability. But sadly, we have not yet been able to eradicate the menace of the society till date. Probably, it will be a befitting tribute to Dr. Ambedkar if we pledge to eradicate this discriminatory attitude as it will also help our nation to progress both socially and economically.

Dr. Ambedkar was totally in favour of the parliamentary form of Government. We are the firm believers of the principles of parliamentary democratic system since the inception of the Government of India Act, 1935. He firmly believed that the Parliamentary system of Government can only usher in an egalitarian society through the application of the principle of social democracy.

He was also a strong advocate of the federal structure of the Union and States. He believed that due to diversity in region, culture, language, religion and food habits, it is best that States should enact their own variations based on the Constitution. Accordingly, Article 1 of the Constitution describes India as a 'Union of States'. That part of the Constitution and its sentiments are to be vibrated today on the floor of the House again, that India be described as a 'Union of States'.

There were many national leaders at the time when the Constitution was set up but amongst all the leaders Dr. Ambedkar was the most educated. What was his qualification? He was M. A. ; he was M. Sc. ; he was Ph. D. ; he was D. Sc. ; and he was Bar-at-Law. He had the best experience as an educationist, Parliamentarian and administrator. That is why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inducted him as the Law and Justice Minister of the country.

How do we remember Dr. B. R. Ambedkar? Dr. B. R. Ambedkar could not take part in the freedom struggle of the country but he is no doubt the hero who built independent India's Constitution. We remember him for that. Babasaheb Ambedkar was an Indian nationalist, jurist, dalit, political leader, activist, philosopher, thinker, anthropologist, orator, prolific writer, economist, scholar, editor, revolutionary and revivalist of Buddhism in India. He spent his whole

life for the betterment of the poor, exploited, troubled classes. Here, we have to reaffirm our firm commitment to this holy Constitution.

This is a country where we sing the song:

“Nana Bhasha, Nana mat, Nana Paridhan

Bibidher Majhe Dekho Milan Mahaan”

There are many languages, many opinions, many races; in spite of that, we are the firm believers of the principle of unity in diversity. This is the ethos. We are also the firm believers of the principle of secularism, communal harmony and unity of the country. I do not know why when Shri Rajnath Singh was saying the word ‘secularism’ all the Ruling Party Members in the Treasury Members were clapping. [Translation] Regarding the word secularism, it seems that there is something in the heart of the government. [English] What for are we standing here? We think that nobody should oppose the very term ‘secularism’. Being the Home Minister of the Country, he should not criticise the Constitution as it stands now.

The debate was initiated by the hon. Speaker in a very dignified manner and the discussion should have proceeded in that way.

Sir we sing, “*Hindu, Budh, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, Musalman, Christian...*” [Translation] This is the character, the ethos of our country. This is a country where Iqbal, the great poet sang: *Sare jahan se achha Hindustan Hamara*”. We should not forget this. Indian Constitution reflects these principles. We salute and want to remain committed towards this Constitution. We remain dedicated to protect this Constitution. We will uphold it till the last drop of our blood.

I have seen the twitter message issued by the Prime Minister today. I believe that is the correct feeling which should have been reflected on the floor of the House and that should have been the actual line of the first speaker from the Government side.

Attempts have been made to burn this Constitution in different forum. I represent Bengal. There is a place in Bengal by the name Naxalbari. You know the naxalbari movement ultimately took the shape of maoist movement. It started from Naxalbari, a place in the North Bengal in the district of Darjeeling. This naxalbari movement gradually transformed to

maoist movement. This party in a public meeting in Kolkata at Shaheed Minar lit a fire to the Constitution publicly. Many political parties, a few of them in the northeastern region, in the name of their movement disobeyed and lit fire to the Constitution. In the name of Khalistan movement they disobeyed the Indian Constitution. It was burnt by them but the efforts of these evil forces have never been successful and they could not reach their target.

Sir, we may have differences with the present Constitution. I do not deny that but there is scope for the amendment. Under Article 360, “to make necessary arrangement” we can always make arrangement to amend it. Today, when we are celebrating 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar, 100 amendments have been made to the present Constitution till today. So, every opportunity is open. I feel the present Constitution is capable enough to protect a country like India.

Now, I would like to speak on the federalism and federal structure of the Government about which you were also a little vocal today in the beginning. Article 1 of the Constitution says, “It is a country of Union of States”. I have said this earlier also but actually the federal structure is being attempted to be

discarded. The principles of Constitution in some cases are somehow being violated. How can Centre be strengthened if States become weak? Sir, our Party came to power in a State which was ruled by a Government for 34 years and which left a burden of Rs. 2,36,000 crore for the newly formed Government. How can the new Government function if this loan burden is to be carried by them? It happened in my State itself. The present Chief Minister has to carry a burden of Rs. 2,36,000 crore on her shoulders. In spite of that, the State Government is functioning. I do not know what the Constitution says in such a case. Whenever a State asks for some special assistance, the usual reply of the Ministry is if one State is given this assistance all other States will ask for it. But such things do happen sometimes. It happened in Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Punjab. Let them get more assistance. We do not have any objection to that but West Bengal should not be deprived of such assistance. We still believe that Dr. Ambedkar was a strong advocate of the federal structure of the Union and States based on the principles of a strong Centre and independent States. So, this issue is to be dealt with priority.

Now I come to the tolerance and intolerance issue. This issue was raised by the hon. President of India himself during Durga Puja time when he was in his village. He expressed his views that intolerance is being seen and that we should be tolerant on every subject. This matter is coming up now. Some incidents have happened. Venkaiah Naiduji normally says that these are all State subjects and that we would discuss this subject in detail in future under some rule which is permissible. But a few things are happening which the people of the country cannot tolerate.

India is a country of tolerance. The whole world has a respect for us for this reason but a few incidents are sending negative messages. They are only a few incidents and they are not many. Every citizen and every religion certainly have their own rights to perform their customs. They can do it in their own style. When every citizen has its right to follow its own religion, why do we sometimes find that incidents of intolerance are happening? In such cases, the responsibility automatically comes on the shoulder of the Government which is running the country. So, we should give a firm commitment that incidents of intolerance will not be tolerated irrespective of allegations which may come. It will be the best respect shown to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. We

should show that we are protesting these issues in a firm and united voice.

I would say that in such matters the Prime Minister will have to rise to the occasion. When such incidents have happened he has certainly criticized them and said that these things should not happen. But he has not done it in the country but he did it abroad. If he talks on these things and issues on the floor of the House, it will give a very positive signal to the nation and to all of us. I would appeal to him to consider this issue.

Sir, I am concerned about intolerance because it gives birth to terrorism. Yesterday, I had an opportunity to talk to the hon. Prime Minister on a dinner table and hon. Speaker was also there. I was enquiring from him as to how he found that world terrorism is operating even there. He was telling that the situation is serious and that the whole world should come together. It should tell something against this terrorism factor in a united voice.

But we should take notice of the events taking place in India itself. Reputed stars like Shahrukh Khan, Amir Khan, A. R. Rehman, Mithun Chakraborty are feeling uneasy in their own country. The causes for this are to be examined to find as to why they are feeling so and steps have to be taken accordingly to check this. Amir Khan

issue burnt fire. He ultimately said that he is proud to be an Indian. Why will these things happen? They are all very responsible and respected artists of this country. Why are they feeling so? On the one side, there is this intolerant attitude towards these dignified artists of the country and on the other side there are accusations against the different sections of very dignified artists of this country. Why are they feeling insecure? This aspect may be dealt with on priority.

India has shown the world that how a freedom struggle can be fought without violence to achieve Independence. India has shown the world as to how the Indians fought the British rulers. They fought for Independence with patience and tolerance. Terrorism is an outcome of intolerance. A few groups of people are killing hundreds of unknown and innocent people within almost no time. It is a reflection and projection of intolerance being penetrated very deeply into the minds of these people. So, intolerance has to be condemned from every corner.

Sir, it is a land of religious gurus like Shri Shri Ramakrishna Paramhansa. It is a country that follows the ideals of Swami Vivekananda. I believe that the hon. Prime Minister is himself an ardent follower of the ideals and principles of Shri Shri Ramakrishna. He often visits the Belur Matt. So, why in this country we cannot show

and reflect tolerance? Shri Shri Ramakrishna said, '*Jato mat, tato path*'— as many opinions, so many ways.

Sir, in conclusion, I would like to say that Dr. Ambedkar deserves to be called the chief architect of the Indian Constitution. We must be united and try to protect the Parliamentary Democratic System. It should not be allowed to be destroyed. The contribution of Dr. Ambedkar in Indian democracy is not to be forgotten. His name will be written in golden letters in the history of India as a creator of social justice, the principal architect and the Father of the Indian Constitution. We salute Gandhiji; we salute Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose; we salute Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel; we also salute Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Sir, what we feel about the present situation as it is prevailing today in the country is that we should unequivocally lodge our protest from the floor of the House. We should not hesitate to express our opinions and raise our voice against such type of forces. We would like to request the hon. Prime Minister to look into these issues, as to why we should feel guilty and shy to show our face to the world, with topmost priority. So, this decision for celebration of 125 years of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's birth centenary followed by the Constitution is a very positive and correct step. I appreciate it. We feel that it should

not only be a discussion but in reality also we will see that we are committed to protect this Constitution with the last drop of our blood.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (DARJEELING): Sir, I have a point to make just to correct the record. My learned friend, Shri Sudip Bandyopadhyay said that in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was representing Bengal which is incorrect. He was representing Bombay. I have got the full volumes of 6000 pages of debate wherein Parliament of India website says that, as on 1949, in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar was representing Bombay - 22 Members were representing Bombay and 19 Members were representing West Bengal. He was one of those 22 Members. Please correct it.

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY: Sir, my friend, Prof. Sugata Bose is a historian. He is from Harvard University. He may clarify this point. ... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. SUGATA BOSE (JADAVPUR): Sir, let me clarify what happened.

The Constituent Assembly met for the first time on the 9th December, 1946. On that day, of course, every one presented their credentials. If you look at the list from Bengal, you will find that at number one was Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and at number two was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. And there were others including Frank Reginald Antony, Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and the communist leader, Shri

Somnath Lahiri and Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee. ...
(*Interruptions*)

Let me clarify what happened and then of course, Dr. Ambedkar represented Jessore and Khulna constituencies from undivided Bengal. When partition happened, that Jessore and Khulna constituencies from which Dr. Ambedkar had been indirectly elected went to Pakistan Constituent Assembly. So, at that time, it was very important to have Dr. B. R. Ambedkar re-elected to the Constituent Assembly and this happened in July, 1947. At that stage, Dr. Ambedkar was elected from what was then Bombay Province, not yet Maharashtra, and he was elected to a seat that was vacated by the great M. R. Jayakar.

So, I hope, as a historian, I have clarified the situation. Shri Sudip Bandyopadhyay was correct in saying that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar represented Bengal to begin with. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI TATHAGATA SATPATHY (DHENKANAL): Sir, 16 bloodless elections have proven our credentials that we are thoroughly embedded in democracy and today, the 26th of November of 2015 on which we are celebrating as the day of the Indian Constitution, I would like to congratulate the Government of the day that they have thought it apt to celebrate this day for the first time ever.

These 16 elections to Parliament have proven - and I am not counting the Bihar elections - that the people of India are much wiser and much saner than all of us put together who claim to represent them.

We are talking about Dr. Ambedkar and we are talking about all the great names but we also forget that, in the spirit of things, they always believed in federalism. And consistently, in my four terms of Parliament, I have been seeing, whether it is this Party when they were in power or whether it is your Party that is in power today, that once any political party comes to power in Centre, the first thing they ever tried to make is to thwart that very thought of federalism. Whether it is the National Investigation Agency which the UPA wanted or the way the present Government is behaving, all this goes to show that we pooh pooh federalism – the idea, the concept of federal democracy and as a nation it has been our character to believe that individuals

matter. That is probably one reason why India's history is full of Chandra Gupta Mauryas, Akbars, Baburs and Birbals – all these individuals – but we do not have the downside up view of how the pyramid was at the bottom, how the people lived, what was their economy, what was their social system. Therefore, we are always going awry, we are always getting disturbed because we did not capture history from the people's point of view.

India's present Home Minister, in his speech, which he delivered very succinctly, said that cleaning with *jhadoo* is something that is new to India that this Government has brought about. I come from the State of Odisha where our greatest Lord, Lord Jagannath, when he comes and sits on the chariot once a year, the first thing to invoke the Lord to come to his disciples is that the Gajapati Maharaja, the biggest of the big kings of Odisha, of the land at that time what was civilised India, takes a broom and sweeps the chariot and the passage through which the Lord will go. This showed two things. This showed that the ruler has to be humble. You bend down before the people to sweep the road. This was not Hinduism. This was the greatness of the Lord. Secondly, it showed that we cared for cleanliness also. *Safai*, like you Hindi people say. So, we believed in cleanliness and we believed in the rulers being humble. Are we actually doing that? When my mother

was the Chief Minister, she used to clean her own bed room and her toilet. I learnt that while I was in Pondicherry with my mother. We used to clean our homes. But we did not levy any cess on any individual or the nation. We did it because it gave us pleasure not to tax the people. Nor did the King of Puri ever put a tax on his subjects because he thought that I should clean the Lord's passage. ...
(Interruptions)

SHRI ASHWINI KUMAR (KARNAL): He also said that the hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi was the one who took the broom and started doing the cleaning.

SHRI TATHAGATA SATPATHY: Let us not get into that.

Secularism as a word is something that is very well defined in the English dictionary. I do not wish to describe that word here because all the learned, highly qualified Members of this House know how to refer to the dictionary and they must have seen the word as it is defined there. We are a pluralist society. If that word sounds good to some people that can be used. But how the word 'secular' is translated into Hindi is not my problem. I am not a Hindi speaker. So, let us not have a myopic view of the country that a certain word when translated into Hindi becomes perverted. Just because we do not speak Hindi does not mean we are not Indians.

You have a concept which was discussed long back by the founders of *Dravida Kazagam* movement. They said that if you think that the largest numbers of people speaking one language per force make it their national language, then the crow being the largest population of birds should become your national bird also.

In a secular society, if we want this country to pass on healthy traditions to our children in a unified manner, then it is time that we shed our ego, our *ahambav* and we come to a stage where we decide, as a nation, - not as politicians or people who are in power temporarily because we have seen people change seat very often now – to be totally intolerant towards intolerance. Let us not tolerate intolerance at all and that does not end here in this House with a few people speaking a few words. That has to be implemented at the field with the people and it is up to us, the onus lies on us to prove that we mean what we speak.

Everybody speaks everywhere, on the television and we see everyday in the media saying that let us not politicise the issue and even in the House some of the leaders and Ministers say that we should not politicise the issue. Well, we are all politicians here and we have come here through the process of politics. Let us not denigrate politics. But while we say that let us not politicise the issue, let us also

think that we have come to a stage, in the history of the world, of areligiousness. Like you have 'apolitical' word, is there a word 'areligious' in English? I do not know. But let us consider if we are prepared to face a level where we become an 'areligious' country. One is secular where you tolerate all religions, where everybody is free to propagate or preach or follow any religion. The other is religious. As a Government, why would you have pictures of certain Gods in Government offices and not pictures of other Gods? So, that is a question. It is a very little thing, but it is a thought that projects our mindset.

Sir, in the Directive Principles, Article 44 clearly states that the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a Uniform Civil Code throughout the territory of India. The Supreme Court has time and again asked Parliament to implement it. Why should one country have different laws for different groups of people? When we are discussing about the Constitution, it is time for all of you to start thinking as to where you want to take this country.

Article 19 of the Constitution talks about freedom of expression. They used the words, decency, morality, defamation which are very vague words, indefinable. Like you object to secular, I object to morality, I object to decency because what is decent for me may not

be decent for that December 16th rapist who is going to be set free on the 15th of December. So, decency varies; morality also varies according to geography. Therefore, a young lawyer by the name Ms. Shreya Singhal brought down Section 66 (A) of the Information Technology Act simply by filing a PIL in the Supreme Court because Section 66 (A) of the Information Technology Act contained these very similar words, decency and morality etc. We saw how it was misused in Bombay in a certain situation, how it has been misused in the North East in the case of so many States in the North East, how during a genuine protest in Gujarat, the internet was blocked, SMS was blocked. I question myself. How would a person sitting, say, in Ahmedabad find out what is his motel's room occupancy in New Jersey if he does not have internet? What a critical problem it can create for him? Maybe, we will not be able to comprehend it because we do not own motels in New Jersey or New York. But, if we did, we would obviously appreciate this problem. Therefore, I think it is time we trust our people. I think that they are better than us. So, we should give them absolute freedom so that they can deal with the problems of this country with an open mind. Article 19, by the way, was not there initially in the Constitution of India. It was inserted by the first Home Minister of this country.

It is true that we are a democracy and it is also true – we all accept the fact – that democracy not invariably but always breeds capitalism. Our social structure is getting threatened and destabilised due to the ongoing battle of the rich and the poor. By taking away land and making people landless, you are creating good servants. Everybody is going crazy about skill development. But please look at the other side also. By imparting limited capacity skill, you are turning these semi-skilled people into great servants. Then you have the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) law which is being reconsidered now to be brought into the House for an amendment where you will allow kids, very young children to work at homes and in private factories as servants. You are creating the best servants. By changing ‘made’ into ‘make’, you have tried to kill innovation and entrepreneurship. We have to admit that no nation in this whole wide world has become great by producing slaves. Slavery never produces, never creates a great nation. It is only innovation, only entrepreneurship and something that comes from within, which I call spirituality. Lot of people think spirituality is connected to religion. But spirituality is that flash of brilliance which comes with innovative powers. That makes a nation great. It is time that we also try to make our children

more innovative, more questioning and more inquisitive. Only then we can have a nation which will emerge as a great power in the world.

I quote from Chapter 4, Article 39 (c). It says: “The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. ” To this, I could add that the system must also not permit concentration of economic powers in the hands of a few. That is precisely what we are all trying to do right now.

15. 00 hours

Our pride in our Constitution gets into a grey area when we consider that our law enforcement is still being done primarily using the Police Act of 1861. This Act is a colonial law. It was made by the colonial rulers to rule their subjects with a stern grip. Even today while we talk about freedom, democracy, federalism and our Constitution, we are still being controlled by a Police Act which is of 1861 and this House has never thought of reconsidering that Act.

Our Governance system over the years has conveniently forgotten primary education. We have only concentrated on higher education because the rich and the upper middle class want their children to have better education. They want their children to go to IITs, IIMs and so many other institutions with a final aim to migrate to some other country. But at the very basic level, we do not have teachers for primary education. We do not have trained teachers. We do not have classrooms. We do not have the wherewithal to teach our children the basic education. This is like having an elevator in a 100 storey skyscraper and the elevator starts from the 12th floor. So, you have to climb up to 12th floor if you can and then catch the elevator. If you cannot climb upto that level then goodbye to you.

In education, language is very important. The concept of *Rajbhasha* and *Rashtrabhasha* is anathema to an united India. It is time that when you go and put a Hindi word in the Income Tax office or in Union Government offices in States like Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Karnataka or Bengal; similarly, you put a Tamil word or a Bengali word or an Oriya word in States like Rajasthan, Haryana or in Uttar Pradesh or in Varanasi and let the people in Varanasi learn Bengali also. Let them learn Tamil also. They will also love India for what India is today not because they feel that they are everything and nobody else is anything. Let us learn to respect others so that we get respect ourselves.

