Sixteenth Series, Vol. XIII No. 2 Friday, November 27, 2015

Agrahayana 6, 1937 (Saka)

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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LOK SABHA DEBATES

LOK SABHA

Friday, November 27, 2015/Agrahayana 6, 1937 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[HON. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

WELCOME TO PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION FROM REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, I have to make an announcement.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the hon. Members of the House, I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency, Dr. Milan Brglez, President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia and the Members of the Slovenian Parliamentary Delegation who are on a visit to India as our honoured guests.

They arrived in India on Tuesday, 24th November 2015 and have visited Agra and Ahmedabad. They are now seated in the Special Box. We wish them a happy and fruitful stay in our country. India has had very good relations with the Republic of Slovenia. Through them, we convey our greetings and best wishes to the Parliament, the Government and the friendly-people of the Republic of Slovenia.

_____

11. 03 hours

MEMBER SWORN

HON. SPEAKER: Now, Secretary-General may call the name of newly elected Member to take oath or make affirmation.

SECRETARY GENERAL: Shri Kanti Lal Bhuria.

SHRI KANTILAL BHURIA (RATLAM)- Oath Hindi

HON. SPEAKER: Now, the House will take up further discussion.

… (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA (GUNA): Hon. Speaker, Madam, during a speech yesterday evening, a Minister of the Government made remarks that were extremely improper and condemnable regarding our former Prime Ministers ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: I have conveyed it.

… (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: Hon. Speaker, Madam, yesterday evening, during the speech, extremely condemnable and improper remarks were made, ...*(Interruptions)* regarding our former Prime Ministers, Indira Ji and Rajiv Ji. It was stated that their assassinations were carried out ...*(Interruptions)* in accordance with their system and chattheir rule ...*(Interruptions)* If such thinking exists regarding the Prime Ministers of India ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: I know it. Shri Venkaiah Naiduji.

… (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: He is telling something.

… (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: If this is their thinking with regard to the Prime Ministers of India, ...*(Interruptions)* today we demand that an apology be tendered by him to this House and to the country. ...*(Interruptions)* I would like to demand and urge that he should apologise before this House. Such highly improper remarks have been made about our Prime Ministers. ... *(Interruptions)* If this is their mindset and ideology, how will this Government be able to protect the Constitution? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Hon. Speaker, Madam, before beginning my speech, with regard to the issue about which Jyotiraditya Ji and other friends have just given you notice, you also informed us, and in between some Congress colleagues also met us. I agree with this. Shrimati Indira Gandhi Ji and Shri Rajiv Gandhi Ji both served as Prime Ministers of India. There should be no objection

to criticising the policies of the Government of that time or the policies of the party. However, it is not appropriate to link such criticism with the circumstances in which those leaders, who are no longer alive, were assassinated and the sacrifices they made. ...*(Interruptions)* I do not think that the expression that was conveyed is right. …*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Please let him complete. [Translation] At least let him complete his Statment. What is this?

...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: There are two ways. If you want the Parliamentary Affairs Minister to speak on behalf of the Government, I will do it. If you want the hon. Member to say it, I will ask the hon. Member to say it. What do you prefer?

HON. SPEAKER: He is not there. When will he come?

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: The issue has been raised. We are trying to address it. Please have some patience. He raised a pertinent point. The feelings are hurt. That is the impression. That is being addressed by the Government also in an appropriate manner. The

Minister is not here right now. He is being called. If he is somewhere here, he will come here.

HON. SPEAKER: He is not here.

… (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: He is in Rajya Sabha now.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: When I say this, the Member will express regrets as and when he comes here. I will get him to the House. We are discussing a larger issue. Please try to understand. He will come here. Then whatever he say to say, he will say it. …(*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: He will come. But he is in the Rajya Sabha.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I have assured that the Member will come. He has not yet reached the Parliament. He is on the way. He is in the traffic. Once he comes, he will definitely express regret. Please sit down.

[Translation]

SHRI KANTHI LAL BHURIA (RATLAM): You should apologise on his behalf. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Kantilal Ji, I was doing exactly that, but from that side it was expressed that it would be better if the Hon. Member himself did so. I accepted that as well. You have been elected to the House for the first time today. I would like to congratulate you, and I would also like to congratulate you for coming in traditional Indian attire, in our age-old dress. You look colourful. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

We are discussing the issue of our commitment to the Constitution and we are also celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar. …(*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: No, no, this is not the way. Let him come here. He will come.

…(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: If they want to make political, then I leave it to them. … (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: This is not appropriate. He has stated that he will apologise when he comes. He must come here first.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI KANTILAL BHURIA: He should apologize.

...(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: There is no objection, but he should come himself.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Jyotiraditya-ji please try to understand. Kharge-ji, please.

[Translation]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Hon. Speaker, Sir, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has realised that the apology will be made after he arrives. But I would like to ask the Government, there is no Question Hour in the Rajya Sabha, yet he is sitting there. *...(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: He is not in the Rajya Sabha either. It has been stated that he is on the way.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: When there is no work there, he should at least be present here by 11 a.m. Yesterday he made the remarks and then left. If this becomes a hit-and-run situation, are we here merely to watch? Therefore, please call him. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: This is not the case.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Kharge Ji, he has been called. Yesterday, you also left after making your statement. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: This cannot proceed in this manner. Otherwise, you may kindly adjourn the House for ten minutes. *...(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: This is not the way. *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Let him come and explain.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, this is a very important debate and I am of the view that the House should discuss this issue in a more decent and dignified manner.

I am thankful to Shri Bhartruhari Mahtab who had initially given the suggestion … (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: This is not appropriate.

…(Interruptions)

11. 13 hours

(At this stage, Shri Rajeev Satav and some other hon. Members came and stood on the floor near the Table.)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, if they want to politicize it, I leave it to their collective wisdom. They want to politicize everything. This is very unfair and unfortunate. A party which is supposed to be having seniority indulging in this sort of thing even on the day of our commitment to the Constitution is unfortunate. …(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Now they need an excuse to come into the Well.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Please do not go to the well. …(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: There is no need to call him, he has arrived. Now please go back to your seats. Do not come into the Well on some pretext.

…(Interruptions)

11. 14 hours

At this stage, Shri Rajeev Satav and some other hon. Members went back to their seats.

HON. SPEAKER: When we were saying that he would come, you were informed that he was stuck in traffic and that it would take some time for him to arrive.

…(Interruptions)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: When Ministers speak, they should at least be sensible. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Please do not make such comments. You raised the issue, and in the Central Hall as well, Shri Digvijay Singh Ji, Shri Rajeev Shukla Ji and others brought it to my notice. I immediately contacted the concerned persons and discussed the matter. Subsequently, it was informed that a notice had been received. Now the Government is responding to the issue. Let us not make everything political.

THE MINISTER OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT (SHRI THAWAR CHAND GEHLOT): Hon. Speaker, Madam, the matter that was under discussion yesterday, I had participated in that discussion with your permission. During my speech, I had referred to the former Prime Minister of the country, respected Shrimati Indira Ji, and to the tragic death of Shri Rajiv Gandhi Ji. ...*(Interruptions)* If the Opposition Members have any objection to that reference, ...*(Interruptions)* it was never my intention to hurt anyone's sentiments or to cause any distress. I have always held Shrimati Indira Ji and Shri Rajiv Ji in the highest respect as Prime Ministers of the country. If, on the basis of what I said yesterday, anyone's sentiments have been hurt, I shall accept whatever decision is taken by the Chair. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Should I say something or not?

...(Interruptions)

SHRI THAWAR CHAND GEHLOT: If they want me to express regret, then I express my regret. ...*(Interruptions)* I am ready to express regret. ...*(Interruptions)* I am expressing my regret.

HON. SPEAKER: Shri Thawar Chand Ji, please keep one thing in mind. The manner in which you stated that this happened because of their wrong policies is not correct. That is wrong. You should apologise for that.

SHRI THAWAR CHAND GEHLOT: I express regret for that.

11. 17 hours

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

[English]

THE MINISTER OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT, MINISTER OF HOUSING AND URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU): The entire country is watching all of us and keeping that in mind, we should conduct ourselves in the House. If somebody has committed a mistake, they should rectify that. If somebody has done something wrong in the past, they should rectify it themselves. But I feel this is the time, as I was telling yesterday that initially this idea came to me because one of our colleagues in this House Mr. Bhartruhari Mehtab gave this suggestion. Subsequently, some Members also wrote letters to me. Keeping that in mind, we discussed it with the hon. Prime Minister but the Government of India also formed a Committee for celebrations of the birth anniversary of

Babasaheb Ambedkar. In that Committee, it was also decided that we must do it in a big way across the country. Then the Government has decided to observe the 26th of November as the Constitution Day.

We have combined the celebration of both the Constitution and the birth anniversary Babasaheb Ambedkar because he was the chairman of the sub-committee of the constitutional drafting. We have decided to take up this debate. The idea, according to me, is that we should visit the Constituent Assembly debates, the speeches made by the great sons of this great land, what was their vision, what were their expectations and what were the aspirations of the people of the country. Keeping that in mind, we should all assess to what extent we have succeeded in reaching out to those aspirations and expectations. What are the shortcomings, if any, and how to take care of those shortcomings and what are the challenges before us, and then how to address them in future and come with some meaningful suggestions? That was the purpose of this debate.

Unfortunately, I was a little disappointed. I could not even sleep properly last night because as a Parliamentary Affairs Minister I naturally feel happy when somebody speaks well and makes a good point. The boy Rammohan Naidu, the son of Yerran Naidu, was speaking yesterday. He made a very good speech. A lot of other

leaders also have made very good speeches. Even I was so impressed with Soniyaji, the President of Congress Party. Madam Soniyaji, as the President of the Congress Party, has put forth the point of view of the Congress Party.

I have my disagreement on two observations she made. At the same time, I was happy that she was speaking in Hindi. I am a non-Hindi person. … (*Interruptions*) She was speaking good Hindi. I am a non-Hindi person but I was also feeling okay that things were moving in the right direction. … (*Interruptions*)

I must tell you frankly I have all admiration for my friend Shri Mallikarjun Kharge but I was a little disappointed by the way he tried to raise certain political issues. In Politics it keeps happening always.

Madam today the entire world is looking towards India. I will just first touch some aspects of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's life and then go to other issues.

Born in a common family, Dr. Babasaheb carved a niche for himself on the basis of his brilliant capabilities and intellect braving all shortages, neglect and insults of his time. Now we can say anything but during those days raising a voice and talking about equality and also talking about emancipation of *dalits* was not an ordinary

contribution at that time. The vision he had and the suggestions he gave in the Constituent Assembly are really praiseworthy.

Dr. Ambedkar was a great social warrior at the same time he was a great thinker. He considered the inequalities in the Hindu society as the symbol of civilisational lacuna and dedicated his life to eradicate this incompleteness. The society is not complete without the participation of those people who were oppressed, depressed and suppressed. He was deeply concerned about the people who have been deprived equal opportunities in the society. That is where his greatness lies. He single-handedly lifted millions out of deprivation to dignity.

There was no place for enmity and hatred in Ambedkar's political thinking. He was fighting against the dichotomies, contradictions and evils of the society. He was not fighting against any particular religion. He was trying to highlight the shortcomings in the society at that time.

He was truly a national leader and his nationalism was not confined to just transfer of power from British to Indians, but permanent reconstruction of the nation. That was the trust he had given. [Translation] At that time, there was a widespread belief among

the people that once independence was achieved and Swaraj attained, true self-rule would automatically follow. However, Dr Ambedkar had stated that while independence was important, equality and social justice were equally essential alongside independence, and that the reconstruction of the nation should be undertaken on that very foundation. He had articulated this principle clearly at that time.

[English]

He was of the view that for the success of democracy, the role of the Opposition and also of the Media is very important. What role they played is a different matter; the role of the Opposition and the Media is also equally important.

He said in one word that nation building could be considered as a ‘core project’. His concern was nation building. He considered the society and the nation above everything else.

India has been able to reach where it is today because of the solid foundation he provided by laying down the Constitution of India and by working towards the empowerment and upliftment of the *dalits*. It was not only Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar but the great founding fathers of the Constitution, the first Chairman of the Constituent Assembly Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha and then Dr. Rajendra Prasad; Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel; Maulana Azad; Krishnaswamy Iyengar; and a lot of other important luminaries who have all worked in the Committee, outside the Committee, and in the main body. All of them worked immensely and laid a better future and good roadmap for all of us through the Constitution they have offered to all of us. Today, we are re-dedicating ourselves and re-committing ourselves to the Constitution, to strengthen the Constitution.

Dr. Ambedkar was not only a constitutional expert of barrister but he was also a great economist. He has done his Ph. D in economics and submitted his thesis on '*The problem of the rupee, its origins and solutions*'. Even now, we are discussing about the problem of the rupee. Fiscal Federalism was the concept he gave in the constitutional scheme of things. He also played a key role in setting up the Reserve Bank of India. Reserve Bank is a pride of our nation. He made immense contribution in shaping the Reserve Bank at that time.

In Viceroy's Council he held the responsibility of all the important components, labour, employment, coal, minerals and water resources.

He was also instrumental in setting up Employment Exchanges. The idea of employment exchanges came from Dr. Babasaheb at that time. It was set up by him.

He was also instrumental in molding the thinking of the people. I would just quote one word here. He talked of 'socialist principle of State and Government'. He said:

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing

- that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood (the basic principle);
- that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub serve the common good. "

That is the foundation he has laid.

On 15th November 1949 socialist pattern of governance was the flavour of the season. He said:

"At this point of time socialist pattern of governance is good but people are free to decide better way than socialism to organise the society. "

This was his vision. At that time nobody was able to say anything against socialism or even in an alternative thought but he visualised the situation and gave that liberty to the people that they are the masters and they can decide. Subsequently in 90s we had the reforms and then we had public sector, private sector, joint sector, PPP model and lately investment from outside also. All these things have come up now and he had envisaged all of them and said that people have the liberty.

He also said:

> "'What should be the policy of the State, how the Society should be organized in its social and economic side are matters which must be decided by the people themselves according to time and circumstances"

Please underline 'according to time and circumstances'. This is the foresight of our constitutional framers.

The most favourite thing for the people of the country, even for people like me also, the proposal of interlinking rivers was his suggestion at that time. [Translation] By connecting Ganga and Cauvery, the terrible situation which is being created by drought and

flood in the country can be removed. I also served as the Minister of Rural Development for a few days. You can see that urbanization is increasing all over the country very fast. People are leaving the villages and coming to the cities. I have also left rural development and have now reached urban development. This is the fact. [English] This is the real situation today. So, keeping that in mind, today when we are paying tributes to our constitutional farmers we should also think seriously about that subject which was envisaged by Dr. Babasaheb about interlinking of rivers. Our former Prime Minister, Shri Vajpayee had made a contribution towards this. He set up a Committee under Shri Suresh Prabhu to work out the details of economic viability and technical feasibility of the scheme. They have done their job. Dr. K. L. Rao, during the earlier Government, I think during Indira Ji's period, came out with a master plan for linking up of rivers. This is one issue which we should remember.

Dr. Ambedkar was also instrumental in realisation of irrigation projects - Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Son River etc. He had his own contribution towards those projects.

His personality, calibre and hard work was realised by everybody during the Constituent Assembly debates and discussion. My friend Shri Kharge yesterday quoted Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. I would like

to go in little detail about it. This is for the knowledge of the new generation. Today we are speaking in the House and we are also reminding our new generation about the great qualities and contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Shri T T Krishnamachari, former Finance Minister and a great economist said and I quote:

> "Mr. President, Sir, I am one of those in the House who have listened to Dr Ambedkar very carefully. I am aware of the amount of work and enthusiasm that he has brought to bear on the work of drafting this Constitution.
>
> At the same time, I do realise that the amount of attention that was necessary for the purpose of drafting Constitution so important to us at this moment, has not been given to it by the Drafting Committee. "

He was conceding that. Madam, this is quotation from Mr. Krishnamachari:

> "The House is perhaps aware that of the seven members nominated by you, one had resigned from the House and was replaced. One died and was not replaced. One was away

in America and his place was not filled up and another person was engaged in State affairs, and there was a void to that extent.

One or two people were far away from Delhi and perhaps reasons of health did not permit them to attend. ”

So out of seven, practically many of them could not make it to regular meetings of the Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee. That was the observation made by Krishnamachariji. He said:

“So it happened ultimately that the burden of drafting this constitution fell on Dr. Ambedkar and I have no doubt that we are grateful to him for having achieved this task in a manner which is undoubtedly commendable. ”

That was the compliment made at that time. So, we can understand the contribution made by Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar. He was aware that the biggest threat to any nation is internal rather than external. He said it at that time that threat to any nation is first internal than external. In the Constituent Assembly he raised the question that

on January 26,1950, we would be a Republic but what would happen to our independence. Taking historical references, he reminded the representatives in the House that we had lost independence earlier due to internal weaknesses, and that it was important to see that it does not happen again. This is what he had said at that time. See the vision and foresight of that great man. He also said so many things about caste politics, religion politics, sectarian politics and other things. I do not want to dwell upon that. Some of the people had talked about it yesterday. But he cautioned all of us that such things are going to happen in future and one has to be careful. So, he was truly a national leader in words, deeds and his actions.

Dr. Ambedkar will always be remembered as a leader who worked in letter and spirit to bring social equality and harmony in practice through social transformation. He said that if we as a society continue to deny equality in our social and economic life, then this could one day become a threat to our political democracy. This is the fore-warning he had given to all of us.

He said that the working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depends are the people and the political parties they set upon.

So we have to remember that in this country since our Independence of 68 years, how long have we been in power and what have we done? I am not using this occasion to find fault with this Government or that Government, though some parties have ruled for long and now raising questions. They have every right to raise questions.

The first thing in my judgement was to do hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. The second thing we must do is to observe the caution that, not "to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man or a woman, or to trust him with power which enable him to subvert their institutions". Just see his foresight. He visualized that a situation may come like that. [Translation] He also cautioned the people about what would happen to the country if such a situation were allowed to develop. He warned that no matter how important an individual may be, concentrating all authority in the hands of a single person, or unquestioningly submitting to such authority, would have serious consequences. We have, in fact, experienced the outcome of such a situation during the Seventies. Therefore, there is much for us to learn from this subject, and we must remain vigilant and aware.

[English]

There is nothing wrong in that. We have icons in this country to adore. Even I adore Swami Vivekananda, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Subhash Chandra Bose. These are three icons for me. I take my inspiration from the lives, teachings and preachings of these great people. It is not that I do not respect other leaders but if some one asks you who your favourite is, I say that they are these three. Like this, there are many icons in the country of different shades and opinions. Right from the freedom movement also there were [Translation] Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak to Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru Ji, Patel Ji, Subhash Chandra Bose Ji, Shri Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru and Allur Sitaram Raju in our area, Veerapandiya Kattabomman in Tamil Nadu, many such people have inspired the country. It may come as a surprise to many that one of the unfortunate realities of our country is that leaders and freedom fighters who emerged from different corners of the nation have not been accorded the national-level recognition they truly deserve. That is why, as I observe, when I mention the name of Veerapandiya Kattabomman or Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar, our Tamil brothers respond with applause. However, for many others, the question remains as to who Veerapandiya Kattabomman was and what his contribution to the freedom struggle was. Large sections of

the country are still unaware of who Veerapandiya Kattabomman was and of the sacrifices and contribution he made to the nation. [English] Adoor Sitaram Raju fought the Britishers single-handedly and mobilised the tribals. These are the people who gave us inspiration and they had the foresight and they had shown the way to us. I respect my leaders Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Lal Krishna Advani. But I can tell you today that they taught us how to raise questions. We follow the leader because of their policies and principles that have been laid down. This has to be kept in mind. Nowadays some people are talking about personality cult forgetting that they themselves have cultivated the cult, built the cult, developed the cult and became the casualty of the cult. They are giving advice to us. There is a saying that we should learn from the experience of others. We will keep that in mind.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE (GULBARGA): You are doing the same thing.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: We will never do the same thing. You do not worry about that. You have to appreciate the fact that if you have a leader with character, calibre, capacity, conduct, discipline, dynamism, devotion and dedication, you must give hats off to that leader. We are proud to have a leader. It is not only Venkaiah

Naidu who is saying this. The entire world is saying that Modi is the maker of developed India. How can anybody deny this? It is not here in Delhi. You go to Madison Square in America; you go to France; you go to Germany; you go to Japan; you go to China; you go to Nepal, you go to anywhere except this block sitting in front of me, the entire world is saying is Modi, Modi and Modi… (*Interruptions*) I can understand that you cannot tolerate the verdict of the people. I can understand that… (*Interruptions*) [Translation] This country has a State called Bihar. It is a large State, and there is much that can be learnt from it. But thereafter, one must also reflect on what happened subsequently. Please do not divert me at this stage, because there are many issues that I still wish to place on record.

[English]

Dr. Ambedkar's fundamental concern was to liberate the untouchables, the depressed classes, women and minorities from the menace of social oppression, the provisions of positive discrimination. There was a suggestion on the atrocities on the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes; there was also a suggestion about reservation in the private sector; then there was a suggestion about reservation in promotion. These are the issues that we have to discuss. It is not as simple as one Minister standing up and saying yes. If it

would have been that simple, then Shri Kharge ji and his Government would have done it long back. There are problems and there are forces in the country. People talk about reservation of women. But why is it then not coming?

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: We have done it and therefore we are saying.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Kharge ji, you have done everything. You spoke for 72 minutes, almost equivalent to your age.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: That was the courtesy extended by the hon. Speaker. If you would have been there you would not have allowed me even two minutes.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: At least he has that much appreciation for the Hon. Speaker. I am thankful to him. He is respecting the institution.

The next point is positive affirmative action. The other day in the all party meeting my friend Shri Sitaram Yechury also was saying [Translation] yesterday as well, Shri Chaudhary from Tripura had spoken. He said, “I am noting down everyone’s points. There must be affirmative action. [English] It should not be a simple occasion like putting up a photo [Translation] In our region, there is a saying that

remembering something once a year and then forgetting it afterward is not appropriate. This is a serious matter, and there are several other related issues as well. I will come to those issues in due course.

[English]

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said that the purpose of education is to moralise and socialise the people. Then he said that education is the nucleus of democracy to emancipate the society. Every word which he has said is a golden word. Dr. Ambedkar was more concerned about the character-building of the people.

> "Education was a sword and being a double-edged weapon was dangerous to wield. An educated man without character and humility was more dangerous than a beast. If his education was detrimental to the welfare of the poor, the educated man was a curse to the society. Character is more important than education. "

[Translation]

Sometimes our leader Shri Advani ji also reminds us that ideology is important, but more important than ideology is ideal behavior. Conduct is extremely important-this is something he has

always emphasized to us. He also said, with regard to the federal government, that there should be uniformity in the fundamental laws of the country. [English] This is not what the BJP is saying. This is what Dr. Ambedkar said. He said about uniformity in fundamental laws including civil and criminal laws. This is what he had suggested at that time but the country is yet to reach that. Directive Principles also speak of the same. The country is yet to move in that direction. The Supreme Court also said that there is a need for a common Civil Code. But still we are far away from that.

Today, I have seen that around 70,000 women have given a petition to the Prime Minister about the need of gender equality. A petition is also pending before the court. The moment somebody talks about it; some people will say that we are interfering in the personal laws of persons. What personal law prevents a woman being in equality with man? I am not able to understand this so far. We have to introspect on that issue also. Unfortunately, cautions were given by him. At that time also, there was a three-and-a-half years fight for Hindu Code Bill and it was for the same objective. When he realized that the Hindu Code Bill was not going to be passed, he resigned from the Cabinet. He resigned not because of his personal differences with Pandit Ji. It was due to his differences on larger issues that he thought

that his approach was good for the country and the Government of that day thought otherwise. So, he did not even take minutes to resign and go out of the Cabinet. Nowadays, we are seeing the situation on going out of the Cabinet and how people keep moving from the morning, evening and afternoon from one party to another party and sometimes people break parties also. … (*Interruptions*) That being the case, he never bothered about going out of the Cabinet also alongwith Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the great son of this great country. They were great people. Let us agree to disagree but let us debate and then go to the people. People are the ultimate judges. They decide what to do and what not to do. Why should we worry about it? Shri Mukherjee differed with somebody. It is true. That is the beauty of democracy. Even in a family, there will be differences of opinion sometimes but at the end of it, we come to some conclusion and then move forward.

Madam, unfortunately, the cautions were overlooked by the earlier regimes. What happened in India during the last 50 years of rule? [Translation] The earlier regime is bending and mending the ways to overlook the Constitutional methods to achieve their political objectives rather than social objectives.

I will come to certain issues now. I am sharing my concern not as a Minister for Parliamentary Affairs but as Venkaiah Naidu and as an individual. What are the people of India thinking? People of India are very intelligent. Please understand this.

Yesterday, when the Vice President of the Congress Party went to Bengaluru and asked questions, you may find the wisdom of the young girls. How they reacted and spoke on various issues? I am not here to criticize Rahul Ji or anybody. That is not my purpose. My purpose is to say that the children of the country also are seriously and keenly observing as to what is happening in the country. They know what is good and what is not good. Let us not underestimate the wisdom of the people.

[Translation]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Is this concerned with the matter? …*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Don't do this repeatedly.. [English] He has not said anything objectionable.

…(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI M. VENKAIH NAIDU: If even after so much experience you are unable to tolerate this, what am I supposed to do, Kharge ji?

[English]

What about literacy? What did the Constitution Framer say about it? He said that there has to be total literacy. Where are we today? Even today, 36 per cent of the people of India cannot read and write. Is it not a matter for the entire country and for all of us in Parliament to think about? I am not blaming anybody like they have ruled for a long period and they have more account. I am not going into that. What I am saying is that we should ponder over that issue.

There is Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. Educating all our children was the wish of our founding fathers. But where do we stand today? That one question we have to ask ourselves.

Second issue is the female foeticide. You see the sex ratio. …(*Interruptions*) Shri Kharge, please allow me. …(*Interruptions*) [Translation] My party has been allotted six hours, yet I will not go even a single minute beyond seventy-two minutes. …*(Interruptions)*

[English]

Female foeticide and the sex ratio is really worrisome. That is why we have to think about that.

In spite of all these years of civilization, dowry menace is rampant in the country. Can you simply ban it through legislation? We also need to have political and social will. We have to rise above these and then think about the social evils also.

The fourth is untouchability. In spite of all the laws that we have passed and irrespective of which party was in power, still untouchability is practised in certain areas even today. Untouchability is practised even today in some of the places of worship. Some people felt happy to convert to other religions. There also they complain of the same practice. [Translation] A similar situation exists there as well; therefore, people in the country are also saying that reservations should be provided there too. Hence, this is a serious issue. Along with this, with regard to the atrocities being committed against women, what is the point of presenting figures, how many occurred during my government's tenure, how many during your government's tenure, how many in the states, and how many in the National Capital? The Nirbhaya incident that took place in Delhi, the capital of the country, is a matter of shame for all of us.

[English]

We have to seriously engage ourselves to find out ways and means of creating the needed awareness among the people. We have to particularly change the mindset of men. That is also another important task we should remember today when we are doing introspection.

Another problem is caste and communal politics. There are some people who try to raise a controversy about what our senior leader, Shri Rajnath Singh, has said yesterday. People who practise caste politics, people who practise communal politics, people who practise parochial politics call others as anti-secular. That is why he said that 'secularism' is the most abused word in this country. Nobody has got any doubt about secularism. [Translation] It is enshrined in the Constitution and will continue to remain there; but it must also live in the hearts of the people, where it will endure and progress. This is my conviction. Otherwise, merely enacting laws will not be sufficient, nor will simply proclaiming ideals achieve the desired outcome. It is only when ideals are put into practice, when we move forward in that spirit, and when we encourage our children and the younger generation and awaken awareness among them, that the purpose of those ideals will truly be fulfilled. This is my firm belief.

[English]

Next issue is the influence of money power in elections. We are all trying to be hypocritical about money power. How much money is being spent by candidates who are contesting elections? All of us are filing Income Tax Returns and the Election Commission Returns. That is a different matter. But actually how much are we spending? Let us search our souls and find out what is happening. People have to vote on the basis of character, calibre, capacity and conduct and not on the basis of caste, money or religion. This has to be highlighted and we must create awareness among the people. [Translation] People are voting while setting these aside, and I salute them. However, what sometimes happens in this country is that casteism is also used, in one way or another, to mislead people. This is one of the misfortunes of our country. I am sharing a small experience of my own. Issues relating to land, water, language, and religion sometimes agitate and confuse people to such an extent that, under their influence, people act in a certain manner and only realise the consequences later. Once it happens, they are unable to do anything for five years. Therefore, we should also reflect on how the influence of money power can be reduced.

[English]

My next issue is the growing opportunism and defections. This is another worrisome issue. We have banned the retail defections. But now wholesale defections are going on. Yesterday I saw in one of the States in the country, in the North-East, all the Members have joined the ruling party. I do not want to name any party. …(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

It is all right; it will become clear later who is politically aligned with whom. ...*(Interruptions)* The Congress has also become associated with it, and the BJP has also become associated with it; I do not wish to go into that. Today, I wanted to speak somewhat apart from that, and therefore I am saying this. This is a serious matter. What is happening in the States as well? We brought about an amendment to the Constitution and, through legislative measures, stipulated that the size of the Cabinet should not exceed a prescribed limit. You ensured that it was restricted accordingly. What happened thereafter? Parliamentary Secretaries were appointed, or the status of Minister was conferred. This is happening across the country. This reflects the weakness of all political parties.

Sir, if it has been permitted there, should it not be permitted here as well? There are various sections in society, and all must be given

representation. Otherwise, there are different regions and sub-regions, religions and sub-religions, and in the name of representation, reaching the Cabinet and placing an additional burden on the public, [English] is it not a matter for all of us, as a mature democracy, to discuss this situation and come out with some sort of a solution? When, Advani Ji was the home minister, he brought a legislation to the effect that not more than 10 per cent of the assembly and not more than 15 per cent of both the houses of legislature put together could be made ministers. That is working well. But these exceptions have come up. This has to be thought of. [Translation] This situation exists in Parliament as well, and the fact that different political parties form governments in the States is itself a reflection of the country's democratic civility. No party is entirely out of power. Every party is in office in one State or another and has also been in power at the Centre. Therefore, based on the experience before us, we cannot say with our eyes closed that everything is functioning well. If I criticise you and you criticise me, that will happen, and for one day it will become a headline. However, the main concern of the people remains unchanged, and there will be no real change in that core issue. [English] Growing opportunism and defection is a big worry. I can tell you, from day one when I joined politics, when I started writing

on the walls and then tying the party flag on the pole and used to announce the arrival of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Advani to my place, I never imagined that from there I can reach this stage and then sit between Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Advani and become the National President of the Party. One reason what I feel is I am consistent with my ideology. That really helps also. One has to understand this. We are there in politics for a mission, not for commission. This has to be understood by one and all.

Then, defection is a cancer to the society. Some of our friends, they are also casualties because people have affection towards defection and they are trying to make a perfection out of it. That is another worry. We have to think about the country. There are regional disparities. People are asking for giving special status to their States. Every State is asking for a special status now. Why? We have to think about it. I am not criticizing anybody. Even I have asked for special status for Andhra Pradesh on the floor of the parliament because I thought that Andhra Pradesh was discriminated upon and they were not getting their due with regard to revenue share, not because of other parameters. [Translation] Subsequently, the 14th Finance Commission was constituted and submitted its report. While the report is under discussion, Bihar is making demands, West Bengal is making

demands, Odisha is making demands, and the developed States are also making demands. Punjab, too, is asking what provision has been made for it. [English] Where do you go? Yesterday Ram Vilasji was saying that now there is a race for demanding special status.

[Translation]

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV (BANKA): This is our right. Bihar should be granted Special Status. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Very well, this is your right. Every citizen in the country has his or her own rights; others also have rights, and how to manage and balance the rights of others is our responsibility and our duty. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV: This right has not been acknowledged; therefore, Bihar should be granted Special Status. ...(*Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Hon Member, Please take your Seat.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Jai Prakash ji, such sarcasm will not achieve anything. With such numbers, even the deities will not remain here. Where is the dome above? ...*(Interruptions)* Look, what happened earlier? Why was special status not granted then? You yourselves were in power at that time. Therefore, do not get into that

matter. The situation in Kashmir is somewhat different and it should be supported. As far as the backwardness of certain States is concerned, they are gradually emerging out of that backwardness. Jharkhand is coming out of backwardness, even Chhattisgarh is coming out of backwardness. Odisha, and the natural mineral resources there, the devolution of those resources, as envisaged by the framers of the Constitution at that time under the federal system, that very devolution under the federal system has been demonstrated by this Government today. Therefore, Madam, you would have noticed that initially, when the Mines and Minerals Bill was introduced, many people opposed it. Later, when discussions were held and it was seen that the States were benefiting, people supported it. It is a different matter that these people criticised it, and that you supported it under their influence. Had you come under their influence earlier, would you not have supported it? That is not the issue. What I am saying is that the scope of dialogue can resolve many issues. [English] Another issue is asking for the status of Backward Class, then asking for Most Backward Class, then asking for the status of Scheduled Caste and then asking for the status of Scheduled Tribe.

[Translation] Ramdas Athawale ji gave advice at the all-party meeting. He said that it would be better to give one hundred Percent

reservation to all citizens of the country. Does granting reservation alone ensure protection for everyone? That is not the case, is it? Can that be a solution? This needs to be examined. Discussion should be held on this. [English] People should think about it. As far as we are concerned, the Government has said it very clearly that they are in favour of giving reservation. They are in favour of extending it as long as it is necessary for the suppressed and depressed people. That is the commitment of the Constitution. That is the commitment of our party. Over and above, there should also be enough reservation for women. I remember, as a Party President, our leader Shri Advaniji had moved the Resolution from the Chair in the BJP meeting at Baroda. I was the General Secretary of the Party at that time. … (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

You keep remembering RSS all the time. [English] God bless you. Yes, we are supporters of RSS. There is no doubt about it. What is in it? I am not able to understand it. It is not ISIS. [Translation] Some people are troubled by the RSS, but happy with the ISIS. It is unfortunate in this country that some people are unhappy with the RSS, happy with the ISIS. *…(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record except what Venkaiahji is saying.

… (*Interruptions*). . . **

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Those who are speaking intermittently, whatever they say will not go on record.

…(Interruptions)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Hon. Member, Ratlam is not the entire country. The country extends from Attock to Cuttack, from Kanyakumari to Kashmir. ...*(Interruptions)* You may take your horoscope charts outside and tell people about their horoscopes. I have no objection to that. You are stating it, that is your wish. ...*(Interruptions)*

When I joined this party for the first time, some people mocked me and said, "Venkaiah Naidu, you are going to that party. It is a North Indian party, it is a party of educated people, a party of urban people," and finally they said that it is a party of vegetarian people.

** Not recorded.

Madam, I would like to share this frankly that for a moment a doubt did arise in my mind as to what this was. Later, when I asked my senior about it, he said that there was no such objection. He said that one could eat eggs, one could eat chicken, even its parent, and that there was no problem at all. I began eating and I continue to do so even now. This is a misconception among people.

What is the situation today? There was a time when we could never win in the South. Today, the BJP flag is flying in Kanyakumari, the BJP flag is flying in Kashmir. The BJP flag is flying in Nagaland, and the BJP flag is flying in Andaman. First the mainland, then the island, namely Andaman. Thereafter, even in the hill region, the BJP is present in Ladakh, and it is also present in Nagaland. Taken together, we have reached this stage and have become an all-India party. We have the highest number of Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Members belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, and women Members. ...*(Interruptions)*

Even in the recent municipal elections in Kerala, we saw the outcome. You reached the third position, and we reached the second position. ...*(Interruptions)* Owing to a little generosity from Salim bhai's party, we received some encouragement. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

Madam, we have to now focus on women's reservation. If women's reservation is so simple, why are we hesitating? They are asking as to why we are hesitating. Our people are asking as to why they have hesitated. People are asking as to why both of you are hesitating. … (*Interruption*) They are hesitating and we are hesitating. This is an issue where everybody has to put their palm on their chests. People feel that if 33 percent will be given, [Translation] so how will we get seats for the future? We should move forward through dialogue. In the meantime, women representatives and friends had come to us. They said that this should be taken forward at the earliest. Indeed, it should be taken forward. The reason is that in some areas there is 50 percent reservation for women in Panchayats, and in some areas there is 50 percent reservation for women in Municipalities. They are doing good work. Some people may dismiss this by saying that it has now become a case of husbands running the Panchayats. Do husbands always behave properly? We men have reached this House. How many among them have been caught in scams and scandals? Why do you blame only women? Give them an opportunity. You have governed for so many years. Give them also a few days to do good work. [English] In view of this, we have to think about the

Reservation Bill and we must come to a conclusion because we have been talking about it but we have not been working about it. Mere talking is not going to help us so; we also need to work.

Then, there is stopping of criminalization in politics. This is another important issue which is being debated in TV channels across the country. Then, Manmohanji wanted to bring some legislation at that time. It could not happen. There was serious protest within the Congress Party also. A big debate is going on in the society also. Even about the recent elections people are coming with figures as to how many MLAs in that particular State have that background.

12. 00 hours

People are coming up with figures as to how many politicians belong to this party, how many of them belong to that party. Whatever party it may be, but they belong to a political party. So, that is a concern for all of us. We have to address this issue as to how to prevent the criminal elements from entering into politics. This is another topic for discussion and introspection amongst ourselves.

Then, eradicating corruption, which is eating into the vitals of the nation, is very important. I do not wish to go into the extent of corruption. I do not want to reopen old matters such as the 2G, 3G, or

similar past scandals marked by unquestioning compliance. I would like to say that [English] corruption has become an important issue, which is agitating the minds of the people at national level, at state level, at local level, at individual level. All of us have to apply our mind and see to it that the money should reach the people. The late Shri Rajiv Gandhi once said, "If I send Rs. 100 from Delhi, only Rs. 15 reaches the beneficiaries.'' It was more on account of agony and not to criticise, anybody that he made this comment. It is about the money reaching the lowest level. That is why, now, we have to think of new ways like Direct Benefit Transfer on Scholarship, Subsidy, Gas Subsidy, Fertilizer Subsidy, PDS Subsidy, Pensions. Can we think of totally transferring them into the bank account of the beneficiaries? That is why the hon. Prime Minister said JAM (Jan Dhan Yojana, AADHAR Card and Mobile Card) is the way by which we can improve our system. A lot of States are doing it. Our friends from Hyderabad have done some good experiments with regard to Hyderabad revenues. Their revenues have improved through a system. Now, every State is competing. Andhra Pradesh Government is also coming up with a new technology. Now, here, some other Government has also come up with some new App also.

So, all these things should be pursued vigorously to see that the public money that is being spent by the Government of India and the State Governments reaches the needy and is not allowed to be lapsed in between. That should be the priority for our discussion.

Another thing is ‘focus on growing fundamentalism.’ Yes, some people are making statements. Some people are making statements here and some people are going leisurely to the neighboring country and making statements there also. My point is that fringe elements of any side should be isolated for each and every thing, now people start saying that [Translation] it took place during your tenure; our tenure has only just begun. How many years did your tenure last, and what transpired during that period? People will deliberate upon it.

[English]

Shed pseudo secular attitude. Let there be no appeasement of anybody. 'Justice for all, appeasement of none’ should be the policy. That is the true meaning of [Translation] Sarva Dharma Sambhava in Hindi. In the South, we explain it in this manner, while here in Hindi it is called Panth Nirpekshata. ...*(Interruptions)* When I mention the word Panth, it reminds me of Pant ji, and therefore I hesitate a little. Dharma is different from Religion. Religion is a way of worship but

Dharma is our culture, which our forefathers have given to us. From ancient times, from the Vedic period, from the Puranic period, whatever our ancestors lived by and passed on, the heritage that we have received, that is Dharma. That is why all countries are praising India.

A new tendency has now emerged, and a new threat has arisen across the country and the world. Earlier, the threat was only from the ISI. There are some people who are prepared to say "yes" even to ISIS. Therefore, that too should be taken seriously. We must also seriously consider what steps should be taken for it, what new law should be brought in, what system should be put in place, and what should be done to create public opinion across the world in this regard.

Madam, I submit that whatever our Constitution-makers had said, the present Government is, at this time, paying attention to all of it. I do not wish to go into the details.

[English]

Madam, social welfare was talked about earlier. Now, the Government's focus is more on social security. You have seen in the history of India, for the first time, as per the spirit of the Constitution, as per the preachings and teachings of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedekar,

following the same, our hon. Prime Minister has introduced the Jan Dhan Yojana. Opening of 18 crores to 19 crore bank accounts in five months is a world record. This is to empower the poor people, the ordinary people… (*Interruptions*) [Translation] If the UPA has done some good work, there is no objection to appreciating it. You proceeded gradually; we have taken it forward swiftly. That is the only difference. Opening 18 crore new bank accounts within five months is no trivial matter. No one was paid overtime. No pressure was put on anyone. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

Now also, for Direct Benefit Transfer, a lot of money will go to those bank accounts also and bank accounts will be vibrant. …(*Interruptions*) Have some patience Jyoti, you are a youngster, you have a promising future also. Why are you joining Suresh? …(*Interruptions*) I do not want him to be totally silent but do not be violent. That's only my request. My point is that Pradhan Mantri Jan Suraksha Yojana, Jeevan Bima Yojana, Atal Pension Yojana Mudra Bank. what are these? These are all as per the vision of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar reaching out the suppressed and depressed people by giving them a helping hand.

It is because of LPG Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation, a new situation is developing across the globe. In India also, things are changing. So, keeping that in mind, while trying to create wealth, while trying to invite investment, at the same time, you have to take care of the vulnerable sections. That is why, *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao; Sukanya Samridhi Yojana; Jan Dhan Yojana; Jan Suraksha Yojana; Jan Shri Bima Yojana; Atal Pension Yojana;* and then, *Mudra Yojana*.

What is *Mudra Yojana*? *Mudra yojana* is not for the rich people. Banks were giving money earlier to the rich people. it is not wrong because money has to come back also. But poor people are sincerer in repaying the loan. I can tell you out of my experience in Andhra Pradesh and in Telangana, ninety-nine percent is the repayment capacity of the self-help groups. [Translation] The repayment rate of Self-Help Groups is 99 Percent. Keeping this in mind, the Hon. Prime Minister has implemented the MUDRA Bank scheme. Who will give loans to poor people, small entrepreneurs, auto-rickshaw drivers, taxi drivers, fruit vendors, and those who sell idli and dosa by the roadside?

[English]

Madam, it is not exaggeration to say that some of our friends, if they forget political differences, will endorse it that in certain markets people give the loan for one thousand in the morning but they will give only nine hundred as cash. The loan is for one thousand rupees. By evening, after you sell your products, you have to pay one thousand rupees. That means the seller has to pay one hundred rupees as interest for one day. That is the situation. That is the exploitation going on. It is not because of any party but it is because of the system. So, keeping that in mind, the Prime Minister came with this novel idea of *Mudra Bank Yojana*. So, we should see to it that all of us participate in that and see to it that the *Mudra Bank Yojana* reaches the people.

What is the atmosphere? I have no desire to say how much was done during your tenure and how little was done during ours, although I have the figures with me. Our performance is always better than your performance. The question is that people want total stoppage of atrocities on weaker sections and atrocities on women. That is the aspirations of the people. But this will take time and we are doing our best. What is happening? some people are saying as if everything has gone wrong only after this government has come. Some people who went to public and issued statements on the eve of elections saying that Mr. Modi is a fascist, you reject him, people rejected those

fascists and they selected and elected Narendra Modi ji with a massive mandate. Those people could not do anything because they lost the election. They are waiting for an opportunity. As and when there is an election in the country whether be it Delhi election, whether be it Bihar election, they raise their head and say [Translation] It is being said that this is under threat. Tolerance is under threat. Some people went to the United Nations, some went to the President of the United States, and some even wrote letters to the Prime Minister of London, urging that Shri Modi should not be given this or that. You must have seen the remarkable scenes in the London Assembly.

[English]

Seventy thousand people came to hear the Prime Minister of India. At no time and nowhere in the history such a thing has happened. You have seen Singapore, you have seen Malaysia, you have seen Australia, you have seen Sydney wherever our Prime Minister is going. Why? The respect is not only for Narendra Modi, the respect is for the people of India who are working hard. *…(Interruptions)* [Translation] Such attraction arises merely by looking at me. Is there some deficiency in me, or some deficiency in you? What is it? ...*(Interruptions)* Kharge ji, we have sat in the

Opposition for 50 years. ...*(Interruptions)* You were in power for 50 years. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: If I am not saying anything at all, then what is there from my side? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: There is so much affection. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: I have not said anything. Do I even appear in your dreams? ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: It is mutual attraction between the two of you.

…(Interruptions)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: I did not say anything. I was sitting quiet. …*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: It is the attraction between Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

. . . (Interruptions)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Whatever you had to say, you have already said yesterday. *…(Interruptions)*

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: Madam Speaker, I have a point of order. He said that I spoke only according to my age, but you

yourself are speaking five minutes more than your age. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Thank you. That should be the parliamentary repartee, and one should have a large heart to really enjoy it. There is nothing wrong. He is more senior to me. If he scores a good point, I will be more than happy.

You were saying you have not said anything. You have not said anything now. What all you had to say, you had said it yesterday.

The International Monetary Fund recently said India is among the few bright spots in the global economy today. We are living up to the expectation of the Constitutional framers. The International Monetary Fund projected 7. 5 per cent growth rate for India in 2016 against China's 6. 3 per cent. So, India has that potentiality. It is not a certificate given by us. It is given by the International Monetary Fund. ADB projected India to grow at 7. 8 per cent in fiscal year 2016 and to outpace China. Fitch Ratings forecast India 7. 5 per cent growth. Moody's Ratings revised its outlook on India's banking system to stable from negative this month which has been negative since 2011. The World Bank has recently improved India's ranking by 12 places

in ease of doing business, highest by any country in one go. India has improved UNCTAD ranking of investment attractiveness from 15 to 9, that means, the ranking has gone up. India jumped 16 places in the Competitiveness Index World Economic Forum growth of 7. 5 per cent putting the country on the course to overtake China. So, this is the situation what is emerging in the country.

Then, Transparency International has appreciated India. Why are we tom-toming outside India, petitioning other agencies to defame and hurt India? My earnest appeal to all the people is this. You criticize us. Do not go. … (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: You people were going and telling that the Opposition had tarnished our nation. Who is responsible? You are responsible. There is no point in telling that. … (*Interruptions*) You have criticized the Opposition abroad.

[Translation]

HON. CHAIRPERSON: This is wasting time.

…(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Be broad. Let us not go abroad. The Prime Minister can go abroad because he has to mobilize support for

India. He has done it. He has done it in an excellent manner also. By sensationalizing trivial issues, as I was telling from the beginning, I have not even touched any political points so far. You are now provoking me to go for some political points. … (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: But you keep provoking the matter. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Former External Affairs Ministers of the country go to other regions, give interviews, and say that the Prime Minister of Pakistan is good, while the Prime Minister of India is not. ...*(Interruptions)* [English] who is he? He is the former External Affairs Minister of India. He goes to another country. Then another ex-Minister and present Member of Parliament goes to Pakistan and tells the people if you want to improve the ties between India and Pakistan, the best way is to overthrow Narendra Modi. It is a shame. I expected Sonia Ji next day to condemn that statement. It did not happen. I do not think that she has approved this. But at the same time an MP, Mani Shankar Aiyyar Ji –I am taking the name because it is public secret now—has gone to Pakistan and then there he said, the only way to have an India-Pakistan dialogue is to overthrow the Indian

Prime Minister who is elected and selected by a majority, after a gap of 30 years with such a massive mandate. He is an able leader. …(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: He is neither a member of working committee nor a member of AICC. He is a nominated member. Why do you take his name? How can you ask the Madam to condemn it? Do not do all those things.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: He is such a great man who told Narendra Modi you come and have a *Tea shop* in front of AICC office. This is what he had said during AICC session. He said that the AICC session is going on, come and open a tea shop here. …*(Interruption)* He is a member of Parliament. He comes on television. If the congress disowns him, if the congress condemns him, I have no problem. …(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: He is not a Member of this House. How can you take his name? …(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: No, I can. …(*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: It is okay.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL (ALAPPUZHA): Do not take the name of a Member of the other House. … (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Okay, a nameless person. … (*Interruptions*)

Madam, a nameless person, former Minister … (*Interruptions*) I know the parliamentary rules. … (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: You will not take his name.

… (*Interruptions*)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I have quoted a fact. If you have any doubt about the fact, let us refer to the TV channel interviews wherein he defended …(*Interruptions*) He said in an unashaming manner to Pakistan that 'please overthrow Modi because we could not do it India, our party is not able to do it. So, you please do it, Pakistan. ' He also added 'unless Modi goes, there will not be any improvement with regard to Kashmir issue.' I would like to know one thing from him or his friends or his admirers. The party was in power for 50 years. Who stopped them from settling the Kashmir issue? Who stopped

them from advising Pakistan not to aid, abet, fund and train terrorists? What happened? What is this charity? … (*Interruptions*)

Then, one of the General Secretaries of the party, which you are saying has no role, says to ULFA Head that 'you do not belong to a particular community, thank God.' It means that he wants to bring terror-religion also into the focus. … (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI SONIA GANDHI (RAIBAREILLY): What did your Minister say?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, I am talking of your Minister, former Minister. … (*Interruptions*)

What all you wanted to say, you have already said it. Please sit down. This is not the way. … (*Interruptions*)

Shri Gogoi, I am coming to Assam now. [Translation] What did the Chief Minister of Assam say the day before yesterday? He said that Hindi-speaking people want to take over Assam. ...*(Interruptions)* Leaders there speak Hindi, you also speak Hindi. Creating communal tension in the country and disturbing social harmony in this country, this work has been done by the Chief Minister of Assam. I had expected better. I do not wish to take his name. If you want his statement, I can provide it. It came in all the newspapers yesterday.

Madam speaker, it is a very serious issue when the Chief Minister of a state says that [Translation] Is it the way to preserve the unity and integrity of this country to say that Hindi-speaking people want to capture Assam? …(*Interruptions*) [English] Why are you supporting him? Please save yourself. … (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: Shri Venkaiahji, please complete your speech now.

… (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Please do not worry. We will take care of the BJP; you take care of the Congress. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

Do you want the statement of the Assam's Chief Minister? The statement which appeared in *The Asian Age* on 25th November says 'Shri so and so won't let leaders speaking Hindi invade. ' I can submit that paper to the House also. You can study and put on record also. … (*Interruptions*)

Yesterday Shri Kharge raised a very important issue and said 'you fellows, which means we, are Aryans' and then talked of Aryans' invasion. I am just quoting.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: You are not an Aryan. … (*Interruptions*) Are you? … (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I do not know who is an Aryan. I am an Indian. … (*Interruptions*)

I will send this book of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also to Shri Kharge because he reads a lot of books. I am sure about it. In this book, Dr. Ambedkar has devoted one full chapter on 'who are kshudras?' to discuss kshudras *versus* Aryans.

He categorically stated:

> "The theory of Aryan invasion is an invention. This invention is necessary because of the gratuitous assumption that the Indo-Germanic people are the purest of the modern representatives of the original Aryan race. The theory is a perversion of scientific investigation. It is not allowed to evolve out of fact. On the contrary, the theory is preconceived and the facts are selected to prove it. It falls to the ground at that very point. "

This is what Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said 60 years back. You can find it in the Writings and Speeches, Volume-7, Page 85, published

by the Education Department of the Government of Maharashtra in 1990. So, why are we bringing those things now and trying to divide the people on the basis of this and that and all? … (*Interruptions*)

Now confining Ambedkar-ji to one party, trying to apportion entire freedom movement to one party, is not fair. Everybody knows that cutting across party ideologies everybody had joined the freedom movement. … (*Interruptions*)

Please remember what Mahatma Gandhi had said. Mahatma Gandhi gave two suggestions. Suggestion-1 is, 'Back to villages'. But people have shown their backs to villages and moved to towns. As I told you, even I came to Urban Development. … (*Interruptions*) You will never go out of your village, you will be in your village only. I know that.

The second point Mahatma Gandhiji made was, disband the congress party. [Translation] Mahatma Gandhiji said, Congress is a platform, a movement. I went to Goa day before yesterday and I had an Indian Seed Congress meeting in Goa, it happens in between the Indian Science Congress meets. Sometimes there is a meeting of Indian Road Congress. Indian Road Congress, Indian Science Congress, Indian Seed Congress, [English] Congress means, a

congregation of the people who have joined together, assembled together for a particular cause. What was the cause? The cause was Independence. In that independence struggle everybody had joined. So, it is not fair to apportion the entire thing to one party. And moreover, that party was different from this party. This is 'I' party, that was national party. … (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: What is your contribution? You were nowhere. … (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Yes, I was nowhere. I was in my mother's womb. You were in the Constituent Assembly at that time drafting along with Ambedkar-ji. I was in my mother's womb. What can I do? I was not born then. …(*Interruptions*) You were also not part of freedom struggle.

SHRI MALLIKARJIN KHARGE: Where was RSS then? …(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: RSS founder Dr. Hedgevar was there at the Nagpur Congress Committee. Do not twist the facts. …(*Interruptions*) RSS was very much there in the forefront. …(*Interruptions*) We do not need your certificates. …(*Interruptions*)

People have given their certificate. Let us not try to belittle the importance of that.

HON. SPEAKER: Venkaiah-ji, please conclude.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, I am not going into the budget. We have a separate occasion to discuss about allocation, 42 per cent allocation to States, five per cent to local bodies, two per cent to national calamities, all these things reaching up to 49. 5 per cent. I am not going into details of that because we have another opportunity for that.

Secondly, I am also not into the other debate about tolerance because though yesterday the topic was about Constitution commitment, a lot of people spoke on intolerance and all. I do not want to devote my time on intolerance now because we have another opportunity, Government is ready to discuss even that issue also. We have nothing to hide and we can place everything before the people. People are already reacting and responding as per their own mind.

Thirdly, Madam, let us use this occasion to strengthen the Constitution; let us use this occasion to strengthen federal system, let us use this occasion to see that the social justice is expedited. I am not

saying that social justice is not done at all. How can anybody say it? But it did not happen at the fast pace which it could.

Sachar Committee report or Ranganatha Mishra Committee report are not of our making. What are the findings? Why are there shortcomings? Someone has to take the responsibility and see that at least now we introspect and then let us collectively move together. So, what I am appealing on the occasion of this debate is that we have a collective responsibility towards the people. The National Institute for Transforming India is the vision for all of us. Then we have to see that people of India are empowered, people of India are strengthened. We have political platform to score political points. We can criticize each other and derive whatever satisfaction we can have; they can do this also. There are people who are also conducting debates in the evening leisurely. People can go and participate in those debates also. But in this august forum of this House, my appeal to all is, let us revisit what was the expectation, what are the achievements so far, what are the shortcomings, what are the challenges and how do we move forward. That should be the focus and that should be the agenda. Other issues can be discussed in the course of time.

The Government is willing to sit with everybody, discuss with everybody because we have nothing to hide, nothing to fear, nothing

to worry. We all have to make all our efforts to strengthen this country and the Constitution. There is no threat to the Constitution, no emergency, no censorship, no arrest of Opposition leaders, no supersession of the judges, no committed judiciary. Everything in this country is transparent. There is no question of rethinking on reservation at all. That has been made very clear. Nobody can think of it. How to strengthen it further, that is the aim. That should be our endeavour to work together. I am thankful to various Members who made beautiful and good and thought-provoking speeches yesterday. There was some mix of politics which happens sometimes. … (*Interruptions*) You never mix politics, which is a very good thing. In Kerala, you never mix politics. You mix religion only.

Coming back to my first words, the entire country is watching. … (*Interruptions*) I can only conclude by saying, please let everyone of us stick to the Constitution. What is the spirit of the Constitution? Respect the mandate of the people. Thank you.

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, there is an announcement. I am aware that all of you would like to say something in this debate. Since this debate has to be concluded today itself, those Hon. Members who

wish to lay their speeches on the Table are permitted to do so, so that their speeches may form part of the record.

Please also keep in mind that this debate has to be concluded today itself. Today, we will not have a lunch hour; instead, the debate will continue. Even then, time is limited. I would request that whether it is our Minister of Parliamentary Affairs or Kharge ji, whichever Hon. Member is going to speak, please do not follow them. It is true that the Members speaking on this side have time to present their views. They were given four hours to participate in the discussion, and even now they have two to two-and-a-half hours remaining. However, on the other side, there is a minus thirty minutes, because Kharge ji took time to speak yesterday. Other parties are also placed differently. I am allocating time for speeches and we have to accommodate everyone. However, now we must be mindful of time so that the maximum number of Members are able to place their views before the House.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV (AZAMGARH): Madam Speaker, in accordance with the wish you have expressed, I will take time accordingly. I will not violate your directions.

The effort to highlight before the world the significance of our Constitution, its circumstances and its challenges, and to observe Constitution Day, is commendable and was also necessary. For this, Parliament, the Government, and all political parties deserve congratulations. The Constitution given to the country by great leaders such as Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Sardar Patel is a historic document for national unity. India's Constitution is distinct from the Constitutions of Britain, America, France, and those of other countries across the world. Our Constitution upholds unity in diversity, encompassing religion, language, and culture. Dr. Lohia used to say that in this country, language, attire, food, prayer, and housing may differ, but the unity of the nation, its culture, and its great leaders are one and the same. This is a very important point, and we must pay serious attention to it.

After Fundamental Rights, the greatest achievement of the Constitution is secularism, or Panth Nirpekshata. This is the basic character of the Constitution. The absence of any reference to God or to any particular religion in the Constitution, and the separation of

religion from politics, constitute a major achievement. Everyone is aware of the circumstances in which the Constitution was framed. Our Constitution was drafted at a time of immense loss of life and property during the Partition of the country and the creation of Pakistan. Although the word “secular” was inserted in the year 1976, its importance is being realised more clearly today, because religious tension and violence are creating fear in the minds of minorities in the country. Panth Nirpekshata is the foundation of any State. Today, the situation in the country is such that feelings of violence, fear, and insecurity are being generated among people. In countries across the world, minorities are living in fear. In the United States, England, France, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, minorities have experienced fear. The danger of discrimination on the basis of religion has not ended. Our Constitution has many important achievements. One such achievement is reservation. The provision for reservation was originally made only for ten years. That is true, but every ten years this period has been extended. The proposal for reservation for women in one-third of the seats in Parliament and State Legislatures has already been introduced. In the year 1990, 27 percent reservation for the backward classes was already implemented. Demands are continuously increasing to include women, minorities, and dozens of

other castes in the list of minorities. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister have reiterated the assurance that reservation will not be abolished, but no announcement has been made as to whether it will be reviewed or not. I would like that when the Hon. Prime Minister addresses the House, he should clarify whether there will be a review or not, and what his view is on this subject. This is necessary because it is a very serious matter of discussion and concern. The Hon. Prime Minister is not present in the House at the moment, but these matters will certainly be going on record. These issues must be answered both before the country and within this House.

The Prime Minister has already seen the result of the review suggested by the…†* RSS in Bihar. …*showed great indulgence, because of which everything worked out well in Bihar.

HON. SPEAKER: No one's name will go on record.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: In the year 1999, the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government constituted the Constitution Review Commission, and former Supreme Court Judge Justice Venkatachaliah was its Chairperson. At that time, the then President, Shri K. R. Narayanan, had asked in his Republic Day Address whether

†* Not recorded.

the Constitution had failed us, or whether we had failed the Constitution. This question is still being asked today. Will the Constitution be reviewed again? Will reservation be reviewed? Will the Hon. Prime Minister answer these questions before Parliament and the country in his reply? The review of the Constitution and the review of reservation are part of the RSS agenda. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, whose 125th birth anniversary is being commemorated, played a very significant role in the making of our Constitution. As the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee, he undertook the task of drafting, presenting, and analysing the Constitution. Despite differences with Congress leaders at that time, he made a major contribution to nation-building through the framing of the Constitution and as a Union Minister. This must be acknowledged. With regard to the establishment of democracy, respect for his scholarship existed not only in the minds of intellectuals across the country, but also among the poor and the Dalits. Great personalities do not belong to any one country or region, nor do they belong to any particular religion or class. They are not confined to any one State. They command respect across the entire country and the world. No single party or group can claim ownership over them. As I understand it, on the question of language, Dr. Ambedkar had said that if Hindustani was not made the

language of both the Centre and the States, the unity of the nation and the system of administration would disintegrate.

At the instance of Mahatma Gandhi ji, Pandit Nehru ji included Dr. Ambedkar in his first Government. After his defeat in the Lok Sabha elections, he was elected to the Rajya Sabha. However, we take pride in the fact that the then party of the oppressed helped him reach the Rajya Sabha. It is recorded in the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha that he stated that he would consign the Constitution to fire. Can the anguish of a maker of the Constitution be understood? It must be understood why Ambedkar saheb said this, and what it was that he felt needed to be set ablaze. What was his pain, what did he seek, and what kind of situation had arisen before the country? What were those serious questions that compelled Ambedkar saheb to make such a statement? The significance of his anguish is profound. It must be understood in the House today, and we must also act in accordance with that understanding.

The final address of Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the time of the framing of the world's largest democracy is a historic speech and stands like an inscription. He had said that if an unworthy Member were to be elected and entrusted with running the affairs of the country, the Constitution would not be able to help the nation. There

have been many earlier Members of Parliament in this House who were competent and capable. They respected the Constitution. If any change is to be made in the Constitution with regard to reservation, it is essential to ascertain the opinion of the entire country through a referendum. If this has to be done at all, the opinion of the nation and the people must be taken. If only a few people sit together and decide this, I do not consider it appropriate.

Madam Speaker, therefore, today's debate is important. Much is being said here about the Constitution and about Ambedkar saheb. I bow to Ambedkar saheb of my own accord. Through his writing, hard work, competence, and understanding, he gave our country its Constitution. With regard to this Constitution, various discussions keep taking place about changing it and amending it. It is astonishing that no Constitution in the world has been amended as many times as this one. When amendments are made according to convenience, can it be said that people more capable than Rajendra Babu, Bhim Rao Ambedkar, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Sardar Patel have emerged either in this House or in the country? Those leaders fought thoughtfully and resolutely for the freedom of the nation. They had deep emotions, serious concerns, and a far-sighted vision about where the country should be taken. What they accomplished has since been

subjected to amendment after amendment. No Constitution in the world has undergone as many amendments as our Constitution. These amendments have been made for convenience and for personal or political advantage. This Constitution is one of the greatest achievements of the nation. Even if one were to say that it does not adhere to any particular religion, we believe that it represents a very great moral and civilisational asset of our country. Repeated attempts are being made to alter this Constitution through amendments. The Samajwadi Party does not agree with this. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia also did not agree with the manner in which such amendments were being made. He questioned why these amendments were being carried out and whether people more capable than Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar had emerged. Have people more capable than Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Rajendra Babu emerged, inside or outside this House, that discussions on amending the Constitution continue and amendments are repeatedly carried out? Therefore, this matter must be considered with seriousness. Madam Speaker, I would appeal to you that leaders should be convened and a resolve should be taken that unnecessary and excessive amendments to the Constitution should not be made any further. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Rajendra Babu, Pandit Nehru, and Sardar Patel made the greatest contributions to it. No one more

capable or more self-sacrificing than them has emerged who can justify repeatedly conspiring to alter this Constitution. I oppose this, I condemn it, and I would like to urge that all of us should take a collective resolve regarding constitutional amendments, that we should now refrain from further amendments to the Constitution. Thank you.

[English]

‡*__SHRI THOTA NARASIMHAM (KAKINADA):__ It came to my notice that November 26 will be observed as 'Constitution Day' commemorating the acceptance of Draft Constitution on 26th November, 1949. It is a welcoming step. I heard that the Government is coming out with idea of "coin of Rs. 125", an unusual value, and also release of postal stamp on Ambedkar to commemorate his birth anniversary. I also heard that 26, Alipur Road in Delhi is going to be converted as 'Ambedkar Memorial', where Ambedkar stayed and also breathed his last. We appreciate these positive moves of the Union Government.

I want to quote here one of his great quotations: "However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad, because those who are called to work it happen to be a bad. However, bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out good, if those who are called to work it happen to be a good lot. "

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891, at MAHU, Madhya Pradesh. He Chaired the Drafting Committee and played a pivotal role in making our Indian Constitution. The Nation recognized

‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

him as the "Father of the Indian Constitution". Ambedkar had many vivid qualities. He was a great academician, visionary, jurist, a freedom fighter. Above all, he was a great National Leader. We are peacefully living under the shadow of our Constitution. In all these days, we have never faced any constitutional emergency. We can compare with the countries that acquired independence along with us. Countries like Pakistan always live in total unrest. We know the living conditions of the people there. It is not the case with India. Our Constitution stands for the test of time. All this credit goes to the Drafting Committee which imbibed the vibrant philosophies and visionaries of great people of the times.

We should not limit our Freedom Fighters and National Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Ambedkar to a particular category of the people or to a particular party. They rose above party levels. We have to identify these National Leaders above party lines. They emerged from the people. Peoples' wish reflected in their leadership. They were not the leaders born with silver spoon, they were leaders of masses.

India became free and sovereign nation on 15th August, 1947. It adopted Constitution on 26th November, 1949 which came into force on 26th January, 1950. Ours is the gigantic Constitution in the world.

The inception of the Indian Constitution in 1950 was a significant event not only in the political history of India, but also in the history of 'social justice' and 'human rights'. Despite the fact that the Constitution of India has so many borrowed provisions, it reflects exemplary 'Indianess'.

Ambedkar is the pioneer of the idea of 'social justice' in India. He mainly concentrated on attaining 'Social Justice' and 'human rights' to downtrodden. Those were the days where social evils like untouchability, and communalism were rampant and exposing the country to the threat of disintegration. He observed that the fruits of freedom are not equally shared among all in the society. Hence, he took care to create certain provisions in the Constitution for the interest of downtrodden.

Articles 15(4), 16(4), 19(1) (d) and (e), and 29(2), 275, 330, 335 and 340 are clear reflections of his conceptual understanding of social and economic justice. These Articles empower the state to make special provision for securing the interests of socially and educationally backward classes.

Article 14 says that "the State shall not deny to any person equality before the laws within the territory of India". Article 15

prohibits the discrimination on the bases of religion, caste, race, sex or place of birth. Article 17 is the most important provision made in the Constitution which abolishes 'untouchability' and outlaws its practices in any form.

Article 32 provides Constitutional remedies to all the citizens. The Supreme Court invalidates any act or rule or regulation which abridges or violates the fundamental rights and constitutional privileges, thus limits the arbitrariness of the state. Ambedkar considered this provision as the 'very soul and heart' of the Constitution.

Article 29 and 30 are proposed to protect the interests of minorities. Provisions have been made to protect the cultural and educational rights of minorities and to eliminate their fear from the dominance of majority.

'Directive Principles of State Policy' are enumerated to promote the ideals of social and economic democracy for protecting the interests of the deprived sections.

Ambedkar gave so much importance to education. He believed that education was essential to moralize and socialize the individuals. In order to wipe out the roots of caste system, he strongly felt the need

of educating all the illiterates. Now 'The Right to Education' (Article 21A) has become an integral part of the Constitution.

Apart from Constitutional rights, he introduced a system of reservations of jobs for SCs and STs in the civil services, schools and colleges. These are popularly known as the 'Policy of Inclusion'. These reservations yielded good results in upbringing the weaker and vulnerable sections.

He fought his entire life for the upliftment of the depressed classes. He succeeded to arrange certain provisions in the Indian Constitution for ensuring justice to the oppressed sections and creating the 'just' and 'equal' society as well as 'social order' in the society.

Celebration of the Constitution Day completes only when each and every citizen of our country must be well informed about Constitution and it's working. Unfortunately, today the situation has become worse and neglecting. In the name of promotion of scientific education, Constitution education is neglected. Any citizen can develop and flourish in a society only with the reasonable knowledge of their Constitution and democratic functioning. So, we must set target on this 'First Constitution Day' for education every individual

about the importance of our Constitution, its salient features and underlying philosophies. This can be better done with the mandate of Constitutional education from the primary school level to higher education and promotion through media and other policies and programs. This way we can pay real homage to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

I once again congratulate the Government for exclusively dedicating two days' session for paying tributes to the great son this soil.

§*__SHRIMATI KOTHAPALLI GEETHA (ARAKU):__ It gives me a great pleasure to commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of the great visionary leader, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, who was the architect of Indian Constitution. He was born on 14 April 1891 at Mahu near Indore in Madhya Pradesh in a low caste family of harijan.

Dr. Ambedkar received his early education in a nearby village school. He had great interest in studies. But his low caste birth was a cause of his disgrace, hardships and humiliation. He had to suffer every moment due to his caste. Though he was subject to many hardships, his life has been exemplary. He passed the Intermediate examination with good percentage of marks. He joined Alfinston College, Bombay and obtained his degree there. The Maharaja of Baroda was highly impressed with his talents and he awarded him scholarship for further studies. It helped him to go to America for higher education. In 1916, he obtained the postgraduate degree in Economics. Then he started his career as a professor and served for four years. In 1923, he went to England to pursue higher studies. In England he received the degrees of M. Sc. , D. M. S. Law and Ph. D.

§* Speech was laid on the Table.

When he returned to India he was appointed Sainik Secretary at Baroda, but he left the job due to discrimination, and moved to Bombay. His caste, however, always stood in his way. Then he started practicing law. To put his plan into action, Dr. Ambedkar formed the outcaste welfare society and organised the so-called untouchables to initiate his fight for them. He created awareness in them to have a graceful life. He tried hard to bring about a change in the life of downtrodden. He had all the support of the British government which believed the policy of 'Divide and Rule'.

Later the Congress due to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi included eradication of untouchability in its agenda. In 1930, he represented the untouchables in the Round Table. As a result of his efforts, the harijans were granted reservations of seat in the election.

Babasaheb used various methods and strategies to create a society based on values of liberty, equality, fraternity and manuski (Manuski is the Marathi word often used by Babasaheb, and it has connotations of humanity, humanness and respect for human life) through education, agitation and organization. He gave to his people self respect, dignity and most importantly moral courage to fight any odds. He started political parties, fought for the transfer of power to the untouchables, liberated Hindu women from heinous Hindu laws

tainted by male chauvinism, gave representation to the untouchables and made passionate plea to include OBCs in the process of democratization of the Indian masses, created political and legal and legal structure to make it possible for social democracy to take its shape in heterogeneous country like India. His achievements and innumerable.

He became the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. He deeply studied the various constitutions of the world and took out their good points. He assimilated all those points in Indian Constitution. He is rightly called the Founding Father of the Indian Constitution.

The diverse interests and commitment and various interpretations of the vision of Babasaheb itself, it is very important to clearly define the goal. The task is made easy by Babasaheb himself, when he declared the battle is for the "Reclamation and Human Personality".

During his lifetime, he single handedly led the movement of untouchables and won important landmark victories in their favour, such as access to education, representations in institutions and rise in political consciousness. What Babasaheb Ambedkar achieved in a

short span of 34 years of his active public career is unique in the history of the world. He stands tall in the galaxy of luminaries who sacrificed their lives to liberate their fellow human beings. Though he addressed his followers who were mostly from the untouchable castes, his vision of social change, or reclamation of human personality, was universal. This vision often comes clear and shining in his innumerable speeches and debates of the Constituent Assembly of India. This vision also crystallized in the Constitution of India.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar looked at democratic principles of Governance as a way to dismantle the external structure that mutilates the human personality from outside. The larger goal is therefore reclamation of human personality; or our own and that of others. The story of Ambedkar era will inspire generations to come and his name will remain forever so long humanity lives is beyond doubt.

To conclude, let us once again reaffirm our commitment to the people of the country in constantly striving to provide safe and secure living conditions to citizens by upholding their fundamental rights and also in upholding the preamble of our Indian Constitution.

[Translation]

***SHRI DADDAN MISHRA (SHRAVASTI):** In the 125th birth anniversary year of Bharat Ratna Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, our Government, while truly honouring his remarkable contribution to nation-building, has taken a commendable decision through the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment to observe 26 November as Constitution Day from this year onwards. As we all are aware, after the country attained independence on 15 August 1947, there was a need, in the national interest, for a Constitution suited to the Indian ethos, based on the principle of Sarvajan Hitaya aur Sarvajan Sukhaya. In this context, on 29 August 1947, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was appointed as the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee to prepare the draft of the Constitution of independent India. Under his able leadership, the Constitution drafted by the Committee was adopted by the then Constituent Assembly as the Constitution of India on 26 November 1949. On this day, I bow to Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar, the true son of India. If we look at the life of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar, we find in him an unparalleled strength of resolve, unwavering commitment to social justice, and the determination to

*** Speech was laid on the Table.

overcome every obstacle in order to achieve his goal. Coming from an oppressed and backward section of society, he had to endure humiliation and suffering on several occasions. Yet, he was not deterred from his mission. He pursued higher education to reform his country and society and dedicated his entire life to public welfare. Despite numerous obstacles, he never deviated from his highest objective. His reputation as a brilliant lawyer, a learned writer, and a forthright speaker who expressed his views fearlessly remains relevant even today.

As the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee constituted for the framing of the Constitution of India, we continue to remember him even today for accomplishing the great task of drafting the nation's Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar, while firmly upholding the ideals and values of social justice, ensured through the Constitution the upliftment and welfare of the oppressed and deprived sections of society, and at the same time secured the right to equality for all citizens of the country. On this day, we should take a resolve to build the India envisioned by Dr. Ambedkar, an India where an individual is not judged through the lens of class, but is assessed on the basis of his or her contribution to the welfare of society.

The sentiment of equality for all was closest to the heart of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar. Even after so many years of Independence, have we been able to ensure social, political, and economic justice in a definite manner to the deprived sections of society? For nearly fifty years after Independence, a single political party remained in power at the Centre, yet it is a matter of irony that much still remains to be done to fulfil Dr. Ambedkar's dream. It is our responsibility to ensure that not a single person is left behind in the journey of development. Until even the poorest individual receives the intended benefits, no law or reform can be considered adequate. We must place greater emphasis on expanding educational opportunities, so that people from deprived sections of society gain the capacity to become self-reliant. In addition, we must encourage entrepreneurship so that they can move forward with confidence to realise their dreams and aspirations in their chosen fields.

Dr. Ambedkar, along with other eminent members of the Constituent Assembly, gave us a Constitution that is among the most comprehensive in the world. Demonstrating our commitment to fulfilling the values enshrined in the Constitution given by Dr. Ambedkar, we should unite and support, in the national interest and without any political animosity, the policy decisions being taken by

our Government. In any case, over the past 60 to 65 years, the progress and transformation achieved have not been in accordance with expectations. On parameters of development, we stand considerably behind many of our contemporary nations. I would therefore say, “Let bygones be bygones and take care of the future.” Today, when our Government has decided to observe Constitution Day while giving due respect to the chief architect of the Constitution, the great nation-builder Dr. Ambedkar, this could well have been done by earlier Governments too. However, under previous Governments led by particular parties, the entire credit for nation-building was confined to one particular family or its supporters alone. In this context, our Government has undertaken a highly commendable task by honouring the contributions of great personalities such as Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. On the occasion of Constitution Day, a meaningful debate is being conducted in this House to demonstrate our commitment to the Constitution. Our Parliament House is also illuminated on this occasion. In the same manner, year after year, may our country continue to advance towards the attainment of the values

enshrined in the Constitution and move forward on the path of progress. With these best wishes, I conclude my remarks.

†††***SHRI CHANDRA PRAKASH JOSHI (CHITTORGARH):** I am respectfully grateful to you for providing me with the opportunity to place my views in the discussion on the subject of commitment to the Constitution of India. On this occasion, I would like to remember all those great personalities and countrymen and express my profound gratitude to them, who sacrificed their body, mind, and wealth for the freedom of this nation. I also express my thanks to the Chairpersons of the various Committees of the Constituent Assembly and to the representatives of the States of India, because through their tireless efforts over nearly three years, they gave concrete shape to the Constitution of our country. Whenever we discuss or deliberate upon the Constitution of India, the chest of every Indian swells with pride, irrespective of which corner of the world that Indian may be residing in, because the Constitution of India is one of the finest and most effective Constitutions in the entire world. On the one hand, it provides us with secularism, sovereignty, socialism, and a democratic system, and on the other hand, this very Constitution continuously contributes to the establishment and nurturing of our nation.

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†††* Speech was laid on the Table.

On 26 November 1949, we, the people of India, resolved to adopt, enact, and give to ourselves the Constitution of independent India, and today our Constitution has completed 66 years. During these 66 years, we have achieved many objectives. The most heartening aspect is that today's younger generation believes in secularism, democracy, justice, individual rights, equality, fraternity, unity, and integrity. There is no difference of opinion that our Constitution of India is liberal, democratic, egalitarian, secular, and federal in character. Our Constitution-makers clearly and comprehensively defined all the essential pillars of democracy so that no ambiguity may arise anywhere, whether it relates to the powers and responsibilities of the Union Government and the State Governments, or the jurisdiction of the judiciary. Even the manner in which peace, progress, and all-round development in the country can be achieved through the values and duties of Indian citizens has been elaborately and clearly laid down in the Constitution.

On November 25, 1949, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that: -

[English]

> "In addition to our old enemies in the form of castes 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 country? I do not know. But this much is certain that if the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost forever. This eventuality we must all resolutely guard against. We must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood."

[Translation]

Today, our country is faced with numerous challenges. We have to eradicate poverty, we have to reduce the rate of population growth, and we must also ensure the proper utilisation of our country's natural resources. We must safeguard the nation's economic condition from the adverse impact of globalisation. We also need to revive the social fabric of our country, which has been disturbed due to the indiscriminate onslaught of Westernisation on our culture. There are

many other problems such as terrorism, illiteracy, natural disasters, and several such challenges which our country confronts on a regular basis. We must not forget that we have been elected by the people to this Parliament of India, which has been made possible only because of our Constitution. We must remember that our foremost allegiance is not to any individual, caste, religion, region, or political party, but to this nation and to this land. We are indebted to this country and to this soil, and we must always remain committed to repaying the debt of this nation to those immortal martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of this land. We must continue to lead the country forward on the path of constant progress and development.

In the general elections held in the year 2014, the people of the country gave a clear mandate to the National Democratic Alliance Government under the leadership of Shri Narendra Modi. As a Member of Parliament of the Bharatiya Janata Party, I would like to assure all Hon. Members that the Government is discharging the responsibility entrusted to it by the people of the country with full dedication and integrity.

Today, I earnestly and resolutely appeal to all elected public representatives that the people of the country have chosen us by giving us their valuable votes and have entrusted all of us with a very

important responsibility for the development and progress of the nation. There is no difference of opinion that this responsibility has been collectively placed upon all of us by the people of the country. To take the nation forward continuously on the path of growth and progress, it is necessary for all of us to work together in cooperation with one another. This is not the time for politics between the ruling side and the Opposition. This is not the time for partisan politics. This is the time to work together in unity.

Under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, the nation envisioned the dream of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas". I firmly believe that development for all can be achieved only when there is cooperation from all. Therefore, the time has now come for the Opposition to set aside ideological differences and work together with the Government.

I appeal to all distinguished Members of the Opposition that if we all truly wish to work for the advancement and progress of the country, then instead of working in different directions with differing approaches, we should work together with the Government and strengthen the hands of the Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi.

[English]

‡‡*__SHRI R. DHRUVANARAYANA (CHAMARAJANAGAR):__ I express my views on the issue of commitment to Indian Constitution as part of 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar, the father of Constitution has told like this: "However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those called upon to work it, happen to be a good lot . . . . . Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave. "

That means to say, if the people who are implementing the Constitution are good, the Constitution becomes good.

Now, on the occasion of celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar, we must sharpen our commitment to implement the Indian Constitution in its good spirit.

In the preamble of our constitution, four important have been used. They are Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. We need to achieve these objectives.

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‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

With respect to welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, I would like to quote few articles of the Constitution which are directly related. They are Article 15(4, 16(4), 17, 46, 239AA 2(b), 243D, 243T, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 338A, 341 and 342.

The article 15(4) provides for making any special provision for the advancement of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe the article 15(5) provides for making special provisions of admission to educational institutions including private educational institutions. As per these clauses of article 15 there is reservation for SC and ST category in admissions to educational institutions. This is taken care of in most of the instances.

The article 16 (4A) provides for making special provision for reservation in employment. But, even though there are Government Orders for the Constitutional guarantee, for the quota of 15% for SC and 7. 5% for ST, the representation provided in many departments is not satisfactory. Only in C and D group posts, the SC and ST category candidates are somewhat able to achieve representation. But, in A and B group posts, there is shortfall in the Central services and also in many State services.

Dr. Ambedkar Birth Centenary Year was celebrated from April, 1990 to April 14, 1991. Anticipating Birth Centenary Year of Dr. Ambedkar, the then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhiji was instrumental in bringing few effective orders in the Central Government. They are: ban on de-reservation Order that came out in July 1989. As per this order, the posts reserved for SC and ST should be filled by SC and ST only. This is beneficial to SC and ST category.

Also, during the centenary year "Backlog Special Recruitment Drive" was brought in and implemented. Many backlog posts were filled. The credit goes go Shri Rajiv Gandhi Government.

Now, it is 125th birthday celebration of Dr. Ambedkar. Which contribution could be given to downtrodden communities by the present Government? As per my suggestion through a backlog recruitment drive, the shortfall in Group A and Group B posts could be made in Central services.

Similarly, by taking the inputs or demands from the State Governments with regard to shortfall of SC and ST in IAS, IPS cadres the candidates could be recruited by Union Public Service Commission. Because, it is disgusting to note that even after 65 years

of implementation of Constitution we are unable to meet the prescribed quota.

At least, now, during the 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. Ambedkar we have to fulfil the objective of the Article 16(A), 4(a).

The Article 16 (4B) provides for making consideration of backlog vacancies as a separate class of vacancies. This 16(4B) has been inserted by bringing 81st Amendment to Constitution during the year 2000, during which Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government was there is the Centre. This clause is effective from July 9, 2000. As per this amendment, backlog vacancies were considered as separate class which are different from current vacancies. So, few legal complications have been avoided. This is a good amendment.

The article 17 is meant for abolishing untouchability. While giving interview of BBC radio in the year 1955, Dr. Ambedkar described, 'there is no practice of untouchability while travelling in trains, but there is untouchability in the villages'. This simple comparison should educate us. That means, the dream of Dr. Ambedkar was to totally abolish untouchability.

But, untouchability is still in practice everywhere in one or the other day. This 'House of People (Lok Sabha)' should evolve some effective means for abolition of untouchability. That will become the greatest respect that we can show to Dr. Ambedkar during 125th Birth celebration. The social reformation should continue.

Further, I would like to give one historical event. Sahu Maharaj had asked one person by name of Kambli, an untouchable, to start a tea shop in the central part of city of Sholapur during 1920s. Sahu Maharaj himself was going regularly to drink tea from the tea shop of Kambli. The aim of Sahu Maharaj was to give the good message regarding the abolition of untouchability. When such kings have tried to abolish untouchability, under democratic set up we have to work hard to abolish untouchability.

As per Article 46, educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are to be protected. The article reads like this: "State shall promote with special care the educational economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation".

The income limit for getting Government of India Post-Matric Scholarship is fixed at Rupees 2. 5 lakhs per year for SC and 2. 00 lakhs for ST. The eligible students will get scholarship and college fees also. But, those SC and ST students who are not eligible for scholarship and are pressurised to pay the college fees in many institutions. Few state Governments have provided fee concession. In Karnataka, there is fee concession to SC and ST students as per the orders issued in 1968 and 1982. But, in few other states only tuition fee is exempted, no other fees.

In a few states, fee concession is not given. In the Central Government institutions, like in the Indian Institute of Technology (NITs), Indian Institution of Management (IIMs) the fee concession provision is not there for SC/STs. They have to pay the fee which is similar to General candidates. This is affecting their education.

For the simple reason, that their family has crossed the income limit of 2. 5 lakh rupees or 2. 00 lakh rupees they should not be penalized of paying a fee of 1 lakh rupees per year as part of college fee and hostel fee. This is not correct. If it is so, the spirit of article 46 is not achieved. Article 46 mentions as the educational and economical interests of SCs and STs should be protected in order to meet the Social Justice.

Regarding this, to favour smooth studies at higher educational institutions by the SC and ST students, I propose to pass an order to provide fee concession to all the SC and ST students in the Central Governments Institutions/ Central Universities during 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Then the dream of Dr. Ambedkar as reflected in article 46 could be fulfilled.

Article 243D provides for reservation of seats in every Panchayat for SC/STs. It is good that downtrodden people are involved in the local administration, in the villages.

Article 243T provides for reservation of seats in every Municipality for SC/STs. For this point, I would like to state about one social reformer from my Karnataka state. There was a person named as Kudmul Rangarao, belonging to Brahmin caste, in Mangalore during the year 1859 to 1928. That was before independence.

Kudmul Rangarao had devoted his life for upliftment of untouchables. He started schools and hostels for untouchables. Before 1928 itself, he fought for the reservation of seats for untouchables in Mangalore Municipality. And he got it. One touchable by name Govinda Master was nominated as member of Town Municipality of

Mangalore. By looking at his works, the British people called him as 'Rao Saheb'. That was respectful title he got from British people. (The former Central Minister such as Mohana Kumaramangalam is the grandson of Kudmul Rangarao and Rangarajan Kumaramangalam was the great grandson of Kudmul Rangarao. Rangarajan Kumaramangalam was the Minister in the cabinet of P. V. Narasimharao and Atal Bihari Vajpayee).

Also in the year 1934, when Mahatma Gandhiji visited Mangalore, Gandhiji told, 'Kundmul Rangarao is my teacher in social reformation'.

Now, in the Constitution, the reservation is provided to SC and ST in the Municipalities. This plays a vital role for their involvement in the administration in the Municipalities.

Article 330 provides for reservation of seats for SC and STs in the House of People. Yes, the House of People, the Lok Sabha is the highest body in the country in decision making. It is the 'first estate' in the Democracy.

In the present era of globalization, we have a commitment. That commitment is to make a policy on providing reservation in employment to SC and ST categories and even for other backward

classes in private sector. We have to bring in legislations at the earliest. The society is debating for seeking reservation in private sector. I think, we all will work in positive direction for bringing reservation or affirmative action in private sector. Then only Dr. Ambedkar will really remain in our hearts, in our thinking and in our works.

Article 332 provides for reservation of seats for SC and STs in the Legislative Assembly of the States. Yes, I was there a Member of Legislative Assembly in the state of Karnataka for about five years. I have worked to my best satisfaction in the good spirit of the Constitution.

Article 334 describes as the reservation of seats for SC and ST in the House of People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the State will cease after specific period. We are aware; we are revising it from time to time.

Article 335 describes the claims of SC and ST to services and posts. It is like this "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in

the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

But, what is happening sometimes is unnecessarily the qualification for a post is hiked. It is hiked by prescribing higher degrees or higher percentage of marks or increased length of service, just to deny the opportunities to SC and ST category candidates.

It has been in practice by the people who write 'Cadre and Recruitment Rules' in various departments and undertaking. This should not happen like this. Higher qualifications could be considered as desirable qualifications but not as minimum qualification.

I would like to draw the attention to the writings of Dr. Ambedkar. He has written in a chapter titled as 'Public Services'. It reads as:

> "The position taken up by the Untouchables is in no sense unreasonable. They admit the necessity for maintaining efficiency. That is why in their resolution they themselves say that their demand shall be subject to the rule of minimum qualification. In other words, what the untouchable demand is that a minimum qualification should be prescribed for every post in the public service and if two persons apply for such a post and the untouchables has the minimum qualification he should be

preferred to a Hindu even though the Hindu may have a qualification higher than the minimum qualification. It, of course, does mean that basis for appointment should be minimum qualification and not the higher qualification. "

We need to understand the good spirit of this writing of Dr. Ambedkar. Only minimum qualification needs to be fixed for a post. The higher qualification could serve as desirable qualification.

Article 338 provides for formation of National Commission for SC.

Article 338A provides for formation of National Commission for ST. Article 341 provides for listing of Scheduled Castes in a state.

But, necessarily or otherwise plenty of castes have been included to the list of SC. This is incorrect. We have to act much judiciously, when it comes to inclusion of a caste in to the list.

Similarly, based on the prevailing situations in the society, if need comes, we have to exclude certain castes from the list.

Article 342 provides for listing of ST in a state. Here also we should act judiciously so that the real tribal people will get the constitutional benefits.

I look forward to the announcement of new welfare programmes for the SC and ST categories during 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the father of Constitution.

With these observations, with respect to provisions of the Constitution of India, and the status, the difficulties experienced, and the commitment to Indian Constitution that we should have, with this I conclude and pay great respect to Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

§§*__SHRI C. R. CHAUDHARY (NAGAUR):__ At the Outset, I must congratulate the Parliament to convene a timely discussion on the "Commitment to Constitution" to commemorate the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Founding Father of the Indian Constitution. My sincere gratitude to Hon. Madam Speaker, Hon. Prime Minister, Hon. Union Cabinet Ministers, Hon. Members from treasury and opposition benches on convening such discussion on the Baba Saheb Birth Anniversary.

On such occasion, almost all the members of this august House will agree, notwithstanding their difference on nature of politics and policies that whatever we are today, I mean the country today, derives the basis from the time-less contributions of the great visionary, for whom we are celebrating Constitutional Day today.

As Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. Ambedkar anticipated every conceivable requirement of the new polity. Drawing from the examples and experiences of other nations and distinctive needs of our own society, he raised, brick by brick, the magnificent edifice which now stands as the Constitution of India. There were, of course, other luminaries on the Committee like Alladi Krishnaswami

§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

Ayyar, K. M. Munshi and N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar who also made vital contributions to the process of Constitution making. But if there is one person who will be remembered as the pilot of the various provisions of the Indian Constitution, it will surely be Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. It evolved on Dr. Ambedkar to explain (to the Assembly), with a combination of tact and frankness, utmost patience, the meaning and scope of the different provisions of the Draft Constitution. He had the rare gift of unraveling the most complicated legal concepts in a language which the laymen understood.

Dr. Ambedkar performed this task matchlessly and gave to the nation the brilliant and supreme textbook to our democratic polity and governance.

As I have understood the concept "Commitment to the Constitution" as member of the Parliament for more than one and half years, it is meant to be the "absolute submission to this living document". The document is to cornerstone to India's nationhood and absolute necessity to maintain India's integrity and unity in diversity. India's governance is absolutely dependent upon the basic principles enshrined in the Constitution. This is my religion and I completely abide by all the provisions of the Constitution.

The "Preamble" of the Constitution underlies our commitment. The Preamble begins with 'We, the People of India signify "power is vested in the hands of the people", which testifies our position that we are committing ourselves to follow certain paths of constitutionalism as provided by the Constitution.

The Preamble to the Indian Constitution lays emphasis on the ideals of Sovereignty, Secularism and Democratic Republic.

- Sovereign: A nation when it is free in its internal matters from any foreign interference and its external policies are guided by its own interests.
- Socialist: This emphasizes the equitable distribution of national income to all sections of people.
- Secular: This means all religions have equal respect.
- Democratic: People have the right to elect their representatives.
- Republic: The head of the State is an elected person with no hereditary right.

The Constitution further:

- Delimits the scope of activity of various organs of the Government. The rights granted to people are given prime importance.
- Envisions Social, Economic and Political Justice for all citizens of the country.
- Would ensure all liberties necessary for the individual i. e. freedom of thought and expression, faith, belief and of worship.
- Would strive for equality of opportunity and status and safeguard their dignity.
- Would promote a sense of fraternity of brotherhood.
- Unity and integrity of the nation would be the hallmark of the efforts of the Government.

While posing faiths on the above mentioned commitment to the Constitution, I would also further bring out Baba Saheb's prospective of the Constitution that will re-enforce our commitment to the Constitution.

Dr. Ambedkar wanted to give such a Constitution to India as would help establish a new social order based on the lofty principles of social, economic and political justice. Whenever any question arose about the weaker sections of the society, he wanted the Constitutional

Provisions should respond to the weaker sections and marginalised communities of the Indian society so as to secure maximum political advantage and protection for them. Our Government is reinforcing such constitutional commitment through 'Sabka Saath aur Sabka Vikaas'.

The Constitution of a country, no doubt, is essentially a legal document, but by incorporating the principles of socio-economic justice along with political and civil rights which are of fundamental character, Dr. Ambedkar, in fact sought to make the Indian Constitution an effective medium of social change. To make the Fundamental Rights really effective, it was essential to ensure that every citizen be in a position to claim those rights and that they are binding on every authority. In fact, he wanted the Fundamental Rights to be binding on every authority which had been created by law and which had certain powers to make laws, to make rules and to make by-laws. Fundamental Rights, he believed, were essential for the development of the individual and for the flowering of his personality and, therefore, they were of paramount importance. These rights, however, cannot be absolute in nature. All rights, he thought, should necessarily be attended by corresponding duties. He therefore held the view that certain reasonable restrictions should be imposed on these

rights in the interests of the State which ultimately served the interests of the individuals.