Sir, finally, I would like to conclude by saying that we have all been troubled, this nation has been troubled and the media has been giving us a pretty bad name primarily because of the disturbances happening in this House. On this auspicious day that is 26th November, the Constitution Day, I would like to make a very humble suggestion to the Government of the day that from our usual 80 to 90 days of sittings of the House, let us try to make it 120 days of sittings of the House per year. We should also give one day per week to the non-Government side also. I am not saying Opposition. Whoever is heading it whether it is the Leader of the Opposition or as it is now

because no party is capable – because they are not even worthy to be Opposition – the Leader of the largest party, which is struggling to survive and not acknowledging their own deficiencies and that they have been so badly rejected, let them decide the agenda. Let them discuss with all other parties which are non-Government parties and decide on one day and give that day for them to decide and discuss whatever they want. Let the Government be listener.

At conclusion, I would like to say that let us all admit we have a very long way to give justice to every single individual Indian. We are far far away from giving a fair deal to our citizens. It will take lot of energy, lot of sincerity, lot of honesty and lot of love for this country to reach out to every single individual.

It is not yet time for us to be smug and claim that we are a world power. We are nowhere near that. We are a great country; we are proud to be Indians. But let us make ourselves even better by making every single individual Indian to be proud being a Member of this great family, which is being blessed over centuries and throughout history of humanity.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

[Translation]

SHRI ANANDRAO ADSUL (AMRAVATI): Hon. Deputy-Speaker Sir, today the Winter Session commences with a vital subject. Today is the 26th of November, and we recognise this date as Constitution Day. Along with this, on the occasion of the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, we have been given an opportunity to express our sentiments and emotions. I would like to extend my gratitude to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Venkaiah Naidu Ji, as well as to the esteemed Prime Minister of our country, Shri Narendra Modi Ji. Whenever the name of Dr. Ambedkar is invoked, the name of the Indian Constitution comes to mind automatically, and conversely, whenever we recall the Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar's name arises. The Indian Constitution and Dr. Ambedkar's name are inextricably linked. This is a sentiment felt deeply by all countrymen. It has now been 67 years since the Constitution was adopted. We attained Independence on 15th August, 1947, and the country became a Republic on 26th January, 1950. Nearly two and three-quarters years passed in between. We must bear in mind the geographical, social, economic, educational, and religious conditions prevailing in India at that time. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, as Chairman of the Drafting Committee, must have considered these circumstances when laying

down the concept for our nation's governance. He brought forth the idea that if India was to become a democratic country, then it must be governed by the principle of "a Government of the people, for the people, and by the people". That, indeed, is what we call a democratic Government. Just now, the President of the Indian National Congress, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, was speaking, and she laid particular emphasis on one point: that at that time, despite Dr. Ambedkar being a Dalit leader, the Congress had chosen him as Chairman of the Drafting Committee.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE (GULBARGA): From where have you taken the term "Dalit leader"?... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANDRAO ADSUL: I take my words back. The Congress Party had indeed made Babasaheb the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Kharge Ji, please also keep the following in mind: those who had made him Chairman, when the first Lok Sabha elections were held, and Babasaheb contested from Dadar in Mumbai, if the Congress truly respected him, then why did they field Shri Kajwulkar against him?

SHRI BHARTRUHARI MAHTAB (CUTTACK): Not just once, but they did this twice. ... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI VARAPRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI (TIRUPATI): That shows their hatred... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI ANANDRAO ADSUL: The Congress brought Shri Kajwulkar to victory and ensured Babasaheb's defeat.

When he contested a second time from Bhandara, they fielded Borkar against him. Even in that by-election, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was defeated. This is the reality, this is a fact. Therefore, you must hear it and also accept it.... (*Interruptions*) He ought to have been elected uncontested. If the very person whom you chose as Chairman of the Drafting Committee, whom you considered such an intellectual, why was he not allowed to be elected unopposed? Secondly, Shrimati Sonia Ji stated that no matter how good a Constitution is, unless the governments are good, its implementation cannot be effective. Shri Kharge Ji, for 65 years, your party ruled this country for more than 55 years. In a nation blessed with oceanic wealth, forest wealth, mineral wealth, and human wealth, why did India not become a developed country? Who is responsible for this?... (*Interruptions*) For the sake of politics and power, you built walls of division. You converted Dalits and minorities into a vote bank and kept returning to power through that very route. You distributed

money through corruption and captured power again and again....
(*Interruptions*) In my earlier speech, I had pointed out examples of your corruption. Today, the situation is reversed, and I will speak in your own words: if governments are good, implementation too is good. When our Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, assumed office, look at the image he created of our nation across the world. Whether it is the leaders of America, Britain, Russia, Japan, or Germany, when he visits, he is accorded a warm welcome. Today, the world listens to him and praises him. Such recognition had never happened before during Congress rule.... (*Interruptions*) The nation's image has risen to such a high level. And if one truly wishes to work for the last man in society, see what has been done. Hon. Shri Rajnath Singh has already mentioned several initiatives. For instance, when Shri Modi Ji himself took up a broom for the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, even the Nationalist Congress Party leader Shri Sharad Pawar Ji took up the broom in his hand. Before this, no leader had ever taken such an initiative. This too must be noted. The Jan-Dhan Yojana – people who had never even heard the name of a bank, today more than 19 crore have opened accounts. This is the proof of implementation. This is what a good government delivers. ...(*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You address the Chair.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI ANANDRAO ADSUL: Kindly explain to them who truly benefits from this. It is the poorest of the poor families who are going to gain from it.... (*Interruptions*) For merely Rs. 12, one gets insurance cover of Rs. 2 lakh; for only Rs. 330, another insurance cover of Rs. 2 lakh. You would never have imagined this, not even in your dreams, let alone spoken about it.... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Suresh, you please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI ANANDRAO ADSUL: Kindly listen and understand it. I am only endeavouring to place before you the reality.... (*Interruptions*) Governments came and went. Never before had more than 32 Percent of revenue been given to the States, but today this Government has taken the decision to give 42 Percent revenue to the States, 10 Percent more. This is no small matter.... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please address the Chair.

[Translation]

SHRI ANANDRAO ADSUL: Those who speak of federalism should note that its true implementation is happening here, under the present Government. It is important to remember this. Therefore, I repeat, if the Constitution is good, then the Government must also be good, and only then will the results be good. Today, whether it is the Skill Development Scheme or any other programme, they are reaching the last man of our country. Babasaheb Ambedkar's residence in London existed for years, but it never occurred to the Congress Party that it could be acquired and converted into a memorial in his honour. It was the Government of Maharashtra which did this, and our hon. Prime Minister went there to inaugurate it. Shri Kharge, through your Government's tenure, Indu Mill was often mentioned, but it was our Government which actually allotted the land for it.... (*Interruptions*) You always indulged in making announcements, but never in implementing them.... (*Interruptions*) Whether it was compulsory education or the Food Security Bill, you only threw such things before the people, took their votes, came to power, and indulged in corruption — nothing beyond that. Therefore, the Government should be one that functions according to the Constitution. There is a complete

difference between today's Government and your earlier Governments. This Government is running in accordance with the Constitution, paying attention even to the smallest of citizens, and striving to provide what benefits them the most. Before this, did it ever occur to the Congress Party that Constitution Day should be celebrated? Today, this Government has taken the initiative, and at the very beginning of this Winter Session, it has given all of us the opportunity to celebrate Constitution Day and express our sentiments. We will all speak, but our words should focus on what is in the interest of the people, and what should happen in accordance with the Constitution. That is exactly what is happening in the country today. After many years, what was being done during the tenure of the revered Atal Ji and the respected Advani Ji is once again being done now. I would like to give one or two examples. Who launched the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana? It was the then Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee Ji, who launched the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana. None of your Prime Ministers or Ministers had ever thought of such an idea. Unless every village is connected, its development cannot take place. This concept was in his mind. The concept of the River Linking Project was also given by him. Unfortunately, our Government went out of power, your Government

came in, and that project remained where it was. I would like to tell our hon. Prime Minister, you have brought many initiatives, and you have created a very good image of the country, but even now in Vidarbha and Marathwada of Maharashtra, farmers are committing suicide. If we provide them with water, if we implement the River Linking Project, they will be able to grow two crops in their fields, and there will be no need for them to resort to suicide. My heart tells me that there is hope to achieve this, and if he desires, he can do anything. We have full faith that this work will also be accomplished.

On this day, it is necessary to express our sentiments and pay tribute not only to Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar but also to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, and other leaders of that time. On behalf of my party and our leader Shri Uddhav Ji, I pay respects and homage to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and all the eminent leaders of that era. Jai Hind.

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. Members, I want to make an announcement to the House. We are not going to restrict the time of the Members. We are allowing as much time as they like. But I am requesting you to be very brief so that other Members can also participate in this debate. This is all that I can say.

SHRI RAM MOHAN NAIDU KINJARAPU (SRIKAKULAM):

Thank you Sir for giving me this opportunity to participate in this historic debate.

Just like the day in the history, 66 years ago when the Constitution was made, after so much time, the Government has once again taken a very wonderful step to commemorate the Constitution Day and also to celebrate the 125th birth anniversary of its architect, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Sir, much has been talked about and a number of speakers have gone through different things about the Constitution and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Hence, I would like to be very specific in my speech about how the Constitution affects the country today and how we have progressed over the years.

If we see, one of the greatest strengths of our Constitution is the parliamentary democracy. We have been able to attain democracy after so much diversity within a nation – diversity amongst castes, diversity amongst languages that we speak and diversity amongst the culture. Even though there is so much diversity, we have found a way to unite ourselves and for that the Constitution has been a unifying factor behind that.

If we look at the greatest strengths of democracy that we have built on the Constitution, we can see that no matter who the citizen of this country is, let it be one of the richest persons in India, let it be a common man on the road, let it be a *safaivala*, let it be a *chaivala*, or let it be a person who has been born in a country which is not India also, the Constitution enables him to represent the people of this country even at this very stage also. There are living examples in this very House where this has come true. So, that is the beauty and that is the strength of the Constitution and the democracy that we have today. We have to keep this thing going on, we have to keep the unity, the vision ahead with which Dr. Ambedkar *ji* has made the Constitution. It lies in the leaders today, it lies in all the elected representatives today along with the people of this country that the spirit of this Constitution is upheld. The respect that we get not only from within the country but from countries across the world is because we are one of the best and the biggest democracies in the world, we have every duty and responsibility to keep it on and take this good step forward.

If you look at other countries including other democratic countries also, there is no country like India where the transfer of power – even though the transfer happens from divergent parties; the parties from different ideologies; even though there is a lot of paradigm shift

between ideologies of the parties – the transition of power happens in a very smooth way. India is the only country where this happens and we should take great pride in it. The significant thing in this democracy is that the Government is by the people, for the people and of the people. People govern themselves, people elect representatives to make laws which will be good for the people and to keep a check on the power of the people we have elections every five years, which is the greatest point of our Constitution and the democracy.

Coming to the other points, I would say that we have a lot of different States and for our country to run with a unified mission, to run with the clarity among all the States, the approach of cooperative federalism needs to be there. Back in the day when the Constitution was made, Dr. Ambedkar *ji* already had envisioned that this kind of cooperative federalism should be there across times and he had thought about this. I would like to congratulate the present Government also which is taking the cooperative federalism in a good way ensuring that there is a lot of support to the States so that they are encouraged to come up.

Sir, my point here is that no matter how good the Constitution is today, it also depends on the people who run the country and it also

depends on the people who interpret the Constitution. It depends on the way in which they interpret the Constitution. ... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation] When Shrimati Sushma ji was speaking about a Constitution amendment, [English] she made a very good statement that even in cooperative federalism, there is a unitary tilt of powers to the Centre. There is segregation of powers. [Translation] The Centre has more powers, the States have some powers for their governance and an extra amount of power with the Centre because it wants to treat all the States like one brother, whenever the States If there is any dispute, the Centre intervenes and tries to solve the matter like an elder brother. She used the two specific words. You can either be an elder brother or be a big brother. She clearly mentioned that the present NDA Government always wants to act as an elder brother, not as a big brother. The reason I want to mention this again is that I come from Andhra Pradesh, which has just been segregated.... (*Interruptions*) I am specifically using that is segregated because this thing happened during the UPA rule. In the UPA rule, when our State was going to be divided, we passed a resolution in our state assembly that we want the State to be united. With a majority, we had passed it and forwarded to the Centre, but the Centre overlooked that because there is a provision in the Constitution to overlook it. So, they, instead of playing the role

of an elder brother, played the role of a big brother, of a bullying brother. They did not take care of the sentiments of our people. They did not take our emotions into account and divided the State. This is not a healthy democracy. ... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation] Please listen to me. If you indeed wished to divide, if you intended to break, then both regions should have been brought to the table. My question is that [English] when NDA was ruling, three states – Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh – were formed, but there was no problem. at that time, which has arisen only at the time of carving out Telangana out of Andhra Pradesh. , [English] (*Interruptions*) It is because the Union Government, which was ruling in the previous term, misused the power and interpreted it in the wrong way. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Jithender Reddy, please take your seat. Let him finish. You are going to speak next. So, you may speak at that time.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record of what Shri Reddy is speaking.

You continue your speech.

... (*Interruptions*) ... *

SHRI RAM MOHAN NAIDU KINJARAPU: Sir, I am not yielding. Let me finish. ... (*Interruptions*)

Sir, you can clarify when you speak. ... (*Interruptions*) I am not yielding.

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: When your turn comes next, you may speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM MOHAN NAIDU KINJARAPU: The only point I want to ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

... (*Interruptions*) ... *

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Naidu, you continue to speak. Nothing else will go on record.

... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI RAM MOHAN NAIDU KINJARAPU: Sir, I am not saying that the division should not have happened. I am only saying that if

* Not recorded.

the Centre has the power to divide, it has to play the role of an elder brother. They have to take both States into confidence. They have to take into account the emotions and sentiments of people from both the States, instead of misusing the power that the Constitution has given to it.

[Translation] When Dr. Ambedkar framed this Constitution, he envisioned that it would be entrusted to good people, not to those who would misuse it. [English] Because of this, we are facing the problems now. ... (*Interruptions*) That is why, we are facing the problems now. You should come to the State of Andhra Pradesh. ... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation] Sir, no matter how excellent the Constitution may be, the responsibility also lies on those who come to the Centre, the representatives here, to interpret it correctly and to uphold a spirit of cooperative federalism with sound judgment. [English] I am just mentioning this because this situation should not arise in the future. A lot of these situations are happening across the country. This kind of injustice, which has happened to the State of Andhra Pradesh or the State of Telangana, should not happen anywhere else. I want this to be clarified.

The Constitution also provides for a fully-functional and independent judiciary, which is a good thing that every individual

across the country has a right to justice; has a right to fight for justice; and the judiciary also keeps a check on the Government and the individuals and if any misdoings are there. Over here also, recently we have seen some things happening. We have seen that if the legislature, which is run by the elected representatives of the people, makes any kind of law, then that is challenged. Sometimes the judiciary interferes with this and there is no problem with that as they can do that and they need to keep a check. But they also have to keep in mind that this House, ultimately, is a representative of the people of this country and whatever we are doing is in respect to the people of this country.

If we are saying that we are the most supreme power it is because of the people of this country are supreme. Nobody is more supreme than the people of this country and that has to be kept in mind. [Translation] Dr. Ambedkar made such provisions in the Constitution that the Legislature, Judiciary and Executive would all work together. It is not that one will be ahead and one will be behind. [English] No one is bigger than the other and they have to go hand-in-hand. This kind of a healthy approach should be there from both sides, that is, legislature and judiciary. In future, to respect the Constitution that Dr. Ambedkar ji has made, we have to make sure that there is proper

cooperation between the legislature and judiciary. I am saying this because recently also we have seen many things where they have been interfering with the will of the people.

The Constitution also talks about fundamental rights. Every citizen has their fundamental rights, and if and when violated they can go to the court and fight for it.

Further, women empowerment is a major issue not just in this country, but across the world also. We have seen many examples where women are facing atrocities and problems. May be, it is time when constitutionally we find a way to empower women so that this country can be a motivation to the people across the world to keep women in the forefront in running the country be it political, social, economic or any stage, but we need proper representation and empowerment of women. There are many things in the Constitution, which does that, but implementing them has not been happening the way we would have wanted it to or the way Dr. Ambedkar ji would have wanted it to be. May be, it is time when we think constitutionally how to make it more strong so that women get empowered in a much better way.

We have become a country now of around 1.21 billion people and when we say that our country is a true representative of people, we

have to keep in mind that not every single citizen of this country is voting. The motive behind saying that it is a true representative of people is because everyone votes. But that is also not the scenario here. If we see the voting percentage, we would have always thought that education would have improved the voting percentage, but that is also not the case. We see that the educated class is refraining from voting and urban class keeps away from voting. So, my only request is that constitutionally we make it a duty to vote and that everyone should compulsorily vote. We should think about this; we should have a debate; and we should put it in the Constitution that everybody should vote. Many of the developed countries have done this. Many of the countries are using this, and may be it is time that India also does it considering the huge population.

We are a nation which takes pride in the fact that we consider every single concern of every citizen. So, if you want to get to that point, then we need to account for everyone's vote and we have to come to a stage where everyone gets to vote. Probably, the way to start this is to have a Constitutional Amendment where there is a mandatory thing that everyone should vote.

The other thing about the Constitution is that Ambedkarji has thought about the under-privileged, the weaker sections of society. He

has thought about this many years ago. At that time, he has created a way to provide upliftment to the weaker sections of society. It has been very progressive in the upliftment. My point here is that back in the 1950s when the Constitution was made, much of the employability was with the Government. With the nationalisation, a lot of employment was created by the Government and everything was run by the Government. But today after liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG), there is a lot of movement to the private sector. Much of the employment today stays with the private sector. My request is that the reservation which is there in the Government sector has to be extended to the private sector also because the private sector controls much of the growth engine today, controls much of the employability today. In principle, Dr. Ambedkarji had envisaged that everyone should get equal opportunity in today's society. The only way to do justice to that is to extend reservation to the private sector also. I would request the Government to look into that.

The thing that sets apart our Constitution from the Constitutions of other countries is that it is amendable. [Translate] Dr. Ambedkar had also foreseen that this document was not complete at that time, that people would come in the future, including many young leaders, who would bring numerous challenges and would also wish to amend

it, [English] He has envisaged that the true and great aspect of this Constitution is that it is amendable. It is always open for changes; it is always open to change. My only request to all the Members, irrespective of the parties is that we have such a great duty and responsibility in amending the Constitution. Whenever we do that, we have to uphold the principles of the Constitution, no matter how many amendments we do. We have done almost 99 amendments. But never has the dignity or the respect of the Constitution gone down. Our previous leaders have always upheld that. It is our primary duty also to keep the Constitution at the very highest level. We have to take it forward with the spirit with which it was visioned, with the principles with which it was done 66 years ago. I would request everyone to keep up that spirit of the Constitution in future also.