Chapter Four Enshrined Directive Principles of State Policy which deal with the concept of socio-economic justice. Directive Principles, which are given in Constitution immediately after the Fundamental Rights, in fact, complement the latter. They aim at directing the State to ensure social and economic justice to individuals. Needles to say, the Directive Principles present a novel feature of the Indian Constitution. The only other Constitution of a Parliamentary democracy which embodies these principles is that of Ireland. The Directive Principles were criticised by Members of Constituent Assembly. The described them as "only pious declarations having no binding force". All this criticism was found to be superfluous by Dr. Ambedkar because the Constitution itself had declared them to have no binding force. Inclusion of Directive Principles in the Constitution was further justified by Dr. Ambedkar on the ground that being a democratic country, in India it would be the people who would be electing their Government. Whoever came to power would not be free to do what he liked because of the existence of Directive Principles. While a Government might have to answer for the breach of the Directive Principles in a Court of Law, it

certainly would have to answer for them before the electorate during elections. India is a welfarist country, however within limited resources it has to meet everybody demands. Our Sarkar is sensitive to these constitutional commitments by bringing programmes for targeted interventions to ameliorate poverty and raising the living standards of the community.

Secularism is another constitutional commitment that we should completely adhere to in true sense. Constitution of India has given enough guarantees for religious freedom to minorities. However, there have been attempts by many political parties to defame our Government on this front through manipulating allegations. India is a multicultural society and its strength lies in celebrating diversities and maintaining unity.

Parliamentary democracy is another constitutional commitment that we must adhere to. Babasaheb while introducing this concept in the Constitution has advocated its suitability for the country. He advocated parliamentary system for India mainly on the ground that this system was more responsible. He observed that under the non-parliamentary system, like the USA, the assessment of the responsibility of Executive is periodic. In England, from where we have adopted our system, the assessment is done by Members of

Parliament, through Questions, Resolutions, No-confidence motions, Adjournment motions and Debates on Addresses. Periodic assessment is done by the Electorate at the time of election which may take place every five years or earlier. The daily assessment of responsibility which is not available under the American system is, it is felt and far more effective than the periodic assessment and far more necessary in a country like India.

To conclude, not to forget another very important constitutional commitment and to strengthen our democracy we must respect to separation of power as a constitutional commitment. Dr. Ambedkar had a clear perception of the mutuality of the three pillars State -the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. He realised that the jurisdiction of each should be clear and untrammelled. At the same time, he had a sense of the limitations of these three pillars of democracy and of the importance of the role of citizens.

[Translation]

[****]**DR. YASHWANT SINGH (NAGINA):** On 29 August 1947, the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly was constituted, and the distinguished Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar ji was appointed as its Chairperson. The Drafting Committee prepared the draft and submitted it for clause-by-clause discussion in the Constituent Assembly to the Chairperson of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, on 29 February 1948. After due deliberation, the Constituent Assembly accorded its approval on 26 November 1949.

The Constitution of India occupies an important place among all the Constitutions of the world. And rightly so, because the architect of this Constitution was a person who came from a poor, marginalised, and oppressed section of society. He observed every social evil at close quarters and experienced poverty and social untouchability in his heart on a daily basis. When an individual is subjected to the constant blows of social injustice, the kind of thoughts and circumstances through which he must pass in order to progress and even to survive impart a unique strength to create something new. That strength emerged within Babasaheb. Even in adverse

[***]* Speech was laid on the Table.

circumstances, when society does not provide opportunities for education, for advancement, or for living with social equality, if a person nevertheless acquires such high academic degrees with excellence, then surely whatever he thought day and night and whatever he endured is reflected in its complete form in our Constitution.

When Dr. Ambedkar rose to reply to the debate in the Constituent Assembly, he stated in his historic speech that whether the Constitution proves to be good or bad would depend entirely upon the conduct of those who operate it. While cautioning the nation about unity and integrity, he reminded the House that India had earlier lost its independence due to the betrayal of its own people. He emphasised that to preserve our freedom today, we must remain united with complete dedication, even up to the last drop of our blood. In the same speech, he issued a solemn warning that on 26 January 1950, we would be entering a life full of contradictions. In political life, there would be equality, while in social and economic life there would be inequality. In politics, we would be governed by the principle of one person, one vote, and one vote having equal value. However, in our social and economic life, owing to the prevailing social and economic structure, we would continue to follow the principle of one person,

one value. He warned that if this contradiction were allowed to continue for a prolonged period, our political democracy would be placed in grave danger. He cautioned that unless this contradiction was removed at the earliest, those who suffer from inequality would eventually dismantle the structure of political democracy that this Assembly has built with such arduous effort.

Regarding his presence in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar had stated that he came to the Constituent Assembly with only one great aspiration and objective, namely, to safeguard the interests of the untouchable classes. Why did one of the most learned persons of the country feel the need to say this? It was because the varna system of this country had, for thousands and lakhs of years, inflicted the greatest harm precisely upon these untouchable sections of society. Keeping this reality in mind, Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar made certain provisions in the Constitution so that some progress could be achieved for these sections. His vision was that if Hindu society, which stands on the four pillars of the varna system, were to strengthen the weakest pillar among them which was on the verge of collapse, then the entire social fabric could be preserved. Otherwise, the whole structure of society would crumble. Had Babasaheb thought only of the Dalit community, he could have

demanded 50 percent reservation. However, he sought reservation only in proportion to our population. His approach was to bring about gradual transformation in society. He believed that the Dalit community was capable of progress even with limited support. Since I myself belong to the Dalit community, I would like to confine myself to the issues faced by the Dalit society. More than 65 years have passed since the Constitution came into force, yet untouchability has not been completely eradicated, nor has reservation been fully implemented. Nor have schemes relating to Dalits been fully executed.

The Government under the leadership of the Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi has committed itself to the welfare of Dalits and the poor of this country, as was stated in his very first address. In that context, I would like to place before the House certain demands for immediate consideration and implementation.

At the 51st meeting of the National Development Council (NDC), held on 27 June 2005, it was decided by the Government that within the next ten years, the social, economic, and educational standards of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be brought on par with those of the general category. However, no concrete scheme was formulated by the Government to achieve this

objective. Even the schemes that were already in operation were not implemented effectively. The decision taken by the NDC must be implemented in letter and spirit.

In private educational institutions such as medical colleges and public schools, 25 percent reservation should be ensured in accordance with clause (5) added to Article 15 of the Constitution through the 93rd Constitutional Amendment.

In cases where candidates belonging to the reserved categories, despite possessing the requisite qualifications for Government employment, are declared “not found suitable”, action should be initiated against the concerned persons under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act. Further, selected candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be provided separate training, as required. Such training is already imparted in the case of the IAS and the IPS.

After the Sixth Pay Commission report, Group C and Group D jobs have been placed under outsourcing or contractual arrangements, which has deprived people from poor sections of society of employment opportunities. This practice should be discontinued, and such posts should be filled on the basis of regular appointments.

Under the Chairpersonship of the then Hon. President Shri Pranab Mukherjee (former Minister of Finance), a Committee was constituted by the Group of Ministers. Similarly, the former Hon. President Shri K. R. Narayanan had constituted a Committee of seven Governors for the development of Dalits. The report of that Committee has not yet been implemented by the Ministry of Social Justice. It should be implemented forthwith.

The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be vested with judicial powers and should be given at least the same authority as the National Human Rights Commission.

25 percent reservation should be ensured in Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas, Navayug Schools, Kendriya Vidyalayas, and Sainik Schools.

On the lines of Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas, the Central Government should establish separate schools in every district for Dalits and backward classes, so that children from poor Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may also receive quality education through the English medium.

At the national level, a National SC/ST Development Authority and, at the State level, State SC/ST Development Authorities should

be constituted to maintain proper accounts of the expenditure incurred each year from the budget earmarked for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Reservation in Services and Posts Amendment Bill, which was introduced in 2009 but could not be passed, should be passed again and placed in the Ninth Schedule.

The Reservation in Promotion Bill should be passed at the earliest and placed in the Ninth Schedule, so that atrocities committed against Scheduled Caste employees and officers in Uttar Pradesh can be brought to an end.

Provision for reservation should be made in all jobs in the private sector. There is a huge backlog of vacancies for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Government of India services, which should be filled immediately.

The contractual system for sanitation workers should be abolished, modern methods of sanitation should be adopted, and dignified wages should be provided.

The injustice caused by thousands of years of inequality and social evils cannot be remedied all at once; however, through all these efforts, a positive transformation can certainly be brought about.

SHRI JYOTHIRADHITYA MADHAVARAO SCINDIA (GUNA): Today and yesterday, we have been discussing a very important matter, namely, our commitment to the Constitution and the opportunity we have received to pay tribute to the memory of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

Hon. Speaker, Madam, recently we observed the 126th birth anniversary of India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and these days we are commemorating the 125th birth anniversary of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. Pandit Nehru laid down the framework and foundation of modern India, while Baba Saheb Ambedkar struggled for freedom and, after Independence, established the principles, foundational pillars, and institutions of this country, which today have become the very identity of our democracy. These great personalities, whether it was Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Pandit Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, or Maulana Azad, have left behind a great legacy for us. Today, when India's democracy is spoken of across the world as the largest democracy and as a democracy marked by communal harmony, the full credit for laying such a strong foundation goes to our founding fathers. The 26th November, 1949 is a historic day on which we adopted the Constitution. Today, exactly 67 years later, we are commemorating this document and celebrating the lives and ideas

of its architects. Therefore, the demand of the time is that we must introspect, reflect, and evaluate whether we are walking on the path shown by them. Are we guided by their ideals? Are we living up to their expectations? These are questions we must answer to ourselves, to the people of the country, and to the generations to come.

The Constitution of India serves as the moral compass of the nation. It provides direction and outlines the framework that the nation chooses to follow. Among the constitutional records of the world, our Constitution is the most comprehensive and detailed, and its breadth and flexibility stand as testimony to the foresight of our founding fathers. The credit for this rightly goes to Baba Saheb Ambedkar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad ji, and Pandit Nehru ji, who elevated India's standing in the world like a shining star. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 in my State, at the Mhow Cantonment, and from birth, struggle defined the course of his life. He firmly believed in unity in diversity within India. The principle of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, that the entire world is one family, was central to his philosophy. He was endowed with extraordinary qualities and was resolute in his determination to build a society founded on equality, liberty, justice, and fraternity. Guided by this vision and ideology, he continued his struggle throughout his life. Whether it was the satyagraha at the

Chavdar Tank in Mahad near Mumbai, or the satyagraha at the Kalaram Temple in Nashik, his objective remained the same, to eradicate discrimination. The greatest legacy of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, and I am glad that Shri Venkaiah Naidu ji referred to it today, was his work on the Hindu Code. He sought to incorporate the constitutional principles within the Hindu Code, to eliminate discrimination, and to ensure that husband and wife were granted equal rights after marriage.

There should be no distinction between a son and a daughter, and both should be granted equal rights. However, it is astonishing that there was a backlash against the Hindu Code, and effigies were burnt at seventy places. Allegations were made that through the Hindu Code, Hindu religion and Hindu traditions were being attacked. The act of burning effigies, launching attacks, and levelling accusations was not done by just anyone; it was instigated by…* This is a matter of history. Today, the same Government considers those very elements…* as its guiding force. *If I were to say that today Baba Saheb's legacy is being commemorated only in

* Not Recorded.

name…*(Interruptions)* I am not yielding. When two Dalit children were burnt alive in Haryana.

HON. SPEAKER: Jyotiraditya ji, it is correct that you need not yield. However, please speak after examining history properly.

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: But this is the truth. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: But I have my doubts.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: Madam Speaker, this is the truth and it cannot be denied. ...*(Interruptions)*†††* The effigy was burnt. ...*(Interruptions)* This is history. ...*(Interruptions)* This is documented history. ...*(Interruptions)* Today, the Government is doing the work of celebrating his legacy and we all want to pay tribute together. But when two Dalit children were burnt alive in Haryana and the government minister said that if someone throws a stone at a dog, then the government is not responsible. What could be more condemnable than this? Is this not a blot on the memory of Baba Saheb Ambedkar? The Government will have to introspect on this. In the Preamble of our Constitution, the

†††* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

rights of every citizen are enshrined: the right to justice, the right to liberty, the right to equality, and the right to fraternity. These must be the ideals for all of us, for you, for me, and for every citizen of this country. India is a composite nation. It is a multicultural, multilingual, and multi-ethnic nation. Therefore, it is natural that there will be differences in thought and perspective. There will be diverse ways of thinking and differing ideologies, but it is our collective responsibility to uphold freedom of expression. This is what gives India its distinct character. With this very outlook, when India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ji, formed his first Council of Ministers, he included several intellectuals who were not members of the Congress Party. Baba Saheb Ambedkar ji was entrusted with the responsibility of the Law Ministry for the task of nation-building and shaping India's future. Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty ji of the Swaraj Party, who was a principal critic of the Congress Party, was given charge of the Ministry of Finance. Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee ji was also included, because Pandit Nehru ji believed that diversity must be respected and that opposing viewpoints should also be accorded due importance. Baba Saheb Ambedkar ji was the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee. At that time, the Constituent Assembly brought together all schools of thought and ideologies from across the country.

Different opinions were expressed. Members of the Constituent Assembly came through provincial elections. Had the Congress Party so wished, it could have ensured that only its own Members were included. However, by including representatives from across the country, a true bouquet of India was presented, and the people of India were given genuine representation. Therefore, on 25 November 1949, one day prior to the adoption of the Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar himself stated in his address,

> “It is because of this disciple 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. "

Madam, this is our legacy. But what is the atmosphere today? On the one hand, we have the Constitution, where rules are laid down, values are enshrined, and principles are clearly articulated as to how every Indian citizen should conduct his or her life. On the other hand, if we look at the prevailing environment, we see an atmosphere of intolerance, an atmosphere of communalism, an atmosphere of fear,

and an atmosphere where freedom of thought is being curtailed across the country. We are witnessing a situation where Union Ministers of the Government of India make statements claiming that our history, our cultural heritage, and our institutions have all been polluted, that Indian culture and civilisation need to be restored, and that every sphere of public debate which has been Westernised will be purified.

Madam, this matter was discussed at length in the Constituent Assembly. There were extensive deliberations and debates on this very issue. It was stated in the Constituent Assembly itself, and I will quote-

> "The strength of India lies in her amazing capacity to receive, to adapt what she wants to adapt, not to reject because something is outside her scope but to accept and receive everything. It is folly for any nation or race to think that it can only give to and not receive from the world. Once a nation or a race begins to think like that, it becomes rigid, it becomes ungrowing, it grows backwards and it decays. "

Shri Venkaiah Naidu ji referred to Swami Vivekananda ji. What did Swami Vivekananda ji say? He told the people across the country that India would certainly emerge as an economic powerhouse, but that

would be possible only when India rose on the strength of its spiritual power. We must preserve that spiritual strength in its entirety. The responsibility of protecting that spiritual strength rests with every citizen of the country and with each one of us sitting in this House. When responsible people sitting in this House, and many among us, make irresponsible statements or pass unbecoming remarks, the damage is not to the Government, nor to any political party. The damage is to the history, the present, and the future of this country. As was stated yesterday by Thawar Chand ji, and I was surprised that Shri Rajnath Singh ji made a statement on the secularism of the country. Whether one calls it secularism or Panth Nirpekshata, that controversy was raised because this Government appears to have difficulty with the very word "secularism". ...*(Interruptions)* Many Members here are senior to me in age and richer in experience, but when such statements are made, they hurt the dignity of this House, the dignity of this nation, and, most importantly, in my view, the respect due to our founding fathers. Today, an atmosphere of intolerance prevails across the country. Writers, scientists, and artists are returning their awards. Since childhood, we have been taught that the power of ideas and expression surpasses the power of force. Today, those very voices of conscience, breaking the silence, are challenging authority and

stirring the corridors of power. Incidents such as Dadri, Ballabhgarh, Udhampur, and Saharanpur are taking place, and the Government remains completely silent. ...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SKILL DEVELOPMENT AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY): After the Bihar elections, everything has stopped.

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: The results of the Ratlam election have also come after the Bihar elections. You need not worry; more results will come. ...*(Interruptions)* An atmosphere is being created by leaders of the Government, on the basis of which divisive elements are gaining confidence. Today, will representatives of the Government decide for the citizens of this country what they should wear, what they should eat, and what they should think? When the Governor of a State can say that Hindustan is only for Hindus and that Muslims may go anywhere in India, and if they wish to go to Pakistan or Bangladesh, they are free to do so, what then remains of this country? If such a statement comes from a Governor of a State, what is left in this country? If the General Secretary of the ruling party says about an artist that he should be exiled to Pakistan, what then

remains of this country? If a person sitting in this Parliament says that an artist is like Hafiz Saeed, then what remains of this country?

Madam Speaker, today India enjoys global respect because Pandit Nehru ji and Dr. Ambedkar ji, within two years of Independence, established the Election Commission so that free and fair elections could be conducted in this country. In the very first general election in 1952, the right to adult franchise was granted to every citizen. This right was given at a time when, in many countries across the world, women were denied the right to vote, workers were denied the right to vote, and entire communities were denied the right to vote. But look at the situation in our country today. Instead of respecting our democracy, the President of a political party says that if that party were to lose an election even by chance, firecrackers would be burst in Pakistan. ...*(Interruptions)* What does this mean? With a single stroke of the pen, you have branded all the voters of this country as traitors. Senior leaders of your party use communal language, and nothing is said. I would go so far as to say that such conduct is encouraged. When people raise their voices against this, they are reprimanded, silenced, and humiliated. I would like to ask you this question: what does the Government's intolerance towards those who speak out against intolerance signify? Where is the

Government's sensitivity when a citizen feels unsafe? At that moment, it becomes the Government's duty to listen to that citizen, to reassure him or her, and to take action. As citizens of this country, we demand action against such individuals. Only then will the people of this country receive assurance and regain confidence. But instead, either silence is maintained, or those who raise concerns are humiliated.

Madam Speaker, I am a Hindu, and I am married to a Hindu, but my religion is my personal matter. My Hindu faith is not merely a religion; it is a philosophy. That philosophy teaches me to respect people, to respect diverse viewpoints, and to honour plurality. It teaches me that there may be differences between you and me, but there should be no bitterness of mind. That philosophy teaches us what Baba Saheb Ambedkar ji taught us, and I will quote-

[English]

> "I do not want that our loyalty as Indians should be in the slightest way affected by any competitive loyalty whether that loyalty arises out of religion, out of our culture or out of our language. I want all people to be Indians first, Indians last and nothing else but Indians. "

Madam Speaker, if we wish to safeguard the principles of our nation and the principles of the Constitution, we must protect freedom of religion, we must protect freedom of thought, and we must safeguard diversity. If we truly wish to make the memory of Baba Saheb Ambedkar everlasting and pay him a genuine tribute, then we must speak the truth. I have great respect for Shri Ram Vilas Paswan ji. Yesterday, he said that the UPA Government did nothing to commemorate Baba Saheb Ambedkar, and that the present Government gave the land at Indu Mills. I would like to inform him that this statement is entirely incorrect, because on the basis of a Cabinet decision taken in December 2013 by the UPA Government, statements were made in both the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha, wherein the land at Indu Mills was allotted for the construction of a memorial in his honour. We must follow the path of truth and bring about progress in the social sphere. ...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS, FOOD, AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN): We did not say that you did nothing. We said that the UPA had initiated it. We had raised the demand, but it could not be completed at that time. We wish to thank the present Government for having done it. We did mention the UPA.

SHRI JYOTIRADITYA MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: That is precisely what I am saying. Since it was approved by the UPA Cabinet, the decision was taken at that very time.

13.00 hours

I am only making a slight clarification to that effect. The clarification is that the Cabinet decision was taken at that time itself, meaning thereby that the approval was granted then and not during the tenure of the present Government. The approval was accorded in December 2013. Madam Speaker, I was saying that we must enhance expenditure in the social sector. The cuts that this Government has made do not amount to a tribute to Baba Saheb Ambedkar. If we genuinely wish to pay a true tribute, and if this Government wishes to do so, then the Land Acquisition Bill that was brought forward must be seriously reflected upon. One must ask whether the manner in which that Land Acquisition legislation was introduced would have given peace to the soul of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. Further, when protests were held at the Ambedkar-Periyar IIT Circle against the Government, a ban was imposed on the Ambedkar-Periyar IIT Circle. Is this a tribute to Baba Saheb Ambedkar? Today, we must pass the SC/ST Atrocities Act. We must grant statutory approval to the SC/ST Sub-Plan. That would constitute a true tribute to Baba Saheb

Ambedkar. Had he been alive today, he might perhaps have agreed with the following lines of this poet:

Na masjid ko janthe he, na shivalay ko jante hai

Jo bhukhe pet hote hain, veh sirf nibalon ko jante hain.

Andaaz jamane ka khalta hai ki mera chirag hawa ke khilaf me jalta hai,

Main amanpasand hun, mere sahar me danga rahne do,

Laal aur hare mein mat baton, mere chhati par tiranga rahne do.

(The verse emphasises that hunger and basic human needs are more urgent than religious or communal identities, calls for peace over conflict, and affirms national unity above divisive ideologies.)

Thank you. Jai Hind.

‡‡‡*__SHRI NANA PATOLE (BHANDARA-GONDIA):__ Dr. Babasaheb was born on 14 April 1891 at Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. The birth of many great orators in India has been associated with divine indications. Generally, the intellectual tradition does not place faith in such occurrences, yet an incident of this nature took place prior to the birth of Babasaheb. This is evident from the literature written about him.

Dr. Babasaheb was born into a deeply religious family. His father was a follower of the Kabir Panth, and his mother also adhered to the same principles. From birth itself, he imbibed the values of religiosity and freedom from addictions. These values were evident throughout his life and were experienced by all through his conduct.

When Babasaheb started Mooknayak, he used verses from the abhangas of Sant Tukaram. Similarly, when he launched the monthly journal Bahishkrut Bharat, he used verses from the Dnyaneshwari. In several of his editorials, Babasaheb made use of the sayings and teachings of saints.

These facts clearly demonstrate Dr. Babasaheb’s faith in spirituality and religious values. He never used labels such as

‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

“irreligious” or “secularist” for himself. Today, a fashion has developed of describing oneself as irreligious or secular. This is an appropriate moment for all those who do so to reflect upon it and abandon this fashion. Only then can Babasaheb’s ideas be propagated in their true spirit, which is greatly needed in the country today.

Babasaheb was never a destroyer of religion. He believed in the necessity of religion. It was his conviction that whatever is good in human life is the outcome of religion. However, his opposition was directed against the excessive religious bigotry, hypocrisy, inequality, and untouchability that had taken root in the social order. It was for the eradication of these evils that he began his struggle.

After embracing Buddhism, Babasaheb administered a pledge to his followers not to worship Hindu deities. However, he was fully aware that followers could not abandon long-standing traditions overnight. Therefore, if his followers wished to observe festivals associated with Hindu deities, they were never restrained from doing so.

Because of his belief in an unseen higher power, Babasaheb would offer prayers every morning and evening before the statue of Lord Buddha. He was conscious that the movement he led for the

upliftment of Dalits should not remain merely a political or governmental campaign. Therefore, by embracing Buddhism, he provided it with a moral and religious foundation. He constantly strove for the creation of an ideal social order. He believed that such an order alone could strengthen the concept of nationalism. He was convinced that such a system could be built only on the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Babasaheb understood that fraternity alone can ensure the protection of liberty and equality. However, he was also clear that fraternity cannot be imposed or nurtured merely through laws or legal provisions.

Dr. Babasaheb was a strong proponent of the view that only when fraternity prevails in every sphere of social life, within families, schools, workplaces, professions, and other institutions, can liberty and equality be bound together into a single thread. In India, the tribal population constitutes about 23 percent. A large number of them live in forests and hilly regions. For hundreds of years, their connection with rural and urban social life has been minimal, and even today it has not been fully established.

Referring to this issue in 1936, Babasaheb had said, “Hindus did not make any effort to civilise the tribal people by providing them with medical assistance or by reforming their customs. To make the

tribal people their own, it was necessary to integrate with them. However, in the pursuit of maintaining caste purity, a Hindu individual did not assimilate with a tribal individual.

Dr. Babasaheb's views converged with those of certain Hindu organisations. When these organisations worked in that direction, the ruling establishments in the post-Independence period sought to mislead the people by branding them with labels of extremism and portraying them as ideologically radical, and attempts were made to restrain their activities. In the past, certain elements within the corridors of power committed the serious error of suppressing Dr. Babasaheb's ideas through the exercise of authority, which was neither justified nor appropriate.

The Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India was constituted in 1949, and its work continued for a period of two years, eleven months, and seventeen days. On 25 November 1949, Dr. Babasaheb delivered an address before the Drafting Committee which may truly be described as unparalleled.

He stated, "When I entered the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, the sole objective in my mind was to protect the interests of the untouchable community. I had never even remotely imagined

that I would be entrusted with work of such great importance. I was surprised when I was included in the Drafting Committee, and when I was selected as its Chairperson, my astonishment knew no bounds."

That is to say, prior to the drafting of the Constitution, there was a sense of apprehension in his mind regarding the Hindu majority. Therefore, he held the view that the untouchable classes were not truly part of Hindu society and that they should be treated as an independent component, deserving certain special privileges and concessions. However, once he became engaged in the task of drafting the Constitution, he set aside all such demands and devoted himself entirely to working for a unified national identity.

Babasaheb observed, with regard to the ideas embodied in the (Constitution) Directive Principles of State Policy, "The ideas expressed in the Directive Principles of State Policy reflect the thinking of the generation of that time. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these ideas represent the collective thinking of the members of the Drafting Committee."

He was conscious of the fact that the Constitution could be amended in the future in keeping with the ideas of generations to come.

These principles find their beginning in the Preamble of the Constitution:

1. Society; 2. Secularism (Panth Nirpekshata); 3. Democracy; 4. Social, economic, and political justice; 5. Freedom of thought, expression, belief, religion, and worship; 6. Equality of status and opportunity; 7. Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.

In the Indian system of marriage, the Saptapadi is held as a sacred and binding rite. When the Constitution was "adopted, enacted, and given to ourselves" by the people of India, a similar Saptapadi was, in essence, undertaken. Just as marital life cannot be harmonious or beneficial if the vows taken at the time of marriage are not faithfully honoured, likewise, if there is any deficiency, dilution, or infirmity in the observance of this democratic Saptapadi, the "Republic of India, constituted by its people," cannot function effectively.

Explaining each of these seven principles would require extensive elaboration. What is surprising, however, is that those who have held the reins of governance over the years did not feel the necessity to do so. Ideally, once these seven principles were recognised as worthy of being enshrined in the Preamble of the

Constitution, they should have been inculcated in younger generations through educational curricula and effectively disseminated among adult citizens as well. If one were to examine each principle individually, the mind is disturbed by the steadily increasing disregard shown towards them. The evils, shortcomings, and weaknesses that have continued to grow since Independence, and which have brought us to the present state of despair and lack of direction, can be countered through these seven principles. Even in the future, progress will not be possible without adherence to them.

Babasaheb was also concerned about the backward classes of society. To ensure that people belonging to the backward classes received social, educational, and political justice, provisions were made in the Constitution. Article 15(4) states: “Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.” Article 16(4) is even more explicit: “Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.” In both these Articles, the word “nothing”

refers to certain earlier provisions. It is not an unrestricted or all-encompassing expression. However, in practice, this very word "nothing" has been accorded undue primacy, and irrespective of the context, the requirement, or the actual public interest involved, reservation has come to be granted on other grounds as well. This approach runs contrary to the principle of efficiency envisaged in the Constitution.

Article 335 provides that "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

This clearly means that no claim, reservation, or arrangement can be placed above, separate from, or contrary to the maintenance of administrative efficiency. Nor should it be so.

"Efficiency" by its very nature clearly and inherently sets the limits of every form of reservation. A person who is not qualified for a particular post cannot obtain that post merely on the basis of reservation. Efficiency denotes competence, qualification, skill, and capability. Providing opportunities only to those who attain such a

standard is the true fulfilment of efficiency. In the relevant provisions of the Constitution, this principle of efficiency occupies a position of paramount importance. There is no provision anywhere that negates or dilutes this principle.

Although this very provision is being used to justify a system of reservation that runs contrary to efficiency, this is unfortunate, ironic, and anomalous. It is indeed a paradox that, under the shadow of Dr. Ambedkar's intellect, reservation is being projected as an absolute and unquestionable principle. He was undoubtedly born into a community that qualified for reservation, but it was his intellect that enabled him to secure opportunities for education and higher learning, and it was his efficiency that gave him the opportunity to make the most significant contribution to the framing of the Constitution of India. It was respect for merit and intellect that defined his life. To make any other element or consideration the sole basis of reservation, apart from merit and capability, amounts to a direct affront to his memory.

Today, the pursuit of caste-based and region-based political support has itself become the principal basis and driving force behind reservation. The number of voters belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is such that no political party can secure a

majority without their support. Consequently, candidates belonging to the numerically dominant caste in a particular area are selected for that area. It is from this point that political bias begins, the outcome of which manifests itself in governance that compromises efficiency and merit.

There is no shortage of talented officers in the administrative services. However, no one understands better than they do how, because of reservationism, a structure that ought to be of iron has been reduced to a fragile bamboo scaffold. A scaffold is meant either for punishment or for carrying corpses. We desire neither of these for our country or for its future.

The benefit of reservation cannot be addressed merely by the affluence of a few families within the backward classes. The backwardness of these classes has been far more acute and painful in comparison to that of certain individuals, families, or groups. However, times have reached a point where impropriety has been accepted as normal conduct and undue advantage has come to be treated as ordinary practice. Such a moral weakness has set in that no one now has the courage to raise a voice against it.

Reservation has come to function as an active instrument for exploiting the nation, undermining its future, legitimising impropriety, and eroding the values of merit and efficiency. Under Article 334, reservation was originally envisaged for a period of 20 years. In the year 2000, this period was extended to 60 years. Ultimately, this will become one of the greatest causes of weakening the administrative system.

The Constitution had prescribed an appropriate time-frame. If the nation is to progress, no one can be granted the right to remain backward in perpetuity. Article 340 provides for the constitution of an Investigative Commission, but this provision too has not been utilised in an appropriate manner.

In the 125th birth anniversary year of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, what ought to be done is to ensure that among those who are backward, under various classifications, those who are meritorious and show potential to progress are provided with systematic support. Adequate arrangements should be made so that they are enabled to secure desired positions even through open and general competition, without reliance on reservation. This alone is the sustainable path forward. For this purpose, appropriate educational and training institutions should be established, comparable to the facilities

available to the affluent sections through public schools. Similar schools, with the same quality of infrastructure, standards, and efficiency, should be established and run for students belonging to the backward classes. Reservation is necessary only for such opportunities where it is genuinely justified from all perspectives and serves the national interest. No nation can achieve holistic development and complete upliftment by keeping a segment or a class perpetually backward. However, this objective cannot be achieved by striking at the very purpose of reservation itself.

Dr. Babasaheb, recognising the importance of agriculture, made provision under Article 48 of the Constitution for the adoption of modern and scientific methods in farming. Our country is predominantly agrarian. Nearly 90 percent of national production comes from agriculture, and about 70 percent of livelihoods are derived from the agricultural sector. Therefore, unless agriculture is developed in all its dimensions, the economic problems of the country cannot be resolved. This was Babasaheb's conviction. Babasaheb's views on agriculture were nuanced. The concept of "land to the tiller" did not, in his understanding, mean that the person who ploughs the land alone must necessarily be its owner, nor that a farmer should be prohibited from employing even a small amount of the labour of

others beyond his own. A farmer must certainly have the right to engage labourers as required and to take work from them. Similarly, he articulated his views on collective farming and land revenue. However, in the course of national planning, those in power accorded a very marginal place to the agricultural sector. As a result, imbalance was created in the overall economy of the country.

This point becomes clear through a small example. In our country, nearly one-fourth of the total cultivable land has reached a condition where preventing soil erosion has become absolutely essential. However, for addressing this critical issue, only Rs. 47 crore were spent through the Five Year Plans over a period of twelve years, from 1951 to 1963. In contrast, a provision of Rs. 2,000 crore was made solely in the Fifth Five Year Plan for the expansion of steel plants such as Bhilai, Bokaro, and Durgapur.

The rulers of that time treated the agricultural sector with step-motherly neglect. By disregarding Babasaheb’s ideas and the provisions of the Constitution, those in power then committed the grave wrong of driving farmers to suicide. This is something they ought to acknowledge today. Unfortunately, even now, while sitting in the Opposition, attempts continue to mislead the people of the country.

The Government of India, imitating Western models, undertook programmes to construct gigantic dams for supplying water to agriculture. These were capital-intensive projects. Expenditure on agricultural production remained far lower in comparison to the expenditure incurred on such projects. Even after 65 years of Independence, comprehensive planning for water for the agricultural sector has not been fully accomplished.

Small-scale schemes alone are truly useful for us. To this day, agricultural development has never been planned in the manner it ought to have been. Babasaheb was a strong advocate of collective farming and equitable distribution of land. For the establishment of social justice, he emphasised the absolute necessity of determining a ceiling on how much land a farmer should be permitted to hold.

There was an effort to stabilise the economy by providing livelihoods to the various sections of society. The need for a system to determine fair prices for agricultural produce was also emphasised. However, the actions taken after Independence by certain associates and followers in power, in the name of Babasaheb's ideas, have led to the consequences that we are witnessing today.

1. About 58 percent of farmers go to bed hungry every day.

2. Around 42 percent of farmers are contemplating leaving agriculture as a livelihood.
3. According to the 2011 Census, an estimated 50 lakh farmers are migrating from villages to cities every year.
4. Over the past 17 years, nearly three lakh farmers have committed suicide.

All these facts are based on data provided by the National Sample Survey Office.

For a country in which nearly 70 crore people, that is, about 54 to 58 percent of the total population, depend on agriculture for their livelihood, have we truly been able to provide social and economic justice to these families? It is with deep anguish and a sense of shame that one must say that the fulfilment of Babasaheb's dream, which was to be achieved through the Constitution, has not been realised through governance for this 58 percent of the population. The Minimum Support Price (MSP) for agricultural produce has increased, but the cost of seeds, fertilisers, and other agricultural inputs has risen many times more than the increase in MSP.

I appeal today to all political parties to introspect on the condition of farmers even after forty-five years of the Green Revolution. Do not

harm the interests of farmers by disrupting parliamentary proceedings for the sake of political expediency.

We are all aware that Babasaheb made provision under Article 370 of the Constitution granting a special status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, distinct from the other States of the country. While this provision was being proposed, Dr. Babasaheb had cautioned that this Article could prove detrimental to the nation. He had told Sheikh Abdullah, “You want India to bear the responsibility for the defence of Kashmir and other matters, but you do not want the Indian Parliament to have any authority over it. I am the Law Minister of India, and it is my duty to safeguard the interests of India. Therefore, I cannot accept this proposal which is against the interests of India.” It was only after an assurance was given in the Constituent Assembly that this Article would be temporary that the proposal could be adopted. In view of the adverse consequences of Article 370, it is necessary to deliberate upon it and take an appropriate decision.

Babasaheb entrusted the Government with a constitutional responsibility for the economic and educational advancement of society. However, the actions of our earlier Governments have resulted in India ranking 119th out of 169 countries in the Human

Development Index in 2010, and falling further to 135th out of 187 countries in 2013.

From 1980 to 2013, the Human Development Index increased from 0.369 to 0.589. While human development progressed at such a slow pace, the pace at which issues such as corruption advanced has been many times faster. It is therefore necessary today to reflect upon the direction and priorities that have characterised the functioning of our Governments.

Babasaheb's public and political life began as early as 1926. With confidence rooted in self-respect and unity, he had expressed the hope that the Federation he had established would succeed in the elections. However, that hope did not materialise, and it met with failure in the elections of 1952.

From the Bhandara region, which I represent, Dr. Babasaheb contested the election, but he was defeated by the Congress candidate. After losing the election, he did not lose courage. However, the reaction he expressed thereafter was as follows, "Victory or defeat in elections does not depend upon merit, but upon particular circumstances. I was not greatly distressed by this defeat. What pains

me more is that people elect those who are not competent and defeat those who are capable."

Despite being the chief architect of the Constitution, he had also expressed a fear in these words, "If the Constitution which the people gave to themselves in November 1949 does not function satisfactorily, then in the future we shall have to say not that the Constitution has failed, but that man has become corrupt."

Looking at the situation prevailing in many parts of India today, the apprehension expressed by him appears to have been well founded. There is ample evidence to support this.

[English]

§§§*__SHRI S. P. MUDDAHANUME GOWDA (TUMKUR):__ 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. 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. 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 the 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.

Dr. Ambedkar was totally in favour of the parliamentary form of Government. He firmly believed that only parliamentary system of Government can usher in an egalitarian society. He was also a strong advocate of the federal structure. He spent his whole life for the

§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

betterment of the poor, exploited, troubled classes. 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. So, we should give a firm commitment that incidents of intolerance will not be tolerated. It will be the best respect shown to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. I am concerned about intolerance because it gives birth to terrorism. India has shown the world that how a freedom struggle can be fought violence to achieve independence.

As has been correctly explained by our Leader, Madam Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the ideals we have cherished for decades are under threat and there is a deliberate attack on constitutional values principles. I would also like to repeat her words that "Dr. Ambedkar had observed that howsoever good a Constitution may be, if those implementing it were bad people, the ultimate impact would only be bad".

We are talking about Dr. Ambedkar and we talking about all the great names but we also forget that they always believed in federalism. Once any political party comes to power in Centre, the first thing it does to thwart the very thought of federalism. We are a pluralist society. In a secular society, if we want this country to pass on healthy traditions to our children in unified manner, then it is time that we

shed our ego. Let us not tolerate intolerance at all. It is time that we also try to make our children more innovative and more inquisitive. Only then we can have a nation which will emerge as a great power in the world.

The Constitution also provides for a fully-functional and independent judiciary. Legislature, Judiciary and Executive have to go hand-in-hand. The Constitution also talks about fundamental rights. Further, women empowerment is a major issue. May be, it is time when constitutionally we find a way to empower women so that this country can be motivation to the people across the world. But first, we need proper representation and empowerment of women. My only request is that if we make it a right to vote then everyone should compulsorily vote.

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. Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles are the conscience of the Constitution. 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, decentralization and local governance. Dr. Ambedkar had tremendous faith in the future of India, in oneness and unity of the nation and in the development of an integrated Indian society.

The Fundamental Rights talks about keeping the goal of social equality in all parameters. We have to see whether these parameters are being fulfilled? Even today, atrocities are happening on the SCs, STs, and other backward classes. The Government should make provisions whereby the people belonging to the backward sections of society would get job opportunities even in the private sector.

Lastly, I would like to emphasize what the Hon. Deputy Speaker has said yesterday that the Government should come forward to amend the Constitution in order to give official language status to all other Indian languages like Kannada and others. When we are speaking of federalism, we should give honour and respect to all other sections also. I would like to know from the Hon. Prime Minister whether the NDA Government would bring Amendment to see that all the Indian languages become official languages of this country; if so, when and if not, why?

[Translation]

*****SHRI DEVAJI M PATEL (JALORE):** Today, our Government has allocated two days of the parliamentary session for discussion on this important occasion. This is a historic step. At the same time, this year marks the 125th birth anniversary of Baba Bhimrao Ambedkar ji, which our Government is going to commemorate with great enthusiasm. Had there been any other Government, it might not even have remembered this occasion. Previous Governments remained occupied only with celebrating the birthdays and golden jubilees of a single family.

This is neither a golden jubilee nor a diamond jubilee, yet dates derive their true significance from the circumstances they represent. Sixty-six years have now elapsed since India adopted its Constitution. On this very day, 26 November 1949, Babasaheb Ambedkar, who played the most decisive role in drafting the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, observed, “There is little purpose today in merely listing the virtues of the Constitution. No matter how good a Constitution may be, if those entrusted with its implementation are flawed, it will fail. Conversely, even if a Constitution has

***** Speech was laid on the Table.

shortcomings, it can still succeed if those who administer it are virtuous. Any assessment of the Constitution, without reference to the role of the people and political parties, would be futile."

In reality, the greatest need of the present time is that we, the people of India, read the Constitution, understand it, and deepen our faith in it. The consequence of forgetting it is evident in the violent, unequal, and insensitive conditions into which we have drifted today. Beyond a few fleeting moments during oath-taking ceremonies, one must reflect on when we truly experience the Constitution as a living and active force in our lives. One may ask our children whether they recognise the Constitution of India. If they do not, it is because the Constitution is not taught in our schools. Our education system imparts knowledge of science, commerce, and management, but neglects constitutional education. Perhaps this is why many are unaware that, under Article 51, it is a Fundamental Duty of every citizen to abide by the Constitution and to act in accordance with its ideals. Today, our Government has taken a truly transformative step by observing Constitution Day in all schools, so that future generations may become acquainted with the Constitution. This is not merely a book; it embodies a vision of the nation we aspired to build after liberating ourselves from British colonialism, from bondage,

poverty, and caste-based discrimination. The vision was to build a nation founded on socialism, secularism (Panth Nirpekshata), democracy, social, economic and political justice, freedom of expression, equality, human dignity, and equitable distribution of opportunities. These were to be the true benchmarks of development. Even after sixty-eight years, we find ourselves far removed from the dreams of the framers of the Constitution. One is often compelled to reflect on how, in practice, earlier Governments allowed the concept of appeasement to permeate our constitutional and political life.

Let us now turn our attention to the reality around us. Social, economic, and political justice form the very core of the Constitution. It clearly mandates that there shall be no discrimination in shops, temples, places of entertainment, ponds, bathing ghats, roads, or public spaces meant for social interaction. Yet, even after sixty-eight years of Independence, distinctions based on so-called higher and lower castes continue to persist. Despite clear constitutional provisions and visible evidence, one must ask why the resolve of successive Governments to implement the Constitution in its true spirit has remained weak. This is the very Constitution that was adopted by two hundred and ten representatives drawn from Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Scheduled Caste, Christian, Anglo-Indian

communities, princely States, and backward sections of society, all united by a shared vision of transformation. They themselves recognised that reservation for Dalits and Adivasis was essential. The right to equality in employment can be meaningfully realised only when reservation is implemented with the correct intent and in its true spirit.

In India, dissent and criticism are increasingly being met with intolerant responses. Those who speak out against casteism and superstition are even deprived of their lives. In effect, the Fundamental Right guaranteed under Article 19 of the Constitution is being steadily eroded. Under this Article, citizens have the right to express their views, to assemble peacefully, and to form associations. It is this very right that is being most severely undermined in practice. This infringement does not occur merely through the enactment of laws, but through the manner in which laws are enforced. Police cases are filed against those who dissent from, or offer reasoned criticism of, religious, political, or economic authorities in power. In a democracy, problems must be resolved through discussion, debate, and dialogue. Today, the country faces several challenges, not only domestically but also on the global stage. Making statements casually through the media is not a solution. In a healthy democracy,

differences of opinion are essential. However, returning honours conferred by the State amounts to a rejection of the Constitution itself.

The misuse of law to dismantle organisations and institutions is, in effect, tantamount to dismantling institutions themselves and to extinguishing the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution. It is true that if anyone commits an offence against the nation or against its core values, the law must discharge its role with full rigour and take appropriate action. However, it is incumbent upon the Government to clearly establish what the offence actually is. A critical review of policies and administrative functioning is a constitutional right; it is not a crime.

For many years now, our entire education policy has been at variance with the spirit of the Constitution. The Constitution clearly states that every group has the right to preserve its distinct language, script, and culture. Does a Bhil tribal child have the right to speak Bhili, or does a student from Bundelkhand have the right to speak Bundelkhandi in Bhopal? By ridiculing their dialects, we effectively deprive them of their rights. What is the rationale behind rigidly determining English or Hindi as the sole medium of education? In truth, the Constitution of India was framed with the objective of ending colonialism. If that objective has not been realised, it only

indicates that colonial mindsets continue to persist. The structure of our financial system also flows from the Constitution. When laws such as the Food Security Act or the Employment Guarantee Act are enacted, a section of society and politics opposes them, claiming that they constitute a misuse of taxpayers' money. This is not correct. Employment, land, food, health, education, and justice are constitutional rights; they are not acts of charity. The Constitution mandates that the State shall endeavour to reduce inequalities in income and eliminate disparities in status, facilities, and opportunities.

The ownership and control of material resources should be so distributed as to safeguard the collective interest. Consider what we have witnessed over the past sixty-eight years: the displacement of nearly one and a quarter crore people, entire villages forced to migrate due to distress, and Panchayats reduced to subservience before the bureaucracy. What does this indicate? It suggests that the Constitution has, in effect, been confined and rendered ineffective. The Constitution stipulates that workers must be paid wages sufficient to ensure a decent standard of living. Yet, each Pay Commission proceeds to double the salaries of Government functionaries. Today, there is a seventeen-fold gap between the daily wage of an officer and that of a labourer. Why does this disparity exist? Is it because the

Constitution has been sidelined? More importantly, if we assess the wage actually received by a labourer in real terms, this gap widens to nearly a hundred-fold. Today, farmers are not receiving the full and fair price for their produce. They are unable even to recover their input costs. Across the country, farmers are deeply distressed, crushed under the burden of loans from banks and moneylenders. The farmer today is not merely abandoning agriculture; overwhelmed by daily hardships, he is abandoning life itself. Farmers are being driven to suicide. Even after Independence, the farmer remains distressed, and this is not conducive to a healthy democracy. Today, farmers' suicides do not make headlines; they are scarcely discussed. For many of the country's leading intellectuals, this does not appear to be a matter of concern. No voice is raised in their defence.

The intent of the Constituent Assembly was never to create such an India. Development is often interpreted merely as the provision of facilities for the middle class. It is frequently said, charge for water but provide it; charge for electricity but provide it; charge money, but build hospitals. The middle class rarely reflects on the reality that nearly seventy-five Percent of the people of this country cannot afford to pay for these services. It is precisely from this point that exclusion begins. The poor either do not receive services at all, or the entire

system becomes deeply corrupt. People do not die merely because of illness; they die due to the absence of treatment. Children do not die because of famine alone; they die because food grain warehouses remain locked. Are we conscious of the fact that the Fundamental Duties of the Constitution require every citizen to defend the country, serve the nation, eliminate discrimination, and renounce all practices derogatory to the dignity of women? Even after so many years of the Constitution, women in India are still compelled to live under the purdah system. In many cases, they are denied rights granted to them by courts of law. They are forced to adhere to personal laws against their will. Every individual has the right to practise his or her religion, but the Constitution also lays down that it is a Fundamental Duty of citizens to develop a scientific temper and a spirit of humanism. If mining activities or industrial projects lead to the destruction of the environment and biodiversity, what should our response be as a constitutional democracy?

Under the Constitution, the protection of the natural environment, forests, lakes, rivers, and wildlife is also a Fundamental Duty of every citizen. No form of development can truly serve the interests of India if its policies are framed in violation of the core spirit and provisions of the Constitution. We must recognise that the erosion

of communalism, the elimination of economic and social inequalities, and the smooth advancement of human development are possible only when we believe in a value-based social order and when Governments frame their policies accordingly. Otherwise, a better society can never be realised.

Today, I would like to conclude by saying that, barring the period of the Emergency, our democracy has emerged as an example for the world, and it is a matter of pride for all of us.

[English]

††††***SHRI P. K. BIJU (ALATHUR):** I am grateful to have the opportunity to lay my speech on Hon. Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, the architect of the Constitution and radical social reformer, on his 125th birth anniversary. He was popular among public by the name Babasaheb because of his great contributions towards the Indian society.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 in a poor untouchable Dalit family in Maharashtra. He is a beacon light and unending encouragement to the millions of poor people in our country. Overcoming numerous social and financial obstacles, Dr. Ambedkar became one of the first so called "untouchables" to obtain a college education in India. Eventually he earned law degrees and multiple doctorates for his study and research in law, economics and political science from Columbia University and the London School of Economics.

Besides the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, he is also remembered as a political leader, Buddhist activist, philosopher, thinker, anthropologist, historian, orator, prolific writer, economist,

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††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

scholar, editor, revolutionary and the revivalist of Bhddhism in India. He had played his great role in establishing the Reserve Bank of India as he was a professional economist. He became successful in forming the Reserve Bank of India in 1934 after giving his ideas to the Hilton Young Commission through his three successful scholarly books on economics such as "Administration and Finance of the East India Company, The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, and the Problem of the Rupee: Its origin and Its Solution".

He also played his role in planning the Indian economic as he got his Economics doctorate degree from abroad. He encouraged people for the growth and development of the industrialization and agricultural industry to enhance the economy of country. He had given ideas to the government for accomplishing the food security goal. He encouraged people for good education, hygiene and community health as their basic requirement. He had established the Finance Commission of India.

But Babasaheb has been marked in the Indian history for starting the social movement like anti-caste, anti-priest movement and temple entry movement. He said that political power is not the only way to solve all the problems of depressed class people, they should get equal rights in the society in every field. He was deeply involved in making

legal changes in order to protect the low class people rights during his Membership of Viceroy's Executive Council in 1942. He paid his major contribution by protecting the Fundamental Rights especially for the social freedom, equality and eradication of untouchability for lower caste people and enhancing the living status by securing the fair distribution of wealth through Directive Principle of State Policy in the Indian Constitution. He continued his social revolution till the end of his life through the Buddhism. He has been honored with the Bharat Ratna in the month of April in 1990 for his big contributions towards the Indian society.

But in the present day we are witnessing the erosion of ideals upheld by Dr. Ambedkar. Despite the existence of numerous laws, atrocities against Dalit are common place in India. It was prophetic words from Ambedkar:

> "On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value".

The following decades proved his words. Denial of justice to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and violence directed at them continues in India today despite official policies and declarations to the contrary. Considerable physical violence is inflicted on members of these deprived and marginalised communities as substantiated by official reports. Crimes against dalits rose 245% in last decade. Reports suggest a manifold increase in the number of cases related to assault, murder and sexual assault of Dalit women, especially incidents of gang rapes, over the past four years. It is ironical that only 50% of the accused in such crimes faced action. The conviction rate under SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act is 15. 71% and pendency is as high as 85. 37%. This when the Act has strict provisions aimed as a deterrent, by contrast, conviction rate under IPC is over 40% only.

The other facts are also shocking. The number of school drop outs among dalit population in the country was also increasing. Out of 4 lakh children who have dropped study in between during the past five years in the country, 40% children belong to the Schedule castes. 37 percent of Dalits are living below poverty in India. More than half (54%) of their children are undernourished in India. 83 per 1000 children born in Dalit community have probability of dying before the first birthday. 45 percent of Dalits do not know to read and write in

India. Dalits women burden double discrimination. i. e. ; gender and caste in India. Only 27 percent of Dalits women give institutional deliveries in India. About one third of Dalit households do not have basic facilities. Public health workers refuse to visit Dalit homes in 33% of villages. Dalits are prevented from entering police station in 27. 6% of villages. Dalit children have to sit separately while eating in 37. 8% of Government Schools. Dalits do not get mail delivered to their homes in 23. 5% of villages. Dalits are denied access to water sources in 48. 4% of villages because of segregation and untouchability practices. Half of India's dalit children are undernourished, 21% are severely underweight and 12% die before their 5th birthday. Literacy rates for dalit women are as low as 37. 8% in Rural India.

It is sad to say that violence against Dalits is astronomical under Modi government. UPA 2 Cabinet cleared the updated Bill in 2013, but it couldn't be passed in Parliament. Ordinance was passed, but NDA government allowed it to lapse. Then it sent that to Parliamentary Standing Committee on Social Justice and Empowerment. Committee cleared it late last year with minor changes, but the Government hasn't moved on it yet. Instances of

gangrapes of dalit women and minor girls are frequent stories from states such Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc.

The dawn of neo-liberalism and privatization has added the woes of the dalit people. They are strategically evaded from the new opportunities given by the liberalization. Instead the ruthless pursuit of capitalism has worsened the condition of poor in our country. They bear the brunt of mindless exploitation of our natural resources and culture.

It isn't the Constitution that has let Dalits down. It is the execution of the stated intent that has failed them. There are also strong moves from the right wing group to scrap the reservation, the only hope left for poor dalits youth in our country. By encouraging those vicious elements in the society, the government is trying to snatch the last hope for the dalit population. It is also highly deplorable that the present government is trying to saffronise Babasaheb, who is revered as a Bodhisattva by Indian Buddhist Bhikkus and by millions of other Buddhists.

I conclude with the hope that the revival of Dr. Ambedkar's vision would be the only solution to recapture the lost honour of the dalits in our country. The Government should hold a special

parliament on Dalit issues such as atrocities, effective implementation of reservation and scheduled caste and scheduled tribe sub-plan. Without that the dreams of Dr. Ambedkar would not be fulfilled and his 125th birth anniversary would be ended as another tokenism from the Government.

[Translation]

‡‡‡‡***SHRI KAUSHALENDRA KUMAR (NALANDA):** We are all commemorating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the chief architect of our Constitution. It is indeed a matter of great pride and satisfaction that we are remembering our Constitution-maker and paying tribute to him. However, in my considered view, a true tribute to Babasaheb will be paid only when we collectively understand the core spirit of the Constitution and faithfully adhere to it in order to build a better, just, and more developed society.

Today, the policies of the Government appear to be drifting away from the core spirit of the Constitution, as even after sixty-eight years of Independence, the country seems to be passing through a phase of intolerance. Our Constitution teaches us the values of socialism, secularism (Panth Nirpekshata), democratic governance, social, economic and political justice, individual rights including freedom of expression, equality, human dignity, the unity and integrity of the nation, and equitable distribution of opportunities. However, whether these ideals are truly being realised in practice, and whether our

‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

citizens genuinely experience them as such, remains a matter of serious doubt.

Even today, discrimination based on so-called higher and lower castes continues in our society. We speak of economic development and social justice, yet the reality is that if one measures the actual wages received by a labourer today, the disparity between those wages and the salaries of officers is nearly a hundredfold. The intent of the Constituent Assembly was certainly not to create such an India. This is the very Constitution that was adopted by 210 representatives belonging to Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Scheduled Caste, Christian, Anglo-Indian communities, representatives of princely States, and backward and most backward sections of society, all of whom carried a shared dream of transformation. They themselves recognised that reservation for Dalits, backward classes, and Adivasis was essential. Only when this is implemented in its true spirit can they genuinely enjoy the right to equality. However, today, discussions are being held about doing away with it. Employment, land, food, health, education, and justice are in fact constitutional rights of citizens; these are not acts of charity. Yet, by projecting these as benefits being granted by the Government at its discretion, the Constitution itself is being undermined.

The legitimate demand of the State of Bihar to overcome its backwardness is being ignored. The demand of the ten and a half crore people of Bihar is that Bihar should be accorded Special Category Status. In 2007, the Bihar Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution, with the support of all political parties, seeking Special Category Status for Bihar. This movement was given momentum by the Hon. Chief Minister, and historic rallies were organised from Gandhi Maidan in Patna to Ramlila Maidan in Delhi, strongly pressing the then UPA Government to grant Special Category Status to Bihar. The UPA Government subsequently constituted the Raghuram Rajan Committee, whose report has since been submitted to the Government. In that report, Bihar was placed at the second position among the most backward States.

During the Lok Sabha elections, the Hon. Prime Minister had announced at Gandhi Maidan in Patna that if anyone could grant Special Category Status to Bihar, it would be he alone. During the election campaign, he travelled extensively across Bihar and made several commitments to the people: that farmers would be paid one and a half times the cost of production, that the closed sugar mills of Bihar would be revived, that the Bhagalpur silk industry would be accorded international status, that every poor family would be

provided with a roof over its head, and that black money would be brought back from abroad so that at least Rs. 15 lakh could be credited to the account of every citizen. Not a single one of these assurances has been fulfilled so far. This, in effect, constitutes a direct blow to the core spirit of the Constitution. Our leader and the Hon. Chief Minister of Bihar understand the foundational values of the Constitution and are recognised for implementing them in practice. He is among the few Chief Ministers who have strengthened women's constitutional rights by providing up to 50 percent reservation for women in the Panchayati Raj system and other institutions. The principle of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas", along with justice, is visibly reflected in the State of Bihar, and the people of the State have given their clear endorsement to this approach. Despite the Hon. Prime Minister deploying his full political strength and virtually relocating the entire Government machinery from Delhi to Patna, the attempt to mislead the electorate has already received a firm and decisive response from the people of Bihar.

We lay claim to being a Vishwa Guru, yet within our own country, dissent and criticism are met with intolerant behaviour. If an individual speaks against casteism and superstition, or asserts personal choices relating to food and lifestyle, even his life is taken

away. In effect, the Fundamental Right guaranteed under Article 19 of the Constitution is being eroded. All these realities are known to and understood by the Government. However, due to a lack of firm resolve, appropriate justice is not delivered. Therefore, I firmly believe that from the very beginning, constitutional education must be imparted to every individual through the education system, so that each citizen is aware of his or her Fundamental Rights and, in accordance with Article 51, understands it as a Fundamental Duty to abide by the Constitution and to act in accordance with its ideals. This alone constitutes true patriotism. I also believe that it would not be appropriate for the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs to compare the Hon. Prime Minister with the framers of the Constitution in the context of the cleanliness campaign, because the Constitution itself had already assigned the responsibility of cleanliness. What is required is merely its proper implementation. The spirit and intent of our Constitution-makers in this regard are being misunderstood.

With these words, I respectfully pay homage to the leading members of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Pandit Nehru ji, Maulana Azad ji, Dr. Rajendra Prasad ji, Sardar Patel ji, and all others.

§§§§*DR. KIRIT P. SOLANKI (AHAMEDABAD): We are deeply grateful to our distinguished Prime Minister and the Government of India for deciding to observe 26 November as Constitution Day. I express my sincere gratitude to the great Constitution of India and to its chief architect, Dr. Ambedkar, as well as to all the members of the Drafting Committee.

I express my gratitude to the Government of India and to our Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi ji, for honouring the Constitution, through which our democracy has been further strengthened.

Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar rendered an extraordinary service in advancing social justice, upholding the dignity of Dalits, and eradicating untouchability. At times, some people attempt to narrow his immense achievements and confine him to a limited frame by portraying him merely as a leader of Dalits. This is deeply unfortunate. Undoubtedly, Babasaheb was a messiah for Dalits, but he discharged his responsibility towards all sections of society. Much is spoken today about women's empowerment. If there was anyone who truly championed the cause of women's rights, it was Babasaheb

§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

Ambedkar. It is because of Babasaheb that women were granted constitutional rights and safeguards.

Babasaheb also enacted strong and substantive laws for the protection of workers. I would go so far as to say that the 125 crore people of India are indebted to Babasaheb. As the chief architect of the Constitution, he gave us such a Constitution that, while democracy has failed to survive in several other countries of the Indian subcontinent, the roots of democracy in India have grown even deeper.

In the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, the nation undertook the task of safeguarding the country and giving it a new direction. Under the leadership of Shri Narendra Modi ji, a new ideology was able to form a Government with a clear majority on its own strength. The credit for this goes to the Constitution of India and to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Babasaheb Ambedkar made provisions in the Constitution with a focus on social justice, the upliftment of the poor, education, and women's empowerment. Keeping these very principles in mind, the Government led by Shri Narendra Modi ji has taken several initiatives and has made sincere and successful efforts to provide good

governance under the guiding mantra of “Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas”. For this, I extend my gratitude to the Government.

I recall that in 2010, our Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi ji, while serving as the Chief Minister of Gujarat, organised a Constitution Samman Yatra in Surendranagar city, during which the Constitution of India was carried on a decorated elephant for a distance of two kilometres, and he himself provided leadership to that procession. I am fully confident that our Government is moving forward along the path laid down by the spirit of the Constitution. I firmly believe that the Constitution of India is a universal constitutional text. It is a Constitution that possesses answers to all challenges and has the inherent capacity to provide the nation with good governance, development, and social justice.

SHRI PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA (ANANDPUR SAHIB): Madam Speaker, at the outset, I would like to thank you and the Leader of the House for providing us the opportunity to participate in this discussion on Constitution Day. I believe that, in the year marking the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar ji, it was essential that such a discussion be held.

13. 02 hours (Hon. Deputy Speaker *in the Chair*)

Our Constitution is vast, and its scope is expansive. Some interpret it in a purely literal sense, while others seek to understand its spirit. As a result, the commitments arising from it often become uncertain. When commitments are uncertain, the debate surrounding them also, in my view, tends to remain inconclusive. I submit that there should be a Code of Conduct. Almost all the speakers who have spoken here have, in one way or another, acknowledged that what the framers of the Constitution had envisaged has not been fully realised. Those who have governed must bear responsibility for this. If corrective steps are taken for the future, it would be a welcome development. For this purpose, there should be a Code of Conduct, and in my view, there must be an impartial institution to formulate and oversee such a Code of Conduct.

Many Members have stated here, including the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, that in framing the Constitution, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar drew upon ideas studied in France, adopted certain principles from England, and was influenced by various other sources. Different views have been expressed in this regard. However, I firmly believe that Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was deeply aware of the culture of Hindustan and had full faith in its traditions and beliefs. I would like to submit that if Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was influenced by anyone, it was by the philosophy of the great Guru, Guru Nanak Dev ji. We take pride in the fact that if anyone first used the name "Hindustan" for this land, it was Guru Nanak Dev ji.

When the first Mughal ruler attacked this land, Guru Nanak Dev Sahib said-

Khorasan Khasmana Kiya, Hindustan Draya

Aape dosh na deyi karta, jam kal mughal chadhaya

(When tyranny and injustice prevailed, devastation followed. Do not fault the Divine, history's reckoning arrived through human hands)

Whenever the question of sovereignty arose, whenever the supremacy of this nation was challenged, and when someone dared

to confront and challenge the Mughal Sultanate, it was Guru Nanak Dev Sahib who spoke out. He described Babur as a tyrant and said:

Paap Ki Janj Lai Kabulo Dhaya, Jori Mange Daan Way Lalo

Sharam Dharam sab chhup Khloye, Kood Phire Pradhan ve Lalo.

(Here, Guru Nanak Dev Sahib is condemning an unjust and tyrannical invasion. He is saying that the ruler advanced with sin as his companion, extorted wealth through violence, and ruled by oppression. In such times, moral values like shame and righteousness disappeared, while falsehood and injustice came to dominate society.)

For the dignity, honour and self-respect of this nation, many great figures fought, including Guru Gobind Singh Ji, Maharana Pratap Ji and Shivaji Maharaj. Their lives provide us with immense inspiration, which Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar Ji also drew upon. In my Parliamentary Constituency, there is a town called Chamkaur Sahib, about which Allah Yar Yogi Khan wrote:

Hai Hind Mein Ek Teerth,

Jahan Baap Ne Katayein Bete Dharm Ke Liye.

My friend Shri Scindia has just spoken here about secularism. In this country, in the name of faith, there have been instances where a father has allowed his sons to be martyred before his own eyes. In this very land, Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji himself did not practise the wearing of the tilak or the sacred thread. He did not wear the sacred thread, yet he came to Chandni Chowk in Delhi and willingly laid down his head to protect the tilak and the sacred thread. In a country where one sacrifices one's own head for the protection of faith, where sons are sacrificed in defence of faith, those who believe that religion can be erased by invoking the Emergency and misusing the name of secularism are living under a serious misconception. Therefore, I submit that if Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar drew upon the concept of democracy, he was deeply influenced by the philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev Ji, who proclaimed that the Panch are supreme, the Panch are accepted and the Panch are honoured in the divine court. If we speak of secularism and equality, Guru Nanak Dev Ji taught that all share the same divine light and that no one stands excluded. He declared that all human beings belong to one single caste and must be recognised as equals. He gave the message of fraternity, of universal welfare, and spoke firmly against discrimination, inequality and social hierarchy. It was Guru Nanak Dev Ji who, on this very land, first

raised his voice for the oppressed, the marginalised and the downtrodden. He said-

Neecha andar neech jaati, neechee hoon ati neech,

Nanak jinke sang saath, badiya se kya rees.

(These lines highlight that Guru Nanak Dev Ji stood for equality by siding with the most oppressed, affirming that dignity and moral authority arise from compassion and justice, not caste or status, thereby reinforcing the constitutional values of equality, fraternity and secularism.)

This philosophy, this ideology, upholds the dignity and honour of women.

So kyon manda aankhiye, jit jame raajaan

(The statement affirms that women cannot be considered inferior, because they are the source of life and of leadership itself. It rejects discrimination against women and emphasises their equal dignity, worth and central role in society, underscoring the principle of gender equality.)

Today, at times we speak of reservation for women, and at other times of granting them rights. Practices such as sati were challenged and brought to an end in that very era. I would like to submit that whatever Dr. B. R. Ambedkar learned, he learned from the ideology and teachings of Guru Nanak Dev Ji.

Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, history bears witness to this. I would like to inform this House that Dr B. R. Ambedkar Ji had intended to embrace Sikhism. I do not wish to name that leader, because doing so would cause an uproar on that matter. That leader threatened to observe a vow of silence, stating that if Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Ji became a Sikh, he would go on a fast unto death. Compelled by these circumstances, Dr. Ambedkar Ji had to step back. The name of that leader is known to all Members of this House.

Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the context of the discussion that has taken place, I would like to momentarily step back and draw the attention of the House to history. It is well recorded that at the time of the framing of our Constitution, several eminent representatives who truly reflected the will of the people participated in that process. Among them were leaders who later served as Speakers of this House, such as Sardar Hukam Singh, and distinguished figures like Sardar

Bhupinder Singh Mann, who hailed from the region adjoining my own village.

Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, they refrained from signing the Constitution as an act of protest and deep anguish. Through you, I would like to to apprise this House of the reasons behind this decision. When negotiations for Independence were underway with the British, history records that not two but three parties were involved. Alongside Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ji and Mr. Jinnah, our leader Master Tara Singh Ji also participated in the Shimla Conference. Later, when the agreements concerning Independence were finalised in London, Master Tara Singh Ji deputed Sardar Baldev Singh to represent the Sikh community alongside Pandit Nehru Ji and Mr. Jinnah. Thereafter, when deliberations began in the Constituent Assembly, our representatives sought to articulate their concerns and viewpoints. At that juncture, solemn assurances were given by the national leadership. Mahatma Gandhi Ji declared at Chandni Chowk, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ji affirmed in this House, that the Sikh community would be fully protected, that there would be no interference with their religion, culture, language or places of worship, and that the safety and security of Sikhs in northern India would be unequivocally guaranteed.

Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it pains me to state what subsequently transpired. What happened was that members of the Sikh Scheduled Castes were not granted reservation. They were not even included in the list of Scheduled Castes. As a result, Master Tara Singh Ji was compelled to struggle for this right. It was only after two years that Sikh Scheduled Castes were granted the benefit of reservation. In independent India, the first instance of handcuffs being placed on the leader of any community was that of our leader, Master Tara Singh Ji.

It was decided in this country that States would be reorganised on the basis of language. However, the Punjabi language was ignored, and we were compelled to struggle for the creation of a Punjabi Suba. For this cause, thousands of people had to go to jail. A provision was inserted into the law, into the statute, by which we were brought within the ambit of the Hindu Marriage Act. We opposed this. We asserted that our identity is distinct, our customs and traditions are distinct, and our recognition is separate, yet all this was disregarded. Despite this, it is claimed that we have always been treated on an equal footing with everyone else.

Secondly, an understanding was reached between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ji and Master Tara Singh Ji that there would be no interference in the management of Sikh gurdwaras. Accordingly, the

Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee was constituted under an Act enacted during British rule, an Act that was achieved through immense sacrifice, with people shedding blood and facing bullets to their chests. That very Act was undermined when a separate committee was constituted in Haryana, thereby weakening its sanctity. They speak of secularism, yet our committee was fragmented. The riparian law is recognised across the world and is accepted within the country as well. However, during the Emergency, when our leaders including Badal Sahib, Tohra Sahib and many of us were imprisoned, this riparian principle was violated and water was unjustly distributed.

What happened in 1984? In 1984, thousands of unarmed Sikhs, innocent people, were brutally killed, and our Darbar Sahib was attacked with artillery and tanks. At the very sanctum where the Guru is manifest, about which Guru Gobind Singh Ji had proclaimed, “Guru Maneyo Granth”, meaning that the Guru Granth Sahib is to be regarded as the eternal Guru of all Sikhs, bullets were fired at that sacred place. The Darbar Sahib is a shrine where the message of Ram is spoken of, where the words of Farid are revered, and where the teachings of noble souls from all faiths are honoured. It is a place where the message is proclaimed that all are equal heirs to this world

and none is an enemy to another, where it is said that the Divine Light created all, that all beings are born of the same Light, and therefore none is superior or inferior. Yet, at such a sacred place, bullets were fired and tanks were deployed. This too was a grave injustice inflicted upon us.

I would like to submit that it was at such a critical juncture that leaders like Master Tara Singh Ji ensured that the border of Pakistan was drawn from Gurugram to Attari. Had our leader Master Tara Singh Ji not stood firm, the border of this country would have been at Gurugram instead of Attari. Could Master Tara Singh Ji not have been honoured with the Bharat Ratna? Could his statue not have been installed in Parliament? Yet, none of this was done. I would also like to place on record that the concepts of civil disobedience and non-violence were articulated in this country at a very early stage by Baba Ram Singh Ji, the leader of the Kuka movement. ...*(Interruptions)*

Where the uprising of 1857 is described as the First War of Independence, in its true sense, it was in 1849 that Baba Sham Singh of Attari blocked the Khyber Pass, the route through which the Mughals used to enter, plunder the country, loot its temples, and violate the honour of its daughters and daughters-in-law. In 1849, Baba Sham Singh of Attari ensured that the Khyber Pass was closed

to the Mughals. That, in reality, was the first war of independence. Keeping in mind the constraints of time, I do not wish to go into its details. I would like to ask whether the Constitution framed by Dr Ambedkar Sahib has been fully honoured. Article 22 of the Constitution deals with the rights of arrested persons. It is true that our Constitution provides rights along with certain limitations. However, when Article 22 was enacted, it was accompanied by the Preventive Detention Act. At that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Ji had stated that he considered such a provision to be undemocratic, but described it as a compulsion, assuring the House that it would not be misused for political purposes. I would like to ask them today whether, when the MISA Act and the TADA Act were enacted, they were not politically misused. During the Emergency, I was the President of Punjabi University. At that time, we prevented Giani Zail Singh from entering the University because students had been killed by gunfire. When the Emergency was imposed, I was still pursuing my studies. After I left the University, I became the first student against whom MISA was invoked. All other leaders were released after nineteen months, but I was released from prison only after twenty-one months. If this does not amount to misuse, then what does? Our leader Prakash Singh Badal Ji has spent the longest period in prison in independent India

and in contemporary politics, a total of seventeen years. If this does not constitute misuse of the law, then what does? Therefore, I would like to submit that Article 45 speaks of compulsory education and the provision of education for fifteen years. In this context, I ask whether the proliferation of public schools and the ICSE and CBSE courses does not create disparities. What is the consequence of this? A distinct class divide is steadily emerging in the country. Be it education or healthcare, today nearly 25 percent increase in poverty is attributable to the high cost of medicines. ...*(Interruptions)* Articles 14 to 18 of the Constitution speak of equality. What Dr B. R. Ambedkar Ji wrote into the Constitution has not been implemented in practice. This situation did not arise overnight. Today, about 67 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, for whom arrangements have been made under food security schemes to provide wheat at the rate of one to two rupees per kilogram. Such measures exist precisely because poverty persists. he economic model that has been pursued has widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. At the time of Independence, we could name only two or three industrial houses such as Tata and Birla. Today, however, there are nearly three hundred billionaires, and about 40 percent of the nation’s wealth has come into the hands of this small group. ...*(Interruptions)* Where, then, is the rest of the country to go?

This growing inequality was never the intent of the constitutional vision. Instead, the widening divide has fuelled disorder and unrest. The serious challenges confronting the nation today arise precisely from this deepening gap.

The Constitution spoke of federalism, but its spirit was reduced to a merely literal interpretation. In practice, the entire taxation system was structured in such a manner that the revenues of the States were collected and retained by the Centre. Over time, this centralisation of resources kept increasing. As a consequence, a sense of mistrust developed among various States, whether Punjab, Assam or Tamil Nadu. Regionalism grew stronger, regional parties emerged, and federalism was not implemented in its true sense. I submit that the intent and spirit of the Constitution makers must be kept in mind, and that genuine financial autonomy for the States is essential. In this context, I would like to thank Hon. Narendra Modi Ji for introducing cooperative federalism and for increasing the States' share in funds from 32 percent to 42 percent. However, there is a need to increase this further, because unless the States are granted real financial autonomy, the country cannot progress. It is for the State Governments to build roads, schools and hospitals, because the Centre cannot know in detail how a road should be constructed, where a

school is required, or where a hospital is most needed. Everything was brought under one grip and excessively centralised, as a result of which the States were weakened. If we truly wish to strengthen the nation today, I submit, Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, and I know you share this perspective, that this matter deserves careful consideration. When the States are strong, the country becomes strong. If the limbs of the body are weak, what will become of the body itself? Therefore, we firmly believe that unless genuine financial autonomy is ensured for the States, the country will not be able to move forward.

I submit that the discussion which has begun today should be held in every Session of Parliament. Constitution Day ought to be observed in the same manner as on this occasion, with at least two days in every Session devoted to it, so that smaller parties are also given a fair opportunity to place their views on record. At present, there is a clear imbalance. Larger parties, owing to their numerical strength, are able to take up most of the time and place their views at length, while smaller parties are left unheard. This creates a form of monopoly, which is not in keeping with the spirit of this Parliament envisioned by Dr B. R. Ambedkar Ji. This House should also reflect the philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev Ji, who taught that one must learn to listen as well as to speak. Too often, we are reduced merely to

listeners, while the larger parties dominate the discourse. Kharge Ji may not agree, but interventions are made on almost every issue. ...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, I would like to urge that a system be evolved where Members from smaller parties can also effectively express their views. Secondly, as was mentioned earlier today, any individual who commits oppression or injustice in this country, even to the extent of firing upon sacred places, must be held accountable under the law. If human laws fail to deliver justice, then justice will surely be delivered by the Almighty, in whatever manner He deems fit. ...*(Interruptions)*

I shall conclude by making one final submission. To implement the Constitution in the true spirit in which it was framed by its makers, what this country requires above all is honesty and sincerity. It cannot be a matter of delivering speeches while practising something entirely different. At times, there is talk of secularism, at other times of granting rights to Scheduled Castes, or of fighting corruption, yet it often appears as though the guilty are accusing others, much like a thief rebuking the watchman. Those who have themselves been responsible for wrongdoing seek to place the blame on others. Therefore, if we conduct our deliberations in this House with honesty and take decisions with sincerity, I firmly believe that the country can

move forward. In doing so, we would also bring satisfaction and joy to the souls of our Constitution makers. Thank you.

******SHRI DHARMENDRA YADAV (BADAUN):** Today, our Constitution has completed sixty-five years of being in operation, and when we assess these past years, we can undoubtedly take pride in our nation, our Constitution, and the manner in which it has functioned. At such a moment, it is incumbent upon us to recall the invaluable contributions of the architects of this unique and remarkable Constitution. I pay my respectful salutations to all those great personalities who made commendable contributions to the framing of the Constitution, including Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I also offer my floral tribute on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, a symbol of social justice and a towering figure who played a pivotal role in shaping our glorious history and in the making of the Constitution.

As the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee, Dr Ambedkar played an extraordinary role in the framing of the Constitution through tireless effort, without any concern for his failing health. For this unparalleled contribution to the making of the Constitution, the nation shall remain indebted to him forever.

****** Speech was laid on the Table.

Referring to the monumental work carried out by Dr. Ambedkar, the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, had observed, “The Drafting Committee and its Chairperson, Dr Ambedkar, worked with great enthusiasm and dedication despite being in ill health. The decision we took to include Dr Ambedkar in the Drafting Committee and to appoint him as its Chairperson could not have been a better or more appropriate one. He not only justified the trust reposed in him, but also enhanced the value of the task he undertook through his exceptional contribution.”

For a country as vast and diverse as India, framing a Constitution that would be acceptable to all must have been an extremely difficult and arduous task. Yet, our Constitution makers rose successfully to every challenge. Although more than 100 constitutional amendments have been carried out over the past 65 years, taken as a whole, the Constitution has lived up to our hopes and aspirations. There have, of course, been exceptional phases such as the Emergency, but these arose not because of any inherent shortcomings in the Constitution, but as a consequence of the actions of particular individuals.

The Constitution of India is, without doubt, an unparalleled document. Such a confluence of distinctive features is rarely found in the Constitution of any other country in the world. India is a sovereign,

socialist, secular, democratic republic, in which equal rights and opportunities are guaranteed to all citizens, irrespective of caste, religion, creed, or class.

Here, I wish to express my disagreement with a remark made yesterday by the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs Shri Rajnath Singh. The Hon. Minister stated that the word “secular” is being misused in India and that it should be reviewed. I would like to submit that misuse is possible with anything, and indeed many things are misused. Why single out one word alone? People can misuse their position, office, money, or power, and this often does happen. This is also a matter of perspective. What may appear to be misuse to one person could well be a necessity for another. It ultimately depends on the conscience and outlook of an individual or a political party. To argue that a word is being misused and therefore should be removed from the Preamble is wholly illogical and unjustified.

The word “secular” not only confers rights upon the minorities of this country, but also serves as a reminder to the majority that this nation belongs equally to all religions and all castes, and that no compromise can be made on this principle. Dr Ambedkar himself, while explaining the concept of secularism, had stated, “A secular State does not mean that we shall disregard the religious sentiments

of the people. It only means that this Parliament does not have the authority to impose any particular religion upon the people of the country. This is the only limitation that the Constitution recognises."

The Hon. Minister of Home Affairs has also expressed certain reservations regarding the word "socialism". Perhaps he has overlooked the fact that the very foundation of our Constitution rests upon the principle of socialism. Dr. Ambedkar had stated that social and economic democracy are the tissue and nerve of political democracy. The stronger the tissue and nerve, the greater is the strength of the body. He observed that democracy is another name for equality, and that where social and economic democracy do not exist, political democracy cannot succeed. In the light of this clear exposition by Dr. Ambedkar, is there any need to say more on this issue? Is there really any scope for debate on this matter?

Yesterday, the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs made a remark, by way of a jibe, in reference to a talented and distinguished artist of this country, stating that Dr. Ambedkar endured immense hardship and humiliation in his life, yet never spoke of leaving the country. I would like to remind him that while Dr Ambedkar did not leave the nation, he did leave the Hindu religion due to the entrenched discrimination and social evils prevailing within Hindu society, and

chose to embrace Buddhism instead. Does this not indicate the depth of anguish and bitterness he felt towards the social order of the time, for which society itself was responsible? Yet, despite his personal anguish, Dr. Ambedkar never lost sight of the national interest and remained unwaveringly committed to the cause of the nation.

In conclusion, I once again bow in reverence to the makers of the Constitution for their vision and foresight in giving the nation this exceptional document. I also express the hope that all of us will rise above partisan interests and continue to draw guidance and inspiration from the Constitution at all times, in the larger interest of the country and the advancement of society.

[English]

†††††***SHRI T. G. VENKATESH BABU (CHENNAI NORTH):** To commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar and the acceptance of the draft Constitution on November 26th of 1949, this House is to discuss about our commitment to the constitution. As a part of it, I feel privileged to place this small speech on the Table.

The spirit of our Constitution was that it has the imprint of the struggle for independence. But that spirit was evasive rendering the constitution complex, unGandhian and a borrowed one. Our Constitution was amalgamation of the then existing American and British Constitutions.

The preamble of the Constitution comprises of three words: liberty, equality and fraternity. Now, after 65 years, the Constitution can protect neither of these three principles. It is an irony that the Father of our Constitution Dr. Ambedkar was forced to denounce it in 1953, just three years after its implementation. We have to acknowledge the fact, at least now, that he was not independent in framing the Constitution but was subjected to so many pulls and

†††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

pressures from the Members of Constituent Assembly and also from outsiders.

His strident efforts to rationalize the Hindu Code Bill was thwarted with stiff opposition from the majority congressmen. Even Pandit Nehru who was his ardent supporter ditched him in this. As a result, Ambedkar was only partly successful in providing affirmative action as inscribed by him in the Constitution. But his hands were tied and he became a prisoner of the circumstance. With all his knowledge and benevolence, he could only reproduce verbatim most of the portion of the most regressive Government of India Act 1955 enacted by the British rulers to enable the enslavement of India for ever.

Most of the lofty ideals and requirements of the elite, viz. Ownership rights of property, freedom of expression etc. were incorporated under the fundamental rights of Part III of the Constitution which is an ultimate protection, whereas, the livelihood issues of the common man, viz. right to equitable distribution of wealth and resources, the social and economic parity, right to dignity, right to education, right to employment, right to safe drinking water and sanitation, etc. were placed under the Directive Principle of state policy, which is not mandated and protected.

There is no commitment to implement the ideals drawn in the Directive Principle. No time frame has been provided for their implementation.

Nevertheless, India is declared by the Constitution to be sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic. On 68th year of our Independence, everybody here will agree that Indian state is neither sovereign, neither socialist, neither secular nor democratic. Dr. Ambedkar was wise enough to say that the Constitution does not suffer for want of its implementation alone, but also due to its fallacy.

Questioned on the constitutional commitment to socialism, our former Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi replied that we had our own band of socialism. Pathetically, her followers had formulated a new band of socialism, in which, the common man has no protection, whatsoever.

The Principle of federalism is designed by the Constitution to achieve some degree of political integration of self-rule and shared rule, similar to the provincial autonomy ensured under 1935 Act. Nothing more than that. Federalism was disapproved by most members of the constituent assembly. So, it was not placed on par with sovereignty, socialism, secularism and democracy.

Though the Constitution defines Indian state as the Union of States, conversely, it enables the federalism to be transformed into a unitary state. Though dual polity between the Centre and the States is enshrined in the Constitution, the division of powers between the Centre and the States has unitary bias. The Legislative powers are distributed in 3 lists viz, the Centre, the States and concurrent and the residual subjects are left with the Centre. Even in matters within the concurrent list, the Centre has the final say.

At this point to wish to quote a part of the lecture delivered by our Prime Minister recently in London. "Diversity is our pride and strength, specially of India. Despite being home to diverse religions, over 100 languages and 1500 dialects, India has shown to the world how to live together".

The objective resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru himself on the floor of the Constituent Assembly while concretizing the objectives of the Constitution spelt out the diversity and plurality as objectives for the review of the Constitution. But the thrust in the Constitution is on homogeneity, uniformity and unity.

As a result, the powers of the States are constantly eroded by both the main stream parties. The Centre-State relation is a constant irritant.

Given the ascendancy of the regional parties and obliteration of the national parties from the state politics, it is an urgent requirement for the Indian Constitution to move towards a true federalism, lest the unity of our country is not subverted.

Even in foreign affairs, the States have to be consulted to arrive at a consensus on issues pertaining to a particular State. I would like to draw your attention of ceding of Kachchativu Island to Sri Lanka in 1976 by the Congress Government against the wishes of Tamil people, which is still a perennial problem, fought legally by the State. So the constitution has to be reviewed and rewritten to incorporate federalism as the fundamental principle.

The language policy as enshrined in the Constitution is similarly misplaced. India, from time immemorial, had no common language understandable to every citizen. So, codifying Hindi alone as the official language is divisionary. Hindi spoken by the majority Indian may have the potential to replace English as the link language in the longer run, but at present, to keep the unitary character of India, all the 22 languages in the 8th schedule of the Constitution have to be recognized as official language.

The confusing clauses in the Constitution, as regards to the powers of the state and judiciary has created much acrimony. Here also, the Constitution requires a course correction.

With regard to the common civil code, which is mandated by Article 44 of the Constitution and repeatedly emphasized by the Apex Court in its various pronouncements including the latest one, it is unilaterally spoken with respect to Muslim personal law only. Certainly the personal laws of all the religions have to be modified to ensure the welfare and hereditary rights of women, in particular, with regard to the succession laws.

Though Article 25 guarantees religious freedom, Article 44 divests religions from personal laws. The personal laws can't go against the human rights and basic structure of the Constitution. Not only the practices of Triple Talak, polygamy, maintenance as endorsed by the Muslim personal law go against justice and fundamental rights of the people, the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, which was amended in 2005 is still violative of the rights of women. The rights of Hindu women to fully inherit the ancestral property under the modified Hindu undivided family rules are broadly restricted by the recent Supreme Court judgment.

Hence, all the personal laws have to be subjected to changes and should be subservient to the basic structure of the Constitution, specially with regard to the laws on marriages, divorces, adoption, inheritance of property, etc, etc.

With regards to cow slaughter, which has become a bone of contention recently, the interpretation of Article 48 of the constitution led to lots of debates and controversies. It is to be placed on record that Dr. Ambedkar was firmly against the cow slaughter. Cow slaughter cannot be viewed as a mere religious issue. The economy of it is also to be discussed.

Though this Government will not accept that it is no tolerant enough to deal with the dissent voices, the public opinion is mobilized against it. Hence the Government has to look into this and make necessary amends.

Though Article 51 A of our Constitution emphasizes that it shall be the fundamental duty of every citizen to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the Constitution cannot be treated to be sacrosanct. In the fast moving world, everything has to be subjected to the Law of Change, which only is permanent. The Constitution itself provides for amendments.

In this respect, Justice Venkatachalaiah Committee's recommendations on the review of the Constitution submitted are to be discussed vividly and thoroughly, before arriving at any concrete changes. This is the need of the hour.

‡‡‡‡‡*__DR. RATNA DE (NAG) (HOOGHLY):__ At the outset, I pay my homage to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of India. Dr. Ambedkar was not a simple leader of untouchables, not even a leader of oppressed people of India only. He made outstanding contribution as an economist sociologist, anthropologist, educationalist, journalist, policy maker, administrative parliamentarian who became the principle architect of the Indian Constitution. We are celebrating 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

I think it is a very solemn occasion for the country to commit itself to the Constitution. Our Constitution has been appreciated world over for it has a purpose, a soul in order to achieve social and equitable justice. It has stood the test of time in the past 66 years. It has seen change and progress in every sphere. It is difficult to run a country like ours which has multi-cultural and multi-religious milieu.

Though we have made great stride in many spheres, a lot needs to be done. With growing population, our achievements are overshadowed. There is a need to streamline our population policy to move ahead to resolve many ills of our society. We have much to do

‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

in the fields of education and health. The standard and quality of education being imparted in our country is not up to the mark. Likewise, health scenario is not worthy of mention.

Institutions like CAG, CVC, CBC, UGC, UPSC should be made powerful and transparent. These institutions should be delinked from the Government clutches for more transparency and accountability and fairness.

In the 66 years of our Constitution, we have brought about 100 amendments. Some major amendments brought about conceivable changes in our country. For example, the 26th Amendment ensured abolition of privy-purse paid to former rulers of princely states. The 42nd Amendment restored civil liberties post-Emergency. The 1985 amendment (the 52nd Amendment) allowed disqualification of lawmakers in case of defection from one party to another. The 61st amendment lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 with the result young people of our vast country started utilising their voting rights. Not to forget the 86th Amendment which provided the Right to Education till the age of 14 and early childhood care till the age of six. Now, we have 448 articles in 25 parts, 12 schedules and 5 appendices.

There is a need to evolve a consensus politics in the country. With polarization, parties and people are divided. There is a need to bring people together. There is a need to instill nationalism and nation building in the psyche of the people as well as parties. Otherwise, our future is not safe, I am afraid. I hope many of Members agree with my view.

As a medical practitioner, I lay all the emphasis at my command on improving the health of our people. We have to spend more money on improving the health situation of the country. Specific emphasis should be given to the poor and the needy who have no wherewithal to avail the basic health amenities being provided by the Central and State Governments. More and more free medicines and facilities should be extended to disadvantaged and vulnerable sections of society. I would strongly urge all the hon. Members, the Government and the Opposition to work in tandem to resolve all the issues in an amicable way, with the intention of give and take. Only then, I think we can feel proud of 66 years of our Constitution coming into being. I hope the Government of the day, and the Opposition parties comes together to make our country proud, and see a future with no disease, unemployment, good and affordable and quality education to one and

all, housing for all. Then only India will get the highest position in the world.

[Translation]

§§§§§***SHRI SHARAD TRIPATHI (SANT KABIR NAGAR):** On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, while reflecting on our commitment to the Constitution, it is extremely important for all of us to seriously consider what the core spirit of the Indian Constitution truly is, and to what extent, even after sixty-five years of its implementation, we have been able to realise and enforce that core spirit.

The Constitution contains a comprehensive framework for providing various forms of protection to the citizens of this country. Through this, the Constitution clearly aspires to ensure that every citizen of the nation is provided justice in social, economic, and political terms. Similarly, the Constitution of our country is firmly committed to the liberty of citizens, under which freedom of expression, belief, faith, and worship shall be fully safeguarded, and the State shall not interfere in any manner. The State shall continuously strive to maintain equality of opportunity among citizens and to ensure collective development. Along with protecting the dignity of every individual, preserving the unity and integrity of the

§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

nation is also fundamentally enshrined in the Constitution of this country.This is the time to seriously think about whether the 4 main benefits that the constitution had made available to the Indian citizens are reaching all the citizens or not and if there are some shortcomings in it, then we should make efforts to remove those shortcomings, so that the person standing at the last rung of the country can also benefit from the basic spirit of the constitution. Being a member of the country's largest law making body, I am of the clear opinion that law is not a way out but should be a means of conveying the novel objective of the Constitution to the people.

At the same time, it is necessary to seriously reflect on whether the arrangements primarily envisaged in the Constitution for the benefit of Indian citizens are actually reaching all citizens or not. If there are shortcomings in this process, then it becomes our collective responsibility to make sincere efforts to remove those deficiencies, so that the benefits of the core spirit of the Constitution can reach even the last person standing at the end of the line. As a Member of the country’s highest law-making institution, I firmly believe that law is not an end in itself, but a means to convey and realise the noble objectives of the Constitution among the people.

Babasaheb had observed that, “Law and order are the medicine of the political body, and when the political body falls ill, medicine must certainly be administered.” I have complete faith that our Government will not allow the political body of this nation to fall ill, and that whenever and in whatever manner treatment is required, the necessary remedy will be provided under all circumstances. Babasaheb also said, “Until you attain social freedom, whatever freedom the law grants you is of no use.” He further reminded us that, “We are Indians first and last.” Therefore, while framing laws, Members must remain free from all kinds of pressure, whether from pressure groups, bureaucracy, or any other source. Only one consideration should remain foremost in their minds: what impact will the decision have on the last person standing at the end of the line? Will it ensure justice, protection, and equality of opportunity for him or her, or not?

Though we say that we are living in an independent country and that we are a developing nation which may, in the future, enter the category of developed countries, the fact remains that we still have to confront and overcome formidable challenges such as poverty, hunger, violence, inequality, casteism, communalism, and unemployment. Until these evils are eradicated, it will not be possible

to serve citizens in accordance with the core spirit of the Constitution. Even today, nearly three-fourths of the unemployed population of this country resides in rural areas, and the benefits of the nation's growth rate are not reaching these backward regions. Ensuring that the fruits of development reach these areas must, therefore, be our foremost priority.

Today, all of us must rise above partisan politics and reflect on the efforts that need to be undertaken in the future to democratise the resources of this country and to ensure that their benefits reach those who are living below the poverty line. I would like to emphasise in particular that a democracy is not built merely on the foundation of political rights. For a democracy to be meaningful, it is essential that effective arrangements for social and economic equality form its very base. This is precisely the area where we need to focus our efforts today, because the Constitution makers were clear in their understanding that political freedom is not an end in itself. It attains completeness only when everyone is provided equal opportunity for social and economic justice. There can be no denial of the urgent need to adopt such effective democratic measures as will genuinely free every citizen from discrimination based on caste, religion, gender, and other such factors, and provide a dignified and equitable standard of

living. Above all, these measures must bring about a tangible and positive transformation in the lives of the poor.

As the world progresses at a rapid pace, the functioning of the executive is undoubtedly becoming increasingly complex, and the effective oversight of the legislature over it is correspondingly diminishing. On this occasion, we must reflect deeply on what effective and democratic mechanisms can be developed so that the legislature retains meaningful control over the activities of the executive, and so that the full benefit of such accountability not only reaches the common citizen of the country, but is also felt and experienced by them.

The Constitution makers had a clear conception of how the State ought to function. For this purpose, special provision was made in the Constitution for the Directive Principles of State Policy, and it was explicitly laid down that the State, while discharging its functions, must pay due regard to these guiding principles so that the citizens of this country may truly experience the essence of freedom. Even today, while performing our parliamentary duties, we must remain particularly mindful of the need to move closer to the core spirit of the Directive Principles of State Policy.

I strongly endorse the views of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, who held that religion is that which inspires us to move towards liberty, equality, and fraternity, because this has been the essence of our ancient culture. It is on this foundation that we must continue to progress, and we must preserve it under all circumstances, for this alone constitutes our distinctive strength.

[English]

*******SHRI GAURAV GOGOI (KALIABOR):** Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar tried to eliminate social inequality and injustice. He believed in the reform of untouchables through education. He was passionate about the upliftment of depressed classes. Many educational institutions were established in Maharashtra due to his efforts, including Siddharth College and Milind College.