The other thing is that we are a young nation today. In all our speeches we talk about how young our India is today. There is a lot of young population. I would urge each and every parliamentarian who is here to take the Constitution to the young people of this nation to give a sense of direction to them. There are many sacred documents. There are many documents which have been written over centuries, over the years or generations. But in today's India if there is one document which unites every one and which gives a sense of direction

and purpose it is the Constitution of India. Every single youth of this country should abide by it, should know what is there in it. It is not just a way to run the country. The Constitution was designed not just in a way to run the country but it was designed to be relevant for an individual also. We can take many examples from the Constitution which will help us grow as an individual in today's society. The youth of this country definitely needs this as an inspiring book. It can be considered as a holy, sacred text or anything. But the Constitution needs to be taken to the youth of this country. It has to be done by us. First of all, we should take the responsibility of taking it to the youth of the nation. That would be a proper commemoration to Dr. Ambedkarji on his 125th Birth Anniversary.

With that, I would like to conclude my speech. I thank you very much for allowing me to speak.

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I request other Members to speak very briefly. I am having a very big list of Hon. Members who are eager to participate.

SHRI A. P. JITHENDER REDDY (MAHABUBNAGAR): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for giving me this opportunity to take part in this important discussion on commitment of India's Constitution on the occasion of 125th birth anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Sir, first of all I would like to put the record straight. It is not a grudge. But it is absolutely wrong for youngsters to feel that the Constitution has come in between the division of their State. In 2008, Yerrannaidu-ji, father of the Hon. Member who spoke before me, was a Member. He had gone around the State and taken the opinion of the people of Andhra as well as Telangana. They had submitted their report and a letter was written to the President of India by their leader in 2008. Many of the Telangana leaders also opposed it at that particular time. They also did not want division at that particular time in 2008. Most of the leaders in their party also had opposed it. Even then, his father, being one of the important persons in that Committee gave that report. Their leader Chandrababu Naidu-garu had written a letter to the President saying that Andhra and Telangana should be separated.

Sir, he did not stop there. In 2009, TDP entered into an alliance with TRS party thinking that the Telangana people want Telangana

and so if they had an alliance with TRS party they could come into power. So, it was done with hunger for power on that particular day. So, there is no point blaming the Constitution for division of the State. ... *(Interruptions)*

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. Members, do not interrupt.

SHRI A. P. JITHENDER REDDY: Sir, I am not yielding. Given time, I would have explained this. But now I just want to say that history is history, it is over. Let them be happy in their State and we will be happy in our State. They should not unnecessarily today start blaming the Constitution or any other person for this. ... *(Interruptions)*

The only thing is that today we have to see what my leader Chandrasekhara Rao says. He says, you be with the people, work with the people day and night and you will really get their blessings. And you have witnessed it today when the Member of Parliament from my party had taken oath. One and a half years of this Government have passed and now it is a kind of referendum for our party. It was a referendum on our party, on our work, the Chief Minister and Party leader's hard work that out of 10,40,000 votes polled, this young Member of Parliament got 6,15,000 votes. He got a majority of

4,65,000 leaving aside Congress and BJP-TDP alliance whose deposits have been lost.

The people of Warangal District had blessed the boy and had given him this verdict. ... (*Interruptions*) Sir, this particular person is a dalit boy, a humble boy, a very poor person. Not even a single paisa was spent from his pocket to come as an MP into this Parliament.

He was a Dalit. This is what happens when you really work for the people. That is why the architect of Telangana Shri K. Chandrasekhar Rao is giving what has been deprived to people of Telangana for the last 60 years. We have been deprived of irrigation water; we have been deprived of clean drinking water, roads and agriculture. Now, all these are being given. Our finances had been taken away. All this has been provided to all our people. That is why today this result is there. This is an example, for the Constitution says, be with the people and you will be blessed by the people.

Today, as we celebrate the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, we stand in awe of the architect of our Constitution who sculpted it. When we compare the founding fathers of our Constitution with the founding fathers of the American Constitution, the great leaders of the Russian Revolution and the leaders of the movement for the advancement of the coloured people in America and Africa, our

leaders like Dr. Ambedkar in addition to their great patriotism and wisdom, had another dimension to their great vision. They brought a spiritual dimension to a political task. In the entire debates in the Constituent Assembly, there is no touch of bitterness or rancour against the British or the grim events of the Partition; their anxiety was to save the Indian sub-continent from the scourge of the bigotries and intolerances that had made Partition inevitable. Immense faith was reaffirmed in the good sense of the common man and universal adult suffrage was provided as one of the cornerstones of the democratic edifice.

Dr. Ambedkar performed the role of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee with great aplomb and efficiency. The Drafting Committee was appointed on 29th August, 1947. The Committee presented the Draft Constitution to the President of the Constituent Assembly on 21st February, 1948. When it came up for discussion before the Assembly, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, himself a Member of the Drafting Committee, told the House that even though there were seven Members in the Drafting Committee, “it happened ultimately that the burden of drafting this Constitution fell on Dr. Ambedkar” and he was able to accomplish the task ‘in a manner which is undoubtedly commendable.’ When the Draft Constitution, as framed

by the Drafting Committee, was being finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly, high tributes were paid to Dr. Ambedkar and his team for accomplishing a most difficult task within a very short time schedule. Thus, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar expressed 'high appreciation of the skill and ability' with which Dr. Ambedkar had piloted the Constitution and the untiring work that he had done as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya spoke of the 'Steamroller intellect' that Dr. Ambedkar brought to bear upon the magnificent and tremendous task of Constitution making. He said that whatever Dr. Ambedkar felt to be right, irrespective of the consequences, he stood by it 'irresistible, indomitable, unconquerable, levelling down tall palms and short poppies. '

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly observed on 26th November, 1949:

“We could never make a decision which was or could be ever so right as when we put him on the Drafting Committee and made him its Chairman. ”

Quite appropriately, Dr. Ambedkar has been given all the due credit for his work as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

Making of India’s Constitution had been a stupendous task and still continues to be a very important task. India has a diversity which few countries match. Its diversity needs a Constitution which is not intended for a nation but as a writer said its Constitution is intended for a civilisation.

In the changing context of globalised economy, the fundamental law should address itself in action to relocate the sources of the social obligations of the State. This is a complicated exercise. Central to the process of development is the realisation of rights. It means that consideration of human rights, equity, equality, equal justice, and accommodation of diversity are central to the conceptualisation, design, implementation, delivery, monitoring, and evaluation of all developmental processes.

The problems of social exclusion, more virulent in India on account of the hierarchical structure of its society, need systemic solutions. The political structure and system under the Indian Constitution envisage a federal democratic form of government based on the values of equality, social justice and republicanism. It provides a framework for the attainment of its social and economic goals. It envisages a State-centric welfare government. Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles are the conscience of the Constitution. The State has social obligations.

The brighter side of the seven decades of the Constitution at work is that basic spirit and creed of democracy have taken deep roots in the country, the feudal character of society and polity notwithstanding. The democratic processes are, it is true, tainted by the pervasive corruption in the working of the democratic institutions. They detract heavily from and threaten the survival of democracy. Hopefully, they are the manifestations of a difficult but passing phase. With educational advancement and participatory institutions, that situation has improved a lot.

The 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendments have provided a historic opportunity. These landmark Constitution Amendments ensuring reservation of one-third of seats for women in elections to

village-level *panchayats* and *nagar palikas* have provided a further impetus to democracy, decentralisation and local governance.

The broader base of democratic debate, free and compulsory education, and an independent Press have strengthened democratic institutions and processes. The political, social, and economic gifts of democracy have endowed Indians with significant rewards, particularly in the matter of enjoyment of personal liberty and individual freedom. The Press has been free and fiercely independent.

Dr. Ambedkar's role in the formation of the federal structure of our polity is very important. The observations of Dr. Ambedkar on the special nature of India's federalism are worth recalling. He said:

“There are some other special features of the proposed Indian Federation which mark it off not only from the American Federation but from all other Federations. All federal systems including the American are placed in a tight mould of federalism. No matter what the circumstances, it cannot change its form and shape. It can never be unitary. On the other hand, the Draft Constitution can be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it is so

designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. ”

The framers of the Constitution sought to unite the vast country with its great diversity and many languages and creeds within the common bond of constitutional justice on the great ideals of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The framers showed an uncompromising respect for human dignity, an unquestioning commitment to secularism, equality and non-discrimination and an abiding concern for the poor and the weak. They made a bold attempt to base the constitutional foundations on the firm faith that all classes of people, followers of all faiths and particularly the traditionally under-privileged should all join to work for their united constitutional salvation on the shared faith that the people as a whole must sink or swim together and that in the long run prosperity and salvation are in union and not in division.

Dr. Ambedkar had tremendous faith in the future of India, in the oneness and unity of the nation and in the development of an integrated Indian society freed completely from the scourge of castes and creeds and discrimination of various sorts. He was for dismantling the camps that divided. He looked forward to our becoming a really united people.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak.

SHRI JITENDRA CHAUDHURY (TRIPURA EAST): Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. Today we are celebrating the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He was one of the pillars of the makers of our Constitution. We are discussing as to how we are implementing the Constitution, which we official accepted on 26th January, 1950, in today's circumstances and how the people of our country are enjoying the fruits of this Constitution.

Sir, the two pillars or the great strength of our Constitution are the fundamental rights and the directive principles. The fundamental rights talks about providing equality of status, enough opportunity, abolition of untouchability, freedom and remedies for the enforcement of the rights. The directive principles talk about envisaging the broad guiding for fair distribution of wealth and better living conditions.

In this perspective we should see how far these two strengths of the very Constitution have been implemented in our country. Since this morning a number of speakers have lauded the pillars of the Constitution makers for having given us this great Constitution. We should not forget that the spirit of the Constitution is not only the brain or the contribution of these few people but it also has the legacy of the freedom struggle. Actually, the desires of scores of people who laid

down their lives, who struggled for the Independence, have been reflected in the spirit of the Constitution.

Today, definitely it is a good occasion and we are happy that we are discussing it. We should be very much grateful that the hon. Prime Minister has been very patiently listening to the discussion from the very beginning. I would like to take some advantage of the presence of the Head of the Government and say that we have to really see how the very principle of the Constitution is being implemented.

16. 00 hours

Sir, if we see, our Constitution has provided some nomenclatures to certain sections of people like the most backward, SC/ST, minorities, etc. These constitute 85 per cent of the population and others are 15 per cent only. But in all respects like Government offices, politics, ruling classes, share of wealth, etc. everywhere this composition is not matching. It is just the reverse. Why is it so? It is because we failed to implement properly the mandate of the Constitution. We have failed to create that kind of atmosphere so that the downtrodden people could enjoy the fruits of the Constitution.

In the Constitution, the Fundamental Rights talk about keeping the goal of social equality in all parameters. Those parameters are economic, education, occupation, housing, health, nutrition, etc. for those sections of people who are living in rural areas and urban areas. We have to see whether these parameters are being fulfilled. Our hon. Prime Minister was in Kerala on 9th February, 2014 for the centenary celebrations of the historic 'Kayal Samaram' struggle for dalits at Kochi. At that time, he said that the dalits, adivasis and backward classes have not got their due in the last 60 years and that he will take it upon himself to fulfil this promise. No time should be lost in taking

specific steps to implement that. If this is the desire of the Government, definitely we should review it.

Still atrocities are happening on the SCs, STs and other backward classes. To prevent that kind of atrocities a Bill was passed in the Lok Sabha on 04. 08. 2015. This is the only specific legislation which has been taken up by this Government for SCs and STs in the last one and a half years. But this process has not yet been completed as it has not been moved in the Rajya Sabha. So today while we are discussing it, this aspect should also be discussed.

Then, there is the question of development. There was some mechanism when the Planning Commission used to exist. At that time, there was a provision for SC Component Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan. But if we see the last two budgets of this Government, we would find that it has been grossly violated and that spirit has not been maintained there. If we see the budget figures of this financial year, under Tribal Sub-Plan, the figure was supposed to be Rs. 50,000 crore, it has been reduced to Rs. 19,980 crore which is less by more than 50 per cent. Then how could the anger expressed by the hon. Prime Minister be contained? So, it has to be reviewed.

Similarly, a number of speakers spoke about education. The under-privileged people have to be provided the facilities for good

education, good schools, etc. Then the Post-Matric Scholarship is there. Here also, in 2015-16, it has been reduced to Rs. 720 crore only whereas in 2011-12 – four years ago – it was Rs. 865 crore. So, in 2015-16, it is less by 17 per cent.

How come then the amount in the promotional scheme for the education of under-privileged tribal, SC, ST people decreased. This matter should be discussed today.

There is another issue. Owing to privatisation and because of a lot of amendments, there has been a serious encroachment on the rights of education is likely to crop up, particularly in higher education. It is going to be commercialised. The scope of education for the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the OBCs and also of the other poorer sections, not just people in the reserved category, is getting minimised. So, what will happen to the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the OBCs? A new clause 5 in Article 15 was inserted in the 93rd Amendment in 2005 for the purpose of providing reservation in higher educational institutions and even in the private sector. I do not blame the present Government for this but the previous Government was also responsible for that. Since today we are discussing these issues on the

occasion of the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar some assurance should come from the Government.

Following the court judgement of 2012 regarding reservation in promotion during the UPA Government, there has been a lot of embargo. Many State Governments are not providing reservation to people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The courts have their own say. The Constitution should come up with a clear verdict about how the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes can get the benefit in promotion and get a clear road for their elevation. Unless this happens, the topic on which we are discussing today about the upliftment of people and improvement of social quality and giving social justice will have no meaning.

One of my friends from the TDP mentioned that nowadays because of the policies of the Government everything is going to be privatised. The shares of the profit making PSUs are being sold to the private companies. So, there is no scope in the public sector for expanding the job opportunities. If Government's objective is only to improve the economy and generate employment in the private sector, then Government should come up with a policy and make provisions whereby the people belonging to the backward sections of society would get job opportunities even in the private sector. This would be

right occasion to announce there would be reservation in the services and should have other opportunities for the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in private sector. Unless that is done the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will never have an opportunity to get a job in our country.

Since I am from the North East and you would know that the North Eastern States, there are many issues which has not been resolved till today since the early 50s and 60s. The State of Manipur is burning. Other North Eastern States also are facing problems. Though in our State we have been able to bring back normalcy, yet to remove the pains of the very downtrodden people of our society we need to do something. During the 60s, by the 6th Amendment there has been provision made in the Constitution to govern certain area by people who are dominantly living there, where they have the majority and lands are occupied by them. But owing to present economic and other things slowly the pressure on the land has been enormous.

The provisions made under the Sixth Schedule are not sufficient or suffice to maintain matters regarding land. That is why, it becomes difficult for the Autonomous Council to control the land under them and to look after their language, culture and economy, etc. So, the Sixth Schedule should also be amended suitably so that this particular

section of people will enjoy the fruits of Independence and our Constitution.

In the last 18 months, I have put two questions to the Ministry of Home Affairs as they look after the languages coming under the Eighth Schedule. I would like to speak in my mother tongue in this House also and it may well be translated to others as well. But there is no scope for it and there are hundreds of other languages like my mother tongue. Some are developed and some are not developed. Since they are not included in the Constitution, it does not find a proper place. That is why, the Government should look into this matter. Unless these aspects are not looked into, not only my language but many other languages in different parts of the country will get neglected. And one day, they will be just missing. So, it is very much essential to look into this aspect.

While the hon. Home Minister was delivering his speech, he talked about women empowerment. A number of women Members from this side and that side also are present here. The words, empowerment of women, have been chanted here. Everybody was eager to hear whether hon. Home Minister will declare that, during this Session or during the period of NDA-II Government, the pending Women Reservation Bill will be passed or not. I think at the end of

the discussion, definitely, the Prime Minister will definitely speak. Unless these very important issues are not addressed after 68 years of Independence and 65 years of our acceptance of our Constitution, our country will still be lagging behind and struggling with disparities. Why should there be such a situation? It is because certain sections of our population including women, SCs and STs, etc. are not guided and governed according to the provisions of the Constitution, the desire of our freedom fighters and outstanding leaders who framed this Constitution for our country.

So, on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I request this House and the Government in particular that these crucial and important aspects should be taken into consideration. Only in this way, we will pay our regards and respect to the great Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and others who were behind the framing of our Constitution.

With these words, I conclude.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS, FOOD AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (SHRI RAMVILAS PASWAN): Hon. Deputy Speaker Sir, first of all, I would like to thank the Government and the Chair. For the first time since Independence, we are observing 26th November as Constitution Day and discussing it today. I urge you and the Government that just as we observe 15th August and 26th January every year as Independence Day and Republic Day, similarly, every year, 26th November should be observed both inside and outside Parliament.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are two important matters today. One is the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar, and the other is Constitution Day. I had been selected as a DSP, but I owe my entry into politics to two great men. One is Babasaheb Ambedkar, and the other is Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. After reading Babasaheb Ambedkar's biography, especially for a person born in a humble family like mine, one cannot help but be deeply moved by the conditions of that time. He was a source of great inspiration for us. When I read his biography, I learnt how the caste system operated in this country. Even today, I believe that if there is a single greatest enemy and the greatest betrayer of the nation, it is caste. As long as

caste exists, the unity and integrity of this country can never be fully secure. Whether we can eradicate caste itself I cannot say, but we can certainly abolish casteism.

Hon. Deputy Speaker Sir, once a foreign journalist asked Babasaheb Ambedkar: All other leaders are asleep, but why are you awake? I had not even taken an appointment, yet you gave me time to meet you. To this Babasaheb Ambedkar replied: “All other leaders are asleep because their people are awake. I remain awake because my people are still asleep.”

On another occasion, in Parliament, Babasaheb Ambedkar was asked why he always spoke about the downtrodden, the so-called untouchables and Dalits. He responded that though he had framed the Constitution, he had thereafter set only one goal in his life. There are 543 Members in Parliament. If each Member takes up one goal, then there will be no issues left unresolved in the country. He said that he had taken as his life’s mission the eradication of untouchability amongst Dalits. Here, many references have been made to Babasaheb Ambedkar. One of our colleagues from Shiv Sena asked how Babasaheb Ambedkar entered the Constituent Assembly. Another colleague mentioned that he entered from two constituencies – from Bengal and later from Maharashtra.

Hon. Deputy Speaker Sir, Kharge ji is seated here. One of our colleagues also said that despite his role in the Constituent Assembly, in 1952-53, attempts were made to defeat him. The degree to which Babasaheb Ambedkar was neglected cannot even be fully expressed. When I first entered this House in 1977 with the highest number of votes polled in the world at that time, I went to Central Hall. There I saw portraits of many leaders adorning the walls, but to my great disappointment, there was no portrait of our source of inspiration, Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Hon. Deputy Speaker Sir, on the very first day when we entered Parliament, we raised the issue that there was no portrait of Babasaheb Ambedkar in Central Hall. At that time, we were told that there was simply no space.... (*Interruptions*) In 1989, when I became Minister of Labour and Welfare under the V.P. Singh Government, supported by the Bharatiya Janata Party, on 14th April, 1990, we took three historic decisions. The first was to place the portrait of Babasaheb Ambedkar at the most prominent place in the Central Hall of Parliament. Suddenly, space was found.... (*Interruptions*) When there is space in the heart, there is always space on the wall. But when there is no space in the heart, no wall can ever have enough space. Everyone else had already been conferred the Bharat Ratna, but Babasaheb

Ambedkar had been denied this honour.... (*Interruptions*) Gandhiji is the Father of the Nation, he is above all such discussions.... (*Interruptions*) On 14th April, 1990, we did three things: Babasaheb Ambedkar was awarded the Bharat Ratna, his birth anniversary was declared a national holiday, his portrait was installed in the Central Hall, and the Ambedkar Foundation was established.