On Caste Dr. Ambedkar held strong views believing that caste inequality was the biggest obstacle in Indian society. He himself converted to Buddhism as an attempt to strengthen the Mahar community against the dominant social and political hierarchy.

Dr. Ambedkar was appointed the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee. According to Ambedkar, democracy means fundamental changes in the social and economic life of people. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one value. The principle of equal opportunity for all citizens and harmony was of utmost importance.

******* Speech was laid on the Table.

In 1951, Dr. Ambedkar established the Finance Commission of India. He opposed income tax for low-income groups. He played an important role in land reform s and State economic development.

[Translation]

††††††***SHRIMATI RITI PATHAK (SIDHI):** Yesterday, during the deliberations of the House, the subject of secularism was raised, a concept we have heard and discussed for many years. Since then, I have been reflecting on its true meaning, dharma combined with nirpeksha. In essence, while the outward forms, practices, and rituals of different religions may differ, the true soul of every religion rests on compassion, kindness, and a deep sense of empathy and fellowship towards all living beings.

The term nirpeksha attached to dharma, in my understanding, is the opposite of sapeksha and signifies being free from conditionality or expectation. To be nirpeksha in relation to dharma does not mean indifference to religion; rather, it means never neglecting the core values of compassion, mercy, affection, and empathy towards all living beings. For instance, if one were to say that national sentiment is nirpeksha, it would clearly not imply a lack of nationalism. Instead, it would mean that one does not treat national feeling selectively or conditionally, but upholds it in an absolute and unbiased manner.

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††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

If secularism has come to be understood as sarva dharma sambhava, that is, equal respect for all religions, then it is entirely appropriate. However, if the literal interpretation of the word "secularism" leads towards the notion of being devoid of religion, then I submit that while sarva dharma sambhava is suitable and acceptable, how can it be equated with being religion-less?

On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar and Constitution Day, I considered it appropriate to place my views on this subject before the House. There are several questions that arise in the minds of new Members like us, and we look to the Hon. senior Members and to this august House for guidance, with the expectation that our thinking on such important issues will be directed along the right path.

The Constitution framed for this nation by Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar informs us of our rights as well as our duties. I take pride in this and bow in reverence to all those great personalities who were members of the Constituent Assembly and who, in order to keep the soul of India alive, secured for us the right to our Indian identity.

I thank the Hon. Prime Minister for ensuring that, for the first time, 26 November has been observed in this House as Constitution Day and that two days have been set aside for discussion on this occasion.

I pay my respectful tribute to Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

[English]

‡‡‡‡‡‡***SHRI D. K. SURESH (BANGALORE RURAL):** "We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all citizens." When we hear these familiar words, only one thing comes to our minds 'the INDIAN constitution'. These are the very first words of the Preamble. The commencement of our constitution marked the beginning of an independent India. Drafted by the Drafting Committee headed by B. R. Ambedkar, this Sovereign document is the largest and the lengthiest constitution in the world with 395 articles and 12 schedules. The Constituent Assembly was believed to be the representation of the will of the people. The words 'We the people' signifies that it was a document given by the people, to the people and for the people.

Today, in the 21st century can we say that the real power to govern this country is vested in its people? But the question that often arises is, does the constitution in true terms express the will of the people or is has it just become a tool in the hands of some people? Are the people of India in real terms assured of Justice, liberty, equality

‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

and fraternity? Is the common man today receiving justice? Does equality really prevail? Is Liberty being exercised by all today?

In the wake of the changing times in the Indian society a constitutional review is highly required. The constitution, though a very impressive piece, has failed in some respects. I wish to express my opinion on the need of an overhaul in our constitution.

The preamble says that we are a Democratic Republic. What does democracy mean to all of us? To define it in a layman's language Democracy means that the power is in the hands of the people to decide how and by whom the country is run. But today does the real power lie in the hands of the people as it was believed when the constitution was applied? It is no more 'by and for the people'.

One of the biggest flaws of our constitution is the never-ending length due to the tough language in which it has been drafted. Being the sovereign document of our country it should have been drafted in a language easily comprehendible by the citizens. But unfortunately the legal terms used can hardly be understood by the common man.

Securing justice to all — social, economical and political, is one of the chief aims of our constitution. But this has hardly been actually put into action. Our judicial system which is responsible to provide

justice to each and every individual is one of our slowest systems. Today we have at least 10,000 cases per day pending for each judge in Indian courts. It is at least ten times higher than the prescribed number. Even the fast track courts take 3-4 years to solve cases; the term ‘fast track court’ thus fails the purpose. Besides the procedure to approach the courts is so tedious that a poor farmer ends up selling his land, the only source of his livelihood, to pay so that he can get his rights back. Thousands of under-trial prisoners are still in jail, living in inhuman conditions and are being denied basic rights of living.

The fundamental rights under part III of our constitution too need to include many of those rights that have developed over a history of various judicial pronouncements. These rights though not really stated in part III have been recognized as fundamental in nature and are better known as ‘implied fundamental rights’. Right to food, right to privacy, right to livelihood, right to clean potable drinking water, right to fresh and clean environment, right to be silent, right to speedy justice etc. These rights need to be added in chapter III as they are equally important in today’s time for every Indian.

At the same time I feel that the framers of our constitution gave more importance to fundamental rights than to the fundamental duties. Rights and duties are the two sides of the same coin. A right given to

one person prevents another person from violating it thereby imposing a duty on him. Today everyone only wants to enjoy the benefits of the rights and no one lays importance on fulfilling their duties towards the society, country, environment and other human beings.

As far as the directive principles of the state policy are concerned, they too are not satisfactory since no strict implementation is practiced. These are those principles which the state has to keep in mind while making any policies or laws. For example, the equal distribution of material resources is to prevent resources from being concentrated in one or fewer hands. But in reality we have at least 60% of the population still living below the poverty line.

A special provision out to be made regarding population control. In a developing nation like India it is very important to have population control. In the current situation the supply of everything is too low in comparison to the steep increase in demand. Landmass remains the same but the inhabitants are increasing at a very fast pace.

Right to education needs to be given maximum importance. Even though compulsory education has been enforced till the age of 14, majority of Indians remain uneducated. Private schools are too expensive for a poor man to educate his child, and the government

schools' standards are deteriorating year by year. Government schools, the only source of almost-free education to all the children, need to be renovated to provide a healthier environment and teachers with better qualifications so that even a family belonging to the middle class or upper class does not hesitate in sending their children to a government school.

The section 376 of the Indian Penal Code, which deals with the subject of rape, requires many changes. As per the IPC, "rape" has been categorized into different kinds such as Marital rape, Custodial rape, Gang rape etc. Marital rape refers to a rape where the husband commits a rape on his wife & custodial rape occurs in special circumstances by a public servant. I strongly believe any sexual intercourse without a woman's consent amounts to rape then why is there a need to categorize it? Rape in itself is most heinous of the crimes whether committed by the husband, a public servant or a stranger. I think instead of having different punishments for different kinds of rape there should be a uniform punishment.

The Water (prevention and control) Pollution Act has some major defects. With majority of our rivers drying up and the sorry state of Yamuna shows the incompetence of the Act in the present times. The act still talks about wells and streams as being the sources of

water. Wells and streams were the sources of water in ancient times but now we have rivers, lakes, ponds, artificial water bodies which have been totally excluded from the purview of this Act. Shockingly this act does not even define what a 'water pollutant' is. Nor does water table levels and potable water etc. find any place in the Act. Whatever amendments have taken place in this act have only been with respect to the Environment Protection Act. Thus the act is a complete failure in itself.

These are only a few glaring examples of some of our legislations that lack competency and are ineffective in today's fast moving world. There are many many more. But what is important is that these reforms should start immediately. Running away from these problems will only make them pile on one another and make them even bigger. India is still a developing nation and if we have to shift from the agrarian economy, I would say it is time that we adopt the reformative approach and make the legislations more dynamic in nature. We need more participation of the citizens in bringing about these changes. All this is necessary because we need a clearer picture of our future.

§§§§§§***SHRI PRASANNA KUMAR PATASANI (BHUBANESWAR):** The Constitution of India came in to existence from the date when it had a shape and was in the form of presentation on 26th day of November, 1949. Since then, we have this holy book for the nation on various rights and laws and enactments in our country India. We observe the Law Day at our Hon. Supreme Court of India on 26th November. As a lawyer, I do feel proud for observation of this Law Day every year in Supreme Court and now we are debating on Constitution day.

On this, here, I must say that Indian Constitution cannot be seen only as a holy book for the nation but as a great work book which we have got because of our people's hard work and utmost dedication by the genius and great leaders of those years. Our Constitution as a whole has given effect to such an wonderful epic today after various amendments. Possibly this will continue alike the holy book of Koran, Bible or Srimad Bhagwat Gita which are there for hundreds and thousands of years. Our country, India has ever been preached as the nation of sadhus and sants, that is Saints. The nation spreads from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and Mumbai to Bhubaneswar from where I

§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

belong to, when we talk about India we never forget about its geographical position. Despite variety of languages and weather today, we are one possibly because of the calm and peaceful areas in India. This land has not only produced the brilliant people of the world but it is also ever praised for its art, culture, language and heritage. The Language like Sanskrit goes back to as long as for about ten thousand years. My own mother tongue Odia is a language having its history of more than two thousand years.

In the past, we have ever united and divided on various counts. This Country witnessed hundreds of kings of various dynasties immediately after its release from Britishers. In spite of the above, we could unite ourselves not because of the individuals' leaderships but because of the divine powers which were eternal and within us.

Sense of belongingness, sense of unity was ever felt immediately after the independence of this country in the year 1947. This Country as a whole witnessed a large scale massacre immediately after independence because of a large division of people on account of religions. We have always advocated for the true Indianness and believed on the secularism, but for which we had, at the same time, this noble and holy book there with us. We require to have further and great changes looking at the mammoth tasks and strict laws upon

increase of population by about five times from the date of its implementation in 1950s till date in the year 2015.

On the Constitution Day we require to have a great observation and oath and pledge for the nation by our fellow citizens.

********DR. KULMANI SAMAL (JAGATSINGHPUR):** Before shedding my views, I would like to salute the wisdom and foresight of the Constitution makers led by Dr. Bhimrao Baba Saheb Ambedkar for the wonderful peace of document that enshrined fundamental values and aspirations of the people. Constitution is a special legal sanctity, consisting of the basic governing principles of the state where the powers and duties of the state organizational framework and the principle functions of the organs of the government as well as of the nation are described. The source of all peoples' and organisations' power, duties and rights are enshrined therein. It is rightly said that the constitution is the supreme law of our land which cannot be superseded even by the Government, since it is an Umbrella Legislation in itself.

So my point of view is that in a democratic society where various groups of people having different cultures want to stay together and share views with each other in a positive manner, it is necessary to follow certain rules and procedures in order to maintain unity among themselves. India, our motherland is a glaring example in this regard. Here, our predecessors documented the Constitution which has not

******** Speech was laid on the Table.

only made the citizens of this country to follow the rules and procedures rather it has posed a moral commitment to establish the Government to execute the path of development of nation smoothly and peacefully through the letters of the Constitution. This is the most important reason because of which we are united in spite of having a lot of diversities. The Constitution in a healthy democracy provides an enabling framework for the Government as well as for the people to do certain positive things to meet the aspirations and goals of all the sections, whether rich or poor of our society.

I would like to state that our Constitution is unique as we have borrowed the ideas from many countries since we are deeply entrenched with inequalities of various kinds. The adoption of ideas from different sources has consequently made us enable and empower to take positive measures to overcome the problems caused by diversities. Simply we can imagine the situation of a country where there is no legal document on Rules and Procedures to run the Government or to rule the people. In the same way we can also visualize the situation of not following the ideas enshrined in the Constitution either by the Government or by the people. So I can say that our Constitution is the watchdog of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity which subsequently ensures certain fundamental rights to

the citizens and formulates the Directive Principles according to which the democratic set up of the Government runs. As many states in our country are under one union, we describe our Constitution as the happy blending of the unitary and federal structure and hence it is expected to have good cooperation and coordination among all the States and between the State/States and the Country as well. Our Constitution has also clearly outlined the limits of functioning of the executive, legislature and the judiciary. It appropriately prescribes the framework within which the State has to manage to function and the basic structure of the setup is supposed to be sacrosant. Any violation or deviation which goes against the principle is unthinkable and whenever violation or deviation takes place, it creates a lot of disturbances in every segments of society.

As we all are aware, the Constitution provides for 'equal rights' through different provisions. For example, under Article 14, the Constitution ensures equality before law and equal protection of law. Equal protection of law suggest that the same law shall apply to all. Article 15 says about the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, creed etc. However, in certain instances, special provisions have been initiated for women and children as well as special protections for groups of citizens who are economically and

socially depressed. We have created these provisions in our Constitution expecting to maintain equality of all the individuals of our Country.

To remain committed to the Constitution especially in India is not at all easy since it is diversified uniquely, though diversification at the other hand has made all of us to understand each other, has made us to be tolerant with each other, has made us to share with each other. So by strengthening the democratic values and democratic traditions in our country, we have to generate conscience and to spread awareness among the people of all religions, sects, castes, languages to stand up against the suppression of civil liberties. We have come across the incidents in our country from time to time where the people of different community and religion have involvement in tussles thereby damaging property and killing each other. Even in certain cases in the past the Government has also failed to show commitment to the words of Constitution. Recently, under the NDA rule in which BJP is the leading party, the sense of insecurity among the minorities and scheduled castes has been felt all over the country since certain Hindu organizations have been using the violent and embarrassing method to dominate over minor religious communities. The trend of supremacy by upper castes has also been evident from the incidents

of violence against the dalits in different parts of the country. The increasing incidents of violence against minorities and weaker sections of our country are not at all the characters of a matured and diversified civilization. So, it is the time we have to make ourselves concerned to wipe out the undemocratic and unconstitutional nature of our society and to rise to the highest level of an established civilization as per the letters and spirit enshrined in our Constitution.

[Translation]

†††††††***SHRI BIDYUT BARAN MAHATO (JAMSHEDPUR):** The 125th birth anniversary year of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the framer of the Indian Constitution was celebrated by the Government on 26 November as the first Constitution Day. The Indian Constitution was accepted on 26th November, 66 years ago on the same day and was officially implemented on 26th January, 1950. To commemorate this occasion, this day is being celebrated as Constitution Day. As our Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi Ji greeted the people of India on the historic occasion of the first Constitution Day, may this day inspire you to know more about our Constitution. He said that this day is a tribute to all the great women and men who worked tirelessly to give India a Constitution. He said, 'Any discussion about the Constitution is not complete unless the contribution of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar is remembered. Come, let us always shatter the ideas and values of our Constitution and build an India that will make our founding ancestors feel proud.

The Constitution of India is a living and active document that has evolved over time. It has been more than six decades since India got

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†††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

independence and 66 years since our republic. In this context, it would be fair to see how much we have succeeded in achieving the goals that we carried. The basic preamble is given at the beginning of the Indian Constitution. It clearly mentions the goals. It is said that India will be made a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic. At the same time, all citizens will be guaranteed social, economic and political justice, thinking, identity, trust, faith and equality of status and opportunity and brotherhood to ensure the prestige of the individual and the unity and integrity of the country.

In the year 1949, on 26 November, Babasaheb Ambedkar stated in the Constituent Assembly that today there is no special purpose in enumerating the merits of this Constitution. However good a Constitution may be, if the people who are entrusted with its implementation are bad, it will prove to be bad. If a Constitution is bad, but the people who implement it are good, even then the Constitution will prove to be good. Therefore, it ultimately depends upon those upon whom the responsibility of implementing the Constitution rests, as to how honestly and effectively they implement the Constitution.

The greatest need of the present time is that we, the people of India, read the Constitution, understand it, and deepen our faith in it.

It is not merely a book; it is a vision of the kind of nation we wish to build after freeing ourselves from British colonialism, that is, from slavery and poverty, and from casteism. I would like to conclude my remarks by reiterating the call given by the Prime Minister. Let us always uphold the ideas and values of our Constitution and build an India of which our founding forefathers can feel proud.

[English]

‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI GANAJAN KIRTIKAR (MUMBAI NORTH WEST):__ As we all know, Dr. Ambedkar was viewed as messiah of dalits and downtrodden in India. He was the chief architect of the Indian Constitution.

We should not forget the fact that the then Congress Government did not award Bharat Ratna to Dr. Ambedkar in time. Many political parties use Babasaheb's name only for getting Dalit votes. That should not be the motto of the political parties. They shed crocodile tears on his memory. They are not true to the ideals and philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar. My friends in the Opposition should tell the House what they have done to propagate the ideals and philosophy of Babasaheb.

There was a strong demand from Dalit Community that Marathwada Univeristy, Aurangabad would be renamed as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar University, Aurangabad which was neglected by the then Congress Government in Maharashtra. After violent and prolonged agitation renaming of Babasaheb Ambedkar's name was fulfilled. Then the change occurred.

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‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

Nowadays, there is a tendency among political parties to use the name of Dr. Ambedkar to attract Dalit votes. They should not use Babasaheb's name for political purposes. Instead of doing this, they should follow his teachings and ideology. All political parties, including national political parties profess love towards Babasaheb to get political mileage.

Very recently, the NDA Government finally decided to inaugurate the memorial of Babasaheb at Indu Mills, Mumbai. It was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi. Subsequently, the Government purchased London-based house of Dr. Ambedkar which was also inaugurated recently.

But unfortunately for both the functions, representatives of Shiv Sena and other political parties were ignored. There had been a delay in commissioning the project at Indu Mills because of the petty politics and played by the Congress Party.

I demand from the Government to carry Dr. Ambedkar's photo on future Indian currency notes. This will also be a true tribute to him.

It gives me pleasure to express on behalf of Shiv Sena Party and on my own behalf my deep obeisance to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on the occasion of his 125th Birthday Anniversary.

§§§§§§§***KUMARI SHOBHA KARANDLAJE (UDUPI CHIKMAGALUR):** India salutes Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for his contribution to Constitution of India. He has given voice to voiceless people of India. The reservation policies which are mentioned in the Constitution have really helped downtrodden who are suffering for centuries. But my opinion is that reservation system is helping more the creamy layers of the SC/ST communities who are benefited in reservation system that is not transferred to needy people. An MLA's son become an MLA, an IAS's Officer's son becomes IAS Officer by using reservation quota when will it go to common people whoever benefited by the reservation policies never to again to the areas in which SC/ST people live. Why should a benefited family get reservation again and again?

We should really think on this line.

§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

*********SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH (MAVELIKKARA):** Now our nation is celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of the Architect of Indian Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. As a person who toiled throughout his life for the socio-economic development of the people which he belongs to, fighting against all odds of the society in the early half of the 20th Century, it will be a great tribute to him if we discuss the issues pertaining to the socio-economic development of Dalits and tribes in this house comprehensively, apart from discussing other issues pertaining to Constitution and its upkeeping.

The contributions of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar were sterling not only for the Dalits of India, but for the whole nation. The constitutional safeguards visualized in the Constitution for SC/ST are with an objective to safeguard them from the upper caste chauvinistic elements, to protect them from discrimination, humiliation, for ensuring them education, employment and to enable them to stand in their own feet.

But it is quite unfortunate and a shame that even after 68 years of independence, the attacks against the Dalits and tribes are increasing and social discrimination and gap between the dalits and

********* Speech was laid on the Table.

other caste groups are widening. Are we the law makers who are responsible for this shame or the law implementers are responsible or the civil society is responsible for it.

Normally socio-economic development helps eliminate discrimination. Whereas, in India, social discrimination increases with socio-economic development. As some advertisement says, "It happens only in India".

The atrocities against the Dalits are on the increase, which is never heard before in the history of independent India. Whenever the BJP led NDA government is in power, the atrocities and crime against Dalits, Adivasis and people among the downtrodden societies are on the increase. The upper caste chauvinistic elements have no guilt in unleashing terror in the minds of the Dalits and Adivasis.

Earlier the main culprits indulged in atrocities against Dalits were Upper caste people, but now the OBC groups also are in the forefront in attacking the Dalits. The recent incidents that occurred in Maharashtra in the killing of a Dalit boy for playing caller tune on Babasaheb and the beating of a Dalit girl for falling shadow on a man at Madhya Pradesh are classic example of new found resurgence of atrocities on Dalits by OBC groups.

Do the OBC people have sanskritised as upper caste and feeling that Dalits are not eligible to live in the society? Did they become Brahminical that they can do whatever they want? Or because they think that now the country is ruled by an OBC Prime Minister and we can do whatever we want and nobody will question us?

Recently the killing of two children and family members from dalit community in Haryana has brought shame to the whole nation. It is not the killing which pains the whole nation, the utterance of certain Hon. Ministers that pains us a lot. They are not even giving the status of a stray dog to the dalit. What a shame to the nation!!

Though the atrocities on the Dalits are increasing nobody from the ruling party, BJP voiced their protest against this. Now in India the majority of the MPs are from BJP. More than 75% belongs to BJP. So far did anyone raise the voice against the crime on SC/ST in India?

The atrocities on Dalits are very high and increasing in BJP ruled states like Rajasthan, MP and Maharashtra. The authorities are reluctant to register cases against the culprits and put them behind the bars. The data of Crime Records Bureau and the recent press new says this.

The age old Sutras and Smritis have not treated the Dalits as human beings. Traditionally they are outcastes and the 'Nitisastra" of present rulers are also ruled by the age old Smritis only. The NDA government is trying to bring in the brahminical cult back into effect.

Let me ask one small question? Even though the majority of the SC/ST members in the Lok Sabha belong to BJP, how many MPs from among them are in key positions? How many Cabinet Minister are there? How many MOS from among them? How many SC/ST have been appointed as Governors in your tenure? How many Secretaries to Government from SC/ST appointed so far by the present government? How many persons from SC/ST posted in key positions in the government and PSU?

The 23% of our population belongs to Dalits and Adivasis. But how many percent of the Ministers were from that community? How many percent of Secretary to Government from that community? How many percent of Governors from that Community? How many Chief Ministers from that community in BJP ruled states? The statistics in these cases can't tell a lie, as they are obvious.

BJP has only two Cabinet Ministers from SC/ST. One from SC and one from ST. Two Ministers to represent the 23% of population.

There are 5 cabinet ministers in this government from among Brahmins alone, whereas the total population of Brahmins in India is only 4. 6%. Is it because BJP don't have qualified persons from among Dalits/ST to appoint as Ministers.

Compare this with the UPA rule. UPA has 7cabinet ministers from among dalits including Minister of Home, Railways, etc. The Hon. Speaker of the House also was a Dalit. What I want to substantiate here is that the atrocities against the Dalits now a days is reflection of the general attitude of the Government, the ruling party and the philosophy which governs them.

Hon. Prime Minister exhorts the government to organize year long programmes to celebrate 125th birth year of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. If this announcement is with commitment and conviction the first step should be to give justice to this community in government and in governance. Give them the due share in power. Otherwise the entire announcement will only end up as routine sermons.

If you want to end the atrocities, discrimination and injustice to dalits, mere sermons will not do. Affirmative action is required. Give them their share of power, empower them. As a token of respect to

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, I request the government to appoint as many number of Ministers in government from SC/ST communities according to the percentage of population.

The problem is not only of atrocities against the Dalits, rather it is only one among several other social injustices the community is facing.

Over the years successive governments have introduced so many positive actions for the development of Dalits.

There is a special component for SCs and STs in the plan funds, called SCSP and TSP. Funds are being set apart exclusively in all plan heads for SCP and TSP. it started from 1974 onwards by Smt. Indira Gandhi, one of the greatest visionary leaders of India.

Each and every development department are supposed to utilize these funds only for the benefits of the communities. Still the fate of the Dalits in India remains the same. It is said that if the funds set apart for the development of Dalits and Tribes in India are deposited in their personal accounts, all of them would have been lakhpathis though not crorepathis.

Why the funds are not reaching the Dalits? Who is responsible for this? The issues are many. I am not taking this opportunity to

discuss this issue in detail, since the subject is different. But if we want to ensure the development of Dalits and ensure social democracy and inclusive democracy, then the act of parliament is required to be passed on the implementation of SCSP and TSP funds.

Such an Act, should lay down the legislative framework for planning in all parameters of development, security and social dignity for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

A specific Act with sufficient safeguards will ensure the accelerated development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with emphasis on economic, educational and human development and emancipation, with the goal of promoting equity for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and reducing the gaps between Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other castes.

If the funds set apart are diverted, misappropriated or unutilized the persons responsible should be identified and provisions may be given for the action against the erring officers. Only with a comprehensive legislation on planning, implementing and monitoring of SCSP/TSP schemes, the development disparities among SCs and STs can be solved in our country.

Taking into account of the predicament of the SCSP and STP programmes and to resolve them, UPA Government has taken steps to introduce a bill in the Parliament as per the guidance of Madam Soniaji. Now it is in cold storage of the Government. I strongly urge Government that the bill may be considered now and please introduce and pass the special component plan for the Scheduled Castes and Tribal Sub-Plan for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development Authorities (Planning, Allocation and Utilization of Financial Resources) Act immediately.

I take this occasion to raise another major problem faced by the SC/ST, that is, regarding their promotion in government services. As per the Constitution, the reservation in government jobs for SC/ST is guaranteed during entry in services. Whereas, there is no uniform norms which governs reservation in promotion to the employees belongs to SC/ST communities. Several State Governments are ensuring promotion to Dalit officers, but it is not enforced constitutionally and hence the defaults are not being seriously viewed.

The employees and officers from SC/ST communities are deprived of their promotions due the apathy of bureaucracy. The mere reason that they are born in SC/ST community, these employees are getting only step motherly treatment. The senior officers very seldom

give the Dalit officers high grades enabling them to get promotions. The Dalit Officers are often ill-treated on caste grounds.

The UPA government had introduced the bill to ensure reservation in promotion to Dalit officers and passed in the Rajya Sabha, whereas it was defeated in Lok Sabha.

The effort of State Governments to ensure reservation of Dalits in promotion is jeopardized due to interventions of various courts. Since there is no clear Law enacted by Parliament on reservation in promotion, the intervention by Hon. Courts are bound to happen.

Recently the hon. Patna High Court has set aside a state Government resolution that provided for reservation with consequential seniority in promotions to government employees belonging to SC/ST categories.

We need to ensure justice to the employees from Dalit communities. The age old discrimination should be stopped. The social discrimination towards the dalits is not ornamental for a nation thriving to be wealthiest, modern and socially developed one. Mainstreaming dalits by all means is required for peace, amity and development.

I request the Central Government to reintroduce and pass the Bill for ensuring reservation in promotion to SC/ST employees in Lok Sabha at the earliest and ensure natural and social justice to the deprived communities.

A Central Act to streamline SCSP/TSP programmes and an Act for the reservation in promotion of SC/ST officers is a precondition for elimination of atrocities against the Dalits. They will bring in faster development and reduces development disparities which may positively impact on social discrimination.

By law we have abolished untouchability. But now the Dalits are getting beaten for falling shadow on a caste Hindu. Recently at village Ganeshpura in Chattarpur in Madhya Pradesh a dalit girl was beaten up by higher caste women after the victim's shadow fell on a muscleman belonging to their family. And that too, when the girl was fetching water from the village hand pump. The news says that it is with great difficulty that the victims got the case registered in the police station.

In Ansurda Village, Osmanabad in Maharashtra, 13 families are facing boycott, that they are forced to relocate from their village. The reason the Dalits took out a procession to mark the birth anniversary

of Babasaheb Ambedkar and played a song praising him. They are not allowed to drink water from public taps and their cattle were barred from grazing in the village. Shopkeepers are asked not to give them groceries. Adding to the woes of Dalits, the police has refused to register the case under SC/ST Atrocities Prevention Act.

Again, in Maharashtra, a Dalit youth was brutally killed over Ambedkar ringtone. Reason is that the victims' phone rang a ringtone praising Babasaheb Ambedkar. The assailants, who belonged to the dominant Maratha and OBC communities, ran their bike repeatedly over the victim's body, mutilating it.

While speaking in the Constituent Assembly Babasaheb Ambedkar said and I quote, "Will history repeat itself? It is this thought which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realization of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creed 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 country? I do not know. But this much is certain that if the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost forever. This eventually we must all resolutely guard

against. We must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood".

The situation across the country and atrocities against the Dalits has forced us to fear that the fear of Babasaheb Ambedkar is going to be true. The attack on the Dalits is increasing day by day, especially by caste Hindus. The intolerance level reached to such a height that the high caste groups can't even hear the word Jaibhim or a song on Babasaheb Ambedkar. Will they ask for the change of Indian Constitution as Dr. Ambedkar is the architect of it. ?

Even shadow of a dalit should not touch a non-dalit. Is it not untouchability?

As per Article 17 of the Constitution of India "Untouchability" is abolished. That is when we adopted this Constitution, 65 years back. 12 years before, I was born. In my childhood, on several occasions, I also had the humiliation. Even now our society is not ready to give up this shame, rather it is increasing. Are we not ashamed of it?

We are talking about nationalism. Do the dalits not belong to this nationalistic group? Are they not Indians? Are they migrated along with other migrants? My modesty does not allow me to attack anyone

on the basis of caste or creed. But please remember that there is a limit for everything.

If you are not ready to treat them as human beings, then why trying for Ghar Vapasi? Before doing Ghar Vapasi, please try to understand human values and learn to protect it.

In several states the elected members of local Self Government institutions from among SC/ST are not even allowed to sit in chairs and preside the meetings. There are instances where SC/ST are asked to sit on floor in such meetings.

Offences against the dignity of the dalits and STs are increasing day by day. Many at times it is being done willfully and not by mistake. But law enforcing authorities are not ready to take action against these crimes.

As I have already mentioned earlier, even after we have implemented the POA Act 25 years ago, the attitude of the nation towards the Dalits in our society has not improved, rather worsened as is implicated by introducing a more stringent amendment.

It is not good for the nation. The patience of downtrodden in the country should not be tested. As it is rightly said by Babasaheb Ambedkar, I quote, "These down-trodden 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 struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster". I hope and wish it may not happen.

Now, the development schemes for Dalits also get sidelined. The funds for their development has been curtailed. The SCSP/TSP introduced by Congress government and the allotment of funds according to the percentage of population is under threat. The reduction of funds for social development schemes have affected the development of dalits and tribes. I urge to government that the plan funds for SC/ST development should be according to population.

Article 46 of Directive Principles of the Constitution has ensured reservation policy in employment, which has worked positively towards bringing the dalits and adivasis in the public sector. While the reservations is limited only in the public sector, it has restricted the employment opportunities in the private sector. With constant decrease in the public jobs, there is an immediate need for legislation of reservation in the private sector.

Dalit women have been facing three-fold discrimination in the society, with Caste, class and gender dimensions overshadow their access to development. The Dalit women are also usual target to physical and sexual violence in the society. There should be inclusive policies and effective implementation for ensuring that the Dalit women and girls are protected and guided towards holistic development including education, employment, entrepreneurship and health.

Dalits are often associated with unclean occupations like manual scavenging as well as traditionally forced occupations like devdasi system. The efforts towards abolishing manual scavenging and devdasi system have not found wide appeal in the Indian society. With dalits are often considered for such unclean jobs have blocked their efforts to pursue other jobs. Thus for considerable development of those still involved in manual scavenging and forced occupations like devdasi system, the legislation should be implemented effectively and perpetrators be punished.

With adoption of Sustainable Development Goals in September, national agenda of implementation should focus on the inclusion and participation of the Dalits and Adivasis. With SDGs giving the developmental importance to the excluded and discriminated

communities, the policies should ensure effective and direct engagement of Dalits and Adivasis for real development. With more than 21 crores of Dalits in India, their development should be paramount importance.

The Constitution guaranteed rights and privileges to tribes and dalits should be protected at cost. There should be stringent action to reduce social discrimination and to ensure social equity in the society and that should be the fitting tribute to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the architect of our Constitution.

DR. K. GOPAL (NAGAPATTINAM): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to express my profound thanks and indebtedness to our beloved leader hon. Chief Minister Dr. Amma for giving me an opportunity to speak on behalf of our AIADMK party in this august house.

The topic of discussion 'the commitment to India's Constitution' as a part of 125th Birth Anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is indeed the need of the hour. "Remembering the past and dreaming about the good future while working hard to meet both ends in the present" is an exclusive characteristic of human beings.

This is an occasion to revere and remember the Father of Indian Constitution Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and our commitment to the Constitution of India. It was on the same day (26th November) in 1949 that the 248 members present in the then Constituent Assembly put their assent on the Draft Constitution and got it passed.

Earlier on the 29th of August 1947, the Drafting Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Baba Saheb Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar comprising of eminent personalities like N. Gopalaswamy Aiyangar, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Syed Mohammed Saadulla, K. M. Munshi, B. L. Mitter and D. P. Khaitan. Later N. Madhav Rao

was appointed in B. R. Mitter's place and T. T. Krishnamachari was appointed in the vacancy caused by the death of D. P. Khaitan.

Making of Indian Constitution was a Himalayan task. It required the knowledge of Constitutions of various countries, deep knowledge of law and Justice and a thorough understanding of Indian History and Culture. It took two years eleven months and eighteen days to make the Draft Constitution. The Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar produced such a complete and commendable Constitution which not only succeeded in giving a viable democracy to India but in upholding and maintaining unity in diversity of Indian society and culture.

Today we have assembled here in this august house not merely to shower our lavish praise on the greatness of Baba Saheb and the Constitution of India. We are here to discuss and evaluate the performance of our Governments, both at present and in the past, their commitment to adhere to the constitutional provisions and what is really expected out of the Governments. One pertinent question arises in our minds today is that whether we are doing enough justice to the commitment to the great man and his great work, the Constitution of India. Here comes the time to think and re-think, to do critical analysis of the performances of the Governments, good or bad, lapses and

mistakes made in the past till today and to find a path-breaking solution to the still unsolved problems affecting peace prosperity, progress and development of the Nation.

It is really painful to see various problems in the society which affect the peaceful co-existence, communal harmony. We need to find a solution to the grave problem of intolerance and communal violence. The solution is very much in our Constitution. In this regard the comment of Dr. Ambedkar on 25th November 1949 is remarkable. He said: “The constitution, I offered may be good or bad, it will depend on how the men in office use it.” These words are true, immortal and holds good forever. It means however good a Constitution may be, if the executors fail to deliver, it may be termed as a bad one. Dr. Ambedkar ‘s words are prophetic and that is why, he is considered to be the Modern Manu.

Without doubt Dr. Ambedkar was a great son of India and as the architect of Indian Constitution, his contribution remains unmatched. He stood against untouchability and oppression in the name of caste and class. This has not only immortalised him, but lifted the deprived, the depressed and the down-trodden from the deep pit of discrimination. Though he was intent upon the uplift of the oppressed people, his core focus was very much on the unity, integrity and

glorification of the mother India despite all the contradictions and diversities. He believed that only in unification and not in the disintegration lies the good of all.

The various provisions included in the Constitution stand testimony to ideals and great mind of Dr. Ambedkar. The secular sentiments of the Constitution are refulgent of his liberal and all-assimilative mindset. The posthumous award of Bharat Ratna to him was really most deserved. But no amount of awards or laurels can match his personality, pursuits and performances. The world will remember him as a messiah and as a man of destiny, who designed and defined the destiny of a great nation and its people.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a multifaceted personality. He was a nationalist, jurist, social reformer, philosopher, historian, orator, prolific writer, economist, scholar and a revolutionary leader. To achieve the very best in all these spheres of life is simply outstanding and that too, from an oppressed Dalit family background, in those times, makes him the most remarkable leader India has ever had. The life and achievements of Dr. Ambedkar are worthy of writing with golden letters in the history of the nation and the entire human history.

Notwithstanding the caste discrimination and social injustice, he went on to achieve the best throughout his brilliant and illuminating academic career. Dr. Ambedkar had strongly believed that political independence cannot assure either social solidarity or national integration in the absence of social justice. He propagated that fundamental rights have little meaning to the people in the absence of social democracy.

Dr. Ambedkar was one of the very few Indian statesman-politicians who actively participated in the discussions on constitutional matters from the Monsford Reforms (1919) to the Cabinet Mission (1946) proposals. The Round Table Conference was the landmark in the history of the Indian Constitution. Being invited to discuss on constitutional matters Ambedkar demanded independence and hoped that the people of India would be able to redress their grievances by political power and this political power will come to them under the Swaraj constitution.

At the first session of Round Table Conference, he gave a clear warning to the British Government saying, “I am afraid it is not sufficiently realized that in the present temper of the country, no Constitution will be workable which is not acceptable to the majority of the people. The time when you were to choose and India was to

accept is gone, never to return. Let the consent of the people and not the accident of the logic be the touchstone of your new constitution, if you desire that it should be worked. "

He advocated for a Government which was a responsible Government formed by the representatives of the people. Dr. Ambedkar did not want to impose a constitution on the Indians, but he submitted that the opinion of the people about the manner in which they desired to be governed must be accepted. “The best government rests on the people, and not on the few persons and not on the property, not on the authority but on the free development of public opinion”.

Dr. Ambedkar examined the functioning of a democratic government on the basis of stability and responsibility. As regards the character of the constitution, “it was Federal in form and unitary in spirit.” It established a dual polity with the Union at the Centre and the States at the periphery, each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution.

In his draft Constitution Dr. Ambedkar has advocated for a strong central authority to save minorities from the misrule of majority and also as the centre has the responsibility to work for a

common end and for the general interests of the country as a whole. His concept of Federalism meant that the State was a federation in normalcy, but unitary in emergency. But the ground reality today is that the Union Governments at the Centre are trying to overpower the very federal system of Centre-State relationship. Union Governments whether UPA or NDA try only to crush the rights of the States and try to dominate, destabilize and derail the powers entrusted on the State Governments by the constitution of India.

The Goods and Services Tax (GST) proposed by the Centre is one such danger to the developed and productive states. Our Hon. Chief Minister Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Amma has voiced her concerns about the impact of the proposed GST on the fiscal autonomy of the States and the huge revenue loss it is likely to cause to a manufacturing and net exporting state like Tamil Nadu. Likewise, the Inordinate delay in releasing the Central Sales Tax Compensation is yet another hindrance due to autocracy of the Centre.

The Finance Bill 2013 contains an extremely retrograde, anti-federal provision. Clause 7 of the Bill amended Section 40 of the income Tax Act which has made any levy by a State government by way of privilege fee, license fee, royalty etc., on State Public Sector Undertakings not deductible for the purpose of computation of

income. All such levies are legitimate statutory levies and such were deductible from the income of the State Public Sector Undertakings under section 37 of the income tax act, clause 7 of the Finance Bill 2013 is objectionable because it amounts to an indirect taxation of the income of the State Governments and hence is a violation of the spirit of the Article 289 of the constitution of India.

The National Eligibility Cum Entrance Test (NEET) introduced by the Medical Council of India and Dental Council of India was opposed and objected by our Hon. Chief Minister Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Amma as the NEET for the UG and PG Medical and Dental courses will affect the prospects of Students from rural areas and poorer socio-economic backgrounds and thus will derail the social justice up hold by the Tamil Nadu State by the way of 69% reservation for the SC/ST, MBC and BC candidates. The provisions made in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The Government of India is under an obligation to take measures for the development of these languages, such that "they grow rapidly in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge. Any candidate appearing in an examination conducted for public service at a higher level is entitled to use any of these 20 languages as the medium in which he or she answers the paper. States within India have the liberty

and powers to specify their own official language(s) through legislation

Recently, Our Chief Minister Dr. Amma had raised her voice against announcement of the Centre to celebrate Sanskrit Week celebrations in schools and wrote a letter to Prime Minister stating that it would be appropriate to have organized a ‘Classical Language Week’ in each state based on its linguistic heritage. “Tamil Nadu has a rich cultural heritage based on the ancient Tamil language. There has also been a strong social justice and language movement in the state and an official celebration of ‘Sanskrit week’ in Tamil Nadu is highly inappropriate. She asked the Prime Minister to advise officials to suitably modify the letter to enable each state, to organize celebrations in tune with the language and culture of the state keeping with the cultural and linguistic sensitivities in a diverse country.

These are few instances how an Autocratic Centre could crush the federal rights of the states as per the constitution. What Dr. Ambedkar warned while introducing the draft copy of constitution will certainly happen if the Governments at the Centre continue to try and infringe up on the federal powers of the States duly empowered by the constitution.

When the Constitution Makers framed the Indian Constitution, they gave more importance to the States, knowing full well, the practical problems that the States face. At that time, they also kept in mind the principle of 'Unity in Diversity'. Right from that time, all of them recognized that there was diversity in languages that different people spoke, diversity in culture that people followed and also diversity in food habits. At the same time, they preserved unity, by giving the necessary powers to the States.

During the course of time, one after the other, almost all the powers of the States were taken away by the Centre whichever Party ruled the Centre. Since they monopolized all the powers, what we see today is instead of unity, we are slightly drifting towards unitary States.

The Constitution makers, very thoughtfully, made three Lists - State List, Central List and Concurrent List - and included relevant subjects in each. For example, subjects like education and others were taken out of the State List and included in the Concurrent List, even without consulting the States.

In this connection, I want to make a request that if the Centre really wants to have true federalism and preserve unity in diversity,

whenever any subject is taken out of the State List, the Centre must take the consent of all the States because it would amount to tinkering with the States' rights. In the Concurrent List, even though the States have the right to enact laws, if the Centre enacts a similar one, then the Central Law supersedes the State's Law. So, in such cases, the Centre should take the consent from all the States, and this is our humble request to the Centre.

Presently, Hindi is made the official language of the country. Our request regarding the language issue is this. If the Centre is supporting federalism, then, it should respect all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and make Tamil and all other such languages as "Indian national official languages". Then only, we can say that we have unity in diversity and have national integration. In this connection, I want to remind the House that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Hon. Amma has been insisting, all along, that the Central Government has to accept that Tamil and other languages included in the 8th Schedule, are "Indian national official languages", and the Centre should take earnest steps and make necessary announcement in this regard. I request that the Centre, taking note of this point, should move in this direction and make such an announcement immediately.

On the issue of reservation, I want to tell the House that it was in Tamil Nadu in 1924, when the Justice Party was ruling Madras Presidency, it introduced 'Reservation Policy', for the first time in India, to make reservation for the suppressed and the oppressed.

Dr. Ambedkar observed “Equality of opportunity” as the most important of Fundamental Rights. For him Article 32 is the soul of the Constitution and the very heart of it. To him, fundamental rights would mean establishment of equality and liberty in order to reform our social system. The Directive Principles of State Policy contained the positive obligations of the State towards its citizens. The Directives were meant to ensure social and economic democracy which was secured by the provisions of fundamental rights in a written Constitution.

The Constitution is a dynamic document and it should grow with the growth of the Nation and should suit the changing needs and circumstances. Dr. Ambedkar urged the necessity of amendments to the Constitution. But these amendments should not affect the federal structure and Centre- State relationship which is vital in good governance and administration.

Dr. Ambedkar advocated the abolition of privileges on the basis of caste or class chauvinism and vigorously fought for the liberty, self-respect and dignity of the individual. Dr. Ambedkar incorporated in the Constitution provisions strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and war time. He provided special safeguards to the minorities and certain oppressed classes who are socially and educationally backward. Babasaheb urged the importance of ‘one man, one value’ and ‘one man, one vote’. He worked for securing equal protection of laws for every citizen as also the freedom of profession and equality of opportunity.

In Tamil Nadu we were fortunate to have social reformers of highest order, Thanthai Periyar E. V. R., Arignar Anna, Puratchi Thalaivar Dr. M. G. R who held the principles of social justice and good governance as their two eyes. We are blessed to have the dynamic leader par excellence Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Amma who is the epitome of the three great leaders.

Thanthai Periyar E. V. R. was considered the Ambedkar of the South. He devoted his entire life to fight against caste and class discrimination and to uphold social justice. He worked for the equality and social justice of oppressed people for seven decades. Arignar Anna gave the philosophy of *Kadamai, Kanniyam, Kattuppadu* which

reflects essence of all good principles of our Constitution in a nutshell. Our Party Founder Puratchi Thalaivar Dr. M. G. R, gave new dimension to Tamil Nadu politics and sowed the seeds for the betterment of socio-economic and educational status of the people.

Today the Hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Amma has given her heart and soul for the overall development and upliftment of poor, down-trodden people in Tamil Nadu.

She has introduced numerous innovative projects and schemes for the benefit of the rural and urban poor, down-trodden people particularly women. The political prowess and achievements of our Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Amma are simply unmatched. Her political acumen and administrative skills brought tremendous development in the socio-economic – educational status of poor, down-trodden, oppressed women and minorities in Tamil Nadu.

She is the champion of social justice and women's rights. She fought bravely against evil forces to uphold 69% reservation in education and advocated for a constitutional amendment to ensure that the weaker sections of society to get 69% reservation. For that great achievement she is hailed by the people of Tamil Nadu as 'Brave Leader who saved social justice'.

Women in India face myriad cultural challenges that impede their social advancement. Women throughout the world face systematic gender-based discrimination and are regularly denied the right to life and security of person, recourse to legal rights, health care, education, employment, inheritance, and freedom of movement. During the previous tenures as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Amma introduced a number of novel schemes for women and female children which have won accolades in our Country and abroad.

The flagship schemes of Amma Government are – the Girl Child Protection Scheme; the 4-gram gold coin for the Thirumangalyam (Mangalsutra) and 50,000 rupees grant for the marriage of impoverished women; Widow Remarriage Assistance Scheme; Orphan Girls' Marriage Assistance Scheme; Inter-caste Marriage Assistance Scheme; financial assistance to young destitute girls for pursuing higher education; cradle baby scheme for girl children to prevent infanticide

Amma strongly condemned all kinds of crimes perpetrated against women and sought to improve their livelihood opportunities so that they are empowered financially and socially, in order to stand up against any injustice meted out to them.

Women Self-help Groups, formed by Amma Government, have emerged as an indomitable force that has transformed the status of women, and liberated them from discriminatory codes and cultural stigma. This is only the beginning - the best is yet to come.

The establishment of All-Women Police Stations was pioneered by Amma Government in 1992 was specifically aimed at tackling and giving an impetus to investigation in crimes against women, and to respond swiftly to complaints given by women. It has been a landmark achievement in the path of women empowerment in Tamil Nadu and has set the beacon for other States to follow.

The poor, marginalized and vulnerable live in a parallel world where economic poverty is structurally, politically and socially defined. Amma gave deep thought to this concept, and have been devising Government schemes with pro-poor initiatives and inclusive strategies, to improve their economic well-being. A desire to achieve for people the highest attainable standard of health, adequate housing, education, economic opportunities and social security for a dignified life. It is a collective responsibility to ensure that the cherished constitutional entitlements reach the poorest of the poor.

With great pride we proudly consider our Idaya Deivam Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Amma as the Living Ambedkar. Her far-sighted vision has transformed Tamil Nadu into number one State where people could live healthy, wealth, happy life with peaceful co-existence and communal harmony.

Before I conclude, it is high time for all of us here to take a pledge to fulfil the dream, vision and mission of Dr. Ambedkar and meticulously follow the ideals in his immortal work, the Constitution of India.

SHRI A. P. JITHENDER REDDY (MAHABUBNAGAR): Sir, a very important debate is going on in the Lok Sabha… (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is all right. Nothing would go on record.

… (*Interruptions*). . . †††††††*

†††††††* Not recorded.

[Translation]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__DR. SUNIL BALIRAM GAIKWAD (LATUR):__ When the British agreed to leave India and the process was initiated, the issue of a constitutional settlement was raised prior to that. The British considered it necessary to ensure that, after the transfer of power, a democratic system alone would be implemented in India. Throughout this entire process, Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar played a pivotal role.

The Constitution of India was adopted on 26 November 1949. What does a Constitution signify? Perhaps at that time the people of India were not fully aware of its meaning, but the importance of a Constitution had already been firmly established in the world.

A Constitution, in essence, guarantees human rights to a group of people who aspire to form a nation, and under it establishes a framework of liberty, fraternity, justice, and equality for the people. It grants equal rights to all human beings and also declares discrimination among human beings to be an offence. After 1950, nearly 50 countries across the world framed their Constitutions, and India was the first among them. However, it is also necessary to clarify that there is no direct connection between the freedom movement and

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

the Constitution of India. These are two separate events. When the Simon Commission arrived in India in the year 1928, the issue of a constitutional settlement was raised, because India was a divided country, fragmented into numerous castes, religions, customs, communities, and regions. Both the British and the people of India were aware of this reality. Through the making of the Constitution, an attempt was made to transform this scattered collection of communities into a nation. However, how far India has succeeded in this endeavour remains a matter of serious debate.

The British considered it necessary to ensure that, after the transfer of power, only a democratic system would be implemented in India. Throughout this entire process, Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar played a pivotal role. If we examine Babasaheb's life in its entirety, it becomes evident how deeply serious he was about the question of a constitutional settlement.

Babasaheb was consistently active in addressing the question of how a constitutional settlement should take place in India. He firmly believed that a social revolution in the country could be sustainable only when it was backed by constitutional guarantees, because he sought to establish equality in the nation through the Constitution. He was fully aware that there should be no compulsion to perform any

work, nor any prohibition from doing so, on the basis of caste or birth. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wished to eliminate these practices through the Constitution. He desired that inequality should be eradicated from India and replaced with equality through constitutional means, and that people should be assured of their Fundamental Rights with firm guarantees. At a time when a social revolution was taking shape in India, the country was simultaneously attaining freedom from British colonial rule. Constitutionally, the moment had arrived to abolish laws framed under systems such as caste and varna in India. Through the efforts of Sahu Maharaj, Jyotiba Phule, Narayana Guru, and Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, a social revolution had emerged in the country. That revolution required a distinct identity. Under these circumstances, India needed a Constitution. The people of India needed a Constitution because they had to be forged into a nation. Several committees were constituted for the framing of the Constitution. Among these, Babasaheb was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and a Member of the Advisory Committee, the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee, the Minorities Committee, and the Union Constitution Committee. The vision of the United Nations is of a world marked by equality, fraternity, unity, and the eradication

of the problems faced by women and Dalits. However, this vision cannot be realised unless the problems of India itself are resolved.

If the world is to be freed from inequality, lack of fraternity, poverty, hunger, and illiteracy, and if the world is to be made a humane place, then the Constitution of India must be implemented properly in India. The dream that people across the world have envisioned cannot be fulfilled unless the Constitution of India succeeds. It is the success of the Constitution of India alone that is capable of guiding the world on the path to success.

[English]

§§§§§§§§*__SHRIMATI PRATIMA MONDAL (JAYANAGAR):__ India gained the status of free and sovereign on August 15, 1947 after a long struggle and countless sacrifices. It adopted the Constitution on November 26, 1949 which came into force on January 26, 1950. It is often considered as one of the gigantic constitutions in the world which establishes a democratic state having 370 articles, 10 schedules in over 300 pages. Under this Constitution citizenship is single notional. No State citizenship is allowed unlike the case in the United States.

As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambedkar argued that the Constitution needed to be "both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In his speech to the Constituent Assembly while presenting the draft constitution in 1949 where he explicitly notes that the constitution was designed to maintain the unity of India, in short, to hold it together.

The text prepared by Dr. Ambedkar offered a vide range of constitutional safeguards and guarantees to all citizens for instance, socio-economic rights, civil liberties, freedom of religion, the

§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

abolition of untouchability and prohibition of all forms of discrimination among others. Dr. Ambedkar was the man who borne the responsibility to fight against the untouchability and exploitation based on Hindu Caste System and struggled for the untouchables rights carved for them a place in the Republican constitution of India. Though he managed to include certain provisions in the constitution of India for empowering lower castes but the fact was very much known to him that establishing equal human and civil rights for depressed classes was not sufficient in ensuring justice and welfare to them unless it would be accompanied by the legal provisions and safeguards to uphold those rights in the case of its violation and denial. Law, therefore, should provide remedies against the invasion of Indian fundamental rights. He said in the Constituent Assembly that all of us are aware that rights are nothing unless remedies are provided whereby people can seek to obtain redress when rights were invaded. Article 32 provides the right to all citizens of the country to approach the Supreme Court, if their fundamental rights and constitutional privileges are violated by any State institution or individual. This is perhaps why Dr. Ambedkar considered this provision as the very soul of the Constitution and the very heart of it. It is important to note, the

Supreme Court later has declared Article 32 is a part of basic structure of the Constitution.

He also suggested safeguards for the minorities are vital. In democracy, minorities must feel safe. He noted that the suppression and exploitation of minorities in any form is the negation of democracy to humanism. If suppression is not stopped, then democracy degenerates into tyranny. Therefore, he gave so much importance to education. He believes that education is essential to moralize and socialize the individuals, especially the backward classes to have a cognizance of self. Article 46 further, as argued earlier, emphasis his vision which directs the State to take steps to promote education of the weaker sections of the society.

The credit goes to Dr. Ambedkar for the illiteracy programmes and free education up to matriculation guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. He raised the voice of those who had been long remained unheard and had an intense commitment for the social cause and upliftment of deprived and downtrodden sections of society. Indian Constitution does incorporate the social and political philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar which is most noticeably evident in the various provisions of the Constitution. The Preamble, Part III, IV and XVI among others are determined to establish a just society by upholding

the concepts of liberty, equality, fraternity and safeguarding the unity of the country. There all three principles got significant place in the preamble of Constitution.

Most importantly Article 17 is unique in the sense that it has given a blow to the century old practice of untouchability. It reflects the spirit of the constitution's determination to restore the dignity of the individual and assure fraternity. Untouchability is not only prohibited but it is made punishable by law. Part IV also reflects the conceptualization of Dr. Ambedkar on democracy that is to say, a political democracy should be accompanied with the social and police democracy. He expressed the view that the untouchables can not develop if they don't get reservation in the service in the legislature in proportion to their relation. He argued that the social, political and economic upliftment of the untouchables is not possible simply by making provision and passing motions.

In this regard, it is also pertinent to note William Darity's Comparative estimation when he wrote, "it is Ambedkar's intellectual and political contributions that lie at the heart of the development of the reservation policy that prevails in India to this day".

**********SHRI MALYADRI SRIRAM (BAPATLA):** It is great honour for me to express my views on this auspicious occasion of Constitution Day and during the 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. I am grateful to Hon. Speaker for giving me this honour.

Dr. Babasaheb B. R. Ambedkar, the celebrated author of the Constitution of the modern India, is a celebrity in history, who cast a spell on tens of nations of people by his writings and preaching's. He is a political scientist, economist, legal luminary, social reformer, architect of India's Constitution and a leader of men.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is a multifaceted personality. With varied interests, he defies attempts at classification and categorization. But with his singular drive for the uplift of the poor and the weaker sections, he became an inspirational figure during his lifetime and a national icon in the decades thence.

Not surprisingly, despite his later differences with the Congress, and his opposition to the politics of social hate and communal divides, Ambedkar is now sought to be appropriated by everybody for their political mobilization strategies.

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

He not only preached but also worked hard for the upliftment of the "oppressed and suppressed" millions of the society, including women, who constitutes 50% of the society. He understood fully the problems faced by the women in the society and in order to uplift them from oppression, he tried to introduce the "BILL" giving equal right to them in the property of the family, which was called "SARADHA ACT", unfortunately never seen the light of the day.

Recently the official forum in the AP brought a calendar on Ambedkar with a caption "we are here because he was" which conveys a lot of meaning. There he refers to everyone, not only people like me but also so many others who are present in this august House. It is through his great contribution by way of our constitution the society is safe and secure, compared to our neighbours, excepting a small hiccups here and there.

It is since 60+ years we got freedom from a long and exploitative colonial rule. After 60+years nothing substantial has been done to dalits to liberate from their socio-economic servitude. It is common occurrence today that we notice increasing atrocities on Dalits. They are subjected to age long economic exploitation coupled with social discrimination and cultural oppression. What Dr. Ambedkar said about and did for Dalits is still relevant today.

Buddhism, being very dear to the heart of Ambedkar, was the first progressive thought in Indian philosophy which had a break with Brahmanical system. What impressed Dr. Ambedkar in Buddhism was that it did not promise salvation to humanity as all other religions did. Buddha to Dr. Ambedkar was Marga Data (Path finder) and not Moksha Data (giver of salvation). Buddha did not claim divinity for himself or for his Dhamma. Buddhism was discovered by man for man. It is this quintessence of humanism that took Dr. Ambedkar closer to Buddhism.

Dr. Ambedkar was drawn towards Buddhism because he considered it as a social philosophy but not as religion. As it was an exploitative, casteless and egalitarian philosophy, he found "salvation" of humanity, as a whole and the dalits in particular, in Buddhism.

A voracious reader Dr. Ambedkar saw education as tool for the liberation of the socially backward from illiteracy, ignorance and superstition. He founded the People's Education Society in 1945 with the aim of advancing the educational interests of weaker sections of society. Dr. Ambedkar was also a crusader for gender equality and fought for equal rights for women in inheritance and marriage. He

resigned from the Cabinet in 1951 when his draft Hindu Code Bill failed to receive the support of the Parliament.

Undoubtedly, Dr. Ambedakr's biggest and most important contribution was in his role as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India. With tremendous foresight and erudite scholarship, Dr. Ambedkar not only piloted an outstanding draft through the Constituent Assembly but also outlined the philosophy and wisdom behind the various provisions.

Dr. Ambedkar ensured the inclusion of a well-defined and comprehensive chapter on Fundamental Rights which specifically abolished untouchability, guaranteed equal rights to all citizens and prohibited discrimination of all kinds in social relations. Dr. Ambedkar believed that protection of minorities and their religion was of paramount importance. Thus, the Constitution grants each person and freedom of faith, religion and worship and gives the minorities freedom to manage their religious affairs. Dr. Ambedkar justified such protection on the following grounds:

"It is wrong for majority to deny the existence of minorities. It is equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves. A solution must be found which will serve a double purpose. It must recognize

the existence of minorities to start with. It must also be such that it will enable majorities and minorities to merge someday into one. The solution proposed by the Constituent Assembly is to be welcomed because it is a solution which serves this twofold purpose. "

Dr. Ambedkar played a crucial role in laying down the Directive Principles of State Policy, a unique feature of the Indian Constitution. These principles mandate that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a just order. These principles lay the foundation for social democracy. In Dr. Ambedkar's words "We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union or trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality would not become a natural course of thing. It would require a constable to enforce them. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principles of graded inequality which means elevation for some

and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradiction? We must remove this contradiction at earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy. "

> I think we have already deviated from the Directive Principle of State Policy by subsidizing LPG and here also lies different problems which we are facing and this also needs correction.

The Directive Principles of State Policy were criticized by some and termed mere "pious declarations". Responding to this criticism, Dr. Ambedkar said: "Whoever captures power will not be free to do what he likes with it. In the exercise of it, he will have to respect these instruments of instructions which are called Directive Principles. He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a Court of Law. But he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. "

Dr. Ambedkar was firm in his belief that our judiciary must both be independent of the executive and must also be competent in itself.

He did recognise however that tussles between the executive and the judiciary were inevitable, and were in fact necessary to ensure that each acted as a check and balance on the functioning of the other. He observed: "For myself, I cannot altogether omit the possibility of a Legislature packed by party men making laws which may abrogate or violate what we regard as certain fundamental principles affecting the life and liberty of an individual. At the same time, I do not see how five or six gentlemen sitting in the Federal or Supreme Court examining laws made by the Legislature and by dint of their own individual conscience or their bias or their prejudices be trusted to determine which law is good and which law is bad. "

Dr. Ambedkar called upon the socially and economically disadvantaged to 'educate, agitate and organise'. Nevertheless, his commitment to constitutional methods was unwavering and he advocated a path of informed and reasoned public engagement. He said: "We must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods.

These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and sooner they are abandoned, the better for us. "

Dr. Ambedkar believed that strong independent institutions constituted the fundamental pillars of a democracy and it is they who would ensure its survival. He ensured that the Constitution provided for an independent judiciary and that the right to Constitutional Remedies was a fundamental right.

Speaking about Article 32 -Right to Constitutional Remedies, Dr. Ambedkar said: "If I was asked to name any particular article in this Constitution as the most important - an article without which the Constitution would be a nullity - I could not refer to any other article except this one. It is the very soul of the Constitution and the heart of it. "

It must be noted in the above regard that in practice our political system has been innovative and flexible. Dr. Ambedkar's commitment to the building of strong institutions and constitutional methods has resulted in many interesting modern day manifestation. For example, the Right to Information Act is a unique and powerful instrument created by law to empower people and enable them access information from any department of Government on any subject advancing

thereby openness and transparency. Similarly, the Supreme Court of India through Public Interest Litigation has enabled the common man access the highest courts of justice by just sending a post card. High Courts and Supreme Court have also taken suo motu cognizance of violation of fundamental rights and initiated action on their own setting aside the conventional notions of locus standi. All the above reflect the strength of Indian democracy and dynamism of the Constitution.

In this connection, I would like to highlight certain issues pertaining to the under privileged sections of the society. For example, even today reserved post are not filled in full in the SC/ST category. Only 8 to 9% are filled in category 'A' post, 10-12 in category 'B' post and category 'C' is 15-16, whereas category D is to the tune of 23-24%, same is the case in ST also. I request the government to see that all the post meant for the reserved sections are to be filled. I also urge upon this government to provide reservations in promotions. Not only that these groups are brought into the main stream by considering them for good posting in the case of officials and also portfolios for some political leaders, other than Tribal welfare, Social Justice, etc.

††††††††*__SHRI DHANANJAY MAHADIK (KOLHAPUR):__ Dr. Ambedkar's role in the Constituent Assembly was to write about the history of the evolution of free India's Constitution.

In a remarkable speech, on the problems of the Scheduled Castes, delivered in the Conference held by the All India Scheduled Castes Federation at Kanpur (UP) on 29th January 1944, Dr. Ambedkar suggested the Scheduled Caste people that they should share political power with the Hindus and Muslims to improve their condition. Only then they will become masters.

At another occasion held at Lucknow on 25th April, 1948, he, while addressing the Scheduled Castes, aptly warned them that they can achieve their salvation if they capture the political power by organising into a third party holding the balance of power between the rival political parties - Congress and Socialists.

The similar feeling, he expressed at his election to the Drafting Committee in 1946. He said: "I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interest of the Scheduled Castes. "

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††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

This statement clearly explains the idea behind his interest for Scheduled Castes. But when he was elected the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, he left all his initial interests and contributed himself whole heartedly for giving a constitution to the newly born nation. He gave up all his personal wishes only for the general interest of the nation.

The true Constitutional philosophy of Ambedkar has been fully reflected in the course of Round Table Conference in England and in Memorandum which he submitted to the Constitutuent Assembly on behalf of All India Scheduled Caste Federation.

Appreciating the great services rendered by Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, T. T. Krishnamachari, one ofthe Members of the Constituent Assembly, said in the Assembly, ". the House is, perhaps, aware that of the seven members nominated by you, one had resigned from the House, and was not replaced. One dies and was not replaced. One was away in America and his place was not filled up and another person was engaged in State Affairs and there was void to that extent. One or two people were far away from Delhi and, perhaps, for reasons of health did not attend. So, it happened ultimately that the burden of drafting the constitution fell on

Ambedkar and I have no doubt and we are grateful to him for having achieved this task in a manner which is undoubtedly commendable. "

It is universally accepted that Ambedkar has made an immense contribution to the philosophy of our Constitution and to the constitutional jurisprudence. But this has led to the belief that Ambedkar was the sole guiding force of the Constitution. He was the chief architect of the Constitution to define the will, goal and vision of India. He is regarded as the father of the Constitution and the Constitution is his brainchild. Therefore, whatever principles have been incorporated in the Constitution, Ambedkar is regarded as a source of it. Prime Minister Nehru, while paying a tribute to Dr. Ambedkar in the Lok Sabha said that Dr. Ambedkar had played a most important part in the framing of India's Constitution. He told two facts, firstly he said that Dr. Ambedkar has played a very constructive role in making of the Constitution even before his election to the Drafting Committee and secondly he hold that no one took greater trouble and care over the Constitution making than Dr. Ambedkar.

He was chosen among other equally available members of the Constituent Assembly simply because of the treasure, the treasure of his intelligence, the treasure of his keen knowledge of his subject, his

treasure, of his interest in constitutionalism and the treasure of his professionalism of being an advocate.

The work done by Dr. Ambedkar in various sub-committees of the Assembly was considered very useful and convinced the Congress bosses beyond doubt that the legislation and solidification of freedom would not be easy without the services of Dr. Ambedkar.

It is rightly said that the Indian Constitution was the product of Dr. Ambedkar. It was fully influenced by the philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar. He had a vision for future India. When he was elected the Chairman of the Drafting Committee he forgot his personal anxiety and joined hands with the Congress in general and Pandit Nehru in particular as both were ready to sink their differences and agreed to work together for the betterment of the newly born nation. But this does not mean that he had the greed for the position he was offered by the Congress. He was very firm and bold in his demands and whenever he got chances he criticized the Government also.

There is also a need to examine his role for the upliftment of minorities in connection with the members of the Constituent Assembly. Why, because he had to take into consideration their provisions and their reservations on certain issues, as he observed

many a times in the Assembly and the attitude of other members for him. There are reasons for that, firstly he was non-congress man and secondly he was not a staunch follower of Gandhi. There were other members who were jurists, scholars, statesmen, social activists and political leaders in the Assembly but he was given this stupendous task of piloting the Draft Constitution.

Ambedkar, the true rebel and rationalist, played a major role in creation of new India. He has shown to the Indians that the goal under the fabric of Constitution is nothing but to establish social economical and political democracy for the betterment of all Indians.

SHRI KALYAN BANERJEE (SREERAMPUR): Sir, I consider myself today to be one of the privileged persons. I thank you and my leader, Kumari Mamta Banerjee, for giving me this opportunity to speak on this subject.

Sir, if it is considered in the world that Lord Denning was the best judge, in our country Dr. Ambedkar was and is still the best jurist. Dr. Ambedkar was an illustrious leader and was the chief architect of the Indian Constitution. A good and virtuous constitution having moral foundation, protects not only fundamental freedom and rights but also creates a bridge between conflicting interests and becomes a harbinger to the social needs. It produces good legislatures and good citizens. The constitutional courts are sentinel on the *qui viv* therefore, it functions objectively and dispassionately to correct imbalances and keep check on every wing of the State without trespassing upon the field assigned or powers conferred on the other wing. At the same time, it maintains a delicate balance.

A Constitution is a documentation of the founding faiths of a nation and the fundamental directions for their fulfillment. The written Constitution of a country is a document which defines the regular form or system of the Government containing the rules that directly or indirectly affect the distribution exercise of the sovereign power of

the State. It is thus mainly concerns with the creation of three organs, *i. e.*, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary as also the distribution of governmental powers among them and the definition of their mutual relation. We have to work in letter and spirit of the Constitution itself.

The founding father of the Constitution cognizant of the reality of life wisely engrafted the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles in Parts III and IV for a democratic life for everyone in Bharat Republic. This significance of the perception that Parts III and IV together constitute the core of commitment to social revolution of the society and they together are the concerns of the Constitution and is a deep understanding of the Indian Constitution itself.

Sir, India is a secular country. Secularism has been inserted in the Preamble by reason of the 42nd Constitution amendment of 1976. The object of insertion of this word was to spell out expressly the high ideals of the secularism and the integrity of the nation. Secularism does not mean the constitution of the theocratic society. It merely means equal status of all religions without any preference in favour of or of discrimination of any of them. It is clear from the constitutional scheme that it guarantees equality in the matter of religion to all individuals and groups irrespective of their faiths. Emphasis in that is

there is no religion of the State. Preamble of the Constitution read particularly with article 25 to 28 indicates that the concept of secularism is embodied in the Constitution scheme itself. Article 29 of the Constitution speaks of protection of interest of minorities. Article 30 speaks of right of minorities to establish and administer an educational institution.

The concept of secularism is one facet of the right to equality woven as central golden thread in the fabric depicting the pattern of the scheme of our Constitution. Secularism has been given a pride of place in the Constitution itself. Dr. Ambedkar said, “I like the religion that teaches liberty, equality and fraternity”. Dr. Ambedkar said, “Religion is for men and not men for religion”. Dr. Ambedkar said, “The basic idea underlying the religion is to create an atmosphere for the spiritual development of the individual”. Our Constitution has secured independence to the Judiciary and zealously guarded the independence of the Judiciary. Independence of Judiciary is doubtless a basic structure of our Constitution. But the said concept of independence has to be confined within the four corners of the Constitution and cannot go beyond the Constitution. Our Constitution is liberal, democratic, egalitarian, secular and federal in character. Dr. Ambedkar said, “Our object in framing the Constitution is to two-fold

– to lay down the form of political democracy and to lay down the idea of economic democracy and also to prescribe that every government whoever is in power shall strive to bring about economic democracy". Since our Constitution is federal in character, likewise Central Government every State Government is elected by the people. Relations between the Union and the States have been engrafted under part XI of the Constitution. Powers of enactment of laws made by the Parliament and the Legislatures of the States have been provided under article 246 of the Constitution. Our Constitution does not permit the Central Government to interfere with the State subjects and thereby any attempt to destroy the federal character of the Constitution.

Recently the Government of India has issued a directive that all Central Schemes will be monitored by a Deputy Secretary level officer of the Government of India. These officers have a part in overseeing the Central schemes. They will travel to different States to monitor the progress of the schemes on the ground. This move of the Government of India tantamount to mistrust of the official machinery of the State Government. As is the present practice, all schemes under the State Plan under the Centrally-sponsored schemes are implemented and monitored by the State machinery. The Government

of India releases the funds to the State Governments on the basis of physical and financial progress of the scheme and after due submission of the Utilisation Certificate by the State Government. This system has been in vogue since the introduction of the Central schemes and is functioning well. The new system will severely impact the autonomy of the State Government and is against the spirit of cooperative federalism.

14. 00 hours

Sir, Dr. Ambedkar fought for the protection and reservation of SCs and STs. Now, an attempt is being made to take away such a protection and reservation. It is surprising that the hon. Prime Minister and other Ministers are holding video conferences with the Chief Secretary under the guise of development and to know the development programmes. This amounts to direct interference with the State administration. If the hon. Prime Minister and any of the Ministers wishes to know the development of a State itself, he is free to talk with the concerned Chief Minister.

I am saying this today with great respect to the hon. Prime Minister. Please do not take me amiss. Like the hon. Prime Minister,

all the Chief Ministers of the country are also good administrators. They are also honest persons. They are also political persons. They have fought for 30 to 40 years in the field. They have not been sent to the State as a Chief Minister from Delhi office for running their State itself. I am saying this with great respect to the hon. Prime Minister. Do not undermine any Chief Minister. Do not undermine any State Government.

Law and order is a State subject. The Government of India has taken up the Plan schemes aimed at creating a comprehensive and integrated system for enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of policing, and creation of an IT-enabled State-of-the art tracking system around “investigation of crime and detection of criminals”. The ostensible objective of the programme is to improve Police functioning in various areas such as law and order, traffic management, etc. And what is being done? Under the guise of this, every case has to be reported to them and from Delhi, the Home Ministry will be monitoring all the law and order cases which are registered under the State Government and which is the subject matter of the State. Does it not betray the cooperative federal system of the country? What are you trying to achieve which you cannot achieve under the provisions of our Constitution?

The Central Government is trying to achieve it in an indirect method for the purpose of keeping record and indirectly monitoring the cases. This is not permissible under the Constitution itself.

The IAS officers and IPS officers of the State cadres are sent here for training for two years. After two years of training, these officers are required to be sent to the States. My question today is, why, after this training, are you keeping these officers in the various Ministries in Delhi? For what purposes are you keeping them? The Union Government is consisting of various Ministries. Under what law, under what provisions is this being done? Are you trying to brainwash the IAS and IPS officers before sending them to the States? Under what constitutional provisions are these things done by the hon. Prime Minister and other Ministers?

During this current financial year, the Centre has unilaterally structured a large number of Centrally sponsored schemes without consulting the State Governments. The State Governments ratio has been decreased.

I fully support my friend from AIADMK who just now spoke. In matters of Concurrent List, if a law has to be legislated, why are you not consulting the State Governments? It cannot be an idea and

concept of only the Central Government. No doubt, the Concurrent List is for the Central Government and the State Governments. No doubt that the Central Government is having its powers. Do not try to be the big brother or the elder brother of the country itself. All are not small people. It is said under our Constitution itself that the State Governments are not juniors to the Central Government at all. Like the Central Government, the State Governments have their own independence. They are not under anybody's control. But schemes are there; relationship is there, which I referred to as stated in part 11 of the Constitution itself.

The Central proceeds on account of collection of cess and surcharge do not form part of the divisible pool of Central taxes shared with the States. The share of cess and surcharge in gross tax revenue of Central Government has increased substantially over a period of time from 3. 51 per cent in 2001-02 to above nine per cent in 2015-16. The States have been demanding that the proceeds on account of cess and surcharge should be shared with them. The Government of India has not acceded to this demand. Instead, despite sluggish economy and other challenges being faced by the country and the States to spur the economic growth, the Centre has imposed 0. 5 per cent cess on service tax for its Swachh Bharat programme. The States

were not taken into confidence while imposing this burden on the common man and the economy. This is against the spirit of cooperative federalism.

The non-tax receipts of the Central Government have steadily grown by 11 per cent over the last decade. A substantial amount of non-tax receipt is accruing from auctioning of licence fees and disinvestment in the Central PSUs. While the States have equal claim on the proceeds accruing from auctioning of licence fee for exploitation of natural resources, it also has a major role in the development of the Central PSUs which are located in the States. As such the Centre should share part of its proceeds with the State Governments.

Inter State Council is a constitutional entity created under article 263 of the Constitution. Although constitutionally mandated, several of these Councils are virtually inactive. A large number of regional issues which could have been easily discussed and resolved in these Councils either lie unattended or allowed to assume serious proportions of prompt Central interventions. Both these situations are undesirable in a federal set-up like ours. Therefore, Inter State Council should be strengthened and made effective.

The Central Government passes Central legislation and many legislation overlap with the State legislation. The burden of implementing the Central legislation, like the Right to Education Act, 2010 and National Food Security Act, which are often passed without any effective consultation with the State Governments, falls on the State Governments. This legislation put enormous financial burden on the State Governments and forces the State Governments to redefine its development priorities in order to provide necessary financial allocation for the statutory liabilities arising out of the Acts.

The Constitution itself envisages Planning Commission. It was really a concept of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Now, Planning Commission has been substituted with Niti Aayog. But no plan size has yet been informed to anyone. In Niti Aayog not a single discussion has been held by the hon. Prime Minister excepting the Land Bill. What is being done by Niti Aayog? Planning Commission has gone. Six months are already over. There is no work done by the Niti Aayog.

In recent days a new trend has come to our notice. As you know, Governors cannot act without the advice and consultation with the Cabinet. Very recently, few Governors have been appointed. What are they doing? These Governors, without consulting the State Government, the Chief Minister and the Cabinet, are asking for

security to the political party leaders. I do not want to name that political party. This Governor some times, when such political party leaders are coming, without asking the Chief Minister and without consulting the Cabinet, asks for CRPF protection for holding local municipality election. Is it not a breach on the part of the Governor? Is it not a contravention of a constitutional mandate? … (*Interruptions*) I will just take three minutes.

I would like to refer to page 975 of Volume 10 of Constituent Assembly debate.

> "However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However, bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics. It is, therefore, futile to pass any judgement upon the

Constitution without reference to the part which the people and their parties are likely to play."

Sir, Mother Teresa said:

"God has not called me to be successful, but God has called me to be faithful."

Therefore, Sir, the three organs of the State should be first faithful to the Constitution and discharge their constitutional duties. This is not the time to see how successful we are during these 65 years, this is the time to give answers as to how much faithful we are to the Constitution itself. For the last two days, this debate is going on in this House and many leaders have said many things. But I would like to say this. If we are really faithful to the Constitution, all the organs of this country, the Legislature, the Judiciary, the Executive and all the people of this country itself, if they are faithful to the Constitution, then we will really pay respect to Dr. Ambedkar and other great leaders who were instrumental to make our country as the largest democratic country in the world.

Sir, with these words, on behalf of my party and on behalf of my leader Mamata Banerjee, I pay respect to Dr. Ambedkar and other great leaders who gave us the Constitution and I conclude with a

prayer today in this House that today and also in future, let us take a promise that we would be faithful to the Constitution itself. Thank you.

[Translation]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI SADASHIV LOKHANDE (SHIRDI):__ On the auspicious occasion of Constitution Day, commemorating the 125th birth anniversary of the most revered Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, a discussion is taking place in the House. With firm determination, on 26 November 1949, Babasaheb adopted, enacted, and dedicated the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly to transform the nation into a Sovereign, Socialist**,** Secular, Democratic Republic. Through this Constitution, he sought to secure for all citizens social, economic, and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and opportunity; and to promote fraternity ensuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a messiah of Dalits, Adivasis, and the weaker sections of society. Throughout his life, he remained devoted to the service of the marginalised sections of the country. He framed the Constitution of India with the objective of uplifting Dalits.

He understood the suffering of Dalits, Adivasis, and the weaker sections of society. It is owing to his sustained efforts that today Dalits

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

have been provided reservation in State Legislatures, Parliament, Gram Panchayats, and Government services.

Dr. Babasaheb's slogan was, "Educate, Organise, and Struggle." It is the misfortune of this country that even after 67 years of Independence, the upliftment of Dalits has not taken place.

Even today, the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, which was constituted ten years ago and is associated with Dalit entrepreneurs, has not been able to deposit even the small amount of Rs. 5 crore as corpus funds. This reflects the condition of Dalit entrepreneurs in the country.

There should be a provision of 25 percent reservation for students belonging to the exploited sections in all private schools, colleges, medical institutions, and the like across the country. Atrocities against Dalits and the exploited sections must be put to an end.

Babasaheb had obtained his education abroad under extremely difficult circumstances. He could have chosen to spend his life in high office, but he did not do so. He always remained away from high positions and continued to struggle for the welfare of Dalits, Adivasis,

and the weaker sections, while getting numerous schemes formulated for their well-being.

§§§§§§§§§*SHRI SHRIRANG APPA BARNE (MAVAL): The Constitution of India is the longest written Constitution of any democratic country in the world. At present, it contains 465 Articles and 12 Schedules and is divided into 22 Parts. According to the Preamble of the Indian Constitution, India is a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic.

It took 2 years, 11 months, and 18 days to frame our Constitution. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was appointed as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected as the President of the Constituent Assembly. The term and philosophy of Bahujan Hitay and its related literature were also contributed by Dr. Ambedkar himself. On 26 November 1949, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution, and after completing its work, Dr. Ambedkar stated that he felt the Constitution was workable, flexible, and at the same time strong enough to hold the country together both in times of peace and war. He further stated that if anything went wrong, the reason would not be that the Constitution was bad, but that the man who operated it was bad.

§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

In this context, the present situation of the country is being portrayed today. There is an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood everywhere in the country, yet some people continue to raise the cry of intolerance across the nation. Certain individuals and intellectuals repeatedly claim that there is a lack of civility in the country. I would like to ask whether there was no intolerance when Kashmiri Pandits were driven out of their homes and killed, when they were rendered homeless, when several communal riots took place in different parts of the country in the past, and when terrorist incidents occurred at various places resulting in the loss of thousands of lives. Therefore, in conclusion, I would like to urge that no attempt should be made to mislead the people of the country.

The distinct feature of our Constitution is that it places all religions, castes, and communities on an equal footing. No discrimination has been made against any religion, caste, or community. Our Constitution is an inspirational Constitution for the world and also conveys a message of brotherhood to all the countries of the world.

I pay my respects to Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. Govind Ballabh Pant, S. H. Gappi, Dr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, Sheikh

Galib Sahib, and all other architects of the Constitution, as well as to all the Members of the Constituent Assembly. India is a democratic country and shall always remain so.

**********SHRI RAKESH SINGH (JABALPUR): 26 November is a day of celebration for us and for the democracy of our country. On this very day in 1949, we resolved to adopt, enact, and dedicate the Constitution of independent India, and since then we have been observing this day every year as Constitution Day. Whenever we speak of the Constitution of India, one name invariably emerges on the canvas of our minds, without which the very soul of the Constitution cannot be imagined. That name is Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. He lived his life amidst extremely adverse circumstances and endured relentless struggle, yet devoted the remainder of his life entirely to the unity and integrity of this nation.

Many speakers have already spoken at length on the commitment of the revered Babasaheb Ambedkar towards the Constitution of India. I only wish to draw the attention of the House to Babasaheb's final speech in the Constituent Assembly and to its underlying objective. Babasaheb had stated that however good a Constitution may be, if those who implement it are not good, the spirit of the Constitution will not be properly established. Conversely, however bad a Constitution may be, if those who implement it are good, the

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

spirit of the Constitution will be established in a positive manner. Therefore, a Constitution does not depend solely on its structure; rather, the mindset of those who implement it is of paramount importance. If those entrusted with its implementation harbour thoughts of personal gain or selfish interests, public welfare cannot be achieved, nor can the dignity and decorum of democracy be safeguarded.

In a country like India, those vested with constitutional authority must possess a firm resolve that the problems of the nation will be resolved only through democratic means, so that the country may never again be compelled to face a dark chapter such as the Emergency.

Ambedkar ji also believed that seeking solutions solely through political democracy was not sufficient; political democracy must be accompanied by social democracy. If political democracy is not founded upon the base of social democracy, the democracy of the country will neither endure nor mature.

Ambedkar ji held that social democracy is the path that recognises liberty, equality, and fraternity as the core elements of life in society. These three cannot be viewed in isolation. Babasaheb

further believed that separating them from one another would amount to a negation of the very fundamental objective of our democracy. Therefore, everyone must understand that social harmony is built only through liberty, equality, and fraternity, and this is the greatest requirement of democracy. The creation of such social harmony must begin within each one of us. Today, there is a greater need for continuous political efforts to envision social life with harmony at its core. It is evident that this was Babasaheb's vision, that those who would govern the country in the future should move forward by keeping this fundamental spirit of the Constitution in mind and by addressing the shortcomings that arise in the creation of social harmony. We take pride in the fact that by advancing along this very path, the Government led by the revered Atal Bihari Vajpayee laid the foundation of the philosophy of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, which sought to bring the person standing at the last rung of society into the mainstream on the basis of equality by holding his hand, and through this approach the country took a significant leap on the path of development. We are also proud that under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, this Government is working on the fundamental principle of social harmony, guided by the core mantra of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas".

What is required today is that, despite the existence of diverse differences of opinion in our country, all of us move forward together in the direction of realising the dream of Ambedkar ji, namely that without strengthening the nation, the economic and social upliftment of its people is not possible. Therefore, all those ideas and forces that can weaken the country must be weakened, and notwithstanding all political differences, those ideas and policies that can strengthen the nation must be reinforced.

While expressing my loyalty and reverence towards the Constitution of the country, I convey my gratitude to the framers of the Constitution and, in particular, to Dr. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, who, through our Constitution, have given us the opportunity to breathe in a sovereign and free nation, a nation that confers upon us a distinct identity in the entire world.

[English]

††††††††††***DR. KIRIT SOMAIYA (MUMBAI NORTH EAST):** I thank Hon. Speaker and Hon. Prime Minister to have these special sittings to commemorate 125th Birthday Anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and to remember and pay homage to the Father of the Indian Constitution.

I thank Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi and Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Devendra Fadnavis who in this 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration year had bought the House in London where Dr. B. R. Ambedkar use to reside. Government of Maharashtra bought this House few months back and the converted this House into Ambedkar Samarak. Hon. Prime Minister, this month, inaugurated the Ambedkar Samarak and Research Centre in London.

I neither participated in the freedom struggle nor witnessed the debates of Constituent Assembly, as I was not born. This is a great opportunity I got here to respect and pay homage to our Constitutional Fathers.

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††††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

SHRI BHARTRUHARI MAHTAB (CUTTACK): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. I stand here today to participate in the discussion that we are having on 'Commitment to India's Constitution as part of 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar' which was initiated by the Home Minister Shri Rajnath Singh. Subsequently, a number of leaders of respective political parties have given their suggestions and opinions relating to the functioning of our Constitution and relating to the merits of our Constitution, the uniqueness of our Constitution.

Sir, Babasaheb Ambedkar was an illustrious leader, a nationalist, a jurist, a philosopher, a thinker, a historian, a great orator, a prolific writer, an economist, a scholar and a social reformer. At times, I wonder how could a single person, who comes from a humble background, achieve such heights of eminence during a very short span of time. Yesterday, I think, Sudipda was saying that Dr. Ambedkar was not only a Post Graduate in Arts, he was also a D. Sc. in Science, he was also a Barrister, he was also a jurist and he went to England and USA to study. He had achieved these things during a very short period of time. That shows the intellect and what he has repeatedly written and said in his speeches. He said that given an opportunity, a person can excel. It is the lack of opportunity that has

actually put large sections of our society in backwardness. In that sense they are deprived of opportunity and that is the reason why we have such a large section of our society who are depressed, deprived and outcast. It is only by denying them the opportunity, some people excel and others are just there to serve them.

Odisha had representative in the Constituent Assembly. They were elected by the then limited electorate which was elected in 1946 to the Odisha Provincial Assembly. Nine members were elected to the Constituency Assembly in 1946. Three years from 1946 till December 26, 1949 when the Draft Constitution was adopted, those two years 11 months and some days were the formative years of our Independent country. Those were very turbulent times of our sub-continent. Turbulent in the sense when the Constituent Assembly was formed we had the whole Indian sub-continent minus Sri Lanka and today's Myanmar, Nepal and Bhutan; the rest which was called Indian British Empire that had formed the Constituent Assembly. That is why Dr. Ambedkar was elected from Jessore and Khulna Constituencies to the Constituent Assembly. When Partition took place, a large part of our country went away to Pakistan. But during that period, there was a large part in the nation which was not part of the Constituent Assembly. They were 500 odd Princely States. They were not part of

the Constituent Assembly. When the Drafting Committee was formed – the Constituent Assembly elected the Drafting Committee which had elected Babasaheb Ambedkar as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee – that time also those 500 odd Princely States were not part of the Constituent Assembly. A large section, which was then called the Muslim dominated areas, went to Pakistan. The Princely States considering themselves as independent and the onus came on the then Deputy Prime Minister and the then Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to amalgamate them with the Indian union. But there was a rider from the Father of the Nation: 'Do not use force. Do not compel them to come and join us.' That was the rider that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel kept till the end. He practiced it till the end. There was upheaval within the Princely States to join the Union and to be a part of the progress of the nation. That is why the first amalgamation took place on 14th November, 1947 in my State in Odisha, a small Princely State called Nilgiri. Subsequently, it was on 1st January, 1948 when 26 Princely States joined the Union. At that time Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had said: 'We were all wondering how could we make this happen.' [English] That so-called undeveloped State prepared the key to unlock the lock of our problem? Subsequently, in

1948, Representatives from the Princely States were elected or nominated to the Constituent Assembly.

Sir, there were nine Members – Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Shrimati Malati Devi Choudhury, Shri Bishwanth Das, Shri Bodhram Dubey, Shri Laxminarayan Sahu, Shri B. Das (His is the only portrait which we find in this edifice of our Sansad Bhavan), two portraits are there in the Committee Rooms upstairs in the first floor, Shri Nanda Kishore Das, Shri Rajkushna Bose, Shri Santunu Kumar Das. Sir, I remember these nine Members today because they participated vigorously in the making of the Constitution.

The task that was before the Constituent Assembly can be gauged from some lines, which the Chairman or the President of the Constituent Assembly then was called, Dr. Rajendra Prasad had said on 26th November, 1949. He said:

> "I would like to mention some facts which will show the tremendousness of the task which we undertook some three years ago. If you consider the population with which the Assembly has had to deal, you will find that it is more than the population of the whole of Europe minus Russia, being 319 million as against 317 million. The countries of Europe

have never been able to join together or coalesce even in a Confederacy, much less under one unitary Government. Here, in spite of the size of the population and the country, we have succeeded in framing a Constitution which covers the whole of it. Apart from the size, there were other difficulties. "

He goes on to narrate what are the other difficulties. While deliberating on this issue, I may be allowed to say that.

"When the British decided to leave this country, they transferred power to us (to the Constituent Assembly); but at the same time, they also declared that all the treaties and engagements they had with the Princes had lapsed. The paramountcy which they had so long exercised and by which they could keep the Princes in order also lapsed. The Indian Government was then faced with the problem of tackling these States which had different traditions of rule, some of them having some form of popular representation

in Assemblies and some having no semblance of anything like that. "

Sir, with the amalgamation of the States, the major problem that came up was that all sections of the society were empowered. Democracy empowered all sections of society. Those fissiparous activities that were prevalent before the British came, also became very active; and it was a challenge not only to the Administration but also to look at a future and frame a Constitution to that effect so that it will test the time. But the best thing which I consider, what has been done through this Constitution, is that every individual has a vote. All individuals are equal in this democratic temper.

Here, I would quote Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who said:

“At first we were able to get rid of separate electorates which had poisoned our political life for so many years. . ."

Reservations of seats for the communities which enjoyed separate electorates before, had to be conceded, although on the basis of their population and not as had been done in the Act of 1919 and the Act of 1935 of giving additional representation on account of the

so called historical and other superiority claimed by some of the communities. Constitution does not provide for reservation of seats on communal basis but for reservation only in favour of two classes of people of our population namely, the depressed classes who are Hindus and the tribal people on account of their backwardness in education and in other respects. Something has been forgotten to be told. I think Leader of the major Opposition has mentioned to a great extent. It was Jawaharlal Nehru who had moved the preamble of our constitution. He had framed the preamble of the constitution on which practically everyone of us has been deliberating upon. Dr. Ambedkar mentioned the names of these Committees. Several of these Committees were chaired either by Jawaharlal Nehru or Sardar Patel. Thus, goes the credit for the fundamentals of our constitution.

Sir, I would now come to another aspect. It is not that during the framing of the constitution, it was not being criticized. If someone goes through the newspapers of those days, a number of articles, a number of statements even inside the Constituent Assembly, a number of resolutions were also moved and amendments were also moved. But what did Dr. Ambedkar had said. I quote:

> "The condemnation of the constitution largely comes from two parties – the Communist Party and the Socialist Party."

That explains most of the case. I need not elaborate on that. But when one says about fundamental rights, here is Baba Saheb's version.

> "I do not say that fundamental rights can never be absolute and the limitations set upon them can never be looked at. What I do say is that the principles embodied in the constitution are the views of the present generation of if you think this is to be over-statement. "

Then, he goes on to refer Jafferson, the great American statesman, who played a very great role in framing the American constitution and he quotes:

> "We may consider each generation as a distinct nation with a right by the will of the majority to bind themselves but none to bind the succeeding generation more than the inhabitants of another country".

This is what Jafferson had said. This was quoted by Baba Saheb Ambedkar. So, what has been there in the constitution cannot be changed is a fallacy. That is what Dr. Ambedkar has said. Let us read what has been propounded during the discussion

and what the founding fathers have said and further he has also expressed his anguish.

While concluding his speech, he said:

> “Here I could have ended but my mind is so full of the future of our country that I feel I ought to take this occasion to give expression of some of my reflections thereof. On 26th January, 1950, India will be an independent country. "
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> There were cheers all around.
>
> "The point is that she once lost the independence she had. Will she lose it second time? It is this thought which makes me most anxious for the future. What bothers greatly is the fact that not only India has once before lost independence but she lost it by the infidelity and treachery of some of our own people. "

I need not go into the names that he had mentioned. His question was, “Will history repeat itself?” It is because this he was delivering in 1949. Already partition had taken place. Communal riots have taken place. A large number of people had migrated from one country

to another. A lot of bloodshed had taken place. During that time he is saying,

> "It is this thought which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realisation of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes 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 parties place creed above country, our Independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost forever. This eventuality we must all resolutely guard against. We must be determined to defend our Independence with the last drop of our blood."

These were resounding words which must have reverberated in the Constituent Assembly, the Central Hall that we call today.

> "It is not that India did not know what is democracy. There was a time when India was studded with republics, and even where there were monarchies, they were either elected or limited. They were never absolute. It is not that Indian did

not know Parliaments or Parliamentary Procedure. A study of the Budhist Bihkshu Sanghas discloses that not only there were Parliaments—for the Sanghas were nothing but Parliaments—but the Sanghas knew and observed all the rules of Parliamentary Procedure known to modern times. "

He was talking about ballot, voting, censure motion and about regularization.

“This democratic system India lost. Will she lose it a second time?” That was his anxiety and his question. I do not know.

Again I quote,

“If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form but also in fact what must we do? The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to Constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means that we must abandon the bloody method of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and Satyagraha. When there was no way left for Constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for Unconstitutional methods. But

where Constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these Unconstitutional methods."

It is because today in free India, Satyagraha and non-cooperation have become the rule of the day. Every day, every time when we see, this House is assembling and there are people who are capable enough to jump to the Well and get the House adjourned. At least, our Party is not that competent enough and we would not like to do it because we know jumping to the Well and coming out alive in one piece is also a Herculean task. But that is what is happening not only inside the House but also outside. If I want to get my things done, if I want to get something from the Government, then this is what we have learnt forcefully during the last 67 years. We are not indulging in any Constitutional activity. It is all unconstitutional activity that we suddenly jump into. Is this the way? Very forcefully we say that this is the freedom that we have achieved, this is how we achieved Independence and that is how we will achieve our rights and we can meet our demand.

Sir, I need not go into all other aspects, that I had thought that I would be saying, relating to the Constitution - how it was

amalgamated from different constitutions and what the reply of Baba Saheb to that was. But I would like to mention here that there is a crisis of parliamentarism today in our country. Instability was the rule of the day for more than 15 years, irrespective of the party in power. Today, we have a Government which has absolute majority in this House of People, but Treasury Benches consider Rajya Sabha a stumbling bloc. Not letting Parliament function is a cross-party phenomenon. We should not forget that representative nature of any Parliament rests on intellectual foundations. Since the European Revolution of 1848, the core principle of parliamentarism has been the search for truth by discussion and debate. This is how Bentham, Burke, Guizot and Mill imagined Parliament. Prior to that date, Governments were run by monarchs and the decision-making process was in secrecy.

Before 1947, the country had an unbroken history of Government untouched by any public opinion. After attaining Independence, all sections, all classes and all sects are enjoying freedom. All are aspiring to achieve benefits for themselves. It is only our Constitution which ensured the rule of law. At a time when there are so many ideological classes, rising intolerance among the people of various communities, growing inequalities, and suppression of

women's right, it is only the Constitution of our country that can bind everyone together and help find solutions to various problems.

In these difficult times, it is important to have knowledge and better understanding of the Constitution. That is why, during the last Session from our party, a suggestion was given that as we are observing the 125th Birth Anniversary of Baba Saheb Ambedkar and as November 26 always invariably falls in the Winter Session, it is in fitness of things that we should observe the Constitution Day and also observe the 125th Birth Anniversary of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. Of course, since 1979, November 26 is being observed as the Lawyers' Day. Yesterday the Supreme Court Bar Association observed it in a fitting manner.

Sir, I have only three suggestions to make for the Government and for the House to consider. Today's students are tomorrow's leaders. It is the responsibility of the teaching community to educate students about the Constitution and make them informed citizens. Constitution Day is a one day affair, but Constitution education is a process leading to right thinking and noble behaviour. Reading out the preamble, conducting quiz will not help students become patriotic citizens. There is a need to develop a proper understanding of the Constitution, right attitude towards it, ability to interpret it to the

current situation and the willingness to keep its spirit alive will make them patriotic. Are we striving in that regard? I would hope that the Government will take that step.

Secondly, during last 18 months, we have heard about cooperative federalism. One guessed it meant cooperation between Centre and the States in running the country. It is actually derived from Right Wing Republicans of the United States of America who have coined competitive federalism. Since adoption of the Constitution, it was essential for all regions to flourish under the watchful eyes of the helpful Union Government. Unfortunately, the colonial system of centralisation of power only grew with passage of time, making a travesty of our Constitution. Maintaining colonial style bureaucracy and top down devolution has not got much changed. There is a need to introduce fiscal federalism. Some States have larger population than the major countries of Europe. Germany has an exemplary federal structure that can be followed for devolution of funds to District Headquarters. Our problem today is of democratic deficit in our Districts.

The third and last suggestion would be on a uniform civil code. Hon. Member Satpathy from our party has mentioned about it. The Supreme Court of India has already asked the Union Government to

take a quick decision in accordance with Article 44 of the Constitution, Directive Principles of State Policy. BJP has been demanding for a uniform civil code. I am sure they are not demanding for imposing the Hindu code.

We had separate electorates. That was done away with. In today's world, Islam is the most modern religion. There is codification. When separate electorates were there, we had Myanmar, we had Sri Lanka, we had the whole Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Princely States altogether. At that time a separate code was being prescribed for different sections for the benefit of the colonial powers. Once the Constitution has come into force, Constitution has enough safeguards for protection of religious and linguistic minorities and their rights. After Supreme Court's prodding, the Government is duty bound to act on it. My suggestion would be that the Government should begin discussions with people of all shades of opinion on this subject. There is a need to hold inclusive consultations for a uniform civil code with all stakeholders.

I conclude by saying what Swami Vivekananda had said long back. We had heard from our saints, '*Ekam sat, vipra bahudha vadanti*'. Paths may be many but the Almighty is one. Similarly Swamiji said that our religion, the Hindu religion, not only tolerates

other religions but also believes, also respects other religions. That is why in India we have all religious activities which can be performed according to their rights. Yet our independence, our freedom is till at the tip of our nose, not beyond. It should not hit the other person. That should be the spirit.

With these words, I pay my respects to Babasaheb Ambedkar. Thank you.

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. Members, please do not take more than five or ten minutes. Prime Minister’s reply will be at 4:30 pm today and we have to conclude the discussion before that.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__DR. TAPAS MANDAL (RANAGHAT):__ At least the treasury bench now realised that Ambedkar is a wonderful worthy tool for exploitation to run the winter session of parliament without disruption at beginning and opposition did not show its intolerance to that sensitive issue of debate. It is the fate of Dr. Ambedkar in Indian politics to be used by poor politicians for ill intensions since Independence simply because the caste factor does not lose its hold on Indian politics.

It is a fact that majority of the people including middle class know too little about Ambedkar. They only seem to know that Ambedkar had criticized Hinduism throughout his life and that he was responsible for the policy of reservation. Somebody knows he was the architect of the Constitution of India, that he had PhD degree in economics from Columbia University, that he was D. Sc, D. Lit, Bar-at Law, that the Reserve Bank of India and Finance Commission of India is based on his idea, that he fought for the employment of women and that he wrote many scholarly books on various topics. Ambedkar had also insisted on the word 'scientific temperament' in the Constitution and may other things. More importantly, despite all

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

this, we still criticize him or any one of his stature because democracy is one of the biggest gifts he has given to every Indian.

The BJP's stand on Ambedkar has always been dubious. On one hand, the BJP's parent organisation RSS and its wings act contrary to the ideology of Ambedkar and on the other hand, they keep praising him. It was the Jan Sangh's strong opposition to the Hindu Code Bill which led to the resignation of Ambedkar from the Law Ministry. It was Guru Golwalkar, the second sarasanghachalak of the RSS who pitched for the continuation of 'Chaturvarnya Vyavastha' and it is the same RSS family that still dreams about the formulation of a 'Hindu Nation'. Despite all these differences, the RSS seem to have one strong reason to praise Ambedkar in its morning prayers -that he with his followers converted to Buddhism and not Islam. In fact, some members of the RSS dare to say that Gautam Buddha was an avatar of Vishnu, which has gone down very well in comic literature. Hence, the BJP's love and respect for Ambedkar is nothing but political opportunism and inefficiency to create a leader of his stature. The BJP's strategy is clear, let's not discuss Ambedkar ideology but keep praising him. And they have succeeded in this in many ways, which is one kind of defeat for the legacy of Ambedkar.

The BJP and Congress are two sides of same coin. If the BJP is dubious, then the Congress is shameless. The Congress's policy towards Ambedkar was different at the Centre and the State level. Their Central Leadership had always been so busy in the glorification of one family, that they did not get time to understand the legacy and contribution of other leaders. So Ambedkar always remained neglected by the Congress Government. In fact, he was awarded with the Barat Ratna only after the Congress lost power and V. P Singh became Prime Minister.

It is not the BJP and Congress, but leaders from his own Republican Party of India who are trying their best to insult him and his ideology in every possible way. Ambedkar had named his party 'Scheduled Castes Federation' but at one point he wanted to change the name to make it inclusive and reach out to every caste and religion. He dreamt of a day when the caste system and inequality would be eradicated from our society. As per his wish, after his sad demise, his followers changed the name of the party to the Republican Party of India. But they failed drastically to fulfill his dream. Their internal confrontations and political opportunism led to the destruction of the 'Ambedkar movement' and his values.

Fortunately, despite all kinds of injustice, his true followers hope for change and till that day, no one can defeat Ambedkar.

I express my profound respect and regards to a great man of the world and masiha of depressed classes, Dr. Ambedkar on the occasion of special session of Parliament as a part of celebration of his 125th birth anniversary on Constitution day. I think we can express our gratitude and regards to Dr. Ambedkar by upholding each and every words of the holy Constitution as drafted by him. We should work hard to reach a destination he dreamt of, a day, when the caste system and inequality would be eradicated from our society.

§§§§§§§§§*SHRI SANKAR PRASAD DATTA (TRIPURA WEST): On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar the Lok Sabha is debating on commitment to India's Constitution. Now I like to draw the attention on the practice of untouchability and different form of violence against Scheduled Caste communities. Still it is continuing. The conviction rate of people accused in such cases continues to be low. Laws such as The Scheduled Castes and the Schedules Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act need to be strengthened and fully implemented the Manual Scavengers Act is also yet to be implemented. Large sections of dalits in rural India are landless workers without assets. There is huge backlog in filling up reserved posts. Development schemes lie unimplemented. Dalit Christian and Muslims have been denied recognition as Scheduled Castes, and are consequently excluded from benefits to which Scheduled Castes are entitled.

In this circumstances, being a citizen of India and peoples representative from Tripura, I like to draw attention that on behalf of the people of Tripura, "Tripura Scheduled Castes Co-ordinate Committee" and the "Dalit Soson Mukti Manch" collected more than

§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

a lakh signature from the people of Tripura in general and Scheduled Castes community in particular. These signed papers are now with us and to be submitted to the Central Government. They have demanded that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act amendment be passed immediately. Sufficient money should be allocated in the SC/ST sub plan. Reservation should be implemented in private sector also and for this a new Act is to be enacted.

Hence, if we sincerely like to pay homage to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar we have to fulfill the aspiration of the Dalit people and to bring them at the lightened part of the society otherwise these discussions will be vague one. I hope that the country will stand on this point the advancement of the country.

[Translation]

**********SHRI NITYANAND RAI (UJIARPUR): A significant discussion is taking place on the matter of "Commitment to the Constitution". The Constitution given by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar recognises duties along with rights. This Constitution safeguards democracy and strengthens unity and integrity as well as freedom. Commitment to the Constitution is a sacred duty for all of us. The framework provided in the Constitution by Bhimrao Ambedkar and the Members of the Drafting Committee has as its core objectives social justice, social harmony, economic progress, religious freedom, the upliftment and dignity of women, the rights of workers, respect for labour, and the advancement of farmers. The complete eradication of the scourge of untouchability is also a fundamental objective. Providing opportunities for the upliftment of the deprived, Dalits, and backward sections, and ensuring their economic, social, and educational advancement without any obstruction, is another distinctive feature of our Constitution. For this purpose, the provision of reservation has been made. While the benefits of reservation must reach all those castes that are entitled to

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

it, care must also be taken to ensure that these benefits do not remain confined only to the uppermost families within those castes, but reach those families who have so far been deprived of the benefits of reservation. Only then will a harmonious and strong society, envisioned by Bhimrao Ambedkar and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, be realised. This thought is reflected in the ideas of contemporary nationalist thinkers. This is their sentiment, which must be understood and implemented in practice.

Appeasement overrides all rights and duties. Where appeasement prevails, there can never be justice. The policy of appeasement must be erased from the national consciousness of India. Appeasement was also one of the causes of the partition of our country. The very basis of Partition was flawed, and we are all aware of the circumstances that led to it. This House Chamber bears witness to the immortal saga of the great Bhagat Singh. Thousands of martyrs could never have imagined that the country would be divided even before attaining Independence. India became free, but it was partitioned even before freedom. Who was responsible for this Partition?

Hon. Sonia ji had referred to the Karachi session of the Congress during her remarks. Where is Karachi today? Does the Congress feel any remorse about this or not? Hon. Kharge ji spoke in the House

about Aryans and non-Aryans. Such references weaken India's heritage, culture, unity, and identity, and discussing them is inappropriate. These are conspiracies crafted by historians with a Westernised mindset, despite being Indians. Such attempts must be opposed.

In the words of Ambedkar ji himself, "We have been given these freedoms so that we may reform our social system, which is full of inequality, discrimination, and other practices that are in conflict with our Fundamental Rights." Such reform can be accomplished only by the son of a poor man. One son of a poor man, Ambedkar ji, framed the Constitution, and another son of a poor man, Hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, will create a history of justice and development by realising the vision of the Constitution.

The thoughts of Bhimrao Ambedkar are also reflected in the words of the poet Vrind:

Daan Deen Ko Dijiye, Mite Daridra Ki Peed,

Aushadh Vaako Dijiye, Jake Rog Shareer.

(The couplet conveys the idea that true social reform lies in addressing the root causes of human suffering. Poverty should be alleviated through generosity and support, and illness should be

cured through proper care and treatment. In essence, society must respond to deprivation with compassion and responsibility, so that suffering is removed rather than merely acknowledged.)

[English]

††††††††††*__DR. BHAGIRATH PRASAD (BHIND):__ Preamble of Constitution of India reflects the goals and aspirations of the people of India. It evinces the commitment of the Constitution to ensure and promote the principles of Justice, Liberty, Equality and fraternity. The Fundamental Rights are designed to remove social and economic inequality to make equal opportunities available to all citizens of India. The social, economic and political justice is supposed to be secured through enforcement of fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy.

But the ideals enshrined in the constitution were in conflict with socio-economic reality in India at the time of our independence. Hence our Constitution was to confront with a tremendous task of leveling hierarchical society finally forgoing bonds of brotherhood among the socially and economically unequal citizens of India. The chief architect of our constitution Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in 1949 aptly remarked. "In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny

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the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions?"

Even after the elapse of 66 years, the contradiction persists. Without the social democracy how can we have genuine political democracy? At the time of independence without creating a level playing field, we commenced the game of democracy. Power-hungry socio-economically dominant groups assumed power reinforcing the unjust and essentially undemocratic social infrastructure. This hampered the growth of democracy in all its formations: social political and economical. This systemic deformity vitiated democratic process of social upliftment and poverty elevation programs. Far from the constitutional assurance of justice, the girls of weaker sections of our society are raped, their houses are burnt, the bridegrooms riding on horse are violently attacked and innocent people are murdered. These crimes are generally committed unilaterally by the high caste social groups.

In these circumstances, social democracy in India as envisaged under the Constitution still seems a distant dream. In fact the low position in the social hierarchy coincides with poverty resulting in reinforcing economic inequality. The poor in general depend more on the dominant caste of their locality which controls land, economy and

political power. Stringent provisions against caste and its practice could not eradicate it. It more or less remained a facade to justify the commitment to the constituent without effective action on the ground. The will power and sincerity to enforce law was missing. The vested interests in hierarchical society nullified the legal provisions.

What is progress? Whether Indian Constitution was committed only to highways, grand hotels, luxurious malls and mega cities? We are competing with the cities of the world, while common man is left out. People-centred development is missing or it stands with poor achievements. Even in 21st century some people are bound to live in dehumanized conditions. What we have done to our ten crore of tribals? All forest, excise and mining laws were enforced indiscriminately in tribal areas. The innocent triblas were exploited, looted and devasted by the government machinery and their contractors. Governors of State having special powers did not intervene to protect tribal people and their culture.

I commenced my career in IAS from Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. Four decades ago, it was extremely, peacefully, socially and culturally very rich areas. Bastar District was geographically larger than the Kerala State. Now you could see the difference and compare the development of both the areas. While Kerala is competing with

the global standards of development and Bastar may be the worst ruined place on Earth. Utter disregard to the tribal development has ruined the area. We have not only failed in our constituent commitment, we deceived the innocent people. As a result we have earned the wrath of the peaceful people in the form of most violent left-wing terrorism in India.

The welfare measures to help the poor failed to yield result due to exploitative system working on the ground. Lacs of acres of barren land was allotted to SC/ST and to below poverty line families during the post independence period. After making the land cultivable and fertile, they could not retain it due to pulls and pressures of the dominant class. As a result, today more than 56% of rural population is landless. Above 90% of the landless belong to SC/ST. They are rendered homeless for want of employment. They are deprived of voting rights, schooling of their children, safety and dignity of their women. You may find them hanging on the construction of high rising buildings in cities, working in deep mines or seasonal crop-cutting far from their home lands. On the other hands, concentration of wealth and black money has blocked the road of economic democracy.

This is evident from the fact that only 3 crore out of 125 crore people of India are income tax payers. This serves to show that the

middle class could not grow to sustain our economic democracy in India. The common man is grateful to our leader Shri Narendra Modi and the finance minister who have initiated the stringent measures to curb black money. For the first time in history, financial democracy in the country was introduced in the form of Jan Dhan Yojana. Every citizen of our country is entitled rather facilitated to have account in the bank. All benefits will accrue to the citizen through their account. The entry of the common man into the financial system of the country is a vehicle to achieve ultimately economic democracy as visualized in the Constitution.

Dr. Ambedkar emphasised upon educating the masses. He considered education as a means of emancipation for the weaker sections of society. This was a difficult task to achieve in a society where traditionally an attempt made by the common man to acquire knowledge was punishable as a crime. Even in an adverse social background, India has made significant progress in promoting universal education. But the ignorance and poverty still impede the flow of benefits of education in tribal areas and to Dalits in our society.

Extension of school education is our appreciable achievement but quality education is still far away. In this globalised world, quality

is prerequisite for real employment. The growing privatization and so called public schools are monopolizing the claim of quality education. And it is true to a great extent. Entire education system is now a market place. Those who have money can purchase. Education is now a commodity. The rich purchase education and claim to be meritorious while the talented poor reconcile with their fate for they cannot afford it. Many toppers in IIT and in other coveted centres of learning fail to join the institutions for want of fees. If a meritorious poor goes back from the doors of the temple of knowledge for want of funds, we fail to protect equality of status and of opportunity as enshrined in our constitution.

The most topical issue relating to our Constitution is the reservation in services for the Scheduled Castes/Tribes and other backward classes. Most of the Governments were committed formally to the provisions of reservation. An effective implementation would have ended the reservation by now. This is a fact; despite constitutional provisions the government has not yet enacted a law for reservation in services. How can we punish those responsible for non-implementation of reservation? Central Act for reservation must take place by this 125th birth anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Rationale for reservation was settled originally in the Poona pact of 1932. The Constitution of India followed the provisions of the pact. Why Army and the higher judiciary were left out of reservation? Are we still pursuing the policy of the marshal and non-marshal races which resulted in our slavery for sanctuaries? If we accept the principle of human equality, then the discrimination in reservation must end. If certain sections are not up to the standards, then who is responsible? The erstwhile regimes for more than six decades must take responsibility for dereliction of duty under the Constitution. They failed to provide quality education and support to the weaker sections to make them succeed in general competition.

Issue of reservation in promotion has arisen because of initial level of reservation was not implemented. If assistant engineers and assistant professors are appointed in adequate number initially then at higher level, they will not require out turn promotion. They will have qualification and experience to be promoted normally. This is an irony that simple regulations of reservation in promotion are implemented without any difficulty in the USA but in India, express constitutional provisions fail to materialize. Are we really committed to the spirit of the Constitution?

Several Communities recently, launched mass movements for reservation in services. We are confronting an alarming situation where these demands of reservation cannot be conceded. On the other hand, counter movements against reservation are on the rise on Social media. Even we witness processions on the streets for and against the reservation of Scheduled Caste and Tribe. Most of this animosity is based on misinformation. Firstly, the unemployed youth feel that they are out of job because of reservation. Secondly, their understanding is that the reserve category candidates are without merit. But truth is that the gap of percentage of marks is narrowing and some of the reserved candidates are in general list on the basis of merit.

The policy of reservation emerged to compensate the social deprivation not alone poverty. In due course, the scheme of reservation got politicised on the part of governments. On the other hand, the reservation was to be served as a medicine but we have made it a food for the beneficiaries. The medicine must have been effective with proper diet. The Governments did not bother to improve the merit of the candidates. They watered the leaves not the roots. Educational facilities in the best institutions were extended to the weaker sections of society on a large scale. The candidate from Bastar was put against the academically groomed candidates from Saint Stephen, Delhi

School of Economics or IITs. Where is the competition? I suggest to the Government to establish model residential colleges in all the districts of the country. Give them exposure to the best institution. Provide them liberal scholarship, hostels and conducive environment on a large scale. The merit of the common man will flourish. You will see all of them in the general merit list. The stigma of reservation will vanish. This way, reservation may not suddenly end, but it will wither away.

We have with us our great leader as Shri Narendra Modi who will certainly make this dream true. He entered parliament - the temple of democracy vowing his head with utmost commitment to the Constitution. I am sure, the vision and mission of Baba Ambedkar and the aspirations of the people of India will be realized under his leadership.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__PROF. A. S. R. NAIK (MAHABUBABAD):__ The discussion in Parliament on Constitution Day as a part of 125th birth anniversary celebrations of Bharat Ratna, towering personality, the chief architect of Indian Constitution Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is welcoming decision. It is appropriate for this august body to pay tributes to the Chief Architect and main instrumentality, the Chairman of Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

This august body consists of 137 representatives belonging to oppressed communities of the country. It would be our bounden duty to see that the idea of social justice and empowerment of the people in getting appropriate share in social, political and economic areas is still a myth. Reservations in private sector could not be achieved. In addition to other issues, these issues also should be on the agenda of the Hon. members, which is nothing but making the vision of Dr. Ambedkar into reality as according to Babasaheb Ambedkar "Political power is a master key which can open each and every lock of the society".

This day is a tribute to all those great framing fathers who worked excellently to give India a Constitution we are very proud of. While

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

appreciating the discussion in this Parliament on "Constitution and its framer, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Commitment to India's Constitution as part of the 125th birth anniversary of B. R. Ambedkar", I submit that celebration of such a kind should not be mere formality but continuous process whereby we may inform the citizens of this country that the contribution of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who in spite of all hardship in the life contributed the socio-political and economic justice to all. It is to be rightly held that Dr. Ambedkar should not be associated with downtrodden communities but his understanding and vision for future India for all should be remembered for decades to come. However, one cannot forget about the historical socio-economic background of the poor and downtrodden communities of this country who were being oppressed and suppressed for centuries. It is invariably essential to provide favourable treatment and treat with protective discrimination. Here I wish to draw the attention that if reservations are only solution for social justice and empowerment, Dalits and other backward classes in this country are more than 75 percent. Vision of Dr. Ambedkar is not to provide communal reservation for ever but to provide equality of opportunities and equitable empowerment to all, hence provision in the Constitution for protective discrimination. Today the downtrodden population is more than 75 percent but

reservation in education and employments are restricted to 50 percent only in all States except one or two. It is time to rethink of enhancement of reservation to these classes depending upon their population. Further, the corporate world is enjoying many benefits from the Governments but there are no reservations in corporate business houses. This aspect also needs to be thought. These are the aspirations of Dr. Ambedkar in achieving socio-economic justice.

Indian Constitution incorporate the social and political philosophy of B. R. Ambedkar which is most noticeably evident in the various provisions of the Constitution. There are certain instances in the history of independent India that at times attempts were made to tamper the spirit of Constitution. Here it is pertinent to look into the vision of Dr. Ambedkar in future working of this Constitution. "However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad. However, bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot".

The real purpose of celebrating this Constitution Day is to rededicate ourselves and making just as aspired by the framing fathers of our Constitution with all concern and commitment in bringing desirable socio-economic change in the country and social justice to

all on which cardinal principles solid foundation constitutional edifice is erected and strive hard in getting appropriate share in respect of the downtrodden and oppressed communities of the country.

[Translation]

§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI A. T. NANA PATIL (JALGAON): First of all, I wholeheartedly welcome the decision of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi to observe 26 November, the day on which the Constitution was adopted, as Constitution Day. It is the outcome of this decision that today we are gathered here, in this temple of democracy, on the sacred occasion of Constitution Day. Undoubtedly, this is an important step towards spreading awareness about the life of the chief architect of the Constitution, B. R. Ambedkar. In the 65 years since Independence, this is the first occasion on which our Government has declared 26 November as Constitution Day, thereby providing us, the Members of Parliament, with an opportunity to pay our heartfelt tributes and express our gratitude to the framers of the Constitution.

This decision is indeed significant, as it has been resolved that on this day every year, school children will be educated about the Constitution and about Dr. Ambedkar. This will provide our future generations with an opportunity to learn about Dr. Ambedkar and other eminent Members of the Constituent Assembly. It is highly

§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

commendable that under this initiative of the Union Government, five important places associated with the life of Dr. Ambedkar will be developed as Panch Teerth. These include sites in Madhya Pradesh, Alipur House in Delhi, the Indu Mill Memorial, Dr. Ambedkar's residence in Mumbai, and the building recently acquired in London. Shri Modi has rightly stated that these Panch Teerth will become sacred places for the people of India and will serve as centres of inspiration for working towards social unity. For this laudable step taken by the respected Shri Modi, I express my gratitude to him on my own behalf and on behalf of this House.

The Constitution of India is the largest written Constitution in the world. Here, I would like to mention some of its salient features. The Constitution of India is not an entirely original document. Our Constitution-makers conducted an in-depth study of the Constitutions of various countries across the world and incorporated their best features into our Constitution. Whether it is the parliamentary system of England, the federal structure of the United States of America, the quasi-federal system of Canada, or the Directive Principles of State Policy from Ireland, the Indian Constitution reflects a composite influence of the Constitutions of Britain, the United States of America, Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, Ireland, South Africa,

and France. In essence, the structure of our parliamentary government is federal in nature, while also embodying unitary features.

On this sacred occasion, I also pay my respects to all those distinguished Members of the Constituent Assembly who rose above party discipline and made meaningful contributions to the framing of the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar himself, while appreciating their contribution, had stated, “If all the Members of the Constituent Assembly had surrendered before party discipline, its proceedings would have been very dull. In its most rigid form, party discipline would have reduced all members to a mere assembly of acquiescent voices. Fortunately, there were rebels. They included Kamat, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, Sidhwa, Professor Saksena, and Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava. Along with them, Professor K. T. Shah and Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru also deserve mention. Most of the points raised by them were ideological in nature. The importance of their suggestions was very great, and they contributed significantly towards making the proceedings of the Assembly vigorous and meaningful.” On this occasion, I express my gratitude to all of them. Without them, the Assembly would not have had the opportunity to interpret the fundamental principles of the Constitution, which was far more important than merely passing it in a mechanical manner.

Nowadays, there is a great deal of noise being made about alleged intolerance in our country. On the other hand, repeated assaults on our national unity are taking place on a daily basis. The repeated insult of the National Song by certain individuals has brought shame upon our democracy. How do such anti-national elements muster the audacity to repeatedly indulge in such condemnable acts? Yet, some so-called secularists continue to claim that our country is becoming intolerant. No punishment of any kind has so far been awarded for these reprehensible acts. As far as the song Vande Mataram is concerned, no line of it shows respect or disrespect towards any religion. This song is intrinsically linked with our reverence for the motherland. It is a symbol of our national unity. It instils in us a sense of our national duty. Despite all this, how do these extremists gather the courage to strike at our national sentiments? Is this not a reflection of the tolerance of our country? The question here is not about the audacity of such individuals, but about the impotence of our so-called secular custodians. The self-proclaimed champions of secularism hesitate to speak out on this issue. Nevertheless, I can state with confidence that the unity and integrity of the nation have always remained intact and shall continue to do so. The warnings issued by Dr. Ambedkar regarding the place of mass movements in a

democracy, the blind imitation of charismatic leaders, and the limitations of merely political democracy remain relevant even today.

[English**]**

**********PROF. RICHARD HAY (NOMINATED):** In fact, as a new parliamentarian, I wanted to speak on the subject matter related to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's 125th Birth Anniversary.

Since, I did not get an opportunity I may be permitted to submit a text of my speech.

First of all, I pay my tribute to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Constitution, an erudite scholar, an eminent jurist but also a revolutionary who fought for the cause of the Dalits and the weaker sections of the society. His deep knowledge and enviable flair for English language and oratorical skills made him recognised all over the nation and world as a leader par excellence. He was a democratic socialist who propagated that fundamental rights have no value without social democracy. An intellectual giant of modern India, indeed.

The greatness of Bharat is not only her commitment to democratic principles and values but also her strong belief in Dharma.

Tolerance, acceptance, justice are the main pillars of Indian ethos and parliamentary democracy. From times immemorial, Bharat

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

accepted, received with all the warmth, all the religions that came to Bharat through her extensive shores that is secularism of a high order!

Tolerance has been and will be the way of life of Bharat. All the religions survived and flourished in the Indian soil and every religion enjoys the freedom to profess, conduct and follow their doctrines. We respect every religion and cherish the most valuable trait of 'Unity in Diversity' principle. I believe the strength of our country lies in her pluralistic and multi-ethnic and multi-lingual people, which reflect its beauty and uniqueness.

We have been practicing secularism from ancient times. We had the best of universities in the world, when the West were living in darkness. Everything said and done, India is a peaceful country, and the spirituality of the country attracts millions from different parts of the world.

In the Constitution, the word, Secular, has not been defined. People interpret it according to their whims and fancies.

I think, in the Constitution, it (secular) has been used to mean - a sense of absence of any discrimination on the grounds of religion. It means equal respect for all religions.

The greatest contribution of Dr. Ambedkar is to the Constitution and Institution building aside, but to democracy itself as a way of life and about citizens' rights. He detested hereditary dynastic rule and one- party system.

Dr. Ambedkar wanted each student's character to be build on the following five tenets: -

Education,

Wisdom

Sympathy

Humility

Friendship

And never wanted to celebrate his birthday as "he was" too much of a democrat to relish man-worship, which he believed "as a perversion of democracy".

MS. MEHBOOBA MUFTI (ANANTNAG): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it was a pleasure to listen to everybody.

[Translation]

I did not know so much earlier. Many speakers here have spoken about the Constitution and have shared aspects that perhaps I was not aware of before. I feel that Dr. Ambedkar framed the Constitution by keeping in mind the character of the country at that time, its needs, and its aspirations. Perhaps, somewhere, we politicians or our system have failed to follow it in its entirety, because our minds are more occupied with elections. I believe that when Babasaheb Ambedkar framed the Constitution, his mind was not on the next election, but on the next generation. His concern was about the future of our coming generations and about what the future should be for those who were then called untouchables, as well as for those who belonged to minorities or backward classes. After Independence, minorities, including great leaders such as Abdul Kalam Azad Sahib, and the millions of Muslims in this country who rejected the Two-Nation Theory and chose to become part of this nation, were all taken into consideration by Babasaheb while giving us a Constitution that is completely inclusive and comprehensive. It provides accommodation for everyone and for every concern. Perhaps this is the reason why,

instead of rejecting my State of Jammu and Kashmir, it was made a part of the Constitution of this country. Accordingly, Article 370 was also provided to preserve the character of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, their expectations, and their distinct identity. This is indeed a very significant achievement.

A very extensive debate has taken place here today on tolerance and intolerance. I believe that our country is tolerant not because of politicians. If politicians are set aside, because communal riots have occurred at various times, what matters is the reaction thereafter, and that reaction of politicians in power has always been the same, whether it was Meerut, Bhagalpur, 1984, Gujarat, other riots, or Assam. The reaction of the politicians in power has been the same. However, I would like to commend the people of our country. When the Dadri incident occurred, the system failed, politicians failed, and the Government there failed. When an incident occurred in Udhampur in Jammu and Kashmir, we registered a case under section 302 and said that such people should be sent to the gallows. Those who seek to divide people in the name of communalism should be sent to the gallows. I believe that our country is among the most tolerant in the world. I also believe that forces from across the world are engaged on all sides today. Whether it is the United States of America, France, the

United Kingdom, Russia, or the Gulf countries, including Syria and Pakistan, everyone is currently engaged in fighting a handful of terrorists. Unfortunately, despite all the wrong they are doing, they are doing it in the name of Islam. However, as Hon. Shri Naidu has stated, we must confront this challenge as well, and we must play our role in it. To play our role, it is not necessary for us to go there. I am aware that whether it is the United States of America or other countries, earlier they used Pakistan, and now they expect our forces, because they themselves have learnt their lessons in Iraq and Afghanistan. They are no longer prepared to send their own forces to Syria. They will say, you should contribute, you should participate in the fight against terrorism. I believe that if we are to make any contribution, then within our own country, wherever Islam exists, it is the true Muslim of India, whom we have embraced and accepted.

If one observes the situation in our country, whether Hindu or Muslim, our Muslims are peace-loving because the Hindu majority community is extremely tolerant. If you ask me, even in our Constitution, Babasaheb Ambedkar has written this, and I believe that he drew the value of tolerance from Hinduism. In Islam, there is equality, that everyone should be equal, whether one is small or big, or even considered untouchable, all are equal. Similarly, the level of

tolerance that exists in Hinduism, in my view, does not exist anywhere else. ...*(Interruptions)* Therefore, I believe that politicians should be kept aside, because they speak only in terms of elections. Hence, with regard to the Dadri incident and the manner in which people registered their protest, it should not be done by pelting stones or by hurling abuses outside someone's house. However, as far as those who reacted in their own way, whether historians, scientists, or film stars, are concerned, they did so according to their understanding. Among them, Muslims were very few.

Therefore, I salute that India. So many educated people came forward when the Dadri incident occurred and when other incidents took place. This is what keeps our country alive. No one has a monopoly over this. Those who returned awards do not belong exclusively to any one group. Communalism and secularism, they are feeding on each other. If there are no incidents, what will they survive on? If one side beats the drum, whom will the other oppose? However, today I felt reassured that our country, India, has moved far beyond this. At the same time, I would like to say to those sitting on the Treasury Benches that people today want progress. They want the dream of development that Shri Modi showed them during the elections. Today's youth, because the largest Percent of our

population consists of young people, aspire for advancement and growth.

If you ask them whether they would choose corruption or communalism, they will certainly say that even corruption is preferable, but they will not live with communalism. When communalism prevails, there is chaos, lives are endangered, and no work can be carried out. Business cannot function. We are already witnessing this in Kashmir. Whenever there is disorder, the entire country has to appeal to people, saying, now there is peace in Kashmir, please come and invest. Our country has the potential to provide leadership to the entire world. The United States does not lack weapons, nor is it that we will pick up guns and go and fight. That is not the way. Let us make our country a showcase window, demonstrating how people can live together harmoniously and what Islam truly represents. True Islam is not about carrying guns and killing people. True Islam is what is practised within our country. It is the Islam followed by our Muslims. The Muslims of our country have golden hands. They possess immense skill. The most beautiful idols that are worshipped in temples are made by them, crafted with great care and cleanliness. They do exquisite zari work and many other crafts with remarkable excellence. We must come out of the politics

of communalism and religion and extend our support to them. We must help them in education and support them in every possible manner. Then, I believe, we can show the nations of the world how people can live together in harmony. We have been taught that Hubbul Watan Minal Imaan, meaning that love for one's homeland and country is a sign of faith, and every Muslim understands this. Faith is of the utmost importance for a Muslim. The Kalma holds great significance, and equally significant is Hubbul Watan Minal Imaan, which means love for the nation and devotion to the country.

Sir, when the recent incident occurred, I felt afraid. I wondered whether Delhi was safe for my children. My children have studied here. If I say that I feel afraid in Delhi, does it mean that I have turned against Delhi and that I should be told to go elsewhere? I feel that whenever anyone speaks about this issue and expresses concern, they are asked who they are and are told to go to Pakistan. Is this not our country? This country belongs to all of us. This country owns us and we own this country. Even if we say, honestly, that something is going wrong, it must still be acknowledged that this country remains one of the most tolerant nations in the world. You may observe that in other countries there are open massacres. It happens in Pakistan, it happens in Syria. Muslims are killed, but no voice of protest is raised. Here,

when the Dadri incident took place and another incident also occurred, prominent citizens came out onto the streets. What greater example of tolerance can there be than this? I believe that we, as the political class, must rise above these issues and speak about development. The vision shown by Baba Saheb, which we have confined only to documents and which we rarely practise, must be implemented in spirit. We must implement it. Systems may fail, but the people of our country have not failed. They have upheld brotherhood. They have ensured that Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs hold each other's hands. I salute them from my side. I want to pay tribute to that great person. I believe that we must not forget the sacrifice of Gandhiji. The Muslims who chose to remain here instead of going to Pakistan and agreed to become an integral part of this nation should not be repeatedly taunted by being reminded of Pakistan. This soil belongs to them as much as it belongs to anyone else. In the global environment that we are witnessing today, all of us, Hindus and Muslims alike, must remain united. When the world is looking towards India as a symbol of tolerance, we must stand together as brothers, Hindus and Muslims, and take this message to the world. However, we must not bring the conflicts of other regions into our own country.

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am having a list of nearly 20 members who are yet to speak but we have only one and a half hours left. Therefore, I request all hon. Members to take only five minutes.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI (HYDERABAD): You request the big political parties first. In some cases, three Members have spoken. … (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: From the Treasury Benches, only one or two have spoken.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI: At least they have spoken. Ours is also a political party; ours is a small political party. Please come to our rescue. … (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am giving five minutes to each of you.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI: It is always five minutes. At least on this occasion, give us some more time. I would request you that from

now on we should devise a new parliamentary award for small parties for speaking everything within five minutes though I do not know how it is possible. … (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seat. You have to keep the other aspect also in mind. Despite being a Single-Member Party you are participating in almost every discussion.

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI: I have a right to participate. People have sent me for that. With all the respect I may say that I have a right to participate.

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please listen to me. You are participating in all the debates. I am not denying the opportunity to you but I am only requesting the Members to be very brief.

[Translation]

††††††††††††***SHRI RAMDAS C. TADAS (WARDHA):** It is a matter of great pride and happiness that on the occasion of Constitution Day, a two-day discussion has been organised in Parliament and the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb is being commemorated with dignity.

Today is the second day of the Session. Members of the Lok Sabha and Hon. leaders have made efforts to convey their respective views to the people through this House, which is indeed a commendable step. Babasaheb, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, prepared such a great document while facing hardships of every kind throughout his life, in order to uphold the honour, dignity, and brotherhood of the nation. The significance of this Constitution is not limited to this country alone; it has given India a distinct identity across the world. Accordingly, India attained recognition on the global stage as the world's largest democracy. In this regard, Babasaheb and his dedicated team of contributors merit full credit for their tireless, round-the-clock efforts.

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††††††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

To realise the dreams of Babasaheb, Hon. Prime Minister Shri Modi has prepared a roadmap for five years which, if implemented letter and spirit, will serve as a true tribute to Babasaheb and will establish India as a model of human values and inclusive development. At a time when the world is grappling with issues such as hunger, malnutrition, and health, and when such challenges are presenting serious obstacles to global progress, the Union Government under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Modi has undertaken comprehensive and positive initiatives to address them, the results of which will become evident in due course.

One of the major problems facing humanity is inequality, which has persisted for years. Babasaheb endured immense suffering to eradicate this evil. However, even after 66 years of the adoption of the Constitution, previous Governments were not sufficiently sensitive to this issue, which is why it could not be eliminated. On the other hand, Hon. Prime Minister Shri Modi launched the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan and inspired people at all levels, whether from politics, the judiciary, historians, or doctors, to come together and demonstrate that there is no distinction between the small and the big, that all are equal. This programme has also been successful. The message that has emerged

affirms the equality of all individuals and underscores the bond that unites them as one.

Therefore, today I feel extremely pleased that such an important discussion is taking place, and by participating in this discussion, I offer my sincere tribute to the revered Babasaheb.

SHRI ARVIND SAWANT (MUMBAI SOUTH): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 26 November, Constitution Day, marks the 125th birth anniversary of India's illustrious son and Bharat Ratna, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Coincidentally, this year also marks the 125th birth anniversary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ji, as well as that of Pitamah Acharya Shri Narendra Dev ji, who had devoted his life to the freedom struggle. It is also unfortunate that this very date, 26 November, is associated with the terrorist attack in Mumbai, in which brave personnel such as Kambale, Karkare, Salaskar, Omble, and Unnikrishnan were martyred, and many innocent people lost their lives. I pay my heartfelt tributes to all of them. I especially thank the Government for initiating a discussion in this House on the Constitution on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Dr. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. For this, I express my gratitude and appreciation to the Government.

When we speak of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, it is important to note that he was the fourteenth child of his parents. His mother's name was Bhimabai. It was foretold to her that a noble son would be born who would contribute to the progress of the nation, and therefore he was named Bhimrao. His full name was Bhimrao Ramji Sakpal. When we

speak of backward classes, I would like to briefly touch upon Babasaheb's life.

The circumstances of that time were extremely painful. Humanity suffered grave humiliation at the hands of people of that era, including our own ancestors. We must accept this truth. We inflicted injustices upon him. As human beings, we did not even allow him to live with dignity. He was made to get down from bullock carts, made to sit in a corner in schools, not allowed to participate in discussions, and not permitted to ask questions. Yet, within him existed a deep value of learning and education. Mahatma Phule wrote in one of his verses:

"Shiksha ke bina mati gayi,

Mati ke bina gati gayi,

Gati ke bina vitt gaya,

Vitt ke bina shudra pichhada raha

Itna sara nuksaan

Ek avidya (bina shikha) ke karan hua."

So much loss occurred due to the absence of education. Therefore, Babasaheb gave the highest priority to education in his mind. He was poor. His father served in the Defence forces. He was a devotee of Vitthal ji and recited the dohas of Kabir. He was extremely disciplined. However, the humiliation faced by Babasaheb from childhood remained deeply etched in his mind, and its reflection can be clearly seen in the Constitution that he later shaped. There are many such examples that can be cited, but in view of the limited time available, I shall confine myself to these observations.

“Without education, wisdom is lost,

Without wisdom, life's pace goes down,

Finances gone, without movement,

Without finance, Shudra remained backward.

So much of a loss

One happened due to Avidya (without education). "

He suffered so much without education. Therefore, he kept education in his mind. They were poor. His father was in defence. He used to

worship Vitthal ji, sing Kabir's couplets. He was very disciplined. But Babasaheb's contempt was in his mind since childhood, the same has been reflected in the Constitution with his support. If I say, there are many examples, but the time now is short.

When he passed the matriculation examination, he became the first son of the Dalit community to do so. After passing matriculation, he also had to pursue college education. I would like to say to our Dalit brothers that today, when discussions take place on reservation and related matters, some resentment is felt. One should not think that he progressed alone. Some people from the so-called upper castes also stood by him. How many people know that the surname “Ambedkar”, by which Babasaheb came to be known, was given to him by his schoolteacher, Ambedkar, who himself was a Brahmin? When Babasaheb did not get food, his teacher, Ambedkar ji, would bring food from his own home and feed him.

15.00 hours

It was this teacher who gave him the name Ambedkar, saying that it would bring him dignity in society and that he should use his name. Thus, he came to be known as Ambedkar. In school, his

name was Sakpal, which was later changed to Ambedkar. As Babasaheb continued to progress and wished to pursue further education, Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj stood firmly by him. He offered financial support for his education and extended all possible assistance. The ruler of Baroda, Maharaja Gaekwad, also supported him, and only then was he able to go abroad for higher studies. As has been mentioned by an Hon. Member earlier, he was a scholar of science as well as arts. He studied law and qualified as a barrister. After accomplishing all this, the country was moving towards Independence. He served in the British Government and was appointed as a Minister. The British Government entrusted him with four Departments. The Congress was unhappy about this and felt that Babasaheb had not participated in the freedom struggle. Around the same time, when efforts were made to constitute the Constituent Assembly, he was elected from Bengal. At that time, eastern India had not yet been partitioned. However, when India was formed, Partition took place and his electoral constituency in Bengal went to Pakistan. At that time, Shri Kher was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Thereafter, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad requested that Babasaheb be elected in place of Jayakar. Accordingly, he was elected and entered the Constituent Assembly. Prior to this, he had gone to

London and met Attlee and Oval, and stated that unless adequate representation was given to his community, the Constitution would not be framed. He was elected once again, though he did not know at that time that he would be chosen as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Mahatma Gandhi had suggested to Pandit Nehru that it would be appropriate to appoint him as Chairman, and subsequently Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was appointed to that position. His objective was clear and singular, namely to uplift those Shudras who had been treated with inhumanity and indignity for generations. During his studies abroad, he observed that women enjoyed rights, including the right to vote, the right to work, and the right to education. He believed that these rights should also be available to our people. Savitribai Phule had initiated this movement earlier, and Babasaheb carried this vision forward. After having acquired education through such arduous circumstances, the task of framing the Constitution lay ahead. Time was limited, and the British Government was preparing to leave. The question arose as to what should be done and who would frame the Constitution. It was at this juncture that Mahatma Gandhi suggested that Dr. Ambedkar be appointed as the Chairman, and accordingly, Ambedkar ji became the Chairman. However, after assuming the position of Chairman, framing the

Constitution was by no means an easy task. There were doubts in the minds of the British as to what he would be able to draft and whether he possessed the necessary capability. Some have spoken here about our country belonging to Muslims as well, and that is a good thing. We feel proud to bow our heads at the grave of Abdul Hamid, but not at that of Afzal Khan. One should read Thoughts on Pakistan, and also read what Babasaheb Ambedkar had written. Today is an auspicious day, and I do not wish to dwell on such matters, especially when everyone is speaking positively. In Thoughts on Pakistan, Babasaheb wrote on these issues because at that time the Muslim League was unwilling to participate in the Constituent Assembly. The princely States too had not joined the Assembly. Under such circumstances, how could the Constitution be framed? Later, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressed this issue, but at that time the situation was different, and the Muslim League was not participating. Babasaheb was deeply concerned about the Muslim League, the creation of Pakistan, and the manner in which, during Partition, atrocities were committed against Hindus, as well as against Shudras and backward sections. He had expressed his views very strongly. If I were to repeat those words here today, it would offend many. I will refrain from doing so, but I would like to mention one important point. T. T. Krishnamachari had made

an observation in this regard. When the work of framing the Constitution began, Krishnamachari ji stated:

> "One member of the select seven-member Committee entrusted with drafting the Constitution resigned, one member passed away, one went to America, one remained occupied with the affairs of the princely States, two members resided far away from Delhi and were unable to attend due to ill health. As a result, the entire burden of drafting the Constitution fell upon Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar alone."

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. Member, already many Members have quoted this point. You please try to conclude and come to the point.

[Tranlsation]

SHRI ARVIND SAWANT: When this responsibility was entrusted to him, he stated with humility on one occasion that when the Ramayana had to be composed, Valmiki was called; when the Mahabharata had to be composed, Ved Vyasa was called; and when the Constitution had to be framed, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was called. This was his own observation. With regard to the Constitution

framed by Babasaheb Ambedkar, many issues have been discussed here. However, I would like to state one fundamental point, namely that whether a Constitution is good or bad depends entirely on the conduct of those who implement it. This, Babasaheb had himself stated. The discussion here has been about conduct, about how we view the Constitution, how we use it, and how we interpret its meaning and intent. Reference has been made to secularism. I find this discussion somewhat strange. Our revered leader Gandhiji described it as Panthnirpekshata, meaning neutrality towards all faiths. I did not fully understand this distinction. When we are born in this country, we are identified by our caste and religion. Religion exists in everything. As it is said in English, "Colour is the property of the flower, fragrance is the property of the flower." What is a property? It is its dharma. Smell is its dharma, colour is its dharma. The interpretation of dharma lies in conduct. We have never said this, nor did Babasaheb ever say this. Babasaheb stated that what he desired was not a Hindu who rings bells in temples, but a Hindu who would ring the bell when the nation is attacked. That is the true spirit of India. These are our words. From this very Government, we do not believe in caste. Our revered leader Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, in his speeches, spoke about the eradication of caste. It is from caste that all

divisions arise. Today, everyone is running after reservations. Today, demands are being made that reservation should be granted to one's own caste. There was only one person born in this country who openly opposed the Mandal Commission, and that was Balasaheb Thackeray ji. Why did he do so? He had stated that if you truly wish to break the walls of caste, then the more reservation you provide on the basis of caste, the stronger those walls will become. What are we doing today? Conflicts are taking place on the basis of caste. Religious conflicts have always existed, but today disputes are also occurring on the basis of caste. It was for this reason that Balasaheb made this observation and opposed the Mandal Commission. Today, when the issue of reservation is raised, many people may feel offended. Hon. Shri Venkaiah Naidu has also stated, and Shri Athawale has also said, that reservation should be made 100 Percent. What will become of this country then? We look at one another through the lens of caste. We never did so in our childhood. Please allow me to speak, because I am not making a political argument, I am making a social argument. Babasaheb spoke of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Have we been able to bring about equality in accordance with that vision? Does equality truly exist in the country today? Even now, we remain

divided on the basis of caste, and even today, large sections of our people remain backward.

Sir, the issue of language has also been raised here. In our country, States have been reorganised on the basis of language. Shri Satpathy has stated that Odia should be promoted, and you have also spoken about Tamil. We too are fighting for the Marathi language. However, we are often labelled as narrow-minded. We are only advocating for our mother tongue and the language of our State. At the same time, Babasaheb had envisaged that the country should have a common language of communication. He placed the Gram Panchayat within the Directive Principles of State Policy. Dr. Ambedkar accepted the reorganisation of States on linguistic lines, but he strongly opposed the idea of making the language of any particular State its sole official language. According to him, while States could be formed on the basis of language, the official language for governmental work in all States should be Hindi. This was Babasaheb's view. We hold a liberal outlook. We certainly insist on the promotion of the Marathi language and on the importance of the mother tongue. There is the three-language formula laid down by the President. According to this, in public sector institutions within a State, the State language should come first, followed by Hindi, and

then English. In Maharashtra, Marathi should come first, followed by Hindi and then English. Similarly, in Gujarat, Gujarati should come first. However, this is often not followed, and it should be implemented in practice. We are witnessing this in Maharashtra. In our State, even the Weather Bureau has removed the Marathi language and is using only Hindi and English. This creates a feeling among people that injustice is being done. The Government should pay attention to this matter. The language of the State must be respected. This was very much in Babasaheb's mind. With regard to reservation, Babasaheb himself acknowledged that reservation is not an ideal solution, but under the prevailing conditions of India, it is necessary to achieve social equality and social justice. He believed that poverty in India is caste-based, and therefore it was essential to provide reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, he did not wish for reservation to continue indefinitely, and he had expressed his opposition to its perpetual continuation as well.

Sir, before you ring the Bell, I would like to mention two or three points. When the Muslim League did not participate, Babasaheb had stated that even though the Muslim League was, at that time, leading a movement to divide India, a day would nevertheless come when it would realise that an undivided India alone was in the interest of all.

He had said that transferring power is an easy task, but imparting wisdom is a difficult one. The Muslim League failed to provide such wisdom. This was his anguish. I shall conclude my remarks in the last two or three minutes. I am holding the final page of my notes. Babasaheb had said, “Educate, unite, and struggle.” When we speak of struggle, even today our Dalit brothers are struggling. They are struggling for justice, at times demanding promotion. There should be a separate debate on what should be done about reservation. When we visit villages, I receive SMS messages and emails every day stating that people belonging to the Dhangar community are not being included in the backward classes because the spelling of their caste has not been written correctly. They say, you are at the Centre, you are in Parliament, please secure reservation for our Dhangar community. Now that the limit of 50 percent reservation has been reached, what is to be done? From where should it be provided? If it is reduced for any group, that too will cause resentment.

Sir, when we spoke about the Jan Dhan Yojana, was it implemented by public sector banks or by private banks? I would like to draw the attention of the Government to this matter. I would like to request the Government that public sector institutions are weakening and they must not be allowed to perish. If public sector institutions

collapse, it must be remembered that the private sector entities that have come into this country will conduct business and then leave. You have seen what Nokia did in Chennai, in Tamil Nadu. When Nokia shut down its operations, five thousand people became unemployed. What could we do then? Where are the labour laws that Babasaheb Ambedkar had introduced? Where is the Employment Exchange Act that he brought in? Where are those labour laws today? How are jobs being filled? Does anyone have clarity on this? Is anyone aware of the implementation of the Employment Exchange Act? Privatisation has proceeded in such a manner that anyone does as they please, without accountability. There are two major problems, and by mentioning them I shall conclude my remarks. We must pay very close attention to our electoral system.

Sir, how does a voter's name get included? We witnessed this during elections. In the city of Mumbai, some people live on pavements. It is not known where they have come from, whether from Bangladesh, Pakistan, or Nepal, but they reside there. The Constitution states that everyone has the right to vote. Babasaheb bestowed upon us this great gift of the right to vote. Whether rich or poor, everyone was given the right to vote. Now, who exactly are these people, it is not known. The Election Commission issued a

notice and said that in respect of those residing on pavements, an official should be instructed to visit daily and verify how many people are living there. The official went there and observed the situation. He asked one person his name, and he replied, "Ram Yadav". It was noted that he was residing there that day. After four days, the official went there again. ...*(Interruptions)* This is a very serious matter. I will conclude in one minute. ... *(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Sir, please allow him to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I can allow him otherwise. But how can I allow him when the hon. Prime Minister is to reply at 4. 30 p. m.? There are many Members yet to speak.

… (*Interruptions*)

HON. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All his points are relevant. Do not say that the points of other Members are irrelevant.

[Translation]

SHRI ARVIND SAWANT: Sir, in this manner, his name gets included in the voters' list. This is an incorrect practice. We have been fighting constitutionally for the Karnataka-Maharashtra border issue

for the past 56 years, yet justice has not been delivered. We have been struggling for 56 years, and even today the judiciary has not given a decision on this matter. How then is justice to be achieved? I would like to draw attention to these issues as well. Finally, I would like to speak about farmers. We declare the MSP, the Minimum Support Price, but farmers do not actually receive it. Farmers are committing suicide. When we discuss the Constitution, we must reflect on why the Constitution was framed in the first place. The Constitution was made for human beings, it was made for the citizens of India. If the citizens of India are to survive with dignity, we may claim to be committed to the Constitution, but those who implement the Constitution must also be committed to the people. With this expectation, I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak. Thank you. Jai Hind.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI GAJENDRA SINGH SHEKHAWAT (JODHPUR):__ I express my gratitude for organising a discussion on the Constitution on the occasion of Constitution Day during the 125th birth year of Babasaheb, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly. The architect of the world's largest Constitution, framed for the world's largest democracy, studied the Constitutions of all countries across the world and wove their finest features into a single framework. The entire nation takes pride in that Constitution, and on this occasion, on behalf of all the people of the country, I offer my reverential tributes to the architect of the Constitution with deep gratitude.

If there is a single force that has bound the nation together in a shared bond of unity and established India as a sovereign nation shining brightly on the global horizon, it is our Constitution. The pace at which the country is advancing today, and the transformation in the world's perception of India, reflect a growing recognition of the intellectual strength and potential of its people. India is increasingly emerging as a global centre of opportunity and possibility. At this critical juncture, only if all 125 crore Indians rise above distinctions

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

of religion, caste, language, sect, and community, revere the Constitution as supreme, and collectively strive to realise these national possibilities, can we offer a true and meaningful tribute to Babasaheb. This is both the imperative of the present moment and the pressing need of our time.

I bow with profound reverence to Babasaheb.

§§§§§§§§§§§*DR. VIRENDRA KUMAR (TIKAMGARH): The Constitution was framed by Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and his colleagues, the Members of the Drafting Committee, with the objectives of ensuring the unity and integrity of the nation, social harmony, and secularism. The democracy of our country is quite robust. Despite being the second most populous nation in the world, and notwithstanding challenges related to language, religion, region, caste, and culture, our country continues to progress steadily. Leaving aside a few exceptional incidents that occur from time to time, the democratic system of our country remains a centre of attraction for the entire world.

The framers of the Constitution have drafted it with great care and wisdom. How effectively it is applied in practice, and how well it serves the interests of the nation and society, depends upon the intent and integrity of those who implement it. In the past, amendments made by previous Governments to the Constitution for their political advantage, such as extending the tenure of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, imposing censorship on the press, and proclaiming the Emergency, deeply hurt the sentiments of the people of the country.

§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

Babasaheb and his colleagues did not envisage amendments of such a nature to the Constitution. While the Constitution guarantees the people freedom of expression, it also clearly recognises the necessity of taking firm and decisive measures in the interest of national security. Foreign infiltration has long remained a serious challenge before the nation, and there is a pressing need to put in place stringent provisions to effectively curb it. At the same time, in various parts of the world, Indians face persecution and are often compelled to seek refuge in their own country. Hence, it is equally necessary to provide a flexible, humane, and compassionate framework to extend protection and shelter to such persons.

In our country, democratically elected institutions and public representatives play a crucial role in development, from the village level to the national level. However, the electoral process has become so prolonged and expensive that it has a direct adverse impact on development. Elections to the Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies, local bodies, and cooperative banks are held at different times, resulting in a continuous election cycle over the entire five-year period. This places a heavy financial burden on the public and also leads to a significant wastage of time. Therefore, there is a need to reform the electoral system and make provisions for holding all

elections simultaneously, so that both time and public resources are conserved and the country's development is not disrupted.

Cross-border terrorist activities operating within the country continue to pose serious impediments to national development. Likewise, Naxalism has been obstructing the pace of progress in several States. Therefore, to eradicate terrorism and Naxalism at their roots, it is necessary, on the one hand, to further empower the paramilitary forces with enhanced authority and specialised equipment, and on the other hand, to undertake coordinated operations through joint security forces of the Centre and the States, in close cooperation with State Governments. Such collective action is essential to realise the vision of "Ek Bharat, Shreshtha Bharat".

Babasaheb himself endured the agony of untouchability and, with a view to eliminating this inhuman practice from society and ensuring the social, economic, and educational advancement of Dalits, the exploited, and the oppressed, incorporated the provision of reservation in the Constitution. From time to time, this provision is questioned. However, even today, Dalit brethren continue to face discrimination and are often subjected to feelings of inferiority in society. Despite possessing merit and capability, they are frequently prevented from advancing. They face discouragement in matters such

as reservation in promotion and progression in postgraduate medical education. Hence, there is an urgent need to make the system of reservation more effective, responsive, and truly impactful.

**********SHRI SUNIL KUMAR SINGH (CHATRA):** I would like to place my views in the special sitting convened on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, during the discussion on commitment to the Constitution of India. On this very day, 26 November 1949, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of India. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of our Constitution. Other eminent leaders who contributed to the work of this Committee included Shri K. M. Munshi, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Shri Madhavrao, Shri B. L. Timmar, Shri Mohammed Sadullah, Shri D. P. Khaitan, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, and others. After detailed deliberations, our Constitution incorporated provisions relating to sovereignty, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, an independent judiciary, citizenship, and several other vital subjects. Through constitutional amendments over time, it has evolved into the world's largest democratic Constitution. The Constitution does not permit any form of discrimination. Equality has been granted to all, including women, Dalits, Adivasis, and both the poor and the affluent. It reflects a harmonious balance between rigidity and flexibility. The Constitution drafted by Ambedkar

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

provided constitutional guarantees to individuals and ensured the protection of a wide range of civil liberties, including religious freedom. It abolished untouchability and declared all forms of discrimination to be unlawful. Ambedkar strongly advocated extensive economic and social rights for women and secured the support of the Assembly for introducing a system of reservation in civil services, schools, and colleges for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Through this policy of affirmative action, the framers of the Constitution sought to eliminate social and economic inequalities faced by Dalit sections and to provide them with equal opportunities in all spheres. On 26 November 1949, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution. After completing its work, Ambedkar, while addressing the Assembly, stated, "I feel that the Constitution is workable; it is flexible, and at the same time, it is strong enough to hold the country together both in times of peace and war. Indeed, I can say that if things go wrong, it will not be because our Constitution was bad, but because the man who worked it was bad."

After his draft of the Hindu Code Bill was stalled in Parliament in 1951, Ambedkar resigned from the Cabinet. The Bill had sought to introduce gender equality in laws relating to inheritance, marriage,

and property. While Babasaheb Ambedkar was a strong advocate of social equality and harmony, he was equally opposed to the policy of appeasement. He had opposed the provision for the introduction of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir. Ambedkar's legacy as a social and political reformer has had a profound impact on modern India. In post-Independence India, his social and political thought has earned respect across the entire political spectrum. His initiatives have significantly influenced contemporary Indian thinking across various spheres of life. His ideas are reflected today in social and economic policies, education, law, and affirmative action. As a scholar, his reputation played a crucial role in his appointment as independent India's first Law Minister and as the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee. He had an unwavering belief in individual liberty and was equally critical of the conservative and caste-based practices of Hindu society, as well as the narrow and rigid orthodoxies within Islam.

Today, after the passage of six decades, we find that Babasaheb was indeed correct. The imposition of the Emergency in the country, the overturning of the Supreme Court's judgment in the Shah Bano case, and amendments to the Preamble of the Constitution are among several instances where changes were made to the Constitution. Even

today, we have not been able to extend basic amenities to a large section of India's population. At present, a major controversy is being raised in the country as to whether India is a liberal nation or not, and whether intolerance is increasing in the country. All this is a conspiracy to malign India. Our civilisation represents a confluence of multiple communities, philosophies, and global ideas. Our country has been the birthplace of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. Tolerance is intrinsically embedded in the very character of our motherland. Provisions to uphold this spirit have been enshrined in our Constitution. However, certain political parties create such controversies with the sole objective of deriving political advantage.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes in social harmony. Giving the highest importance to its commitment to the Constitution, our Government is functioning on the principle of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas". Under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, our Government remains firmly committed to the Constitution of the country and is continuously working to further strengthen it. The present Government is pursuing the principles of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas" to build a socially secure nation, promote the upliftment of women and Dalits, encourage the education of the girl child, eradicate poverty, advance the cause of Antyodaya, enhance public

participation, work collectively as Team India, ensure transparent governance, establish a well-organised administrative structure, promote policy-driven administration, ensure good governance, and build a corruption-free India.

The present NDA Government has launched initiatives such as Shramev Jayate, Jan Dhan Yojana, Make in India, and the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, which are fulfilling the principles and objectives enshrined in the Constitution for the citizens of the country.

Today, India’s democratic system of governance and its institutions are being appreciated by countries across the world as a model political system.

[English]

††††††††††††*__SHRI SURESH C. ANGADI (BELAGAVI):__ 6th Century belongs to Lord Buddha, 12th Century belongs to "Jaga Jyothi Basaveshwara" a social reformer from Karnataka and Independent India belongs to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who was the Architect of our Constitution. All the 3 were from different places, castes, communities, times, but from 6th century to present 21st century, all of them relentlessly worked and lived for eradication of untouchability and to some extent they succeeded in this herculean task.

But today, in spite of all their efforts and many more people also contributed for the cause of eradication of "Untouchability", why it is still prevailing and practised in our country? Poverty and illiteracy are the direct result of this inhuman practice. Hence, now it is the duty of all Members of this august House to think out of party line and introspect ourselves, keeping aside party, state, religion, caste etc. and proceed forward in the real interest of our beloved country, to work relentlessly for eradication of poverty, illiteracy and untouchability.

In 12th century, Basavanna formed "ANUBHAVA MANTAPA", a place for holding sittings and Shri "ALLAMA PRABHU", a

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backward person was made the chairperson of the sittings, for implementation of various reforms. In the Independent India, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was heading the Committee in forming our Constitution. So, what a strange co-incidence, two untouchables of our common cause of casteless society. So we can come to the conclusion that Shri Allamma Prabhu re-incarnated as Dr. Ambedkar to finish off the unfinished work.

Democracy is not new to the country. On the contrary, democracy was a gift to the whole world. Both strived for the India and Jaga Jyoti Basaveshwara in 12th Century itself and each and every citizen of this great country should be proud of it. In his recent visit to the United Kingdom, our Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi ji, unveiled the statue of "Basaveshwara" and declared Dr. Ambedkar's place of residence in U. K. , where he stayed during his college, as "Ambedkar Museum".

This is only a beginning to recognize the social reformers and architects of our Constitution and we have to strive more for fulfilling their dream of casteless society. Now, I earnestly request one and all across the party line to join hands and fulfil the dream of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, towards building a strong and vibrant nation.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI MAHEISH GIRRI (EAST DELHI):__ After the Vidhi ka Vidhaan, the most important Vidhaan that all Indians must follow is the Samvidhaan. A law that strives to bring Equity for all Indians. 26th November 1949 was the great day when the Constitution of India was passed and partially adopted.

The very Parliament stands witness to the great debates that took place amongst those eminent members of the Constituent Assembly of India. And what wonderful, highly educated debates they were. Every aspect of life of Indians was discussed and amendments sought to accommodate Indians of all religion, region, caste, gender or age.

From what should be the official Language of India to how the Nation will combat external aggression against its sovereignty, to how this Hindu majority, multi-religious country will ensure equity for everyone was heartedly discussed.

An elaborate machinery was at work. There was a Constitutional Advisor's Office, there was Committees and sub-committees to work on specific aspects of Constitutional provisions and there was the Constituent Assembly itself where everything was finally passed and adopted on the majority basis.

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‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

Just to get a sample of the kind of thought that went into making the Constitution of India, lets hear this snippet of what Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel wrote about Reservations: "I can trust nobody who wants more representation for his community at the cost of the other community. All nationalists must accept the principle of representation on a population basis. No device to turn a majority into minority can be accepted under any circumstances. "

Similarly, When Prof. K. T Shah tried inserting "secular" in the Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar flatly rejected saying: "Mr. Vice-President, Sir, I regret that I cannot accept the amendment of Prof. K. T. Shah. My objections, stated briefly, are two. In the first place, the Constitution, as I stated in my opening speech in support of the motion I made before the House, is merely a mechanism for the purpose of regulating the work of the various organs of the State. It is not a mechanism whereby particular members of particular parties are installed in office. What should be the policy of the State, how the society should be organised in its social and economic side are matters which must be decided by the people themselves according to time and circumstances. It cannot be laid down in the Constitution itself, because that is destroying democracy altogether. If you state in the Constitution that the social organisation of the State shall take a

particular form, you are, in my judgment, taking away the liberty of the people to decide what should be the social organisation in which they wish to live. It is perfectly possible today, for the majority people to hold that the socialist organisation of society is better than the capitalist organisation of society. But it would be perfectly possible for thinking people to devise some other form of social organisation which might be better than the socialist organisation of today or of tomorrow. I do not see therefore why the Constitution should tie down the people to live in particular form and not leave it to the people themselves to decide it for themselves. This is one reason, why the amendment should be opposed." (**Constituent Assembly Debates, Monday, 15-11-1948)**

Similarly, Shri Loknath Mishra from Orrisa, during debate on Right to Religious Freedom and Propagation, said about emerging face of Secularism:

"*Sir, it has been repeated to our ears that ours is secular State. I accepted this Secularism in the sense that our State shall remain unconcerned with religion, and I thought that the secular state of partitioned India was the maximum generosity of a Hindu dominated territory for its non-Hindu population. I did not of course know what exactly this secularism meant and how far the State intends to cover*

the life and manners of our people. To my mind life cannot be compartmentalized and yet I reconciled myself to the new cry.

Gradually it seems to me that our 'Secular State' is a slippery phrase, a device to by-pass the ancient culture of the land. The absurdity of this position is now manifest in articles 19 to 22 of the Draft Constitution. Do we really believe that religion can be divorced from life, or is it our belief that in the midst of many religions we cannot decide which one to accept? If religion is beyond the ken of our State, let us clearly say so and delete all reference to rights relating to religion. If we find it necessary, let us be brave enough and say what it should be. " ***(Constituent Assembly Debates, 06-12-1948)***

There are many such interesting statements with depth we can go on and on. Such courageous, upright statements are rarely heard today. The makers also left behind space for certain provisions to be implemented by the future generations. In the Directive Principles of State Policy, our makers left behind a direction for future generations to follow. For example, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar proposed the Uniform Civil Code in order to bring uniformity in laws relating to marriages and succession. There are also provision for prohibition of slaughter of Cows and Calves and other such milch and draught cattle to organize Agriculture and animal husbandry.

It was a Golden era when country was flushed with great leadership and great thinkers. We wish that such debates, such high levels of participation should be seen even today. Courageous, not populist stands must have taken on some fundamental issues facing the country in current times. Many unfinished businesses of the Constitution contained in Directive Principles of State Policy must be given new life. A consensus building exercise on difficult issues must begin, through dialogue and debates. This is what will energies the nation. The Parliament of today has to act as the fountainhead of ideas for 21st Century India.

Before closing, it is important that after more than six decades of adopting this Constitution, the least we can do is give Sir. B. N. Rau, the Constitutional Advisor who guided the members of the Constituent Assembly on how to carry forward their work and who presented the first Draft of the Constitution of India on 30th October 1947, his due place in history.

§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI B. N. CHANDRAPPA (CHITRADURGA): The topic of discussion is "The Commitment to India's Constitution as a part of 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar." this is indeed the need of the hour. The exclusive characteristic of human beings lies in remembering the past and dreaming about the good future while working hard to meet both ends in the present.

This is an occasion to remember the Father of Indian Constitution Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and our commitment to the Constitution of India. It was on 26th November in 1949 that the 248 members present in the then Constituent Assembly put their assent on the draft Constitution and got it passed. Earlier on 29th of August, 1947, the Drafting Committee was formed under chairmanship of Babasaheb Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar comprising of eminent personalities like N. Gopalaswamy Aiyangar, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Syed Mohammed Saadulla, K. M. Munshi, B. L. Mitter and D. P. Khaitan. Later N. Madhav Rao was appointed in B. R. Mitter's place and T. T. Krishnamachari was appointed in the vacancy caused by the death of D. P. Khaitan.

§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

I mention here that making of Indian Constitution was a Himalayan task. It required the knowledge of Constitution of various countries, deep knowledge of law, Justice and a thorough understanding of Indian History and Culture. It took two years eleven months and eighteen days to make the draft Constitution. The Drafting Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar produced such a complete and commendable constitution which not only succeeded in giving a viable democracy to India but also upholding and maintaining unity in diversity of Indian society and culture.

Today we are assembled here not merely to shower our lavish praise on the greatness of Babasaheb and the Constitution of India but we are here to discuss and evaluate the performance of our Governments both at present and in the past, their commitment to adhere to the Constitutional provisions and what is really expected out of the Governments. One pertinent question rises in our minds today is that whether we are doing enough justice to the commitment of this great man and his great work, the Constitution of India? Here comes the time to think and re-think, to do critical analysis of the performances of the Governments and to find a path breaking solution to the still unsolved problems affecting Peace, Prosperity, Progress and development of the Nation.

It is really painful to see various problems in the society which affects the peaceful co-existence, communal harmony. We need to find a solution for this grave problem of intolerance and communal violence. The solution is very much in our Constitution. In this regard the comment of Dr. Ambedkar on 25th November 1949 is remarkable. He said, "The Constitution, I offered may be good or bad, it will depend on how the men in office use it. " These words are true, immortal and holds good forever. It means "However good a Constitution may be, if the executors fail to deliver, it may be termed as a bad one. That is why, Dr. Ambedkar is considered to be the Modern Manu.

I have no doubt that Dr. Ambedkar was a great son of India and as the architect of Indian Constitution, his contribution remains unmatched. He stood against untouchability and oppression in the name of caste and class. This has really lifted the deprived, depressed and down-trodden from the deep pit of discrimination. While doing this, his core focus was very much on the unity, integrity and glorification of the Mother India despite all the contradictions and diversities. He believed that the good of all lies only in unification and not in the disintegration.

I would like to touch upon another point. In the earlier period when the Constitution was made, at that time, a lot of employment was created by the Government and everything was run by the Government. But today after liberalization, there is a lot of employment opportunity in the private sector. I would request that the reservation which is there in the Government sector has to be extended to the private sector because the private sector controls much of the growth engine today. Dr. Ambedkarji had envisaged that everyone should get equal opportunity in today's society. The only way to do justice is to extend reservation to the private sector also. I would request the Government to look into that also.

The Constitution is a sacred document. It is the only document that can unite the people of this country. Today, it is the only document that can provide a direction to our youth population. I would very much wish that every single youth of this country should abide by it.

Another important aspect of this Constitution is about women's empowerment. I very strongly believe that no country can progress without the empowerment of women. We have been talking about empowering the women in all fields. Wherever we have allowed women to participate, that area has developed very well. I urge upon

the Government to empower the women as mandated in the Constitution so that India becomes one of the strongest democracies in the world.

With these words, I conclude.

**********SHRIMATI SUPRIYA SULE (BARAMATI):** 26th November is celebrated as Constitution Day every year. The Constitution of India is a supreme law of the land. It lays down the framework, defining the fundamental political principles, establishes the structure, procedure, power and duties of Government institutions.

It guides us to strive, justice, liberty, equality, fraternity.

The Indian Constitution is liberal, democratic, secular and federal. It steers the nation to realize the dream and aspirations of the people.

We the Parliamentarians are trustees of democracy. Dr. Ambedkar wanted us to reconstruct society on the guidelines of the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar was a highly qualified learned son of the soil.

Netaji, Gandhi, Sardar Patelji, Maulana Azadji, Babasaheb are not just leaders but they are our legends.

Dr. Ambedkar was an intellectual, was a global leader and was a great economist.

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

I am so proud that one State Maharashtra has followed the advice and dreams of Dr. Ambedkar. The two issues close to Dr. Ambedkar - Hindu Code Bill which extensively talk about women's rights. Maharashtra in 1993 - we gave 50% reservation to women in decision making, tried to give equal rights to women, support gender equality.

Secondly, the OBC rights, our successive Governments have made sure all OBCs get equal rights.

These are real legacies of Dr. Ambedkar. We also launched the Dadasaheb Gaikwad Swabhiman Yojana - under which Government acquired 1000 acres of land and gave it to dalits for their upliftment.

Our 1st Chief Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan gave equal rights of reservation to nav buddhs - for people from classes who converted and who needed the support.

Maharashtra also started intercaste marriages supported by the Government. Government gave 1 lakh rupees to the couple. So far, over 50,000 couples have been married under this scheme.

Constitution is the suprema lex - the supreme law of the land and we must respect that and uphold its values and principles. It is important that we recognize the supremacy of this sacred document

bequeathed to us by the makers of our great nation, the framers of the Constitution.

26 November, Constitution given to themselves by the people of India, therefore it is imperative that the legislature recognize and understand that the citizens are of foremost importance, the form that is inalienable aspect of the nation, and this applies to each and every single citizen, regardless of their caste, creed, race, ethnicity or Constitution. Supreme law of the land looks to achieve justice that is fair and speedily delivered, liberty- of person, thought and expression unencumbered and not smothered by zealous totalitarianism, equality - of people amongst each other and the absence of discrimination and fraternity amongst all in peaceful harmony.

Yet as we look around us today we see a country beset with troubling signs that we are slowly sliding towards the opposite of these ideals enshrined in the Constitution. Let me remind the Hon. members of the House that secular nature of our idea of state is enshrined in the very Constitution itself, that the Constitution under article 25 gives to each individual the right to practice their own religion freely and to propagate this in a suitable manner.

We must reflect upon the manner in which we are failing to achieve these goals and do some serious soul searching as to how we can change this grave situation.

The courts crawl towards justice, the arms of the law may reach far but they take their time getting there, the freedoms and liberties of people are under vicious attack from zealous majorities, a gag of absolutism clamps the cry of concerned citizen who is bombarded with abuse and threats for speaking his mind. A hateful atmosphere has eroded the principle of equality to a hollow ideal. What else can it be called when vengeful mobs roam the streets with murder in their minds based upon the most arbitrary and spurious reasons.

I am concerned by the growing suggestion that in some way the political scenario is encouraging such elements and much introspection is necessary by those that wear the crown today.

Finally, I wish to talk about the economic ideals that the Constitution espouses. I see a country today that is drifting further away from socialist ideals that explicitly laid down in the Constitution, and this is much to be expected as the world economy is increasing in global and economic activity fluid. As a note of caution

however, we are yet to see any great measures that actually bring about this economic transformation we were promised more than a year ago when this government came to power. Instead there has been almost no tangible change other the spectre of rising costs upon the poorest of the poor. It is important that we ensure regulations are humane and equitable, that they cater to and ensure workers fair wages and proper working conditions and that the great push to economic prosperity takes within its embrace not just a certain few but rather entire breadth of our vast nation and all its proud citizens. We must ensure that we do not get caught up in the conquest of economic growth but focus rather on the holistic development of the country. In the words of Dr. Ambedkar himself "Every Government, whatever is in power, shall strive to bring about economic development".

††††††††††††††***SHRI RATTAN LAL KATARIA (AMBALA):** I congratulate the Leader of the House, Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, for allocating two days in the House to reaffirm our commitment to the Constitution on 26 November. This is a very significant event in the history of Indian democracy. It reflects the Prime Minister's commitment and vision towards the nation, towards Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, towards the other framers of the Constitution, and towards the poor. Owing to Dr. Ambedkar's immense contribution to India, he is regarded not only as the messiah of the poor but also as a symbol of the struggle for rights. He not only secured justice for oppressed and deprived communities, but when the Constituent Assembly appointed him as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, he devoted the entire intellectual wealth of his life to the making of an outstanding Constitution. That is why, when he presented the draft of the Constitution before the Constituent Assembly, the President of the Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad ji, praised Dr. Ambedkar profusely and stated that Dr. Ambedkar's hard work and dedication had proved that the Assembly had appointed a worthy person as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and that he truly deserved the responsibility entrusted to him. Not only this,

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another Member, Shri Krishnamachari, stated that there were seven Members in the Drafting Committee, of whom one or two resigned, two resided far away from Delhi, and one was engaged in the administration of his princely State. As a result, the entire responsibility of drafting the Constitution fell upon Dr. Ambedkar alone. Despite his poor health, he worked day and night to prepare the Constitution of India. Even after such tireless efforts, Dr. Ambedkar did not claim the entire credit for the framing of the Constitution for himself. Instead, he shared the credit with his fellow Members and stated that there were Members in the Drafting Committee who were even more committed than he was and who discharged their duties with great responsibility. He further remarked that the credit being given to him actually belonged to B. N. Rau.

We can never forget Dr. Ambedkar's sacrifices for Young India. When he was appointed as a Member of the Screening Committee at the time of Partition, the British intended to leave India after draining its treasury. However, Dr. Ambedkar presented such strong and reasoned arguments before the British that they were compelled to leave behind adequate funds for India, enabling the country to manage its finances from that treasury until 1958. At that time, India was a debt-free nation. The manner in which Dr. Ambedkar incorporated

provisions relating to Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles of State Policy, a strong Centre with autonomous States, and an independent judiciary in the Constitution of India was the result of his far-sighted vision. It is owing to this vision that India's democracy has remained vibrant and resilient for the past 65 years.

Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, by following the policies of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar and carrying forward his legacy, has taken several transformative steps towards poverty eradication and employment generation, creation of assets for the poor and their inclusive growth, enhancement of human resources, and provision of quality education and healthcare for the underprivileged. Today, initiatives such as the Jan Dhan Yojana, the Pradhan Mantri Insurance Schemes, the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, and the Beti Bachao–Beti Padhao Yojana are giving concrete shape to the dreams envisioned by Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar had enacted stringent penal laws to protect the poor from exploitation and atrocities. I believe that even today incidents of atrocities against Dalits continue to occur. Atrocities against Dalits are reported every twenty minutes in the country. Therefore, in the previous Session, the Hon. Prime Minister ensured the passage of a stringent law in this House to prevent atrocities against Dalits. The pledges enshrined by the framers of the

Constitution in its Preamble place a responsibility upon all of us today to uphold those commitments, and we must take concrete steps to fulfil them.

It is with deep regret that I must state that instead of welcoming this initiative of Shri Modi, the Congress Party and its close ally parties chose to use even this occasion to serve their narrow political interests. Their concern for Dr. Ambedkar appeared minimal; rather, under this pretext, they seemed intent on raising the issue of intolerance in an attempt to malign the Hon. Prime Minister. Despite the Prime Minister repeatedly affirming his commitment in support of reservation, what intent lies behind issuing warnings of bloodshed in this House today over the alleged dismantling of reservation? I wish to ask these parties whether, during the tenure of Shri Deve Gowda as Prime Minister, when the Department of Personnel and Training issued five Office Memoranda that created hurdles in the implementation of reservation, did the Government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee not take a decisive step in the year 2000 by bringing successive constitutional amendments to strengthen the implementation of reservation? These forces are determined to oppose Shri Modi, whether by invoking the name of the RSS or by raising the issue of intolerance. On this august occasion, I would like to appeal to

all political parties that if they are truly serious about reservation for the poor, let us all sit together, arrive at a consensus, and bring all matters relating to reservation under the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution.

I myself come from the Dalit community. My family came into contact with the RSS in 1942, and today our fifth generation is associated with this ideology. The work being carried out today by our ideological family among the deprived sections has enabled many disadvantaged families to rise and progress. Dr. Ambedkar himself had once visited an RSS camp in Wardha. When we look at the facts today, it becomes evident that during the tenure of Shri Modi, India's ranking in ease of doing business has improved from 140th to 134th, and according to the World Bank, it is expected to rise to 130th in 2016. Under the leadership of Shri Modi, a progressing India has emerged as the world's seventh largest national brand, registering a growth of 32 percent over previous years, and has entered the list of the top 20 countries globally. Two hundred CEOs from across the world have identified India as the most preferred destination for investment. Even after the global economic slowdown, India's GDP growth stands at 7.5 percent, with the possibility of reaching 8 percent.

All these steps have been taken with the objective of eliminating hunger, malnutrition, and inequality in the country.

I recall that just three or four months ago, while inaugurating a world-class museum in the name of Dr. Ambedkar at 15, Janpath, Shri Modi stated that he is the Prime Minister today because of the Constitution framed by Dr. Ambedkar, and that his Government would leave no stone unturned in realising Dr. Ambedkar's dreams. It is for this reason that, with the cooperation of the Government of Maharashtra, he ensured the purchase of the house in England where Dr. Ambedkar resided during his years of education. He also decided to merge 11 acres of land of a textile mill adjoining Chaitya Bhoomi into the memorial precinct, so that a grand museum may be constructed there. Further, a decision has been taken to build a magnificent memorial in memory of Dr. Ambedkar at 26, Alipur Road. I would like to place a demand before the Hon. Prime Minister that, on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, currency notes of Rs. 1,000, Rs. 5,000, and Rs. 10,000 be issued in his name. This would constitute a true tribute to Dr. Ambedkar.

I would like to remind the House that during the tenure of the Government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a decision had been

taken on 14 April 2000, on the occasion of Dr. Ambedkar's 109th birth anniversary, to issue a Rs. 1,000 note. However, due to opposition at that time, the decision could not be implemented. Today, we can collectively rectify that omission. I say this with pride that while the rulers of that era may have dared to prevent Dr. Ambedkar from entering the Parliament of India, Dr. Ambedkar was never dependent on anyone's benevolence. By virtue of his world-class intellect and capabilities, he went on to frame the great Constitution of independent India, for which generations to come will always remember him. I regret to state that many a time, knowingly or unknowingly, we confine Dr. Ambedkar's contributions only to Dalits. Did he not work tirelessly for the upliftment of women in India? Did he not work for the rights of workers? He was a world-renowned economist, and it was through the strength of his arguments and intellect that he undertook the task of bringing social harmony to India. While presenting the Constitution before the Constituent Assembly, he had also issued a warning that although we had achieved political freedom, economic freedom still remained to be attained, and if we failed to secure economic freedom, our political independence itself could be placed in jeopardy.

Therefore, I express my gratitude to the Hon. Prime Minister for choosing this great occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar for a two-day discussion in the Parliament of India, during which all Members reaffirmed their commitment to the Constitution. I once again congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister.

[English]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI MULLAPPALLY RAMACHANDRAN (VADAKARA):__ We are celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of our Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar was a great scholar, historian, economist, legal luminary, well known humanist who fought for emancipation of the oppressed and depressed class of India. As the first Law Minister under Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, he is the chief architect of the Constitution along with Shri Allady Krishnaswamy Iyer, Shri K. M. Munshi, Shri N. Gopalaswami Iyyangar, Shri T. T. Krishnamachary etc.

He was a great visionary whose brilliant mind is reflected in the cardinal principles underlying our Constitution.

Today is historic day. It was on this day, 66 years ago, that the Constituent Assembly had given this great Constitution to the people of India.

The Constitution of India is the ultimate result of the great independent struggle fought by the million of known and unknown freedom fighters who sacrificed everything for the country's

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

liberation. I am extremely proud to place on record that I am son of such a freedom fighter.

We fought the struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and such great patriots of this country. Congress was the organization which led this struggle and the independent struggle of the country is inalienably connected to the history of the Congress.

I salute all the great sons of India who laid down their life for the cause of our freedom.

Today is a day for all of us to make an earnest introspection into our great achievements and shortcomings. This is also time for us to evaluate whether we have succeeded in our efforts to ensure social justice for underprivileged sections of society.

The preamble of our Constitution unequivocally proclaims that we have given to ourselves this Constitution to constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular and Democratic Republic.

It also ensures equality and fraternity and the principle of justice and liberty.

The hallmark of our great civilization is unity in diversity and tolerance. Secularism is one of the strong pillars on which the edifice of this great country is based. Any attempt to weaken the secular fabric of this country will be disastrous.

On this momentous occasion we must renew our pledge that we will uphold the cardinal principles enunciated in the Constitution as also to strengthen the Constitution with all our might. This is a great moment in our history. Let us rededicate ourselves to the principles in the Constitution i. e. Democracy, Socialism and Secularism and uphold the unity and integrity of this country.

SHRI HARINDER SINGH KHALSA (FATEHGARH SAHEB): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to take part in this debate about the commitment to Constitution as part of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary celebrations.

When we think of Babasaheb Ambedkar, we know he was a multi-faceted personality; we know what he has done for this country; and we know what his thoughts have been about certain institutions of this country. But we feel chary of coming out with the truth. I do not know why. Everybody chooses his own part of Ambedkar. Take the example of the treasury benches or take the example of other parties. They pick up one part of Ambedkar, only that part which suits them. Nobody talks about Ambedkar as a whole. They make sure to say Babasaheb, Bhimrao, Ambedkar Saheb and all that. But the spirit is missing.

Sometimes I wonder why all of a sudden Ambedkar has replaced Mahatma Gandhi as an icon in this country. I think we have had enough of utilisation of Gandhi as an icon. So, now it suits all of us, every party, howsoever unapathetic we be towards Ambedkar's thoughts, but it suits us to decorate him as an icon and fiddle with his ideas, tinker with his concepts, even on the floor of the House try to misinterpret some of the things which Ambedkar said.

I was shocked when yesterday from the treasury benches somebody said that it is not *Dharam Nirpeksh*, but it is *Panth Nirpeksh*. I do not understand what this is. I do not know from where such kind of enlightenment has come to the treasury benches. We all know what secularism is. It is a westernised concept, a concept born out of liberal democratic thought, which has nothing to do with this country. We never had that kind of liberal thought in our country.

According to Babasaheb, the conception of secular State means no institution which is maintained wholly out of State funds shall be used for the purpose of religious instructions, irrespective of the question whether the religious instruction is given by the State or by any other body. By any other body means by Ramdev or some other Jyotishi or Pandit. This is what he meant by that. Why do we misinterpret the word 'secularism'? You can say that you are not secular. What is the harm in saying that? You can say, 'Look, we are not secular'. On one side, you try to eulogise the word 'secular' and on the other side you make a wrong statement in the Parliament and you say that, 'No, Babasaheb meant this and did not mean that'. Are we paying homage? Are we commemorating the great man? Or are we simply making a mockery of that man? This is my question to those friends who are doing this kind of injustice. We know

Babasaheb was not only the architect of the Constitution, but also a social philosopher. He was an economist, was an expert in financial matters also. I very proudly say that my father worked with Bhimrao Ambedkar in thirties and forties before partition and they were good friends also. So, I have special kind of love and regard for Babasaheb Ambedkar. It is not my political compulsion to talk about Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Sir, Babasaheb was born in a country which was described by one of the writers in a book called, 'This India' in the 1940s – now I am addressing those people who are very much proud of our culture and who say that we cannot talk anything bad about our culture or about our rituals and other things – that I am going to write about a 'country where if the Mayfair jacket of Babasaheb Bhim Rao Ambedkar gets accidentally rubbed against a dirty and stinking high caste man, it is not the Mayfair jacket of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar which gets sullied and needs dry cleaning, it is that dirty and stinking high caste man who gets polluted and he needs a bath. ' This was the background; this was the situation. How much have we changed? Even today, everybody is known by his caste, we are perpetuating the caste, and it has become a compulsion for us because we never lead our people. What are we trying to do? We are only thinking about the

next election? How can we get people's votes and how can we pocket their votes? That is our democracy today.

No wonder Babasaheb Ambedkar has, somewhere, mentioned 'that the Preamble of our Constitution offer us a political ideal which affirms a life of liberty, equality and fraternity'. But at the same time, he says, 'the social ideal embodied in our religion denies all this'. This is the reality, let us face the reality, let us not feel chary of that. Let us try to do something about it. Let us not only enact laws like the Prevention of Atrocities Act of 1989 and then misuse it and settle scores with our opposition parties, let us not indulge in this kind of gimmicks, but let us do something for the equality of our people. This is very important.

Sir, we have been listening a lot about *Dharam Parivartan*, *Ghar vapsi* and all kinds of things, the concepts which are non-existent anywhere else in the civilised world. But we have it here. Look at what Babasaheb Ambedkar said. He said:

> "Religion is for man and not man for religion. The religion that teaches its followers to suffer the touch of animals, but not the touch of human beings is not a religion but a mockery. "

It is a fact and let us face it. He says further:

> “A religion that does not recognize you as a human being or give you water to drink or allows you to enter temples is not worthy to be called a religion. ”

What are we proud of? What kind of pride do we have? That is why he says:

> “Do not care for the opinion of those who foolishly ridicule the idea of conversion for material ends. ”

He specifically mentioned that. He further says:

> “Why should you live under the fold of that religion which has deprived you of honour, money, food and shelter?”

So, we cannot camouflage all these drawbacks. What we need is social engineering.

But we cannot do the engineering in a reverse way by stopping the change. Things are changing. Things have changed. Look at

Canada. Four Sikhs have been inducted in the Cabinet and the Defence Minister of that country is also a Sikh. I would like to ask the Treasury Benches as to what is their attitude towards the Sikhs. This is the stark reality. I do not want to say much. The only thing that I want to say is that I was feeling intrigued and pained by seeing all that is going on. I will only say that do not suspect Dr. Ambedkar and do not misinterpret him. Do not think that he had represented only the Scheduled Castes, the *dalits* and the untouchables. He says: 'Given the time and the circumstances, nothing under the Sun shall stop this country from becoming a super power. ' He is the same Ambedkar. We should be proud of him. We should try to analyse what he has said. Thank you very much.

[Translation]

§§§§§§§§§§§§§*__SHRI GANESH SINGH (SATNA):__ While participating in the discussion taking place in Parliament on commitment to the Constitution of India, I would like to state that our country has the world's largest written Constitution. On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, I express my gratitude to the Government led by Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, because for the first time in the last 66 years, Parliament has remembered Babasaheb, the architect of the Constitution, and an open discussion has been initiated on commitment to the Constitution.

At the time of drafting the Constitution, Babasaheb laid down values for all categories of citizens residing in the country and conferred upon us certain powers. There is a need to review how far those values have been realised, because even today inequality, disparity, monopoly, separatism, and social imbalance are visible in society. Questions are being raised in the minds of the people that although 65 years have passed since the implementation of the Constitution, the country has not yet reached a definitive direction.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

Therefore, it is essential to identify the reasons for this and to take corrective measures, as well as to prepare the collective national mindset accordingly.

If a proper assessment is not undertaken, the lines of division will continue to widen. There is a need to further strengthen communal harmony, social harmony, and secularism.

The Constitution has granted equal rights to all, and therefore inequality should have been eliminated by now. However, the mindset of those in leadership positions has not yet undergone the required change. Several political parties have relegated the nation and society to a secondary position, and incidents of compromising fundamental values for the sake of votes are occurring frequently.

When political parties such as the Bharatiya Janata Party are working to take the country forward by carrying everyone along and by fulfilling the aspirations of the people, the principal opposition parties are attempting to mislead the nation. The responsibility of national development and of safeguarding the Constitution rests equally with all. However, a noticeable lack of commitment to these values is evident.

Democracy forms the very soul of our Constitution. To strengthen it, India's first Minister of Home Affairs, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, unified 562 princely States, thereby reinforcing the democratic framework of the nation. Had he not demonstrated such far-sighted vision and decisive leadership, the present shape of the country might have been vastly different. The Constitution was conceived to apply uniformly across the entire nation; this raises the question of why Kashmir was accorded a separate status. The struggle for "one Constitution, one Head, and one Flag" was initiated by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, and he even laid down his life for it. Yet, till today, Article 370 has not been removed from Kashmir. While the rest of the country has been governed by a uniform civil framework, this has not been implemented there, despite the fact that Babasaheb enshrined the right to equality in the Constitution.

The Constitution envisaged the creation of a poverty-free India, yet instead of declining, poverty continued to increase. Crores of people are compelled to live on pavements, in drains, and under the open sky. If one were to step out at night to witness the condition of India, one could do nothing but weep at the sight of the people's plight. Could this problem not have been addressed through a time-

bound programme? However, due to lack of proper intent, the situation remains unchanged even today.

Today, the Government led by Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi faces a major challenge. Although many years have passed since the Constitution came into force, the present Government is compelled to work towards fulfilling the basic necessities of the people of our country. The resolve taken by the Hon. Prime Minister to ensure these basic needs is driven solely by his determination to realise the India envisioned by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. Is it not unfortunate that the nation could not provide essentials such as a Swachh Bharat, housing for all, toilets in every household, drinking water, schools for education, roads for mobility, electricity, and employment? This raises a fundamental question, what did the previous Governments do all these years?