Sir, there are four or five significant places associated with Babasaheb Ambedkar. The first is Mhow, where he was born. I would like to thank the Government there, the Government of Madhya Pradesh under Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan. When I visited eight or ten years ago, there was only a small room where his father, who served in the Army, had lived. Today, a grand memorial stands there. The second is 26 Alipur Road, where Babasaheb Ambedkar drafted the Constitution. I would like to thank the Government of Atal ji, because during his tenure considerable work was undertaken. We had initiated this in 1990 with a grant of Rs. 10 crore. I also wish to thank the Hon. Prime Minister for deciding that just as Rajghat and other such sites have been developed, 26 Alipur Road too shall be developed into a grand memorial. The third is Deeksha Bhoomi at Nagpur, where through the efforts of Shri R.S. Gavai and others, a memorial has been built. The fourth is Chaitya Bhoomi. We had been

demanding during the UPA Government's time that this be declared a national memorial. I thank the Hon. Prime Minister that 12 acres of land from Indu Mill have been allotted for this purpose, along with an announcement of Rs. 425 crore for the construction of the memorial. The fifth is in London, where in a three-storey house, Babasaheb Ambedkar lived for two years while pursuing his education. I thank the Maharashtra Government and the Hon. Prime Minister for acquiring it for four million pounds. The Hon. Prime Minister himself went there and inaugurated it.

I have repeatedly said that there is no dearth of leaders in this country, nor is there any shortage of policies. The greatest deficiency is in the intent of the leaders. Unless the intent is clear and honest, the welfare of the nation will not be achieved.

Coming to the next point, in relation to the Constitution, I would like to state two or three matters. The first is that before Independence, the condition of the untouchables, who are today referred to as Dalits, was extremely pitiable. People like us must honestly admit that while we were strongly opposed to the British, had they not come to this country, we would have had to struggle for a long time for equality before law and for equal rights for all. The British abolished several social evils and provided a system of governance. Many people often

raise the question as to why reservation is needed. I shall come to that later. But first, what was the Poona Pact? The British had declared that the country would be granted Independence. Babasaheb Ambedkar had then raised the question as to what would happen to our people. Under the Communal Award it was stated that Members of the Scheduled Castes would have the right to two votes. In a reserved Parliamentary Constituency, only voters from the reserved category would elect their representative. In addition, such reserved voters would also have the right to vote in the general category to elect a general candidate. This situation, however, would have created deep divisions in the country. Consequently, Mahatma Gandhi was compelled to undertake a fast in the Yerwada Jail. After several days, the Poona Pact was arrived at, and thereafter the entire process of reservation was introduced. Therefore, I would like to say to you that the real question is not who is Hindu and who is Muslim. The real question is who is native and who is a foreigner? ... (*Interruptions*)

There were two Muslims in that context. One was Ibrahim Lodi and the other was Babur. When Babur invaded this land, who was it that fought against him? It was Ibrahim Lodi. One was native, the other was foreign. When the nation attained Independence, our freedom fighters embraced the gallows with pride. Khudiram Bose, a

Hindu, kissed the gallows. Sardar Bhagat Singh, a Sikh, embraced the gallows. Ashfaqulla Khan, a Muslim, too embraced the gallows. Ashfaqulla Khan had once said, recalling the immortal lines of Bismil:

"Sarfarooshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai, dekhna hai zor kitna baazu-e-qatil mein hai."

[The desire for martyrdom burns in our hearts, let us see the strength in the arms of the executioner.]

He embraced the gallows after saying those words. Bahadur Shah Zafar was the last emperor of the Mughal Sultanate. The British captured Bahadur Shah Zafar and said to him,:

"Damadame mein dam nahin hai, khair maango jaan ki, ae zafar bas ho chukee hai, teg hindustan ki."

["Your vigour is spent, there is no life left in your revolt. Beg for your life, O Zafar, it is over; the sword of Hindustan is broken.]"

To this, Bahadur Shah Zafar replied,

Hindiyon mein boo rahegi jab talak imaan ki, takht talandan tak chalegi, teg Hindustan ki.

["As long as honour breathes in the people of Hind, the sword of Hindustan will endure; its blade shall strike on till thrones are shaken."]

When Bahadur Shah was dying, he wrote:

"kitna hai badanaseeb Zafar, daphan ke lie do gaj zamee bhi na mili, kunve yaar mein."

["How ill-fated is Zafar, not even two yards of earth were found to bury me, left in the well of friends."]

Therefore I say that talk of Hindu, Muslim, communalism or secularism has gone on long enough. Tell me, after sixty-six years of Independence what is the condition of the Dalits? What is the condition of the backward classes, of Muslims, of the poor? Hukmdev bhai is seated here, and together with Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia we all used to raise slogans long ago when we were in the united socialist movement. We used to chant:

"Sanasopa mein baandee gaanth, pichhada paade sau mein saath
 Raajpaath hai kiske haath, angreji aur oonchi jaat,
 unchi jaat ki kya pehchaan, gitpit bole kare na kaam,
 chhoti jaat ki kya pehchaan, kare kaam aur sahe apmaan,
 angrej yahaan se chale gaye, angreji ko bhi jaana hai,

angreji mein kaam na hoga, phir se desh gulaam na hoga,
raashtrapati ka beta ho ya chaparaasee ki ho santaan,

Birala ya gareeb ka beta, sabke shiksha ek samaan,
karakhaniya daamon ki keemat, aane kharch se dyodha ho,
ann ke daam kee ghatatee-badhatee, aane ser ke bhitar ho,
jo jameen ko jote-bove, vo jameen ka maalik hai,
julm karo mat, julm saho mat, jeena hai to marana seekho,
kadam-kadam par ladana seekho"

["Bonded by caste in the census, the backward man bears a hundred burdens, who holds power now? The English and the upper castes. What of the upper castes? All talk, no deed. What of the lower castes? They do the work and suffer the insult. The British have left, English will also go, the country will never be enslaved again. Whether the President's son or the sweeper's child, whether the scion of the wealthy or the son of the poor, education must be the same for all. Prices fixed by traders should fall, the cost of living must be within reach, grain prices must stay measured by the seer. He who tills the land must be its owner. Do not oppress, do not bear oppression. If you would live, learn to die for the cause. Learn to fight, step by step."]

Even today, the situation remains the same. The Constitution was framed, Independence was won, and after 1950, in 1952, the first general elections were held. Since then, sixteen general elections have been conducted and three hundred Assembly elections have taken place. There is no doubt that our democracy is growing stronger with each passing day. Babasaheb had cautioned that we are heading towards a contradiction. On the one hand, we proclaim that the poor, Dalits, backward classes and minorities have attained political freedom, but on the other hand, they have not attained economic and social freedom. He warned that if economic and social rights were denied, then this very section could be compelled to destroy the Constitution. You can see who the Naxalites are. They belong to the same deprived families. They are the poor, the tribals. They possess land, and beneath their land lie coal mines. Yet when coal and fertilisers are extracted, they are forcibly driven away. Within the earth, hot substances lie buried. If these hot substances are allowed to find their way out slowly, there will be no volcanic eruption. But if they are forcibly suppressed, then the volcano will erupt. And when the volcano erupts, as the English saying goes he that is down needs fear no fall. The one who is at the lowest rung fears no fall. I would like to tell you, and also the Government, that in one eye you must

keep compassion, but in the other you must keep fire. On one side lies the Mount Kailash of affluence, and on the other the abyss of poverty. Until the mountain of affluence is broken, how will the abyss of poverty ever be filled? How to achieve this rests upon your responsibility. Shrimati Sonia ji said that the Constitution is a mirror. If it is in the hands of good men, it will yield good results, but even the best Constitution in the wrong hands can lead to tyranny. I have witnessed this during the Emergency. It was under this very Constitution that we were imprisoned then. As I have said earlier, leadership, policy and intent must all be righteous. Read the Preamble of the Constitution. The ten principles enshrined therein are its soul: [English] Sovereignty, Social Republic, Democracy, Secularism, Justice, Individual Rights, Equality, Fraternity, Dignity of the Individual, Unity and Integrity. [Translation] These ten principles are the essence of our Constitution. Just now, our friends from the CPM spoke of reservations. The matter of reservation in promotions is before us. We have our Judiciary. During the Mandal Commission days, I was a Minister. At that time, I held six Departments – Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes, Minorities, Child and Welfare, and Women’s Department. It was then that we accorded constitutional status to the Women’s Commission. At that

very time, constitutional status was given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as well. It was during that period that the Prevention of Atrocities Act was enforced. ... (*Interruptions*) At that time, Shri V.P. Singh was the Prime Minister, and the Mandal Commission was implemented. When it was enforced, some people went to the Supreme Court against it. ... (*Interruptions*) Please do not drag politics into this. ... (*Interruptions*) Our speech is not political. When the Mandal Commission was enforced, the matter went before the Supreme Court. The Court upheld the Mandal Commission. I would like to place on record that when we were fighting for the Mandal Commission, it was not just Ram Vilas Paswan. Along with me were Shri Madhu Dandavate, Shri Chandrajit Yadav, Shri Harikesh Bahadur ... (*Interruptions*) and Shri Ram Awadhesh as well.

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV (BANKA): Sharad Yadav, Lalu Yadav ji and Nitish ji were also there.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: At that time, Shri Lalu ji had become the Chief Minister. We are speaking of Parliament. ... (*Interruptions*) Kindly add all the names mentioned by Shri Jaiprakash ji. Include the name of Shri Jaiprakash ji as well. ... (*Interruptions*) I would like to state that whenever we speak against caste, whenever we speak of backward and forward, it must also be

acknowledged that people of every caste in this country have fought against the caste system. Mahatma Gandhi was a Vaishya. Lord Buddha was a Kshatriya, a King, yet Babasaheb regarded Lord Buddha as his leader. Dayanand Saraswati was a Brahmin, but when he fought against hypocrisy, it was a Brahmin who poisoned him. Swami Vivekananda was a Kayastha, but he proclaimed- O people of higher castes, surrender your rights into the hands of these Shudras, else when they rise, with a single blow they shall shatter all your might. Therefore, India is a garden. In this garden, there are flowers of every hue – Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Dalits and Brahmins. We desire, and our Government desires, that no flower in this garden should wither away. Every bud must have the chance to blossom, every flower the chance to smile.

I was saying that in 1992, when the matter of the Mandal Commission went to Court, on 16th November 1992, the Supreme Court stated that within the next five years, reservation in promotions would be abolished. Just now, our friends from the CPM were speaking of this. We wish to place on record our gratitude to Shri Narasimha Rao ji who, in 1995, introduced reservation in promotions in Parliament. It was through a Constitutional Amendment that reservation in promotions was secured. But in this country, there are

individuals of every sort. Someone went to Court against it, and said yes, reservation in promotions may remain, but seniority should not. During the Government of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in the year 2000, three Amendments were carried out. Some people speak of the BJP and Congress. We have the complete record of those three or four Amendments. The first Amendment ensured that seniority would remain. Then again, someone approached the Court and said yes, seniority may remain, but there should be no relaxation.

Subsequently, the Constitution was amended once more, and during the tenure of Atal ji it was provided that both seniority as well as relaxation would remain. Thereafter, the Supreme Court ruled that while relaxation would continue, reservation could not exceed 50 per cent. Then, in the year 2001, during Atal ji's time, another Constitutional Amendment was made, which stated that though we would not cross the 50 per cent limit in reservations, the Government would retain the right to conduct special recruitment. If the quota for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes was not being filled, and even within the 50 per cent limit the posts remained vacant, then the Government could carry out special recruitment separately. Subsequently, the Nagaraj case went to the Supreme Court, challenging all these Constitutional Amendments as

unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, however, held that the Amendments were not unconstitutional but valid. But the Court added that the creamy layer would apply. The Mandal Commission's nine-Judge Bench had held that there is no concept of creamy layer for the Scheduled Castes. Yet the Court maintained that the creamy layer would remain. Further, the Court stated that backwardness must be identified even for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But the identity of the Scheduled Castes is not backwardness – the identity of the Scheduled Castes is untouchability. ... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. SOUGATA RAY (DUM DUM): Paswan ji, the creamy layer is only in the case of OBCs.... (*Interruptions*)

RAM VILAS PASWAN: But the Supreme Court gave its verdict even regarding the Scheduled Castes, and that is why reservation in promotions was stopped. Secondly, it spoke about backwardness. But backwardness is not the true identifier here. For the Scheduled Castes, the marker of backwardness is untouchability, and for the Scheduled Tribes, it is their distinct tribal culture. What is happening today, I do not wish to name anyone, but we have seen this in Bihar and now in Uttar Pradesh also. Any caste that comes forward is being pushed into the Scheduled Castes category; if it is a backward caste, it is moved into the extremely backward castes; if it is extremely backward, then

it is put among Dalits; and if convenient, even among Tribals. But there are rules and procedures that govern which caste belongs where. It is the responsibility of the State Government to make a recommendation. Once a recommendation is made, the matter goes to the Registrar General of India. After that, it is placed before the SC, ST and BC Commissions. When these Commissions give approval, it then goes to the concerned Department. Once the Department clears it, the matter proceeds to the Cabinet. Only after the Cabinet gives its approval does it finally come before this House. However, nowadays, castes are being shifted and included here or there purely for political gain. That is why I want to say that what has been pointed out is absolutely correct. I also want to urge the hon. Prime Minister: Last time, the UPA Government had brought a Bill on reservation in promotions. But who opposed it? Was it the BJP that opposed it? Who opposed it? Why is nobody speaking about this now? it was opposed by Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav's party, the Samajwadi Party. They did not allow it to be passed. The Bill got passed in one House, but in the other it was blocked. You must build consensus. The Government is ready to bring it again. Now, regarding reservation in the private sector — very well, we do not demand reservation for scientists, we do not want reservation to come at the cost of efficiency. But at least

in Class III and Class IV jobs, why should it not be possible? Affirmative action must be there. Is it not so in England and America? If you look at their media or TV, among four people at least one will be from the black community. Here, in our media, you will not even find 0.01 per cent representation of Scheduled Castes. Here, caste is not even identifiable by face, but exclusion is very clear. Therefore, on the private sector issue, we say, even if there is no reservation, there must be affirmative action. For so many years, whose Government has been ruling? Even today, SC and ST reservations are not backed by a law, they are only enforced through Government Orders. Any officer who violates them faces no consequences. From the very beginning, we have been demanding: make a proper Act for the reservations being given to SCs and STs through Government Orders, and place it in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. Then no officer would dare to violate it. These are the fundamental tasks before us. Federal structure and other issues can be resolved through political contest. But if the Government does not focus on the problems of the poor, Dalits, tribals, backward classes, minorities, and even the poor among the upper castes, then this democracy will hollow out from its roots. We all invoke the name of Babasaheb Ambedkar, but we must remember — on Rajya Sabha TV we saw how nobody wanted

Babasaheb Ambedkar to come forward. It was only Gandhiji's suggestion that made space for him. What names did people use for him? If we truly want to pay homage to Babasaheb Ambedkar, if on Constitution Day we wish to strengthen the Constitution, then we must seriously ask: how will the poor rule in this country? How will we eradicate social evils? Yes, we have progressed. But if a man of 25 years has grown only three feet tall, he may be taller than at birth, but he has not grown to the height he should have reached. That is why, if we are sincere in our commitment to the Constitution, if we wish to honour and uphold it, then it is the responsibility of both the Government and the Opposition to take forward the true spirit of the Constitution, which is power to the poor. With these words, I express my thanks to you, to the Government, and to the Opposition alike.

[English]

SHRI MEKAPATI RAJA MOHAN REDDY (NELLORE): Thank you hon. Deputy Speaker Sir for giving me an opportunity to speak on this historic debate.

At the outset, I compliment the Government for launching year-wise celebrations of 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb, the author of the Indian Constitution. It was exactly 66 years ago, on this very day, 26th November 1949 that the Constituent Assembly adopted the historic Indian Constitution. So, it is only in the fitness of things that we today remember Dr. Babasaheb, who played a crucial role, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly in the preparation of the Constitution.

I also compliment the hon. Speaker and the Government for devoting two full days of this House for discussion on the work and contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to India, particularly in the fields of improving the condition of the Dalits who were segregated, suppressed and exploited in their own country by their own people for centuries and to provide them equal status on par with other upper caste Hindus.

Coming from the most marginalized community, braving innumerable insults because he was belonging to an untouchable caste

at that time, Dr. Babasaheb worked his way through to the highest levels in our body polity by his sheer determination, hard work and intellect. This was no easy task and the very fact that we do not have one more Babasaheb to compare should give us an idea of the trials and tribulations he went through. Lives of such great men give us and the posterity a hope to live and an inspiration to face adversities and challenges.

President Obama described Babasaheb as one of the greatest and earliest human rights exponents in the world.

He is among the most educated people of all time in the world. He studied economics, political science, history and law from world renowned institutions like Columbia University, London School of Economics and London University in the early 20th century.

He is perhaps the first Indian doctorate in Economics. None other than the lone Nobel Prize winning economist from India Prof. Amartya Sen said of Babasaheb as follows:

“Ambedkar is my Father in Economics. He is a celebrated champion of the underprivileged. He deserves more than what he has achieved today. His contribution in the field of economics is marvelous and will be remembered forever...”

Coming this from Amartya Sen is no small tribute. Similarly, he was considered by many in the world as one of the greatest legal luminaries.

With so many academic accomplishments, he could have stayed back in UK or USA and happily enjoyed his life. He did not do that. He pursued higher education only for serving crores of under-privileged back home in his country. His life, after returning to India, was full of struggle against the champions of *status quo*.

It was these attributes that prompted the Constituent Assembly to unanimously elect him as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution; it was here that he played an extremely significant role by providing for universal adult franchise, fundamental rights and reservations for dalits and adivasis as part of the written Constitution.

Indian Constitution, thanks to Babasaheb's contribution, is rated as one of the most comprehensive and elaborate documents. For Indian Republic, the world's largest democracy, universal adult franchise cutting across barriers of caste, creed and sex is an article of faith. Even in England, hailed as the mother of democracy, suffrage of women had taken about a hundred years of focused struggle before

it became a reality and for the blacks in the United States it took nearly 200 years to cast their votes in the polling booths for the first time.

Babasaheb in his concluding speech on 25th November 1949 in the Constituent Assembly said:

“There are my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some. But there can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These downtrodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed to devolve into a class struggle or class war. Therefore, the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance for its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all

spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stresses on them. "

The question is: Are we his worthy successors? To what extent has the country been successful in eradicating segregation, exploration and untouchability and social and economic disparities that have been plaguing our society? We have to sadly admit that in many parts of our country, even today, the dalits continue to face the same humiliation that they were facing before adoption of the Constitution. The real tribute to him will be accomplishing things that he stood for and dedicated his whole life for.

I appeal to this august House to resolve today to work towards securing better place for dalits and adivasis for whose upliftment he dedicated his whole life. Thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI TARIQ ANWAR (KATI HAR): Hon. Deputy Speaker Sir, at the outset, I congratulate today's initiative that on the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, we are all engaged in a discussion on the Constitution of our country. The discussion was initiated by our Hon'ble Speaker, followed by the Hon'ble Home Minister, then the Congress President, and many of our esteemed Members have participated in today's deliberation. The framers of our Constitution, our forefathers, must surely have had a purpose behind creating this document.

As I understand it, they envisioned India as a modern and progressive nation, free from discrimination of any kind, where there would be social, economic, and political equality; where everyone would get equal opportunity; where there would be freedom of religion; where there would be freedom of speech and expression. Perhaps, they dreamed that India would become a model nation for the whole world. It is for this reason that the Constitution provided for reservation, so that the weaker sections of society, the Dalits and the marginalized, could also be brought into the mainstream of the nation. The making of the Constitution took a long time because every aspect of it was discussed in detail, debated thoroughly, and enriched with

valuable suggestions from all concerned. After intense deliberation and reflection, the Constitution of our great nation came into being.

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, While Babasaheb Ambedkar made a historic contribution as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, many other stalwarts like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, and several others also played crucial roles in shaping the Constitution. When today's debate began, our Hon'ble Home Minister, in his speech, expressed objections to the inclusion of the words "Socialist" and "Secular" in the Preamble through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment. I must admit, I was both surprised and astonished. His remarks revealed very clearly the mindset of the present Government — what they truly think and what is in their hearts has now come openly to their lips. He said that he did not like the word Secular. But those who believe in Sarva Dharma Sambhav (equal respect for all religions) then argue that adding the word Secular was wrong. Even the definition of secularism, as he tried to explain, was put forward in a very unusual and, I would say, distorted way. That is why I found it strange and felt compelled to point it out. (*Interruptions*) He attempted to misrepresent it, and that, I feel, is not acceptable.

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV: Will you change Babasaheb's constitution? ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI TARIQ ANWAR: Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as far as the question of secularism is concerned, we all know that equal respect for all religions is what we truly mean by secularism. This was the core mantra of Mahatma Gandhi and we all follow his ideals. He is our Father of the Nation who not only led our struggle for independence but also guided us on the path of equal respect for all religions. But today the Government says that there was no necessity of adding the word secularism to the Constitution. Although Shri Rajnath Singh has himself admitted that followers of all religions of the world live in our country, that there is no religion whose adherents are not found here, and that we speak of unity in diversity, yet when it comes to the matter of secularism, the words and intent of the Government appear to change. Sir, the beauty and the strength of India lies precisely in this reality. People of every religion and caste live here. Different languages are spoken, diverse cultures are followed, and varied traditions are practised. When all of these come together, we proudly call it India. This unity in diversity is our greatest beauty, our finest strength and the true soul of our nation.

16. 59 hours*(Hon. Speaker in the Chair)*

Madam Speaker, A nation cannot be run on narrow-minded ideologies. To govern a country, one needs a large heart and an expansive vision. Therefore, I would like to submit that the Hon. Prime Minister is present here, and while the slogan Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas is indeed a very noble one, it must not remain merely a slogan.

17. 00 hours

We would like that, in the truest sense, the people should feel that development is taking place with them and for them, and that efforts are being made to take them along. The people must have faith and confidence in this.... *(Interruptions)* The Congress President, Shrimati Soniaji, in her speech also expressed concern that in the past few months, an atmosphere of fear and apprehension has been created within our country, which is indeed a matter of grave concern.... *(Interruptions)* I had thought that perhaps you would accept this reality in the light of the Bihar results, but it appears that you are still unwilling to accept it.... *(Interruptions)* What I was saying is that as this environment is deteriorating, we all must make efforts to improve

it.... (*Interruptions*) On the issue of intolerance, the writers, the intellectuals, the artists, and all those engaged in the field of art, are increasingly expressing concern, and it is becoming evident. Those who have been awarded, those who have been honoured with prizes, are raising this issue.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NISHIKANT DUBEY: This did not happen after the Bhagalpur riots.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI TARIQ ANWAR: It happened at that time also.... (*Interruptions*) You guys please speak.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV: Madam Speaker, Shri Tariq Sahib is speaking, yet those in Government are not even willing to listen to him. This in itself is intolerance, which they cannot even bear to hear Hon. Tariq Sahib.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI TARIQ ANWAR: Madam, what I was saying is that when someone is conferred with an award, he feels honoured. But in our country today... (*Interruptions*) this is the real regret that you are unable to understand their pain and their suffering.... (*Interruptions*) You are not understanding them, and that indeed is a matter of deep regret.... (*Interruptions*) This is precisely what we wish to convey to the Hon. Prime Minister, that it is necessary to understand their pain, their anguish, their distress, and to take corrective measures....

(Interruptions) If this country has to be governed, if this country has to move forward together, it is essential that all such people are taken into confidence and carried along. The sad reality today is that when people raise their voice, they are told to leave the country....

(Interruptions) Such a notion and such conduct are not proper. At this moment, an Urdu couplet comes to my mind, which I feel compelled to share with you. In 2014, when the people brought Shri Narendra Modi, I would like to express that sentiment through a couplet: We had prayed for a change in circumstances... *(Interruptions)* This is what the people of this country are saying to the Hon. Prime Minister.

"We had prayed for the situation to change,

Now I am afraid of the changing situation. "

... *(Interruptions)* I am saying this because the manner in which awardees are returning their awards and honours is indeed a matter of grave concern.... *(Interruptions)* You must understand this.... *(Interruptions)* It will not do merely to dismiss them as agents or accuse them of creating a false perception within the country.... *(Interruptions)* Such remarks will not suffice. What is required is to understand the prevailing circumstances and to make an earnest effort to improve them.... *(Interruptions)*

Secondly, I would like to make is that our Hon. Prime Minister often used to say, perhaps not so frequently these days, but earlier he would say: Congress-free India. On this occasion today, I would like to submit that a Congress-mukt Bharat alone will not serve the purpose. What is truly needed is a poverty-free Bharat, an unemployment-free Bharat, a corruption-free Bharat. That is the India we aspire to. The nation awaits this. Merely removing Congress or silencing the Opposition will not make India. If, in real terms, you wish to achieve something, then liberate the country from oppression, from disease, from illiteracy. Only then shall India be built in its truest sense, and only then will the dreams envisaged by our forefathers while framing this Constitution, the objectives they had in mind, be truly realised. This, I would like to place before you with all sincerity.

In conclusion, I would only submit that the debate we are holding today must lead to some concrete outcome. It would not be proper if the matter ends merely with a discussion and is forgotten tomorrow. From your side, from the Chair's side, there ought to come forth a Resolution, a proposal as to how, in the days to come, the challenges and difficulties facing the nation are to be addressed. Such a proposal should emerge with the consensus of the entire House. This is what I desire and this is my earnest request to you.

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV (BANKA): Hon. Speaker, Madam, on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Dr Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, two days have been set aside in this august House for discussion. This, I believe, will create a new environment for the nation.

The revered Constitution-maker, Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, bestowed upon this country a Constitution. He provided the very framework and pathway of our democracy, upon which an integrated India and a greater India could be built. Within this flourishing garden of national pride and dignity, Babasaheb Ambedkar ensured that every citizen would have the right to live, the right to reside, the right to equality, the right to justice, and the right to fight for those very rights. Had there not been Babasaheb Ambedkar, and had there not been the great messiahs of our freedom struggle who sacrificed their lives, shedding their blood upon the soil of India, we would not have attained independence. Under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, this struggle was fought, and today, as we remember Bhimrao Ambedkar, we also recall Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. We bow in reverence to them, and along with them, we remember all those great

leaders and freedom fighters who contributed to India's independence.

Today is indeed a most significant day. Words may flit from one side to another, but history will record that this debate took place in the highest House of the land. One must not suppress one's feelings in the course of this debate. We and you will not remain here for ever, but as long as the country and the world endure, the spirit of democracy which is the soul of India and this august House will remain alive. One must speak plainly and without concealment. That is why we must speak of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar and discuss his contributions. It was the great champions of Independence who routed the British across the seven seas and who gave us the Constitution. Had Babasaheb not been there at that time, we would not be here in this House today. All of us who stand and address this House at the mike owe our presence to the weapon of democracy, the ballot. If the weapon of the ballot had not been placed in the hands of the poor, we would not be in this Chamber. The man who entrusted us with the franchise is none other than Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. The right to vote is our right, and embedded within that right are the rights of the small and the poor; from those rights springs power and strength. A living demonstration of Babasaheb

Ambedkar's legacy has just occurred in Bihar, where, through the coalition of the esteemed leaders Shri Lalu ji, Shri Nitish ji and the Congress Party, a government has been formed that will strive to realise Ambedkar's dreams. There can be no doubt about that.

Today, there are many questions before us. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar is like a radiant sun that shall never set. He shall continue to shine, unshadowed for all time to come. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar had said that victory would be ours, yet we must not rest. We must continue to struggle, we must continue to fight, for the road ahead is long, very long. This is a protracted struggle. The very character of this august House has yet to transform. To many, such a statement may appear astonishing, yet that change will come. At the foundation of democracy, the right to vote stands as the most vital step on the ladder. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar declared that Swaraj was approaching and Swaraj had indeed arrived, but in that Swaraj, our participation must be ensured. Where our participation lies, that must be guaranteed.

Mental slavery has prevailed in this country, and people have been oppressed in two ways. The Hon. Prime Minister is seated here. On the one hand, people were held in mental bondage, and on the other hand, they suffered hunger and material bondage. Those of us who

revere Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia would willingly endure hunger for 24, 48 or 72 hours with a smile if need be, but if anyone in free India attempts to enslave us for even one second, we will never tolerate it. That is Babasaheb Ambedkar's dream, and it must not be tolerated at any cost. The social faultlines were drawn in a most arbitrary manner. Where we envision an egalitarian society, where special measures such as reservations for SCs, STs and OBCs are discussed to secure their share, the Manu-vadi forces over millennia have placed people in a rigid hierarchy. They divided humankind, separated blood from blood and stripped people of their humanity, erecting a vertical ladder of caste. Our socialists and Babasaheb Ambedkar said that this vertical line will not work in Indian politics; it must be levelled. An egalitarian society must prevail where there is no discrimination between human beings and no discrimination in the distribution of bread. Tyranny arises where people are crushed. We must not remain crushed that does not mean we will become oppressors; we will not become tyrants. But those who practise cruelty, who commit oppression, who dispossess the poor of their rights and treat fellow human beings like animals, for them we shall, by peaceful means, mount a great struggle. We will not stop. That is the social transformation we seek. If change can be

brought about without bloodshed, Bihar is a great example, under the leadership of the esteemed Shri Lalu ji and Shri Nitish ji....
(*Interruptions*) Hon. Member, will you not remain silent even now? Why do you speak? Where is your courage? So please be quiet and let me speak.

Madam Speaker, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar used to say that it was people who were blind, not physically, but blind in the sense of being deprived, deprived of knowledge, deprived of education and deprived of social consciousness. Babasaheb said that he was the walking stick in the hands of his blind and sleeping people, and that he carried them forward. Once, a journalist from the press asked him, Are you awake now? It is only one o'clock. Babasaheb replied that even if you came at two o'clock, he would still be awake. When asked why, Babasaheb said that he remained awake to rouse the people and carry them forward in the history of this land. If we do not remain awake, others will put our sleeping people even further to sleep. That is why I keep vigil for them; I watch over them. Babasaheb said that he would not let the flame of this awakening be extinguished. We must carry it forward.

Today, the poor are being made the victims of conspiracies. Today is Babasaheb's day and therefore we must listen to his words with

patience and seek to understand them. Babasaheb said that he was born into Hinduism, and yet it is said that he was born into an untouchable home within Hinduism. He declared that though he was born a Hindu, he would not die a Hindu; he would die a Buddhist. Do your limbs not tremble, does your heart not melt at those words? The man who gave us the mirror of democracy spoke of a form of Hinduism that punishes one at birth, which denies power and subjects people to various indignities. Babasaheb was not even permitted to drink water from a glass.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAMESH BIDHURI (SOUTH DELHI): Who did this? The Congress Government did it.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV: Hon. Member, please remain calm. ... (*Interruptions*) He was not allowed to study under electric lights.... (*Interruptions*) He was not allowed to enter temples.... (*Interruptions*)

Hon. Member, please exercise patient.... (*Interruptions*) This is not a simple. This will remain on record, and people will remember you as well. Please remain calm. ... (*Interruptions*)

It was said that would Babasaheb Ambedkar study Sanskrit? Far from it, they said that his eyes should not even fall upon a book....

(Interruptions) If the very foundation is shaken, everything above it will tremble. Therefore we must stand united.... *(Interruptions)*

Madam Speaker, give us an opportunity. Such an opportunity does not come repeatedly. Babasaheb said that we are like a rock that will neither move nor do waver, but will, with time, change the course of the river.... *(Interruptions)*

Hon. Member, please acquire some learning. We became MLAs in 1980. Learn something from us. It is not as easy as you speak it to be. We had the opportunity to work with your respected father. I say this to you with due respect.... *(Interruptions)*

Madam Speaker, Babasaheb said that we must become enlightened, that the poor must live together as one, and he spoke of the upliftment of the untouchables and of women. There should be no distinction among women, no distinction in motherhood or in the womb. This is the power of womanhood. She is the mother, the goddess, the very force. Yet even as a mother, distinctions are drawn. We do not say this on our own; Babasaheb said that if one reads of these things, tears will well up in the eyes. We have read and we have seen these things. This punishment was not meted out by God. When we come to this earth, we are punished by men who say you are so and so, you are such and such. They will not let us enter the water.

Tell a child from Rajasthan to learn to swim in sand, and will he learn to swim? Allow us into the water. Let us take the plunge, and we shall become the best swimmers. The poor, the backwards, the Dalits, the oppressed, the neglected, the helpless, they all can rise, but you must give them the opportunity. Talent is not lacking; only opportunity must be provided. We must not discriminate based on birth.

In today's time, the democracy we have, the people's power, holds immense strength. It has the might of the Sudarshan Chakra. The strength of democracy lies in the power of the vote, and that must be advanced further.

On the question of intolerance, everyone stands up. When Shri Tariq Saheb was speaking. ... (*Interruptions*) Shri Tariq is not just any ordinary person, not merely a Member of Parliament; he is more than that. ... (*Interruptions*) Tariq Saheb was not speaking his own mind; he was giving voice to the soul of the nation. Today scientist. ... (*Interruptions*) This is the reality. The Hon'ble Prime Minister is seated here; he will certainly guide the people. Today in the country, scientists, writers, storytellers, litterateurs, intellectuals — they are not speaking in the name of caste or class. ... (*Interruptions*) Why are people becoming intolerant? ... (*Interruptions*) This is indeed strange. ... (*Interruptions*) We must understand this. ... (*Interruptions*) To each

point of yours, we shall respond. ... (*Interruptions*) May God bless you with wisdom.

All around, this question of intolerance is being raised. When Munawwar Rana's eyes welled up with tears, it was the soul of India that was weeping. Perhaps you may not realise it, but read his book on Banaras, on Agra, on Azamgarh, how from his childhood to his journeys to Pakistan, how he remembers his grandparents, his forefathers, how Munawwar Saheb weaves emotions together, how he unites the vision of an undivided India, it is all in that book. Do not let those tears flow; those are not ordinary tears, though you may think so.

Shah Rukh Khan is abused, and foul language is hurled at him. Some say, Go to Hafiz Saheb, others say his behaviour is disgraceful, and someone calls him a Pakistani agent. What kind of language is this? Is this the language of Indian civilisation and culture? They are branded as agents. People say whatever words come to their minds. Was this the strength that Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar had given us? Speech should reflect dignity. These things need to be looked into.

Incidents like the one in Faridabad, and the one in Dadri, are deeply alarming. We must observe them carefully and find a way forward.

The cleanliness that was advocated by our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, if you wish to witness it, visit the homes of our tribal brothers. See their utensils, their way of living. These are our indigenous brethren, yet the cleanliness of their lives brings peace to the soul. Observe how they live and manage their daily routines. We come from that region, and even today, issues of the Mandal Commission and reservations, as raised by Hon. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, remain pertinent. Reservation is enshrined in the Constitution; it is not a favour granted by anyone. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar spoke of special facilities and opportunities for SCs, STs, and OBCs. The Mandal Commission arrived, and significant struggles ensued. At that time, Hon. Lalu Ji, as the Chief Minister of Bihar, had declared that even if he had to resign from the Chief Ministership, he would do so with a smile, but he would never tolerate anyone trying to obstruct the Mandal Commission. Hon. Nitish Ji, Hon. Sharad Ji, and our other leaders also affirmed that they would not tolerate any interference. ... (*Interruptions*)

Madam Speaker, I would like to request that I be granted an additional five minutes to speak. ... (*Interruptions*) On the issue of reservation, a statement was made by Mohan Bhagwat Ji, which was inappropriate. ... (*Interruptions*) It was a very distressing statement.

... (*Interruptions*) I hereby retract his name. ... (*Interruptions*) The RSS, its leadership, the caste census.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please address the Chair while speaking.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV: We are peaceful people. ... (*Interruptions*) I would like to request the House to consider, as was raised previously, and I urge the Hon. Prime Minister that the caste census, detailing the living standards, dietary habits, and access to employment opportunities of various communities, should be published. Reservations should also be implemented in the private sector. Alongside this, we must carry forward the strength and power given to us by Mahatma Phule, Kabir, and the freedom fighters. The Grand Alliance government in Bihar, which has been formed to realise Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar's dreams, is a result of the efforts of Hon. Lalu Ji, Hon. Nitish Ji, the Congress Party, and all allies who supported it. I express my gratitude to them. We shall advance Baba's dreams, fulfil them collectively, and uphold the supremacy of the House, keeping it inviolable. We pay homage to Babasaheb and salute everyone.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE (GULBARGA): Is there anyone else who wishes to speak after this? ... (*Interruptions*) I am not accustomed to falsehood. Whatever I write, I will write truthfully. ... (*Interruptions*) Whatever I speak, I will speak truthfully.... (*Interruptions*)

Madam Speaker, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this extremely important subject, on the occasion of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary, and on the commitment towards the Constitution of India. It gives me great pleasure. Since this morning, many Hon. Members have been presenting their thoughts on Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and his contributions in the House. You have also highlighted numerous points in your proposed speech. I will attempt to bring a few additional points before you and the House. When one speaks the truth, it can sometimes create a little commotion. Therefore, I earnestly request all of you to listen to me. If there is anything incorrect, I shall retract it. But you must have the ability to hear the truth and the patience to accept it. In the making of this nation, Gandhi Ji, Nehru Ji, Sardar Patel Ji, Maulana Azad Ji, and many other leaders contributed. Dr. Rajendra Prasad Ji, who was the Chairperson of the Constituent Assembly that framed this Constitution, was also present. Many other

great men were involved. Often, not all names are mentioned. Usually, the person leading is cited. Always, it is the Prime Minister's name Modi Ji that is mentioned. You do not mention Advani Ji or other individuals. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ji was the first Prime Minister of this country. That is why his name is mentioned. He helped build this nation, made sacrifices for it, went to jail for its freedom, and devoted himself entirely to the creation of the country. Sometimes I find it strange that many learned people, who know politics, understand society, and have studied history, still say that nothing happened in sixty years and that the country was ruined. If you make such claims, at least read the history of this country. When we mention the names of certain individuals, you are taken aback. I cannot understand this. You may say that in sixty-five years, only a few things were done, and much more could have been achieved. I accept that. But to claim that nothing happened, as if everything is happening only today and everything is being created now, is simply incorrect. The Bhakra Nangal Dam was not built today. The massive dam did not come into being today. The Bhilai Steel Plant did not emerge today. The Tungabhadra project in Karnataka was not constructed today. Large irrigation projects were not initiated today. You may say what you wish. In a country where people once suffered for food, and

grain had to be brought from outside to feed the population, it was under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ji after independence that numerous development works were carried out. That is why today we are able to provide adequate food. The Food Security Act, under which everyone is provided food, is a contribution of Shrimati Sonia Gandhi. This was passed in this House with the approval of all, including your votes. You may acknowledge this. We have made every effort to implement food security as provided in the Constitution of India. Yet, some still claim that nothing has been done. I would like to emphasise that building modern India takes time, just as a settlement gradually grows into a thriving community. A nation is not built in a single day. Everyone's cooperation is required. While a few have criticised, especially some leaders from Shiv Sena, I would to ask them, did Khair do nothing in Maharashtra? Did Y. B. Chauhan accomplish nothing? All of them were Congress Members. Did Morarji Desai achieve nothing? ... (*Interruptions*) Do not speak about inside and outside matters. Those inside will leave, and those outside will come in. Do not discuss that. The surname or lineage of the person who comes from outside does not change. Your parents remain the same. You have progressed beyond your ideology, yet you cannot forget it. It was to strengthen this ideology that a strong Constitution

was established in this country under the leadership of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. ... (*Interruptions*) Secondly, there is a division of leaders here. There is a separate leader for BJP. Some claim that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar belongs to them and no one else, or that Sardar Patel belongs to them and no one else. I cannot understand why this division is happening. ... (*Interruptions*) Sardar Patel was with the Congress. He worked for the country, and therefore, the Congress Party has always supported him.