Like the present Government, previous Governments should also have determined clear priorities in governance. Today, I feel a sense of satisfaction that Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi has guided the nation in the right direction and enhanced India’s standing across the world. Our borders have been strengthened, relations with neighbouring countries have improved, and a new chapter has been written through the resolution of the long-pending India–Bangladesh

boundary issue. Improved relations with Sri Lanka and comprehensive cooperation extended to Nepal and Bhutan have further reinforced India's regional leadership.

The Constitution has vested various institutions with defined powers. It is therefore necessary to examine why, at times, a lack of coordination among them appears. Have the four pillars of democracy been strengthened or weakened? This calls for serious review. Strong and effective coordination among the judiciary, the executive, and the legislature is essential for the healthy functioning of democracy.

The media constitutes a vital pillar of our democratic system. However, in view of the increasing commercialisation of the media and the numerous instances of character assassination that have come to light, there is a need to guide it towards a more responsible and constructive role. The country also requires electoral reforms. Elections should be conducted at Government expense, and all elections should be held simultaneously. Such measures would significantly help in curbing corruption.

History bears witness to several instances where the Constitution was undermined. It is imperative that strong and preventive steps are taken to ensure that such episodes are never repeated.

If the nation’s economy is to be strengthened, agriculture must be made remunerative. Farmers are victims of natural calamities and mounting debt, which forces many of them to take extreme and tragic steps. This must be firmly prevented. Farmers must receive fair prices for their produce, and a new national crop insurance scheme should be introduced in which the farmer’s field is treated as the basic unit.

To integrate the poor into the mainstream economy, more than 18 crore bank accounts have been opened under the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana. This will reduce cash transactions, enhance transparency, and curb corruption by ensuring that all payments are made directly into bank accounts. This initiative stands as a historic and commendable step taken by the Government led by Shri Narendra Modi.

Similarly, to address the challenge of rising unemployment, transformative decisions have been taken to skill the youth and provide them with employment opportunities through the Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana and the Deendayal Antyodaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana. To promote entrepreneurship and self-employment, the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Bank Yojana has been launched, which will benefit crores of people and foster self-reliance across diverse sectors.

Our country has undertaken a long journey after Independence while remaining within the framework of the Constitution. Born into a poor household and emerging from the last rung of society, Babasaheb proved that scholarship and intellect are not the exclusive preserve of any particular class. History itself bears numerous such examples. Though born into humble and marginalised sections, many went on to become great and historic figures. Lord Krishna was born into a pastoral family, Valmiki emerged from a tribal background, Kabir was born into a weaver's family, and Sant Ravidas was born in the Dalit community. There are many such examples. In contemporary times as well, Hon. Shri Narendra Modi was born into a backward Teli community in Gujarat, and today he is working towards realising the dream of Swami Vivekananda.

In conclusion, I bow in reverence to Babasaheb, remember him with deep respect, and reaffirm my commitment to the Constitution.

[English]

**********SHRIMATI APARUPA PODDAR (ARAMBAG):** Baba Saheb Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, was the Chairman of Drafting Committee; we are celebrating his 125th Birth anniversary. He was the chief architect of the Constitution of India. When we achieved independence on 15 August, 1947, there was a challenge of upholding its integrity and the constitution of India turned into a sacred scripture that was a binding force and substance necessary for our integration. Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, was a true son of the soil. Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar made a significant contribution to workers' welfare and development of agricultural and irrigational facilities. He understood that untouchability was a great curse of Indian's society and it should be abolished. Every Indian should be treated equally, for this he provided reservation in the Constitution.

Preamble forms the soul of constitution and it should not be amended in any way. There is no country like India where the transference of power, the transition of power happens very smooth. The utmost thing in this democracy is that the Government is by the people, for the people and of the people. People govern themselves,

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

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. The Constitution is not only the brain or the contribution of few people, it has legacy of freedom struggle. People of most backward, SC/STs, minorities etc. constitute 85% of the popular and others are 15% only. There is also a development question that arises in everybody's brain, if we see the figure of this financial year, under tribal sub-plan, the figure was supposed to be 50,000 crore, it has been reduced to Rs. 19,980 crore which is more than 50 per cent. This is against the interest of the downtrodden. But our Hon. Chief Minister of West Bengal is trying her level best for the weaker sections of the society like she is giving "Sikshashree" project for SC/ST. "Kanyashree" for all the girls in West Bengal giving bi-cycles to students of class 10th, 11th and 12th. The Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamta Banerjee always try to bring forward the backward section of society through education and skill programme.

In today's India, if there is any document which unites everyone and gives a sense of direction, it is the constitution of India. It is our responsibility of taking the constitution to the youth of the nation.

Then it will be a true commemoration to Dr. Ambedkarji on his 125th Birth Anniversary.

††††††††††††††***SHRIMATI MAMATA THAKUR (BANGAON):** I feel honoured to have the gracious opportunity to take part in the remembrance of a legendary person, Babasaheb Ambedkar. Paying tribute on his 125th Birth anniversary, I like to confer my homage to Dr. Ambedkar.

Bhimaro Ramji Ambedkar (14April 1891-6 December 1956), popularly known as Babasaheb, was independent India's first law minister and the principal architect of the Constitution of India as well as an jurist, economist, politician and social reformer who inspired the Modern Buddhist Movement and campaigned against social discrimination against Untouchables (Dalits), while also supporting the rights of women and labour.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was one of the architects of the Indian Constitution. He was a well-known politician and an eminent jurist. Ambedkar's efforts to eradicate the social evils like untouchability and caste restrictions were remarkable. The leader, throughout life, fought for the rights of the dalits and other socially backward classes. His reputation as a

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scholar led to his appointment as free India's first Law Minister and Chairman of the Committee responsible to draft a constitution.

Ambedkar was a victim of caste discrimination. His parents hailed from the Hindu Mahar caste, which was viewed as "untouchable' by the upper class. Due to this Ambedkar had to face severe discriminations from every corners of the society. The discrimination and humiliation haunted Ambedkar. As an outcome of this, he favored the concept of providing reservations for dalits and other dalits and other religious communities. He launched a newspaper called "Mooknayaka" (leader of the silent).

In 1956 he converted to Buddhism, initiating mass conversions of Dalits. In 1990, the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, was posthumously conferred upon Ambedkar Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar emphasized on the construction of a virtual bridge between the classes of the society. According to him, it would be difficult to maintain the unity of the country if the difference among the classes were not met.

Ambedkar's legacy as a socio-political reformer, had a deep effect on modern India. In post-Independence India, his socio-political thought is respected across the political spectrum. His

initiatives have influenced various spheres of life and transformed the way India today looks at socio-economic policies, education and affirmative action through socio-economic and legal incentives.

[Translation]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRIMATI RAMA DEVI (SHEOHAR)__: On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, I wish to place my views in this important discussion on commitment to the Constitution. Every independent nation has its own Constitution, in accordance with which its system of governance functions. Only that Constitution can meaningfully contribute to national development which has been framed by the people of the nation themselves or by its Constituent Assembly. Just as a mature intellect and method are essential to understand, study, and teach history, the same maturity is required to frame, adopt, implement, and administer a Constitution. If history represents a continuous struggle, the Constitution is a charter designed to make that struggle orderly and non-violent. While reaffirming our commitment to the Constitution today and remembering Babasaheb, we must bear in mind that it is imperative to safeguard those fundamental values which Ambedkar ji incorporated into the Constitution and which Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad all pledged to uphold. These values are liberty, equality, and fraternity. In our

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system, there is no provision for sacrificing one principle to protect another. Such an arrangement may exist under authoritarian regimes, but in India, which is a democratic republic, there is no scope for it.

It is widely acknowledged that Babasaheb B. R. Ambedkar holds a very special place in the development of constitutional democracy in modern Asia. The Constitution of India is, to a large extent, his contribution, and he is rightly described as the chief architect of the Constitution. The role played in the framing of the Constitution by Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, A. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, K. M. Munshi, T. T. Krishnamachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and B. N. Rau was indeed outstanding. However, Ambedkar ji was the charioteer of the Constitution. Every Member of the Constituent Assembly, as well as almost all constitutional scholars over the past five decades, have acknowledged Ambedkar's paramount importance in the making of the Constitution. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the philosophy of the Indian Constitution is, in essence, Ambedkar's constitutional philosophy. His vision is reflected in all the major provisions of the Constitution, including the Preamble, the territory of the Union, citizenship, Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles

of State Policy, the system of Central and State governance, the federal structure, and the electoral framework.

The salient features of the Indian Constitution framed by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar include a Constitution based on popular sovereignty; a written, enacted, and the most comprehensive Constitution; a fully sovereign, democratic republic; a secular State; a harmonious balance between rigidity and flexibility; a parliamentary system of governance; a federal structure with unitary features; a balance between parliamentary supremacy and judicial supremacy; Fundamental Rights; Directive Principles of State Policy; an independent judiciary and other autonomous institutions; the abolition of communal representation and the introduction of universal adult franchise; single citizenship; special provisions for the welfare of minorities and backward classes; arrangements to ensure social equality; equality between men and women; and the establishment of a unified nation.

Today, it is imperative that, in order to safeguard democracy and the Constitution, we follow with sincerity the ideals laid down by Babasaheb. This alone is the true test of sustaining political, social, and economic democracy. On this standard, not only the Constitution

and its framers, but also those who are entrusted with its implementation today, must prove themselves worthy.

It is well known that Babasaheb B. R. Ambedkar has a very special place in the development of constitutional democracy in modern Asia. The Constitution of India is very much a gift of Ambedkar. He has been called architect of constitution. The contribution of Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, A. N. Gopal Swami Iyengar, K. M. Munshi, T. T. Krishnamachari, Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and B. N. Rau in the making of the Constitution was invaluable. But Ambedkar ji was the charioteer of the Constitution. Every member of the Constituent Assembly and almost all the constitutional critics in the last 50 years have acknowledged the importance of Ambedkar in the framing of the Constitution. It would perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that the philosophy of the Indian Constitution is the constitutional philosophy of Ambedkar. His philosophy appears in the form of all the major provisions of the Constitution - Preamble, Territory, Citizenship, Original Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, Central Governance, State Governance, Federal Order, Electors, etc.

The features of the Indian Constitution prepared by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar include constitution based on popular sovereignty,

constitution made, written and most comprehensive, fully sovereign democratic republic, secular state, coordination of rigidity and flexibility, parliamentary system of governance, federal governance with unitary features, coordination between parliamentary sovereignty and judicial supremacy, fundamental rights, directive principles, independent judiciary and other independent agencies, end of communal representation and introduction of adult franchise, single citizenship, special arrangement for the welfare of minorities and backward classes, system of social equality, equality of men and women and system of one nation.

It is imperative today that in order to protect democracy and Constitution, we have to scrupulously follow the ideals set by Babasaheb. Because this is the test of creating a political, social and economic democracy and on this not only the Constitution and its builder, but also the ones who run it today have to live up to.

[English]

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*__SHRI NISHIKANT DUBEY (GODDA):__ "Constitution is for a real union of the Indian people, built on the basic concept of sovereignty of the people, to ensure them justice. That is the real spirit of the Constitution. " - Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel

Dream, just a hollow dream. Isn't it? Ask yourself. Are people of India 'really united' as one nation? Or are we seeing with the very naked eyes the abrasive reality of politics based on region and religion? Are the people "the real sovereigns'? Or is the power a game of money and muscle for few elites? Is common man at the receiving end of the justice? Or does the figure of one judicial proceeding behind every 25 persons of India demystify the reality that justice is being chased, on and on for months, years, decades? A horde of question marks, in a vain pursuit of few full stops!

Need for Constitutional reforms has always been a topic of raging debate across the country. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution who granted more rights to the people without balancing them with their duties, perhaps did not foresee the emergence of present political environment, wherein the political players of various

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

segments in the country are more interested in fulfilling their individual aspirations than the aspirations of the people.

In some respects, the Constitution, impressive though it is, has failed to translate noble principles into tangible, practical instruments. This glaring inadequacy is seen in dispensation of justice, protection of basic liberties, enforcement of bureaucratic accountability and appointments and accountability of constitutional functionaries. The Constitution of India, despite its evocative Preamble and lofty Directive Principles of State Policy, has essentially depended upon the old Government of India Act of 1935, with a sprinkling of other ideas borrowed from the Irish, Australian and other Constitutions. That is not surprising, considering that the Constituent Assembly which drafted and adopted the Constitution was, in the words of Granville Austin, "a one-party body is an essentially one-party country. The Assembly was the Congress and the Congress was India".

Securing to all citizens' justice - social, economic and political is one of the avowed goals of the Constitution. However, there is glaring failure to translate this into practical action. The failure of justice system, our incapacity to ensure at least a few years to school education to all children, the continuing shame of child labour and a highly centralized policy negated this Constitutional promise of

justice for all. Unnecessary litigation, needless appeals, dilatory procedures have actually denied justice to all the people. The facts are incontrovertible. There is no time limit for adjudication of cases. The plight of tens of thousands of juvenile undertrials languishing for years in inhuman conditions is an extreme example of the failure of justice system. Anarchy, rise in crime, break down of public order and criminalization of society and polity are some of the glaring consequences of this failure of justice system.

A constitution cannot operate in a vacuum. Even otherwise sound constitutional design might fall if it does not take into account the specific nature and requirements of a society. Over the past sixty-five years several distortions have crept into our state structure. As the domination of a single party has become a thing of the past, the working of the bicameral parliament has been distorted. As the Rajya Sabha is permanent body with a one third of the members indirectly elected by State Legislatures every two years, it ceased to reflect the will of the people at any point of time. Even governments with a clear mandate in the Lok Sabha have found it difficult to get legislation through the Rajya Sabha.

Ambedkar rightly said that the constitution is only as good as the men and women who operate it. Each generation has the benefit of

experience of the past and should have the capacity and the right to build upon the foundations of this experience. If certain portions of the Constitution have become redundant or dysfunctional over the years or if new problems arise and new instruments and rules are needed to face those challenges, then Constitution must be revised. Our Constitution is a fundamentally sound document, and its preamble, fundamental rights and most of the directive principles are as relevant today as even before. However, the detailed working of the state structure requires a careful review and reform in keeping with these basic constitutional principles. A wise Constitutional reform could be the answer to many problems.

So what kind of amendments we are envisaging? The National Commission to Review the working of the Constitution was set up, which has come up with its final report in the year 2002. The Commission has made multiple of recommendations. Starting from the fundamental rights - the definition of 'State' as included under Article 12 is inclusive and not exhaustive. The connotation of expression 'other authorities' has always been obscure. The issue that whether the BCCI (Board of Cricket Control India) is 'State' or not is recent example of surrounding controversy. Hence the Article needs an explanation that the expression 'other authorities' shall include any

person in relation to such of its functions which are of a public nature. The right of freedom of speech and expression should expressly include freedom of press and media. Similarly, right of privacy needs to be part of Article 21. It also needs to include right to work in limited sense. E. g. to make it obligatory on the State to bring suitable legislation for ensuring the right to rural wage employment for a minimum of eighty days in a year. Right to education for children upto age limit of 14 years should be enlarged to greater extent. Every person must have the right of safe drinking water and of an environment that is not harmful to one's health or well-being.

As regards directive principles, the Commission feels that they should be provided more backing by setting up implementation-mechanism. The Commission recommends establishing a high-status body to analyze the socio-economic condition of the State before deciding the extent of application of directive principles. The Commission also recommends that the heading of Part IV of the Constitution should be amended to read as "Directive Principles of State Policy and Action". Under this head should come the rights of work, social security, health, education, food, freedom from hunger, shelter and clothing. A special article is need to be incorporated for population control- "The state shall endeavour to secure control of

population by means of education and implementation of small norms". The State will be under the duty of promotion of Inter-religious harmony and inter-faith values by setting up "Mohalla Committees' with the participation of prominent members of different communities to take note of early warning symptoms and alerting the administration in preventing them. Due emphasis also needs to be given on fundamental duties. Further, it is necessary to separate religious percepts from civil law.

As regards to electoral process, a foolproof method of preparing electoral roll right at the Panchayat level constituency of a voter and supplementing it by a foolproof voter ID card which may in fact also serve as a multi-purpose citizenship card for all adults is the necessary electoral reform. Further, the EC should consider the use of tamper-proof video and other electronic surveillance at sensitive polling stations/constituencies. Any election campaigning on the basis of caste or religion and any attempt to spread caste and communal hatred during elections should be punishable with mandatory imprisonment. If such acts are done at the instance of the candidate, these would be punishable with disqualification. The Representation of the People Act should be amended to provide that any person charged with any offence punishable with imprisonment for a maximum term of five

years or more, should be disqualified for being chosen as or for being a member of Parliament or Legislature of a State. Criminal cases against politicians pending before Courts either for trial or in appeal must be disposed off speedily, if necessary, by appointing Special Courts. The political parties as well as individual candidates should be made subject to a proper statutory audit of the amounts they spend. These accounts should be monitored through a system of checking and cross-checking through the income-tax returns filed by the candidates, parties and their well-wishers. At the end of the election each candidate should submit an audited statement of expenses under specific heads. A comprehensive law regulating the registration and functioning of political parties or alliances of parties in India [may be named as Political Parties (Registration and Regulation) Act] should be made.

The Parliamentarians have to be like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. They must voluntarily place themselves open to public scrutiny through a parliamentary ombudsman. Supplemented by a code of ethics which has been under discussion for a long time, it would place Parliament on the high pedestal of people's affection and regard.

Right to information should be guaranteed and needs to be given real substance. The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988 should be amended to provide for confiscation of the property of a public servant who is found to be in possession of property disproportionate to his/her own known sources of income and is convicted for the said offence.

A 'Judicial Council' at the apex level and Judicial Councils at each State at the level of the High Court should be set up. There should be an Administrative Office to assist the National Judicial Council and separate Administrative Offices attached to Judicial Council in States. The criminal investigation system needs higher standards of professionalized action and it should be provided adequate logistic and technological support. The number of Forensic Science Institutions with modern technologies such as DNA fingerprinting technology should be enhanced. In order to cope up with the workload of cases at the lower level and also to curtail arrears and delay, the States should appoint honorary judicial magistrates selected from experienced lawyers on the criminal side to try and dispose less serious and petty cases on part-time basis.

Panchayat should be categorically declared to be 'institutions of self-government' and exclusive functions be assigned to them by

amending Article 243(G). The Eleventh and Twelfth Schedules to the Constitution should be restricted in a manner that creates a separate fiscal domain for Panchayats and Municipalities.

Agriculturists and many other traditional producing classes suffer from the adverse effects of natural calamities like drought, cyclone, floods, etc. A similar national convention should identify the measures required to protect them from such adverse effects of natural calamities including crop insurance, preparedness etc. , arrive at a consensus about these measures and institute a continuing machinery of continuous monitoring and corrections and modifications.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRIMATI SMRITI ZUBIN IRANI): Sir, I rise today to pay homage to the architect of the Indian Constitution. I was compelled to listen to the speech of a senior Parliamentarian just before me. Though there are certain observations I sought to make as a Member of Parliament, let it be unitedly said in this Parliament that when we seek to celebrate the life, the leadership, the vision of Dr. Ambedkar, whom we all call fondly Babasaheb – it is not to fragment him into a silo as we shall please – it is to look at his vision for a nation as a whole; look at the concepts with which he examined humanity and pay homage to what we see before us. The hon. Parliamentarian before me accused Parliamentarians that possibly this is a game of imagery wherein we seek to substitute one icon for the other. I think, as Indians how blessed are we that on our land walked many great men and women.

15. 28 hours (Hon. Speaker *in the Chair*)

[Translation] While paying homage to Babasaheb Ambedkar we should also be united in our homage to Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Motilal Nehru and also Mahatma Gandhi. Hence, the insinuation that this particular celebration is an attempt to substitute one icon for the other is something, I think, all Parliamentarians can very happily

disagree with. The hon. Gentleman said that he looked upon Babasaheb's struggle with his faith not in people but in certain religious context. He tried to possibly paint all of us for that matter particularly from that religion with that colour. Let it be said today in this august House that when Babasaheb looked at the concept of equality and liberty, he said openly: 'I do so not as a student of Political Science but because I learnt it so from my master Buddha. ' Let it also be said today that when we seek to take fragments of our history and describe what we were as people then while the hon. gentleman has the freedom to express a certain text about a jacket from Mayfair, I today quote Mahatma Gandhi from a speech he made in Chatham House in 1931 at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

He said:

> "I say without fear of my figures being challenged successfully that India today is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago because the British Administrators when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they began to root them out. They scratched the soil and began to look at the root. and left the root like that and the beautiful tree perished. "

If Parliament today turns the pages of history, Madam Speaker, I would rather say that apart from the challenges that destiny left in store for us, we also look at the opportunity that history unfolded before us.

A colleague from Maharashtra spoke about Babasaheb not only as a visionary leader but also as a scholar, an erudite philosopher. Anybody from Maharashtra who has followed Babasaheb's journey knows that he established the People's Education Society in 1945, knows that even today in Aurangabad, Maharashtra, stands the Milind Mahavidyalaya, which was established by him in 1950, and Siddhartha Law College established by him in 1956 in Mumbai.

This legacy of Babasaheb is not to be judged only from the lens of legislation. He established this Education Society to bring about intellectual moral and social democracy. I think that the biggest homage this democratic nation pays to the memory of Babasaheb Ambedkar is that those two institutions flourish even today in 2015.

Babasaheb Ambedkar's desire to ensure that democratic instruments work best when they are decentralized, when power is shared between the Centre and the States, when even the Panchayat is

empowered, is reflected in the Constitution and his Speeches, his Writings.

As the union HRD minister, I felt that one of the biggest tributes we can give to this great son of India after 30 years is to evolve a national education policy by engaging with those very democratic instruments. Today, with a lot of pride and a sense of humility and gratefulness to a leader like Babasaheb Ambedkar, I share with this house that in these past 11 months, many said:"Who will tell in the village how policies are made? " I am sure, my fellow parliamentarians will be happy to note that 1,00,206 Villages across this country have given written resolutions as to how they envision education for themselves and their nation. Madam, 5,155 Blocks, 1,202 Urban Local Bodies, 573 Districts have written and said: “This is what we want of our system in the field of education. ”

I recognise and appreciate that education, history are elements that have been heatedly debated in this very House and the other. Without naming a senior, who I look upon not from the lens of the political party he represents but as somebody, who is chronologically elder than me, I say; yesterday I witnessed as a 39year old parliamentarian, two stalwarts in this Parliament – one pointed a

finger at the other and said: “You have come from outside, you are an Aryan"

I say this with all sense of humility that when you look at Volume VII of Babasahab Speeches and Writings, you will find the quotes of Babasaheb Ambedkar. Since there was an irony steeped in this intervention, he said:

> “The originators of the Aryan Race Theory need to understand that this was done so that a few could establish their kinship with the European races and share their arrogance and superiority over Asiatic races. ”

Babasaheb further said:

> “By having assumed the superiority, the next logical step was to establish the fact of superiority of the Aryan race better than the invasion and conquest of native races. The Western writers have proceeded to invent the story of the invasion of India by the Aryanas. ”

Hence, Baba Saheb Ambedkar said and I repeat today.

"The Aryan race theory so absurd that it ought to have been dead long ago. "

As erudite, knowledgeable parliamentarians, I implore on the floor of this House let this fallacy die today in this august House, united under one Constitution that we are one nation, one people and a civilization that welcome all from across the world.

Madam Speaker, I realize the limitation of time but I am also appreciative of the fact that there is unlimited admiration for the work, the vision and the contribution of Baba Saheb Ambedkar to not only the Constitution but also the nation at large. I understand when I turn back the pages of history that Baba Saheb Ambedkar wanted free and compulsory education be a fundamental right of every child in this country and when he proposed this notion, the then Government formed a Committee to study this and cited high costs . This particular right that Baba Saheb Ambedkar wanted, enshrined in the Constitution as a fundamental right found the reflection in the Directive Principles. Today, as an Indian and as a Parliamentarian, I pay tribute to a Parliamentarian who does not sit amongst us today but who led the NDA Government as Prime Minister namely, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Under his

leadership came the 86th Amendment to the Constitution and education for children from the ages 6 to 14 became a fundamental right and on this constitutional bedrock did our nation see the right to Education Act notified from the 1st April, 2010. However, there is a senior leader from the Cabinet of the then Government. Shri Murli Manohar Joshi, who worked along with Parliamentarians across political ideology to enroll across the nation, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and what was extremely complimentary to the vision of Baba Saheb Ambedkar was a special framework for equity and education for children belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which finds a legislative mention in the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

Understanding Madam Speaker, yet again the challenges of time, I say today while I quoted Mahatma Gandhi, Baba Saheb Ambedkar himself gave a huge thrust to culture a pride in the fact that we, as a civilization have been richly endowed in this very House with certain seniors, I have myself witnessed a little bit of a clash and what is more in the modern context of India beneficial – German or Sanskrit. Mercifully, in this very House, we in a cooperative voice, said let the Constitution which gives *samman* to Sanskrit, stand valid for the people of our country. I

bring to your notice, Madam Speaker, that in September, 1949, Baba Saheb Ambedkar sponsored an amendment to make Sanskrit the official language of the Indian Union and one of the leaders who supported him was Naseeruddin Ahmed. The next day newspaper found a mention of Baba Saheb's response to a correspondent who when questioned Baba Saheb, why Sanskrit? Baba Saheb turned around and said what is wrong with Sanskrit? Ironically, six and a half decades later, that question is still posed and an answer still given which is the very essence of a thriving democracy.

Madam Speaker, as I bring my observations to a close, I would like to here read out Baba Saheb's message to his fellow citizens.

He said:

"I do not want that our loyalty as Indians should be in the slightest way affected by any competitive loyalty, whether that loyalty arises out of our religion, out of our culture or out of our language. I want all people to be Indians first, Indians last and nothing else but Indians"

Madam Speaker, I am happy to share with you that yesterday across all CBSE schools in our country children read the preamble. There are many students who witnessed the debate in this august House today. Children took a pledge to uphold the very values enshrined in our Constitution and resolutely across the nation said in one voice, the future of our country said, we are Indians first, Indians last and nothing else but Indians. Thank you.

[Translation]

HON SPEAKER: Dr Arun Kumar.

… (*Interruptions*)

HON SPEAKER: Shri Arun Kumar ji, please wait for a minute. Shri Kharge ji is correct in stating that the reference to the Aryan issue made by him yesterday has been removed from the debate and has been expunged. Therefore, it would be appropriate that no one repeatedly refers to it during the debate, because it has already been expunged.

[English]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE (GULBARGA): When you have already expunged from my speech, then whosoever referred to it, even if it is the Parliamentary Affairs, that should be removed.

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: It has been removed from the debate.

...(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: Since it was mentioned, a reply was given. However, I have once again informed the House that it has been expunged.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRIMATI SMRITI ZUBIN IRANI: Madam Speaker, if you just allow me, the very essence and spirit of deliberation and debate is this that I have not mentioned any Member by name.

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: It was mentioned earlier as well; therefore, I clarified it once again.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRIMATI SMRITI ZUBIN IRANI: Madam, I was not in the House. But let it be said on record that I have not named any parliamentarian.

HON. SPEAKER: I know.

SHRIMATI SMRITI ZUBIN IRANI: In fact, when I referred to a parliamentarian who is most senior to me, irrespective of the political ideology, I quoted as has been my Constitutional right from the speeches and writings of Babasaheb Ambedkar.

**********SHRI KONDA VISHWESHWAR REDDY (CHEVELLA):** We are from the newly formed state of Telangana. We not only have great respect for Babasaheb Ambedkar and to our Constitution but we owe our very existence to Babasaheb Ambedkar. We are committed to the Constitution of India; had it not been for the Article 3 Indian Constitution Telangana could not have been created.

There were many great leaders in his times -Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Subhas Chandra Bose, Sarojini Naidu and others. May of them studied abroad and got great exposure but Babasaheb Ambedkar was special and all those great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru recognized that there was something special about Babasaheb Ambedkar. He had a wider perspective and at the same time could get into great detail. He saw problems with great clarity. He saw the problems that India might face.

He specially understood the social problems of India, understood the reasons and came up with great solutions. I think one of the reasons he had this special gift was because of his exposure. While many leaders studied abroad in the UK which was not exactly a

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

classless society. Babasaheb Ambedkar studied in the United States which are closer to what we can imagine a classless society would be. He also had an opportunity to study in UK and Germany. He, indeed, had a wider view than most other leaders of his times.

In a democracy, the majority always wins. That is alright in a homogeneous society but in a diverse society like India - with multiple religious' languages, regions, states, cultures etc -when a majority always wins it might as well as imply that the minority always loses. He foresaw the dangers of 'tyranny of the Constitution. Be it religious minority, linguistic minority or regional minority.

In the combined state of Andhra Pradesh there were 175 MLAs from Andhra Pradesh and 120 MLAs from Telangana. The people of Telangana wanted a separate state and the people of Andhra did not want to let go. There was no way, we could have achieved separate state of Telangana if it was merely left to the majority in the assembly of the combined Andhra Pradesh State. The tyranny of the majority was avoided and that was only because of the foresight with which the Constitution was written.

Today some people mock leaders saying 'Suit Boo ka leader' but to me the first Suit Boot Ka Leader was Babasaheb Ambedkar, who

could see the then social problems, and was a visionary who had great foresight. He said, "The working of the Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics'.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said these very words in his closing address to the Constituent Assembly. A reflection upon this quote and an extensive discussion on the 'Commitment to the Constitution' is indeed a fitting way to commemorate Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary.

Telangana is in the heartland of India; it is in the centre of the country. Not only are we the centre of the country, we are in the centre in this House, too. We are neither aligned with the Treasury benches nor the opposition. We can probably speak more freely and more objectively than most in this House.

This debate and discussion is about commitment to the Indian Constitution however in more speeches yesterday it was more about scoring political brownie points. To me, the Constitution is about

providing 'Liberty, equality and Justice' to all Indians while maintaining unity and integrity. The Constitution text took cognizance of the diversity and the nature of our society. It suggested the organisation and administrative mechanism to achieve liberty, equality and justice to all Indians.

The Central discussion being commitment to the Indian Constitution means we should be discussing the commitment to liberty, equality and justice. But, we are all commited to it at least verbally but what exactly does this commitment translate to? To me the commitment to equality translates to our commitment in providing equal opportunity for employment, equal opportunity and access to education, access to clean drinking water, access to health amongst others.

To me, commitment to liberty implies liberty to speak freely, liberty to pursue any vocation we wish to, and practice any religion, to eat what we wish to and to dress the way we wish to. And to me justice is simply justice for all, in speedy manner as justice delayed is justice denied. Judicial reforms are required and what is our commitment to this?

These are the other points we should be discussing and not use this valuable time for scoring political brownie points. We should be discussing all these yojanas and their effectiveness.

In our country, where there are many backward, neglected and ostracized communities, how do we bring about liberty, equality and justice?

Reservations play a key role in bringing liberty and justice to many backward, neglected and ostracized communities but here again we have not effectively addressed the issue. There are several anomalies and problems in the current reservation systems. In many instances, well-off people from backward classes have captured the benefits of reservations, whereas poorer people from the deemed upper castes have failed to do so. The creamy layer clause for economic exclusion was included as per Mandal Commission, however it does not include Dalits and Adivasis.

The State Governments also follow their own reservation policies respectively based upon the local demographic of each state. Consequently, certain castes are accorded backward status in one state and general in another. The reservation system in the Constitution was

introduced with a time period for 10 years but it has continued and in cases, has increased to more than 50% in some states.

Reservations as per Article 14 of the Constitution were 7. 5% for ST, 15% for SC and after Mandal Commission in 1990, 27% for OBC was also introduced, totalling reservation to 49. 5%.

As per Supreme Court judgment in the Indra Sawhney vs Union of India case in 1992, reservation cannot exceed 50%. However, States such as Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa have more than 50% reservation. Reason given is the population and its composition in the states.

Dalit Christians and Dalits Muslims are still not accorded SC status; they lose benefits of reservation on conversion.

There are certain anomalies also that we see. For example, in Rajasthan, there are two communities 'Meena' and 'Mina', but as per government notification only 'Mina' is considered ST. Due to spelling errors, ST certificates were denied to deserving people.

We from Telangana Rashtra Samithi are committed to liberty, equality and justice. We are committed to the Constitution of India. Our Government of Telangana is committed to equal opportunity in

education, housing, access to healthcare, clean drinking water, reservations for the oppressed classes.

Our two-bedroom housing scheme for the poor is a commitment to the Constitution, our ambitious water gride progam to provide drinking water to every house is a commitment to the Constitution. Our Shaadi Mubarak and Kalyan Lakshmi scheme is a commitment to the Constitution. One pension schemes for the aged, the widowed and handicapped is our commitment to the Constitution. Providing quality food and sufficient fine rice to the poor is our commitment to the Constitution.

And all these are not just 20 promises -many of the schemes are already implemented. All the schemes will be completely implemented not in the distant future but in next 2 to 3 years.

We believe that development is the solution and actually Babasaheb Ambedkar and the Constitution directs to focus on development and definitely not on caste, communal, race issues.

††††††††††††††*__SHRI R. RADHAKRISHNAN (PUDUCHERRY):__ Hon. Madam Speaker, First I would like to congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister, Hon. Speaker and Hon. Parliamentary Affairs Minister for convening a special session to commemorate the Constitution Day and 125th Jayanthi of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. I on the behalf of the people of Puducherry would like to may my tributes to Dr. B. R. Ambedkr and his committee members for providing us the Constitution which is the binding force of our great nation.

I am sure our Parliament will uphold the values and vision enshrined in our Constitution. It is an occasion to remember the deeds and sacrifices of our founding fathers. In years to come, I am sure our Parliament through discussions and deliberations will strengthen our Constitution.

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††††††††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

[Translation]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI SUDHEER GUPTA (MANDSOUR):__ Today, on 26 November 2015, the country is observing Constitution Day on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar.

While reaffirming our commitment to the Constitution, we are also remembering Dr. Ambedkar and remaining mindful of the need to protect those fundamental values which he incorporated into the Constitution and which all leaders of that time had pledged to uphold. Those core values are fraternity, equality, and liberty. Dr. Ambedkar mobilised Dalit women and men and emphasised the reconstruction of Hindu society on the basis of equality. In his address to the Constituent Assembly on 25 November 1949, he stated that political democracy cannot succeed unless it is founded upon social democracy. On 13 December 1946, a resolution was moved outlining the objectives and aims of the Constituent Assembly. Pandit Nehru presented a resolution in the Constituent Assembly declaring the objectives of India. At that time, Dr. Jayakar opposed the adoption of the resolution. In his speech, Dr. Ambedkar stated that even though we may have been divided politically, socially, and economically at

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

that time, once circumstances and time became favourable, no force would be able to prevent our unity. He further observed that although the Muslim League was then leading a movement to divide India, a day would come when it too would realise that an undivided India alone was in the interest of all. Dr. Ambedkar never regarded the Congress as a party representing Dalits, backward classes, and Adivasis. Therefore, he did not participate in any movement alongside the Congress. In his book Thoughts on Pakistan, he provided clear guidance and expressed deep concern regarding democracy, the Muslim League, and Islamic jihad. Dr. Ambedkar also strongly protested to the Government of Pakistan that Scheduled Caste people were being persecuted there and were not being allowed to migrate to India. He further expressed grave concern over the forced conversions of people to Islam under the Nizam's rule in Hyderabad.

At the same time, he conveyed a message to those victims that, under any circumstances, they should come to India at the earliest. He further cautioned them that whether in Pakistan or Hyderabad, people belonging to the Scheduled Castes should never place their trust in the Muslim League. I have learnt that since Muslims were oppressing Hindus, some members of the Scheduled Castes began to regard the Muslim League as their friend and protector. I would like to state

unequivocally that such thinking is a grave mistake. Dr. Ambedkar, in his message, assured that all those who had been forcibly converted to Islam would be restored to society with the same respect and status that they enjoyed prior to their conversion. Dr. Ambedkar also drew the attention of the then Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, to this grave issue.

On this occasion of reaffirming our commitment to the Constitution, several questions still remain unanswered even today. One of the fundamental values to which we are committed was highlighted in a judgment of the Madras High Court, which held that the marriage of a Hindu woman with a Christian man is not valid unless either of them converts to the other's religion. This judgment indicates that even today women continue to be victims and are subjected to forced religious conversion. The protection of women is, in fact, the protection of constitutional values. Another value clearly articulated by Dr. Ambedkar was the question of whether those who were forcibly converted, from the period of British rule to the present day, would be restored to their original dignity and status. The third and most important value is whether we, collectively, will take a firm resolve to protect the unity and integrity of India, as envisioned by Dr. Ambedkar.

Let us all come together to realise Dr. Ambedkar's vision by establishing an ideal India that upholds the values enshrined in a dignified, stable, and progressive Constitution, supported by a strong and effective system of governance. Let us build an India that enhances the dignity of women and fosters a spirit of harmony among all castes, faiths, and sections of society. Let us create an India of which future generations can be proud and which the world can look to for inspiration.

DR. ARUN KUMAR (JAHANABAD): Madam Speaker, on this historic day, while commemorating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar, we are also observing Constitution Day. After a long passage of time since Independence, we have once again reaffirmed the resolve bestowed upon us by the Constitution and by Babasaheb Ambedkar. Our forebears, such as Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, and Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, played a decisive role in giving strong and enduring form to this historic document. Today, when we interpret the Preamble in the context of equality, fraternity, and India as a democratic State, we can state with certainty that the culture, heritage, and values we have inherited as a nation are clearly reflected in the Constitution of India as well.

Madam, the debates held yesterday and today have given us many lessons. Today, even in these changed circumstances and in a new phase of freedom, we can witness a distinct form of democratic transition of power. The people of this country have strengthened the roots of democracy. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, despite adverse circumstances, emphasised education and called for the creation of a strong educational environment. He urged people to first educate themselves, then organise, and thereafter agitate. However, over the

past 65 years, we have not achieved as much in the field of education as we should have. There is, undoubtedly, a need to give serious attention to this. Hon. Member Shri Arvind Sawant mentioned that Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar's father was influenced by Kabir. This country has, for centuries, progressed on the strength of its cultural values and moral traditions. Nations across the world look towards India with expectation. Yesterday, Hon. Member Shri Tathagata Roy, while responding to a question from the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, observed that while he speaks English, he also speaks and understands Hindi. Secularism is rooted in our soil, embedded in our heritage, and ingrained in our values. We respect all religions. From the reign of Ashoka to that of Akbar, the cultural legacy we have inherited and the character of India that emerged from those eras have, under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, earned global recognition, prestige, and respect. We can observe the enduring relevance of Mahatma Gandhi's ideals today, as many countries in South Africa and other parts of the world look towards India. Even the world's most powerful and prosperous nations engage with us with respect. It is our responsibility to carry forward this legacy. Today, attempts are being made to undermine it. Certain sections, by raising the issue of so-called intolerance, are attacking the

unity of the nation, its heritage, and its global standing. This is a deliberate conspiracy. Such attacks constitute a conspiracy. Preserving the stature and respect that India has earned globally under the leadership of Hon. Shri Narendra Modi is not the responsibility of the Treasury Benches alone; the Opposition must also demonstrate tolerance. Today, we wish to say to artists, journalists, and litterateurs that our culture has always been progressive. Undoubtedly, at some level, latent prejudices do exist within the subconscious mind, whether it be prejudice among some Hindus towards Muslims or among some Muslims towards Hindus. These prejudices must be consciously eliminated. Whether one is a cultural practitioner, a litterateur, or a writer, it is imperative to uphold our progressive social order and the progressive nation that we have inherited as a legacy. From the Bhakti movement onwards, this principle has been articulated and lived in our collective life. Those who are devoted to the nation and who wish to carry forward the noble spirit of an undivided India and Indian culture must make positive efforts to address, resolve, and heal these latent prejudices. In this context, we may recall the words of Kabir, who questioned ritualistic divisions when he said that “Kaankar paathar chun kar masjid diyo banaaye, Upar chadhkar mulla baang de, kya bahra hua Khudaaye. (The verse

criticises hollow ritualism, conveying that outward religious acts and loud prayers are meaningless without inner sincerity, moral conduct, and compassion.)" In the same spirit, he also remarked that "Paahan pooje Hari mile, to main poojun pahaad, Taakai woh chakki bhali, pis khaaye sansaar. (The verse suggests that serving humanity is more meaningful than ritualistic idol worship, as true devotion lies in actions that benefit society.)"

The traditions, cultural ethos, and belief systems that have evolved from the Bhakti movement to the present day find a direct and powerful reflection in the Indian Constitution, the framework of which was crafted by Babasaheb Ambedkar. To those who become unsettled over minor issues and speak of leaving the country, I would submit that this is a nation where every faith is accorded equal respect. People may speak of living in America, England, or other developed nations, but it is only on the soil of India that one hears, side by side, the call of the azaan, the ringing of temple bells, and the chimes of church bells. This is a reality of which we should be deeply proud. For the sake of narrow political interests or trivial differences, we must not allow any stain to be cast upon our shared and enduring civilisational heritage.

Madam Speaker, Members on the Treasury Benches repeatedly refer to the Bihar elections. We are deliberating on the parliamentary system, we are discussing the Constitution, and we are remembering Babasaheb Ambedkar, yet the Bihar elections continue to dominate their discourse. I would like to place on record that although we faced defeat in Bihar, they secured 1 crore 60 lakh votes, while we secured 1 crore 34 lakh votes. Our defeat was a consequence of organisational shortcomings, and therefore there is no occasion for undue triumphalism. In that contest, the Congress Party merely played a subsidiary role. I would like to urge them to reflect seriously on where they stand today and the direction in which such conduct may lead them. These matters have no relevance to the Constitution under discussion. Senior leaders repeatedly rise to invoke Bihar even after having made their point. I acknowledge their right to speak, but I would like to state clearly that we respect constitutional norms, and there is no cause for unease on that score. The approach adopted and the rhetoric employed are inconsistent with the principles upheld by Babasaheb Ambedkar. Chest-thumping declarations about dismantling reservation, and attempts to create fear on that issue, are deeply irresponsible. Those who raise such slogans reveal their true intentions. We, however, stand firmly as genuine and faithful

adherents of Babasaheb Ambedkar and his constitutional vision. There was never any proposal to abolish reservation. Certain people succeeded in creating confusion and derived political advantage from it. I would like to say to the Hon. Member Shri Tathagata Roy that while everyone should study and understand English, it can sometimes also give rise to misconceptions. From north to south and from east to west, since the period of the Mahabharata, the term Jambudweep has been used even in matrimonial mantras. However, the British introduced the term “subcontinent”. One can clearly see the difference in perception between Jambudweep and subcontinent.

Therefore, it is essential that we strengthen Hindi as the national language, while also giving due importance to our regional languages, whether Odia, Bengali, Tamil, or Telugu. From ancient mantras and the Mahabharata period to the events of 1857, the history that has been shaped during these times reflects India as a civilisation of which the world takes pride. A Hon. Member from the AAP side mentioned that similar issues are being witnessed in Canada and referred to the presence of four representatives there. However, one must also read what has been said in Canada about the Defence Minister of Sikh origin, whose roots lie in India. Therefore, we should not generalise individual remarks, nor should we take extreme positions on that

basis. Instead, we must resolve to write a new, strong chapter in the golden history of this undivided India. Jai Hind.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*__SHRI BHAIRON PRASAD MISHRA (BAANDA):__ I would like to congratulate the Government for deciding to observe Constitution Day on 26 November and 27 November in this House on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, and for initiating a discussion on Babasaheb and the Constitution. From 1949 to 2015, our country has witnessed numerous changes, and several amendments have been made to the Constitution during this period. However, even after the passage of 66 years, there remain many areas where substantial reforms are still required. The poor citizen, who was placed at the very centre of the Constitution, still has much to gain, and significant work remains to be done for his welfare. The condition of farmers in the country is extremely distressing and demands serious consideration, along with the formulation of special schemes for their upliftment. Terrorist activities are on the rise. Under certain provisions of the Constitution, terrorists and perpetrators of atrocities are finding ways to escape through loopholes in the judicial and executive systems. This calls for careful review and the enactment of stricter laws through suitable amendments. In Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral part of the country, citizens from other parts of India are still not permitted to

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

purchase land. There is a need to enact a Uniform Civil Code so that equality may be ensured for all citizens across the country. Special rights based on class and caste should not continue. Practices such as polygamy and special provisions relating to divorce are denying women equal rights and infringing upon their dignity. These issues require serious deliberation. The status of minority should be determined up to a defined percentage of population, beyond which it should not apply. There is a need to legislate on this matter as well. On this occasion, while bowing in reverence to Babasaheb, I express my pride in our Constitution and offer my salutations to this great nation of India. Vande Mataram.

**********SHRI VIRENDER KASHYAP (SHIMLA):** I express my special gratitude to the Government for allocating time for a two-day discussion in Parliament to commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. On 26 November 1949, under the leadership of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of India. The Constitution of India, as framed by Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, incorporates the parliamentary system, Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles of State Policy, secularism, federalism, the independence of the judiciary, equality before the law, the rule of law, and the core spirit of welfare-oriented liberal democracy. Provisions were also made to ensure that the Constitution remains flexible by enabling amendments from time to time.

The Preamble of our Constitution begins with the words “We, the people of India”, clearly affirming that governance in our democracy is established by the people and for the people. It solemnly resolves to constitute India into a sovereign, inclusive, secular, democratic republic, and places justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity at the core of our constitutional values. By establishing the

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rule of law, the framers of the Constitution provided a clear framework for achieving social, economic, and political objectives. Today, India has emerged on the global stage as the world's largest and most vibrant democracy, reflecting both the wisdom of its people and their enduring commitment to democratic ideals. Our democratic system accords primacy to liberty, equality, and justice, enabling citizens to express their views freely and without fear. The articulation of dissent and consensus through the media and intellectual discourse remains an essential pillar of our democracy. The Constitution makes special and deliberate provisions to ensure justice for all, particularly for the exploited and backward sections of society. These commitments are expressly reflected in various Articles, notably Articles 14, 15, and 17. To eradicate social inequality, especially the inhuman practice of untouchability, the framers incorporated firm and unequivocal safeguards. Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar firmly believed that the caste system was the greatest obstacle to national unity and progress. He remained deeply concerned about the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and women, and accordingly ensured that special constitutional protections were provided for these sections. Today, if Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assemblies from the Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes are able to actively participate in law-making and policy formulation at the national and State levels, it is entirely due to the vision and resolve of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. The provision of reservation in political representation, economic opportunities, and Government employment, aimed at securing a dignified and equitable place for these sections in society, will forever stand as a defining and historic contribution of the framers of our Constitution, most notably Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

Today, as we observe Constitution Day throughout the year on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and pay tribute to him through various programmes, I would like to make special mention of the present NDA Government, which under the leadership of Hon. Shri Narendra Modi has, over the past one and a half years, worked effectively towards the upliftment of every section of society and towards accelerating the pace of national development. In particular, the Government has announced several initiatives this year to offer a special tribute to Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. Whether it is the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, the various social security schemes including the insurance cover of Rs. 2 lakh at a premium of Rs. 12, the Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana at Rs. 330, the Atal Pension Yojana providing a monthly

pension ranging from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000, or the Mudra Bank Yojana, the benefits of all these schemes are intended to reach even the poorest of the poor. A substantial proportion of the beneficiaries are Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities. The present Government is formulating its programmes by giving priority to the deprived and exploited sections of society in accordance with the various provisions of the Constitution. On this occasion, I would also urge the Government to remove the obstacles that were created in the implementation of constitutional provisions relating to reservation by previous Congress Governments for political reasons and vote-bank considerations. In the present era of globalisation and privatisation, when opportunities in Government employment are steadily declining, it would be appropriate to deliberate upon extending the reservation system to the private sector as well. By implementing such measures, the Government would truly fulfil its responsibility in paying a sincere tribute to Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. On this occasion, while offering my respectful tributes to the framers of the Constitution, especially Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, on his 125th birth anniversary, I conclude by expressing my gratitude.

††††††††††††††††*SHRI FAGGAN SINGH KULASTE (MANDLA): Today, we are celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 in a small village in Madhya Pradesh. His father's name was Ramji Maloji Sakpal and his mother's name was Bhimabai. Ambedkar was born into the Mahar community, which was considered untouchable and among the most marginalised sections of society. During his childhood, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and his family faced severe social and economic discrimination. His childhood name was Ramji Sakpal. Through his exemplary deeds, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar proved that a person is not defined by birth but by actions.

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, one of the greatest thinkers of the twentieth century, an inspiring scholar, a powerful writer, an eloquent orator, and independent India's first Law Minister, was the principal architect of the Indian Constitution. A distinguished jurist, an indefatigable worker, and a person of exceptional intellectual ability, Dr. Ambedkar combined liberal thought with firm resolve and made an unparalleled contribution to the framing of our Constitution. He is therefore rightly regarded as the Father of the Indian Constitution.

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The progressive and humanist ruler of Baroda, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad, recognised Dr. Ambedkar's brilliance and granted him a scholarship for higher education for a period of three years, with the condition that upon his return from the United States, he would serve the Baroda State for ten years. Dr. Ambedkar earned his Master's degree from Columbia University and subsequently completed his Ph.D. there.

On the occasion of the completion of 250 years of Columbia University, a survey was conducted to identify the most distinguished students in the University's entire history. Six eminent names were shortlisted, and Dr. Ambedkar was ranked first among them. In his honour, a bronze statue of Dr. Ambedkar was installed at the main entrance of Columbia University. The statue was unveiled by the then President of the United States of America, Mr. Barack Obama, and bears the inscription "Symbol of Knowledge". I bow with deep reverence to Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

The theme of his research was "The National Dividend of India," a scholarly work that earned him wide recognition and acclaim. In appreciation of his academic excellence, his scholarship was extended for an additional year. Upon completing four years of study and returning to India, he was appointed to a senior position in the Baroda

State. However, owing to deep-rooted social prejudice and acute difficulties related to accommodation, he was forced to relinquish his post and relocate to Bombay. In Bombay, Dr. Ambedkar joined Sydenham College as a Professor of Economics. Even there, he encountered resistance born of narrow and regressive thinking. Yet, fortified by exceptional inner strength and unwavering resolve, Bhimrao Ambedkar continued his onward journey. He firmly believed that defeat lies in the surrender of the mind, and victory in mastery over it. In 1919, he returned to London, where through tireless effort he earned degrees in M.Sc. and D.Sc., and qualified as a Barrister. In 1923, he commenced legal practice at the Bombay High Court. Despite persistent adversity, he advanced steadily, guided by intellect, discipline, and determination.

It is a matter of great pride that recently, under the leadership of the Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, and in cooperation with the Government of Maharashtra, the residence in London where Dr. Ambedkar pursued his higher education was acquired from the British Government and converted into a museum, ensuring that future generations may draw inspiration from his extraordinary life and contributions.

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was not merely an eminent statesman, jurist, and economist, but also one of the greatest social reformers India has known. Throughout his life, he waged an uncompromising struggle against the caste system, untouchability, and all forms of social discrimination. He championed women's education and equality, and secured statutory provisions for maternity benefits. He authored thirty-five books and devoted nearly eighteen hours a day to reading, research, and writing. Among his most influential works are "Caste in India" and "Essay on Untouchables and Untouchability."

In his fight against social injustice, Dr. Ambedkar successfully advocated separate electorates for the oppressed and marginalised communities at the Round Table Conference in London in 1932. However, following Mahatma Gandhi's opposition, this arrangement was withdrawn, and instead the system of reservations for the Scheduled Castes was adopted. Subsequently, on 29 April 1947, the Constituent Assembly formally declared untouchability and caste-based discrimination to be punishable offences under law.

On 29 August 1947, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was appointed Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. Disregarding his fragile health, he worked with extraordinary dedication and intellectual rigour, leading his team in framing the

Constitution of India. This historic document was adopted and enacted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949. It established India as a sovereign, socialist, democratic republic founded on the principles of social, economic, and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and opportunity; dignity of the individual; and unity and integrity of the nation.

With the objective of ensuring social equality and harmony, Dr. Ambedkar incorporated several transformative provisions into the Constitution. These include;-

Article 14 guaranteeing equality before the law; Article 15 prohibiting discrimination; Article 15(3) enabling special provisions for women; Article 16 ensuring equality of opportunity in public employment; Article 17 abolishing untouchability; Article 23 prohibiting trafficking in human beings; and Article 38 directing the State to promote social justice, including equal pay for equal work. He also ensured constitutional provisions for reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in government services, the Lok Sabha, and State Legislatures. In 1949, deeply committed to women's equality, Dr. Ambedkar introduced the Hindu Code Bill to grant women equal legal and economic rights. When the Bill failed to

secure passage, he resigned from the post of Law Minister on 27 November 1951, demonstrating his unwavering moral conviction. After prolonged struggle, the Hindu Code Bills were finally enacted in 1955–56, laying a strong legal foundation for women's equality and empowerment. Today, women are contributing actively and meaningfully across all spheres of national life.

Following India's independence on 15 August 1947, the Congress-led government invited Dr. Ambedkar to serve as the nation's first Law Minister, an offer he accepted. His appointment as Chairman of the Drafting Committee on 29 August 1947 earned him widespread admiration from colleagues and contemporaries alike. His deep study of early Buddhist institutions and canonical texts significantly influenced his constitutional vision, particularly in shaping principles of equality, justice, and ethical governance.

The Constitution drafted under the leadership of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar provides strong constitutional guarantees to individual citizens and safeguards a broad spectrum of civil liberties. These include freedom of religion, the complete abolition of untouchability, and the declaration of all forms of discrimination as unlawful. Dr. Ambedkar was a powerful advocate of women's economic and social rights and successfully secured the Constituent Assembly's support

for reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in civil services, as well as in educational institutions. On 26 November 1949, the Constituent Assembly formally adopted this historic Constitution.

Yet, despite repeated representations by Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe organisations and individuals from my constituency and across the country, it has become evident that reservation policies are still not being implemented in their true spirit in many government departments and ministries. Discrimination continues at various stages-during recruitment, promotions, interviews, and even in the selection of officers for domestic and international training programmes. These practices reveal deep-rooted prejudices and highlight the urgent need for a fundamental change in the mindset of senior administrative authorities. Even today, instances of untouchability persist in certain regions, which is deeply shameful and a direct violation of constitutional values.

As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Swami Vivekananda both emphasized, a nation cannot achieve complete development unless inequality is eradicated and the poor—especially those from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, are embraced as equal and integral members of society. Without social justice and genuine inclusion, economic progress alone is hollow.

Therefore, I strongly urge that a comprehensive Reservation Bill, fully aligned with the constitutional vision of Dr. Ambedkar, be introduced and passed in Parliament without delay. Further, provisions for reservation in promotions should be extended beyond Group ‘A’ services up to senior secretarial levels, in proportion to population share. This will ensure meaningful participation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in national policy-making and help eliminate the persistent sense of marginalisation that still exists.

For the economic development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country, I would like to propose that all banks, companies and private entrepreneurial enterprises should allocate at least 5.0 percent of their profits exclusively for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This expenditure should be directed towards education, health insurance, technology, skill development, housing and food assistance, so that poverty does not deprive these communities of the benefits of development.

My second suggestion is that the funds earmarked under the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Sub-Plan must be fully utilised. These funds should not be diverted for any other purpose, because

without economic empowerment, the comprehensive development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not possible.

Finally, I would like to make an important suggestion that individuals and officers who perform commendable work for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be publicly honoured, and appropriate incentive amounts should also be granted by the Government. Officers who deliberately obstruct or delay the implementation of the reservation policy should be dealt with strictly. If necessary, the Government should also enact specific legislation to ensure effective enforcement.

In conclusion, on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Shri Bhimrao Ambedkar, I would like to state that the efforts made by the Government for the development of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and women are still inadequate and need to be taken further, so that the benefits of development reach all sections of society, particularly the weaker sections. For this purpose, it is absolutely essential that we implement, in letter and spirit, the Constitution framed by Babasaheb Ambedkar, remain fully committed to social harmony and inclusive development, and thereby fulfil the objective of this Session.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI HUKUM SINGH (KAIRANA):__ I had a strong desire to participate in the ongoing discussion in the House regarding the framing of the Indian Constitution. However, due to paucity of time, this may not be possible. Therefore, I am submitting a few points related to the matter in written form. I would like to request that these may kindly be treated as my statement and be included in the proceedings.

With regard to the framing of the Constitution and the pivotal contribution of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, from the process of constitution-making to his role in Indian politics, previous speakers have already spoken in considerable detail. In particular, the views expressed by the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, the Hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, and from the Opposition by Hon. Sonia ji and other Members deserve appreciation. In my considered view, the greatest achievement of the Indian Constitution lies in the fact that, after a gap of several centuries, it gave a unified physical form and a common cultural identity to the nation of India. It is well known that during more than 800 years of foreign rule, India had lost its original cohesion and stood divided into numerous small kingdoms and

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princely States, as many as 562 in number. Even prior to foreign domination, India had never existed in the vast and integrated form that it does today. This unity is a unique and historic contribution of the Constitution. Had such a unified national structure existed earlier, one may well ask whether a conqueror like Alexander could have travelled thousands of miles and claimed victory so easily. History shows that invaders repeatedly entered the country, plundered one region or another, and withdrew without facing a united resistance. There was never a lack of bravery or valour in this land. However, whether Nawabs or Kings of small princely States, their authority and outlook remained confined to their own territories. Whether it was Ghori or Ghazni, each looted parts of the country. A valiant warrior like Maharana Pratap fought the Mughals almost single-handedly, while the rest of the country looked on. After a prolonged and arduous struggle, the nation attained independence in 1947. The Constituent Assembly had already been constituted in 1946, and the scholars of the nation, after extensive study and deliberation, determined the structure of the Constitution. It is a well-known fact that nearly four-fifths of the present Constitution is based on the Government of India Act, 1935. After carefully examining the Constitutions of the United States, England, Ireland and other countries, their systems were

adapted to Indian conditions and incorporated into the constitutional framework. Despite immense linguistic, cultural and geographical diversity, today every citizen, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, proudly identifies as an Indian. After independence, the country faced foreign aggression on four occasions. Members will recall the conflict with China, the war of 1965 and subsequent hostilities. Wherever Indian soldiers passed, thousands of citizens came forward to welcome them. This reflected a strong national character and deep patriotism. Such sentiments can arise only when there is genuine love for the nation and a shared concern for its defence.

We all take pride in the fact that, owing to the wisdom and scholarship of Dr. Ambedkar, the nation was endowed with a strong and resilient Constitution. At the same time, it is a matter worthy of serious reflection that while Dr. Ambedkar is rightly credited for this achievement, he himself appeared deeply disillusioned with the Constitution within a few years. In 1953, while speaking in the Rajya Sabha, he stated, “I do not agree with this Constitution; I wish to burn it.” Thereafter, he spent the remainder of his life as a disappointed and disheartened leader and did not publicly reaffirm his faith or allegiance to the Constitution.

One of the salient features of the Constitution of India is that it clearly delineates the powers and responsibilities of Parliament, the Executive and the Judiciary, so that no institution encroaches upon the domain of another. However, with the passage of time, a tendency towards such encroachment has increasingly emerged. It is widely acknowledged that over the past two decades, the manner in which the Judiciary has reviewed constitutional provisions and assumed powers belonging to Parliament and the Executive is not only unconstitutional, but also indicative of a dangerous drift towards an authoritarian mindset. Even the plain meanings of words have been altered. For example, the Constitution explicitly provides that the appointment of Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts shall be made by the President, and it also clearly stipulates that prior consultation with the Hon. Chief Justice of India is mandatory. This arrangement functioned smoothly for nearly four decades. During the Emergency, certain incorrect decisions were taken. The word used in the Constitution is “consultation”. However, the Hon. Supreme Court interpreted “consultation” to mean “concurrence”. Can it be assumed that the framers of the Constitution were unaware of the distinction between “consultation” and “concurrence”? Both are well-defined terms in the English language. No institution, including the Judiciary,

has the authority to assign an entirely new meaning to a word. The Constitution provides a clear and unambiguous mechanism for the appointment of Judges, yet unfortunately that mechanism has been completely disregarded and replaced by an entirely new system. All these issues call for serious deliberation, because if such a situation continues, it may eventually lead to the emergence of a constitutional framework altogether different from the present one, thereby undermining the very authority and relevance of the Constitution itself.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI ARJUN RAM MEGHWAL (BIKANER): As part of the celebrations marking the 125th birth anniversary of Bhimrao Ambedkar ji, I would like to place the following considered suggestions before this Special Sitting convened on commitment to the Constitution of India.

Hindi is the mother tongue of India and also a powerful source of emotional inspiration for the people of the country. It is our collective responsibility to make sincere and positive efforts to ensure that Hindi is accorded its due status as the official language.

Article 348 of the Constitution of India provides that, until Parliament enacts a law to the contrary, all proceedings in the Supreme Court and the High Courts shall be conducted in the English language.

There are numerous law colleges and universities across the country where legal education is imparted in Hindi. In most parts of northern, western and central India, Hindi is the primary medium of instruction for law students. In such circumstances, when these graduates enter the legal profession and seek enrolment as advocates in the High Courts and the Supreme Court, they face serious practical

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difficulties. As a result, despite being competent and meritorious advocates, many are compelled to restrict their practice to subordinate courts due to a sense of disadvantage and lack of opportunity.

In this context, I submit that advocates who have obtained their legal education through the medium of Hindi should be permitted to argue cases in Hindi before the Supreme Court and the High Courts. This reform would benefit a very large section of the legal fraternity. Hon. Judges may continue to deliver and pronounce judgments in English; however, removing the compulsion of conducting arguments only in English in the Supreme Court and High Courts would be a major and progressive innovation for the Hindi-speaking regions of the country.

Article 124 of the Constitution provides for transparency in the appointment of Judges. Judges do not have, nor should they have, the authority to amend the Constitution on their own. Any such action would undermine the dignity and sanctity of the Constitution. Constitutional amendments can be carried out only in accordance with the parliamentary system.

The 8th Schedule of the Constitution envisages the promotion and enrichment of languages. Despite this, languages such as Rajasthani,

Bhojpuri and Bhoti have not yet been included in the Eighth Schedule. This matter also deserves due consideration.

At present, the issue of cow slaughter is creating an atmosphere of communal tension across the country. This is adversely affecting religious and communal harmony. The Directive Principles of State Policy state that legislation should be enacted to prohibit the slaughter of cows. If an Act is enacted under the Constitution to prevent cow slaughter, it would strengthen religious unity and harmony in our country.

[English]

**********SHRI OM BIRLA (KOTA):** I pay my gratitude to the founding fathers of the Constitution as we celebrate the first Constitution day. We are indebted to the invaluable service of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and several other leaders like Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Jawaharlal Nehru among others.

I wish to make three points: a) Why this Constitution is special? b) Strengthening of institutions by Constitution. c) Co-operative federalism.

Constitution is defined as the guiding principle of the nation. However, the average lifespan of the several constitutions around have hardly withstood the test of time as much the Indian Constitution has. India, in its 68 years of Independence has been effectively together by the Constitution. It has been through several turmoil and challenging phases. Every time, we have emerged successfully and this shows how strong the country's foundation principles are.

It must also be noted that some of the countries in Asia secured independence around the same time as us. Some of them had equally strong foundations with a written Constitution. However, if you look

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

around, many of these nations went through a phase of turmoil with rulers not democratically elected and times where the army filled the space of a weak government. However, India has successfully held its elections to chose a democratically elected government every time since 1952 except once during emergency.

It took hard work of close to three years to draft the Constitution. Some say it is very long, but I wish to reiterate the fact that the masters who drafted the Constitution have taken great effort in presenting the ambitions of the country in it. Right to equalilty, Right to freedom of expression and Right to life mentioned under Article 14, Article 19 and Article 21 continue to remain the most important aspects safeguarding the rights of people. And not to forget several attempts to write a Constitution even prior to 1947. Commonwealth of India Bill in 1924, the Swaraj Constitution, Fundamental Rights Declaration in 1931.

Before, I move on, I wish to narrate a small anecdote; Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, a civil servant, diplomat, statesman was instrumental in the drafting of our Constitution. Then, President of the constituent assembly Dr. Rajendra Prasad asked him about how they could incorporate the best of several constitutions around the world when there is little understanding of them amongst the leaders of the country

and even senior lawyers. During this time, Mr. Rau said that he would create a questionnaire asking what rights should the executive have and at the same time provide them information on what other countries have done in this regard. When such a questionnaire was sent in the initial stage of the Constitution formation, only two people replied to that questionnaire. One was KM Panniker, a diplomat from Travancore and the other was none other than Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherjee, the man on whose principles BJP was founded. I wish to emphasise that this government led by hon. Shri Narendra Modiji has and will always move on principles enshrined in the Constitution to secure the welfare of people and growth of the country. And there can't be a better example than one mentioned above of Dr. SP Mukherjee showing our commitment to Constitution.

Our Constitution has provided sound safeguard of the rights of citizens, and its institutions. It commits to the social, economic and political welfare of citizens. It is here, I would like to highlight the contributions of various social and economic schemes launched for the welfare of the country. And at present those welfares are not just efficiently looked after by the hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, in fact he has launched schemes like Jan Dhan Yojana, Suraksha Bima Yojana, Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana,

Skill India and most importantly Swachh Bharat Abhiyan to ensure the people of India grow at the same pace as the country does.

As far as institutions are concerned, I would like to mention two of them who stood the test of time. One is the Election Commission, conducting free and fair elections upholding the principles of democracy; and the second being Supreme Court ensuring justice to every citizen of India. I feel proud to say that, on January 25, 1950, the Election Commission was formed whereas the Supreme Court was formally established on January 28, 1950. And I need not say how historic January 28, 1950. And I need not say how historic January 26, 1950 is for us. In a span of four days the country gave birth to institutions that have been committed to safeguarding the Constitution along with the Parliament.

While institutions have played an important role, we should be proud of the concept of co-operative federalism in India empowering the states to govern the country as mentioned under Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. I am glad that our hon. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has led by example pushing for co-operative federalism in the growth of India. The higher devolution of taxes of states shows the commitment in empowering the states.

In my concluding remarks, I recollect the quote by hon. former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee standing at this central hall on the golden jubilee of the India's Republic Day in the year 2000. "Let this be our resolve today: We shall leave institutions- above all, our Parliament and our State Legislature-for the coming generation in a condition vastly better than the condition in which we found them; In discharging our duties in them, our conduct will be such as would have done the founding Fathers proud. "

I thank the Speaker for providing me the opportunity to express my views on this historic occasion. I am sure the members of this house will rise above all differences and unite in the best interests of the country.

††††††††††††††††††*__SHRI RAJEEV SATAV (HINGOLI):__ At the outset I would like to pay my respect to all the victims of the 26/11 Mumbai attacks from Pakistani terrorists. Also, I would like to pay tribute to our brave policemen and soldiers who gave their lives to save their motherland, 7 years ago. Especially I would like to mention the following:

1. Hemant Karkare: Cheif of Mumbai Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS)
2. Tukaram Gopal Omble: Asst. Sub-Inspector and retired army man
3. Ashok Kamte: Additional Commissioner of Police
4. Vijay Salaskar: Senior Police Inspector and encounter specialist
5. Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan: National Security Guards (NSG) commando

And to many many more unnamed brave policemen, soldiers and civilians, India and this Parliament will remember your courage till eternity.

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The House is discussing our commitment to India's Constitution as part of the 125th birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. In these times of great political turbulence, our commitment to India's Constitution needs to be reinforced more than ever in the recent history of our country.

66 years ago, on 26th Nov. 1949, the longest written and the most elaborate constitution of any sovereign country in the world, consisting of almost 80,000 words, was adopted in this great country after great deliberation. The drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, under the Chairman Shri Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, took almost 3 years (2 years, 11 months and 17 days to be precise) to complete its historic task of drafting the Constitution for independent India. In comparison, American Constitution was drafted in 4 months while Australian Constitution took 9 years.

7,635 amendments to this Draft Constitution were tabled out of which 2,473 amendments were actually moved in the House.

At the time of commencement, the Constitution had 395 articles in 22 parts and 8 schedules. The Constitution, in its current form has 25 parts containing 448 articles, 12 schedules, and 5 appendices.

The progressive vision and the intellectual prowess of the makers of the Constitution can be judged from the fact in the last 66 years, only about 100 amendments have been made to the Constitution of India, the last one being the territory swap agreement with Bangladesh.

Sometimes I wonder if Ambedkar Ji were to be present today, how disappointed and shocked he would have been to the see the intolerant India of present times deeply divided on caste and communal lines. We need to look no further than his speech in the Constituent Assembly on 25th November 1949, 66 years ago. It's absolutely amazing how his words are relevant today than ever, 66 years since they were said. He said: That I was not prepared to accept some suggestions do not diminish the value of suggestions nor lessen the service rendered to the Assembly in enlivening its proceedings. But for those members, I would not have had the opportunity which I got for expounding the principles underlying the Constitution which was more important than the mere mechanical work of passing the Constitution.

In contrast, the Government of today thinks that majority in the Lok Sabha means they can bulldoze their way without any communication, let alone any effort to build consensus. This is well

reflected in the Government's decisions of not appointing any leader of opposition or bypassing Parliament by promulgating 14 ordinances in 1 single year.

On upholding the commitment to Constitution and Parliamentary democracy. Sh. B. R. Ambedkar said, in his speech in the Constituent Assembly on 25th November, 1949. "It is not that India did not know what Democracy is (as in, in historical times). This democratic system India lost. But it is quite possible in a country like India -where democracy from its long disuse must be regarded as something quite new-there is danger of democracy giving place to dictatorship. "

He suggested that if we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, we must do these three things- "The first thing is to hold fast to constittutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means abandoning the bloody methods of revolution. When constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the Grammar of Anarchy. "

Simply put, Dr. Ambedkar wanted India, since it was now ruled by Indians, to be governed by the rule of law. The rule of law implies that the citizens are granted rights with reasonable restrictions. This

doesn't mean the Government of the day continuously preaching us what to do, what to eat, what to study and what to watch.

He talked about making our political democracy a social democracy as well. His words were-"Social democracy means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. "

Additionally, the Preamble to the Constitution talks about socialist and secular ethos. Liberty implies freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship. In contrast, today anyone differing from the Government's opinion is asked to go to Pakistan. Continuous attempts are made to denigrate some citizens as second class in their own country. Standing up for secular rights of the citizens is termed as "pseudosecularism" or "sickularism".

The last thing, Dr. Ambedkar, said was "not to lay liberties at the feet of even a great man, or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions. This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. For in India, Bhakti or what may be called the path of devotion or hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays

in the politics of any other country in the world. In politics, Bhakti is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.

Compare this to the present times, where the Chief of the Government, the Prime Minister, is concerned with primarily addressing his "bhakts" constitutency. Gruesome communal incidents happen in this country. Bhakts, within and outside the government, try to justify his silence and anyone asking questions is labeled anti national. The PM only speaks on foreign tours and doesn't consider it necessary to be anwerable to the Parliament.

There can be no bigger threat to this democracy and the Constitution than considering any Government or its Chief beyond any accountability.

This country has witnessed majority governments in the past. The first Lok Sabha had 364 Congress MPs out of total 489 seats, but still the House deliberated for over 600 days on various policies and legislations in its 5-year term. The urgency of new legislations was more crucial than ever, but the executive took the route of consensus building instead of ordinances.

This reflects the constitutional values than Congress party has been built on.

On this note Dr. Ambedkar said-"The task of the Drafting Committee would have been a very difficult one if this Constituent Assembly has been merely a motley crowd. 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. The Congress Party is, therefore, entitled to all the credit for the smooth sailing of the Draft Constitution in the Assembly. "

Many people may not be aware that at the time of Constitution drafting, the "Cultural Organisation of the Government" was one of the prime critics of Baba Saheb Ambedkar and initially did not recognize the Constitution of India.

It is said that it was raining outside the Parliament on the day the Constitution was signed, and it was considered a good omen by the people who signed it. 66 years later, in 2015 primarily due to lack of rainfall 2000 farmers have committed suicides till September in Maharashtra alone. This number is highest of the last 5 years. While the Government, which was elected on the promise of "acche din", says that impotency and love affairs are the top reasons behind farmer suicides.

SHRI PURNO AGITOK SANGMA (TURA): Madam Speaker, as a former Speaker myself, it becomes my duty to help the Chair. Deputy-Speaker has already given a ruling that nobody should speak for more than five minutes. This is a very important debate. I cannot do justice in five minutes. So, I choose not to speak. My time may kindly be given to the hon. Member from Sikkim Shri P. D. Rai.

HON. SPEAKER: You can.

SHRI PURNO AGITOK SANGMA: Where is the time?

HON. SPEAKER: I have called your name. You can speak for at least five minutes. You have that right.

SHRI PURNO AGITOK SANGMA: Madam Speaker, I thank you and I will try to be as short as possible. First of all, I thank the Government and the hon. Speaker for having convened this Special Session to commemorate the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. During my time, there was also an occasion of a Special Session, eight days of Special Session to celebrate the Golden Jubilee. The House was not adjourned even for one minute. It went on for day and night. There was serious discussion. I had expected this time also to be a serious one and to have a serious discussion, two days are not enough. However, what has been decided is decided.

I do not want to deal with all the aspects of the Constitution of India. The Vajpayee Government had appointed a National Commission to review the working of the Constitution. It was a eleven Member Commission. Justice Venkatachaliah was the Chairperson. I also happened to be a Member of that. We had given a series of suggestions to strengthen the Constitution of India. I wish that that Commission's Report would have been placed on the Table of the House. It could have been circulated. I suggested in all party meeting that this Report could be the basis for discussion in this Special Session. Anyway, there has been a little bit of reservation from some groups. It could not be done.

I will only deal with that chapter which deals with the Parliament of India. I am a great believer of parliamentary system. Under the Constitution of India, Parliament is the finest institution. If somebody asks me what is the greatest achievement of India after Independence. My answer is uninterrupted parliamentary democracy. There are many countries that got Independence before us, along with us and after us. They could not sustain parliamentary democracy. There have been Interruptions -- sometimes Army rule; sometimes President's rule; and sometime parliamentary form. But India is the only country which has uninterrupted parliamentary system. According to me, the

parliamentary system of Government is the only form of Government suitable for a country like ours.

Looking at the functioning of the Parliament, there has been a debate which is going on in the country. A lot of seminars, a lot of workshops are being held -- I am being invited to attend those – to explore the possibility of an alternative form of Government. The Parliament has failed. It is further failing. Should we not go in for the Presidential form of Government? That is the debate which is going on in the country today. I am strongly opposed to the Presidential form of Government. I am all out for the parliamentary form of Government. We have to continue with the parliamentary system. I have made a lot of points. But I am looking at the clock.

16. 00 hours

But there are things which need to be changed. I think all of us will have to behave better. I have been in Parliament for 32 years now since 1977. I have seen 11 Prime Ministers, 11 Speakers, thousands of Members of Parliament. I have heard so many veterans speak. Beautiful! Beautiful! If you recall the speeches of Vajpayee, L. K. Advani, Somnath Chatterjee, Jyotirmoy Basu, Indrajeet Gupta,

George Fernandes, Prof. N. G. Ranga, C. M. Stephen, I have never ever missed attending the Parliament and listening to those tremendous speeches of those veterans.

Today we do not have a chance to speak. We cannot even judge a Member of Parliament how capable he is, how eloquent he is, the subject he is interested in, because no debate is taking place. We must debate. It is only through debate and discussion that Parliament can be strengthened, not by adjournments, not by shouting of slogans.

During my time when I became a Member first in 1977, Y. B. Chavan was the leader of the opposition. He said, let us walk out. And the next day the newspapers said, walkout in Parliament was unprecedented. Even walk out was so unprecedented that it made headlines. There was no question of adjournment. I think I was the first Member of Parliament who got the Question Hour adjourned. I am sorry for what I have done. At one point of time I stood on the bench and I spoke and the rule had to be changed. There were occasions like that. But by and large the kind of debate that took place was wonderful.

I have a few suggestions to make. I have seen, you all have seen, that instability and hung Parliaments started in 1989. In subsequent

six elections, no party got majority. All were coalitions and there has been complete instability. When I was Speaker, I was Speaker for 18 months only, I had five confidences and no confidence motions in just one year and six months. That has to be rectified.

My suggestion is, as the Speaker is elected by the House, Prime Minister of India must be elected by Lok Sabha. For fifteen years we have seen a Prime Minister who was a Member of Rajya Sabha and who was not elected to the Lok Sabha. For fifteen years continuously, no Lok Sabha Member was fit to become Prime Minister of this country. Then where is the Parliamentary system. If we have to borrow a Chief Minister, if we have to borrow a Rajya Sabha Member to become the Prime Minister of India, then where is the need for Lok Sabha? The Prime Minister of India must belong to Lok Sabha. …(*Interruptions*) We must amend the Constitution of India. …(*Interruptions*) This is my view.

HON. SPEAKER: Please Gogoi-ji, you are too young to speak like this. It is okay. It is his view. You are too young.

SHRI PURNO AGITOK SANGMA: You have just come to Parliament. I advise my young parliamentarians to have patience to listen. It is from listening that you learn. Do not try to interrupt like

this especially when elders are on their feet. You are too young, too new.

Prime Minister of India, I still insist, must belong to Lok Sabha and he must be elected by the House, and then President can appoint him. Once Prime Minister is elected, there should be no scope for a confidence motion. There is no provision in the Constitution of India that every Prime Minister should take the confidence of the House. The moment he becomes the Prime Minister, unless he is challenged by non-confidence motion, it should be presumed that he has the confidence of the House.

Coming to the federal structure, our federalism is a very loose federation. It had to be, because at the time of framing the Constitution, it was a difficult job to introduce a federal system, as somebody has pointed out. In America, it is a federal system where the states came together voluntarily and they formed United States. For us, it was bringing together the states. Sardar Patel had to bring together five hundred and more princely states. So, we are a Union of States whereas America is United States.

We also have to become United States one day, for which I have a lot of suggestions. But one thing also I do not like. Rajya Sabha is

the House of the Elders. It is the Council of the States. Today, anybody can become a Rajya Sabha Member from any State, not belonging to that State. It is incorrect. I have strong reservation about that. For representation in the Upper House, any representative must belong to his State because he is representing the States; it is the House of the States. How can a man from Kerala become a Rajya Sabha MP from Asom? It does not look nice. … (*Interruptions*) Rajya Sabha is becoming a rehabilitation centre.

Somebody talked about federalism on language. I am also worried about languages. Many languages are becoming extinct. We have 29 States but we have only 22 languages in the official list. At least each State should have one or two official languages. In northeastern States, except Asom and Manipur, no State has given that recognition. In my State, we have two languages, Garo and Khasi. I demand that both the languages should be included in the Eighth Schedule. Thank you.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI BANDARU DATTATREYA (SECUNDERABAD):__ I am proud to be heading the Ministry of Labour which was once a portfolio that was held and ably steered by the architect of Indian Constitution, Bharat Ratna Dr. B. R. Ambedkar whose 125th birth anniversary is being celebrated by the country this year. The department of labour was established in November 1937 and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar held the labour portfolio from July 1942 to 1946 in the Viceroy Lord Wavell's Executive Council.

I sincerely thank the hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modiji for giving me the opportunity to work under his guidance as Labour Minister on this occasion.

I am proud to place on record that our Ministry is carrying forth the seeds of labour welfare sown by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar while working as Labour Minister had initiated and framed several laws for employment security, wage security and social security for the work force in India. Some of the major initiatives were; Mines Maternity Benefit Act; Women Labour Welfare Fund, Women and Child Labour Protection Act, Indian Factory Act,

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

National Employment Agency, Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund, Employees State Insurance and Tripartite Labour Council, etc.

Now I come to details of Labour Welfare measures. The Employee's State Insurance Corporation (ESIC) which is one of the premier health and insurance corporation for the organized labour and which is providing medical health and disability benefits of the workers had been enacted way back in 1942 by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Our Ministry under the able guidance of Hon. Prime Minister has launched second generation (2. 0) reforms on 20th July 2015 for extending the coverage of medical, sickness, maternity, disability and dependent benefits to a larger work force who were earlier either not covered or partially covered. Though these reforms, not only coverage has been expanded but better super specially treatment has been put in place through a string of reforms and establishing of new hospitals and dispensaries. Recently, we have issued orders to cover all the States, including the left out North East States i. e. Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur and Andaman Nicobar Island, districts and construction site workers. Implementation of the health scheme for the unorganized workers (40 crores) is also being planned.

Concept of employees' provident fund was initiated on the foundation of the law that was framed by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, i. e.

mica mines labour fund. The Employees Provident Fund has now grown into an enormously valuable and reliable trustee of 4. 5 crore organized workers (subscribers): the Employee Provident Fund Organisation (EPFO) under our ministry is a trustee organisation for taking care of welfare needs of the workers after they retire as well as to meet any exigencies during their life time. Our ministry, keeping in tune with changing times, has introduced several technology driven reforms including Universal Account Numbers, which is portable throughout India.

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar had framed several laws for the welfare of the women workers in India such as mines maternity benefit act, women labour welfare fund, women and child labour protection act, etc. Our ministry is carrying this legacy and realizing the dreams of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar by adding new provisions which are in sync with changing requirements by fine tuning these laws like extending the facility of maternity to adopting mothers and commissioning mothers also, apart from providing medical care and other health benefits through Employee State Insurance Corporation (ESIC).

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was instrumental in establishing National Employment Agency which later grew into employment exchanges that are spread across India. Our Ministry is committed to increase the

employment opportunities to the vast unemployed youth through a string of more than 890 employment exchanges spread across country which are being remodeled by information technology. The national career council centers which is an IT platform, which has been started, brings together the job seekers under one single umbrella. This platform will also serve as counselling and guiding institution keeping the changing needs of youth. 100 model career centers are also being developed across the length and breadth of India.

The skill needs of the work force was recognized by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar who sent engineers abroad for training and formulated a policy for training. Our Government under the inspired leadership of Hon. Prime Minister who gave clarion call for "Skill India" and "Make in India" and "digital India" had started a new ministry of skill development and entrepreneurship. Through formation of new ministry, the dreams of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar are further strengthened and the training needs of vast work force, who will otherwise become a liability and wither away are also realized.

Our Ministry is determined to safeguard the job security, wage security and social security. To achieve these objectives several steps have been initated to make changes in existing labour laws as per requirement of today's India. We have started the process of

amalgamation, simplification and rationalization of 44 central labour laws into 4 codes, i. e. code on wages, code on industrial relations, code on safety and working conditions and code on social security and welfare. In all these reforms that have been initiated, workers and employers have not only been committed but given equal opportunity to participate actively through tripartite mechanism which was recognized by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who had set up a tripartite labour council in 1942 itself.

I place on record that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar believed in labour movement and introduced Bill for compulsory recognition of trade unions in 1943. Our Ministry not only believes in involving the trade unions in all walks of labour issues and especially in the formulation of labour policies and addressing their demand, the 10-point charter of demands of the central trade unions which were lying unattended to, have been sincerely attempted in right earnest and agreed to most of the demands by holding several levels of discussions and talks with them under the able guidance of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modiji.

While bringing forth the less known face of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as a Labour Minister in Viceroy's Executive Council and his contributions to the welfare of the work force, I assure that the

Ministry of Labour and Employment and myself are committed to carry forward the legacy of the architect of Indian Constitution under the inspired leadership of Hon. Prime Minister.

[Translation]

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*__SHRI ALOK SANJAR (BHOPAL):__ Today, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to the Union Government and the Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi ji. On 26 November, the Government initiated a discussion in this temple of democracy on the framers of the Constitution and on their contributions, ideas and personalities. It is indeed a moment of great satisfaction that the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar ji, the messiah of the poor and the oppressed, is being celebrated across the nation with great enthusiasm, in the manner of a national festival. It is rightly said that where there is determination, a way is found, and the Union Government has truly translated this saying into action. In today's discussion, we are not only remembering Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, but along with him, towering national figures such as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad are vividly present on the canvas of our collective memory.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

We all recall that when India was liberated from the chains of colonial subjugation, the nation was marked by a prevailing atmosphere of moral conduct and disciplined national life. It was this very atmosphere that provided the foundation for the creation of the new Constitution. Within the Constituent Assembly, there existed an extraordinary spirit of patriotism, and therefore the Members took special care to ensure that the future of India would be not merely good, but exemplary. Since then, the nation and its citizens have consistently expressed complete faith and unwavering commitment to the Constitution.

From childhood, we have heard from our elders and from revered saints that those who are blessed by divine grace are born as human beings after traversing countless forms of life. When such grace is further bestowed, one is born in a fully civilised and cultured land, revered as a mother, in the sacred lap of Bharat Mata. It is this land whose culture and values define our identity not by mere diversity, but by unity in diversity. India is a vast and vibrant democratic nation, the magnitude of which becomes evident even amidst political change and upheaval. India has given rise to countless great personalities and towering figures of eminence. Their ideas continue to shape not only the political sphere but also the social and economic life of the nation,

much like the rays of the sun, and will endure as a guiding force in the years to come. This is the reason why the world looks upon India's culture and values with respect and admiration.

The present time is extremely significant for the nation and for its youth. Today's youth has begun to clearly understand the difference between the governance of the past and that of the present. In 2014, the youth of the country witnessed a historic moment when Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi entered Parliament for the first time. Rather than merely stepping onto the first stair of the temple of democracy, he bowed his head upon it. Through this gesture, he demonstrated not only his reverence for the temple of democracy but also his complete faith and devotion toward the sacred text of the Constitution.

On that occasion, he expressed unwavering commitment, reverence, and heartfelt remembrance for the nation's great leaders, martyrs, patriots, and the members of the Constituent Assembly. That very day, not only the nation but the entire world was reassured—upon witnessing this spirit of patriotism, respect for great leaders, and dedication to safeguarding the nation and its citizens, that the reins of the country had been entrusted by democracy into capable and responsible hands.

If we set aside the period prior to 2014 that fell under the prime ministership of the respected Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, we are compelled to reflect on the condition of the nation during the remaining years. The word 'condition' itself can be understood as 'द' signifying 'दयनीय' (deplorable) and 'शा' signifying 'शासन' (governance). The nation never desired such deplorable governance, yet it was forced to endure it. Our political forebears have consistently aspired for the country to move in the right direction and have inspired us toward that goal. They envisioned leadership that would rise above personal interest and regard the nation and its citizens as its own. However, over several decades, the country could not witness what it truly aspired to see.

In 2014, the people of the nation demonstrated through their collective strength that democracy in India is immortal. Under the leadership of the widely respected Shri Narendra Modi, the nation issued a mandate to advance toward a golden future. With faith and trust in the Constitution, and guided by the mantra 'Charaiveti, Charaiveti' (Move forward, move forward), the country began to progress with purposeful and meaningful steps in the right direction.

Thus, today we can assert that the nation is on the path of 'direction'-'दिशा', where 'दि' signifies the divine and 'शा' signifies governance. We, our nation, and the entire world are witnessing the vision of divine governance in India. India's stature on the global stage is rising steadily. Even those nations that once undermined India and its people are now bowing in acknowledgment and respect.

The illustrious Prime Minister of the nation, Shri Narendra Modi ji, is inspiring the younger generation to realize that the blood coursing through their veins is not merely their own, but carries within it the legacy of ancestors who sacrificed their lives in defense of the nation. That same spirit of patriotism continues to flow within us today. Therefore, every endeavour undertaken for the honour and self-respect of the nation must be pursued with complete sincerity and dedication, so that the future of India may attain the same height of glory once achieved by the great men of this land.

Today, within this temple of democracy, as we remember the distinguished members of the Constituent Assembly, we must step forward with unwavering commitment to protect and preserve the nation from the corrosive influence of divisive politics rooted in regionalism, casteism, and dynastic interests, as well as from

corruption which, over the past six decades, has eroded moral conduct and weakened our cultural fabric. To restore a healthy national environment and to reaffirm the true identity of our culture, we must dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly and act with resolve and decisiveness.

This necessity has been duly recognized and understood; consequently, the decision was taken to commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of a great soul such as Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. There is no doubt that, under the leadership of the present Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi ji, and his Government, the nation is advancing on the righteous path toward a golden era. In this seventh decade after Independence, the wheel of time is moving forward with renewed vigour, inspired by the philosophy of integral humanism and heralding the arrival of a new dawn.

Celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb in a grand manner truly reflects our unwavering commitment to the Constitution and to democratic values. The truest tribute lies precisely in this: that we refrain from politics rooted in religion, caste, regionalism, or corruption, and instead dedicate ourselves to politics aimed at national progress, social harmony, and the strengthening of unity among the people.

**********SHRI RAVINDRA KUSHWAHA (SALEMPUR)**: On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar and Constitution Day on 26 November, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Union Government, the Hon. Prime Minister, the Hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and the Hon. Home Minister for organising this discussion in the Lok Sabha on the subject of "Commitment to the Constitution of India". This discussion has been initiated at a particularly significant time, when, as part of a deliberate attempt to weaken the Union Government and the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Congress and other Opposition parties, along with certain so-called intellectuals and artists nurtured and promoted by previous Congress Governments, have launched a campaign by raising irrelevant issues such as intolerance and by misinterpreting the Indian Constitution. India is the world's largest democracy and has its own Constitution, which is not the creation of any one individual, but the collective outcome of the contributions of leading figures of the freedom movement and eminent scholar-representatives. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar was the chief architect who harmonised and wove together the valuable suggestions of these great leaders and scholars to give concrete and enduring shape

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

to the Constitution of India. Different communities in our country may follow their own religious scriptures, but as Indians, the Constitution of India is our supreme guiding text, and it should not be subjected to unnecessary interference. I fully agree with the view that while amendments to the Constitution may be undertaken in keeping with the needs of time and society, the Preamble must not be tampered with, as it constitutes the very soul of our Constitution. However, after Independence, successive Congress-led Union Governments misused the constitutional amendment mechanism and carried out excessive and unwarranted amendments to serve vested interests and to safeguard their hold on power. I would like to remind my friends in the Congress Party that their leader, the late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, in order to form and retain her Government, tarnished the sanctity of the Indian Constitution in the name of amendments by conducting Lok Sabha general elections in 1971 after only four years, and again in 1977 after merely six years.

††††††††††††††††††*DR. PRITAM GOPINATH MUNDE (BEED): At the outset, I extend my warm greetings on the occasion of 26 November, Constitution Day, and the 125th birth anniversary year of the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, as well as of the first Prime Minister of our country, Jawaharlal Nehru.

The present Union Government, under the leadership of Hon. Shri Narendra Modi ji, deserves special appreciation, because this is the first time that any Government has taken the initiative to formally observe Constitution Day. We all commemorate the birth anniversaries and death anniversaries of great leaders, but it is the Constitution that has granted us freedom and rights, enabling us to choose our leaders and to express our views freely. Earlier, little thought was given to honouring the Constitution itself in this manner.

Many Members have provided detailed insights on various aspects of the Constitution. I would like to raise one fundamental question: does understanding the Constitution merely mean that every section of society speaks only about its rights? Should we not also reflect upon our duties? In this context, I would like to refer to the

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suggestion made by my colleague, Shri Ram Mohan Naidu ji, that voting should be made compulsory, so that the right to vote reaches the last person in society. This would enable every citizen to fulfil his or her duty and thereby receive the benefits of democracy.

With regard to the provisions in the Constitution aimed at bringing backward sections into the mainstream, the position of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been made fairly explicit. They enjoy specific constitutional safeguards and rights. However, no such clear constitutional provision exists for Other Backward Classes. OBCs constitute a substantial segment of the country's population, and in order to ensure that development truly reaches them, the OBC Commission should be granted constitutional status. This would help socially and economically backward sections to be effectively integrated into the national mainstream. When I state that OBCs form a large segment of the population, I am unable to cite precise figures, because a caste-wise census has not been conducted so far. When we speak of reservation, what is the basis on which the share for each group is determined? If the population of a particular caste is not known, on what basis is the percentage of reservation fixed? I therefore would like to request the Government to take an early and

considered decision on conducting a caste-wise census and on granting constitutional status and rights to OBCs.

As a woman Member of Parliament, it is only appropriate that I say a few words on women's empowerment. Concrete steps must be taken to ensure the safety of women, and they must be brought into the mainstream of social development and progress. I fully agree with these concerns. However, today, when I stand in this House and see so many women Members around me, and when, as an OBC woman, I rise to speak in the highest institution of my country, the Parliament, I realise that this privilege has been granted to me by our Constitution. For this very reason, as an Indian citizen, I feel immense pride in my Constitution.

[English]

Yes, we have a long way to go in achieving all the goals of our constitution written by Hon. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, we also have to appreciate the fact that we have reached this point. Yes, we have to keep our eyes on the future path but at the same time let us not ignore the evolutionary past journey that led us to this bright present.

[Translation]

In conclusion, I bow in reverence to all the great leaders who contributed to the drafting and adoption of the Indian Constitution, and also to all the Governments of India till date that have shouldered the responsibility of governing the country while upholding the dignity and sanctity of this Constitution.

[English]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI B. S. YEDIYURAPPA (SHIMOGA):__ Dr. Bheemrao Ambedkar is not a mere human being, he is not just an institution by himself, he is also not just institution-builder, I would like to consider Dr. Ambedkar as an "ideology" by himself in the form of a human being (Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar siruf "Vyakti" nahi hai; He is a "Vichaar" by himself).