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Nothing, except the speech of Shri Mallikarjun Kharge, will go on record.

... (*Interruptions*) *

[Translation]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Mahatma Gandhi said at the AICC session in 1942,

“I have said for some years and I say it now that not Rajaji, not Sardar Ballabh Bhai, but Jawaharlal Nehru will be my successor. ”

* Not recorded

[Translation] Mahatma Gandhi had said these things in 1942 [English] “You cannot divide water by repeatedly striking it with a stick. It is just as difficult to divide us. When I am gone, he will speak my language. ”

[Translation] These words were spoken by Mahatma Gandhi, not by anyone else. You keep blaming Congress for inaction. In 1952, Vallabhbhai Patel was no longer alive. The question of him becoming Prime Minister did not arise. Before that, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was Home Minister in the Cabinet, and in that same Cabinet, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar joined as Law Minister. After becoming Law Minister, despite many personal differences and divergent views, at that time Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar... (*Interruptions*) I seek your pardon. While forming his Cabinet, Pandit Nehru included such great leaders. While framing the Constitution, he took everyone along. There were many important ideas incorporated. The advertisement showing the photograph of the Prime Minister and Dr. Ambedkar appeared in every newspaper.

The first sentence of that advertisement reads as follows:

“WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens ”

... *(Interruptions)* I am speaking on the preamble only. ... *(Interruptions)* Shri Rajnath Singh says that today the word secular is not necessary ... *(Interruptions)* You place advertisements, they appear in all the major newspapers, yet today it is being said that the words socialist and secular are not required ... *(Interruptions)* This is all confusion and this country is not secular ... *(Interruptions)* This country is only about sectarian divisions ... *(Interruptions)* That is what he said. I am unable to comprehend it ... *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH): What did he say? At that time, you... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: You sit for a minute. ... *(Interruptions)* Okay, I am not yielding.

HON. SPEAKER: He is not yielding. He will not answer.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: After observing all this, the Prime Minister is going to respond, which is why he is seated here for the first time today ... (*Interruptions*) He has been seated from morning till evening. This too is a record and a matter of history ... (*Interruptions*) It is a historical fact that he came to this House in the morning and has remained seated until now ... (*Interruptions*)

Secondly,

[English] "JUSTICE, social, economic and political, LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, EQUALITY of status and opportunity and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation. IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION. "

[Translation] Under the Preamble of the Constitution, we have pledged to adhere to its principles. We have committed to the people that we will operate based on these core principles. After Independence, the Constitution that we accepted imposes a duty on all of us to act accordingly. Yet today, we are more engaged in speaking

against each other. Discussions often revolve around what you did and what he did. I would like to make a point about Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Today, there are a few who even wish to divide him. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a very learned man. In recognition of his expertise, he was appointed as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. When he was made Chairman, some questioned why he had been given such honour ... (*Interruptions*) I often hear such remarks here and there. However, this decision was taken by the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly and the Prime Minister at that time. They understood that for the sake of this country, the best person with knowledge of law could only be Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Therefore, he was appointed Chairman. This was no favour. Some say, you appointed him, so what did he do after that? Parties naturally differ. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar first formed the Scheduled Castes Federation Party, then the Labour Party, and later the Republican Party. He did this to assert an identity for the oppressed classes. Just as Shri Paswan Sahib has done, this was necessary because certain principles, not accepted by others, require political power to implement. To exercise political power, people must practice their ideology, and he did precisely that. He retained this ideology till his last breath. He became a Minister in Congress, served as Chairman of

the Drafting Committee, yet he never compromised on his principles. That was his hallmark, and Congress acted similarly. What Babasaheb Ambedkar said, I will read out before you ... (*Interruptions*)

[English] “There would have been nothing but chaos. This possibility of chaos was reduced to nil by the existence of the Congress Party inside the Assembly which brought into its proceedings a sense of order and discipline. It is because of the discipline of the Congress Party that the Drafting Committee was able to pilot the Constitution in the Assembly with the sure knowledge as to the fate of each article and each amendment. ”

[Translation] These are not my words, not Congress's, these are Babasaheb's words, which he said in his last speech -

[English] “The Congress Party is, therefore, entitled to all the credit for the smooth sailing of the Draft Constitution in the Assembly.”

[Translation] The credit belongs to him. There is no need for us to nitpick. At that time, our government was in power, our party was in power, and we acted. If we sit down to list what you did and what we

did, it would take sixty years to recount everything. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar worked not only for the interests of the Scheduled Castes but for the welfare of all. In society, if a Dalit leader or a Scheduled Caste leader works for the community, they are often limited to that sphere. But Babasaheb fought for Scheduled Castes on certain issues while also addressing the pressing national issues of the time, embedding them effectively into the Constitution. He considered every poor person, every woman, every child, and education. All these principles are reflected in the Directive Principles. Fundamental Rights are for all. Are they different for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, or Christians? Are the Directive Principles meant only for one caste? Yes, Article 17 of the Constitution and the provisions for reservation under the Representation of the People for Scheduled Castes and Tribes are specific, but all other provisions are designed for the people of this country. This has also received public support. Some say that it took three years to draft the Constitution and that it took a long time. Dr. Ambedkar also demonstrated how many amendments there were. Shri Rajnath Singh mentioned in his speech that over seven thousand amendments were received, which had to be incorporated and addressed. You can imagine the difficulty of managing such amendments and notifications. The sacrifice involved in creating the

Constitution was immense. I do not wish to repeat what he said because many other leaders have already elaborated.

But I would like to highlight one or two points related to this, regarding Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, which Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself mentioned, and which our leaders as well as Members of Parliament have also referred to. I mention this because Dr. Rajendra Prasad was also pleased with his work. He stated: "As the presiding officer, I have observed more closely than anyone else that Dr. Ambedkar, despite being unwell, worked with great enthusiasm and dedication as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Our decision to include Dr. Ambedkar in the Drafting Committee and appoint him as its Chairman could not have been better or more appropriate. He not only made his appointment meaningful but also enhanced the work he did with distinction." These were the comments of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Additionally, there is another surprising point. Our Reddy sahib did not present the full context; he mentioned only a part. I would like to convey the complete matter, as the House should also be fully aware of it.

We, the Members of the Constituent Assembly, hold all its Members in the highest regard. We respect all Members of the Drafting Committee as much as we respect Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

However, T. T. Krishnamachari, being a Member of the Drafting Committee, along with Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, also a Member, made significant observations. On 5th November 1949, while delivering a speech in the Constituent Assembly on Dr. Ambedkar's contributions to the Constitution, T. T. Krishnamachari stated that among the select seven-Member Committee responsible for drafting the Constitution, one Member had resigned, one had passed away, one had gone to America, one was occupied with State affairs, and one or two Members could not attend due to health issues. As a result, the entire burden of constitution-making fell upon Dr. Ambedkar. These are not my words; these are the words of T. T. Krishnamachari, quoting Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar. He further noted that while the seven Members did perform influential work, the circumstances were such that Dr. Ambedkar carried the greatest responsibility. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar himself considered Dr. Ambedkar a superior law expert and acknowledged that he was better than him. This mutual recognition of excellence must be appreciated. Though they belonged to different parties, good work was duly recognised. Subsequently, Dr. Dhulekar from Maharashtra, also a Member of the Constituent Assembly, remarked: "I will not call his work Herculean because that word is too small. He performed the task of Pandava Bhima. He

proved himself as Bhimrao. He executed his work with clarity, insight, and precise language." Even with such acknowledgements, some still question why he was Chairman of the Drafting Committee, why he relinquished the Law Ministry, or which party he belonged to. Party affiliation should not matter. What matters is that the Congress Government entrusted Dr. B. R. Ambedkar with the responsibility of preparing a document that would shape the future of all of us. I am pleased because, at times, the Prime Minister himself has acknowledged that the reason he could come here, sit here, and become Prime Minister is due to Babasaheb... (*Interruptions*) He has often said this more in Bihar... (*Interruptions*) You remain silent; you know nothing.

The fundamental pillars of our Constitution are equality, liberty, and fraternity. These three elements are of utmost importance. In addition, we have parliamentary democracy and social democracy. Babasaheb believed in both parliamentary and social democracy. He advocated social democracy because of the caste and hierarchical systems prevalent in our country. He had stated that until there is harmony among castes, until untouchability is eradicated, parliamentary democracy cannot truly succeed in this country. He expressed this very clearly. We must study this properly and

understand that liberty cannot be separated from equality, equality cannot be separated from liberty, and neither liberty nor equality can be separated from fraternity. These three are intrinsically linked. If one attempts to separate or break them, understand that democracy itself will collapse. Babasaheb wanted equality, liberty, and fraternity to be enshrined as a significant gift in the Constitution, and therefore, they must be implemented. Articles of the Constitution that serve public interest must be brought into effect. We must also examine what steps are necessary to achieve this. The UPA Government implemented the MGNREGA scheme to realise the Right to Work, yet little attention was paid to it. The purpose of this scheme was to ensure that even a poor person receives at least one hundred days of employment. Labourers engaged in agriculture were also to receive one hundred days of work; that was the Government's intent. Subsequently, the Right to Education was enacted, also in accordance with the Constitution. Babasaheb Ambedkar emphasised that every child should be educated. Whenever a student met him, he would advise, "Study so much that the world fears you." By 'fear', he meant that if you become learned and knowledgeable, others will respect you. His slogan also encompassed the struggle against injustice. One must learn to fight injustice, pursue education, and remain organised.

That was his message. Today, we remember Babasaheb because he championed adult franchise, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, along with the leading Congress leaders, followed the same principle. As you know, in many parliamentary democracies and democratic countries, women were not initially granted the right to vote.

18. 00 hours

In many places, people were not even allowed to stand for elections. However, when Babasaheb Ambedkar drafted the Constitution of India, the Government of that time granted every individual the right to vote, and each vote was given equal value, whether cast by a rich person or a poor person. This was a monumental achievement, yet today it rarely receives the attention it deserves.

HON. SPEAKER: It is now six o'clock, and the list of speakers is long. If all Members agree, we may extend the time by one hour.

THE MINISTER OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT, MINISTER OF HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU): Let the time be extended by one hour.

HON. SPEAKER: Very well. Time is extended by one hour. Shri Kharge, please continue with your speech.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Following that, adult franchise and universal suffrage were granted. It is for this reason that you observe the changes taking place today. This is why, from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Bengal to Gujarat, the shifts in political power are occurring in the hands of the poor. Many individuals are becoming MPs and MLAs, and this is possible because of these rights. This is the gift of the Constitution. This is the gift of the Congress Party. This is the gift of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This is the gift of Sardar Patel. This is the gift of Mahatma Gandhi and of all those who have faith in parliamentary democracy....

(Interruptions) Your perspectives may differ, but it is a matter of pride that the task of framing such a Constitution was entrusted to Babasaheb Ambedkar. That is why he included Article 17, which declared untouchability as illegal. Yet, the practice still persists everywhere. Our Home Minister tried to link this to the Prime Minister's programme, the Swachh Bharat campaign. When your programme is distinct, the prohibition of untouchability is different. How it is being linked in this way, I fail to understand....

(Interruptions) Therefore, to make this article effective, in 1955, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru brought in the Protection of Civil Rights Act. Even that was not fully effective. Understanding this, Shri Rajiv

Gandhi, in 1989, enacted the SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act which proved to be highly impactful. It is because of this that, after the enactment of that law, matters are today somewhat under control. I say this because there are many Articles in the Directive Principles. However, to make them effective and to ensure that they are realised as your rights, it is essential to give them legal backing. I agree with one of Shri Paswan Ji's points; on other matters, he expressed his own views. As long as you only issue circulars and every officer interprets them differently, the outcome depends entirely on the officer in charge. Therefore, there is a need to bring these provisions into law. As we celebrate the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, this should be legislated. The law on Reservation in Promotion for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must be brought in. This should be done collectively. If you can convince everyone on the GST Bill and other bills, why cannot you do the same for this Bill? Talking alone will not resolve the issues faced by Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, I at least expect that when we celebrate this day, we should not merely hold discussions and disperse. There must be action, and new laws should be enacted. Earlier, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru brought public sector enterprises with reservation. At least two crore people are employed under this,

with 22 percent reservation. Today, as public sector units are gradually being privatised, employment for SCs and STs is decreasing. Efforts must also be made to extend reservations to the private sector. A new Bill should be brought in, and we should work to make it robust. It is understood that reservations may not be possible in certain sectors, such as science, which involve highly selected posts that should remain merit-based. But for Class A, B, and C posts, what is the problem? Why is there no Scheduled Caste pilot when Air India is facing losses?... (*Interruptions*) You may refer to the courts. It is very difficult to become a Supreme Court judge, equally challenging to become a High Court judge, and even becoming a Munsif is not easy. Examinations should be held for these positions. I have observed that many judges are appointed through recommendations, as you are well aware. Instead, a judicial examination should be instituted, and anyone who passes it should become a judge. Just as an IAS officer can serve the country, become Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, or a State Chief Secretary, similarly, through the judicial service, one should be able to become a District Judge or a High Court Judge. Therefore, such measures must be implemented. This is precisely what Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar desired, and we must ensure his vision is fulfilled.

The second point, and I must warn you, you may get angry when I raise it. I would like to present before you the NCRB data since your government assumed office. Under the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, the number of registered cases is 47,064, which has increased compared to last year; today, this figure has risen by 20 percent ... (*Interruptions*) Look here, for example, in Delhi, if the Prime Minister makes a statement, his voice is heard everywhere, his directive is implemented everywhere. But if the Prime Minister remains silent, nothing functions. Today, atrocities are being committed, Dalit children are being harmed, and at that time General V.K. Singh said, if a dog is hit with a stone, should the Prime Minister answer for it? ... (*Interruptions*) Do you agree with this? Does the Prime Minister agree with this? One should have stated clearly that this is unacceptable. They should have been condemned and proper instructions given. The Prime Minister also ought to have said this. I request that he should be sacked. If such individuals are retained in the Cabinet, the governmental framework will weaken, sending the message that if senior ministers make such statements, what hope is there for the Scheduled Castes? No officer takes interest. If the State Foreign Minister makes such statements, who is a former Army General, think about what a common person, a junior officer, or a sub-

inspector will think and how they will view it ... (*Interruptions*) Please consider this seriously. Whatever mindset the government has, that is how it permeates downwards. This is why similar statements are being made at every level. Every mouth is echoing the same sentiment. Many MPs had to be restrained; you did not tell your MPs that such statements are inappropriate. Sakshi Maharaj is also present here, He is evident. How many examples should I give? I do not wish to name all because the list is long. Who said what, and when? This is breaking the country; it is creating division in society. If someone tries to create division in the society, I consider it a big act of treason. This is precisely why Babasaheb Ambedkar had warned us. He stated that this country gained independence with immense difficulty, and if we were to lose our freedom a second time, regaining it would be extremely difficult. He made this explicitly clear. However, I do not wish to delve into history to recount which rulers stood with whom when Shivaji was defending the Hindus, how many aligned with the Mughals, or who orchestrated the death of Prithviraj Chauhan. I do not wish to speak of Jaichand, who assisted Muhammad Ghori, or who aided Bin Qasim. All these events have their place in history; they were significant enemies. But today, you are exacerbating enmity unnecessarily. Babasaheb Ambedkar said...

[English] “Will history repeat itself? It is this thought fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by realization of the fact that in addition to our old enemies.

[Translation] Old Enemies means those who betray the country, the traitors and the people who stab one after the other, they are our enemies.

[English]

In the form of castes and creeds, we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds.

[Translation]

Today, parties are also being formed on a caste basis. We have also started thinking on a caste basis. That is why Babasaheb Ambedkar had given this warning, and he had said-

[English]

To our old enemies, in the form of caste and creeds, we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds. Will Indians place the country above their creed or will they place creed above the country? I do not know but this much is certain that if the

party is placed creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably, we loose forever. This eventuality we must all guard against it. We must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood. ”

[Translation]

This was said by Babasaheb Ambedkar. Why did he say it? Because he knew. I appeal to you and your colleagues, to those associated with your party, and the various wings of the BJP, to act with some restraint. I have just been elected; allow me to work. You may say this. But what is happening today? The RSS leadership is stating that reservations need to be reconsidered. If someone speaks under the freedom of expression, they are told to go to Pakistan. If someone eats according to their choice, they are told to go to Pakistan. What is all this? Who is saying this? Why is this happening today? Why are such statements surfacing now? These things are happening because the government is silent, and due to the Prime Minister's silence, this is occurring. If you speak up just once, no one in your party will dare act otherwise; no one in the Vishva Hindu Parishad will dare, no RSS Member will dare to speak in such a manner. No one will attempt to divide the nation. You must give them that

direction. You speak of intolerance, you talk of this and that. If you continue defending each other endlessly, it poses a grave threat to the country. Therefore, at least when such issues arise, you must react, provide solutions, and let the people of this country know your views. I am putting this before you because the nation is greater than all of these matters. For the unity of this country, we lost Mahatma Gandhi; for the unity of this country, we lost Shrimati Indira Gandhi; for the unity of this country, we lost Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Many others have laid down their lives for this nation, and only then did we achieve independence. Even after independence, we have lost many of our great leaders. At the very least, you must reflect upon this. When we state something, we must always stand firm upon it. I am emphasizing that the nation comes first because Babasaheb Ambedkar once quoted a line, and an Irish patriot, Mr. Daniel, also expressed a thought which is worth recalling- "No man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty."