Many members have spoken in this august House earlier, so I would not like to be repetitive, let me remind my Congress friend that it is the BJP government when I was the Chief Minister, the allocation for the SC/STs and BCs was increased by 110 percent, every hostel belonging to the SC/STs and BCs were repaired, which had not happened for several decades.

Once again, it was under the BJP regime in Karnataka when I was the Chief Minister, women belonging to Dalits and Backward Classes living in the rural areas were provided monetary incentive.

I am unable to understand the logic advanced by the Opposition Congress on the issue of Constitutional Principles after having debased the Constitution many times for selfish political ends. Who

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amended the Constitution to suspend the people's fundamental rights? The Congress. Who missed Article 356 to dismiss state governments as many as 36 times. The Congress. Who imposed Press Censorship? Under whose regime excess was perpetrated on innocent people and Opposition leaders? The Congress. Who sought to alter the basic structure of the Constitution? The Congress. Who wanted a judiciary committed to the then ruling party? The Congress.

After having misused the Constitution for selfish political ends, now the Congress is accusing the BJP of not adhering to the Constitutional Principles. This is a cruel joke being played by the Congress.

It is the Congress which is anti-Ambedkar and has scant respect for the Constitution.

Let me elaborate. I have gone through the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. Dr. Ambedkar never wanted Article 370 that gave special status to Jammu and Kashmir. Even Sardar Patel did not want Article 370. But it was Pandit Nehru who insisted that Kashmir must be given Special Status under Article 370.

With great reluctance and with a lot of pain and agony, Dr. Ambedkar agreed to make provision for Article 370 but with a rider

Dr. Ambedkar insisted that this Article 370 would be "a temporary phenomenon" and "erode away" gradually. But today, the Congress Party shouts against anybody who demands abrogation of Article 370. We in the BJP wants Article 370 to go. We are echoing Dr. Ambedkar's opinion but the Congress wants Article 370 to stay which is against Dr. Ambedkar's stance;

Article 48 of the Directive Principles of the State Policy states that "there should be a complete ban on cow slaughter"; Dr. Ambedkar wanted this to be a part of the concurrent list. That means that Dr. Ambedkar wanted a total ban on Cow slaughter but the Congress has been opposing the law to ban cow slaughter; Is this not anti-Ambedkar? Now the Congress has the check to accuse the BJP of flouting Constitutional Principles. Shame on the Congress.

In 1986, the Supreme Court ruled that a Muslim woman -Shah Bano - is entitled for alimony; but the Congress government over-ruled the Apex Court judgment by amending the Constitution with the help of brute majority in the Parliament;

Is this not intolerance? What do you call this? Respect to Constitution or dis-respect to Constitution? [Translation] Shame on the Congress party. Dr. Ambedkar did not want "mercy" to be shown

to dalit brethren; instead he wanted Equality of All under the law; The BJP is following the principles of Ambedkar in true letter and spirit by adopting the motto "Justice and Equality for All; Appeasement and Discrimination of None".

Our Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi ji's mantra is "Skill Development of All" which is its character. Today millions of Dalit brethren, minority brethren are undergoing skill training. And the Congress party has the check to accuse us of flouting Constitutional Principles.

Dr. Bheemrao Ambedkar is no less than Lord Buddha and Lord Basaveshwara. They are all Yoga Purushas; Let us not make them a private property of one party or one community. They belong to entire mankind throughout the universe.

In the end, I would like to state that the Congress is a party of hypocrites; it has paid lip-sympathy and cosmetic-respect to Ambedkar. In fact, the Congress has gone against Dr. Ambedkar's principles; its criticism of BJP is without substance. If the Constitution is safe, then it is only in the hands of the BJP.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*KUMARI SUSHMITA DEV (SILCHAR): I pay my tributes to Dr. Ambedkar who played the leading role in giving us the constitution which laid the foundations for a strong nation.

My tribute to Pandit Nehru who laid the foundation for the Preamble by moving a resolution on 13. 12. 1946 which laid the objectives of the constitution which has stood the text of time.

One cannot forget the contribution of Dr. Rajendra Prsad, Maulana Abdul Kalm Azad and Sardar Patel who together fulfilled the dream of Mahatma Gandhi to creat a nation of equals.

It is appropriate to mention here the role of the 5 eminent women who were Members of the Constituent Assembly. They are Sarojini Naidu, Hansa Mehta, Begum Aizoz Rasul and Vijay Laxmi Pandit.

It is the vision of our great leaders who ensured constitutional guarantees for all. Many of the earlier speakers have spoken about equality of women. Hon. Parliamentary Affairs Minister has raised it as a law that needs consensus of all. It was our Late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi ji who envisioned the empowerment of local bodies and

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panchayats. Today reservation of seats for women have been the most disempowered come to the forefront.

In the general election of 2014 the total turns out was 66. 48% and male voters comprised of 67. 17% and female voters 65. 71% which brings me to the question that over decades the women representation in Parliament has been disheartening. If these are reflection of our society, then we must ask ourselves why this situation has come about.

When I looked through parliamentary proceedings when 108th Amendment Bill, 2008 to the constitution was debated, I was sad to see the uproar in Rajya Sabha. It must be said that Hansa Mehta a Member of the Constituent Assembly opposed reservations for women. Her premise was clear and I quote “we always

held that when the men who have fought and struggled for their country’s freedom came to power, the rights and liberty of women too would be guaranteed.

It was her confidence in the nations novelty that “women will come forward and work in free India, if the consideration is ability alone”.

She never imagined that there would be people who would stand between a women and her emancipation but every data whether it is female foeticide, maternal mortality rate, crime against women child sex ratio.

Therefore, the nation is reiterated the issue of reservations for women in Parliament and Assemblies. I thank Smt. Sonia Gandhi ji for her initiative to introduce the 108th Amendment.

The Hon. Home Minister speaks of Panth 'Nirpekshata' and so I hope that this Government will use their mandate to pass the Bill to reserve seats for women.

May I remind the Government of the words of Shri Arun Jaitley who said it time to move on from politics of tokenism to politics of idea and from politics of ideas to politics of representation as far as women are concerned. On this role, I conclude by paying tribute to Dr. Ambedkar who started the empowerment of women by introduction of the Hindu Code Bill and the fundamental rights, if it was not for Article 15(3) even the 108th Amendment would not have been possible.

[Translation]

**********SHRI MOHD. ASRARUL HAQUE (KISHANGANJ):** The real strength of India lies in its democracy and its Constitution. It is this democratic Constitution that binds together our pluralistic society in a bond of unity and integration. This Constitution, without any discrimination on the basis of colour, race, gender, religion, language or culture, guarantees justice, liberty and equality to every citizen of the country. It is the world's longest written Constitution, which came into force on 26 January 1950 and became the supreme law for India and every Indian. From the very first day of its existence till today, the spirit of this Constitution has been facing grave threats from certain forces within the country. These are the forces that seek to endanger the core values of democracy, secularism, freedom, autonomy and the unity and integrity of the nation. These forces do not want India to remain a secular country, nor do they wish it to continue on the democratic path. However, for the unity and integrity of our nation, there is no system more important than democracy, secularism and tolerance. It is our collective responsibility to ensure that this system is not allowed

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

to weaken or fall ill. Secularism and tolerance are ingrained in the very ethos of our nation. If we were to remove them from the body of this country, its very soul would perish.

Hon. Minister of Home Affairs Shri Rajnath Singh, while initiating the debate on the Constitution in this House, expressed a line of thinking that is not in harmony with the true spirit of India. Rather, his views appear to be deeply influenced by those forces that neither accept secularism nor accord importance to democracy. These are the very forces that neither participated in the freedom struggle of the country nor ever expressed faith in the Constitution of India. From the speech of the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, it has become abundantly clear, or rather one may say the cat is out of the bag, as to what the Modi Government truly has in mind. These people speak less about the nation and more about what they call their ‘inner voice’. By raising objections to secularism and socialism, and by the manner in which secularism has been interpreted by them, it has become evident what kind of amendments they wish to make to the Constitution. The people of Bihar clearly understood this so-called ‘inner voice’ and, as a result, the ruling party had to face a crushing defeat in the Assembly elections there. It is now becoming evident that in the coming

Assembly elections elsewhere too, they will be deprived of public support.

The Hon. Minister of Home Affairs stated that the Government is committed to the Constitution and is faithfully discharging its constitutional responsibilities. However, I would like to ask whether the repeated irresponsible statements being made by leaders of the BJP, Members of Parliament, Ministers, and even by Governors appointed by them to constitutional positions in various States, while the Prime Minister continues to maintain silence, amount to the fulfilment of constitutional responsibilities or to the tearing apart of the Constitution of India. In his speech, the Hon. Home Minister should have explained how, in Dadri, on the basis of mere rumours, Mohammad Akhlaq was beaten to death by a frenzied mob, and his young son was left grievously injured. Similarly, in Ballabhgarh, two innocent Dalit children were burnt alive, and a Minister, while making a statement on the incident, referred to those children as dogs. In both these cases, despite constitutional guarantees, the Constitution was openly mocked. What action has this Government taken to discharge its constitutional responsibilities in these matters?

Itni na badha pakai daaman ki himayat,

daaman ko zara dekh, zara Hind kya dekh.

(It warns against self-righteous claims of purity and urges honest self-examination and accountability, reminding us to look beyond assertions and confront the realities of the nation.)

All sections of the nation stood united in the freedom struggle and made immeasurable sacrifices. Muslims, too, participated with full commitment, and the ulema played a decisive and leading role. We were born on this soil and into this soil we shall return, never severing our bond with the essence of our beloved motherland. We are so deeply embedded in the nationhood, culture, and civilisation of this land that we cannot be detached from it. Our presence here is not a matter for question or grievance; our roots are more real and enduring than the waters of the Ganga. Our history is older than the Taj Mahal and the Qutub Minar, and our rightful claim to this nation is more firmly established than even those enduring monuments, which exist because of our contributions and capabilities. We therefore demand that the Government put an immediate end to injustice and oppression against minorities, particularly Muslims. We

do not ask for favours; we seek only the constitutional and legal rights guaranteed to us.

“Mila kya hai, humein barood ki faslein ugaakar,

koi basti mohabbat ki basa dete to achha tha.”

(The verse questions the value of fostering violence and destruction, asking what has really been achieved by cultivating hatred and conflict. It contrasts this with the far more meaningful alternative of building a community rooted in love, peace, and human compassion.)

[English]

SHRI B. VINOD KUMAR (KARIMNAGAR): Hon. Speaker, I will confine myself to only a few minutes. It is a great privilege for me to speak on this occasion. On the 125th birth anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, we are discussing on the treatment to India's Constitution. As all of us know, Indian Constitution is the lengthiest constitution in the world. It has 395 Articles and 12 Schedules. It was drafted by the Constituent Assembly and it took two years. This is a fact which all of us know.

On this day, let us pay respects and tributes to the Members of the Constituent Assembly who understood the ethos of our country, leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sarojini Naidu, Hari Kishan Mehta, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, C. Rajagopalachari, Asaf Ali and many more. Pandit Nehru says in Discovery of India:

"My eleven companions in Ahmadnagar Fort were an interesting cross-section of India and represented in their several ways, not only in politics but Indian scholarship, old and new, and various aspects of

present day India. Nearly all the principal living Indian languages, as well as the classical languages which have powerfully influenced India in the past and present, were represented and the standard was often that of high scholarship"

> "Among the classical languages were Sanskrit and Pali, Arabic and Persian and the modern languages were Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Sindhi and Oriya. I had all this wealth to draw upon and the only limitation was my capacity to profit by it. "

Such was the calibre of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, most of whom were lawyers with a deep knowledge of law and international Constitutions and with such high intellect that they could create a Constitution which was relevant to the needs and nature of the country and therefore withstood the test of time.

Keeping in view the social fabric of our country, many articles such as Articles 330, 332, and 334 provide for reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These measures brought social justice into the deeply inequitable society and catered to the needs of SCs and STs.

Recently, there is a murmur about reservations. The upper caste rich elites of this country should thank Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for providing for reservation which was not only just and humane but also prevented civil war between the haves and the have nots.

Coming to the Constitution, Article 3 of the Constitution gives an assurance to the people of the country where regional imbalances are there. In my region, in my new State of Telangana, we got inspiration from this Article. Before my leader the present Chief Minister of Telangana Shri K. Chandrasekhara Rao launched our political party, the Telangana Rashtra Samiti, we had a series of deliberations because in the State of undivided Andhra Pradesh, the region of Telangana was deprived and the people were having many aspirations. So, Article 3 of the Constitution gave a lift to us. By virtue of Article 3 of the Constitution, we had gone into the deliberations in the Constituent Assembly. So, we thought for the people of Telangana there is hope in the Constitution under Article 3.

Yesterday, my friend from the Telugu Desam said that the Constitution has not allowed it in spite of the resolution passed by the undivided Andhra Pradesh Assembly. They opposed the formation of the State of Telangana. I request my hon. good friend to read Article 3. It says that where they want to divide a State, that Legislative

Assembly would give its opinion but that opinion is not binding on Parliament. So, how great was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar! He visualised that the dominant region would not allow the deprived people to have a new State. That was the vision of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. It is because of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar that I am here and my colleagues are here on behalf of the Telangana Rashtra Samiti.

I would not go into the details but I would submit two or three suggestions for the Government. We are now discussing the commitment to the Constitution. There are Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution. I will read one or two sentences from the Directive Principles. I would like to refer to Article 12. Here, State includes the Government and Parliament of India. The State means the Government and the Parliament of India. The Directive Principles of State Policy has around 15 Articles. Here, there is one Article with regard to legal aid. Today, people of this country and citizens of this country are unable to reach the Supreme Court.

Madam, today in a civil or a criminal dispute if somebody wishes to approach the Supreme Court, it has become very difficult. The cost for a litigant is more than the value of the litigation. We have to amend Article 130. Various Law Commissions as also the Standing Committee on Law and Justice have recommended for Supreme Court

benches in East, West and South but unfortunately the full court of the Supreme Court repeatedly has opposed it on the pretext that there will be a problem for the national integrity. I do not know how the Supreme Court judges came to the conclusion that it will be a threat to the national integrity if Supreme Court benches are established in different parts of the country. I am unable to understand the wisdom of the Supreme Court judges. So, I would request the Government to amend Article 130. Article 130 says that the Chief Justice of India is only empowered to establish Supreme Court benches elsewhere in the country. That power we have to delete and give it to the President of India so that the Supreme Court benches are established in various parts of the country so that the common man can approach the highest court of this country which is going to safeguard the fundamental rights as well as the directive principles of the State policy. Of course, this is the directive principle of the State policy but the Government should take care of it.

Madam, I have some more suggestions to make. Please allow me to submit my written speech in addition to this.

HON. SPEAKER: It is okay.

[Translation]

†††††††††††††††††††*__DR. RAMESH POKHRIYAL NISHANK (HARIDWAR):__ First of all, I would like to extend my heartfelt congratulations and thanks to the Hon. Prime Minister and to you for organising this important discussion on commitment to the Constitution on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb. This is a historic moment for all of us because, on the one hand, we are paying a solemn tribute to the architect of our Constitution, and on the other, we are undertaking an introspective assessment of our commitment to the Constitution. While we may take pride in our achievements, we must also focus our attention on those shortcomings that have become evident during the past 67 years of Independence.

Our Constitution, which grants the Indian people social, economic, political, intellectual, religious and freedom of belief, provides every citizen with the opportunity to live a life of dignity and respect. Its objective is also to preserve the unity and integrity of the nation. In order to ensure that individual advancement does not become an obstacle to the collective progress of the nation, the Indian

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Constitution places special emphasis on the spirit of fraternity. Fundamental Rights have been drawn from the Constitution of the United States of America, the parliamentary system from the Constitution of the United Kingdom, the Directive Principles of State Policy from the Constitution of Ireland, and emergency provisions from the Constitution of Germany. Thus, India was established as a sovereign, democratic, secular and socialist republic. This sovereignty does not emanate from any foreign power, but is vested in the people of India.

An extraordinary blend of rigidity and flexibility is inherent in the Indian Constitution. Although it is a written Constitution, it is also a dynamic and evolving one. There are only a few provisions which require a special procedure for amendment, while the majority can be amended by Parliament through ordinary legislation. Our Constitution, while incorporating both federal and unitary features, establishes an independent judiciary.

The framers of our Constitution ensured that provisions were made to allow for changes in keeping with the demands of a changing era. By August 2015, as many as 100 amendments had been made to the Constitution. History bears testimony to the fact that this well-designed system has been decisively successful in governing the

country and guiding it on the path of progress and prosperity. Whether it was the amendment relating to the abolition of the zamindari system in 1951, the legislation in 1961 to integrate Goa, Daman and Diu into the Indian Union, or the decision in 1989 to reduce the voting age from 21 years to 18 years, each of these measures has further strengthened our democracy.

At present, the Indian Constitution is structured into five principal components. Foremost among these is the Preamble, which encapsulates the core values and guiding philosophy upon which the Constitution is founded. The second component comprises 25 Parts containing a total of 448 Articles. In addition, the Constitution includes 12 Schedules and five Appendices. Finally, it incorporates the Amendments that have been enacted from time to time by the Indian Parliament in response to evolving social and political needs.

Approximately two weeks ago, when the illustrious Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi, inaugurated a museum at 10, Henry King Road, London, dedicated to the architect of the Indian Constitution and a foremost champion of social and economic equality, the occasion generated a profound sense of pride and collective joy across the nation. It is pertinent to note that Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar resided in this very house during his student

years while pursuing his studies at the London School of Economics. This residence will now serve not only as a museum showcasing the life, ideals, and contributions of Dr. Ambedkar to the world, but also as a place of temporary accommodation for scholars visiting England.

Prior to this, while addressing British Members of Parliament in London, the Hon. Prime Minister paid a heartfelt tribute to Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, acknowledging him not merely as the principal architect of the Indian Constitution but also as a visionary leader whose role was instrumental in laying the foundations of a successful parliamentary democracy in India.

The entire life of Bharat Ratna Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar was devoted to the upliftment of the backward, Dalit, and economically deprived sections of society. He often stated that he revered only three ideals above all else: morality, humility, and knowledge.

On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Ambedkar, this discussion in Parliament assumes special significance. Through this deliberation, we are afforded an opportunity for collective introspection, while future generations will gain a deeper understanding of his philosophy of life and the enduring

values that inspired our national leaders to frame the most sacred document of our Republic, namely, the Constitution of India.

On 14 April 1891, on the sacred soil of India, a remarkable personality was born into a humble family, who would go on to provide a new direction to the nation as a distinguished jurist, economist, and relentless crusader for social justice. After completing his early education in Maharashtra, he proceeded to the United States of America on a scholarship granted by the Baroda State, where he earned a Master's degree in Economics from Columbia University. Undeterred by entrenched social discrimination, Babasaheb made education his foremost instrument of empowerment. One among fourteen children in a modest household, he displayed extraordinary diligence and perseverance from a very young age. Despite poverty, social stigma, and numerous hardships, he remained steadfast in struggle, confronting countless obstacles without ever allowing his faith or determination to falter.

There are perhaps very few instances, either in the history of the Indian Constitution or in world history, where an individual, despite facing the gravest adversities, ascended to such exceptional heights with such enduring impact. Babasaheb Ambedkar, who established his intellectual supremacy at globally renowned institutions such as

Columbia University and the London School of Economics, set exemplary standards in original scholarship. By selecting India's fundamental socio-economic challenges as the focus of his research, he demonstrated how rigorous academic inquiry could offer practical and lasting solutions to national problems.

His clarion call to "Educate, Organise, and Struggle" remains as relevant today as it was in his own time. Indeed, Indian history offers few parallels to a figure who earned doctoral distinctions from both Columbia University and the London School of Economics, institutions of the highest global repute.

His landmark works, The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India and The Problem of the Indian Rupee, continue to be acknowledged worldwide for their originality, depth, and scholarly rigour. It is a matter of profound national pride that the chief architect of the Indian Constitution was distinguished with qualifications such as M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., LL.D., and was also a Barrister-at-Law. His intellectual stature commands reverence not only in India but across the world even today.

In my considered view, although Babasaheb Ambedkar was conferred the Bharat Ratna, the highest civilian honour of the nation,

in essence he was a jewel of the entire world. Even today, nearly 130 crore Indians, representing approximately 18 percent of the world's population, express deep gratitude to that great visionary who gave independent India a new pathway to live with dignity, equality, and self-respect. Through democracy, he enabled the nation to aspire once again towards becoming a proud, just, and prosperous society.

The Indian Constitution was framed under extraordinarily challenging circumstances. At that time, the country was engulfed in the violent upheaval arising from the partition along Hindu-Muslim lines. Several princely States were inclined towards defiance, while aggressive communalism posed a grave threat to national unity and territorial integrity. Across the nation, an atmosphere of fear, uncertainty, and profound tension prevailed. On the one hand, citizens celebrated the end of colonial rule and nurtured hopeful dreams of freedom; on the other hand, there was a genuine concern that, in the name of freedom of expression, society might descend into disorder, indiscipline, and extremism.

Babasaheb Ambedkar envisioned a Constitution that resonated with the hopes and aspirations of the people, one that would bind India into a single cohesive whole while being firmly grounded in the fundamental principles of economic, social, and religious equality.

The nation required a Constitution capable of realising the vision of a strong, modern, and prosperous India, rooted in the timeless values of its ancient civilisation, and this vision was indeed fulfilled. Under the able leadership of Babasaheb Ambedkar, not only was one of the finest Constitutions in the world drafted, but a robust foundation for Indian democracy was also laid. It is the strength of this foundation that has enabled India, the world's largest democracy, to assume a leadership role on the global stage. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, on several occasions in his addresses, paid rich tributes to the scholarship and intellectual brilliance of Dr. Ambedkar. He observed that the appointment of Dr. Ambedkar as Chairperson of the Drafting Committee was a momentous and wise decision. At Columbia University, during a special convocation organised in his honour, Dr. Ambedkar was described, and I quote, as "a great social reformer, a foremost advocate of human rights, and one of India's most distinguished citizens, whose contribution to the making of the Indian Constitution is truly remarkable."

As one of the greatest thinkers of the 20th century, a powerful writer, an eminent jurist, and a liberal humanist of rare depth, it is impossible to conceive of modern India without Babasaheb

Ambedkar. He once stated that life should not merely be long, but great, a maxim that was fully embodied in his own life and work.

As the principal architect of the Indian Constitution, Babasaheb Ambedkar laid the strong foundations of Indian democracy and ushered in a new chapter of social and economic equality. After Independence, the Congress Government invited him to serve as the first Minister of Law of the country. On 29 August 1947, he was appointed Chairperson of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. The eminent scholar Granville Austin, writing on the Constitution framed under the leadership of Babasaheb Ambedkar, observed that it is, above all, a profound social document.

The Constitution was formally adopted on 26 November 1949. Through this timeless document, Babasaheb accorded the highest priority to social and economic equality and to the upliftment of Dalits, women, and other historically marginalised sections of society. At the same time, he offered clear guidance to future governments, unequivocally stating that the true welfare of India can be achieved only when the benefits of development reach the poorest and most deprived citizen.

The Preamble, which constitutes the soul of the Indian Constitution, reflects its foundational spirit. While our Constitution is firmly dedicated to the protection of secular and democratic values, it also guarantees social, economic, and political justice. It stands resolutely committed to freedom of thought, expression, faith, and belief. By safeguarding the dignity and worth of every individual, the Constitution places national unity and integrity at the highest pedestal.

India's rise as the world's largest democracy is a direct outcome of this visionary Constitution. Despite facing repeated phases of upheaval and uncertainty, the unity and integrity of the nation have remained unshaken. Though burdened by social and economic disparities, India today stands with confidence and is steadily progressing towards becoming a global power. This transformation is the result of the foresight and wisdom of our leaders and the framers of the Constitution.

Since its inception, the Bharatiya Janata Party has remained firmly committed to the Constitution of India. History bears witness to the fact that the Party, from its earliest days, has consistently worked to uphold constitutional values and to translate the vision of a strong and prosperous India into reality. In accordance with the true spirit of the Constitution, the NDA Government, under the leadership

of the Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, is engaged in building a strong nation by placing holistic human values at the centre of governance. Social and economic equality, national unity, freedom of expression, and secularism together form the foundation upon which the country is writing a new chapter of growth and prosperity. All development-oriented initiatives of the NDA Government faithfully reflect the core ideals of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The Government continues to work diligently to nurture and strengthen the principles of harmony among all religions and social and economic equality that Babasaheb enshrined in the Constitution. As a result of these sustained efforts, India today stands prominently among the leading nations of the world. Whether it is the G20, BRICS, ASEAN, or SAARC, India has achieved notable success in projecting a renewed, confident, and responsible global image.

Our nation is generally associated with the principle of non-violence. Perhaps this is because this land is the birthplace of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahavira, and the homeland of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. These great thinkers not only provided a comprehensive interpretation of non-violence but also affirmed that there is no religion higher than non-violence itself. While defining religion, Babasaheb stated:

"The function of religion is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy."

History bears testimony to the fact that he upheld the religion of humanity until his very last breath. According to him, Buddhism can be understood only through a proper comprehension of the principle of non-violence. The essence of all teachings and sermons of Buddhism lies in non-violence. He often asserted that morality must form the core of religion; otherwise, religion degenerates into a cruel superstition. Emphasising the need for fraternity and social harmony, Dr. Ambedkar stressed that it is our duty to cultivate profound friendship and a spirit of brotherhood towards all. Placing humanity above all else, he held that a person's greatness should be measured by one's virtues. In situations of conflict, he offered a simple yet profound guiding principle: if a war is not fought for truth and justice, then it is unjust. By adapting the ancient principles of the era of Lord Buddha to the living realities of the modern age, he re-established their relevance, depth, and universality.

The eternal maxim of service to humanity being equivalent to service to God was fully reflected in his life, as he consistently endeavoured to connect religion with the practical truths and realities of life. Service to the most neglected, backward, and impoverished

sections of society remained his fundamental objective. Rejecting baseless abstractions, Dr. Ambedkar upheld religious values founded on equality and remained devoted throughout his life to social tolerance and the upliftment of Dalits. While drafting the Indian Constitution, he drew inspiration from Buddhist scriptures. Although he studied and adapted constitutional models from Germany, England, Ireland, and the United States, the soul of the Constitution remained distinctly Indian.

It is the good fortune of this nation and of my country's 130 crore citizens that the leadership of the nation rests in such capable hands, fully devoted to achieving the fundamental objectives of the Indian Constitution. The journey of Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi from an extremely humble and impoverished family to the office of Prime Minister stands as a living and powerful illustration of the social, economic, and political equality guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. The Prime Minister has himself stated on several occasions that he draws inspiration from Babasaheb.

In order to provide economic strength to the poor, backward, and marginalised sections of society, the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana was launched. The objective of this scheme is to integrate the poorest sections of society into the journey of economic development. The

establishment of the MUDRA Bank has proved to be a boon for those resource-less individuals who were previously unable to play a meaningful role due to lack of capital. Whether it is the Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana, the Atal Pension Scheme, the Deendayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana, the Pandit Deendayal Shramev Jayate Scheme, the AMRUT–Atal Mission, or the Rural Skill Development Programme, all these schemes, in one way or another, embody the values enshrined in the Preamble of the Constitution.

I fully endorse the statement made yesterday in Parliament by the Hon. Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment, wherein he stated that if any government has followed the Constitution in letter and spirit, it is our Government. Babasaheb Ambedkar, while emphasising awareness of women's rights and their empowerment, had stated, and I quote, "I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved."

Babasaheb believed that the advancement of women is the true measure of social development. Be it the Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana, the Beti Bachao–Beti Padhao Yojana, or the Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana launched on the occasion of Raksha Bandhan, all these initiatives will prove to be milestones in the direction of women's

empowerment. Even the issuance of Gold Bonds reflects the intention to promote women's empowerment while simultaneously extending economic prosperity to every section of society.

In accordance with the Directive Principles of State Policy, it has been our priority to include every individual in the nation's development journey. Our endeavour has been to ensure equal economic opportunities for all, so that every Indian, considering oneself fully free, may actively participate in the process of economic development.

This Government, firmly resolved to eliminate social and economic backwardness, is working tirelessly to ensure education, healthcare, and dignified employment for all, so that every citizen may lead a life of self-respect.

Ambitious initiatives such as Digital India, Make in India, and Skill India are aimed at building a prosperous and powerful nation, an India where all citizens enjoy equal economic opportunities with complete freedom.

Over the past two years, the tireless efforts and unwavering commitment of the Government have borne visible results. Even during a period of global economic slowdown, the Indian economy

has emerged as a beacon of hope. Today, we are speaking of surpassing the growth rate of the Chinese economy, which has been the fastest growing in the world. Institutions such as the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund have projected that in the year 2016, India will overtake China in terms of economic growth. At present, India has emerged as an ideal destination for global investment, attracting capital from across the world. While foreign investment inflows stood at Rs. 1.26 lakh crore in the year 2013-14, these inflows increased by nearly 40 percent in 2014-15. This enhanced investment will play a significant role in strengthening the nation's infrastructure and services sectors.

In today's global context, while the Hon. Prime Minister is counted among the world's ten most influential personalities, the nation itself is being widely acknowledged for its efforts towards global peace, prosperity, and stability.

To ensure the participation of the last person in society in the process of economic development, the Jan Dhan Yojana was launched. By August 2015, over 1774 crore bank accounts had been opened under this scheme, with deposits exceeding Rs. 22,000 crore.

I have placed these figures on record only to present before the entire nation the concerted efforts of the N.D.A. Government towards building a strong and truly exemplary India.

When I reflect upon my commitment to the Constitution, I am convinced that the Bharatiya Janata Party was founded upon the very fundamental principles enshrined in our Constitution. I was privileged to serve the people as the Chief Minister of the Devbhoomi State of Uttarakhand. The revered Atal Ji not only granted us a separate State but also laid the foundation for its comprehensive development by providing a generous economic package, thereby ushering in a new era of growth. His visionary guidance continued to inspire and direct our efforts at every stage. We implemented more than ten major schemes aimed at integrating the last and most marginalised citizen into the nation's economic and social mainstream. Under the Aashirwad Scheme, free engineering education was provided to more than 1,500 underprivileged rural children, enabling them to receive international-level education in automobile engineering, children who might never have imagined becoming engineers even in their dreams. Through the establishment of Atal Adarsh Gram, we ensured the availability of wheat at Rs. 2 per kilogram and rice at Rs. 3 per kilogram, so that even the poorest families could sustain themselves

with dignity and self-respect. At a time when economically weaker sections across the country were being deprived of medical education, we ensured access to M.B.B.S. education at an annual fee of just Rs. 15,000 through the Government Medical College at Srinagar.

In remote, inaccessible, and mountainous regions where healthcare services were almost non-existent, we introduced the life-saving 108 Ambulance Service, ensuring that no citizen was denied treatment due to geographical constraints. Owing to the difficult terrain, accidents were frequent, and in a State repeatedly affected by natural disasters, the availability of blood emerged as a serious challenge. Many socially and economically disadvantaged families lost their loved ones due to the non-availability of blood. To address this critical issue, we brought together colleges, universities, the N.S.S., N.C.C., and voluntary organisations on a single platform and launched a large-scale voluntary blood donation campaign. As a result, within a short period, more than two lakh units of blood were collected, saving countless lives. Our Constitution envisions a clean, pure, and pollution-free environment. Guided by this constitutional spirit, we launched the Ganga Cleanliness Campaign from Gangotri, aimed at restoring the sanctity of the River Ganga and its tributaries. Hon. Shri Lal Krishna Advani, Sushri Uma Bharti, along with several

environmentalists, actively participated in this initiative. Across the State, lakhs of citizens enthusiastically joined cleanliness drives along riverbanks, transforming the campaign into a true people's movement.

I firmly believe that the development of the hill regions is possible only when we empower our women, who constitute our true maternal strength. With this objective in mind, we initiated several welfare schemes for girls, including the Gaura Devi Scholarship Scheme.

Further, with the aim of promoting Sarva Dharma Sambhava, tolerance, and mutual brotherhood, we successfully organised one of the largest events in the world, the Kumbh Mela, in the year 2010. This grand cultural and spiritual congregation was nominated by several countries for the Nobel Prize for Peace. More than eight crore people participated peacefully in this historic event.

Taken together, the main objective of all these initiatives was to enable Dalits, the marginalised, and economically and socially backward sections of society to move towards economic prosperity with dignity and self-respect.

In conclusion, I once again express my special gratitude to the Hon. Prime Minister, Madam Speaker, and the Minister of

Parliamentary Affairs, who, for the first time in the history of independent India, facilitated a meaningful discussion on the Constitution and provided Members with an opportunity for introspection and self-evaluation. I am confident that this significant initiative will further strengthen Indian democracy and reinforce our collective commitment to constitutional values.

I also consider it necessary, on this occasion, to draw the attention of the House to those provisions of the Constitution which envisaged the use of the English language as an official language only for a maximum period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution. Thereafter, Hindi was to become the official language of governance and administration. It was with this vision that Mahatma Gandhi established the Hindi Pracharini Sabha in South India, so that within a period of 10 to 15 years, people across the country could learn Hindi and the nation could adopt its own official language. Even after 67 years of Independence and 65 years since the Constitution came into force, the continued non-implementation of Hindi undermines the original spirit and intent of the Constitution.

I firmly believe that, in the interest of national unity and integrity, the progress of India, and faithful adherence to constitutional

provisions, a notification will be issued to ensure the effective implementation of Hindi as the national language.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__KUNWAR PUSHPENDRA SINGH CHANDEL (HAMIRPUR):__ On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, I have been given the opportunity to place my views before this House during the important discussion on commitment to the Constitution, initiated by Hon. Shri Rajnath Singh. I express my gratitude for being associated with this discussion on Constitution Day, 26 November.

The Constitution of our country is more practical than those of many developed nations and even several long-established democracies of the world. Prior to Independence, and before the partition of India and Pakistan, our country had vast territorial boundaries. After partition, and following the enforcement of the Constitution, India has successfully emerged as one of the world's strongest, largest, and most vibrant democracies. This in itself reflects the strength of our Constitution. People belonging to different religions, faiths, and ideologies continue to live together in mutual harmony and contribute, day after day, to strengthening the nation. In contrast, Pakistan has witnessed a steady decline.

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‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

The unique synthesis of the foresight of our Constitution-makers and the lessons drawn from history makes our Constitution truly exceptional. Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the great thinkers of the Sangh, and the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, made sustained and exemplary efforts to eradicate untouchability from society so that constitutional rights could be made equally available to all citizens. Through these efforts, they succeeded in preserving the glorious traditions of our nation.

On this solemn occasion, while paying my respectful tributes to Babasaheb, I also would like to offer my heartfelt homage to the revered late Ashok Singhal, Patron of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, who passed away last week after dedicating his entire life to strengthening national unity and eliminating untouchability. Revered Singhal Ji demonstrated his commitment to the Constitution by ensuring that the Bhoomi Pujan of the Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Temple at Ayodhya was performed by the hands of a brother belonging to a Scheduled community. Through this act, he presented an exemplary model of constitutional commitment before crores of patriotic citizens and youth of the country. I once again pay my respectful tributes to the great leader of the century, Hon. Ashok Singhal Ji, who had unwavering faith in the Constitution of India.

When the colleagues from the Congress Party, and particularly the party supremo Madam Sonia Ji, were reading out a prepared speech, it was evident that they were troubled by the fact that the kind of honour accorded to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar by the NDA Government under the leadership of Shri Narendra Bhai Modi could never be given by the Congress. Therefore, Madam Sonia Ji repeatedly stated that it was the Congress which entrusted him with the responsibility of drafting the Constitution, as if to suggest that Babasaheb was obliged to the Congress for this role. Such an attempt to portray this as a favour is deeply uncomfortable. The Congress Party, which has consistently sought to conceal the truth, made continuous efforts to prevent Babasaheb from becoming a Member of Parliament. At that time, Madam Sonia Ji was living in Italy, and therefore perhaps she does not have an in-depth understanding of Babasaheb, who infused the very soul into the Constitution. At a time when the people of the country desired that the architect of the Constitution, a vast repository of knowledge, should become a Member of the Lok Sabha and strengthen Parliament from within, Babasaheb was also supported by the Sangh, which wanted him to be elected unopposed to the Lok Sabha. However, unfortunately, the Congress Party members seated before us not only ensured that Babasaheb was not elected unopposed,

but went to the extent of fielding candidates against him and defeating him in elections on two occasions. In 1952 and 1953, when Babasaheb contested elections from the Dadar and Bhandara Parliamentary Constituencies in Maharashtra respectively, the Congress Party deployed its full strength to ensure his defeat. Madam Sonia Ji should also be aware that Dr. Ambedkar had advised his followers that those who truly believed in him should never, in their entire lifetime, even become members of the Congress Party by paying 25 paise. He made this statement because he had urged the Congress, which was then the ruling party, to pass a resolution within the party requiring every aspiring Congress member to first declare that he or she did not believe in untouchability. Unforunately, the Congress failed to pass such a resolution. The Congress Party, which has consistently led the country in the wrong direction, is today attempting to appropriate Babasaheb Ambedkar as its own.

In conclusion, while reiterating my unwavering commitment to the Constitution of India, I wish to submit through you that urgent and decisive measures must be undertaken to eliminate poverty from the country and to ensure the comprehensive upliftment of all economically and socially weaker sections of society. A thorough, transparent and objective review of the reservation system should be

conducted at the earliest, with the aim of securing a dignified and prosperous future for poor, distressed and deprived farmers, workers and youth. Without yielding to unnecessary pressures or hesitations, priority must be accorded to the genuinely poor and deprived rather than to the creamy layer. If such steps are taken promptly, it would amount to a true and meaningful tribute to Hon. Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and to all the framers of the Constitution. This, indeed, reflects the sacred objective of the Hon. Modi Ji-led Government.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI JANARDAN SINGH SIGRIWAL **(MAHARAJGANJ):** The Government has decided to observe the 125th birth anniversary of the architect of the Indian Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, that is, 26 November, as Constitution Day. For this historic decision, I would first like to express my gratitude to the Union Government.

Not only this, the Government is also laying the foundation stone of a uniquely designed structure envisioned to resemble the open Constitution of India. In keeping with the ideals of Babasaheb, the construction of an Ambedkar Mega Memorial is a commendable initiative, for which the Government deserves appreciation.

While reaffirming our commitment to the Constitution on this occasion and remembering Dr. Ambedkar, it is imperative that we safeguard the foundational values enshrined in the Constitution by him and solemnly upheld by leaders such as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. These core values are liberty, equality and fraternity. Our constitutional framework does not permit the sacrifice of one principle to preserve another. Such

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

practices may exist under authoritarian regimes, but there is no place for them in the democratic framework of India.

Those who are prepared to sacrifice fraternity in the name of equality, or who seek to undermine equality in pursuit of personal liberty, cannot be regarded as defenders of democracy. Indeed, the gravest threat to democracy and the Constitution comes from those who attempt to choke fraternity under the guise of equality and freedom. The preservation of political, social and economic democracy rests upon this very balance, and it is against this standard that not only the Constitution and its framers, but also those entrusted with its governance today, must be judged.

Barely two weeks after India attained Independence from British rule, on 29 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly appointed Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee entrusted with framing the new Constitution. The Committee took nearly three years, marked by intense debate and thoughtful deliberation, to complete this historic task. The Constitution was adopted on 26 November 1949 and came into force on 26 January 1950.

The makers of the Indian Constitution were acutely conscious of the deep divisions caused by Partition. Given the composite nature of

Indian society, it was imperative to accommodate its immense diversity of geography, castes, classes, religions and cultures. In order to preserve the unity of the Indian Union, the Constituent Assembly deliberately refrained from using the term “federation” and instead declared India to be a Union of States, while simultaneously guaranteeing Fundamental Rights to its citizens. Wide-ranging powers were vested in the Union Government, and State structures were designed in a manner that strengthened national integration. Dr. Ambedkar characterised the Indian constitutional framework as a flexible federation. He observed, and I quote, “The Constitution may be both unitary and federal, depending upon the exigencies of time and circumstances.” Accordingly, it was designed to function as a federal system in normal times, while enabling it to operate as a unitary system during periods of war or national emergency.

I express my reverence and deep respect to the Constitution-makers, who were exemplary in every respect.

[English]

**********DR. THOKCHOM MEINYA (INNER MANIPUR)**: I come from the state of Manipur. My state and the other parts of NE region of the country had been often in the news allegedly for wrong reasons. This is perhaps because of the fact that the history of this region has not been fully understood in the country. There is nothing wrong in it. Our looks are different, our traditions are different and our foods are very differently delicious. When we describe our country, we often mention from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Bengal to Gujarat. Beyond Bengal it had been Bengal Eastern Frontier and still it is. Even the National anthem does mention only Banga. Now, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram form the easternmost boundary of the country.

Similarly, my state Manipur was an independent Kindgom till we lost our independence to the British in 1891 in the last famous Anglo-Manipur War of 1891. After this, Manipur remained as a Princely State. None of the freedom fighters including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru did reach Manipur during the freedom Struggle.

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

Because we did have a regulatory system requiring outsiders to obtain a permit for entry into and exit from Manipur. This regulatory system was recognised by the then Government of India in 1948 and subsequently it was abolished by the then Chief Commissioner of Manipur in 1950 after Manipur was merged into the Union of India in 1949. Only Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose reached Manipur and that also from the East from Burma leading the INA.

With the lapse of British suzerainty following the adoption of the India Independence Act on August 15, 1947, Manipur regained its soverign independence. Manipur became independent, legally and technically notwithstanding the signing of the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement on August 11, 1947.

During this transition period before the lapse of British suzerainty, reacting to changes in the world around him, as well as developments in other princely states in the Indian subcontinent, Maharaja of Manipur Bodhchandra Singh set up a Committee to draft a Constitution for a new government in Manipur. This task was completed in 1947 and the Manipur State Constitution Act 1947 was passed. The Manipur State Hill Peoples (Administration) Regulation 1947 was made. The Rules for the administration of the Manipur State 1947 was promulgated and it came into force from Ist July, 1947

overriding all previous laws and rules. In early 1948, the first election was held in Manipur.

Thus, Manipur had a State Assembly which was elected on the basis of adult franchise in 1948. It consisted of 53 members including 2 nominated members. This was prior to the merger of Manipur with the Union of India.

Our Maharaja was called to Shillong, the capital of Assam and made to sign the Manipur Merger Agreement on September 21, 1949 to merge with the Union of India on October 15, 1949. On adoption of the Constitution of India on 26 January 1950, Manipur became a part C State and then a Chief Commissioner State under Union Territory (Laws) Act, 1950 assisted by a Council of Advisors with five members, three from the valley and two from the hill areas. This continued till the election of 30 members of the Territorial Council in 1957. The Territorial Council was later converted into the Terrirotial Legislative Assembly in 1963, consisting of 30 elected and 2 nominated members. The Assembly started functioning from 23 July 1963.

Manipur had a Legislative Assembly consisting of 30 elected members under the Government of the Union Territories Act, 1963.

Manipur became a full-fledged State on 21st January, 1972 by the North-Eastern (Reorganisation) Act, 1971. The structure of the State Legislature is unicameral. The State Legislative Assembly now consists of 60 Members. Manipur has two Lok Sabha Members and one Rajya Sabha Member.

Manipur is credited with introducing polo to Europeans, nay to the world. The famous Ras Leela of Manipur, UNESCO recognised Nat Sankritana of Manipur; Freedom fighters like Bir Tikendrajit, Thangal General, Paona Brajabashi, Rani Gaidinlu to mention a few and Olympic Medalist Mary Kom are the testimony.

I come to the most interesting part. That is, Manipur's position in the country vis-a-vis the Constitution of India. We the people in Manipur feel that had Manipur been merged into the Union of India as a full-fledged state at the time of the merger in 1949, most of the problems the state is now facing might not have occurred. The fact that it remained a Part-C State with an administrator till 1950, a Union Territory till 1956 and statehood only in 1972 has come really very late. In 1963, when the erstwhile autonomous District of Naga Hills of Assam was granted statehood, the two princely states of Manipur and Tripura could have been granted statehood. Unfortunately, it did

not happen. These deman-driven actions of the Government of India do more harm than good.

We all know that the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation 1873 which provided an Inner Liner Permit System in Naga Hills, Lushai Hills and NEFA followed the states of Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh at the time of their formation. But a similar prevalent on Manipur was abolished in 1950. As a result, Manipur is now facing a huge demographic challenge.

We know that till Manipur attained statehood, the people did not have any say whatsoever. But in 1972, when Manipur was granted full-fledged statehood, all that Manipur had before its merger into the Union of India could have been restored by the Union Government. These include the protection of territorial integrity of the state, the regulatory system of entry into and exit from Manipur by outsiders, the Tribal status for all the indigenous people of the State, the re-deeming and renewal of Rs. 500 tax/tribute for Kabaw Valley by the Burmese Government under Treaty of Yandaboo. Unfortunately, these things did not happen. Even the merger agreement had not been implemented at all and has been completely forgotten. What a tragedy!

Article 371C of the Constitution of India pertaining to Manipur was also introduced through the 27th Constitutional amendment 1971 and became effective only from 15th February 1972, which is very late and insignificant.

The state of Manipur and other NE states had been facing a serious insurgent movement from around mid 60s, which in my opinion, requires a political solution. Instead Government of India promulgated Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act, 1958 (AFSPA). Under it, many lives were lost, many people disappeared, crimes against women including rape were rampant, and many women became widows. This AFSPA is really draconian and a black law.

Many committees, commissions, conferences including most recent justice Verma Committee and UN agencies recommended repeal of the Act. In my state Manipur, one lady from Irom Sharmila Devi has been on fast since 2002 demanding repeal of this AFSPA. Nothing concrete has come out so far except the fact that that the government of Manipur had lifted AFSPA in the seven Assembly segments in the capital Imphal of Manipur. I have been always urging the Government of India for the repeal of AFSPA immediately but of no avail till date. In order to safeguard the territorial integrity of Manipur, I have moved a constitutional amendment Bill twice to

insert an extra Article 371CC: that 'Article 3 of the Constitution of India shall not apply in respect of the state of Manipur'. Till now, this Bill does not get the space for consideration.

At the moment there are three Bills passed by the Manipur Assembly and waiting for the assent from the President of India. These are good Bills and will help protecting the indigenous people of Manipur for all time to come. I hope, very soon the President of India will give his assent.

We are all for a peaceful settlement of vexed Naga issues. Unfortunately, in 2001, the Indo-NSCN (IM) cease fire agreement was extended beyond territorial limits. Because of this in 2002 June, there was a huge upsurge in the state of Manipur. 18 innocent people died and the State Assembly building and many other government offices including that of the Chief Minister of Manipur were burnt down. That was during NDA regime.

This year again on August 3, a framework agreement was signed between Government of India and NSCN (IM). What are there in the framework, it appears, nobody knows. Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh Governments are demanding the details of the framework agreement without much success. Is it not something

really very serious? Because NSCN (IM) does speak among others including their demand for some sort of integration of Naga people of the neighbouring states by expanding their territory and also of shared sovereignty with the Government of India.

Considering all these aspects, on this auspicious occasion of the 125th birth anniversary celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and discussion on commitment to India's Constitution, I do urge upon the Union Government to take all possible steps within the framework of the Constitution of India, to meet the aspirations of the people of Manipur, the erstwhile princely state at the time of its merger with the Union of India in the best interest of all concerned.

SHRI VARAPRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI (TIRUPATI): Thank you Madam. This debate has been so close to my heart. I was admitted for low blood pressure in Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital and I took time off to present my views in the House. I was admitted in the hospital and I took two hours permission and came here to speak.

I will not be commenting on the Constitution as it is because it stood the test of time almost for 60 years. It is one of the best Constitutions and the credit goes to Babasaheb Ambedkar. But the main point is to what extent our Parliament is cherishing his ideals and goals. What he wanted was that the SC/ST should have the dignity and the self-respect. To what extent we are achieving it? [English] Every time we talk of equality and fraternity but the way the atrocities are being committed, where is the brotherhood; where is the social equality? [Translation] I will give you the statistics. The worst form of atrocities is being committed against the dalits and STs in important States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana.

Presently, most of the backward classes are committing these atrocities against the SC/ST. I have not seen even one leader from these States who could condemn the atrocities against the weaker sections. If you really wish to pay tribute to Dr. Babasaheb

Ambaedkar, the gap between the Constitution and its realization should be filled up. I do not think that we have really achieved the social and economic equality. I have seen as many as thousand villages as an MP and I can say that the infrastructure is extremely inadequate in these habitations. If you see the gap between the main village and the habitations of SC/ST, there is a huge gap. There is no road, no house, no street light and even there is no drinking water. So much debate has taken place. To what extent are we respecting the ideals, the vision and the dream of Babasaheb Ambedkar?

The present Prime Minister has himself admitted that he is from one of the most backward class communities. The whole country, particularly, the weaker sections look up to him. One should only experience the oppression and depression as one would not understand it merely by talking. Therefore, we plead the hon. Prime Minister to bridge the gap between the Parliament laws and the realisation. We need the political will which is totally lacking.

HON. SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

SHRI VARAPRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI: Madam, please give me some more time because I have come from the hospital.

HON. SPEAKER: I know that. That is why, you should speak less. It is good for your health also.

SHRI VARAPRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI: The reservation in the Government sector is dwindling year after year. Therefore, if the social equality has to be achieved, only economic equality can give social equality. The political equality is all party based. We are almost 120 MPs but how many of us could take up the cause of these people.

HON. SPEAKER: Please conclude now. We do not have time.

SHRI VARAPRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI: Madam, for the name sake, the SC/ST Sub-Plan talks about Rs. 65000 crore and Rs. 35000 crore for STs but if you see it, the money is being spent more on the infrastructure and for other purposes without percolating the real benefit to the weaker sections for which SC/ST Sub-Plan was created. They are just dying.

As regards OEBs, there was one system where the Government of India was also sponsoring except maybe the States like Andhra Pradesh which do not have adequate resources. Now we have raised the age. The life expectancy of SC/STs is much lesser. I do not think anybody in the villages is living more than 50 years to 55 years.

HON. SPEAKER: It is all right now.

SHRI VARAPRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI: We are talking about 100 days but the money is being diverted for other purposes. The SC/ST people are crying for the work. They do not have any other means. They do not have land.

[Translation]

††††††††††††††††††††*__SHRI HARIOM SINGH RATHOD (RAJSAMAND):__ I express my gratitude to the Government led by the Hon. Shri Narendra Modi for deciding to organise a two-day discussion in Parliament on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of the revered Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. I also extend my thanks to Hon. Speaker for granting permission for this discussion on the Government's proposal.

This is the first time since Independence that such a distinctive decision has been taken to commemorate Babasaheb's birth anniversary through a two-day parliamentary discussion on the Constitution. There could be no more fitting manner to observe this occasion. To deliberate, in the highest temple of democracy, on the Constitution drafted under Babasaheb's leadership is the most meaningful tribute that can be paid to him.

Members from all sides have expressed their views in their own ways and have brought out the core spirit of the Constitution framed by Babasaheb, namely that it binds India, a nation of immense diversity, into a single national entity. This itself reflects the greatness

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††††††††††††††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

of our Constitution. Babasaheb's foresight is evident in the manner in which he understood the Indian context while drafting the Constitution and incorporated provisions suited to the country's unique social and cultural realities.

Babasaheb was fully aware that he was framing a Constitution for a nation which, prior to Independence, was fragmented into more than five hundred princely States. India is a land of many languages and diverse modes of worship. Such a nation required a Constitution that could accommodate this diversity while simultaneously nurturing a shared sense of nationhood, and Babasaheb achieved this with remarkable success. Through the Constitution he crafted, India acquired a powerful binding force that has enabled it to remain united despite its many differences.

During the course of this debate, Members have discussed several vital aspects of the Constitution and have paid tribute to Babasaheb according to their own understanding. Yet, there has been a common and candid acknowledgment that had our nation not been endowed with such a Constitution, we would not have been able to preserve the form and character of the nation that we see today. Despite numerous crises and challenges, the country has endured and

progressed because the Constitution itself provided the means and mechanisms to overcome them.

On this sacred occasion, I offer my sincere tribute to such a great personality and express the hope that, although Members of this House may belong to different political ideologies, we are united by one fundamental bond, namely that we are all Indians and we all seek the welfare of Mother India. We all desire that our nation should become a developed and prosperous country, where people of every caste, creed and section of society are able to live a dignified and fulfilling life, and where mutual brotherhood and understanding prevail among all. This can be achieved only when we collectively uphold deep respect for our Constitution, honour the provisions enshrined in it, and translate them into our conduct and daily lives. A truly prosperous nation is one that accords the highest respect to its Constitution. The true outcome of these two days of deliberations will be realised only if we resolve to revere this Constitution, to uphold it with full respect, and to succeed in becoming better and more responsible citizens of India. This alone would constitute a true and meaningful tribute to Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI PRAHLAD SINGH PATEL (DAMOH):__ On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, I extend my congratulations and best wishes to the Hon. Prime Minister and the Hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs for their sincere efforts in declaring 26 November 2015 as Constitution Day and for initiating a discussion on this matter.

The Constitution is a living and progressive charter, a dynamic document. The Constitution is not an end in itself; rather, it is a means to achieve an end. Traditions and influences certainly shape the nature of political institutions. An example of this can be seen in the 22 murals of our original Constitution, ranging from the Ram Darbar to the emblems of the States. The words inscribed on your Chair, “Dharma Chakra Pravartanaya”, reflect this legacy, yet in this House, even taking the name of Lord Ram or engaging in a discussion on dharma is often branded as communal.

There is a fundamental difference between the atmosphere prevailing at the time of the Constituent Assembly and the environment of this House today, sixty-six years later. When the Constitution was adopted, partisan political interests and the

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competition for credit were largely absent from national politics. As a result, discussions on problems and their solutions were marked by selflessness and objectivity. In other words, the language of public welfare clearly prevailed over personal interest. However, in 2015, partisan considerations have rendered debates rigid and confrontational. Amendments made due to party interests or personal ego are often considered unacceptable for discussion or criticism by certain political parties. Yet, in the national interest, taking decisive steps in such areas is not merely desirable but essential for the unity, integrity, and internal and external security of the country. In such circumstances, an adequate majority in both Houses of Parliament becomes indispensable. The Constitution-makers deliberately incorporated complex provisions for constitutional amendments in order to restrain arbitrariness by individuals or groups of individuals. Federal Constitutions are inherently rigid, and rightly so. However, in the present global context, when the world is grappling with religious terrorism such as that propagated by ISIS, there is an urgent and compelling need for a Uniform Civil Code under Article 44 of the Constitution. The Hon. Supreme Court has, on three occasions, cautioned and alerted the Governments of the country on this issue. Unfortunately, due to partisan interests, the seriousness with which

this matter should have been debated, conclusions should have been reached, consensus among political parties should have been built, and social as well as political movements should have emerged, has not been achieved.

I consider it timely, necessary, and appropriate at this juncture to make a point-wise reference to those efforts of the Hon. Supreme Court.

The Shah Bano case of 23 April 1985 and the constitutional amendment brought by the Congress Government were intended to implement the recommendations of the Dr. Swaran Singh Committee, which contained 59 provisions. While recording his objection in the House on 25 February 1986, Shri Indrajit Gupta had stated that this amendment violated Article 14 and Article 15(1) of the Constitution. He further pointed out that it also undermined Article 44 relating to the Directive Principles of State Policy.

The observations of the Hon. Supreme Court during the Vallamattom versus Union of India case on 21 July 2003 are extremely significant. These observations can help provide the House with a clear and correct direction for debate. The Hon. Supreme Court had observed that, in a civilised society, there is no necessary

connection between religious law and personal law. While Article 25 guarantees freedom of religion, Article 44 provides for the enactment of a uniform civil law governing personal matters.

The remarks of the then Chief Justice, Shri Rajendra Gadkar, can serve as a source of inspiration for the House. He had stated that the failure to implement Article 44 so far represents a defeat of Indian democracy.

The above observations constitute necessary and timely guidance and warnings issued by the judiciary for the Indian public conscience and for the nation as a whole. Ignoring them, preventing them from being discussed due to partisan interests, and rendering the debate controversial and directionless is not in the national interest. Such conduct amounts to a misuse of numerical strength in this House. This issue is not for the benefit of any political party but for the welfare of the nation. This is the most appropriate time to deliberate upon the formulation of a uniform civil code under Article 44 and to enact it. It should not be postponed on account of numerical strength or partisan considerations.

Article 48 empowers the State to make provisions for a complete prohibition on the slaughter of cows and cattle. This is essential for

the nation's agricultural strength and environmental balance. It also offers an effective response to global concerns relating to environmental protection. Cow protection is not the agenda of any religion or political party; rather, it represents a core pillar of Indian culture and of economic and social development, particularly of an ideal rural development model based on self-reliant units. It stands as an exemplary model of achieving a better balance between development and destruction. Why this issue has not been discussed is a matter that merits serious consideration. It is entirely possible in a democracy to disagree with Article 48. However, to refrain altogether from discussing this initiative of the Constitution-makers, or to prevent such discussion from taking place, raises serious questions about the propriety of such an approach. I had moved a Private Member's Resolution on the protection of cattle in 2003, which was passed by this House. At that time, Shri Manohar Joshi was in the Chair. Once a Private Member's Resolution is passed, it becomes the property of the House, not of any individual Member. Despite this, the Government has not taken steps to facilitate a debate on Article 48. This is not a healthy sign for the nation. Several Members have raised this matter in the House through Private Members' Bills and Resolutions, yet the Government has not allowed

a discussion on it. I therefore request that the Government initiate a discussion on this Article.

On Constitution Day, we must introspect whether, despite many contradictions, the 42th Constitutional Amendment was passed contrary to the original intent, while Articles 44 and 48, which were timely and necessary, were neither discussed nor translated into appropriate legislation. This situation points to serious gaps in the implementation of the Constitution. Identifying and rectifying these gaps will be the true success of this debate.

On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, this alone would constitute a true tribute to the Constitution-makers.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH VERMA (JALAUN): On 26 November 1949, the Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar presented the Constitution to the Constituent Assembly. It was adopted on 26 January 1950, marking the birth of the world's largest democracy. It was Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar's far-sighted vision that, while taking into account the challenges of a newly independent India, he strongly advocated the rights of the deprived and Dalits of this country. While safeguarding the rights of every individual, he crafted the world's largest Constitution. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar firmly believed that without ensuring equality and participation among all sections of society, it would be impossible to envision a prosperous future for independent India. Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar had said, "We are Indians, firstly and lastly." This brief yet profound statement is as significant for every citizen of India today as the Fundamental Rights that we have received through the Constitution drafted under his leadership.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, this Government is working to give concrete shape to the ideas of Dr Ambedkar. The powers that we all have been endowed with must be

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exercised and protected by us alone. From the very first day, it has been the endeavour of this Government that every decision of the Union Government should bring economic and social upliftment to the last person who has remained deprived for long. The Swachh Bharat Abhiyan is not merely a programme for external cleanliness of the country; it is an effort to eradicate the entrenched mental barriers prevailing in society. Through this initiative, the Government has conveyed a message to the entire world that no work is inherently good or bad. Respect is earned not through fine clothing but through noble thoughts. In our country, dignity is determined not by the nature of work but by the spirit of sacrifice. The Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana is also a unique initiative to make every section of society a stakeholder in the Indian economy. I come from a region where lack of awareness is a major challenge. Often, when the poor and the deprived receive cheques of government assistance, they are forced to make repeated rounds merely to access that money and eventually lose it all to middlemen. It is because of the Jan Dhan Yojana that people have obtained bank accounts, enabling them to receive all their benefits at one place. Similarly, through the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana, it has become possible for capable individuals, full of energy but lacking resources, to start their own enterprises. Under this

scheme, they can obtain loans in an easy manner, without any guarantee, and begin their businesses. Every word and every action of the Union Government under the leadership of Shri Modi is directed towards the welfare of the poor. Yet, there are still some who claim that this Government is not meant for the poor.

Today, when the eyes of the entire world are fixed upon India and the foremost need of this youthful nation is that the Government should take even more decisive and effective decisions, decisions whose outcomes are long-term, the new Government has acted precisely in that direction. One of the most significant decisions in this regard has been the abolition of the Planning Commission and the establishment of the NITI Aayog, which has enhanced the importance of both the Union and State Governments. State Governments play a crucial role in the implementation of Union Government schemes. However, until now, it had paradoxically become a practice that despite greater participation, the accountability of State Governments remained minimal. As a result, several schemes such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and the Right to Education could not deliver the impact for which they were conceived. Migration did not stop despite MGNREGA, and even after the Right to Education, children continue to wash utensils at roadside

eateries and kiosks. Can there be any future of a golden India without villages and children? The answer is no.

It was in November 1863 that the then President of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln, in his historic Gettysburg Address, stated, “of the people, by the people, for the people.” In a speech of just two minutes, the sixteenth President of the world’s first democracy conveyed to the world the true significance of democracy. Today, there is once again a need to reiterate that message. We must now bring into our lives the great thought of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, wherein he said: organise, educate and struggle. This exhortation is essential for the unity, integrity and development of our country. It is imperative that all citizens remain organised, become educated, and engage in sustained struggle for development. Reflect upon this and consider what it is that we cannot achieve.

All of us, the 125 crore citizens of this nation, remain committed to the Constitution framed by Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, and our foremost priority begins with the last person standing at the margins of society. Parliament governs the nation, and it is essential that every person seated here rises above political ideologies and discharges complete commitment towards the unity of the country and unwavering fidelity to the nation and its Constitution.

*SHRI BALBHADRA MAJHI (NABARANGPUR): I salute the great icon Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. It is a great tribute to honour him on his 125th Birth Anniversary by devoting 2 days of the Lok Sabha to discuss Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's contribution and functioning of the Constitution.

Even though many people were involved in drafting the Constitution and giving valuable suggestions, it was Dr. Ambedkar who as the Chairman of the drafting Committee, contributed the most.

While drafting the Constitution, it was in the back of minds of the Committee members, to ensure among other things, Social justice to all, equitable description of wealth among all regions and society, free education for all, freedom of embracing any religion.

It is realized by the present Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi that justice has not been made to all regions especially the eastern region. Thus, he has laid emphasis on giving more stress on eastern region and given slogan of "Sabka Sath Sabka Vikas". How far this is being achieved, only time will say. However, the visible discrimination by the present Government is also visible.

In the Indian democracy, Dr. Ambedkar is a peculiar character with so many paradoxical situations. He was not part of freedom

struggle. Rather, he was part of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Yet, he was invited to be the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee at the recommendation of Mahatma Gandhi. This was done so only for his level of knowledge on the subject.

Once the job was over, he was no more required by the Congress party. Rather, he was defeated by the Congress Party in the election of 1952 and bye election of 1954.

He fought for Hindu Civil Code, but had to embrace Buddhism as the Hindu society did not give him due respect as a human.

Dr. Ambedkar has become more important now than at any other time. A year long celebration has been planned by the Government. Congress, which did not give him due importance during his life time, is also in competition with the Government and wants to take away all credit for Ambedkar as if he was a Congress product.

Major political parties think the name Ambedkar is more saleable now. Whatever be the motive of the Government and of major opposition parties, it will be real tribute to Dr. Ambedkar if this dream through the Constitution is realised.

While talking of Constitution, a doubt arises whether the Constitution is relevant, whether the spirit of the Constitution is

honoured. The Government seems to be running on Acts and executive orders, many times disregarding the constitutional provisions. There are innumerable Acts some of which are no more relevant as on date. Some region and people are deprived of the provisions of the Constitution.

Injustice has been done to Odisha in so many ways by different Government at the Centre: a) It has been confirmed by the Raghuram Rajan Committee that Odisha is the least developed state. While West Bengal, J&K and Bihar have been given special financial package, Odisha has not been. b) While industrial Corridors have been planned between Kolkata -Delhi, Delhi-Mumbai, Mumbai-Chennai, Chennai-Vishakhapatnam, the stretch of Vishakhapatnam Kolkata has been left tout, depriving Odisha of its share. If any state deserves industrial Corridor it should be Odisha first, because of its mineral resources of all kinds as well as its backwardness. c)While Dedicated Freight Corridors have been planned between Kolkata-Delhi, Delhi-Mumbai and Mumbai-Chennai, it is not understood how can Chennai-Kolkata be leftout. d)The East Coast railways which mostly operated over Odisha earns about Rs. 14,000 crore annually i. e. about 10% of the Railways revenue with a net profit of about Rs. 7000 crores. This Railway operates at the least Operating Ration yet the allotment

towards its project is the least. East Coast Railway's earning is enjoyed by the Railways who are making loss (only about five out of 16 Railways make profit). Inspite of giving so much of revenue about 6 new projects which are evaluated to be economically viable are not sanctioned. e) Odisha has requested for Rs. 20,000 crore towards united fund to mitigate the anomalies in the devolution process. This is yet to be responded by the Centre. In addition, special assistance of Rs. 3500 crore with NITI Ayog is unresolved.

Fund allotment towards irrigation projects is too meager. Odisha request to release further amount of Rs. 1051 crore is yet to be responded.

In the name of devolution, 8 centrally sponsored schemes have been dropped. Thus, includes important schemes like, KBK, BRGF and IAP. Had the amount on account of devolution be adequate, then there was no problem. But, as explanied above, Odisha has got less fund than previous years, even after more devolution to 42%, as many schemes were scrapped and about 33 schemes were partly altered.

During the Hud Hud cyclone of 2014, while the hon. Prime Mnister visited AP, he did not feel it necessary to visit Odisha also. No less damage was caused to Odisha on account of Hud Hud.

Odisha is faced with drought in most of its districts. While a Central team has visited Odisha, no relief is declared by the Centre. In spite of several requests from Government of Odisha, inspite of the fact that a case is pending before the Hon. Supreme Court, in spite of the fact that Gram Sabhas have not been conducted, inspite of the fact that alternate low height Barrages (3Nos.) can be constructed which would give more water and electricity, the Central Government is bent upon constructing a high level dam submerging more than 300 villages and displacing more than 1. 8 lakh people. Odisha is one of the affected parties. Which Articles of the Constitution authorise such mistreatment to a state?

It is no secret that not only Dr. Ambedkar, social justice issue was very dear to Mahatma Gandhi also. When the provision of reservation was made, it was made for 10 years only. The father of the Constitution makers thought that in 10 years time, the so called deprived, oppressed, suppressed class will be at par with the so called upper caste socially, economically, educationally and culturally.

68 years of Independence and 65 years of India being a Republic has passed, there is no sight of the deprived class coming anywhere near the upper class. Rather the gap seems to have widened.

One cannot be socially and economically affluent unless he is educated. Literacy rate of the tribals in particular is abysmally low. One of the main reasons is absence of adequate schools and colleges. Wherever, there are schools, there are no teachers. Privatisation of education has made the situation worse.

While these deprived classes are not able to pursue study in Government schools and colleges, how can they afford to study in private institutes? Because of privatisation, the quality of education in Government Institutes has gone down. Thus, the deprived class are doubly hit.

Which Article of the Constitution authorises privatisation of education? Education today is no more a service, it is a flourishing business. There is a need to stop privatisation of education so that quality improves in Government institutes and all get education of same quality.

One can be socially acceptable only, if he is educationally and economically well off. With the present rules and regulations, the tribals are bound by so many conditions that they cannot be well off economically.

A tribal is not permitted to sell his immovable property to any person other than of his own community. It is no secret that tribals are not affluent enough to pay the market price for his property. Thus, there is bound to be distress selling. This restrictive law might have been appropriate when the Constitution was framed. It is obsolete as on date.

Tribals are becoming literate even though slowly. They want to have better life. It is expected that they should not be restricted only to cultivation, poultry, gathering forest produces only. They can come up only when their land is allowed to be mortgaged, allowed to sell to anybody he likes. Tribals are also expected to be industrialist, businessmen, contractors, etc. We must find ways to facilitate them, otherwise hundreds of years of reservation is not going to help.

Reservation in Government jobs will only benefit 4% of the population. All people cannot be brought up only though job reservation. Even these limited reserved posts are also not filled up. When in 21st Centuary there are so many educated unemployed youth, the officers dealing with selection give some plea or other not to fill up the reserved post. There is no instance of anybody having been punished for not ensuring filling up of reserved posts. A big issue is made out of reservation in promotion. Article 16 (4A) clearly

provides for reservation in promotion with consequential seniority. It does not say that promotion is not applicable in judiciary. It does not say that it is not applicable within Group-A. It is not understood why we need another amendment to Constitution to effect reservation in promotion.

With the setting up of private schools, colleges, hospitals and industry, most of the jobs have gone to private sector. It is essential that reservation must be enforced in private sector.

It is always that the weak is mistreated. Till such time the deprived class remain deprived educationally and economically, they will continue to remain backward socially also. Any amendments to prevention of Atrocity Act will not prevent social discrimination and mistreatment till such time they are educationally and economically backward.

Forest Rights Act is yet to be implemented in its true spirit. Many states are yet to adopt the same.

Therefore, instead of claiming Ambedkar to be its leader, it will be true tribute to him if the Constitution is implemented in true spirit, if social justice is delivered to the deprived class and deprived region.

[Translation]

SHRI. RADHESHYAM BISWAS (KARIMGANJ): Madam Speaker, on the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, I have been given the opportunity to speak in Parliament on the Indian Constitution, for which I express my gratitude. I offer my deepest salutations to Dr B. R. Ambedkar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad and all other eminent leaders who gave the world one of the finest and most beautiful Constitutions.

Because of this Constitution today [English] India is the largest democratic country in the world where the people of different caste, creed and colour are living. They practise different faiths. They follow different cultures. They wear different dresses. They eat different foods. They speak different languages but they all belong to india and they all feel proud to be indian.

[Translation]

The Indian Constitution has now completed 66 years, and during this period it has been amended 100 times. The Constitution-makers had initially provided protective safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes for a period of ten years. As these objectives

could not be fully achieved within that time, it became necessary to extend these provisions further through the 95th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. We must reflect today on the reasons for this. It is our national responsibility to further strengthen the backward classes. We are proud to be Indians. We strongly believe that no country has a better Constitution than our country. But despite having the best Constitution and the best laws in the world we should not ignore the fact that we are lacking somewhere to act accordingly to implement it.

Madam Speaker, I would like to conclude my speech by urging the Government whether it is the State Government or the Central Government to act against those who are busy in trying to demolish the structure of our Constitution. The Government should take action against those who have any role in disturbing the unity and peace of our country. Our hon. Prime Minister has a greater role to play to control the situation and take action against those who are guilty without any hesitation.

In the end, I would like to say in the words of Rabindranath Tagore that if we do all these things then -*Balo Balo Balo sobe, shatobina benu robe, Bharat abar jogotsobhai shrestha asano lobe.*

[Translation]

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI (HYDERABAD): Madam, I am thankful to you. I would like to urge you to allow me seven minutes, I will conclude. *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: No, I am sorry.

[Translation]

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI: Madam please, I am promising you. *...(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Your allotted time is three minutes.

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI: You will not need to speak again. *...(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Please be seated. I will give you two minutes as well. I have said three minutes to you also. Please sit down. You will get time. Please be seated.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI ASADUDDIN OWAISI: Madam, the personality in whose honour this sitting has been convened today to pay tribute, in my view, was one of the greatest intellectuals of India, an outstanding political

scientist and an eminent economist. I have said this earlier before the people and I reiterate it even today that if there was any leader in India greater than Mahatma Gandhi, it was Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Madam, there is a need in our country to understand that had Nehru not become the Prime Minister, Ambedkar would not have drafted this Constitution. If Nehru had not become the Prime Minister, someone else would have framed this Constitution, and India would certainly have become a religious State. Therefore, it is equally necessary to pay tribute to the first Prime Minister of India as well.

Madam, the third point is this that today we see that eminent personalities have had the opportunity to hold the office of Prime Minister of this country, but I believe that, in order to address and convey the message of 3,000 years of problems, hardships and oppression, it is extremely necessary, and India today needs, that a Dalit becomes the Prime Minister of India. This would send a very powerful and correct message. The fifth point is that our elders had decided that our democracy would be a participative form of democracy. But today, what do we see? Regrettably, in this august House, only six Percent representatives of the Muslim minority are elected and come here. I ask, to what extent does this fulfil the dreams of those who had envisioned that India would adopt parliamentary

democracy and a participative form of democracy. If this process continues in the same manner, the day is not far when this House will remain only of the majority community. Babasaheb Ambedkar provided Articles 29 and 30 for minorities. Under Articles 29 and 30, the language of minorities, their culture and their educational institutions are protected. With your permission, Madam, I wish to state what Babasaheb Ambedkar said on 4 November, 1948. He said-

[English]

> "The diehards who have developed a kind of fanaticism against the minority protection, I would like to say two things. One is, minorities are an explosive force which if it erupts can blow up the whole fabric of the State. The history of Europe bears ample and appalling testimonies of fact. Minorities of India have agreed to place their confidence in the hands of majority. He said that it is for the majority to realise their duty and not to discriminate against minority. "

These were the golden words said by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Why are the Muslims being denied the benefits of article 15 and 16?

Madam, the Prime Minister has taken oath on the 26th May. He took oath as he will do right to all manners of people and in accordance with the Constitution and law. But I have seen the Prime Minister openly saying that he will sacrifice his life if reservation is taken away from OBCs, EBCs and dalits. Is the Prime Minister not for the Muslims? How can the Prime Minister violate his oath on law? How can the Prime Minister deny the benefits of articles 15 and 16? When it comes to article 44, let me quote what Dr. Ambedkar said on 2nd December, 1948:

> "We must all remember including members of Muslim community who have spoken on this subject. Though one can appreciate the feelings very well, sovereignty is always limited. No matter even if you assert that it is unlimited because sovereignty in the exercise of that power must reconcile itself to the sentiment of different communities. No government can exercise its power in such a manner as to provoke the Muslim community to rise in rebellion. "

This is what Dr. Ambedkar said on the 2nd December. You talk of UCC. I challenge you. Can you take out article 371a and 371g? Can you impose uniform civil code in Kashmir? No you cannot.

People talk about the benefit of Muslim women. Let me remind you about article 21. What about article 21? It is said about right to life. What about that life which was taken away in emergency period, which was taken away in December, 1992, which was taken away in the streets of Delhi in 1984, which was taken away in the streets of Ahmedabad? Where did the right to life go? Right to life has been abused.

We talk about paying homage to Dr. Ambedkar but the communal riots in India are an example of violation of article 21. Right to life is a fundamental right. Madam, may I also point out what the hon. Home Minister said. The hon. Home Minister talked about secularism. I want to know from him whether he endorses the statements given by the Ministers of his own Government that if we want to eat beef, go to Pakistan. Does he believe in yogic farming? Does he believe that Quran and Bible are not the soul of this country? Does he believe what the Chief Minister of Haryana has said? Madam, what is secularism? Let them define. … (*Interruptions*) allow me to conclude by saying that secularism is the basic structure of

constitution. I want to know from the Hon. Home minister on this point. The organizer on 30th November said that this constitution should be burnt. I want to know from him whether the prime minister also said [Translation] that power was attained after 1,200 years of slavery. Madam, where is this so-called 1,200 years of slavery? Sardar Patel had said, and when did he say it, in 1931, that there were 200 years of slavery. Madam, a Constitution cannot be framed in this manner. What is being done today, the platform and objective of the Home Minister, is to break the Preamble and to attempt to establish a Hindu Rashtra there. ...*(Interruptions)* I am concluding, Madam. With your permission, I am concluding my remarks. I believe that today the multicultural fabric of this country is under threat. There are forces opposed to the Constitution. There is a danger to secularism from you; there is no danger from them. Save yourselves, only then will India be saved.

**********SADHVI SAVITRI BAI PHULE **(BAHRAICH):** Our India was under Mughal rule for six and a half hundred years and under British rule for 150 years. To free the country from this bondage, people from every section of society joined together in harmony and brotherhood. To liberate India and to raise the slogans of revolution to great heights, the brave sons and courageous women of India made sacrifices and worked to secure the freedom of our nation.

In 1947, India became independent. At that time, the country had neither any law nor a Constitution; there was no executive, no judiciary and no legislature. Yet, it was absolutely essential to run the country. In order to govern the nation, Mahatma Gandhi constituted a committee of six Members under the leadership of Dr. Rajendra Prasad to prepare the draft of the Constitution. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was made the Chairperson of that committee. Five persons were required to give their opinions for the framing of the Constitution, but all of them, on one pretext or another, avoided giving their views. However, Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar, with truthfulness and integrity, studied the Constitutions of many countries

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

across the world and drafted the Constitution of India. The Constitution of India is a secular Constitution, in which all religions are accorded equal respect. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar took 2 years, 11 months and 18 days to draft the Constitution of India. With great loyalty, honesty, dedication and sacrifice, Babasaheb framed the Constitution of India.

On 26 November, 1949, the Constitution of India was handed over by Babasaheb to the first Prime Minister of the country, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and to the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. While accepting the Constitution, Dr Rajendra Prasad stated that no matter how good a Constitution may be, if the intentions of those who implement it are not clear, the Constitution and the laws will remain ineffective. On the same day, Dr. Ambedkar conveyed a message that no matter how good a Constitution may be, if the people who implement it are wrong, the Constitution cannot be held responsible.

Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar's scholarship, his personality and his intense love for the nation were admired by all the Members of the Constituent Assembly and by the people of the country. Despite having done so much for the nation, Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was looked upon with contempt by even the tallest leaders of the Congress. By making provisions in the Constitution, Babasaheb

Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar worked to uplift the oppressed and marginalised sections of society. However, even after 50–55 years of governance, the oppressed sections have still not received their full constitutional rights even today. When Babasaheb handed over the Constitution of India, he had stated that he had put an end to poverty, hunger, social hierarchy and untouchability. But when Babasaheb realised that people were unwilling to abolish the caste system, class system and varna system, he declared that while being born a Hindu was not within his control, dying as a Hindu was within his control. Therefore, at Nagpur, Babasaheb renounced Hinduism along with five lakh people and embraced Buddhism. Today, it is with deep anguish that I state in this House that even after 68 years of Independence, casteism, untouchability, inequality, discrimination, class-based divisions, varna-based discrimination and communalism have not been eradicated and continue to persist. Even today, thirty Percent of the population remains trapped in the chains of untouchability, social hierarchy and oppression. They too have great expectations from this country that they will be assured two meals a day, clothing to wear, a house to live in, schools for education, hospitals for medical treatment and land for cultivation.

Our country, India, did become independent. After Independence, the Congress Party remained in power for forty-five to fifty years. However, what did the Congress Party give to our Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes? In the name of sheep rearing, loans were given; in the name of goat rearing, loans were given; in the name of pig rearing, loans were given; in the name of poultry rearing, loans were given; even in the name of donkey rearing, loans were given. Votes were taken from them, and they were repeatedly deceived. I wish to state that even today there has been no change in the condition or direction of the lives of our Scheduled Caste people. Even today, in order to earn two meals a day, they are compelled to skin dead animals, clean filthy drains, wash dirty clothes and live in servitude to others. During the rule of the Congress Party governments, the manner in which atrocities were committed against the Scheduled Caste people of this country and against their sisters and daughters is deeply distressing. Entire villages were burnt, mass rapes occurred, mass killings took place, and the government remained a silent spectator.

Had Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar not made provisions for reservation for us in the Constitution of India, the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities would not have received any

opportunity to progress in employment, education or politics. If they have received any such opportunity, it is solely due to Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. Today, I have been given the opportunity to speak in the largest Panchayat of India. While bowing in reverence to the contributions of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, I wish to state that he provided for reservation for the Scheduled Caste people in the Constitution of India in the year 1950. At that time, the population of the Scheduled Castes was very small, but today their population has increased substantially. Even today, reservation is not being granted to Scheduled Caste people in proportion to their population. Even now, despite the reservation provisions laid down by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar in the Constitution of India, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes are being deprived of employment opportunities. Across the entire country, there has been no meaningful improvement in the condition or direction of the lives of Adivasis, Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes.

I would like to request the Hon. Prime Minister to take concrete steps to safeguard the rights of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, and to ensure that the provisions laid down in the Constitution are fully implemented by the Union Government by

reforming and reorienting various schemes, so that these communities may effectively receive their rightful entitlements. The provisions made for Backward Classes in employment must be implemented in full, and a law should once again be enacted and enforced to provide for reservation in promotions in employment. The strictest possible laws should be enacted in the interest of Dalits, the deprived and the exploited, so that these sections may be assured dignity and security. This alone would constitute a true tribute to Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar.

On this occasion, I demand from the Union Government that the provisions made for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes in employment be implemented in full, and that a law be enacted once again and enforced to provide reservation in promotions in jobs. The strictest possible laws should be enacted in the interest of Dalits, the deprived and the exploited, so that these sections may be ensured dignity and security. This alone would constitute a true tribute to Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

††††††††††††††††††††*__SHRI AJAY TAMTA (ALMORA):__ It is a matter of great happiness that today we are holding a discussion in this House while expressing our commitment to Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the architect of the Constitution of India, and to the Constitution of India itself. This was certainly necessary. The people living in India and all citizens of the country have the right to know about the Constitution of India.

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar played a crucial role in drafting the Constitution of India. On 26 November, 1949, under his Chairpersonship, the Constitution was completed and was handed over to the then Government. The Constitution laid the foundation for an environment conducive to national unity, integrity, sovereignty, social harmony and economic, social and intellectual progress. It is surprising that there were difficulties in installing the portrait of such a great personality in the Central Hall, and that it took so long for Dr. Ambedkar to be awarded the Bharat Ratna. The revered Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee conferred the Bharat Ratna in 1989. This fulfilled the hopes and rightful aspirations of the people of the country.

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It is a matter of great joy for the people of the nation that Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi has decided to celebrate the 125th birth anniversary of Dr Ambedkar on a grand scale. A committee has been constituted, and the celebrations will be held from 14 April, 2015 to 14 April, 2016. Programmes will be organised across the country. The decision to celebrate this occasion at State headquarters, schools and colleges is a source of immense happiness.

It is an even greater matter of joy that Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi has decided to develop Dr Ambedkar's residence at 26, Alipur Road into a grand memorial. Further, at 15, Janpath, where the Ambedkar Foundation office is located, approval has been granted for an amount of Rs. 195 crore for the construction of an Ambedkar Study Centre and Research Centre.

I would like to submit that it is our responsibility, as well as that of the citizens of this country, to act in accordance with the Constitution of India in order to promote social harmony, eliminate economic inequality, and strengthen unity and integrity in the nation.

[English]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI BALKA SUMAN (PEDDAPALLI):__ I am very much happy to be part of the debate to commemorate the Constitution on the eve of Dr. Ambedkar's 125th Birth Anniversary. Whole world has recognised intellectual contribution of Ambedkar and he is listed among the top intellectuals of the world. As Chairman of the Indian Constitution, he put all his efforts in shaping the Indian Constitution as one of the best Constitution in the world. But it is very unfortunate that there is some section who branded him as leader of untouchables and trying to damage the image of the great philosopher through some writings. Ambedkar's philosophy and his writing are subject for research in social sciences in all top universities of the world.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR SPEECH -1953, AURANGABAD. "Politics is not the BE-All and END All of the nations life". He urged them to study diligently Indians problems in all its aspects, politics, social, religious and economics and fight with own accord for the salvations of the downtrodden. "This statement of Ambedkar is a

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guiding force for my political career. This remains always at the back of my mind and in all my political activities and thinking. "

So long as the Indian Constitution survives the name of Dr. Ambedkar remains immortal. He lives forever in the hearts of every Indian, particularly the downtrodden.

AMBEDKAR'S WARNING TO NATIONS ON 26TH NOVEMBER, 1949: On the 26th of January, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality.

How long shall we continue live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life?

We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible or else those who suffer from inequality till blow up the structures of political democracy, which this assembly has so laboriously built up.

The Constitution of India established a Welfare State and a very detailed agenda for promotion of social welfare and justice was mentioned in the chapter on the Directive principles of State Policy. The underlying philosophical orientation of the Indian Constitution Makers was that an activist state through positive action could

promote the quality of life of the underprivileged, deprived and vulnerable sections of society.

The philosophical postulates of new vocabulary of liberalisation, privatization and globalization (LPG) are fundamentally different from that of the worldview of our Constitution and its makers. The current process of liberation envisages a minimum state rather than providing the state with all-pervading functions. In other words, in the context of liberation, role of the state is visualized as facilitator of market forces rather than broader functions of overall welfare of the masses.

In the context of liberalisation and privatization the Dalit Bahujan movement is raising new questions such as demand for extending reservation from government services and public sector to private sector. Along with the reservation for dalits in private sector, the Dalit movement is raising an issue of access to resources in the emerging market economy and thus seeking to have a share in the market-sphere. Dr. Ambedkar the founding father made genius efforts to constitutionally guarantee equality to the disadvantaged section of the populations.

Constitution provision aimed at preventing discrimination and promoting social justice are -Article14, Article 15, Article 16, 17 & 23. These provisions made concerted efforts "to abolish social equality, social stigma and social disabilities in our society.

"If I fail to do away with the inhuman injustice to the class, into which I was born, I will put an end to my life with a bullet". This was glorious vow taken by Ambedkar. Untouchability was abolished under the Constitution of free India. The vow was fulfilled, the dream realized and the ambition materialized. But today the situation is not that radically changed social system, there is a continuation of practices of untouchability, discrimination, atrocities and killings.

Ambedkar's intellectual and political efforts for reservation policy, which began in 1919, where instrumental in developing a policy in 1932 in the form of Poona Pact. The reservation policy which began in 1932 in Legislature got extended to public employment and education in the 1940s and finally came into present from with acceptance of the Constitution of India in 1950. Reservation, the moment the subject pops-up the entire nation thrusts itself into the fire of heated debates. No consensus, no alternative modal is offered-if the reservation is a concern. The debates spark off controversies, spread and aggravate hatred and breed conspiracy

theories. Groups take up positions in favour or against reservation. The argument envelopes the entire nation, which is scorched by the flames of divide opinions.

My appeal to both groups is to please try to read and understand the socio-philosophical necessities of reservation justified by Ambedkar. Ambedkar "thoughts on linguistics state" is a guiding force for the people of Telangana in their long struggle for separate statehood. His justification for smaller states is as: the requirement of efficient administrations; the needs of the different areas; the sentiments of the different areas; and the proportion between the majority and minority.

Telangana Government, as a welfare state, truly following Ambedkar paths in achieving socio, economic and political equality. We are implementing welfare schemes under the leadership of Chandrashekre Rao. These are: Land for Dalits (Agriculture), Kalayana Lakhmi & Shaadi Mubarak, SC, ST & Minority, Water grid-as become a model for other states, two bed room flats - Weaker sections and reservation in AMC.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI (DHARWAD): Constitution of any sovereign country is the basic law of land. The Indian Constitution is the world's longest Constitution and most detailed of the all the written Constitutions of the world having 444 Articles.

The framers of Indian Constitution have gained experience from the working of all the known Constitutions of the world. They were aware of the difficulties in the working of other Constitutions. The members in the Constituent Assembly were all legal luminaries, philosophers' politicians and statesmen, deliberated in all details and finally were able to produce such a document which decides the plights of millions of Indians.

Preamble: The Preamble of our Constitution declares India to be a sovereign, secular, Democratic Republic. The word 'Sovereign' emphasises both internally and externally.

The term 'secular' has been inserted in the preamble by the Constitution 42nd amendment Act 1976. The concept was already implicit in the Constitution and the amendment only spelled out clearly this concept.

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So, our commitment to the Constitution broadly means to democracy, sovereignty and secularism. This is what millions of our people always adhered to and at all cost succeeded in protecting these features, excepting for a small period of nearly two years in 1975 and 1976 when the then Prime Minister Smt. Gandhi had imposed emergency and restricted even fundamental rights.

Another important feature of our Constitution to which we have to be committed is the system of parliamentary form of Government. In this respect, the makers of the Constitution have followed the British model in toto. The essence of this system is its responsibility to the legislature. For some times back there was even a debate in the country that why not this system be shifted to presidential form like the USA. Those who argued against this and in favour of the retention of the present parliamentary system was mainly for three reasons. First, it is responsible Government, secondly the PM who enjoys majority in Parliament is much more powerful than the President in USA and thirdly, there is nothing to prevent the PM to chose the best talent from outside for his Cabinet and get them elected or nominated to either House. So, in this background we should commit to this system.

Another important feature which can be said to be heart of the Constitution is part III where we incorporated fundamental rights which even is rightly termed as Magna Carta of India. It is also made clear in most of the historical decisions of supreme court that if there are no fundamental rights there is no Constitution. The entire concept and philosophy of fundamental rights is based on the concept of Rule of Law which is considered to be the basic structure of our Constitution.

This doctrine has clearly identified the domains of all three organs i. e. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. No organ is empowered to enter the domain of the other and every organ is fully independent in its sphere. The beauty of effective functioning of our Constitution mainly rests on this concept. Many occasions had come in where each organ appeared to usurp the domain of the other but in the ultimate analysis the independent of every organ was retained.

The complementary doctrine of separation of powers entails that the legislature the executive and the judiciary not only need to have a certain degree of trust in each other but also deference to the actions of one another in matters within their respective jurisdiction. Primarily, the legislature shall make the law, the executive will implement the law and the judiciary shall interpret the law. Only when

one organ derelicts its duty or usurps the legitimate functions of another, should it be stopped of guided by another branch. One of the finest outcomes of such a balancing act is the basic structure of this doctrine.

Judicial review is an important cog in this machinery of checks and balances. It is even written into the text of the Constitution in the form of Article 13(2). Dr. B. R. Ambedkar referred to this provision as the 'heart of the Constitution'. This is of course has to be read in tandem with Article 32 of the Constitution which gives citizens the right to approach the Supreme Court for seeking remedies against the violation of these fundamental rights.

However, exercise of the power of review by an unelected body, in whose appointment the public has no say, over the function of a publically elected body may at times amount to the derogation of the separation of powers. During the constitutional assembly debate KK Munshi remarked on requests for clearer separation of powers to protect the independence of the judiciary.

As regards the question of the independence of the judiciary, ample care has been taken in this Chapter that the judicial system in India under this Constitution should be an integrated system and it

should be independent of the Executive in so far as it could be in a modern state. The House will see as it proceeds to deal with this chapter that once a Judge is appointed, his remuneration and allowances etc. remain constant. Further he is not removable except under certain conditions like a two-thirds majority of the two Houses. . . these are considered sufficient guarantees of the independence of the Judiciary throughout those countries which have adopted England as the model. These safe guards are there.

I would like to take this occasion as an opportunity and constrained to say that, in the zeal of greater commitments to certain important parts we have forgotten Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in chapter 18 of the Constitution. These are important directions for the successful and meaningful working of this Constitution. The uniform civil code and ban on cow slaughter are two important goals of this Constitution which are yet to be achieved and no commitment to this part of the Constitution is exhibited so far. Not only that, whenever a cry for commitment of this chapter is raised from major sections of society it is hushed up in the colour of secularism, so what is more felt now is to show more commitment to this part of the Constitution and we should all stand united in this.

As pointed out above, the term secularism was inserted in preamble in 1976 by 42nd amendment by the then Smt. Gandhi Congress Government. As this august House knows the term secularism means a state which has no religion of its own as recognised religion of state. It treats all religions equally. But unfortunately for the last more than sixty years of rule the Congress has been repeatedly interpreting that secularism in India means appeasement of Muslim minority and condemning the majority religion like Hinduism.

If Kashmiri pundits are tortured and made to leave the state by the majority Muslims there it is secularism for Congress and the Congress like other parties. If the former External Affairs Minister Salman Khurshid goes to Pakistan which is the enemy country for Indian people and says Pak PM was man of peace, it is secularism, if Amir Khan a cinema artist terms India as intolerant country it is secularism, if he made films belittling Hindu Gods and Hindu Gurus, it is secularism, if Kamal Hasan makes a film called Vishwrupam and if it hurts the Muslims religions feelings it is communal for Congress. When Tasleema Nasrin a famous Bangaladesi writer speaks true colours of Islam and targeted by Islamic fundamentalists in India and prays for political asylum in India, the Congress Government sends

her out of country because she was communal. These are the Congress brand of secularism. Recently, in Karnataka, a self branded Kannada writer attacked Hinduism, Hindu Gods Ram and Krishna using unfair uncultured words. But the congress Government in Karnataka gave him all protection and on contrast, arrested some Hindu individuals who criticised this writer. Though many FIRS are filed against this writer, the Government has not cared to arrest him.

I would like to tell my Congress friends that India is not secular because Congress called it secular. This country and its majority people are secular and tolerant towards other religion since time immemorial. That is why other religions those came from outside and took roots here, flourished and living peacefully. For people like Amir Khan, he became a star and made hundreds of crores of wealth not by only Muslim cinema lovers but by majority of Hindu. When he made a film by name PK wherein he criticised Hindu Gurus and God men, even Hindus applauded for unmasking such Gurus. Then he or his wife did not feel there is intolerance because he was ruled by Congress then. Now, as soon as he is ruled by Modi Government, India became suddenly intolerant country for him. One thing should be understood by Amir Khan and other such persons that what happens to their

stardom and future if tomorrow all the Hindus decide to boycott their films what happens to their empire of films industry.

The Congress party and Smt. Sonia ji seems to think that India became secular only after Smt. Indira Gandhi, during emergency introduced Constitution 42nd amendment and inserted the world 'secular' in the Preamble. I would like to bring to the notice of this august House that the concept of inclusive democracy was prevalent and practiced in 12th century in Karnataka which was propounded by Shri Basaveshwar a 12th century Social reformist. Even his disciples, Shivasharanas like Dohar Kakkaih and Madara Chennayya also use to take part in discourses in a platform called Anubhav Matapa. Not only this impression being given by the Congress all these years that India became tolerant country only because of Congress, it is not only false but absurd. India had been tolerant since time immemorable, and it is one such country in the world that the people of which accepted the 'Charwakamata' as one of the 'Shaddarshanas' propounded by 'Charwaka' who is also given the status of Darshanika and a Rishi. No other country in the world has even accepted atheism as Darshana but we in India did it. So, I suggest the Congress and Soniaji not to propagate the false ideology and mislead the people. If you want to preach and give any sermons on principle of intolerance, Secularism

or Democracy it is better preach it first to your obscurantist people like Manishakar Ayar and Salman Khurshid who insult the Indian Prime Minister on Pakistan land.

Now, let us shun this brand of Congress secularism and commit ourselves to real Indian brand of secularism. This is a real tribute to our Constitution framers and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Congress has forgotten the history also because it has shown wise ignorance to the fact of the holiest Somnath temple was demolished and who looted money desecrating this temple. But Sardar Patel got the heeling touch to the feelings of millions of Hindus by reconstructing the temple as a true Congress man.

Lastly, I will not desist from myself from giving a word of caution about the present trend that in the garb of freedom of speech and expression the very essence of this fundamental right is being defaced. Under the colour of this fundamental right, certain section of the people of our country are engaged in defaming and condemning Hindu Gods and Hindu religion. But some state Governments are very casual in dealing with such elements with the political agendas. This fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression is not absolute but qualified by reasonable restrictions. So, the protector of this right

should also be aware of its restriction and we should commit more effectively to this aspect.

*SHRIMATI K. MARAGATHAM (KANCHEEPURAM): India is a multi-cultural, multi-religious civilisation of enormous diversities. To capture all the diversity and versatility in a single document is an unparalleled achievement by the Drafting Committee. The Indian Constitution offered us a vision of a fair and an equal India which would provide Justice-social, economic and political and we shall always be grateful for their contributions.

Dr. Ambedkar's untiring efforts to ameliorate social discrepancies were commendable and that is why he is rightly called the father of the downtrodden. However, Dr. Ambedkar's contribution was not only restricted to upliftment of Dalits. He also fought for the emancipation of women and argued for their economic and social rights.

Dr. Ambedkar saw women as the victims of the oppressive, caste based and rigid hierarchical social system. He championed the cause of woman untouchability and discussed women problems in Bombay Legislative Council in the Viceroy's Assembly. He further stressed that there cannot be any progress without Women in the 'All India Depressed Classes Womens Conference' in Nagpur in 1940 and brought about suitable provision for their empowerment in various Article of the Indian Constitution.

Most importantly, his contribution to the evolution of free India lies in his efforts to ensure justice-social, economic and political-for men and women.

Women's rights, as we all know, are secured under the Constitution of India mainly, equality, dignity, and freedom from discrimination. There are also several statutes governing the rights of women. However, the creation of an egalitarian social order seeking equality for men and women, however, remains an unfulfilled dream to this day as the number of incidents of sexual discrimination and domestic violence on the basis of their gender are on the rise.

Tamil Nadu has historically been a pioneer in women's advancement since the times of Periyar. Now under the inspiring leadership of Hon. Amma, the State has made tremendous strides in empowering women.

I elaborate on the contributions of Political reformers in Tamil Nadu.

Periyar was a social reformer who advocated the rights of women as early as 1915. He argued for gender equality for women, widow remarriage and rights for women to inherit property and enjoy their benefits. He further fought for entry of Dalits into Temples. Arignar

Anna and MGR also followed it up by introducing several schemes for women's empowerment.

The current government headed by our beloved Amma in Tamil Nadu has transformed into a pioneer in providing safety and security to women by announcing numerous schemes which have been widely appreciated by various other political parties across the country.

Some of the notable achievements under our Hon. CM has been Cradle Baby Scheme, which was launched in 1992 with a view to eradicate female infanticide by which many girls have been saved from the clutches of death. The scheme was globally recognised. So far, more than 59,229 girls have been rescued till 2013-14 and about 4390 abandoned infants have been rehabilitated till 2013-14. This scheme has been widely adopted by other States across the country.

Amma has also introduced the first all-women Police stations which is a first in the country. Moreover, she has introduced 30 per cent quota for women in all Police jobs.

Amma has launched the Marriage Aid Schemes for women which includes 4 gm gold at the time of marriage. Further, marriage assistance ranging from 25,000 to 50,000 has been earmarked for women. For the welfare of pregnant women, Amma brought 'Amma

Magapperu Sanjeevi" scheme under which a pack containing 11 herbal medicines are being provided.

Amma also launched "Amma Baby Care Kit Scheme" on 9th September, 2015 for mothers delivering in Government hospitals. The Kit has basic essentials like a towel, mosquito net, infant Matress, Napkin, baby shampoo and hand sanitizer.

Amma as recently as on 29th September, 2015 has launched "Amma Mobile Phone Scheme" for women self help groups. The mobiles have special Tamil Software which will enable to supervise the functioning of Self Help Groups to upload data and various services and schemes. Apart from the numerous women-centric schemes introduced by Amma, we can also proudly say that we are the first state in India to have reserved 33 percent seats for women in local bodies.

I would also take this opportunity to seek support from all political parties to pass the Bill pertaining to 33 percent Women's Reservation in Parliament and State Legislatures, which was first introduced when the present HDS was the Union Law Minister in 1998 and it is pending since then. I again urge everybody to help pass

the Bill and realize the goal to Dr. Ambedkar for social and political democracy for women.

On this august occasion, let us all strive towards empowering women and ensure their dignity and safety at all times.

I once again take this opportunity to thank Dr. Ambedkar for giving us the constitutional safeguards to address all the social inequalities hindering women's advancement in order to change the situation of women in the society as well as our nation.

**********SHRI P. P. CHAUDHARY:** Babasaheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, was an Indian jurist, economist, politician and social reformer who inspired the modern Buddhist movement and campaigned against social discrimination against untouchables (Dalits), himself being an educated and respected Dalit, while also supporting the rights of women and labour. He was independent India's first Law Minister and the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution and is known most popularly and respected for being the principal architect of the Constitution of India.

Ambedkar was a prolific student, earning a law degree and various doctorates from Columbia University and the London School of Economics, and gained a reputation as a scholar for his research in law, economics and political science. In his early career he was an economist, professor and lawyer. His later life was marked by his political activities, in campaigning and negotiations for India's independence, publishing journals advocating political rights and social freedom for Dalits, and contributing significantly to the

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

establishment of the state of India. In 1956, he converted to Buddhism, initiating mass conversions of Dalits.

He was conferred with the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, posthumously in 1990.

It is largely attributed to his experiences and foresight for the creation of a diverse, holistic and inclusive text that resulted in the Indian Constitution that not only sets the fundamental laws that form the basis of governance in the nation but embodies and reflects certain basic values, philosophies and objectives that were held by the freedom fighters and founding fathers of our nation, in various articles and provisions of the Constitution.

It was the guiding light of Dr. Ambedkar that saw reflection in the Constitution, leading to the Unity of the nation and it's continued Union till date, in spite of many claims and fears that the nation would disintegrate within a few years of its independence and creation due to its diversity and societal makeup.

Babasaheb's farsightedness saw that equality is a necessary prerequisite for the progress of all and division and regimented social structures would pull down one another. He oversaw the creation of a

Constitution that was inclusive of the interests of all, ensuring Constitutional equality for all.

The result was a Constitution that was well drafted, with every aspect of society, nation and economic building taken care of. A dynamic and living Constitution that has been amended 100 times by Parliament, providing for the safeguarding of the rights of the citizens and the basis for governance, while meeting with the changing times. It is testament to Dr. Ambedkar that India has the longest written Constitution in the world that covers all spheres of society and public policy, while laying the foundations for the three pillars of democracy, that is, the organs of the legislative, executive and the judiciary. Foundations on which I shall elaborate further.

Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are considered to be the three pillars or columns of our democracy; an additional one being Media. All four together constitute what is called 'Check and Balance' to keep the Governance of our Democracy on even keel.

Legislature is supreme in the sense that it is constituted by people's representatives directly elected by the public. It's main function being to make laws keeping public welfare in mind.

Executive is the Cabinet based on the principle of joint responsibility, while executing policy. It is generally formed by a party or a coalition of parties representing majority numbers in the legislature. It implements a political party's policies and program in case of a single party rule or what is called the 'Common Minimum Program' if there is a coalition of parties. Judiciary ensures that Rule of Law prevails. It even reviews the constitutional validity of an enacted law passed by the legislature and consented to by the President of India and interprets law, while not writing law itself.

Implementation of the decisions by all above three wings is through what is called bureaucracy, which in turn is considered the real vehicle of Governance.

In a democracy or even in any other form of Government the media represent public sentiments and opinion on the working of all the other three entities. This has assumed the role of 'Fourth Pillar' in our democracy. In ideal conditions this entity occupies a unique position of keeping the other three on even keel. It is through this medium that the public knows every bit of what is going on and supplies public opinion to the 'Rulers'. Any biased reporting will result in upsetting the balance.

With such a finely conceived arrangement in place of a Utopian status should have been the result. In today's scenario one finds oneself in an environment wherein the Legislature is not allowed to function via disruptions and the Executive's actions that lead to the progress of the nation being doubted upon. Simultaneously with the allegations of 'Paid News' the role of media too has been under the cloud. In this environment it was the judiciary that was respected highly by the citizens. However, the recent judgment regarding the validity of Constitutional amendments for appointment and transfers of judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts in place of the 'Collegium' system has put the credibility and independence of the institution in doubt.

This is due to the fact that the different pillars of democracy have infringed upon each other's areas, with the judiciary reducing its own legitimacy and credibility and is interfering with its own independence by asserting its powers over law making. While that of Parliament is reduced in the eyes of the people as their representatives' powers are abrogated by other constitutional authorities who are acting as extra constitutional authorities.

The Constitution of India provides for the legislative competence of the Parliament.

The Parliament can legislate on the 3 lists, that is, the Union List, the Concurrent List and the State List in certain circumstances.

Under Article 246. Subject matter of laws made by Parliament and by the Legislatures of States: -

(1) Notwithstanding anything in clauses (2) and (3), Parliament has exclusive power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List I in the Seventh Schedule in this Constitution referred to as the "Concurrent List".

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (3), Parliament and subject to clause (1) the Legislature of any State also, have power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List III in the Seventh Schedule in this Constitution referred to as the "State List".

(3) Subject to clauses (1) and (2), the Legislature of any State has exclusive power to make laws for such State or any part thereof with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List II in the Seventh Schedule in this Contitution referred to as the "State List".

(4) Parliament has power to make laws with respect to any matter for any part of the territory of India not included in a State notwithstanding that such matter enumerated in the State List.

This is further supplemented by Article 254. Inconsistency between laws made by Parliament and laws made by the Legislatures of States:

(1) If any provision of a law made by the Legislature of a State is repugnant to any provision of a law made by Parliament for which Parliament is competent to enact, or to any provision of an existing law with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the Concurrent List, then, subject to the provisions of clause.

(2) The law made by Parliament, whether passed before or after the law made by the Legislature of such State, or, as the case may be, the existing law, shall prevail and the law made by the Legislature of the State shall, to the extent of the repugnancy, be void.

(3) Where a law made by the Legislature of a State with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the Concurrent List contains any provision repugnant to the provisions of an earlier law made by Parliament or an existing law with respect to that matter, then, the law so made by the Legislature of such State shall, if it has been reserved for the consideration of the President and has received his assent, prevail in that State:

Provided that nothing in this Clause shall prevent Parliament from enacting at any time any law with respect to the same matter including a law adding to, amending, varying or repealing the law so made by the Legislature of the State. "

And "Article 13. Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of the fundamental rights. - (2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this Part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void.

However, Parliament is further empowered under Article 368. Power of Parliament to amend the Constitution and procedure therefor. - (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, Parliament may in exercise of its constituent power amend by way of addition, variation or repeal any provision of this Constitution in accordance with the procedure laid down in this article.

And Article 13. Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of the fundamental rights. (4) Nothing in this article shall apply to any amendment of this Constitution made under article 368.

"124. Establishment and Constitution of Supreme Court.

(2) Every Judge of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal after consultation with such of the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts in the States as the President may deem necessary for the purpose and shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty-five years.

Provided that in the case of appointment of a judge other than the Chief Justice of India shall always be consulted.

The S. P. Gupta case (December 30, 1981) is called the "First judges case". I declared that the "Primacy" of the CII's recommendation to the President can be refused for "cogent reasons". This brought a paradigm shift in favour of the executive having primacy over the judiciary in judicial appointments for the next 12 years, with the CJI's consultation not being binding for the appointment of judges.

The Supreme Court in the matter of the Supreme Court Advocates-on-Record Association vs. Union of India in the year 1993, and in its Advisory Opinion given in the year 1998 in the Third Judges' case on a reference being made to the Supreme Court by the then President of India under his constitutional powers, had interpreted clause (2) of article 124 and clause (1) of article 217 of the

Constitution with respect to the meaning of "consultation" as "concurrence". Consequently, a Memorandum of Procedure for appointment of Judges to the Supreme Court and High Courts was formulated known as the "collegium system", and is presently being followed for such appointments. Pertinently, the said collegium system doesn't find mention either in the original Constitution or in any successive amendments thereto.

In a democratic set up, the legitimacy of every constitutional institution including the Supreme Judicial Authority must be traced to the will and consent of the people, directly or indirectly. The bearers to public offices in all other institutions in the country are appointed either by an executive authority that is accountable to the people or by a mechanism involving the executive and legislature by law. No institution in a democracy is entitled under the constitutional provisions to abrogate itself any power of appointing its own successors. An unelected institution, however exalted, appointing its own peers and successors is smeared with the questions regarding democratic accountability. Since, the pronouncement made by the judges have a strong and deep impact on the public at large, it is necessary that the judicial appointments are not made unilaterally by the incumbents of the said institution only. Transparency and

objectivity in appointment of judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court is also sine qua non, to ensure the credibility of the judiciary and the will of the people.

The legitimacy of the people's express or implied consent in the democracy as established by the Constitution of India is required to be upheld under all circumstances and for all public appointments including those of the judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts. The Parliament of India is one of the pillars upon which the foundations of democracy stand and which has been bestowed with the right of formulating legislations and any attempt to override such constitutional mandate would only go to lessen the supremacy of Constitution which would it effect amount to altering the basic structure of the Constitution.

It is important to protect the credibility of the judiciary, an institution held in high regard by the citizens of India and the other organs of the State. This credibility must not be tarnished and a credible and respected Supreme Court alone can safeguard the Constitution and the nation and effectively reconcile justice, Constitution, law, harmony and the public good. Any supposed unconstitutional usurpation of power by any consituent of democracy will only go to adversely affect the entire democratic set up. Any

apprehension or suspicion that any input by the executive and/or legislature would deconstruct the independence of judiciary and the attempts to completely exclude the executive and /or legislature from the process of appointing judges would be wholly illogical and inconsistent with the foundations of the theory of democracy and a doctrinal heresy.

Hence, to ensure the true commitment to the Constitution of the Judiciary and to ensure the supremacy of Parliament in the realm of Legislation it is important that one does not impinge upon the authorities of the other.

The Independence of the judiciary is the right of the people from whom all institutions in a democracy derive their powers, and not the judiciary itself. This, is an essential prerequisite for the functioning of the doctrine of separation of powers as envisioned by the framers of our Constitution. As was also established during the debates of the Constituent Assembly of the Constitution, attached separately.

Parliament under article 368 has the sovereign power to amend the Constitution.

"368 Power of Parliament to amend the Constitution and procedure therefore-

(1) Notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, Parliament may in exercise of its constituent power amend by way of addition, variation or repeal any provision of this Constitution in accordance with the procedure laid down in this article. '

The concept of basic structure of the Constitution as developed via the judgements of the Supreme Court in Golaknath V. State of Punjab (1967) and in Kesavananda Bharti v. State of Kerala (1973) have a bearing on the power to amend the Constitution.

However, when one pillar of democracy is restrained from doing something so are the others. So who is changing the basic structure?

Even the Supreme Court via its judgements of 1993 and 1998 in the matter of the Supreme Court Advocates-on-Record Association vs. Union of India and in its Advisory Opinion given in the Third Judges' case is a violation of the basic structure as developed by the hon. Court itself.

Hence, if neither Parliament can amend the Constitution, then nor can the Courts do so and so the altering of Article 124(2) from consultation to concurrence to the collegium system is in itself a violation of the basic structure and is not in line with the required commitment of the judiciary to the Constitution.

Without any amendment to "Article 368 (1) the power of Parliament to amend the Constitution is not curtailed in any manner" and hence, the power to extend 'any provision of the Constitution' extends to Article 124 and in fact even to the Preamble as well without any hindrance. Otherwise, the words 'socialist' and 'secular' would not have found these via amendment to the Preamble of the Constitution in 1976 after the institution of the basic structure doctrine.

Moreover, when Article 124(5) mandates enactment of a parliamentary law to regulate the investigation and proof of misbehaviour or incapacity of a judge under Clause (4) and pursuant to it the Judges (Inquiry) Act, 1968 has been enacted by the Parliament. "

Similarly, Parliament has enacted the Supreme Court judges (salaries and conditions of service) Act, 1958 and the High Court Judges (salaries and conditions of service) Act, 1954. The power to enact both these laws can be respectively traced to Articles 125 and 221 of the Constitution. These provisions allow the Parliament to enact laws determining the salaries, pension and other privileges of judges of Supreme Court (Article 125), and of the High Court (Article 221).

Under Article 138, Parliament may be law confer on the Supreme Court such further jurisdiction and powers with respect to any of the matters in the Union List. Consequently, Parliament has widened the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by means of the Supreme Court (Enlargement of Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction) Act, 1970.

Similar provisions pertaining to other aspects of judicial functioning exist throughout Chapter IV of Part V (the Union Judiciary) and Chapter V of Part Vi (the High Courts in the States) of the Constitution. Essentially, Article 124C empowers the Parliament to enact a law regulating the procedure for appointment of judges of the Supreme Court and High Court, something which is entirely within its legislative competence. It would be anybody's case that the method to remove judges as well fixation of their salaries and conditions of service are aspects vital to the independence of the judiciary. These laws cited above are just as vulnerable to amendment by the Parliament as provisions of the NJAC Act would be. The framers of the Constitution could not have intended to compromise with the independence of the judiciary by vesting Parliament with the power to enact such laws. In fact, such provisions are reinforcement of the wisdom of the Parliament to enact laws which are not prejudicial to judical independence.

Moreover, the Parliament may be law establish tribunals for the adjudication of disputes and complaints. Herein, the Parliament by law may determine the jurisdiction, procedure and appointment of tribunals. Herein also the executive and the legislature is involved vide Articles 323 A and 323B. Hence, the framers of the Constitution did envision a role for the legislature and the executive in the judiciary.

Article 128 and 224(a) allow for reappointment of Retired judges. "128 Appointment of retired judges at sittings of the Supreme Court - Notwithstanding anything in this Chapter, the Chief Justice of India may at any time, with the previous consent of the President, request any person who has held the office of a judge of the Supreme Court or of the Federal Court or who has held the office of a judge of a High Court and is duly qualified for appointment as a judge of the Supreme Court to sit and act as a judge of the Supreme Court, and every such person so requested shall, while so sitting and acting, be entitled to such allowances as the President may by order determine and have all the jurisdiction, powers and privileges of, but shall not otherwise be deemed to be, a judge of that Court: Provided that nothing in this article shall be deemed to require any such person as

aforesaid to sit and act as a judge of that Court unless he consents so to do. "

"224 A. Appointment of retired judges at sittings of High Courts- Notwithstanding anything in this Chapter, the Chief Justice of a High Court for any State may at any time, with the previous consent of the President, request any person who has held the office of a judge of that Court or of any other High Court to sit and act as a Judge of the High Court for the State, and every such person so requested shall, while so sitting and acting, be entitled to such allowances as the President may be order determine and have all the jurisdication, powers and privileges of, but shall not otherwise be deemed to be, a judge of that Court: provided that nothing in this article shall be deemed to require any such person as aforesaid to sit and act as a judge of that Court unless his consents so to do. "

Such appointments are required for clearing the large backlog of cases in the courts as well as remove the vacancies in the courts. This is important to remove pendency in the courts as 'Justice delayed is justice denied'.

Details on pendency of cases and vacancies in the courts has been provided in annexures.

"12. Definition - In this Part, unless the context otherwise requires, "the State" includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India. "

"13. Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of the fundamental rights- (2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void.

(4) Nothing in this article shall apply to any amendment of this Constitution made under article 368.

"14. Equality before law - The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. "

"15. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth - (4) Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward

classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

[Translation] (5) Nothing in this article or in sub-clause (g) of clause (1) of article 19 shall prevent the State from making any special provision, by law, for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in so far as such special provisions relate to their admission to educational institutions including private educational institutions, whether aided or unaided by the State, other than the minority educational institutions referred to in clause (1) of article 30. "

"16. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment - (4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

(4A) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion, with consequential seniority, to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes which, in

the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State. "

"19. Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, etc. - (1) All citizens shall have the right - (a) to freedom of speech and expression; (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms; (c) to form associations or unions; (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India; (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India; and (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. " (subject to extraordinary restrictions)

"21. Protection of life and personal liberty - No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. "

"21A. Right to education - The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine."

The Directive Principles of State Policy are guidelines or principles given to the central and state governments of India, to be kept in mind while framing laws and policies. These provisions, contained in Part IV of the Constitution of India, are not enforceable by any court, but the principles laid down therein are considered

fundamental in the governance of the country, making it the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws to establish a just society in the country. The principles have been inspired by the Directive Principles given in the Constitution of Ireland and also by the principles of Gandhism; and relate to social justice, economic welfare, foreign policy and legal and administrative matters.

Uniform civil code for the citizens - The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India. "

Legislative Competence - Concurrent List Vide entries 5, 6, 7, 9, 13.

Uniform civil code in India is the proposal to replace the personal laws based on the scriptures and customs of each major religious community in the country with a common set governing every citizen. These laws are distinguished from public law and cover marriage, divorce, inheritance, adoption and maintenance. Article 44 of the Directive Principles in India sets its implementation as duty of the State.

Divergence between personal laws has led to controversies such as the Shah Bano case in 1985.

By the 42nd Amendment of 1976, India was declared a secular nation. As a result of this, and the understanding of Article 25, the State and its institutions have not interfered with religious practices, including in relation to various personal laws. There is a view that this principle runs contradictory to the idea of secularism which requires the State to be inert of religious considerations - and not tacitly support them by following a practice of non-interference, no matter what. Clause (2) of Article 25 empowers the State to frame any law to regulate or restrict "secular activity which may be associated with religious practice" -therefore, it is argued, Article 25 is no bar to having a Uniform Civil Code. The inconsistency in personal laws has been challenged on the touchstone of Article 14, endangered by personal laws that put them at a disadvantage.

The first prominent case founded on Article 14 was Shah Bano (1985) in which the apex court ruled that a Muslim woman was entitled to alimony under the general provisions of the CrPC, like anybody else. Following protests from Muslim leaders, Rajiv Gandhi's government in 1986 got the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act passed in Parliament, which nullified the ruling. The Act allowed maintenance to a divorced woman only during the period of iddat, or for 90 days after divorce, according to

provisions of Islamic law, but in stark contrast to general provisions under the CrPC. In Daniel Latifi vs Union of India (2001), the Supreme Court upheld the Act in so far as it confined the time period of maintenance to the iddat period, but held that the quantum of maintenance must be "reasonable and fair" and therefore, last her a lifetime. In effect, the verdict did a balancing act between the Shah Bano judgment and the 1986 law.

In Githa Hariharan Vs RBI (1999), the top court adjudicated upon the constitutional validity of certain provisions of the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 and the Guardian Constitution and Wards Act, on a petition claiming they violated Articles 14 by treating the father as the natural guardian of a child under all circumstances. The court held that the interest of the child was paramount and that the letter of law would not override this aspect. It ushered in the principle of equality in matters of guardianship for Hindus, making the child's welfare the prime consideration.

The Supreme Court examined the aspect uniformity again in two cases in 2015. The first pertained to seeking the court's recognition to the Ecclesiastical court, which operates under the Canon Law for Catholic Christians and not under India's civil laws. The apex court was upset- wondering angrily whether India would remain secular in

the present circumstances, and calling for stamping out religions from civil laws. This case remains pending. In the second case, the court dealt with the issue of guardianship of a Christian unwed mother without the consent of the child's father. While ruling in the woman's favour, it said: "it would be apposite for us to underscore that our Directive Principles envision the existence of a uniform civil code, but this remains an unaddressed constitutional expectation." It has stated that is "total confusion" owning to personal laws governing religious practices, and has enquired as to whether a uniform civil code is in the offing.

And yet, framing a Uniform Civil Code, or any law for that matter, remains the exclusive preserve of Parliament.

Goa has a common family law, thus being the only Indian state to have a uniform civil code. The Special Marriage Act, 1954 permits any citizen to have a civil marriage outside the realm of any specific religious personal law.

Personal laws were first framed during the British Raj, mainly for Hindu and Muslim citizens.

The first President of the country, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, opposed reforms to personal laws; others included the Congress party president

Vallabhbhai Patel, a few senior members of the Congress and the Hindu parties. As a delaying tactic, they demanded a uniform civil code. The women members of the Parliament, who previously supported this, in a significant political move reversed their position and backed the Hindu law reform; they feared allying with the fundamentalists would cause a further setback to their right.

Thus, a lesser version of this Bill was passed by the Parliament in 1956, in the form of four separate acts, the Hindu Marriage Act, Succession Act, Minority and Guardianship Act and Adoption and Maintenance Act. It was decided to add the implementation of a uniform civil code in Article 44 of the Directive principles of the Constitution.

These amendments disregarded the majority views while not affecting or empowering the minorities.

The principal that all are equal in the eyes of the law must also be upheld and hence it is important to move towards a Uniform Civil Code in line with the thoughts of the framers of the Constitution that was to be implemented as society developed.

"Organisation of agriculture and animal husbandry - The State shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern

and scientific lines and shall, in particular, take steps for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter, of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle.”

Organisation of Agriculture

Improvements in agricultural output have been key to India, with 'Bharat' still residing and relying on the field. Special programmes were undertaken to improve food and cash crops supply. The Grow More Food Campaign (1940s) and the Integrated Production Programme (1950s) focused on food and cash crops supply respectively. Five-year plans of India-oriented towards agricultural development- soon followed. Land reclamation, land development, mechanisation, electrification, use of chemicals-fertilizers in particular, and development of agriculture oriented 'package approach' of taking a set of actions instead of promoting single aspect soon followed under government supervision. The many 'production revolutions' initiated from 1960s onwards included Green Revolution in India, Yellow Revolution (oilseed: 1986-1990), Operation Flood (dairy: 1970-1996) and Blue Revolution (fishing: 1973-2002) etc. Following the economic reforms of 1991, significant growth was

registered in the agricultural sector, which was by now benefiting from the earlier reforms and the newer innovations of Agro-processing and biotechnology.

Due to the growth and prosperity that followed India's economic reforms a strong middle class emerged as the main consumer of fruits, dairy, fish, meat and vegetables - a marked shift from the earlier staple based consumption patterns led to a 'revolution' in 'high value' agriculture while the need for cereals is experienced a decline. The per capita consumption of cereals declined from 192 to 152 kilograms from 1977 to 1999 while the consumption of fruits increased by 553%, vegetables by 167%, dairy products by 105% and non vegetarian products by 85% in India's rural areas alone. Urban areas experienced a similar increase.

Agricultural exports continued to grow at well over 10. 1% annually through the 1990s. Contract farming - which requires the farmers to produce crops for a company under contract- and high value agricultural product increased. Contract farming led to a decrease in transaction costs while the contract farmers made more profit compared to the non-contract workforce. However, small landholding continued to create problems for India's farmers as the limited land resulted in limited produce and limited profits.

The 1991 reforms also contributed to a rise in suicides by indebted farmers in India following crop failures (e. g. Bt cotton). Various studies identify the important factors as the withdrawal of government support, insufficient or risky credit systems, the difficulty of farming semi-arid regions, poor agricultural income, absence of alternative income opportunities, a downturn in the urban economy which forced non-farmers into farming, and the absence of suitable counseling services.

Since independence, India has become one of the largest producers of wheat, edible oil, potato, spices, rubber, tea, fishing, fruits and vegetables in the world. The Ministry of Agriculture oversees activities relating to agriculture in India. Various institutions for agriculture related research in India were organised under the Indian Council of Agriculture Research (est. 1929). Other organisations such as the National Dairy Development Board (est. 1965), and National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (est. 1982) aided the formation of cooperative and improved financing.

The contribution of agriculture in employing India's male workforce decreased from 75. 9% in 1961 to 60% in 1999-2000. Studies hold that 'there were about 45 million agricultural labour

households in the country in 1999-2000. These households recorded the highest incidence of poverty in India from 1993 to 2000. The green revolution introduced high yielding varieties of crops which also increased the usage of fertilizers and pesticides. About 90% of the pesticide usage in India is accounted for by DDT and Lindane (BHC/HCH). There has been a shift to organic agriculture particularly for exported commodities.

During 2003-04, agriculture accounted for 22% of India's GDP and employed 58 per cent of the country's workforce. India is the world's largest producer of milk, fruits, cashew nuts, coconuts, ginger, turmeric, banana, sapota, pulses and black pepper. India is the second largest producer of tobacco and rice, the fourth largest producer of coarse grains, the fifth largest producer of eggs, and the seventh largest producer of meat.

Animal Husbandry

India till recently had the largest number of animals in the world and it is one of the largest producer of milk in the world. But the number of animals is going down rapidly along with milch animals. As such there is a mismatch between the production of milk and per

capita consumption of milk in the country. Whereas the population of the country is increasing manifold, the population of milch animals is on the decline. This mismatch has resulted in short supply of milk and its prices have increased manifold in the recent past making this commodity out of the reach of the poor people and the worst sufferers are children who are getting milk resulting in their malnutrition. Taking advantage of shortage of milk in the country the unscrupulous and anti-social people are producing synthetic milk on a very large scale and endangering the health and the lives of the unsuspecting people. This situation has to be tackled on priority and one way to do this is to impose a blanket ban on the slaughter of milch animals in the country which are slaughtered to consume their meat and also to export the meat to earn foreign exchange at the cost of poor children who are not getting milk essential for their health.

From the ancient times cow, 'Goumata' is worshipped particularly by the Hindus in the country. Not only is the cow's milk consumed by the people and more so by the children even the cow's urine is used for medical purposes in various parts of the country. Its progeny once grown as bull helps the farmers in cultivating their fields and grow cereals for the human consumption and the industry. Cow dung is used to make manure in rural India. Since the cow is

worshipped there is a long pending demand of most of the Hindus in the country to impose a blanket ban on the slaughter of cows and its progeny in the country. Religious leaders, sadhus, saints and various political parties have consistently demanded ban on slaughter of cow and its progeny. Hence, it has become necessary to ban the slaughter of cows and its progeny throughout the country showing respect to the sentiments of majority of the people. Of late, cruelty against animals in the country has risen manifold. People do not hesitate kicking and inflicting injuries on animals and more so on stray animals. Even the owners of milch animals after extracting their milk leave them to roam on the streets and roads and these hungry animals can be seen searching food in garbage and loitering on the roads causing road accidents in which they too are hurt and wounded. Cruelty against animals must be stopped with a heavy hand by imposing tough penalties and fines on the offenders and humane approach should be adopted towards the animals.

India is also a large exporter of meat as shown below:

COMMODITY	**2014-15**	**2015-2016 (April-May)**

	QTY (MT)	**VAL(US $ M)**	**QTY (MT)**	**VAL (US $M)**
BUFFALO MEAT	1475540	4781. 18	183513	578. 17
OTHER MEAT	262	0. 44	0	0. 00
PROCESSED MEAT	405	2. 29	71	0. 30
SHEEP/GOAT MEAT	23614	135. 71	3924	23. 26
TOTAL	**1499821**	**4919. 62**	**187508**	**601. 73**

There is no law governing and outlawing the slaughter of such animals in India, while some States such as Maharashtra and Haryana have legislated on the matter vide entry No. 17 of the Concurrent List.

"51A. Fundamental duties -It shall be the duty of every citizen of India -

(e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and

regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. "

The duty of ensuring harmony and common brotherhood amongst all the people of India is the duty of both the State and the citizens of the nation.

While it is the duty of the Government and the judiciary in ensuring the rule of law and order in the nation, it is the duty of the people also to promote harmony amongst one another as well and create an environment that is conducive for all.

As shown in annexure communal clashes occurred during the previous Government which have been reduced during the current one.

VIOLENCE REPORT			
Year	**No. of Incidents**	**Persons Killed**	**Persons injured**
2010	701	116	2138
2011	580	91	1899

2012	668	94	2117
2013	823	133	2269
2014	644	95	1921
2014*	630	86	1899
2015*	561	90	1688

The Preamble of the Constitution of India sets out the guiding purpose and principles of the documents and indicate the source from which the document derives its authority and meaning, the people of India.

And it is here that I wish to focus on the word 'Socialist' as set out in the Preamble. In D. S. Nakara v. Union of India, the Supreme Court has held that the principal aim of a socialist state is to eliminate inequality in income, status and standards of life. The basic frame work of socialism is to provide a proper standard of life to the people, especially, security from cradle to grave. Amongst there, it envisaged economic equality and equitable distribution of income. This is a blend of Marxism & Gandhism, leaning heavily on Gandhian

socialism. From a wholly feudal exploited slave society to a vibrant, throbbing socialist welfare society reveal a long march, but, during this journey, every state action, whenever taken, must be so directed and interpreted so as to take the society one step towards the goal.

However, since independence it is only today that Social Security is being focused upon with a focus on economic growth and the creation of jobs.

The Jan Dhan Yojana, focusing upon financial inclusion has opened 19. 27 Cr. Bank accounts as of 18. 11. 2015 with the percentage of zero balance accounts falling to 35. 96%. "

Insurance is being provided to those who need it the most -

a) Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana - 9. 16 Cr. Policies issued.

b) Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana - 2. 86 Cr. Policies issued"

With demand for the policies requiring the extension of the enrolment deadlines a number of times, the most recent till the 30. 11. 2015.

Initiatives such as the Atal Pension Yojana are providing pension to both unorganised and organised workers with over 10 lac people enrolled under this new initiative.

Along with these flagship schemes there are a number of schemes for the upliftment and benefit of students, women, scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes amongst others.

The recommendations of the National Commission to review the working of the Constitution that was set up in the previous NDA Government were not accepted by subsequent governments. It raised pertinent points for the amendment of the Constitution to ensure that amendments made in one article were reflected in the Constitution in its entirely as well. I request that its recommendations be looked at again to strengthen the Constitution and ensure homogeneity and clarity in its text.

SHRI PREM DAS RAI (SIKKIM): Madam, when the Constitution was adopted by this great country, Sikkim was not then a part of India. Sikkim was then a Protectorate. There was a process of getting the Protectorate going.

Let me put it on record here for the benefit of this august House that in 1948, my father Shri Chandra Das Rai who was the General Secretary then of the Sikkim Congress, along with the President Mr. Sonam Tshering came all the way to Delhi and requested the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that Sikkim may remain part of the Indian Union. But that was rejected because at that time, the thinking was Sikkim was a part of the three Himalayan Kingdoms which would serve as a buffer state along with Tibet. It was only then in 1975, under the 36th amendment, Sikkim became the 22nd State of India.

Today, because of that I stand here and I am able to make this particular statement and talk about Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the great work he has done in giving the Constitution the shape and the manner and many of us have revisited that in whatever form and in whatever diverse kind of views that we hold as we have just heard.

I would also like to mention that there was one Shri Ari Bahadur Gurung, a Member from Darjeeling, West Bengal who was then also a Member of the Constituent Assembly. Today, one of the issues that comes in front of us is how can we bring in equity and equitable progress for all kinds of people. I think, under the leadership of Shri Pawan Chamling, in our State, we have in some manner managed to bring that by giving reservation to all kinds of people in whatever manner that is possible under the law. This is something that is quite imaginable because a small State, a border State, a very strategic State like the State of Sikkim needs to be kept peaceful. We need to ensure that the borders with China remain safe and without strife. This is something that has been achieved. This particular model could be achieved, thanks to the fact that we are able to give social justice in its full form, cultural justice in its full form and environmental justice in its full form.

I would like to mention that Sikkim had unequivocally, on 14th April, 1975, through a referendum joined the Indian Union and through this 36th Amendment became the 22nd State of India. I would like to put all this in perspective because of the kind of progress that Sikkim has made and that is something that we must owe it to the Constitution of India. Thank you very much.

SHRI N. K. PREMACHANDRAN (KOLLAM): Madam Speaker, thank you. First of all, I would like to congratulate the hon. Speaker for having such a discussion in this House. It is a very healthy debate in this House and it is so in a perspective manner also.

First of all I would like to say that we the people of India are deeply indebted to the brilliant memories of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar because we know the biggest Constitution of the biggest democracy in the world was being drafted by Dr. Bhimrao Babasaheb Ambedkar. There is no word in the dictionary to commend the commendable work done by the Constituent Assembly in general and the Drafting Committee in particular and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in specific. So, definitely we the people of India salute the brilliant memories of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

The Constituent Assembly has provided a Constitution which is not only giving a viable, vibrant democracy to India but also upholding and maintaining the traditional culture of India, that is unity in diversity or unity among diversity. That culture has been maintained and protected. But unfortunately in recent days – yesterday Madam Sonia Gandhi had also mentioned in this House – the secular fabric of our country is under threat. When the secular fabric of our country is under threat, then that definitely indicates that

it is not because the Constitution is bad, but only because of those who are governing the country or because of those who are in the office. This is not my quote but of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. On 25th November, 1949, when accepting the draft provided by the Constituent Assembly, he said, whether the Constitution is bad or good, it definitely depends upon the persons who are holding the office in administering the governance. So, definitely the Government should be very cautious regarding this point. That is number one.

Now, let me come to point number two. I am confining my speech to two points. One is functioning of the institutions of governance under the Constitution of India. There are three main parts, executive, legislature and judiciary. Separation of these three limbs is highly essential. This is the basic feature of Indian Constitution. But unfortunately the Parliament is subjected to severe criticism. We are facing and we are subjected to unwanted criticism.

Recently, the legislative supremacy of the Parliament is being taken away. I am not going into the details. The National Judicial Appointments Commission Act which was unanimously passed by both the Houses of this Parliament and approved by 20 State Legislatures has been struck down by four Judges. It means, what is the will of the people enshrined by the Constitution drafted by the

Drafting Committee headed by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar? So, my point is, beyond all the political barriers, whether it is the Opposition or the Treasury Benches, we have to stand united to protect and safeguard the legislative supremacy of the people, that means, the Parliament. Therefore, we have to stand together. That is one point which I would like to make.

Another point is regarding the judicial reforms. An independent, separate, informed Judiciary is highly essential. We not only require a National Judicial Appointments Commission, but we also need a National Judicial Service. In no way the retired Judges should be given any official appointments to any post in administration. That has to be taken as a strict principle. Why? It is because we know the experience of how a retired Supreme Court Chief Justice has been appointed as the Governor of a particular State. Then, what is meant by the separation of Judiciary and the Executive? So, definitely that has to be kept in mind and judicial reforms is the need of the hour.

Madam, my next point is about administrative reforms. We are living in the IT era. But even now we are following the administrative procedures which are totally outdated and which have been drafted during the British era. So, administrative reform is urgently required.

Then, the menace of corruption has to be curbed by means of a strong legislation. So, a strong Lok Pal Act is required.

The last point which I would like to make is regarding the Directive Principles of State Policy. Directive Principles of State Policy is the guiding principle in respect of administration. All legislative functions, executive functions or judicial functions should be in consonance with the Directive Principles of State Policy. During the period of 65 years of experience, many Directive Principles have been implemented. But as far as Article 38 relating to the inequality among the people has, unfortunately, not been taken care of because of the neo liberal economic policies. That has to be taken into consideration. My suggestions is, a Joint Parliamentary Committee has to be constituted to look into the shortcomings in the implementation of Article 38 of the Constitution of India.

With these words, I take this opportunity to salute the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution and I pay tributes to the memories of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Thank you very much.

[Translation]

††††††††††††††††††††††*__DR. MANOJ RAJORIA (KARAULI-DHOLPUR):__ After Independence, in order to keep the country united, to ensure that future generations progress in a free India with equal rights, and to take India to the global stage, a Constitution was essential.

Dr. Ambedkar was born into a small Dalit family in Madhya Pradesh, but by breaking the barriers of caste and poverty, he attained higher education. As the Chairperson of the Constitutional Drafting Committee, Dr. Ambedkar framed the Constitution of India. Today, the Constitution of India is the soul of the nation.

From childhood until the end of his life, Dr. Ambedkar suffered the pain of untouchability and caste discrimination. Therefore, he made provisions for reservation in the Constitution to ensure that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes stand with dignity and equality in the mainstream of society.

Unfortunately, reservation has continued to be granted through Government orders. In keeping with the spirit of the Constitution, I

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††††††††††††††††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

submit that a Bill on SC and ST reservation should be passed by this House and included in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution.

Further, I would like to submit that copies of the Constitution of India should be made available to every school, college and to the general public across the country. Today, there is a greater expectation regarding rights, while there is indifference towards duties. Along with the Constitution of India, there is a strong need to create awareness and responsibility among citizens with regard to their duties as well. I would like to thank the Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, who, for the first time, facilitated a discussion on the Constitution of India in Parliament and observed Constitution Day. I hope that under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, the spirit of the Constitution will be further strengthened, and that Dalits, Scheduled Tribes and the poor sections of the country will progress under his leadership.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI KESHAV PRASAD MAURYA (PHULPUR):__ Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the foremost architect of the Indian Constitution, was the first to define, in a logical manner and within the Indian context, the classification of society and caste divisions. Dr. Ambedkar's social philosophy holds that society is formed through the integration of multiple classes. The basis of this integration may vary. Such classification may be economic, intellectual or social in nature. Over a period of time, these social classes gradually assumed the form of castes under different circumstances.

Even today in India, whenever concerns are expressed regarding social inequalities and the conditions of Dalits and the most backward classes, a deeper examination reveals that their educational and economic backwardness emerges as the fundamental cause. In his social philosophy, Dr Ambedkar identified various social concerns with the objective of establishing Indian society as one of the most civilised societies in the world and also suggested measures for their resolution. These remain relevant even today. However, unfortunately, during the years following Independence, Babasaheb's

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social philosophy was not absorbed with the level of political and social commitment that the nation required. During the process of drafting the Constitution, Babasaheb provided direction for the educational and economic advancement of the exploited and the deprived, and incorporated provisions aimed at reducing the interlinkage between occupational classification and caste. For the first time, the Union Government formed under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi has clearly acknowledged the relevance and acceptance of Dr. Ambedkar's social philosophy. Under the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana initiated by Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, 19 crore bank accounts have been opened, which is indeed a positive indication towards the upliftment of the exploited and deprived sections of society, particularly those who had not even seen the doors of a bank since Independence.

The social movement initiated by Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi to realise the vision of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan clearly conveys the message that the task of cleanliness is not associated with any particular section of society or with a caste identified with that section. Rather, it is an act of collective social participation. In this participation, people from the highest office in a

democratic system, from the Prime Minister, to those at the lowest rung of society, are equally involved.

As the nation is celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar today, we must also thoughtfully recall his political philosophy. According to the 1991 Census, 16 percent of the population of the country belonged to Scheduled Castes and 8 percent to Scheduled Tribes. There are 100 districts in the country where more than 51 percent of the population comprises Scheduled Tribe communities. Similarly, 27 percent of the population of the country belongs to the most backward classes. Before Independence, the British rulers had divisive intentions regarding the miserable condition of the exploited and deprived sections in India, and they sought the support of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar in this malicious endeavour. However, despite adverse circumstances, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar firmly conveyed to the British Government that for him the nation came first, and that solutions to the country's problems must be sought among his own countrymen, in the interest of the nation. Undoubtedly, social inequalities have reduced considerably with improvements in the level of education, yet Indian society has still not been able to fully overcome these disparities. From time to time, small and large incidents do occur, but the manner

in which certain individuals from intellectually and economically affluent sections make statements that tarnish the nation's prestige is deeply regrettable. Such individuals should draw lessons from the glorious legacy of Babasaheb.

The present Union Government led by the National Democratic Alliance under the leadership of the Bharatiya Janata Party has initiated meaningful efforts to translate the social and political philosophy of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar into action, which will undoubtedly raise the standard of living of Indian society. What is required is that efforts towards social resurgence and holistic development receive the support of both social commitment and political commitment at all levels. If this can be achieved, then in the 125th birth anniversary year of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, this will truly be a genuine tribute by a grateful nation.

[English]

SHRI C. N. JAYADEVAN (THRISSUR): Madam Speaker, on the 66th anniversary of adopting the Constitution of India, as we, the Members of the 16th Parliament of India, gather here to mark its anniversary, I find it extremely spirited to remind the House that the very idea of a Constituent Assembly was put forward by Shri M. N. Ray, a pioneer communist in India and an advocate of radical democracy. This was then taken up by the national leaders and through the process of deliberation, conclusion, adoption, implementation and subsequent amendments finally culminated in a form today that has made this very meeting possible.

The Constitution of India has its very birth from an assemblage of all sections of society, that is, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Anglo-Indians, Christians, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and also women. The Constituent Assembly has imbibed tolerance, secularism and nationalism in the very blood and breath of the Constitution from day one.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Constitution, who devoted his entire life to fight against casteist tyranny, has played a leading role in keeping the Constitution an all encompassing, rational,

liberal and forward thinking text of guidelines and rules. The Indian democratic set up that he envisaged did not bear the elements of blind faith, discrimination, unwarranted restrictions and a constricted thinking.

During the last 66 years of its adoption, we have enacted about 100 amendments to our Constitution with respect to social justice, agrarian reforms, re-writing the map of Indian federalism by creating more and more States, extending the period of reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Anglo-Indians in the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. There are also amendments with regard to reservation of quota for OBC in Government and private educational institutions etc., enriching the quality and contents of the Constitution.

The 42nd Amendment of 1976 was an important one curbing some fundamental rights and imposing some fundamental duties and also adding the words ‘secular’ and ‘socialist’ to the Preamble. Likewise, 73rd and 74th Amendments in 1992 provided for direct elections in panchayats and urban local bodies thereby strengthening the Panchayati Raj System.

Unfortunately, there have been concerted attempts from different quarters to deny the fundamental rights to various sections of society and to change the Preamble of the Constitution. For example, on the occasion of the Republic Day celebrations this year, the original Preamble was given in a Government advertisement which does not include the words 'secular' and 'socialist'. Instead of owning the mistake, a Union Minister said that there should be a debate on this issue, giving an impression that the Ruling establishment does not accept the amended Preamble of the Constitution. One political party of the Ruling alliance went further saying that if Pakistan was carved out after partition for Muslims then, the rest of the country is a Hindu Rashtra. Yesterday, our hon. Home Minister himself has suggested that the word 'secular' should be removed from the Preamble. Such a move should be opposed at any cost.

HON. SPEAKER: Now, please conclude.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. N. JAYADEVAN: Then, in the Fundamental Rights there is a provision of prohibiting any kind of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste and sex. … (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI RAJENDRA AGRAWAL (MEERUT): First of all, I humbly pay my respectful tributes to all the Hon. Members of the Constituent Assembly and, in particular, to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

66 years ago, on 26 November, 1949, this Constitution was dedicated to India. It may rightly be said that the people of India offered themselves to the Constitution of India. Naturally, 26 November is our Constitution Day, and in this context, I congratulate the present Government under the leadership of the revered Shri Narendra Modi for deciding to celebrate it in a ceremonial manner. The discussion being held today on the occasion of Constitution Day is part of the events being organised to commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of revered Babasaheb.

Babasaheb's personality was extraordinary. One is filled with wonder when observing the various dimensions of his personality, and the heart is filled with profound reverence for him. This sense of awe and respect deepens further when we recall the unbroken saga of

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

struggle of young Bhim, who was born into a deprived section of society afflicted by the grave social evil of untouchability.

During the Emergency, I was in prison. While incarcerated, I read the biography of Babasaheb written by Dhananjay Keer. As I read it, I felt deeply pained. I was disturbed by the humiliation he faced at every step due to the prevalence of untouchability within Hindu society. The poison of humiliation that Babasaheb had to consume at the hands of his own brethren was immense. Had Babasaheb not contained this poison within himself, like Lord Shiva holding poison in his throat, but instead spewed it out, this society and this nation would have fractured.

Hon. Kharge Ji, in his speech, had mentioned that Babasaheb, deeply hurt by the social system and the suffering inflicted by it, had declared that while he was born a Hindu, he would not die as a Hindu. Undoubtedly, he renounced Hinduism and embraced Buddhism. However, it is also true that despite many inducements, Babasaheb did not choose to become a Muslim or a Christian. While he explained the reasons for not remaining a Hindu, he also articulated the reasons for not adopting Islam or Christianity. I do not wish to go into those details, but I would certainly like to reiterate that had Babasaheb chosen to vent the poison of humiliation by converting to Islam or

Christianity, this society and this nation would have disintegrated. In essence, Babasaheb was not only the architect of the Constitution but also a unifier of society, one who bound it together and carried everyone along. In that sense, Babasaheb was the 'Shiva' of this era. On the occasion of his 125th birth anniversary, I bow to him with deepest reverence.

This discussion is being held on our commitment to the Constitution of India. Yesterday, the Chairperson of the UPA, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, while quoting Babasaheb, stated that the effective implementation of the Constitution does not depend only on the inherent nature of the Constitution itself; the spirit of the Constitution is as important as its words. Equally important is the intent of those who implement it. The spirit of the Constitution has, however, been repeatedly violated by the Congress. Hon. Minister Shri Thawar Chand Gehlot, in his speech yesterday, cited several instances of the Congress showing disregard for the Constitution. I do not wish to reiterate those examples. However, I would earnestly like to emphasise one point, that our commitment to the Constitution means ensuring equal opportunities for every citizen. Vote bank politics has caused grave harm to this principle. Much is said about minorities and concern is often expressed for their rights, but the

question is whether this concern is genuinely extended to all minorities. If it were sincere, it would encompass every minority. In reality, discussion and concern are confined only to those minorities who can be mobilised as vote banks to attain political power. Similarly, references to caste groups are frequently made not with the objective of creating equal opportunities, but to serve narrow political interests. Such vote bank politics is extremely dangerous and constitutes a violation of the spirit of the Constitution. It does not ensure equal opportunities for all; instead, it fragments society into caste-based and religious groups. There must be an effective way to put an end to this practice. ‘Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas’ alone can truly serve as evidence of our commitment to the Constitution of India.

This discussion pertains to our commitment to the Constitution of India. Yesterday, the Chairperson of the UPA, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, while quoting Babasaheb, observed that the effective implementation of the Constitution does not depend solely on its textual provisions; the spirit of the Constitution is as vital as its words. Equally significant is the intent of those entrusted with its implementation. Unfortunately, this spirit of the Constitution has been repeatedly undermined by the Congress. Hon. Minister Shri Thawar Chand Gehlot, in his address yesterday, cited several instances of the

Congress showing disregard for the Constitution. I do not wish to repeat those examples. However, I would strongly emphasise that our commitment to the Constitution fundamentally means ensuring equal opportunities for every citizen. Vote bank politics has inflicted serious damage upon this principle. Much is spoken about minorities and concern is frequently expressed regarding their rights, but one must ask whether such concern is truly universal. If it were genuine, it would extend to all minorities without distinction. In practice, discussion and concern are confined to those minority groups that can be mobilised as vote banks to acquire political power. Likewise, references to caste groups are often made not with the aim of creating equal opportunities, but to serve narrow political interests. Such vote bank politics is profoundly harmful and constitutes a violation of the spirit of the Constitution. It does not provide equal opportunities to all citizens; rather, it fragments society along caste and religious lines. There must be an effective mechanism to curb this practice. ‘Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas’ alone can truly stand as evidence of our commitment to the Constitution of India.

**********SHRI DILIPKUMAR MANSUKHLAL GANDHI (AHMADNAGAR):** On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of revered Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, that is Babasaheb Ambedkar, a discussion on the Constitution commenced yesterday. While initiating the discussion, with the creative and powerful use of strong and meaningful words on the subject of the Constitution, the contributions of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and all his associates were appreciated, and pride was expressed in the fact that this country has emerged as the world's largest democratic nation while maintaining its unity and integrity. Along with this, we had the opportunity to listen to the constitutional views of many eminent speakers such as revered Shri Rajnath Singh, Shri Venkaiah Naidu, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, Shri Mallikarjun Kharge, Shri Ramvilas Paswan and Shri Thawar Chand Gehlot. This has enhanced our knowledge relating to the Constitution and has also provided guidance on how we should discharge our responsibilities for the bright future of our country. The entire nation is watching this discussion on our Constitution. Despite being Members of different political parties, the manner in which we are conducting ourselves prudently in Parliament, the way we are utilising our abilities, and the thoughtful deliberations of every

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Member on the Constitution and on the upliftment of the poor are being closely observed. While discussing the Constitution, can we consider a new idea? Can all elections in our country, from Gram Panchayat elections to the Presidential election, be conducted simultaneously once every five years? If this is done, it will accelerate the pace of national development and will free the country from repeated disruptions caused by the Model Code of Conduct. If such a decision is taken within the framework of the Constitution, a new democratic tradition will begin in the country. Therefore, this suggestion deserves serious consideration.

The Constitution provides for the protection of the judiciary, the Election Commission and the media, and these safeguards are being effectively utilised. Respecting this framework, I had once made a proposal that the names of those persons who had been included in the voters' list since 1955 but had passed away over time should be identified and removed from the electoral rolls. This would ensure the smooth conduct of elections to Gram Panchayats, Municipalities, Municipal Corporations, Panchayat Samitis, Zila Parishads, Legislative Assemblies and Parliament. The then Chief Election Commissioner, Shri T. N. Seshan, accepted this proposal and

implemented it across the country. This was possible because of the democratic system we have adopted under the Constitution.

In this context, I would like to give another example. From different regions of the country, 542 Members are elected to Parliament. Members are elected from different States and are regarded as representatives of the entire nation. However, I would suggest that the 542 Members be numbered from 1 to 542, so that it is reflected that we are conducting elections for the nation as a whole and that our foremost priority is to uphold the unity and integrity of the country. My proposal seeks to reinforce this very priority, and I am pleased to state that the present Election Commissioner has accepted this suggestion and has given me a written assurance that the election to the 17th Lok Sabha will be conducted in this manner. Under the leadership of Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, discussions have taken place on the relevance of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar with a focus on social upliftment. On this very foundation, the Hon. Prime Minister has, through initiatives such as the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, toilet facilities, the Jan Dhan Yojana, Jeevan Suraksha Bima, the Atal Pension Yojana, Skill India and the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana, brought about change even in the lives of the poorest and the most marginalised individuals of society, so that they

may live as citizens of the country with dignity and self-respect. By providing loans ranging from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 10 lakh to victims, Dalits, those living below the poverty line, and talented youth returning after pursuing education outside their regions, the Government has enabled them to stand on their own feet and instilled in them the confidence that the nation stands with them. This will benefit backward citizens in becoming self-reliant. It can prove to be an effective measure for alleviating poverty in the country, and I firmly believe that in the coming days, the poor will receive opportunities not only for their own advancement but also to enhance the prestige of the nation.

Under your auspicious guidance and leadership, we organised a Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana fair in Ahmednagar, where cheques were distributed. On that occasion, while addressing the people, you stated that they are not alone and that the entire nation stands with them. You also stated that no guarantee is required to avail a loan, nor is there any need to mortgage property. However, you reminded them that the guarantee for their loan has been taken by the entire nation, and that by repaying the nation’s loan, their status and prestige would be enhanced.

While functioning within the framework of the Constitution, the NDA Government has paid humble tributes to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and his associates. I pay my respectful salutations to the far-sighted vision shown by the Hon. Prime Minister and also bow in reverence to our strong and empowered Constitution.

[English]

††††††††††††††††††††††*SHRI B. SRIRAMULU (BELLARY): It is an honour for me participate in this special discussion while we are also celebrating the 125th Birth Anniversary of Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chief architect of our Constitution.

The life of Dr. Ambedkar is a saga of struggle for dignity, rights and equality. He had to confront the curse of caste discrimination right from his childhood and continued to suffer the ignominy all through his life due to the prevailing caste prejudices in our society.

"The way he will be remembered most will be as a symbol of the revolt against all the oppressive features of . . . society. He rebelled against something against which all ought to rebel. "

While we celebrate the Constitution Day it is obvious to remember all those luminaries and visionary statesmen involved in the Constitution making process. Foremost among all of them was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Being the Chairman of the drafting Committee, he took every care to ensure that the voice of the poorest of the poor and underprivileged are heard. He didn't bother for his indifferent health. With devotion and dedication, he could see through the arduous task

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of drafting the Constitution in two years, eleven months and seventeen days.

To him education make one understand the society, individual rights and add dignity and honour to ones' life. The call is relevant for our society even today and for all of us. One of the members of the Constituent Assembly was Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee who made sterling contributions to the drafting of the Constitution.

Similar emphasis on role of education in society could be seen from Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee delivering his second Convocation address at the Calcutta University on 12 February, 1936, he said, our ideal is to provide extensive facilities for education from the lowest grade to the highest, to mould our 'educationalist' purpose and to draw out the best qualities that be hidden in our youth and to train them intellectually, physically for devoted service in all spheres of national activity, in villages, in towns and cities.

Dr. Ambedkar not only piloted an outstanding draft through the Constituent Assembly but also outlined the philosophy and wisdom behind the various provisions. Our Constitution did not just create a republic but kept in place one of the finest basic laws guiding the

destiny of our nation and set ourselves on the path of "justice, equality and fraternity" in the Preamble.

The chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State policy delineates the role of state for the welfare of the people as well as the unfettered rights of the citizens. The Fundamental Rights guaranteed equal rights to all citizens including freedom to the minorities to profess, preach and practice their religion.

To Ambedkar the parliamentary form of government was the best suited to meet the needs and aspirations of the people ensuring social justice and political recognition. Speaking about Parliamentary democracy, Dr. Ambedkar said and I quote:

"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 is vile. "

Today when we look back, our heads bow down to the visionary leaders who crafted the Constitution of which we are so proud of. We are proud of our unity in diversity. We must try to defend these values at all costs.

Our commitment to the Constitution and the underlying philosophy behind it is the greatest tribute we can pay to its chief architect Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

Our Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modiji have paid the tribute to Baba Saheb when he said, " I am here because of Baba Saheb". He is a national icon and citizens of this country will remember him as long as we have this Constitution.

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SHRIMATI MEENAKSHI LEKHI (NEW DELHI): I would like to quote the great Allamalqbal, who was quoted by Dr. Sachinanand Sinha on the first day of the first session of the Constituent Assembly of India and whose words serve as a constant reminder of the resilience of this great nation.

"Yunan-o-Misr-p-Roma sab mit gaye jahan se,

Baqi abhi talak hai nam-o-nishan hamara.

Kuch bat hai ke hasti mit-ti nahi hamari,

Sadion raha hai dushman daur-e-zaman hamara"

These are not mere words but the reflection of the journey that our country has undertaken to date. India has survived the ravages of time and cataclysms of age, in spite of the fact that the heavens themselves had rolled and revolved for centuries, in a spirit of hostility and enmity towards us.

Today, after 68 years of Independence, I am proud and honoured to be a part of this Parliament that is working tirelessly to transform India into the ideal nation that this great Constitution had envisioned.

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Any expression of commitment to the Constitution of India would be incomplete without acknowledging the effort and brilliance of the members of the constituent assembly who sat for 141 days to compile the voluminous document.

The Constitution is an embodiment of the vision of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar whose birth anniversary is being commemorated today. His thought provoking suggestions and sufficient summaries used to evoke admiration of the entire house. While speaking on the floor of the house he used to touch upon issues like a true statesman and firmly placed the interests of the nation above anything else.

The contributions of B. N. Rao, the constitutional advisor to the constituent assembly who prepared a rough draft of the Constitution for the consideration of the drafting Committee must also be acknowledged, along with the contribution of all members of the constituent assembly who put in tremendous effort and dedication to give to the nation a strong and meticulously drafted Constitution, with elements from various Constitutions.

The versatility and brilliance of Dr. Ambedkar combined with his humility and ability to integrate divergent opinions was essential to the framing of our Constitution. His burning passion to fight against

injustice made him a natural leader of the oppressed, downtrodden and women of the Indian society.

The chief architect of the Indian Constitution was also one of the greatest intellectual and social reformers of India, whose work in the upliftment of Indian women deserves special recognition. Dr. Ambedkar argued for extensive economic and social rights for women and emphasized the importance of these rights in maintaining and protecting the dignity and modesty of women.

His service as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and the Law Minister proved to be an asset to all oppressed classes and the women of India as this gave him an opportunity to translate his visions into specific policies and institutions.

The efforts of the members of the constituent assembly and Dr. Ambedkar's persistence on the matter led to the inclusion of women's rights in the Constitution of India. In addition to the rights applicable to all citizens of India, special rights were conferred upon women to protect them from societal exploitation and help them achieve an equal status in society.

Articles like 15(3), 51(A) (c) and 16 which enabled affirmative discrimination in the favour of women, added the renouncement of

practices derogatory to the dignity of women as a fundamental duty and prevented discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth and residence in any employment under the state ensured that the status of women would improve in an independent India.

The Constitution also provided for equal rights for all citizens and several other articles which would establish a state based on equality and justice. Article 14 provides for equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex. Article 39 provides for equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work. Article 42 for just and human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 46 directs the state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation while Article 47 directs the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health.

Dr. Ambedkar looked upon law as an instrument for creating a social order in which the development of an individual would be in harmony with the growth of society. He incorporated the values of

liberty, equality and fraternity in the Indian Constitution, which have proved invaluable in maintaining the unity and integrity of this diverse and vast nation.

His most important contribution to the rights of women in India was perhaps the common Civil Code for the Hindus. As the Law Minister of free India he championed the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament on 11th April 1947. Though this bill could not be passed at that time, it was later split into four separate bills and passed in 1955-56. These bills gave Hindu women rights in the sphere of marriage, divorce, inheritance, adoption and maintenance; rights which are integral to the empowerment and dignity of women. Unfortunately, similar rights were denied to the women of minority communities in India, who can still be divorced unilaterally and be subjected to a polygamous marriage. Even worse is the fact that even though the Hon. Supreme Court in its judgment in the Mohd. Ahmed Khan V. Shah Bano Begum case of 1985 gave Muslim women the right to alimony the Congress government of the time, with its absolute majority, decided to pass the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 which tried to do everything but protect the rights of divorced muslim women. It attempted to dilute the

judgement of the Supreme Court and denied even utterly destitute Muslim divorcees the right to alimony from their former husbands.

According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, society must be based on reason. The principle that were extended to Hindus under the Hindu Code Bill are equally beneficial for the upliftment of other sections of the Indian society, and especially the women of such sections of society. The Constitution under Article 44 envisioned that there would someday be a Uniform Civil Code in this country, which guarantee equal rights on matters of personal laws to all citizens. Such a code would be a true embodiment of the Constitution, which is based on the principles of equality, secularism and women's rights.

Dr. Ambedkar's dream of a society based on equality for all is yet to be realised. The condition of women in India remains poor even after 68 years of Independence. It ranks 101 out of 136 on the Global Gender Gap Index, with a sex ratio of 943 and only 26. 6% women completing secondary education, this country has a long way to go.

This Government is fully committed to the task of women empowerment and has enacted multiple schemes like 'Beti Padhao, Beti Bacho'. The policy commitment to ensuring the safety, security and dignity of women is being streamlined through programme like

NAVDISHA - National Thematic Workshop on best practices for women and child development, organised by the Ministry in January 2015. Over 28 lakh accounts have been opened in post offices across the country under the girl child savings scheme - Sunkanya Samriddhi.

The Union Cabinet on 20 March 2015 approved 33 per cent reservation for women in police forces of all seven Union Territories (UTs) including Delhi Police.

Successful linkages between SHGs and Micro-Finance institutions such as RMK, NABARD, SIDBI and other private microfinance institutions are being harnessed to help in generating additional income, jobs and in creating small enterprises for women.

The Juvenile Justice Bill, 2014 and revision of the adoption guidelines with simplified and online processes and fixed timelines is also being implemented for the protection of young girls, and a new National Nutrition Mission is being formulated. Under Mission Indradhanush the Government also plans to achieve full immunization coverage for all children.

The Preamble to the Indian Constitution is the vision of its founding fathers. The objectives of the document are enumerated in

the preamble. The values that form the foundation of the Constitution were originally justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and a democratic form of government and socialist and secular elements were added eventually. These objectives form the basic structure of the Constitution and any law violating the basic structure is pro-tanto void.

If we don't look back at history, we end up repeating the same mistakes. Today, after 68 years of independence it is almost necessary to examine the progress we have made in fulfilling the dreams and aspirations that were bestowed upon us as parliamentarians.

Numerous writers, filmmakers and intellectuals have returned their awards in the past few weeks to protest against the growing 'Intolerance' in the country. I am sure that there are a lot of people who are truly worried about the growing intolerance and have not returned their award out of any political considerations but there is absolutely no data to support that India is becoming intolerant. The entire narrative is an attempt to malign a pro development and corruption free government.

The Prime Minister has reiterated his commitment to holistic development time and again, and spoken out against violence of any

kind. This is in accordance to the vision of the Constitution of promoting a fraternal concord in the country. On the contrary the opposition that was at the helm of affairs for almost 60 years has failed to govern and lead the nation on the path illuminated by the Constitution of this country.

India is a secular nation. Though 'Secularism' has not been explicitly defined in the Constitution and may be interpreted as being opposed to religion and the state being anti-religious, India being a tolerant nation which strives to respect all religions has chosen to interpret 'Secularism' in an inclusive manner, and the state protects and fosters all religions and religious sentiments. The right to freedom of religion is a guaranteed fundamental right. Having said that, it is pertinent to note that this freedom is not absolute in nature but is subjected to reasonable restrictions.

As an example of the growing intolerance in the country a lot of people have brought forth the issue of the 'recent' ban on cattle slaughter. Many still, challenge the legitimacy of the same and in the process of doing so have accused the Government of being intolerant. The question that arises is that, if this is proof of the Government's intolerance? The framers of our Constitution thought it fit to put in the banning of slaughter of milch and drought cattle as one of the

Directive Principles of State Policy under Article 48 of the Constitution; Principle, which any government in power in this country should endeavor to implement.

Moreover, a ban on slaughter of cattle has existed in 21 of the 29 Indian states since before this Government came to power and Shri Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister. The Andhra Pradesh prohibition of Cow Slaughter and Animal Preservation Act was passed in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly in 1977, banning the slaughter of cattle at a time when 219 of the 287 seats in the assembly were held by the Opposition whereas, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has had a ban on cattle slaughter and the possession of cattle flesh since 1932.

In fact, state governments in 13 states have enacted legislation banning the slaughter of cattle while the Congress party was in power. The atmosphere of intolerance and fear is only an illusion being created by an opposition who is savvy at media management.

India is a diverse country that integrates various cultures, languages, religions and traditions. In order to keep its unity intact while maintaining a strong regional administration capable of fulfilling local aspirations and needs, the Indian Constitution has

based the governance of the country and the varied sentiments of the population in various states, the Constitution authorizes each state to make its own laws on the banning of slaughter of animals. State governments in 21 states deem it fit to enact legislation banning cattle slaughter while 8 states have felt that such legislation is not needed. The Constitution has divided the power to legislate on subjects into three distinct categories. Matters of public order fall under List II, which lies under the exclusive jurisdiction of states. The Constitutional division of power makes this criticism against the Prime Minister for a State's law and order problem, superfluous. In furtherance of this cause, I would like to submit that all state governments that have come forward in retaliation have the power to amend their state law and can choose to amend it.

Converting a failure of law and order into a matter of caste and community is a reprehensible act and should be treated as a crime against the unity and integrity of India. No amount of condemnation is enough for such an act, and the ones engaging in such an act, and the ones engaging in such behavior must be prosecuted. For the 60 years that the Congress Party has ruled the country, it has failed to uphold the values of the Constitution. One of the pillars on which the Constitution of India rests on, is fraternal concord. The statements

made to exacerbate communal divisions are clearly against the values the Constitution espouses.

The Directive Principles of State Policy are meant to be a guiding light for any Government that comes to power. They are meant to enumerate the goals and objectives that every Government that comes to power must strive to achieve. Though the Directive Principles don't have legal force behind them and can't be enforced by courts, their importance to the constitution is immense. The framers of the Constitution firmly believed that even without legal force these principles were integral for our Constitution as they were the ideals towards which the nation must strive. They believed that their implementation would be a benchmark to measure the success of a ruling Government and the people of the country would ensure that Governments make progress towards these goals through the power of their vote, granted to them under Article 326 to the Constitution.

The people of this country have shown unparalleled faith in this Government and elected it with a sweeping mandate. It is therefore the duty of this Government to hold due allegiance to the Constitution and work with all its might towards fulfilling the vision enshrined in the Constitution.

Even though there has been some progress towards a few directive principles, the country still has a long road ahead. The inclusion of a Uniform Civil Code as a Directive Principle in the Constitution clearly shows the commitment the framers of our Constitution had towards equal treatment for all under law.

At the time of Independence, the Muslim League argued that the personal laws of the Muslims could only be effectively implemented and protected in a new nation. A separate nation, Pakistan was made to incorporate the supremacy of Muslim personal laws. The Constitution of India envisioned a secular nation based on uniform laws for all. Matters of marriage, succession and inheritance in a secular nation should not be dependent on religion. As a nation of equals, all laws must apply equally to all citizens. This goal is something that this Government had resolved to implement in it's election manifesto and is fully committed to implementing in the earliest timeframe possible.

The Hon. Supreme Court in the case of Mudgal V/s Union of India, 1995 observed that it was altogether unjustifiable for the government to discriminate between Hindus and Muslim. Personal laws of all religions are sacramental in nature. The Hindu personal laws were codified by various enactments and the sacramental laws

were replaced n 1955-56. There is no reason for keeping Muslim personal laws. The court added "there is no justification to ignore article 44 in deference to Muslim sentiments in particular" and "article 44 is based on the concept that there is no necessary connection between religion and personal law in a civilized society. Article 25 guarantees religious freedoms whereas Article 25 aims to divest religion from social relations and personal laws. "

When it comes to the freedom of expression, I would like to highlight that the Government has banned over 35 books throughout the country between 1950 and 2014. Out of these, 31 book bans were enacted by the Congress government. The only book ban enacted after this Government coming to power was done on the orders of a Pune Court. If the banning of books is done to preserve harmony and public order, it can still be justified, but instances like the banning of MO Mathai's book 'The Reminiscence of the Nehru Age' , Javier Moro's 'The Red Sari', Arthur Koestler's 'The Lotus and the Robot' and Salman Rushdie's 'The Moor's Last Sigh' show that some bans were enacted to preserve the image of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty, something that is purely an act of silencing criticism.

The opposition has manufactured the entire discussion on intolerance in an effort to belittle a government working on nation

building and development and to hide their failures. I would like to conclude by quoting the poet Iqbal:

'Nations are born in the hearts of poets, they prosper and die in the hands of politicians. '

It is the resolve of my Government that we will bear due allegiance to all provision of the Constitution of India and strive to build a nation envisioned by our founding fathers, base on the principles enshrined in the Constitution of India.

They have failed to find real issues to raise. This Government is committed to development and ending corruption, and is making strides towards leading the nation to prosperity. We must all as citizens of this nation ensure that no one polarizes us in the name of secularism, just to further their political agendas and secure their vote banks. We must commit to not let divisive political forces derail us from the path of development that we have embarked upon.

HON. SPEAKER: He is not concluding. Now, Shrimati Anupriya Patel.

… (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI ANUPRIYA PATEL (MIRZAPUR): Madam Speaker, on behalf of my party, I pay my tributes to the Constitution and the framers of the nation. November 26,1949 is a very important date in the history of our country because on this day our Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of independent India and Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar ji had played a significant role as the Chairman of the same Drafting Committee. Dr. Ambedkar declared the nature of the nation as the Sovereign Democratic Republic in the Preamble, considered the soul of the Constitution and later the words Socialist and Secular were added through the 42nd Amendment. India's federal structure was accepted with the values of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and in the midst of all these things, Babasaheb Ambedkar kept a huge dream of political democracy as well as establishing social and economic democracy within this country. Today, a discussion is going on in this House for two days. I have heard the views of many Hon Members, many questions have been raised in this House, Baba Saheb

Ambedkar came from Bengal or came from Bombay Provinces, who defeated Babasaheb Ambedkar in the elections and how many times, which party should go to the credit of making the chairman of the draft committee, who is more secular and who is less, even compared Hindi speakers to communities, but in the midst of all these questions, it is associated with the dreams of Baba Bhimrao Ambedkar, the ideology of social justice. Arvind Sawant, the Hon. Member of Shiv Sena was saying that wherever people go today, they demand reservation. When you go among the Dhangar people, people say that we need reservation, but they do not get spelling of Dhangar. I would like to say here that there are so many diversities in our country that if one can talk like a scholar, then somebody is illiterate. The basic spirit of reservation needs to be understood. This is not a begging system, this is a system of protection, which has been created because there has been exploitation in the name of caste in this country, so there is a need to give special opportunities to those who have been deprived of opportunities. This is what senior member of Biju Janata Dal, Hon Bhatruhari Mahtab ji has said and our government is also trying to do the same. I also would like to place before this House some data on the way the reservation system has been hit for many years. *…(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: No, there is not so much time now.

...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI ANUPRIYA PATEL: Madam Speaker, please give me a little time. I have been waiting since morning to place my views before the House. I would like to place a few points before the House.

For the past 25 years, Backward Classes have been provided 27 percent reservation through the Mandal Commission. However, even today there are States in this country, such as Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, where only 14 percent reservation is being implemented. In Jharkhand, only 22 percent reservation is in force, and in West Bengal, only 7 percent reservation is implemented.

HON. SPEAKER: Everyone has the data. Conclude now.

...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI ANUPRIYA PATEL: Madam Speaker, today the participation of Dalits in Class I jobs in the country has reached only 12 percent, and the participation of Backward Classes has reached only 5 percent. Even today, adequate representation of Backward and Dalit communities has not been ensured from the lower judiciary up to the Supreme Court. ...*(Interruptions)* In the country's institutions of higher education, from Associate Professor to Vice-Chancellor, the

participation of Dalits and Backward Classes has reached only 2 Percent. Even at the Central level in our Government today, at the Secretary level, there are only 5 officers from Scheduled Castes, 3 from Scheduled Tribes, and only one IAS officer from the Backward Classes. At the Additional Secretary level, there are 3 officers from Scheduled Castes, 2 from Scheduled Tribes, and not a single IAS officer from the OBC category. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Please conclude your remarks.

...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI ANUPRIYA PATEL: Therefore, as a small ally of the Government, I request our Government to issue a White Paper on the implementation of reservation and to consider recognising reservation as a law, with provisions for punishment in cases of its violation. Till today, reservation has been violated in our country only because there is no provision for penalty. *...(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Please conclude your remarks.

...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI ANUPRIYA PATEL: Therefore, as a small ally of the Government, I demand that our Government issue a White Paper on the existing system of reservation. In that White Paper, consideration

should be given to recognising reservation as a law and to providing for penalties in cases of its violation. Till date, reservation has been violated in this country only because there is no provision for punishment. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Your point has been made. Please take your seat.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI ANUPRIYA PATEL: Madam Speaker, please give me one more minute to speak.

...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: I will give you an opportunity to speak next time. Please take your seat.

...*(Interruptions)*

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI RAMCHARAN BOHRA (JAIPUR CITY): On the occasion of Babasaheb Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary, remembering his contribution to the framing of the Constitution and his contribution to the making of modern India, I thank all of us in this temple of democracy for giving us an opportunity to express our commitment to the Constitution by rising above all political commitments, religion (mazhab), language, sect and region.

India is emerging as a new centre of possibilities in the world today and the attitude of the whole world towards India is changing. The only way to convert these possibilities into reality is to dedicate ourselves to the nation only and solely to the Constitution in this period of all India transition.

This dedication will not only help us in fulfilling the resolve of the Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi to position the country in the ranks of developed countries.

Today, as the entire world acknowledges the richness of India's exceptional intellectual heritage, the nation expresses its profound gratitude to Mahamanav Babasaheb for bestowing upon the world's

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

largest democracy the most comprehensive Constitution. This monumental contribution has served to recognise this intellectual wealth, inspire generations across the caste spectrum, uplift the proletarian sections of society, and bind the country together in an enduring thread of unity.

**********DR. RAVINDRA BABU (AMALAPURAM):** Thank you very much for allowing me to express my views and concern at the historic occasion in this special sitting of this august House to the discussion on commitment to Constitution of India to commemorate the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

It is noteworthy that 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 in India.

Our country's Constitution is one of the best Constitution in the world as it grants every citizen Right to Equality, Right to Speech, the freedom of faith, religion and worship. Through Constitution, we have a liberal polity which ensures Liberty, Equality and Justice.

We are blessed by our great leaders, this grand and independent nation called the Republic of India. Most importantly, each citizen of the state is fundamentally given rights that are secured by the very sacred book, which we all celebrate as the Constitution of India. And, today we celebrate our Ist Constitution Day. I take the privilege to quote a few words from our preamble:

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

"WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens: JUSTICE, social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation; "

I am proud to account that India is a nation with 22 scheduled languages, 06 major religions, 29 states and 07Union Territories. With so much diversity, I am amused and wondered when I go through the history as to how unified we are, in this diversity. In another word, "we are unity in diversity".

We have successfully been dodging the communal and economic frictions with such growing and dynamic structure. India is the only country in the world which is divided to the level of caste, and yet people are harmoniously living together.

I am happy to quote that as per the records of the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, more than 275 inter-caste marriages have been applied

for financial aids this year. This shows that people are developing empathy towards each other.

Compared to many country's histories and current unrests, India is credited with such profound and humane tolerance. Our great nation accounts for one of the major diversities and yet given the circumstances of current global economic dynamics and civil revolutions; we are in consensus of resolving instead of revolting.

Neighbouring countries like Pakistan, face social and educational discrimination against women, while we being a secular nation enjoy the liberty and are making change possible.

Countries like Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Yemen are facing political crisis, while our great nation has more religious and castistic groups, yet we are all togetherly aiming to resolve our problems.

As a befitting tribute to the memory of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, I suggest the following:

1. Passing of Reservation Act: So far the provisions of reservation have been made through executive orders; I demand that the provisions of reservation should be made as Act.

2. Reservation in Private Sector: Now it's a high time to introduce reservation in private sector because the Government share as an employer has shrunk after the introduction of liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation and corporatisation, in early 90's, of all the industries including Health and Education.

3. In order to build confidence among the oppressed educated youth, employment generation is a need of the hour. I also urge upon to move an amendment in Constitution of India to nullify the ruling of Supreme Court of India in Nagraj Case.

I conclude that since Parliament reflect the will of the people, the law made by the Parliament should be made beyond the judicial review and Parliament should be made supreme over any other organs. I would like to mention that Supreme Court of India has introduced a new concept i. e., basic structure which was never there in original Constitution.

I strongly feel that nothing is more important than the mandate given by the people of the country, in any election, to any elected representation. Since, legislature is accountable to the people as any wrong doing on part of the legislators can be replaced by the people in next election.

††††††††††††††††††††††††*MOHAMMED FAIZAL **(LAKSHADWEEP):** To ensure constitutional rights to all citizens is the prime concern of the Government.

I would limit my debate to the fundamental rights which are deprived of even after 62 years of our independence and our great democracy *i. e.* my constituency Lakshadweep.

It's the constitutional right of the citizen to choose the people to govern them. But in my Constituency Lakshadweep, we the people's participation is not there in any form or the final decision making authority is not people's representative till now. I have raised this issue in this august House to start a legislative set up in Lakshadweep and I also requested this House to form a Committee to visualize what I have expressed. But so far nothing had happened on this till now. We are geographically isolated and our great constitution gives us the right to live with equality. Till today, we have to spent extra money for our existences. Constitution gives us the right so that the advantageous enjoyed by the fellow citizens of India should also be extended to us also. With an example I would like to explain it.

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††††††††††††††††††††††††* Speech was laid on the Table.

The dream of having a house or a dwelling unit in island cost almost double than that of in other part of India. There is no subsidy granted to equalize the additional cost incurred on transportation and other over heads.

When the north eastern states are given 90% coverage under NFSA, based on their geographical isolation, scheduled tribe status and climatic condition to grow any crop. Similar condition is in existence in my constituency Lakshadweep. But Lakshadweep is given a coverage of only 33% NFSA.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to bestow special attention to Lakshadweep and extend all possible assistance to uplift this tiny island. I also would like to remind the Government that I have given three speeches in this House for developing tourism in Lakshadweep.

[Translation]

SHRI DUSHYANT CHAUTALA (HISAR): Madam Speaker, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to participate in this important debate on Constitution Day. Today, we are discussing the Constitution. I congratulate you and the Government that after 66 years we have been reminded that our Constitution should be observed as a dedicated day and that the coming generations should also be made aware of our Constitution. It is a sacred document, jointly drafted by our forefathers, which laid down a path for us so that our country may progress. I would like to say only this much, they brought the boat out of the storm; now it is for us to steer this nation with care. When we speak of "we", I believe it is the responsibility of every Member of Parliament, every legislator and every citizen to carry this country forward with true spirit and reverence for the Constitution. Our Constitution is the most profound and detailed Constitution in the world. We have introduced not just one but hundreds of amendments to it. Yet, it has continued to guide our country forward with strength and resilience. Other Members have spoken at length about the Preamble, and I do not wish to say much on that. When we refer to the opening words of the Preamble, "We, the People of India", we speak of every Indian citizen, whether one

acquires citizenship after coming from another country or becomes a citizen by birth within this nation. The moment a person becomes a citizen of this country, the Constitution applies to him or her. When we speak of justice in the opening part, we speak of political justice. People elect us and send us here, and through this House we strive to address their problems. When we speak of economic justice, I come from a farming family, and I would like to state that perhaps even today we have not been able to ensure economic justice for every citizen of this country. During these two days of debate, many senior Members who spoke before me placed their views. Some spoke in the name of caste, some in the name of community, and some in the name of religion. However, they forgot the faith of more than 60 percent of our population. Their faith is their integrity, and their caste is their hard work.

17.00 hours

I would like to recall the dark episode of the Emergency. Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar had stated with regard to Article 365 that it would remain a dead letter in our Constitution. Yet, during that period, Hon. Shri L. K. Advani, Chaudhary Devi Lal and Shri

Jayaprakash Narayan were sent behind bars. We must reflect on this as well, so that provisions enshrined in our Constitution may be reviewed and improved wherever necessary.

In conclusion, I would like to state that the time has now come for all of us to come together and further strengthen the Constitution.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRIMATI ANJU BALA (MISHRIK):__ In the 125th birth anniversary year of Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, our Government, through the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, has taken a commendable step by deciding to observe 26 November as Constitution Day, thereby paying true tribute to his outstanding contribution to nation-building. It is well recognised that after the country attained Independence on 15 August, 1947, there arose an urgent need for a new Constitution suited to Indian conditions and national interests. Accordingly, on 29 August, 1947, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was appointed as the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee entrusted with preparing the Constitution of independent India. Under his Chairpersonship, the Constitution drafted by the Committee was adopted by the then Constituent Assembly as the Constitution of India on 26 November, 1949, and it was brought into force throughout the country with effect from 26 January, 1950. On this occasion, I bow in deep reverence to Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, the true son of India and the champion of the poor, the exploited and the backward sections of society. If today I am able to place my views before this august House as an elected representative of the people, the entire credit goes to Dr. Babasaheb

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

Ambedkar, whose tireless efforts ensured equality of opportunity for all. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was endowed with extraordinary resolve, an unshakeable commitment to social justice, and the indomitable courage to overcome every obstacle in pursuit of his ideals. Born into an oppressed and marginalised section of society, he was subjected to repeated humiliation and hardship. Yet, he never allowed these experiences to deter him from his mission. He pursued higher education to reform society and dedicated his entire life to the cause of public welfare. Despite innumerable challenges, he remained steadfast in his highest goal. Renowned as a brilliant lawyer, a distinguished scholar and a fearless and forthright speaker, his legacy continues to remain profoundly relevant even today. As the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee constituted for framing the Indian Constitution, Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar is remembered for accomplishing the monumental task of shaping the Constitution that continues to guide the nation.

Dr. Ambedkar, while firmly advocating complete commitment to the ideals and values of social justice, ensured through the Constitution the upliftment and welfare of the exploited and deprived sections of society, while also guaranteeing the right to equality for all citizens of the country. On this day, we must resolve to build the

India envisioned by Dr. Ambedkar, an India where individuals are judged not through the prism of class, but on the basis of their contribution to the welfare of society. The spirit of equality for all was closest to the heart of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar. Even after so many years of Independence, can we honestly say that we have ensured social, political and economic justice in a definitive manner for the deprived sections of society? For nearly fifty years after Independence, the Union Government was led by a single political party, yet it is a matter of deep irony that much still remains to be done to realise Dr. Ambedkar's dream. Previous governments have merely treated the backward and Dalit sections as vote banks. One only needs to examine the data to understand the true state of progress. It is the collective responsibility of all of us to ensure that not a single individual is left behind in the journey of development. Until even the poorest person receives tangible benefits, no law or reform can be considered adequate. We must place greater emphasis on expanding access to education, so that the deprived sections of society gain the capacity to become self-reliant. In addition, self-employment and entrepreneurship must be encouraged, enabling them to move forward with confidence and realise their aspirations in their chosen fields.

Demonstrating our commitment to fulfilling the constitutional values enshrined by Dr Ambedkar, we must stand united and support the policy decisions taken by our Government in the national interest, without any political animosity. In any case, over the past several years, the progress and transformation achieved have not been commensurate with expectations. On several indicators of development, we continue to lag significantly behind many of our contemporary nations. Today, when our Government has decided to observe this day as Constitution Day while according due honour to the architect of the Constitution and a great nation-builder, Dr. Ambedkar, this step could well have been taken by previous governments too. However, under earlier governments led by particular political parties, the entire credit for nation-building was largely attributed to a single family or its supporters alone. In this context, the present Government has undertaken the highly commendable task of honouring the contributions of great national figures such as Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, Syama Prasad Mukherjee and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. On the occasion of Constitution Day, a meaningful debate is being organised to reflect our commitment to the Constitution. The Parliament House is also

illuminated on this occasion. In the same manner, year after year, may our country continue to advance towards the realisation of the values enshrined in the Constitution and move steadily along the path of progress. With these best wishes, I conclude my remarks and quote the words of Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam:

"Difficulties in life do not come to destroy us, but to help us realise our hidden strengths and potential. Let difficulties know that you are stronger than they are."

[English]

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI MD. BADARUDDOZA KHAN (MURSHIDABAD): I would like to submit my written speech on the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the father of our Constitution.

This time it is true like daylight that despite a well framed Constitution, our Country is suffering very much by untouchability, inequality, injustice and intolerance in various sector. It is due to the Governments ruled India till date. Now also the Government side is announcing so many commitments but actually doing nothing against poverty and illiteracy. Even after 68 years of independence India is the residence of the highest number of illiterate persons. It was not the dream of Dr. Ambedkar. Now, if we want to honour Dr. Ambedkar we have to do something for the poors, illiterates, Dalits and minorities. Our Hon. Minister mentioned yesterday that secularism means Panthnirpekshta. But so far as I know that at the time two version of the 42nd amendment was circulated. One in English and the other in Hindi. In hindi version, it was clearly mentioned

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

“Dharmanirpekshta” such kind of dilution will be dangerous for our country with great respect and honour to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

**********SHRI KESINENI SRINIVAS **(VIJAYAWADA) :** On the midnight of 15th August, 1947, India became free and joined the comity of independent nations. Today, 26th November, 2015 is exactly 66 years from the day when the Constituent Assembly adapted, enacted and gave us the Constitution of India. The Constituent Assembly spent 114 days considering and debating the draft Constitution. The members of the Constituent Assembly were vigilant and scrutinized each and every word of the Constitution of India, which has been the centre piece of our democracy for over 6 decades now.

[Translation] Today, we are discussing commitment to India's Constitution as part of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Birth Anniversary celebrations. Dr. Ambedkar, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, worked tirelessly for the idea of India that we hold dear to our hearts today-in Indian, where every citizen has equal rights, opportunities and justice.

Our Constitution resolved to establish India as a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic with the aim of securing social, economic and political justice; Liberty of thought, expression,

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********** Speech was laid on the Table.

belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity and a spirit of brotherhood among all citizens of the country.

The strength of our nation lies in the commitment of its people, parliament, governments and judiciary in upholding the cherished principles enshrined in the Constitution. There have been times, as it happens in life of every nation, when Constitutional principles have been under threat, but the firm belief and resolve of Indian people ensured that we stay true to our ethos of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice.

We as representatives of the people have the responsibility to be the guardians of India's values and Constitution. As societies evolve, there arises the need for reform and change. We as lawmakers have the duty to be alive to the changing goal posts of the Indian society and lead India towards growth, progress and brotherhood with all our energy.

In the India of 21st century, we must reinforce our commitment to our secular ethos. Secularism, not only means tolerating diverse religious and beliefs but also respecting the pluralism in our society. To build a harmonious India, we must respect each other, our individual freedom of choice and ensure that no Indian goes to sleep

at night with a sense of hatred against any fellow citizen. This respect for diversity is the true hall mark of India.

When we talk about justice, we must ensure that our institutions are able to deliver social, economic and political justice. We must strengthen institutions of democracy.

The Parliament as the supreme legislative body must work harder and with a spirit of cooperation towards building a peaceful and prosperous India. We have inherited a rich legacy of erudite decision making from our forefathers, and we must not let it fritter away with disruptions. Parliament as an institution is held high in the eyes of the people. To be held in high esteem Parliament must deliver on its words. The commitments made by Parliament to the people of Andhra Pradesh at the time of bifurcation of the state have not been delivered upon. This has led to a sense of betrayal in the hearts of people of Andhra Pradesh. It is important that Parliament and Government maintains its legitimacy in the eyes of the people by delivering on its promises to the people.

The judicial system must reform in order to ensure that jutice is fair and speedy. With over 31 million cases pending in courts across

the country, people's faith in Justice is visibly shaken. We must debate as to how justice can be made quick, efficient accessible.

Federalism is the hall mark of the Indian republic. We see more and more powers and decision making authority being devolved to the state governments. It is a good sign that India is moving in the direction of cooperative federalism. Now, we must focus on empowering the third tier of governance namely the panchayats and the municipal bodies. Real decision making power should be devolved to the people at the grass roots.

The press is the watchdog of a healthy democracy. The Indian press has always been true to journalistic ethos and fearless in its reporting. However, we increasingly see a trend where the institution of press is being called names. This is a very dangerous trend. The institutions of executive, legislature, judiciary and the Press, each have a defined role to play in the success of our democracy. We must respect each institution and in turn each of these institutions must carry out their functions with a single purpose of upholding the truth.

On this day, let us all re-dedicate ourselves to the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity enshrined in our Constitution. I would like to conclude by quoting Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the need for the

Indian in us to be above and beyond any other identity we may ascribe to.

He said, "I do not want that our loyalty as Indians should be in the slightest way affected by any competitive loyalty whether that loyalty arises out of our religion, out of our culture or out of our language.

I want all people to be Indians first, Indian last and nothing else but Indians. "

††††††††††††††††††††††††††*__SHRI P. KARUNAKARAN (KASARGOD):__ The decision to celebrate 125th anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar and 65th years of Constitution comes together and we are observing these two significant occasions together. I also share the views expressed by the many Members of this House.

On behalf of my party I express full cooperation to uphold our Constitution and has to protect its secular character at any cost.

[Translation] After independence the Constituent Assembly was formed to make the framework of our Constitution and Dr. Ambedkar was entrusted to draft the Constitution. Eminent leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, TT Krishnamchari and other eminent leaders had contributed much. Dr. Ambedkar has to take this big responsibility to draft the Constitution and he has done this work with almost vigilance. We pay tribute to all eminent personalities who are responsible for this significant work.

The two-day session would be fruitful and constructive if the Government take concrete step to form new legislation to protect the rights of SCs and STs. Otherwise, these two days' discussions would

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not give any positive result. Now, the Government has to judge what has to be done or not.

Dr. Ambedkar was an architect of Indian Constitution. He as a well known politician and eminent jurist. He was the first Law Minister of India in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was awarded the Bharat Ratna, the Indian highest civilian honour in 1990.