We must safeguard this liberty, and that is why it becomes the Government's foremost responsibility to maintain peace in society. The greatest duty of the Government is to ensure harmony by convincing everyone and keeping the nation united.

Apart from this, on the issue of intolerance that has been discussed, nobody can deny that 40–50 eminent writers, actors, and many artists have returned their awards. Yet, this too was given a political colour. It was said that this was Congress-motivated. I cannot help but laugh when Shri Arun Jaitley says so. I believe he has good understanding and thinks in the interest of the nation, but instead of trying to find the real reasons behind what was happening, he simply said that Congress instigated all of them, and therefore they acted. ... *(Interruptions)* After that, a procession was taken out in the name of tolerance... *(Interruptions)* And then, why did your disciple go to the President?

HON. SPEAKER: Why are you responding to them from that side?

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: These people keep rising up again and again like this... (*Interruptions*) Madam, I would like to request you that whenever such issues and questions arise in this country, it is the responsibility of the Government to provide solutions, especially the Leader of this House, who is at the helm. It is his duty to say something. But he always leaves it to his Ministers of State, and because of that, such problems occur. They give arbitrary statements—some say Go to Pakistan, some say Go there, some say Go to Dubai, some say Go to America. That is why, Madam, I humbly request that at least this time, there should be serious consideration of this matter. ... (*Interruptions*)

Madam Speaker, in order to implement this Constitution, it is necessary to state what we had done, because you always criticise by saying, what was done, what was done. Therefore, I must also state what you have done. You made cuts in the SC and ST Sub-Plan, cuts in Education, cuts in Mid-Day Meal, cuts in ICDS, and in Irrigation, though you always speak of farmers, you also made cuts there. You reduced funds for Women and Child Welfare, for Higher Education. Everywhere you have effected cuts, cuts and more cuts, even in Post-Matric Scholarships. Therefore, my submission is that you have curtailed allocations in all subjects of the Social Sector, whereas the

Social Sector forms an integral part of the Directive Principles of our Constitution. If you do not provide funds for Health, if you do not provide funds for Education, if you reduce allocation for the Right to Education, if you reduce funds for Irrigation, then where will the people go? You state that everything has been transferred to the States. I have always said that what is due to the States must indeed go to them. But certain classes, certain communities, particularly the oppressed sections, look only to the Centre, because they are spread across the entire country. If one programme is implemented in one State, it is not necessarily implemented in another State. In another State, matters depend upon the thinking of that Government. That is why, for uniformity, for having the same schemes across the country, the Union Government must also take responsibility. It was for this very reason that the previous UPA Government initiated some schemes directly from the Centre, particularly MGNREGA, the Right to Education, the Mid-Day Meal and Child Welfare schemes. It is not the case that everything should be left to the States. If that is the stand, then where will these people go and what will happen to them? On this, you must reflect seriously.

In conclusion, I would like to make three points before you. Regarding the Dadri incident, we are bringing a separate notice on

intolerance, so I seek your indulgence. With your permission, it will come up for discussion on Monday, and then we shall deliberate upon it. Secondly, on matters of investment in our country, when there is intolerance prevailing, from where will investment come? I am not the one saying this; it is the Governor of the Reserve Bank who has stated that the atmosphere in the country is not conducive. That is why the level of investment that ought to be flowing in is not coming, or investors are hesitant. Narayana Murthy of Infosys, an eminent IT expert, has also stated the same, which you are aware of. Moody's analysts, who assess economic development globally, have expressed similar concerns. Furthermore, Kiran Mazumdar, an entrepreneur from Gujarat, has also voiced the same apprehensions. ...
(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: This will come under other subjects.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Madam, this is the issue. You wish to enhance the economic position under the Constitution and to increase investment. However, due to your policy of intolerance, investment is declining rather than progressing.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR (HAMIRPUR): You should also inform that FDI has increased by 40 percent today. ...
(Interruptions)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: That increase must have been in the IPL.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR: It has increased in both places, in the country as well. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: There are also Articles in the Directive Principles for labour. Under Article 42, concerning the provision for just and humane conditions of work, you are attempting to bring changes. That means you are endeavouring to amend the labour laws in order to favour the corporate sector. Those people cannot come here to Parliament to express themselves directly. At best, one or two representatives may speak on their behalf. But you command a majority, and your ideology is essentially a corporate ideology. Naturally, the labour laws that were introduced in the era of Congress, by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, by Dr. Ambedkar, by Jagjivan Ram as Labour Minister – if you wish to consign them to oblivion, we will not allow it. We shall continue to resist, because this will cause grave harm to the labour sector. At present, you are reducing the public sector and expanding the private sector. Please keep this in mind, because in the name of liberalisation, you are committing excesses. Do pursue policies, we do not say you should desist – liberalisation policies were introduced during our time as well – but

do not, by overdoing it, throttle the poor. That is our contention, and therefore I urge you to take heed. I have many more points with me, but considering the time, I will conclude by saying this much: we must all collectively safeguard this Constitution and preserve it. Do not speak of its review. If anyone speaks of reviewing or attempting to alter this Constitution... *It will not be right, do remember that... *(Interruptions)* When the NDA Government was in power, it had set up the Banktachelayya Committee. ... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: It can't be done.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: At that time, on the insistence of all, it was stopped.... *(Interruptions)* Under the leadership of Shri Venkatachaliah, when the NDA Government was in office, that Committee was constituted, but its report was halted there itself... *(Interruptions)* It was halted because uproar had begun across the country, agitation had started.... *(Interruptions)* If there is any attempt to revive it again, we shall never tolerate it... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: There is absolutely no question of that.

... *(Interruptions)*

* Not recorded

HON. SPEAKER: Will speak on your behalf also.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Madam, make him sit...

(*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: One person will speak; if everyone speaks together, how will it be known?

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: You have completed your statement.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: No, make them sit down...

(*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: They have been made to sit down. What you said cannot happen.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: I will conclude in five minutes.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: No one can change that, that's the thing.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Nobody can change it. [Translation] The Constitution cannot be changed.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please Speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: If they remain quiet then only I can speak.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: You also please speak cautiously as well.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Please let me speak.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: You know that nobody can change it. [Translation] There are few changes in the Constitution, there are

amendments, and are not changes. What you have just suggested, the Constitution cannot be altered in that way. Please complete your remarks.

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Review of the Constitution is different from bringing an amendment to the Constitution. [Translation] You have spoken of a review.... (*Interruptions*) I do not mean you personally but those in your party, your BJP colleagues who are pursuing this line.... (*Interruptions*) Bringing an amendment is one thing. There have been a hundred amendments already and another amendment may come, but talk of a review is different.... (*Interruptions*) If anyone attempts that, we have made it clear that we will... *. This will not be tolerated.

HON. SPEAKER: How will this happen?

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: If such an attempt is made, we will never tolerate it. ... (*Interruptions*) The Constitution that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar drafted can never be changed. ...

* Expunged as ordered by the chair.

(Interruptions) Please sit down. ... *(Interruptions)* In conclusion, let me end with one point. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan had spoken about the programmes started for Dalits and mentioned how, during the tenure of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, when he was the Minister for Social Welfare, many important initiatives were taken. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, too, was from the Congress, and he followed the same ideology. ... *(Interruptions)* Therefore, whoever did such things drew from the ideology of the Congress. I would also like to remind this House, as well as Shri Paswan, of the statue of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar that stands before our Parliament. At that time, Shri Hukam Singh was the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. Leaders from Maharashtra here would also know of this. When Shri Hukam Singh was the Speaker, the Republican Party began an agitation demanding that the statue of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar be installed in front of Parliament. ... *(Interruptions)* At that time, I was still a student, studying in P.U.C. First Year or Second Year. Shri Hukam Singh had come to Gulbarga then. All of us students together submitted a memorandum to him when he visited S.B. College. We had placed that demand, along with 12 other demands, at the time. In the memorandum we submitted when Shri Hukam Singh came to S.B. College, there were also demands regarding land grants and other

matters. He said then that Parliament would take the decision, but that the Prime Minister also had to decide. He assured us that he would try and speak to him. At that time, Congress leader Y.B. Chavan was in the Centre. It was during that period that this statue of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was installed. It was the Congress that ensured it was put up. You have installed one inside the Central Hall, and that is fine, but the statue of Babasaheb Ambedkar that stands outside with his raised hand pointing forward—that was put up by the Congress. Why am I saying this? Not to argue about who did what, but to emphasize that whoever truly believes in the principles of Babasaheb Ambedkar, whoever has commitment to them, will naturally act upon them. As for the issue of backlog, the language of backlog that is often used today, we had already implemented that backlog in Karnataka as early as 1976. After that, I would also like to add one more point...

(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: Kharge ji, please conclude now. You said you were completing, but you have started again.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: I am disclosing this. Please check the records for the building being put up on Janpath Road in the name of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and note the date and who approved it. I was in the office for only three months. Within those

three months, I called the architect, obtained approval, invited the Corporation officials, and, within two months, had it approved and moved a resolution in Bangalore. You laid its foundation the day before yesterday, yet I did not even receive an invitation. I had informed them about it. For the Alipur Road site, we had made a provision of Rs. 63 crore. In fact Rs. 192 crore and Rs. 63 crore were sanctioned at that time. We have not been lagging behind in what we have done; we have tried our best. But do not reap disproportionate credit for it. The one who labours should not be deprived of the fruits while another takes them. I regret to say this. Therefore I earnestly request you that this Constitution is sacred, do not allow it to be tampered with and do not allow it to fall into the hands of unscrupulous persons. Together, we will fight to make it successful. I thank you very much, Hon. Speaker.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Kharge ji is very senior and experienced, but the word he used in his speech... (*Interruptions*)

* You see in the record. [English] Sir, we heard you for one hour and five minutes. ... (*Interruptions*) We heard you patiently for one hour

* Not recorded.

and five minutes. That is the tolerance. ... (*Interruptions*) The point is ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH (MAVELIKKARA): We also heard your side for one and a half hour. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Suresh, please, this is not the way. I just suggest to you to please control yourself. ... (*Interruptions*) Not you, Sir. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: You cannot dictate to me. ... (*Interruptions*) We are going to fight. ... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Kharge ji, He is not speaking to you. [English] He is not saying anything to you now.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Kharge ji, you get agitated. Had you shown such passion for 50 years, the country would have advanced much further. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: I do not have to take lessons from you. ... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Kharge ji, he did not refer to you, he was addressing Suresh ji. [English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: No, how can we teach lessons to you, Sir. You people are very experienced, and we have seen for 50 years also. My point is very simple. ... * giving,... * saying, this is not right in the parliamentary system and... * such words will not change anything.. We also saw that in 1975, People still remember what happened due to giving.... *. Please, as a senior Member, one should not use such words; this is my request to him. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: You said... *? [English] Okay, I will see to it.

... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Okay, I will see it. Thawarchand ji.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: [English] I am here, I will see to it. [Translation]

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

I will see to it, there is no need to speak any such language. You might have said out of emotion that.. *will happen or something else will happen, there is no need to say this.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: I will expunge it. [English] I am sorry. [Translation] There is no such topic right now. Why are you so excited? Thawarchand ji. [English]

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: I will expunge it; no need to use such word.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: I told you, expunge it. [English] I told him. will [Translation] I will expunge it. Don't use such word.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: I have expunged it. [English] I have expunged it. [Translation] You are not understanding, please sit down. Thawarchand ji.

... (*Interruptions*)

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR: Madam, He gives...*. ...
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: We haven't ... *...
(*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: We did not... *.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR:... * after giving said that... *
will happen. He said that if this happens then,... * will happen...
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JANARDAN MISHRA (REWA): He has spoken. They have
said this... * thing. Please expunge that. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: That has been expunged, you sit down. The matter
of word has been removed, please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: At least, you announce it. These
words have to be expunged from the record, Madam. This is not a

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair

normal matter. We sat peacefully for an hour and five minutes....

(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: Please sit down. You keep shouting, you don't understand what I am saying. [English]

... (Interruptions)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: If it is in the record, then expunge both the words.... *(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Either you were not attentive. I told the officers and Mr. Kharge also says that it was not proper to use such a word and that it would be deleted. He had also agreed to it. [English] I told him.

... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: The Constitution has been changed hundred times.

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: We will expunge it as many times as necessary. If a word is not to be used, it simply should not be. Yes, Thawarchand Ji.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: I am observing everything.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JANARDAN MISHRA: Was the Constitution made by the Constituent Assembly or by the Congress Party?

HON. SPEAKER: If you have listened carefully, I have already said that you should not speak in this manner. There is no language for a review or anything of the sort; why you are speaking this way will also be recorded in my words. You may refer to it if you wish. Please, I had already informed you. I am observing everything here. [English] I am sorry, [Translation] Thawarchand Ji.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Why do you give...*, while talking about the Constitution?

... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL (ALAPPUZHA): It has been removed.

HON. SPEAKER: I know, I have removed it.

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair

[Translation]

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR: You see, how he talks to women in the house.... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Anurag ji, [English] Shri Thaawar Chandji is speaking.

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR: If you speak from there, how will the matter proceed, Madam?... (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: A Member of your party is speaking and is capable. They will respond to everything, you may sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR: You speak about women. You call female MP as... * in the presence of Sonia Gandhi.... (*Interruptions*) He should apologise.

KUMARI SUSHMITA DEV (SILCHAR): ... * He said it first.

HON. SPEAKER: First, the wrong remarks are starting from both sides, and even while sitting you are commenting. Please, show a little calm and tolerate, from here as well as from there, from both sides.

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[English] All of you should have tolerance. [Translation] Please. Otherwise, we will not be able to hold a discussion on tolerance.

... (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT (SHRI THAAWAR CHAND GEHLOT):

Madam Speaker, I am grateful to you for allowing me to speak on this important subject. It is indeed a matter of great pleasure that today we are discussing Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the architect of the Indian Constitution, and expressing our commitment to the Constitution of India here in the House. Such a discussion was certainly necessary. The people of our country, as well as Indians residing abroad, have the right to know about Dr. Ambedkar and the Constitution of India. Through this discussion, we are endeavouring to fulfil that purpose.

Madam, the discussion commenced at eleven o'clock today. Many Hon. Members have already expressed their views. On this occasion, I would like to state that Shri Narendra Modi and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee have had a profound understanding of Dr. Ambedkar and the Indian Constitution. Shri Narendra Modi has even authored books on Dr. Ambedkar. I would like to request Hon. Members of the opposition that if you read the books written by Shri Narendra Modi on Dr. Ambedkar, the entire situation will become clear to you and any misunderstandings will be resolved.

Ever since the Constitution of India came into force after the independence of the country, we, first as the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and

now as the Bharatiya Janata Party, have been striving to adhere to it faithfully, in letter and spirit. We have numerous examples of this commitment. However, for sixty years after the Constitution came into force, the political parties that were in power at the Centre, in the States, and at the Panchayat level did not accord it the respect it deserved. Dr. Ambedkar ought to have been viewed with due honour, and his contributions recognised. Yet, they failed to do so. For instance, I would like to point out that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar played a pivotal role in drafting the Constitution of India. On 26 November 1949, under his chairmanship, the Constitution was completed and submitted to the then Government. This was a significant contribution. He ensured that the Constitution would foster national unity, integrity, universality, social harmony, and an environment conducive to economic, social, and intellectual progress. We have endeavoured to implement the Preamble of the Constitution verbatim. The Congress party and its governments did not do so. Had they done so, I would ask them why Dr. Ambedkar's portrait was not placed in the Central Hall of Parliament for a long period. It was not displayed there until 1989. Dr. Ambedkar deserved the Bharat Ratna; this was his right, not a favour. Why was it not conferred until 1989? It was on the advice of the late Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri L.K. Advani

that the late Shri V.P. Singh conferred the Bharat Ratna on Dr. Ambedkar and ensured his portrait was installed. I would like to ask why the Congress did not do this. If they have any answers, the Hon. Members speaking after me on their behalf may respond to this....

(Interruptions)

Kharge Ji, please listen to me. You were earlier a Minister in my Department. Vasanik Sahab was also there. I shall respond to what you have said. Just listen. Why are you leaving the field?...

(Interruptions)

Madam, I was stating that we have always accorded respect to Dr. Ambedkar and have consistently honoured the Constitution of India. Allegations are made against us that we are opposed to Ambedkar and opposed to the Indian Constitution. I would like to clarify that the morning remembrance prayer of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, now called the Ekattmata Source, has long included Dr. Ambedkar among the great personalities of the nation. This prayer also honours Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and all other eminent national figures. This is the first proof of our respect.

Dr. Ambedkar was not allowed to enter the Lok Sabha by the Congress Members when he was elected. When Dr. Ambedkar contested the Lok Sabha elections, Dattopant Thengadi, a propagator

of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and a significant figure in the labour movement, managed his election campaign. He served as Dr. Ambedkar's election agent. This is the second example.

Dattopant Thengadi Sahib also authored books on Dr. Ambedkar, highlighting his life and underscoring the urgent need to implement his ideas across the country. If these books are read, any misunderstandings will be resolved. Even today, some allege that we do not respect the Constitution, whereas I maintain that we have meticulously adhered to all the provisions stated in the Preamble and the Objectives of the Constitution. For instance, to ensure the unity and integrity of the nation, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee made the ultimate sacrifice.

When Article 370 was implemented in this country, Dr. Ambedkar opposed it. However, based on the majority, it was enacted with a provision stating that Article 370 was temporary. Even after sixty years, it has remained in effect. When we demand its abrogation, Congress Members and others oppose it. I would like to ask the House, Is Jammu and Kashmir an integral part of India or not? Everyone will say that it is indeed an integral part of India. Then why does a law passed by the Parliament of India not automatically apply there? When a Gazette Notification is issued, it states that except for

Jammu and Kashmir, the law passed by Parliament shall come into effect in the rest of India from a specified date. Why is Jammu and Kashmir specifically excluded? Any law made by Parliament does not apply there until the State Legislative Assembly passes it or gives its consent. Has a Legislative Assembly been placed above the Parliament? It has been given a special status. A person from here cannot construct a house there, cannot become a permanent resident, cannot contest elections even as a voter, and cannot even marry a sister or daughter from that region. People from there can come here, do all these things, contest elections, become voters, and marry, yet even after being an integral part of India, we cannot exercise the same rights there. Why does this discrimination exist?

They claim that they have worked to bring about harmony, to maintain the unity and integrity of the country, and to strengthen it. But is this truly strengthening? This question needs careful consideration, and consensus must be reached. As soon as possible, Article 370 should be abrogated.... (*Interruptions*)

I would also like to state that the Constitution of India provides for the enactment of a Uniform Civil Code. After India's independence, for sixty years, those who ruled the country did not implement it, even though the Supreme Court has held that a Uniform

Civil Code is necessary. Why has this not been done? I continue to demand that a Uniform Civil Code be implemented across the country. In other countries, people of all castes and religions live under a single law. Why should there be different laws here? Women continue to face injustice and oppression. For instance, if a Muslim woman is pronounced 'Talaq, Talaq, Talaq' three times by her husband, she is immediately divorced and ceases to be his wife. If she approaches the courts seeking maintenance, she is often denied it.

Madam Speaker, you are aware that you are a resident of Indore, and I reside nearby. A case in point is Shah Bano, a woman from that area, who was wrongly divorced by her husband through 'Talaq, Talaq, Talaq'. She approached the Session Court, High Court, and ultimately the Supreme Court, which ruled that her husband was obliged to provide maintenance. What was the response? Rajiv Gandhi, then Prime Minister, in 1985, enacted a constitutional amendment which retroactively deprived her of her rights. Is this not against the spirit of the Preamble and the fundamental objectives of the Constitution of India? Why was this done? Even today, women from the minority Muslim community continue to face injustice and oppression, yet some claim that there is unity and harmony. We assert that all of this has occurred due to the failure of their flawed policies.

The Congress government also undermined democracy, and you are aware of this. The Allahabad High Court had declared the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi's election, as null and void, proving that during the election she had engaged in corrupt practices such as bribery, inducements, distributing wealth, money, jewellery, sarees, and blankets to win the election. Her election was consequently invalidated. The circumstances of the time demanded adherence to the Constitution, the observance of its Preamble, and the upholding of the democratic spirit. If there had been true respect for democracy, resignation should have been tendered. The Congress had an overwhelming majority and could have appointed another leader as Prime Minister. However, Indira Gandhi chose otherwise. To remain in power, she imposed an Emergency, jailed millions of patriots, and then, exercising authoritarian tendencies, amended the Constitution. The Constitution of India was drafted after extensive deliberation by thousands of distinguished leaders, including freedom fighters, taking into account their counsel and suggestions. Yet, she altered it after consulting only a few individuals. What did these amendments entail? They ensured that no court could entertain complaints against the Prime Minister, the President, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, or the Vice-President, regardless of any offence committed. What was this

if not contempt for the judiciary, violation of the Constitution, disregard for fundamental rights, and defiance of the spirit of the Preamble? While the Constitution was meticulously crafted through the scholarly input of many eminent leaders, Indira Gandhi quickly amended it to protect her position. Today, the term of the Lok Sabha is five years. From the independence of India, this five-year term was standard. However, she enacted an amendment extending the Lok Sabha term from five to six years, granting herself the authority to prolong it by six-month increments. This was an outright violation of the Preamble. She flagrantly disrespected the Constitution of India, and yet, with what legitimacy do they speak today? There are not just one, but numerous such examples. This constitutional amendment occurred during the Emergency. It was on 18 December 1976, when patriots were in prison, and many Hon. Members of Parliament were behind bars. The amendment was enacted in the presence of only a few individuals. During the imposition of Emergency, what was done? Many new Hon. Members of Parliament have joined recently, but at that time, when the Emergency was declared, a decision was taken in the Cabinet meeting without the knowledge of the Cabinet Ministers, without the President's awareness. At around midnight, they were informed that a proposal would be sent for signature, and

the President signed it, even while being abroad. Today, we have email systems, but back then, telephonic approval was obtained, followed later by fax confirmation. In this manner, the Constitution was ridiculed. To safeguard democracy, the Jana Sangh relinquished its position, aiming to strengthen democracy and prevent authoritarian tendencies in the country. Subsequently, the Janata Party was formed. After its formation, many advised Indira Gandhi that the situation was favourable, things were going well under the Emergency, the people were content, and she should hold elections. Hon. leaders such as Atal Bihari Vajpayee and L. K. Advani were imprisoned. The Janata Party contested the elections and the Congress faced a severe defeat. The amendments made to the Constitution were later repealed by Shri Morarji Desai. I would like to ask that the Constitution contains numerous provisions in its Preamble; who ensured their implementation? If one places a hand on their heart and reflects, it becomes evident that Members of the Bharatiya Janata Party, including Morarji Desai, upheld them. Congress did not merely fracture once, but repeatedly. Hon. Kharge mentioned that V. P. Singh was also a Congressman, but why did he separate? Chaudhary Charan Singh, a Congressman, also separated. Chandrashekhar, a Congressman, separated. Morarji Desai was a Congressman. ...

(Interruptions) Jagjivan Ram was also a Congressman. Why did they separate? They parted ways because the Congress government, both at the Centre and in the states, was not working in accordance with the Constitution, implementing flawed policies, and acting without good intent. Policies were wrong, intent was wrong. For these reasons, they left Congress. Will this ever be reflected upon? These separations were not due to mere internal differences. They left while being mindful of constitutional provisions, as they were unwilling to adhere to the principles enshrined in the Constitution. Only my family and I remained committed to democracy. No one else. Nepotism had taken root, and therefore, many dedicated Congress Members chose to leave the party.

I would like to inform you that Shri Narendra Modi entrusted me with the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Subsequently, I was also directed to ensure that all sites associated with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar be memorialised and made into commemorative landmarks. The property at 26 Alipur Road, where Dr. Ambedkar resided at that time, was private property. Hon. Ram Vilas Paswan had confirmed that it was private property. During the tenure of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's government, the Government of India purchased it and declared it a memorial. The

Government under Shri Narendra Modi decided to construct a Grand National memorial there at a cost of Rs. 100 crore. The final approvals, tenders, and work orders have all been completed. We are set to commence the construction work, hopefully around 6 December or thereabouts. At 15 Janpath, where the Ambedkar Foundation office is located, we decided to establish the Ambedkar International Study Centre and Research Centre at a cost of Rs. 195 crore, and work on this began on 20 April 2015. Hon. Kharge was claiming that this work had already been done. If it had been done, why was the construction not initiated? The demands for 26 Alipur Road and 15 Janpath have been ongoing for over twenty years, yet nothing could be done during their tenure. Although proposals were submitted to departmental officials at that time, no decision to commence construction was taken, which we have now initiated. If that is not sufficient, I will provide another example. Dr. Ambedkar was born in Mahu, which falls within your parliamentary constituency. The Congress government was aware that Dr. Ambedkar was born in Mahu. His father served as a Subedar in the army, and Dr. Ambedkar was born in the quarter allotted to his father by the army.

19.00 hours

Why was the construction of a memorial not undertaken at that time? When Shri Patwa became Chief Minister, I was fortunate to be given the responsibility of State Minister. I was instructed to engage with the two committees working on the project to ensure the construction of a grand Ambedkar memorial there, one that the nation and the world could see and which would stand as a lasting tribute. I visited the site, where Shri Arjundhari was the chairman of one committee and Shri Sheetalambe was the chairman of the other. I held discussions with both of them. They expressed their enthusiasm, saying it was a very welcome initiative and requested funds to proceed with the construction. I conveyed all these details to Shri Patwa, who then formulated a plan: the Collector was appointed as chairman, and the two committee heads were made Members. I and Shri Babu Lal Gaur were also included as Members. I met with the Defence Minister, and the land was acquired by the Government of Madhya Pradesh with the approval of the Ministry of Defence. The construction work was inaugurated by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 14 April 1991, on the occasion of Dr. Ambedkar's birthday. Subsequently, by coincidence, the Government of Madhya Pradesh was dissolved in 1992.

HON. SPEAKER: Thawar Chand ji, it is 7 o'clock, you please continue it [English] tomorrow, he will complete his speech.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, let him complete his speech, and then we may adjourn the House.

HON. SPEAKER: Let him complete his speech.

The House will proceed until Shri Thawar Chand Gahlot completes his speech.

19. 03 hours

(Hon. Deputy-Speaker *in the Chair*)

SHRI THAAWAR CHAND GEHLOT: I was submitting that when the Patwa Government was dismissed and for the next 10–11 years Digvijay Ji served as Chief Minister, they did not make a single attempt to lay the foundation stone at any construction site. Later, when the Bharatiya Janata Party returned to power, Uma Bharti, Babu Lal Ji Gaur, and Shivraj Singh Chouhan spent approximately Rs. 14 crore to construct the memorial. For the past nine years, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has been organising the Ambedkar Mahakumbh on 14 November, Ambedkar Ji's birth anniversary, attracting hundreds of thousands of people, with all expenses borne by the state government. Furthermore, at Nagpur's Deeksha Bhumi, a

Deeksha Bhumi has been established and is managed by a committee. Its consolidation and enhancement were undertaken when the BJP-Shiv Sena government was in power, with Shri Nitin Gadkari, then Cabinet Minister for Public Works, as a Nagpur resident providing support for strengthening and expanding the grand memorial. The Congress did nothing to prevent this. At Chait Bhumi, where Ambedkar Ji was cremated, there had long been a demand to acquire the adjacent closed Hindu Mill land and expand the site. Congress did not act, but the BJP-Shiv Sena government implemented this plan, with its Bhoomi Poojan performed by Shri Narendra Modi. The project is valued at approximately Rs. 400 crore. In Chicholi, near Nagpur, all of Ambedkar Ji's belongings, including the typewriter he used to type the Constitution of India and his attire, are stored. There had long been a demand to properly arrange and preserve these items. However, the Congress Government in Maharashtra did not take any action. When the BJP-Shiv Sena Government came to power, they decided to organise it properly, and a sum of Rs. 650 to 700 crore has been approved for this work. Although Ambedkar Ji was born in Mahu, the BJP Rajya Sabha Member Shri Amar Sawale undertook the initiative to adopt the village where his family resided and transform it into a model village. Furthermore, during the years 1921–22 and

1923, when Ambedkar Ji went to London for his studies, the house in which he stayed was never converted into a memorial by Congress. The BJP-Shiv Sena Government, under Shri Devendra Fadnavis, purchased it, and the Prime Minister has recently, on 12th of this month, declared it a memorial. Why did Congress fail to do any of these works? This in itself proves that Congress did not accord proper respect to Ambedkar Ji, nor did they show due respect to the Constitution of India.

I would like to bring to your attention another matter regarding the misuse of the Constitution. The structure in Ayodhya was demolished — it was the Ram Mandir, it remains the Ram Mandir, and the Ram Mandir will be built there. That structure was demolished in Uttar Pradesh. If the Congress Government at the Centre had dismissed the Uttar Pradesh Government in response, it might have been understandable... (*Interruptions*) ... I am speaking on the Constitution... (*Interruptions*) ... I am referring to how its provisions were violated... (*Interruptions*) ... They dismissed the governments of Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Gujarat. In this manner, they flagrantly misused the Constitution of India, and today they claim that they comply with it. This is a blatant falsehood and utterly baseless.

I would also like to address another point. Shri Kharge mentioned that there were deductions in the SC Sub-Plan and ST Sub-Plan allocations. I urge you to look at the data for the years 2011–12 and 2012–13. The rule is that allocations should be made according to population. If 15 percent of the SC Sub-Plan funds were released during your tenure, please provide the details. I could resign from politics if necessary; otherwise, you should inform your leader. Under your tenure, SC Sub-Plan funds never exceeded 3–4 percent. If a higher amount, around 7.5–8 percent, was released, that was during the Narendra Modi Government in 2014–15. You are referring to the year 2015–16 as an example. Previously, states were given 32 percent of central funds. However, based on the recommendations of the Fourteenth Finance Commission, the Narendra Modi Government released 42 percent to the states instead of 32 percent. In addition to this 42 percent, 5 percent was separately allocated for urban local bodies, 2 percent for the Panchayati Raj system, and 2 percent for expenditure purposes. Thus, instead of 32 percent, 49 percent of funds are being released to the states. Our expectation from the states is that they allocate appropriate funds under the SC Sub-Plan and ST Sub-Plan.

As far as my Ministry is concerned, under the plans of my Ministry, there has been an increase in the SC Sub-Plan compared to earlier allocations. Shri Kharge and Shri Tariq Anwar have already delivered speeches. Both of them held this Ministry in the past. I would like to ask them why the scholarships for the years 2011–12, 2012–13, and 2013–14 were not released to the states. Who can explain this? If not today, then please clarify tomorrow. The arrears from their tenure still remain with the states. States are approaching us to release the arrears for 2011–12, 2012–13, and 2013–14. You may verify this with Punjab, Rajasthan, and all other states — these funds are the dues from your time. Today, by making such statements, they are misleading the public, which is inappropriate.

Shri Kharge seemed agitated today. If I say he was flustered, it would not be an exaggeration, because he did not speak what he should have but instead tried to make irrelevant statements. During the Congress Government's tenure, there was a crisis regarding reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Those who originally belonged to Hindu castes and were part of the Scheduled Castes converted to other religions. After conversion, they demanded to be granted SC status. I would like to ask the Congress Members: who filed the writ in the Supreme Court? Where was the plan made?

Where were the meetings held? At which leader's residence? ... *(Interruptions)* ... I know that if I mention names, there will be an uproar... *(Interruptions)* ... A meeting was held at your leader's residence, and they said, Fine, go to the Supreme Court. We will get the government, through the Attorney General, to recommend your request in accordance with your wishes... *(Interruptions)*

Sir, who constituted the Sachar Committee? Who constituted the Rangnath Mishra Commission? ... *(Interruptions)* Their reports have been submitted, stating that the conditions of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and particularly the minority Muslim community, are deplorable. If such a report has been submitted, who is responsible for it? It is the Congress. ... *(Interruptions)* Shri Kharge recited a proverb, which I do not wish to repeat. ... *(Interruptions)* However, they conspired and suggested that five percent be cut from the SC quota and given to them, five percent from the ST quota, and five percent from the OBC quota. ... *(Interruptions)* This is mentioned in the commission's report. ... *(Interruptions)* In the Sachar Committee report. ... *(Interruptions)* In the Rangnath Mishra Commission report. ... *(Interruptions)* The framers of the Constitution of India, including Dr. Ambedkar, Sardar Patel, and many other eminent leaders, had previously deliberated on

this issue. Discussions took place in 1936, 1948, 1952, and 1956. ... *(Interruptions)* They had clearly stated that individuals who have converted to another religion cannot, under any circumstances, be granted Scheduled Caste status. ... *(Interruptions)* The Supreme Court has, on multiple occasions, ruled that individuals who convert to another religion cannot be granted SC status or reservation benefits. Even after these rulings, this conspiracy persists, with arguments being made that they should also receive such benefits. Reservation for Scheduled Castes exists due to historical untouchability, social and educational backwardness, and deprivation. When someone converts to another religion, the environment of untouchability does not exist for them. In such circumstances, what right do they have to claim this? ... *(Interruptions)* What right does the Congress have to make such claims? ... *(Interruptions)*

Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on this occasion, I would like to reiterate that Dr. Ambedkar, Sardar Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and many other eminent leaders collectively deliberated and framed the Constitution of India. At that time, these very issues were discussed and thoroughly examined. They rejected such claims, and yet, you are unwilling to accept their conclusions. ... *(Interruptions)* Today, there is a demand to grant status to individuals

after religious conversion. The Constitution of India explicitly provides restrictions on conversion. You are attempting to promote conversions. Such actions amount to conspiring against the unity and integrity of the nation. ... (*Interruptions*) If such policies are pursued, the unity and integrity of the country will be jeopardised. I urge you that there is no need to engage in such discussions.

Sir, the Hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has decided to commemorate Dr. Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary with year-long celebrations. A committee has been constituted under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, and we have planned programmes for the entire year. These celebrations commenced on 14 April 2015 and will continue until 14 April 2016. We have ensured that these programmes are held across the country. Today's Constitution Day is being observed in all states, and a directive has been issued by every ministry of the Government of India to observe this day in state headquarters, schools, and colleges nationwide.

We have issued a postage stamp in honour of Dr. Ambedkar. A decision has also been taken to issue a commemorative coin on Babasaheb Ambedkar. In addition, throughout the year, we will organise numerous programmes. A special initiative has been undertaken to send one hundred students, both boys and girls, to the

institutions and places where Dr. Ambedkar pursued his education. Two batches of fifty students each have already travelled—some to London, others to California and Washington, United States. There, symposiums and panel discussions were conducted, and Indians residing abroad have expressed great satisfaction with these programmes. Moreover, on the upcoming 26 January, tableaux dedicated to Dr. Ambedkar will be showcased during the Republic Day celebrations. I can affirm that Dr. Ambedkar and the Constitution of India have received the highest respect from Hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the late Atal Bihari Vajpayee. As Shri Ram Vilas Paswan has narrated, during the Government of Shri I.K. Gujral in 1997, five orders related to reservation were annulled. Hon. Atal Bihari Vajpayee restored these provisions through a constitutional amendment. Does this not serve as a lesson for you? Yet, you continue to claim that we oppose them. We have always been proponents of reservation. The second session of our National Representative Assembly of the Jan Sangh was held in Indore, where we passed a resolution affirming our respect for the Constitution of India and Babasaheb Ambedkar. We pledged to implement, literally and faithfully, the provisions aimed at eradicating untouchability. We committed to taking this message to every village and every street,

and we continue to do so. Can any of your Prime Ministers or Chief Ministers claim to have honoured Dr. Ambedkar and the Constitution of India similarly?

I would like to point out that when Hon. Narendra Modi was the Chief Minister of Gujarat, he organised a grand procession in Surendranagar district, where the Constitution of India was placed on an elephant, and a ceremonial parade of one hundred thousand people took place. In that procession, which extended for three kilometres, the person who today serves as the Prime Minister of India participated on foot. These are clear indicators of honour and respect. There is not just one, but numerous such examples. We are a patriotic party. We are committed to sacrificing everything for the unity and integrity of the nation. For us, the nation comes first, followed by the party, and then the individual. What is the priority in your case? For me and my family, it is nation first, then party, and then self. Your approach is exactly the opposite. This demonstrates that we are the most sincere, respectful of the Constitution of India, and devoted to honouring Dr. Ambedkar.

On this occasion, I would like to emphasise the necessity of fostering social harmony.... * The rich are becoming richer, the poor

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

poorer. Despite claims of substantial achievements, why is this happening? Inequality is widening, and radicalism and terrorism are on the rise. ...* (*Interruptions*)

I would like to reiterate that it is the duty of all of us to act in accordance with the Constitution of India to foster social harmony, bridge economic disparities, and strengthen the unity and integrity of the nation. The Government of Hon. Narendra Modi, the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the NDA Government are fully committed to addressing these issues ... (*Interruptions*) I urge Members to extend their support to the Government of Hon. Narendra Modi and play their part in realising the vision of India in accordance with the Constitution ... (*Interruptions*) Please give some cooperation. There is much to say, and I intended to provide an overview of the schemes under my Ministry. In just one and a half years of tenure, my Government has achieved significant milestones. Numerous new schemes have been launched for the benefit of Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes, and persons with disabilities, the Transgender community, nomadic communities, and senior citizens. On future occasions, I will share more details about these schemes. We have also provided you with a book. Kindly take the time to read it, and you will understand

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

that our actions are fully aligned with the vision of Dr. Ambedkar and the Constitution of India. Take some lessons from this discussion, respect Dr. Ambedkar, and ensure compliance with the Constitution of India. With this hope and conviction, I conclude my remarks. Thank you. Jai Bhim.

[English]

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL: Sir, hon. Minister has made some very derogatory statements about assassination of Indira Gandhi ji. While speaking, he has mentioned that assassination of Indira Gandhi was because of the wrong policies of the Congress Government. Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi ji was also because of the wrong policies of the Congress Government. By saying this, he is justifying the killers of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. ... (*Interruptions*) So, it should be expunged. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will go into the records and verify it.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL: Sir, it should be expunged. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will go through the records and verify it.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL: He is a Minister. It should be expunged. I am requesting you that it should be expunged. ... (*Interruptions*)
Otherwise, it will create a problem. ... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I told you that I will go into the record and find it out. If there is anything objectionable, it will be expunged.

... (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow the 27th November, 2015 at 11 a. m.

19. 23 hours

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, November 27, 2015/ Agrahayana 6, 1937 (Saka).

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