Ambedkar was a victim of caste discrimination from the school life itself. From the early classes. Ambedkar has to face severe discrimination and was followed in the social life also.

He fought against the discrimination of SC, ST and other backward castes throughout his life. He has been projecting and focusing the progressive values throughout his life.

From his own experience, he introduced a strong structure of social justice measures comprising the preamble, article 46 and a number of other specific article, to lead to the goal of social quality. Unfortunately, these well detained ideas have not been fully implemented, so SCs continue to be agricultural wage labours in rural areas and casual labours in the organized sector. In STs have been continuing losing their lands being reduced to labours.

When we observe the birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar, there should be a strong will on the part of the Government to introduce some legislation and also implement the legislation which we have already passed. Dr. Ambedkar has brought to the notice of Simmon Commission that is social boycott and economic boycott are still prevailing in many parts of our country. It is shocking to say that untouchability is still rampant in many parts of our country against SC and ST's. Prevention of Atrocity amendment bill passed in the Lok Sabha has to be passed in Rajya Sabha also without any delay. Our PM has rightly pointed out in the time of the celebration of historic Khail Samaram of dalits at Cochin and also vikas rally at Haryana that ensuring the delivery of development's of dalit should be the priority of state. But we witnessed the heart breaking atrocities against SC people in Haryana where two young SC children were brutally burnt. We again witnessed the death of a SC because he has entered in a temple. So, these types of crimes have to be severely dealt with.

It is also a long pending demand that reservation for SC's and ST's and OBC's in professional technological and other higher education institution in the private sector. 93rd amendment for clause 5 article 50 was enacted for this purpose. But for the last 10 years these Constitution amendments have been evacuated causing great

lose to the SC's, ST's and OBC's. But excessive prits received by the private collages and private Universities.

There was another legislation for reservation for the SC's and SC's section post and service under the state. After series of discussion in 2009, there was a consent to accept the amendment. But it was also not introduced either of the houses.

Amendment with regards to SC's and ST's for promotion was also introduced in Rajya Sabha in 2012. But not taken to the Lok Sabha. Here also new amendments need to rectify the mistakes.

There should be strong stand from the side of the Government for free and compulsory education Act 2009. RTE Act has projected admission of SC & ST and OBC children and it should be 25% of reservation in section 12 of the Act i. e. 8% for SC children 4% of ST children 10% for OBC children and 3% of disadvantaged and weaker section. The original scheme for the SC & STs for special component plan for Scheduled Caste. Now, it is downgraded the name of Scheduled Caste sub-plan. What is the SCs needed is plan not the sub-plan.

When Government made constitutional amendments the rights of SCs and STs especially to reservation in promotion has to be

effectively and rightly protected. Following the Supreme Court judgement of 2012 regarding reservation in promotion the amendment was passed in Rajya Sabha in 2012. But it is not introduced in Lok Sabha. It has to be introduced with modification.

There is undue delay in the implementation of the schemes especailly related with SC, ST and OBCs. It really makes much difficult even to get the benefits approved by the law.

Scholarship for all SC & ST students belonging to different categories should be given respect. There should be adequate arrangments and measures to improve the health status of SCs and STs. Health and medical personal mobile units should cover SCs & STs agitations.

Large number of vacancies in Supreme Court and High Courts are still not fulfilled. The National Commission under Chairmanship of former Chief Justice Shri M. N. Venkatachaliah has given the report in 2002 to the present Finance Minister Shri Arun Jaitley ji. The recommendation was that the qualified SCs, STs and OBCs and women should be selected and appointed. At present there is no single judge of SC and ST in Supreme Court.

Equalities of fundamental principle enshrined in our Constitution Article 46 and number of other specific Articles in our Constitution has specifically designed to protect the fundamental rights. Dr. Ambedkar with the other founding fathers of the Constitution has trust this for maintenance of social justice thereby to reach the goal of social equalities.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, in his Address on 4th November, 1948 while moving the first draft of the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, Directive Principles posses great value as they are instruments of instructions to the legislature and executive. Whoever captures power will not be free to do what he like with it. In the exercise of it, he will have to respect these instruments of instructions. He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a court of Law. But he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. This is becoming more and more clear with the rise of awareness among the SCs, STs and the more, most and extremely backward Castes of BCs. No party can succeed in elections without them and stability and optimal economic progress of the country will elude us unless the confidence of these most deprived classes is won through these specific measures.

I strongly disagree with views expressed by the Home Minister with regard to the concept of socialism and secularism. Socialism and secularism are not the hurdles in the path of development. The preamble itself Ambedkar has made it clear keeping the goal of social equalities i. e. equalities in all parameters-economic, educational, occupational, housing and residential facilities related, health and nutrition related for those who have been subjected to inequalities by the operation of the traditional social system and casteism. It is on this ground that Dr. Ambedkar introduced in the Constitution a strong structure and social justice i. e. the article 46 and number of other specific articles.

Secularism does not mean that it is against any religion. In India we have the complicity of large number of religions, castes and sub-castes, languages and various types of festivals. What we need to tolerate all these complexities. All these various diverse features. So, secularism really gives a due importance on respective of religion, caste and other issues. So how can the Hon. Minister can say that socialism and secular are hurdles in social and economic development. It is true that some of the forces are not accepting these values. Sorry to say, that is why we have the shocking instances in various parts of our country. The brutal killing of Kulburgi, Pansare

and many others who are outstanding scholars in India. The brutal killing in Dadri and the strong protest against the beef are all intolerance that we see in recent times. So, the issue is not the secularism and socialism but something more that is the violation of secular concept which really create communal tensions. So not only the terrorism is hindrance in development but the internal insurgencies and aggressive communal tensions also hinder the development. So, I conclude with the firm belief that the people of India would uphold the secular character of Indian Constitution.

[Translation]

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI RAJESH RANJAN (MADHEPURA):__ On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, I would like to place my views in this discussion.

From the earliest times through thousands of years, our rishis and sages were regarded as spiritual guides. From Shiva to Krishna, they were our spiritual mentors. Ramakrishna was a spiritual guide, and disciples such as Vivekananda emerged from that tradition. Buddha, Mahavira, Kabir, Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh were spiritual teachers, and alongside them were great humanists such as Aurobindo Ghosh, Subhas Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh, Mahatma Phule and Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. Earlier, individuals were shaped through spiritual discipline. Today, however, self-styled godmen are being produced. In such circumstances, it becomes impossible for personalities like Vivekananda or Subhas Chandra Bose to emerge in India. A person who lives in ostentation, ritualism, and blind dependence on God or fate cannot become a true practitioner of karma. Dr. Ambedkar, during his speech in the Constituent Assembly, had stated, “I feel that however good a Constitution may be, it is sure

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to turn out bad because those who are called upon to work it happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called upon to work it happen to be a good lot.” Many people sitting in this House are, in effect, believers in fate and blind faith. In a society where from the very beginning God has been imagined and worshipped out of necessity and fear, and where power itself has been worshipped, how can one even imagine the emergence of a truly humanist society. When society is divided on the basis of caste, religion, language, regionalism, hierarchy, forward and backward, Hindu and Muslim, Sikh and Christian, how can a cohesive society be built. Without individuals, there can be no society, and without society, how can a nation be built.

Around 1955, Babasaheb Ambedkar began distancing himself from Hinduism, when he publicly declared that while he was born a Hindu, he would not die as a Hindu.

If the present identity of India is characterised by poverty, disease, oppression, exploitation and illiteracy, then how is it possible to search for God by walking the path of superstition and while suffering from hunger. The ideas of Babasaheb Ambedkar and the efforts undertaken by him were deliberately weakened. Feudal forces confined his legacy by placing his photographs in the homes of the

weak and deprived sections as if he were merely a deity, telling them that this alone was their God. As long as Babasaheb Ambedkar is reduced to being seen only as a symbol of the Dalits, this society cannot become strong socially, economically, educationally or politically. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had raised the issue of economic freedom with seriousness even before political freedom, but forces driven by consumerist tendencies suppressed that agenda as well.

Lord Ram is projected by the RSS as a principal symbol of cultural nationalism. Let us examine what Dr Ambedkar stated about Lord Ram. He observed: “It was as though Sita’s life had no value at all. What mattered was only his personal prestige. He did nothing, by adopting a manly course, to stop the rumours which, as a King, he could have stopped, and which, as a husband who was convinced of his wife’s innocence, it was his duty to stop.”

In a country where arrangements are made merely to push the youth towards material comforts and into the era of globalisation, and where notions of destiny, fate and material pleasure are promoted only to extinguish the spirit of thought, struggle and revolution among the youth, how can a humanist outlook be envisaged. Today, the entire world is passing through a grave and alarming situation. In every

corner of the world, human beings are grappling with severe hardships. Twenty Percent of the population controls 70 percent of the resources, while 80 percent of the people are deprived even of basic food. The ideas of Babasaheb strengthened the forces of universal fraternity and equal respect for all faiths. I can state with pride that I do not speak as a proponent of Hinduism or Sikhism, but from a humanist perspective. A society lost in narrow notions of caste, religion and sect cannot possibly realise the vision of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam. Without incorporating new humanist moral and spiritual education into our lives, we cannot create a renewed and enlightened individual, and without such individuals, the vision of a strong and harmonious nation cannot be realised. I would like to draw attention to a few critical questions that confront us today.

For nearly 125 years, a large number of Dalits in this country have undergone religious conversion. Even today, a significant proportion of the Christian community in India comprises Dalits who have converted to Christianity.

According to the 61st survey of the National Sample Survey Organisation, 90 percent of Buddhists in the country, and nearly one-third each of Sikhs and Christians, belong to Dalit and deprived sections who have embraced new religions through conversion.

As per the 2011 Census, Scheduled Tribes constitute 16 percent of the population, Dalits account for 8.6 percent, and when Scheduled Tribes and Dalits together are taken into account, they constitute approximately 25 percent of the population of the country.

According to a 2014 report of the Ministry of Minority Affairs, 44.8 Percent of the Dalit and deprived population and 33.3 Percent of the Scheduled Tribe population in the country live below the poverty line. When this is compared with the minority community, that is Muslims, 30.8 percent of the Muslim population lives below the poverty line. In urban areas of the country, 27.3 percent of Dalits and deprived sections and 21.8 percent of Scheduled Tribes are poor. Taken together, this means that even after such a long period since Independence, nearly 49 percent of Dalits and deprived sections continue to live in poverty.

According to the Socio-Economic and Caste Census of 2011, 79 percent of tribal families and 73 percent of Dalit and neglected families are among the most deprived in rural areas. Nearly 75 percent of Dalits and deprived sections are landless and survive on daily wage labour. One crore persons from Dalit and deprived communities work as agricultural labourers, who are paid either in grain or a daily wage of slightly more than Rs. 35.

A 2012 survey conducted by Mangalore University in Karnataka presented shocking figures, stating that 93 percent of Dalits and deprived sections in the country live below the poverty line. According to a 2014 report of the Indian Government Research Institute, the majority of school drop-outs in the country belong to Dalit and deprived communities. In Karnataka alone, 48 percent of children who drop out of school are from Dalit and deprived backgrounds.

In schools, 88 percent of Dalit and deprived children face discrimination. Due to this discrimination, even bright students are made to sit in the last rows of classrooms and are required to sit separately while eating meals. Even today, seven out of every ten Dalits and neglected persons in the country are illiterate. This discrimination is not confined only to education and educational institutions; it also extends to healthcare services and access to food.

Medical field workers do not visit the homes of 65 percent of Dalits and deprived families. As many as 47 percent of Dalits and deprived persons are not even allowed to enter ration shops. Sixty-four percent of Dalits and deprived sections are given less grain compared to other communities, and 52 percent are made to collect grain from a distance. Untouchability still exists in our society, and

yet we describe ourselves as a developing and democratic nation. This is the contradiction of our development.

In the State of Haryana, 45 percent of Dalit and deprived children suffer from being underweight and malnutrition up to the age of five, while according to a 2015 report, 80 percent of Dalit and deprived children suffer from anaemia.

Across the country, crimes against Dalits and deprived sections are committed at an alarming rate. Every day, crimes are committed against Dalits and deprived sections at regular intervals. Every nine minutes, an offence is committed against Dalits; every day, three Dalit women are subjected to rape, two Dalits are murdered, and four homes belonging to Dalits and deprived sections are set on fire. Each day, between 30 and 40 Dalits and deprived persons are assaulted, and 20 to 25 Dalits and deprived persons are abducted.

Dalit and deprived women are subjected to double and even triple forms of exploitation. Within the country, nearly one-third of Dalit and deprived families lack basic amenities. Even today, in rural areas, nearly 30 Percent of Dalits and deprived persons are not allowed to enter police stations. As many as 49 Percent of Dalits and deprived populations are still prevented, in villages, from approaching sources

of water in the name of untouchability. In the country's prisons, the proportion of Dalits and deprived persons is disproportionately high. Nearly 94 percent of those sentenced to death belong to Dalit and deprived sections.

At a time when the world stands on the brink of a third world war, and when in India nearly four crore people struggle daily with illness, poverty and illiteracy, and when arrangements are made to extinguish the spirit of struggle among the youth, how can we meaningfully conceive of a nation in a country where the common citizen is denied dignity and where the system appears to be designed primarily for capitalists and privileged sections. If we are to truly imagine a nation, we must bring into practice the ideas of these great visionaries. Yet, this House has always debated these issues on the basis of votes, caste and religion, but even after 67 years of Independence, no positive solutions have emerged. This House appears unconcerned with issues of illness, hunger, illiteracy and other basic necessities. It is a paradox that while Members from Odisha speak English the most in this House, the highest levels of poverty are found in Odisha itself. In this regard, I wish to place certain facts before the House.

There are two dimensions to this issue, one positive and the other negative. The positive aspect is that the BJP won these elections with the support of its vote base by attracting the youth, who were in search of opportunities. However, if the youth demand chocolate and receive it, they will next demand bread pakora as well. The youth are driven by aspirations, and no political force can fully satisfy those aspirations. Therefore, the youth cannot remain a stable vote bank for any party, and the BJP cannot place complete reliance on them alone. Consequently, the BJP also requires a vote bank with which it can sustain itself over the long term. The Dalit vote bank appears to fit this role, particularly as the BSP has weakened. In Uttar Pradesh, the BJP believes that the Dalit vote bank may come into its fold. To this end, the BJP is making symbolic overtures towards Dalits by invoking Babasaheb Ambedkar, the most prominent icon of the Dalit community. However, this symbolic approach of the BJP has already been well understood by the people.

Merely establishing Ambedkar Centres will not achieve meaningful change. Several such centres were established earlier as well. The Ambedkar Foundation had already been set up by the Congress. Ambedkar lecture series and Ambedkar Chairs have been discontinued. In such a situation, no substantive or qualitative

initiatives are visible that could bring about the social, economic, political and educational upliftment of Dalits. This reflects the current stance of the BJP. On the other hand, the Congress appears increasingly isolated. State after State has witnessed the electoral defeat of the Congress. As a result, it is attempting to regain its lost ground among Dalits, who were once its traditional vote bank. It is true that the Congress had earlier provided representation to Dalits by appointing at least six Dalit leaders to high offices, including the posts of Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Culture. Such symbolic measures were certainly undertaken by the Congress. Despite this, the Dalit community has not been able to develop a genuine sense of association with the Congress. Dalits have now experienced a share of power and, therefore, seek a struggle led by Dalits themselves, under Dalit leadership. They do not wish to accept leadership under the dominance of others. For this reason, they are unable to align comfortably with the Congress. At the same time, the Congress cannot afford to allow its entire Dalit vote base to shift to the BSP without a contest or a fight.

Babasaheb Ambedkar is a leader whose relevance continues to grow with time, because the issues he raised were far ahead of his era. This is particularly evident in his emphasis on human rights, education

and even international standards of education. During the Poona Pact in 1932, he stated that an amount of Rs. 10,000 per person should be allocated for higher education. One can well appreciate the value of Rs. 10,000 at that time, when gold was priced at Rs. 5 per tola. This reflects the breadth of his vision. He himself was highly educated and a profound scholar. He consistently struggled for democracy and universal values and placed great emphasis on the importance of institutions. The stress he laid on development, whether it was the Planning Commission, the Reserve Bank of India, or the issue of women's rights, was incorporated by Babasaheb Ambedkar in his drafts. Whether it was the Partition of India or the question of reservation, these were matters he addressed with remarkable foresight. I believe he is becoming increasingly relevant because the struggle he waged for rights and representation on the basis of universality is still viewed through the same lens today. Even now, people are not receiving adequate representation. On the one hand, in positions of power such as the bureaucracy, judiciary, policy-making bodies, universities and industry, the representation of Dalits and deprived sections is still not visible. No detailed calculation is required to recognise this; it is evident that there has been no real change in social conditions. The deprived remain deprived. I believe

that Babasaheb Ambedkar's relevance will continue until full representation is achieved. I am not speaking of one year or even one hundred years, but of thousands of years of oppression suffered by communities that were, by one means or another, excluded from institutions of power. Reservation was introduced to address representation for such communities. However, society reduced reservation to the issue of a limited number of jobs and linked it solely with poverty alleviation, assuming that it would automatically lead to economic advancement and prosperity. In reality, reservation is not a poverty alleviation programme. Through reservation, there is a need to increase participation in institutions of power. It is not that Dalits are unqualified. Rather, society is still not prepared to grant them representation. Society remains entangled in religious, social and ritualistic prejudices. Reservation was provided to counter these conditions. Yet, even after this, reservation has been treated merely as a tool for poverty alleviation. Nevertheless, if the deprived sections are to be advanced, reservation must continue. Based on the report of the Indian Labour Commission, there are approximately 19.8 crore jobs in the country. On this basis, 15 Percent plus 7.5 Percent, that is 22.5 Percent reservation, accrues to Dalits. Accordingly, Dalits should be entitled to approximately 45 lakh jobs. However, over the last 65

years, governments have provided only about 35 lakh jobs to a population of 25 crore. This is akin to a drop in the ocean, yet governments have made much noise about it. We therefore also demand a White Paper detailing how many posts were created and how many jobs were actually provided over the past 65 years.

I shall explain, in a sequential manner, the views expressed by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in relation to religious nationalism, the Indian Constitution, the RSS, caste and society, Dalits and reservation, and also in the context of Mahatma Gandhi.

Ambedkar, Religious Nationalism And The Indian Constitution: In recent times, in an attempt to broaden its social acceptability, the RSS has been making unfounded and illogical claims. A few months ago, it was asserted that Mahatma Gandhi was influenced by the functioning of the RSS. More recently, on 15 February, 2015, another blatant falsehood was circulated, namely that Dr. Ambedkar believed in the ideology of the Sangh. This claim was not made by an ordinary individual, but by the RSS Chief, Shri Mohan Bhagwat.

There existed a fundamental and irreconcilable difference between Ambedkar and the RSS, as well as between their respective ideologies. While Ambedkar firmly believed in Indian nationalism,

secularism and the principles of social justice, the ideology of the RSS rests on only two foundations: first, a Brahmanical interpretation of Hinduism, and second, Hindu nationalism, the ultimate objective of which is the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra.

What was Ambedkar's view on the ideology of Hindutva? He consistently described Hinduism as a Brahmanical religious system. It is also well recognised that Brahmanism dominates Hindu religious practice. Ambedkar clearly understood that the prevailing form of Hinduism is fundamentally rooted in the caste system, a system that has inflicted unimaginable suffering, humiliation and exclusion upon the untouchables and Dalits.

In the initial phase, Ambedkar attempted to break the shackles of caste discrimination from within Hinduism itself. To secure access to sources of drinking water for Dalits, he led movements such as the Chavadar Tank Satyagraha, and through the Kalaram Temple movement, he sought to open the doors of temples to them. He also publicly organised the burning of the Manusmriti, as he believed that this Brahmanical text symbolised caste-based and gender-based hierarchies. He launched sharp and incisive critiques of Hinduism and Brahmanism. However, with the passage of time, he arrived at the firm conclusion that he must renounce Hinduism altogether.

In his book Riddles of Hinduism, published by the Government of Maharashtra in 1987, Ambedkar articulated his views on the Brahmanical version of Hinduism. In the preface to the book, he wrote: “This book explains those beliefs which may be described as Brahmanical theology. I would like to inform people that Hinduism is not a sanatan religion. The second objective of this book is to familiarise ordinary Hindus with the practices of the Brahmins and to encourage them to reflect for themselves on how the Brahmins have misled them and deceived them over time.”

Around 1955, Dr. Ambedkar began distancing himself from Hinduism, when he publicly declared that while he was born a Hindu, he would not die as a Hindu. In 1956, he also participated in a Sikh missionary conference and even considered embracing Sikhism. In 1936, he published a pamphlet titled Annihilation of Caste, which was in fact the text of the presidential address he was to deliver at a meeting of the Jat-Pat Todak Mandal in Lahore, a speech that he was ultimately not permitted to deliver. At the conclusion of this written address, he emphatically stated that he had decided to renounce Hinduism.

He said, “I have made up my mind; my resolve to change my religion is firm. I am not converting for any material gain. Even if I

remain an untouchable, there is no achievement that I cannot attain. I am converting solely for spiritual reasons. My conscience is not prepared to accept Hinduism. My self-respect does not permit me to remain associated with Hinduism. However, conversion will not bring you both spiritual and material benefits. Some people ridicule religious conversion and laugh at it as a means of material gain. I have no hesitation in calling such people foolish."

Lord Ram is projected by the RSS as a principal symbol of cultural nationalism. Let us examine what Ambedkar stated about Lord Ram. He observed: "It was as though Sita's life had no value at all. What mattered was only his personal prestige. He did nothing, by adopting a manly course, to stop the rumours which, as a King, he could have stopped, and which, as a husband who was convinced of his wife's innocence, it was his duty to stop."

At another place, Dr Ambedkar writes, "For twelve years, the boys lived in Valmiki's ashram, which was not very far from Ayodhya, where Ram ruled. During those twelve years, this ideal husband and father did not even attempt to find out where Sita was, whether she was alive or dead. Sita considered death preferable to returning to Ram, because Ram's treatment of her was brutal and inhuman." What kind of treatment Dalits would receive under

Hindutva-based cultural nationalism is clearly reflected in Ram's own life. He writes: "There was a Shudra named Shambuk who was performing penance to attain heaven in his physical form, and Ram beheaded him without any warning or explanation." (Riddles of Ram and Krishna)

Ambedkar's dream was the "annihilation of caste", a dream that remains unfulfilled even after so many years of Independence. For multiple reasons, caste continues to remain a significant factor in this country even today. Ambedkar spoke of the annihilation of caste, whereas the Sangh Parivar speaks of 'harmony among different castes', and has therefore established an organisation called the 'Samajik Samrasta Manch'. Can there still be any doubt that, as far as social issues are concerned, the views of Ambedkar and the RSS are fundamentally and irreconcilably opposed. At the core of the political ideology of the RSS lies Hindutva or Hindu nationalism. Ambedkar examined this issue with great depth. His views on this matter are available in his scholarly work Thoughts on Pakistan.

In this book, he compares the concept of Hindu nationalism propounded by Savarkar, regarded as the ideologue of the RSS's Hindu Rashtra, with Jinnah's ideology of Muslim nationalism, and observes: "It may appear strange, but so far as the question of one

nation versus two nations is concerned, there is no difference between Shri Savarkar and Shri Jinnah. On the contrary, they are in complete agreement. Not only do both agree, but they emphatically assert that there are two nations in India, one a Hindu nation and the other a Muslim nation. Their difference lies only on the question of the terms on which these two nations should exist. Jinnah holds that India should be divided into Pakistan and Hindustan, with the Muslim nation residing in Pakistan and the Hindu nation in Hindustan. On the other hand, Shri Savarkar insists that although there are two nations in India, India should not be divided into two parts, one belonging to Muslims and the other to Hindus. Instead, the two nations should live in one country, having one Constitution, and that Constitution should be such as to give primacy to the Hindu nation and require the Muslim nation to remain subordinate to the Hindu nation." (Thoughts on Pakistan, Volume III, Chapter 7)

Ambedkar was a strong proponent of inclusive Indian nationalism. He wrote: "Is it not a fact that under the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, if not all, then in most provinces, Muslims, non-Brahmins and the depressed classes established unity and worked together as a team from 1920 to 1937 to implement reforms. This was the most effective way to eliminate the danger of Hindu Raj by

preventing the establishment of communal principles between Hindus and Muslims. Shri Jinnah could easily follow this path, and it would not be difficult for him to succeed if he did so." (Thoughts on Pakistan, page 389)

He was completely opposed to the idea of a Hindu State. In the section titled Must There Be Pakistan in this book, he writes: "If a Hindu Raj does come into existence, it will undoubtedly be a great calamity for this country. Whatever Hindus may say, Hinduism is a danger to liberty, equality and fraternity. For that reason, it is incompatible with democracy. Hindu Raj must be prevented at any cost."

Similarly, on issues such as the place of religious minorities in society, their rights, and the need to take affirmative steps for the upliftment of weaker sections, there is not only no convergence between the views of Ambedkar and the RSS, but rather a clear and fundamental contradiction. While Ambedkar was the architect of the Constitution, the Sangh Parivar has described the Indian Constitution as anti-Hindu and has advocated the framing of a new Constitution based on Hindu religious scriptures. The attempt by Shri Mohan Bhagwat to associate Ambedkar with the ideology of the RSS is nothing but an effort to mislead the public. In reality, the Sangh seeks

to secure the support of those who are committed to the ideological values of Ambedkar.

Ambedkar, Caste And Society: Whichever direction one turns, the demon of caste stands in the way. Until this demon is destroyed, neither political reform nor economic reform can be successfully achieved. (Dr. Ambedkar, Annihilation of Caste)

In this country, political power is not intended to remain the monopoly of a few, yet the Bahujan masses have been reduced not merely to carriers of burdens but to beings treated like hunted animals. This concentration of power has not only deprived them of opportunities for development, but has also stripped their lives of meaning, dignity and fulfilment.

Babasaheb's clarion call was clear: before constructing a classless society, society must first be made casteless. Society must be freed from hierarchy and varna, because hierarchy impoverishes human beings and varna dehumanises them into Dalits. Those who possessed nothing were labelled destitute, and those who were considered to be nothing were branded as Dalits. Sounding the bugle of struggle, Babasaheb declared that rights taken away are never

granted as charity; rights must be asserted and secured through struggle.

The questions raised by Dr Ambedkar were not confined to his own time; they remain equally relevant today. If a significant and numerically large section of society continues to remain weak and uneducated, how can Hindu society claim strength. He raised a fundamental question as to why Indian society repeatedly suffered defeat at the hands of foreign invaders. He himself provided the answer: when only one section of society is entrusted with the responsibility of defence and the rest of society has no stake in the security of the nation, how can such a country effectively confront its enemies.

Many people express surprise and even distress at the sharpness and bitterness of Babasaheb's language. Such observations may appear valid at first glance, but it must be remembered that the language of expression inevitably reflects the depth of inner pain, suffering and anguish. Judged by this measure, Ambedkar's language was, in fact, restrained and purposeful. It represented a profound churning within Hindu society, a necessary process of moral and social introspection. Mahatma Gandhi had taken a position on the varna system. It was widely recognised that varna had long ceased to

exist in practice and that caste had replaced it as the lived social reality.

The caste structure is an extremely complex system that demands rigorous debate. However, Gandhi was more inclined towards engaging in a theoretical defence of the varna system, whereas Ambedkar was fighting concrete battles for dignity and rights, such as temple entry and access to drinking water from public sources. It is evident that this churning produced poison as well, and it was Babasaheb alone who had to consume it. In a moment of anguish, he declared in 1935 at Nasik that he would no longer remain a Hindu.

Dalits And Reservation: The philosophical foundation of Dalit emancipation lies in the thought and vision of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. On 29 October, 1942, Dr Ambedkar submitted an extensive memorandum on Dalit rights to the Governor-General of India. The complete text of this memorandum is available in Ambedkar Granthavali–10. One of its significant sections is titled “Closed Door in Government Contracts”. In this section, Dr Ambedkar pointed out that out of a total of 1,171 contractors in the CPWD, there was only one Dalit contractor. He therefore demanded that a defined share be reserved for Dalits in government contracts.

This clearly demonstrates that, in Ambedkar's understanding, Dalit rights were not restricted merely to government employment.

Whenever and wherever the question of Dalit emancipation is raised, the discussion almost invariably begins and ends with reservation in jobs. The discourse on Dalit upliftment continues to revolve around employment as its central axis. While employment is undoubtedly a crucial instrument in the struggle for Dalit emancipation, it is equally important to recognise the inherent limitations of this approach.

In India, the total number of government jobs is approximately 1 crore 94 lakh. The organised private sector provides only about 87 lakh jobs. Thus, the combined total of jobs in the government and organised private sectors is around 2 crore 81 lakh. On this basis, the Dalit share would amount to approximately 63 lakh jobs. This implies that even if reservation for Dalits were to be fully implemented in both the public and private sectors, only about 63 lakh Dalits would benefit, whereas the number of Dalits in need of livelihood and security runs into several crores. According to the National Sample Survey, merely 8 Percent of total employment in India lies within the organised sector, including both government and private employment, while the remaining 92 percent is in the unorganised sector. This suggests that

the possibility of a secure and dignified future for Dalits is, in numerical terms, greater within the unorganised sector. However, this in no way diminishes the necessity of ensuring Dalits' rightful representation and participation in the organised sector as well.

In this context, it would be worthwhile to consider whether the future of Dalits in the private sector lies more in employment or in entrepreneurship. Hindustan Lever is one of India's leading companies and currently employs around 30,000 staff, including managers. If reservations were implemented there, approximately 7,500 positions would accrue to Dalits. It must be borne in mind that at the levels of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, there is already a significant presence of Dalits. However, for the sale of its products, the company has nearly two lakh distributors across the country. Each distributor sells goods worth several lakhs of rupees every month. If reservations were applied in the distributor category, Dalits' share would amount to nearly 50,000 distributors. The Government, political parties and intellectuals are aware that Dalits have a promising future in the private sector as suppliers, dealers and distributors. Yet, this reality is rarely communicated to Dalits themselves. Dalit movements remain largely unaware of these deeper dimensions, and Dalits seldom attempt to explore them. Employment

opportunities in the private sector follow a distinct logic and structure, which needs to be properly understood and addressed.

1. I believe in a religion that teaches liberty, equality and fraternity. 2. Life should be great rather than long. 3. A great person is different from an eminent person, because he is prepared to be a servant of society. 4. The cultivation of the mind should be the ultimate aim of human existence. 5. Ideas must be propagated; just as a plant requires water to survive, an idea too needs nurturing, otherwise both wither and perish. 6. We are, above all and finally, Indians. 7. In Hinduism, there is no scope for the development of reason, logic and independent thought. 8. I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress achieved by its women. 9. History shows that where there is a conflict between morality and economics, victory invariably goes to economics. Vested interests are never voluntarily relinquished unless compelled by sufficient force. 10. Anyone who accepts Mill's principle that one country is not fit to rule another country must also accept that one class is not fit to rule another class. 11. People and their religions should be judged by social standards based on social morality. If religion is regarded as an essential necessity for the welfare of people, then no other standard retains any meaning. 12. For a successful revolution, mere dissatisfaction is not enough. What is

required is a deep and faultless understanding of the importance, necessity and justice of political and social rights. 13. If we desire a united, integrated and modern India, then the sovereignty of the religious scriptures of all religions must come to an end. 14. If I find that the Constitution is being misused, I shall be the first to burn it. 15. So long as you do not achieve social liberty, whatever freedom the law grants you will be of no value to you. 16. Equality may be a fiction, but it must nonetheless be accepted as a governing principle. 17. Political tyranny is nothing compared to social tyranny, and a reformer who challenges society is far more courageous than a politician who challenges the government. 18. Believe in your strength rather than in your fate.

Ambedkar and Gandhi: Unlike Patel and Nehru, who worked together within the Congress for a prolonged period, Gandhi and Ambedkar were never part of the same political organisation. By the mid-1920s, when Ambedkar returned to India after completing his studies abroad, Gandhi had already assumed leadership of the freedom movement under the Congress. His influence had spread far and wide. He was revered as the Mahatma, and almost everyone appeared to be under his spell. However, as the late D. R. Nagaraj observed, Ambedkar was not prepared to play the role of Gandhi’s

Hanuman or Sugriva. He carved out his own political path, independent of, and indeed in opposition to, Gandhi and the Congress Party. During the 1930s and 1940s, Ambedkar offered sharp and sustained criticism of Gandhi. He believed that the Gandhian approach towards the upliftment of sanitation workers was paternalistic and condescending. Gandhi sought to remove the stigma of untouchability in order to purify Hinduism. Ambedkar, on the other hand, rejected Hindutva itself. He firmly believed that if Dalits were to attain the status of equal citizens, they would have to embrace a different faith. There is no doubt that Ambedkar and Gandhi remained political adversaries throughout their lives.

Despite the differences between Nehru and Patel, Gandhi persuaded them to include Ambedkar in the first Cabinet of independent India. Gandhi made it clear that Independence had not been won for the Congress, but for the nation. He argued that the first Cabinet must include the finest minds and talents, irrespective of party affiliation. It was in this context that Ambedkar was appointed as the Minister of Law and Justice.

The Civil Rights Act could not have taken the form of law had Lyndon Johnson not recognised the moral force of Martin Luther King and his movement. Although the two remained rivals throughout

their lives, a neutral reading of history shows that Gandhi and Ambedkar played complementary roles in weakening a humiliating social order. No Hindu belonging to the upper castes challenged untouchability as strongly as Gandhi did. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the greatest leader to emerge from among the Dalits was Ambedkar. Legally, untouchability has indeed been abolished, but even today, discrimination against Dalits continues in many parts of India. To eradicate this completely, we require the legacy of both Ambedkar and Gandhi.

Today, the entire world is passing through a dreadful situation. In every corner of the world, human beings are grappling with various hardships. The basic needs of human beings, namely employment, food, education and healthcare, are not being adequately met, even though the necessary resources are available. In order to overcome these difficulties, several thinkers over the past two to three hundred years have put forward their doctrines, such as capitalism, communism and democracy. A transformation of the age is taking place across the world. India will emerge as a global leader and become a world guide, because its cultural and spiritual wealth is unparalleled. Very soon, the establishment of Satyug is going to take place across the world. However, in the process leading to the advent

of Satyug, the entire world will have to pass through a dreadful phase marked by economic tsunami, political tsunami and natural tsunami. After this phase, a spiritual tsunami will arise across the world. Across the globe, societies and governments based on religion will be established, and power will rest in the hands of moral leaders. Health, education and industry will come under the control of society and government. The accumulation of wealth without the consent of society will be prohibited. The banking system, stock markets, capitalism and the entire economic structure will collapse. The recent public outrage against the capitalist system on Wall Street in the United States stands as a living example of this phenomenon. I have stated all these views on the basis of the study titled “Yug Parivartan Kab Aur Kaise”, published by Shri Ram Sharma Ji through Akhand Jyoti, Mathura, as well as on the basis of prophecies made by several Indian and foreign forecasters. Among foreign thinkers, the prophecies of Jean Dixon, Jules Verne, Prof. Harar, Peter Hurkos, Nostradamus, John Savage, Prof. Kiro and Anderson also refer to these developments. Hazrat Shah Niamatullah Wali Sahib was a fakir who, nearly eight hundred years ago, wrote that the Third World War would cause immense loss of life and wealth, and that the Muslim faith would suffer the greatest damage. According to Peter Hurkos,

India will rise in the form of a Greater India, from where a powerful wave of spirituality will emerge. Numerous prophecies are also inscribed in the pyramids of Egypt. The work titled Malika was composed in Bengal during the time of the renowned devotee Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. There is also an ancient saying from Punjab, popularly attributed to Guru Nanak, which states that when the twentieth Samvat arrives, neither Isa nor Musa will remain.

Communism has already been carried to its grave across the world, and the capitalist system is counting its final breaths. Based on the study of all the forecasters of the world, it appears that without the Prout theory propounded by Shri Shri Anandamurti Ji, true welfare is not possible. The first principle of this theory is that no individual should be permitted to accumulate material wealth of any kind without the explicit permission or consent of society. The second principle is that there should be maximum utilisation and judicious distribution of all physical, metaphysical and spiritual potentialities of the universe. The third principle states that all individual and collective physical, mental and spiritual potentialities of society should be utilised to the maximum extent. The fourth principle emphasises the need for proper coordination and balance among physical, mental, material, metaphysical and spiritual utilisation. The

fifth principle states that the mode of utilisation should change according to time, place and the capacity of the person concerned. Today, while India is being envisioned as a world leader and global guide, is it not necessary to pay attention to these facts? Without implementing these principles, how will we move forward and fulfil the dreams of our great leaders? Hon. Prime Minister, unless caste-based, communal, economic and social inequalities are eliminated, the construction of a spiritual and truly great India will not be possible. With these words, I conclude my remarks while paying my respects to Babasaheb.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*SHRI RAHUL SHEWALE (MUMBAI SOUTH CENTRAL): On 26 November, 1949, the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, under the Chairmanship of Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Ambedkar, accorded recognition to the written Constitution of India, and on 26 January, 1950, this sacred Constitution came into force. Without going into other aspects, I would like to place before the House an explanation of the remarkable work carried out by the Members of the Drafting Committee and its Chairperson, Babasaheb Ambedkar, in the framing of the Constitution. During his visit to Mumbai, while performing the bhoomi pujan for the memorial of the architect of the Constitution, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, at the site of Indu Mill, Hon. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi Ji announced that 26 November would be observed as 'Constitution Day'. Through the Constitution, Babasaheb eradicated the inhuman practices of the varna system and caste discrimination at their roots, and by ensuring equality between women and men, he provided equal rights and equal opportunities to all. In other words, by delivering social justice to all backward and Dalit sections of society, he established social equality across the country. With a sense of gratitude towards him, Hon. Prime Minister

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§* Speech was laid on the Table.

Ji decided that 26 November should be celebrated as Constitution Day throughout the nation.

After Independence, the most important law that provided direction to the governance of the country was the Constitution. With the objective that the functioning of the Union and the States should operate within the framework of law, the Constitution was framed as the supreme law to lay down guidance regarding the powers and functioning of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, as well as the powers and duties of the President, Vice-President, Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers, Governors, Chief Ministers and their Councils of Ministers, along with the guarantee and protection of the fundamental rights of citizens. The Chairperson of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, and its Members, namely Shri Kanhaiyalal Munshi, Shri Mohammad Sadullah, Shri Krishnaswami Ayyar, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Shri B.A. Mittal and Shri D.P. Khetan, undertook visits to various countries and carried out an in-depth study of their Constitutions. Simultaneously, they travelled extensively within the country and gathered information relating to the languages, geographical conditions and cultures of the States. This work commenced on 29 August, 1947 and continued for the next two years, eleven months and

eighteen days. The Constitution comprises 413 Sections and 12 Schedules. Ultimately, on 26 November, 1949, the Constituent Assembly accorded recognition to the Constitution, and it was brought into force from 26 January, 1950. Through this newly framed Constitution, all citizens were granted the right to vote along with other fundamental rights, and thereby parliamentary democracy was established in India. With effect from 26 January, 1950, our country became a 'Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic', and from that very day, the implementation of the Constitution commenced in our country. In order to clear the developmental backlog of Dalits, erstwhile untouchables and other neglected sections, who remained far removed from progress both before and after Independence, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made constitutional provisions for reservation in Government services for such disadvantaged and vulnerable sections. In addition, he introduced substantive measures for their intellectual advancement by providing various educational facilities and scholarships for the children of these deprived sections. He also incorporated several constitutional provisions aimed at the empowerment of women. To ensure that the diverse castes and tribes of the country receive representation in the Lok Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies and local self-governing

institutions in proportion to their population, he provided for reserved seats through constitutional provisions. This enabled such representatives to raise the urgent issues concerning their respective castes and tribes in the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies. Babasaheb firmly believed that the participation of women in the overall development process of the nation was indispensable, and this conviction formed the basis of his policy. Thus, by granting constitutional rights to Dalits and backward classes who had endured centuries of subjugation, Babasaheb integrated them into the national mainstream and established social equality in the country. We bow our heads in reverence and respectfully salute this great achievement of the architect of the Constitution. Indeed, in the task of nation-building, Babasaheb accorded equal importance in the Constitution to social democracy alongside political democracy. To preserve the unity, integrity and sovereignty of the nation, Babasaheb rendered invaluable service as a guiding force. For the holistic development of citizens, he guaranteed the protection of their interests by enshrining in the Constitution the rights to individual liberty, equality, property, culture and education, freedom of thought and expression, and the right to seek justice. At the same time, he reminded citizens of the duties prescribed in the Constitution towards the nation. He also

endeavoured to instil among citizens a sense of commitment towards safeguarding national unity and integrity, and towards upholding the sanctity and honour of the Constitution, the National Flag and the National Anthem.

India is a nation enriched with diversity in terms of religion, language, region, faith and culture. Through the Constitution, Babasaheb appealed to the people of this country to preserve unity within this diversity. He also laid down guiding principles for those entrusted with the responsibility of governance. The Constitution provides a meaningful guiding framework on how 'constitutional unity' can be sustained within a democratic system of governance. Sarva Dharma Sambhava forms the core objective of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution teaches that all citizens must respect not only their own religion but also the religions of others. In other words, the Constitution guarantees religious freedom to all. It is for this reason that India has earned global recognition as a secular nation. The protection and promotion of this character is the duty of every citizen. The architect of the Indian Constitution, Bharat Ratna Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, brought about a social revolution through this Constitution. With this sense of gratitude, and while offering respectful salutations for the invaluable contributions made by

Babasaheb, we should all observe this 26 November as ‘Constitution Day’. This would be the true fruition of the great contribution of the architect of the Constitution and would constitute our sincere tribute to him.

Jai Bhim – Jai Samvidhan – Jai Bharat.

[English]

**********SHRI ANURAG SINGH THAKUR (HAMIRPUR):** I fully support the views expressed by Hon. Shri Venkaiah Naidu ji and Shri Rajnath Singh ji. Many senior parliamentarians have expressed their views and also their experiences here on the floor of the House. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar throughout his life was the messiah of down-trodden and poor people. Without Dr. Ambedkar and other leaders, the Constitution would not have seen the light of the day. More than hundred amendments have already been passed and adopted.

The founding fathers have forethought everything for the benefit of the huge masses of our country. India's Constitution has been based on experiences and struggles faced before partition and after partition. Constitution makers have thought about three things namely the Executive, Judiciary and Legislative. Even now 125 crore people are governed under the Constitution.

Unlike, the United Kingdom, India has the written Constitution framed and formulated by various leaders, one among them was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

With these words, I fully support the discussion on Commitment to India's Constitution as part of 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. I am extremely thankful to the Hon. Speaker for allowing this discussion to take place inside the Lok Sabha for the first time.

††††††††††††††††††††††††††**SHRIMATI RAKSHATAI KHADSE (RAVER):** I express my views on commitments to India's Constitution as a part of 125th Birth Anniversary Celebration of respected Doctor Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Our country has adopted the Constitution of Independent India on 26th November, 1949. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government for celebrating this day as 'Constitutional Day' every year.

The Constitution has facilitated land reforms, promoted well being of all working class thus advocating social control of all important natural resources and means of production for the well-being of all sections of society.

When we talk about overall development of social control some people misuses it for the sake of our interest. The Constitution has awarded us the tools for upliftment of the social and well being of the last man who are surviving. One such kind of tool is prevention and atrocities designed for SC & ST class of society for preventing atrocities, offences committed against them for their social inclusion in the society. There are certain elements in society which are

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harassing the others. The Act should be so amended that this tool used only in justified cases and for the purpose it has designed for.

The other aspect to discuss about the reservations in every field like education, recruitment and service and promotions. This aspect no doubt is essential but for those who are really in need to be considered. It should not be concentrated for any specific caste or religion but should be based on the social necessity of the claimant. If we can win over to these substantial facts, then we really attribute to equality which substantiates democracy and justice. And then we and every one, as a human being, will lead a dignified life as our Constitution assures equality of status and opportunity to every citizen.

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI JHINA HIKAKA (KORAPUT):__ The preface of the Constitution that is the Preamble has been prepared as per the goals and aspiration of our society. Those aspirations and goals are the reflection of the problems faced by our people during the freedom struggle and solution thereto in order to promote principles of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Our Constitution draws power from people of India and also initiates to provide security to all its citizen justice that is social, economic and political. I would like to emphasise upon these principles which are secured by various fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. Hence, the preamble of our Constitution reads as 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. It's a matter of fact that the words 'Socialist', 'Secular' and 'Integrity' were initially not there in the Preamble. These were added by the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution. In 1976, the Preamble was amended to include the word 'Socialism' which is now regarded as a prime feature of the State as it stands for ending all forms of exploitation as well as for securing equitable distribution of income, resources and wealth among the people of our country. But in recent days we are

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gradually stepping ahead to adopt the capitalist trend of economy to increase our GDP thereby making a huge gap between the rich and the poor. The rich is becoming richer and the poor is becoming poorer. In a country like ours where almost 30 percentage of people are still under the poverty line, it is necessary to think as to how the principle of socialism could be maintained in peaceful, constitutional and democratic manner. The countries having inequalities cannot achieve the overall development and the same may be a hindrance in smooth functioning of Government machineries.

The term 'Secular' was also incorporated in the Preamble by the 42nd Amendment. As a democratic state India does not give special status to any religion and guarantees equal freedom to all religions. The people of different faiths in this country live together and share culture with each other. But now a day certain Hinduttwa forces are trying to dismantle the secular blend of the country by applying violent and undemocratic methods on minority and backward communities of the country. So many violent incidents relating to religion have happened over a period of last one and half year. We have a country having so much of diversities since long. There is a sense of fraternity among all the people of this land since time immemorial which is a sign of matured civilization. We are living in

21st century. So, we should act in such a way to maintain the recognition of our country as a peace loving and tolerant society in the world. We might have ideological differences but the same should not be resulted in riots leading to death of people and damage of property. At the end loss is ours. Humanity is the best religion in this world. We should be concerned for fellow humans at every step of our life. No nation in this world has been civilized through the path of war and destruction. Hence, we should have cooperation and coordination in order to facilitate the democratic process of living. The most important thing is that the Government should act under the provisions of Constitution which is the supreme will of the people of all the faiths. I would like to further state that we should go for the mechanism by which there will be no discrimination against any citizen on grounds of caste, creed, colour, religion, sex or place of birth. India stands in letters and spirit for elimination of all forms of exploitations from the society. Our Constitution provides for a liberal democracy in which all the people have the right to lead their life with freedom. A sense of fraternity among the people should be inculcated by which a sphere of spiritual and psychological unity among the people could be established. In this way we could tribute appropriately to the contribution made by Dr. Ambedkar.

[Translation**]**

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§*__SHRI JAGDAMBIKA PAL (DOMARIYAGANJ):__ I am grateful for the opportunity given to me to place my views during the discussion being held on the occasion of Constitution Day to mark the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. Thank you.

On 26 November, 1949, the people of India adopted their Constitution. The Constitution of India is a written Constitution and stands as the foundational document of the world's largest democracy. The drafting of this Constitution took two years, eleven months and eighteen days. The Constituent Assembly comprised 389 Members, including 12 women Members. In the process of framing this Constitution, valuable features from the Constitutions of several countries across the world were incorporated. Parliamentary traditions were drawn from the British Constitution. From Ireland, the Directive Principles of State Policy were adopted, and from the United States of America, the independence of the judiciary, a written Constitution, Fundamental Rights and the Preamble to the Constitution were incorporated. The provision relating to the removal of the jurisdiction

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of the Privy Council and the reorganisation of States was also accepted. While parliamentary democracy was adopted from the British Constitution, the office of the Prime Minister and the strengthening of the Lok Sabha were also consciously embraced. From the Soviet Union, the Five-Year Plans and Fundamental Duties were adopted. From the Constitution of Germany, the provision relating to the suspension of Fundamental Rights was accepted. Thus, for the first time since Independence, on Constitution Day in the Lok Sabha, we are not merely participating in a discussion, but are also reaffirming our commitment to the Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution is the soul of the nation. The various institutions of the country derive their authority from the Constitution. The aspirations and thinking of the people of the country are reflected in it, and the fundamental objectives of the Constitution are enshrined in its Preamble. Through the Constitution, the people of India were bestowed with a parliamentary system, federalism, Fundamental Rights, the rule of law, equality before law and the Directive Principles of State Policy. It also ensured that elections to the State Legislative Assemblies and the Lok Sabha of the Union are held every five years within the federal framework of the country. The right to choose a Government to run the system of the country was vested in

the hands of the great people of India. As a result, elections to the Lok Sabha have been held eight times, and Governments have changed eight times. The greatest success of our democracy can be measured by the fact that the transfer of power has taken place peacefully on the basis of the majority elected by the people. The credit for this goes to the makers of the Indian Constitution, in which Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar played a pivotal role. Under Article 19 of the Constitution of India, Fundamental Rights have been conferred upon every citizen of the country, the foremost among them being the freedom of expression. It is for this reason that, despite its diversity, unity has been preserved in India. In this, the Constitution has played a vital role in binding the nation together as a single entity. Among democratic countries of the world, the Constitution of India is unique. The institutions created by the Constitution continue even today to play an important role in safeguarding the rights of the nation for the people and in ensuring that these rights remain inviolate.

In the framing of the Constitution of India, Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Shri K.M. Munshi, Shri Ayyar, Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Shri B.L. Mittal, Shri Mohammad Sadullah (Muslim League) and Shri D.P. Khetan (Congress) made provisions through the Constitution to ensure equality and equal opportunity for

all citizens of the country. As a result of this very Constitution, today the Prime Minister of this country is Shri Narendra Modi Ji. A person who, in his childhood, sold tea, today holds the office of Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy. This is a gift of the Constitution. The Constitution granted independence to the judiciary, thereby ensuring that the common citizen of the country can ultimately receive justice. To ensure fairness in the electoral process, an independent Election Commission was established. This institution is widely appreciated across the world today, and the fairness and transparency of elections in India have highlighted their significance globally. The foundational philosophy of our Constitution is based on the concept of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam". As the architect of the Constitution, Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, and as the Chairperson of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Ji, rendered invaluable contributions to the nation. Today, while discussing the Constitution of India on the occasion of Constitution Day, we are presented with an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the Constitution. Such discussions also provide us with an occasion to revisit history. At that time, a crucial question stood before the nation: whether India would remain united after Independence, given its immense diversity. Despite the presence of

hundreds of languages, castes, religions and dialects, India continues to remain united and integrated. Our reputation as a strong democracy has been firmly established across the world. At the time of Independence, there were 565 princely States, each with its own administration. Today, it is due to the Constitution of India that the entire nation, including all 565 princely States, stands united as one. Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar also worked towards strengthening the country economically. Through the federal framework and the Finance Commission, he strengthened the States by providing them with financial powers.

It is owing to this constitutional framework that the present Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi Ji, through the Fourteenth Finance Commission, enhanced the share of the States in the federal structure from 32 percent to 42 percent, thereby substantially strengthening their financial autonomy. Through the Constitution, arrangements were made to completely abolish the practice of untouchability that prevailed at the time, under which even sanitation workers were treated as untouchables. Today, they stand integrated into the national mainstream with equal status, because the Constitution of India provided for the eradication of inequality. The Constitution laid a strong foundation of sovereignty, democracy and republicanism, as a

result of which the people of the country were guaranteed liberty, equality and fraternity as enforceable rights. Accordingly, provisions for reservation were incorporated in the Constitution for socially and economically backward sections. Upon being granted constitutional rights, the deprived sections of society were empowered and given the opportunity to participate in the national mainstream. It is through this process that we have progressed towards the creation of an ideal society. The Constitution of India established three vital pillars for good governance, the protection of citizens' rights and the delivery of justice. These are the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. Even today, despite the complete independence of the Legislature and the Judiciary as envisaged in the Constitution, no situation of institutional confrontation has arisen. Under Articles 19, 20, 21, 23 and 24 of the Constitution of India, Fundamental Rights have been conferred upon the people. If we aspire to make India a world leader and take the nation to the summit of progress, such an India can be realised only through adherence to the Constitution of India. I am confident that, by discussing the Constitution in this august House on the occasion of Constitution Day, we are once again being afforded an opportunity to reaffirm our unwavering commitment to the Constitution.

**********SHRI VISHNU DAYAL RAM (PALAMU):** It is a matter of great pleasure that the country is celebrating it's first Constitution Day. This government has started celebrating 26th November every year as Constitution Day. This is a commendable step by the government. We are all discussing today the commitment to the Constitution of India. A two-day special session of Parliament is being held on the occasion. Discussion on the Constitution is necessary in society, it will increase people's awareness towards the Constitution. On November 26, 1949, we Indians pledged to adopt, modernize and introspect the Constitution of independent India. Our Constitution is the supreme law of our country and a vibrant document of this country, on the basis of which the system of governance of our country works.

Our Constitution defines the structure, functioning, powers and responsibilities of Government institutions, and sets out the Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles of State Policy and the duties of the citizens of the country. Through the Constitution, the citizens of this country receive guidance to strive towards achieving the objectives of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

********** Speech was laid on the Table.

Our Constitution is liberal, democratic, egalitarian, secular and federal in character. It also underscores the commitment of the people of India to define, ensure and achieve various national objectives through peaceful and democratic means. The architect of the Indian Constitution, Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar Ji, whose 125th birth anniversary is being commemorated this year, clearly articulated the core expectations while emphasising the various commitments embodied in the Constitution. Our Constitution is, in fact, the sacred text of contemporary India, reflecting the aspirations and values of the people, and clarifying that the people of India are the supreme authority in all matters relating to present and future development and welfare.

Our Constitution not only enshrines Fundamental Rights, which form the foundation of the system of governance of our country, but also incorporates certain core values, philosophies and objectives that were deeply cherished by the makers of the Constitution. These foundational values and philosophies upon which our Constitution rests are enshrined in its Preamble.

Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar Ji was the main architect of the Constitution of India. He is known among the people of India as a distinguished leader, nationalist jurist, philosopher, thinker, historian,

orator, eminent author, economist, scholar and social reformer. Recognising Babasaheb's eminence as a national leader, constitutional expert and Member of Parliament, he was appointed to the Constituent Assembly and was later entrusted with the position of Chairperson of the Drafting Committee.

[English]

††††††††††††††††††††††††††††*SHRI K. C. VENUGOPAL (ALAPPUZHA): Indian Constitution is the largest written Constitution based on secular democratic system and its powers are equally divided between Centre as well as States. Citizens of India have equal rights of freedom and equality. The special stress has been given on the rights of equality, security, freedom and social justice for deprived classes.

The birth of Constitution has to be seen in relation with the emergence of modern democratic India. It is the product of the greatest democratic movements in the modern world. In the freedom struggle, Indian National Congress was the common platform which united divergent racial, linguistic and geographical identities for common cause that is freedom of our country.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee was the byproduct of our freedom struggle. It was Ambedkar's vision of inclusive development that helped to include many progressive provisions of our Constitution including reservation.

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Ambedkar declared that we must note that our political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life.

Yesterday our Hon. Home Minister Shri Rajnath Singh told that Dr. Ambedkar didn't find it necessary to insert 'Socialist' and 'Secular' words in Preamble because he felt it's already in our basic nature. That is true. It is true the original draft of the Constitution never includes the term secularism. But the principle of secularism was inherent in the Constitution, as written by the Constituent Assembly. The values stated in the Preamble, that the State is committed to, of Justice, Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, are the bed rock of secularism. You were saying that the inclusion of the word secularism happened in a wrong context. I must ask you why you people so much afraid of the term "secularism". The inclusion of the word only reaffirmed our faith in the values of Constitution. It didn't challenge any principle values of the Constitution. I must remind you that during last Republic Day, newspapers in the country had published government ads showing the Constitution's preamble with the words "Secular" and "Socialist" missing. Then some political groups (shivasena) demanded

permanent deletion of the words "Secularism" and "Socialism" from the Constitution. Who is afraid of the term "Secularism”?

Yes we should of course debate about secularism not to delete it but to uphold the values of secularism. I must remind you that we had two options in front of us during the independence either to be a "Hindu Rashtra" as envisaged by Right wing organisations in line of Pakistan or a "Secular India" giving equal space to all religions and sects without differing among them.

What were the views expressed by those who support the notion of "hindu Rashtra"? I must quote Golwalker here regarding the notion of Hindu Rashtra he says, "In terms of the Nation, they mean non hindus "can have no place in the national life, unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture and language of the Nation and so completely merge themselves in the National Race. So long, however, as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation. "How can one propagate tolerance and secularism believing this ideology? The insertion of the word secularism to the preamble of Constitution rightly reemphasized our commitment to secularism and various other values inherited in the Constitution. Supreme Court has clearly affirmed this view point. In

the proceedings of S. R. Bommai Vs Union of India Case, 1994 the hon. Court observed that "secularism is a basic feature of our Constitution. By the 42nd amendment what was implicit was made explicit. "

You know one of the astonishing things is that there is a deliberate attempt to erase the history of India's path to a democratic, secular country. We are told that congress did nothing in the last sixty years. Congress rejected the values of Constitution. I must remind you the first pillars of "inclusive development" were laid by the congress. That was the vision of our first Prime Minister. In the Constituent Assembly Debates, Nehru states the vision of our Constitution that “the first task of this assembly is to free India through a new Constitution, to feed the starving people, and to clothe the naked masses, and to give every Indian the fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity. If we cannot solve this problem soon, all our paper constitutions will become useless and purposeless". It was the vision of Ambedkar.

It was not a bogus declaration. The glorious and developed India, what we see today is the byproduct of his vision. His vision made our Prime Minister to speak proudly about our nation in foreign countries.

I must tell you one thing regarding the inclusive development. Our hon. Home Minister attempted to link many of the current government's policies, like Swach Bharat Abhiyan, Jan Dhan Yojana to the vision of Ambedkar and successful implementation of Constitutional policies. The real commitment of constitutional values is not lying in making bogus declarations. Now, lot of people opened their bank account under Jan Dhan Yojana but they didn't get 15 lacs rupees from seized black money as promised. The lives of rag pickers and sweepers still remains the same despite having countless photos shoots for Swach Bharat Abhiyan. I would remind you some real commitment made by UPA Governments during the last two successive terms. Many of the revolutionary acts like Right to Education Act, National Food Security Act passed in 2013, MNREGA. Is there any better example for inclusive development than MNREGA? They were unique contribution to the inclusive development as envisaged by the Constitution. Congress party whenever came to power be it in centre or state, has followed the directive principles of state policy as envisaged by the Constitution.

On remembering Baba Saheb Ambedkar we were informed with the works done by the present Government for inclusive development. Ambedkar always told that political freedom without social equality

and development is meaningless. But you see we are passing through a period of severe fund cut in almost all social service sectors. Central shares in many flagship programs were drastically reduced. Central share in SSA, RUSA, NHA were cut down. The schemes like SSA, RUSA are the main authority for implementation of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act. Undoubtedly the enforcement of the Act will also take a hit at the fundamental rights. Recently the world's most revered medical journal- "The Lancet" has criticized Prime Minister Narendra Modi for ignoring India's health sector and has warned that India is on the verge of a collapse under the weight of its own ill health. Share for health sector in GDP is lowest compared to many of our neighboring countries.

It is the right time to retrospect the contribution of Dr. Ambedkar in drafting our Constitution. This is the time many of the ethos upheld by our Constitution is challenged including secularism. The values stated in the Preamble, that the State is committed to, Justice, Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, which are the bed rock of secularism. It does not discriminate anybody on the basis of religion. The notion of respecting all beliefs and sects is indispensible part of our civilisation. Swami Vivekananda in his historic speech at Chicago in 1893 emphasized this fact. He started his speech by saying that "I am proud

to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance".

‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡*__SHRI E. AHAMED (MALAPPURAM):__ It is righteous moment to discuss about the rights and privileges of the people of this country as enshrined in the Constitution which is guiding torch in governance.

We are all proud of our Constitution which is the best Constitution in the world.

When we talk about the Constitution of India, the first and foremost name is that Dr. Ambedkar who played the role of an architect in its formation.

We know that his commendable contribution in preparing such a Constitution cannot be forgotten at any circumstances. If we look at his life history through various angles such as Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, as an illustrious leader, a nationalist, juristic, philospher, thinker, orator, prolific writer, economist, scholar, administrator, social reformer and what all not, there are many many things to say.

Dr. Ambedkar had a lot of bitter experience from his childhood onwards and perhaps that might have moulded his character.

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‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡* Speech was laid on the Table.

He fought against all injustice and stood for social justice. That is why the marginalized, neglected and downtrodden classes in our country treat him as saviour of these sections. His boldness, vision and determination were commendable. It can be written only with Golden letters in the history of India.

India, our motherland is a socialist, secular and democratic republic and it ensures social justice to all. If we look into the wide meaning and scope of liberty, equality, fraternity, it consists everything such as freedom of expression, belief, faith, worship, status, opportunity, dignity of individual, unity and integrity.

Unity in diversity is the philosophy of our Constitution. But we must loudly think whether we are doing justice to the soul of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar. I am sorry to say that the incidences taking place in our country in the recent months are the matters of profound regret and alarming. Ours is a plural society and our country is having the greatest tradition of tolerance, co-existence and non-violence etc. Unfortunately, this great tradition and noble goals are ruthlessly attacked in Indian streets.

Nobody can have a dispute that the liberty is never real unless the Government can call to account.

Kindly excuse me for stating that the role of this Government is that of a silent spectator. I do not hesitate to tell that even the memories on Mahatmaji and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru who were the forces behind building a secular democratic foundation to our country are tarnished in this country. There is a concentrated effort to replace the political icons in place of our national leaders like Mahatmaji and Nehruji.

Mahatmaji was treated as not only father of our Nation, but also as the protector of democracy, secularism, equality and social justice throughout the world. In London we see the statue of Mahatma Gandhiji just in front of British Parliament in a most centre place at West Minister. So, Mahatmaji who led the freedom struggle is regarded not only in a particular place but also in every nook and corner of the world.

Panditji and Gandhiji are no more with us. But their memories remain in the hearts of all Indians. Glimpses of the world history and India's glorious tradition as narrated by Nehruji in the form of letters to his beloved daughter Smt. Indira Gandhi from jail are still deep rooted in our hearts even after several decades of their demise.

Gandhiji once stated that forces of violence according to him is nothing but madness. Such things will not sustain. Ultimately forces of violence will bow down before the non-violence.

Coming to the development taking place in our country now, we are all worried. What is happening in our country every day? Where are we moving to? Are we really upholding the tenets of the Constitution? The recent developments are quite worrying and alarming in a way. Atrocities against dalits and minorities are increasing day by day.

When we are celebrating 125th birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar, his soul may be weeping on this negative situation.

Eminent writers, philosophers, cultural icons have returned their testimonials and awards in protest of the wrong doings in our country.

India had a towering place before the international community. Even the international media is now publishing lengthy stories on the worsening intolerance in India. As a humble and responsible citizen of India, is it not our responsibility to save this country from this kind of a bad situation?

Kindly excuse me in saying that certain statements from the leaders of the ruling party is like adding fuel to fire. How sorrowful is

that almost all the institutions of our country which is bound to nourish the composite culture is now communalized with an ill-motivated political agenda.

There are many issues to be sorted out by us as one body and one soul. But our precious time is wasting for discussing the matters like beef controversy. May I ask you? What is the meaning in deciding the food habit of a family by somebody else other than the family Members? External forces are now dictating on us that music we should hear, what kind of book we must read, whose film we must watch and which country should be allowed to participate in sports in our country, and what type of dressing we must have, it is funny.

Education is the key sector in building the secular India. It is our duty to shape the destiny of our country through the whole-hearted cooperation of all of us, I mean the entire country. Let us dedicate ourselves in protecting secular democratic principles of our nation. Let us pledge ourselves that we will translate all the great ideas of our forefathers and founders - Gandhiji, Panditji and Dr. Ambedkar -into action.

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (KOLKATA UTTAR): Madam, please give two minutes to Prof. Sugata Bose.

HON. SPEAKER: As a historian, he cannot finish in two minutes. He will be given chance some other time. Now, he is on his legs.

...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: You will be given an opportunity next time. I am sorry.

… (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY: You will land yourself in serious difficulty. ...*(Interruptions)* You must remember this. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Sudip Ji, please do not do this.

…(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Will you behave like this with the Hon. Prime Minister? ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: There are many Members, and many Members have to speak. Time was allotted to your party as well. Please, take your seat.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Mr. Sudip Bandyopadhyay, two Members from your Party have spoken. How can you say your Party is neglected? [Translation] You have spoken, Kalyan Babu has spoken. Time has been given to you. This does not look proper. *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY: It is very unfortunate. It is disgraceful. You are the Leader of the House. … (*Interruptions*)

HON. SPEAKER: I am sorry. Nothing will go on record like this.

… (*Interruptions*)*...**

* Not recorded

[Translation**]**

PRIME MINISTER (SHRI NARENDRA MODI): Madam Speaker, you have initiated this important discussion. With excellent thoughts, you have presented before the entire nation the significance of the Constitution, its relevance, and the long-term vision of the great national leaders behind its framing in a most effective manner. I have complete confidence that your speech will become an important and inspiring document in parliamentary history. I congratulate you wholeheartedly.

The interest shown by the House in this programme, the unanimous support extended by all Members, and the manner in which each one, in his or her own way, expressed the greatness of the Constitution and commitment towards it through discussion, deserve my sincere appreciation. I thank and congratulate all the Hon. Members of the House from the bottom of my heart. I do not believe, although some people may have this misconception, perhaps due to old habits, that the Prime Minister is expected to reply at the end of such a discussion. I do not consider this discussion to be of that nature. I am also a Member like all other Members here. Just as every Hon. Member has expressed his or her sentiments, I too have risen to offer my floral tribute, because that is the spirit of this discussion. The spirit

of this discussion is not about ‘I’ or ‘you’. The spirit of this discussion is ‘we’, the entire House, all the representatives of the people of the country. Ultimately, that was also the core objective of this discussion. It is true that we celebrate our Republic Day on 26 January, but an equally important date in history is 26 November. It is equally necessary to highlight this date. Highlighting 26 November is not an attempt to diminish the importance of 26 January. The strength of 26 January is embedded in 26 November, and it is necessary to bring this fact to light.

I do not know the details of school syllabi today. Every State has its own syllabus. However, when we were young, civics was taught, and it included some introduction to our Constitution. Over time, this almost faded away, and eventually, the study and engagement with the Constitution became largely confined to those who entered the legal profession or politics. In a country like India, which is filled with diversity, the power to bind us all together lies in the Constitution. The power to enable our collective progress also lies in the Constitution. Therefore, it is the need of the hour that we make continuous efforts to familiarise every citizen with the sanctity of the Constitution, its strength, and the principles enshrined in it. We must undertake this process with a sense of reverence and with complete dedication.

Through 26 November, Constitution Day, this reflects the thinking of the Government, and it will gradually improve and evolve, because this is only a beginning. Nothing is ever ultimate; there is always continuous development. We are not suggesting that this arrangement should necessarily be taken forward in the same manner every year, because this occasion was a special one. As the nation is celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar, this programme was designed in conjunction with Parliament. However, in the future, it should not remain confined to the Lok Sabha alone. It must be taken to public forums as well. There should be seminars, debates and competitions on a wide scale, so that people of every generation think about, understand and discuss the Constitution. Continuous deliberation on this subject should go on, and therefore, a modest beginning is being made today.

The positive sentiments expressed by all Members in the House indicate the significance of this initiative, and it should be expanded further in the future. We will certainly make efforts in this direction. At times, the thought occurs to me as to why we should not organise continuous online competitions across the country on the Constitution of India, with questions and essay competitions, so that a habit is developed nationwide and our schools and colleges remain actively

involved. Such arrangements should also exist within schools. Several programmes can be conceptualised in the future so that a sustained and widespread discussion on our Constitution continues. I had said something from the Red Fort once, and I have also stated it in this House earlier. However, it is often the nature of people to understand certain things and then forget them, or sometimes to simply let them be forgotten. I do not recall whether any Prime Minister before me had spoken in this manner from the Red Fort. If anyone has done so, I would bow in respect to them. I had said that all Governments that have been formed in this country, and all Prime Ministers who have served, have contributed to the progress of the nation. I said this from the Red Fort, I reiterated it in this House, and I say it again today that this country has progressed through the penance and efforts of many people, and through the contributions of all Governments. Yes, there are complaints that the progress achieved has been far less than expectations, and in a democracy, everyone has the right to raise complaints. However, no one can say that previous Governments did nothing. No one can make such a claim. I am not saying this for the first time today; I had said it earlier from the Red Fort as well, and this is my conviction. We must also not forget that kings, rulers and those in power did not build this nation. This nation has been built by crores

of people, by every citizen. It has been built by labourers, by farmers, by the poor through their sweat, by teachers and by scholars. The people of this country, over centuries, have continuously played their respective roles in building the nation. Therefore, it is the responsibility of all of us to acknowledge our debt to them and to pay our respectful tributes.

Within the framing of the Constitution as well, everyone had a role to play. Those under whose leadership the country was governed at that time made a significant contribution. Therefore, the excellent Constitution that we have received cannot be praised enough. The pride we take in it can never be sufficient. If I were to describe our Constitution in simple terms, it gives concrete shape to two fundamental principles: dignity for the people of India and unity for India. It upholds the dignity of the common citizen and the unity and integrity of the nation. The role of Babasaheb Ambedkar in this can never be denied. This does not mean that when we speak of Babasaheb Ambedkar, the contributions of others cease to exist. If we take one name, another remains unmentioned; if we take the second, the third remains. Everyone may feel that their contribution too mattered. There are also individuals who reached such great heights in their lives that whether their names are taken or not, their stature can never

be diminished, nor can their legacy be erased. We must have such confidence, and therefore it is necessary to re-establish this sense of trust, because this nation has been shaped by many great personalities, each with their own significance. This is a reality that we must accept. I would also like to state that the idea of organising a programme centred on the Constitution is not being conceived for the first time today.

I was a Chief Minister of a State, and in the year 2009, when the Constitution completed sixty years, we, on behalf of the State Government, made elaborate arrangements by placing the Constitution in a decorated form atop an elephant. A procession was taken out, and in order to educate the people about the significance of the Constitution, the Chief Minister himself walked on foot ahead of the elephant. In this manner, we celebrated 60 years of the Constitution on the soil of Gujarat, as I was the Chief Minister there at that time. This reflects our acceptance of the values of the Constitution. Today, if we reflect in this House, we have so many Members who have come here as elected representatives. If we were assigned a task to merely select the drawings and paintings contained in the original copy of the Constitution, without even considering its Articles, I do not believe that, given the intensity of present-day

partisan loyalties, we would be able to arrive at a consensus even on those illustrations. Objections would be raised against every image, objections would be raised even against the colours used. This is the state of mind we have reached today. At such times, one realises how monumental the task undertaken by those great leaders must have been, that they were able to frame the Constitution within a span of three years. Drafting a Constitution may not be very difficult for many countries, but framing a Constitution for a country like India is an extraordinary task. A country where twelve living religions of the world are practised with reverence, where 122 languages originating from different roots are spoken, where there are more than 1,600 dialects, each with its own priorities, where there are people who believe in God and also those who deny the existence of God, where there are those who worship nature and those who perceive the divine even in stone, this country is filled with immense diversity. What would be the aspirations of such a people? What would be their expectations? To sit together and thoughtfully frame a Constitution for such a nation is an immense challenge. Even today, when we enact a single law, we often have to correct it in the very next Session because a word was omitted or incorrectly used, and we are compelled to bring an amendment. This is our experience in this House. The

reality is that even we are unable to frame perfect laws. There are shortcomings, and we have to return in another Session to state that a word was incorrect and needs to be rectified.

One can only imagine the immense penance undertaken by the makers of the Constitution. What must have been their state of mind that the principles which emerged from their deliberations continue to guide us even today. Therefore, it is essential that this celebration of pride is carried forward to future generations, that they are familiarised with it, and encouraged to understand these ideals. This is necessary for strengthening the democracy of our country. If the Constitution remains confined only within this House, or is viewed merely as a document for running the Government, then I believe that our effort to nurture and strengthen the roots of democracy would remain incomplete. Therefore, in order to strengthen Indian democracy, it is our responsibility to take the spirit of the Constitution and its inherent strength to every citizen. I firmly believe that while doing so, we must acknowledge and mention the contributions of all the great personalities who played a role in this endeavour.

When our Constitution was being framed, the Provisional Chairperson of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha Ji, made a significant observation which I would like to recall. In his

inaugural address, he referred to the Constitution of the United States of America and quoted the words of Joseph Story.

Joseph Story had stated:

"The Constitution has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may justly aspire to such a title."

The Constitution was created to endure. A human being cannot make anything immortal, yet the Constitution can be immortal. This was said, and although it may seem beyond human capacity, it was indeed achieved. When we look at the unique stature of Babasaheb Ambedkar, it becomes a living example of what a visionary and a great personality truly is. If someone wishes to criticise the Government, a quotation from Babasaheb proves relevant. If someone seeks to defend themselves, a quotation from Babasaheb becomes useful. Even if someone wishes to express a neutral position, a quotation from Babasaheb serves that purpose as well. This demonstrates the depth of his foresight, the breadth of his vision, and the vast canvas upon which he articulated his thoughts. Even today, his ideas guide those who oppose, those who govern, and even those who observe impartially and seek to assess issues objectively. This, in itself, is remarkable. Ideas are many, but most ideas serve only one

camp, not all. Many ideas are relevant only to a particular period, not to all times. Babasaheb's distinctive quality was that his ideas remain beneficial for every era, every generation and every section of society. This means that his thoughts possessed strength, carried the essence of deep penance, and were dedicated to the nation. Only one who has the capacity to envision what the country could be like even a hundred years into the future can articulate such ideas. Therefore, it is only natural that one feels an instinctive urge to bow in reverence to such a great personality.

When I reflect upon the Constitution, at times it appears to us as a document containing Articles which indicate what we must do and what we must not do, outlining how the Government is to be run, how rules are to be framed, how Parliament is to function, and what procedures are to be followed. However, what Granville Austin stated while describing the Constitution of India, in my view, is extremely insightful. He said that it is a social document, whereas ordinarily a Constitution is merely a legal document. Had Babasaheb Ambedkar not been involved in the framing of the Constitution, and I say this with due respect, without intending any criticism of anyone, our Constitution might have been an excellent document for administering the country and running the Government, but it would

perhaps have fallen short of becoming a social document. It became a social document because the pain of Babasaheb Ambedkar, the suffering he endured, and the torment he experienced found expression through words within it. Only then could the Constitution be framed in this manner, and it was for this reason that a foreign scholar described it as a social document rather than merely a legal document. At times, I feel that we all know this, we are all human beings, and we all have our shortcomings. If even a single wrong is done to us, it lingers in our minds for a long time. If someone utters even one hurtful word, it continues to prick us. When we encounter that person again, we may not see the person, but we remember the word spoken. This is human nature. One can imagine the life of the son of a Dalit mother, who from birth to the end of his life endured only suffering, humiliation and neglect, bearing torment at every step. When such a person was entrusted with the responsibility of drafting the document that would shape the future of the nation, had he been an ordinary human being like us, there would have been every possibility that bitterness, poison or a sense of vengeance might have surfaced somewhere, that feelings of retaliation might have found expression. However, this was the greatness of Babasaheb Ambedkar. He endured a lifetime of suffering, yet nowhere in the Constitution

does one find any trace of vengeance. This is his greatness, the elevation of his personality, which made this possible. Otherwise, we all know how even a single word can hurt so deeply that it does not leave us for years. One can only imagine how lofty his stature must have been, how strong his inner resolve must have been, that he absorbed all that poison within himself and left nectar behind for us. For that great personality, a single verse from Sanskrit comes to my mind:

“Svabhavam na jahan tyevah sadhura aapt gato pisan. Karpoor Pavak Sparsh: Saurabham Labhte Taraam. "

These words apply perfectly to Babasaheb. Their meaning is that the true test of a saint lies in times of adversity. Just as camphor, when brought close to fire, does not fear being burnt but instead burns itself and spreads its fragrance, Babasaheb Ambedkar embodied the same spirit. Despite facing immense hardships and enduring countless sufferings, there is nowhere in our Constitution any trace of vengeance. Instead, there is an effort to unite everyone and to include all. Therefore, it is only natural to feel a special sense of reverence towards Babasaheb.

On 25 November, 1949, Babasaheb Ambedkar delivered a speech on preserving freedom and the democratic system, and on how citizens should conduct themselves in independent India. He stated:

[English]

> "If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgment we must do is hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objective. Where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned, the better for us."

[Translation]

In other words, if we wish to preserve democracy not only in form but in substance, we must firmly adhere to constitutional methods to achieve our social and economic objectives. Where constitutional methods are available, there can be no justification for

unconstitutional methods. Such methods amount to nothing but anarchy, and it would be better for us to abandon them at the earliest.

I believe that all of us are people who have grown up within the traditions of democracy. For us, it is equally important from the perspective of do's and don'ts. The day Pandit Nehru placed a draft before the Constituent Assembly, namely his Objectives Resolution, it was supported by our former President, Dr. Radhakrishnan Ji. While supporting Pandit Nehru and that Resolution, he made a very profound observation. He said, "Dharmam kshatrasya kshatram." Dharma, meaning righteousness and truth, is supreme even over rulers. It governs both the people and those who rule. It signifies the sovereignty of law, which we have claimed. Here, Dharma does not refer to rituals. It refers to the Constitution. In this manner, he guided us in a most appropriate way.

Similarly, in his capacity as Chairperson of the Drafting Committee, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made certain observations and offered an interpretation with regard to Article 368. This is particularly important to understand today, as we continue to hear occasional murmurs and minor debates on various issues. Therefore, it is all the more necessary to comprehend this clearly. He has said:

[English]

> "The Constitution is a fundamental document. It is a document which defines the positions and powers of the three organs of the State – the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature. It also defines the powers of the Executive and the powers of the Legislature as against the citizens as we have done in our chapter dealing with Fundamental Rights. In fact, the purpose of a Constitution is not merely to create the organs of the State but to limit their authority because if no limitation was imposed upon the authority of organs, there will be complete tyranny and complete oppression. The Legislature may be free to frame any law, the Executive may be free to take any decision, and the Supreme Court may be free to give any interpretation of the law. It would result in utter chaos."

[Translation]

"The Constitution is a foundational document. It is the document which defines the position and powers of the three organs of the State, namely the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature. It also defines

the powers of the Executive and the powers of the Legislature in relation to the citizens, as we have done in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights. In fact, the purpose of the Constitution is not merely to create the organs of the State, but to limit their authority. For if no limitation is placed upon the authority of an organ, it would result in absolute tyranny and complete oppression. If the Legislature were free to make any law, the Executive were free to take any decision, and the Supreme Court were free to interpret the law in any manner whatsoever, the consequence would be anarchy." Babasaheb Ambedkar articulated this view with great force and conviction. Taking this very principle forward, the former Chief Justice of India, Justice Gajendragadkar, while serving as Chairperson of the Law Commission, made a significant observation in the 46th Report, wherein he stated:

[English]

> "The Commission believes that in a democratic country like India which is governed by a written Constitution, supremacy can be legitimately claimed only by the Constitution. It is the Constitution which is paramount, which is the law of laws, which confers on Parliament and the State Legislatures and the Executive and the Judiciary

their respective powers, assigns to them their respective functions and prescribes limitations within which the said powers and functions can be legitimately discharged."

Justice Gajendragadkar stated, "The Commission believes that in a democratic country like India, which is governed by a written Constitution, the claim to supremacy can be legally made only by the Constitution. It is the Constitution which is supreme, which is the law of laws. It is the Constitution which confers powers upon the State Legislatures, the Executive and the Judiciary, assigns to them their respective functions, and prescribes the limits within which these powers may be lawfully exercised in the discharge of their functions." This clearly demonstrates that our Constitution is precise, unambiguous and definitive. Therefore, it becomes our responsibility to repeatedly highlight these principles and, by doing so, to determine how we carry them forward. We must continue to make efforts in this direction. For us, the Constitution is becoming increasingly important today because India is a country filled with diversity. Different regions have different aspirations. It is our responsibility, and today, as we are assembled in this temple of democracy, to reflect upon which resolve keeps us united and which resolve propels us forward.

Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar had stated, and this point has already been discussed here earlier:

[English]

> "I feel, however good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However, bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution."

[Translation]

I feel that a Constitution, however good it may be, can turn out to be bad if those who are entrusted with its implementation are an unworthy group. Conversely, a Constitution, however bad it may be, can prove to be good if those who are entrusted with its implementation are a worthy group. The functioning of a Constitution does not depend entirely upon its nature alone. Madam Sonia Ji also referred to this point yesterday. The same point has been mentioned today in the Rajya Sabha as well. Therefore, the sanctity of the Constitution is the responsibility of all of us. It is our collective duty. It is true that, ultimately, decisions are taken on the basis of majority

and minority. However, we must not forget that democracy derives greater strength when we follow the path of consensus. We make efforts towards consensus and compromise, but when all such efforts fail, the final recourse is that of majority and minority. Merely because one side has more Members in this House, it does not automatically confer upon them the right to impose whatever they wish. Therefore, our path should be that of consensus. It should be the path of compromise. There should be cooperation and support from everyone. Only when nothing works and all efforts fail does the final situation arise, where matters are weighed on the scale of majority and minority. We must carry forward this spirit, and therefore, it is this spirit of the Constitution that must be sustained and strengthened.

I still remember the occasion when the Government of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee Ji was in office and a test of majority was taking place in this House. At the time of the confidence vote, the situation was extremely close. The Chief Minister of Odisha, Shri Giridhar Ji, was then a Member of the Lok Sabha. He had won the Assembly election and had become Chief Minister, but he had not yet resigned from the Lok Sabha, as there is a grace period of fifteen days. It was during this very period that Shri Vajpayee Ji was required to prove his majority. At that time, there was intense debate across the country

regarding what course of action he would take and whether he would come to the House. The Hon. Speaker also told him that since he had come, he should act according to the voice of his conscience. Subsequently, he voted against the Government of Shri Vajpayee Ji, and the Government lost the confidence vote by a margin of just one vote. The Government fell by a single vote. There can be no greater example than this to illustrate how conduct unfolds when the Constitution is placed in responsible hands, and how even an error, if it occurs, manifests itself. I believe that the speech delivered by Shri Vajpayee Ji on that day, and the dignity with which he relinquished power, can never be forgotten. The manner in which he accepted the supremacy and dignity of democracy remains a lasting lesson for all of us.

Our country is thousands of years old. Shortcomings do arise within us, and at times even evils enter society, but our civilisational identity is never erased. The fundamental strength underlying this resilience is that this ancient society possesses an inherent mechanism of self-correction, an almost automatic process of purification. It is not that evils have never appeared in our society. They have emerged, and at times they have taken deep root. Yet, from within the same society, individuals have arisen who devoted their entire lives to

eradicating those evils. Even in the face of social resistance, they struggled relentlessly and worked for the unity and integrity of society. In accordance with the demands of each era, they brought about necessary reforms. There was a time when society was rigidly bound by religious conventions, when priestly dominance prevailed to such an extent that society found itself trapped in an abnormal condition. It was then that the Bhakti movement arose in this country. Figures such as Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Mirabai and Narsinh Mehta emerged and freed the nation from this stranglehold. There was also a period when society took pride in the practice of sati. Yet Raja Ram Mohan Roy stood up against society itself and declared that sati was a sin, that it amounted to the burning of widows, and that such a practice could not continue in this country. Eventually, society accepted this transformation. Then came Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. In that era, when a woman became a widow, she was condemned to a life of suffering. Even today, remnants of such injustice can occasionally be observed in certain sections of society. One can imagine the courage required for Vidyasagar Ji to champion the cause of widow remarriage and the education of girls. When Dalits, the oppressed, the exploited, the deprived and the poor were subjected to extreme cruelty, leaders such as Jyotiba Phule and Babasaheb

Ambedkar came forward. During the era of untouchability, personalities like Narsinh Mehta and Mahatma Gandhi emerged, setting aside political pursuits and dedicating their lives to the eradication of untouchability. This is the same society in which, when corruption reached its peak, Jayaprakash Narayan arose and committed himself entirely to confronting it. It is true that evils have entered our society from time to time, but at every such moment, there has existed within us an internal corrective force. In every era, a great personality has emerged to guide society and rescue it from decline. This is our true strength. Today, the Constitution provides us with guidance. Yet there were times when even this support did not exist, and still society produced individuals who showed the way forward. Now that we have the guidance of the Constitution, we must reflect on how much more we are capable of achieving. We belong to a civilisation whose credibility has faced severe trials, yet has never been extinguished.

During the freedom movement, those who stepped forward for the nation were viewed by society with great pride. Their families were also regarded with honour. However, whether we like it or not, it is a reality that for various reasons the credibility of the political fraternity has declined over time. Society’s perception of politicians

has changed. A leader is greeted, but often with scepticism. This is a challenge before all of us. As an institution that forms an indispensable pillar of democracy, it is our responsibility to restore its dignity and strengthen its authority through our conduct and behaviour. Despite widespread criticism, society often tends to generalise that all politicians are bad, that all political workers are corrupt, and that every wrongdoing is attributed to them. We hear this day and night. Yet I wish to say to the nation that it is these very politicians who, while sitting in this House, have taken decisions to impose restraints upon themselves. When we contest elections, we fill in forms prescribed by the Election Commission. In those forms, we ourselves declare the offences, if any, against us. We ourselves disclose our movable and immovable assets. This was not something imposed upon us from outside. Which Government was in power is not the issue here. It was the Members of Parliament sitting in this House and the leaders of political parties who voluntarily accepted self-regulation and brought about these reforms.

Not only this, there was concern that election expenditure was excessive and that the use of black money needed to be curtailed. It was again the politicians who, in consensus with the Election Commission, decided to introduce an accounting system.

Furthermore, political parties agreed to submit daily expenditure accounts to the Election Commission. With every new restriction introduced, political parties have continued to accept them. Why? Because they too recognise that politicians, irrespective of party affiliation or background, have acted with sensitivity and have discharged their responsibilities with a sense of duty towards the welfare of the nation.

There was a time in our country when the number of Ministers began to increase, political pressures intensified, and maintaining balance became a challenge. At that juncture, it was these very politicians and political parties represented in Parliament who collectively decided to introduce a quota system, stipulating that the number of Ministers should not exceed a prescribed Percent. We complied with it. We imposed restraints upon ourselves. This reflects the strength and maturity of a democratic system, where those engaged in public life voluntarily accept limitations whenever the need arises, even if such decisions are sometimes delayed. You may recall that the Supreme Court delivered a judgement stating that after a certain conviction, a person would be disqualified from contesting elections. Parliament could have enacted legislation to override that decision and sought an exemption. Yet this very Parliament, and these

very politicians, accepted the ruling and subjected themselves to it. They acknowledged that if the Supreme Court had ruled that a person convicted cannot contest elections, then that principle must be honoured. These are achievements of which we can legitimately take pride. Therefore, even while being active participants in political life, we have accepted these constitutional restraints, and they deserve recognition and appreciation.

This House has been graced by stalwarts of the highest calibre, and this has always been one of its defining strengths. I recall a time when I was engaged in party organisational work and frequently participated in television debates, particularly during prime time. On one such occasion, Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad and I appeared together in a television debate. Naturally, the exchange was intense and argumentative. However, once the programme concluded, we sat together in the studio, casually sharing tea. There were journalists present, including a senior journalist, whose name I do not recall. At that moment, Ghulam Nabi Ji made a profound observation. He said that people may perceive us as adversaries, even as enemies, but if one were to come and observe Parliament, one would see how we behave like a family, and how much warmth and mutual respect exist among us. He remarked that this culture was not introduced by Modi

alone, but has been nurtured through the collective efforts and sacrifices of successive generations over the past fifty years. Therefore, it is our responsibility to recognise these noble traditions, to respect them, and to ensure that they continue to flourish. There was a time when even in the midst of intense opposition within this House, civility, harmony and mutual regard always prevailed.

It is an important historical fact that on one occasion, Shri Ram Manohar Lohia Ji, using statistical data, stated in this House that the policies of Pandit Nehru were not in the national interest and were flawed. Shri Ram Manohar Lohia Ji was in the Opposition and spoke with great force. However, the true moment of pride lay in the response of Pandit Nehru, who rose and said that he could not refute those statistics. That reflected the intellectual and moral height of leadership in this country, and Pandit Nehru exemplified that stature. If we are to uphold intellectual honesty, we must respect the merit in one another's arguments. Only then can we truly internalise the spirit of the Constitution. Every Member has been endowed with some ability or insight, and it should become our natural disposition to acknowledge and honour that contribution.

One matter that causes concern today is that during the freedom movement, the great leaders of that era consistently guided society.

They possessed the moral authority to tell people what was wrong and what ought not to be done. They had the courage to do so. Mahatma Gandhi, in particular, never compromised on principles. Over time, however, we have reached a stage where we hesitate to speak frankly to the very people we represent. In recent years, one aspect of the Constitution has been disproportionately emphasised, namely rights. Everywhere, the discourse revolves around what my right is and what my entitlement is. The nation has begun to function largely around this single dimension. On this solemn occasion, I appeal from this House, and I appeal to the people of the country, that as much emphasis as we place on rights, we must place equal emphasis on duties. A nation can progress only through a balanced harmony of rights and duties. Without this balance, a nation cannot function effectively. Even in Government offices, when an official is asked to perform a task, the first question that often arises is: what is in it for me? If the answer is unfavourable, indifference follows. This mindset of “what is in it for me” and, if nothing, “why should I care”, is not healthy for the nation. We must rekindle a sense of duty, and only then will the country advance in the right direction.

Mahatma Gandhi had made a deeply significant observation, which I believe is worth recalling both for us and for the nation.

Gandhiji had said, “Today, capitalists and landlords speak only of their rights. On the other hand, workers speak of their interests, princes speak of their authority, and farmers resent the denial of their rights. If everyone speaks only of rights and turns away from duties, the result will be disorder and anarchy. If everyone, instead of speaking of rights, speaks of duties, the rule of order will soon establish itself naturally in human society. Kings have no divine right to rule, nor is it the duty of farmers to unquestioningly obey every command of their masters.” These were the words of Gandhiji. Therefore, whenever we discuss the Constitution, the foremost issue before us is how we can strengthen the emphasis on duties. If we can play any role in guiding society towards the primacy of duty, I believe we must do so. When the framing of the Constitution was drawing to a close, Rajendra Babu made a significant statement. He said, “We assure everyone that it shall be our endeavour to eradicate poverty and distress, and along with them hunger and disease. We shall eliminate inequality and exploitation and ensure better conditions of life. We are embarking upon a great journey. We hope that in this journey we shall receive the generous service and cooperation of all our people, and the sympathy and support of all communities.”

Today, the Constitution stands firmly with us. It would be entirely wrong for anyone to spread confusion regarding it. No one can even contemplate changing the Constitution. I would submit that anyone who harbours such a notion would be acting against the very spirit of the nation, because the vision conceived by those great personalities cannot be replicated in today's circumstances. Our true responsibility lies in ensuring that the Constitution is applied effectively for the welfare of the poor, Dalits, and the oppressed and exploited sections of society. That is where our focus must remain.

Had Babasaheb Ambedkar not strengthened the provision of reservation, one must ask what the condition of my Dalit, oppressed and exploited sections of society would have been. The Almighty has bestowed upon them the same abilities and potential that He has given to you and me, but they were denied opportunities, and it is this denial that led to their deprivation. Providing them with opportunities is our responsibility. It is the collective duty of all of us. When such a vast section of society stands shoulder to shoulder with us in the journey of development, emerging as a strong and empowered force, one can imagine how far the nation can progress. No region should be left behind. No section of society should be left behind. If even one limb of the human body is paralysed, the body cannot be considered

healthy. Even if a single limb is weak, the body cannot be deemed strong. Similarly, if any limb of this social body remains weak, society cannot be considered empowered, nor can the nation be considered strong. Therefore, national empowerment lies in the empowerment of all sections of society. Whether they are men or women, belong to one caste or another, follow one faith or another, speak one language or another, if they reside on this land, it becomes our responsibility to work for the empowerment of all. This task must be completed. Before us lies both a tremendous opportunity and a formidable challenge.

What greater fortune can a nation have than possessing 800 million youth? They must be provided with employment. Skills must be placed in their hands. To transform the destiny of India, how can we utilise our intellect, resources, knowledge, systems and the Constitution itself to fully realise our collective strength? Even today, after so many years, one concern continues to engage us: how justice can reach everyone, how it can be easily accessible, and how it can be delivered swiftly.

Among the many important facets of democracy, one crucial aspect is the grievance redressal system. It strengthens democracy. Similarly, justice is central. Social justice is undoubtedly important

and must remain a priority. However, alongside this, we must also think about how the ordinary citizen can access justice. Initiatives such as Lok Adalats have delivered significant justice, but we must move further in this direction. If we intensify our efforts, I believe substantial progress can be achieved. This is my considered view.

Babasaheb Ambedkar accomplished a great task, one which even today has not adequately reached the ears of workers. Kharge Sahab was absolutely right. Earlier, there were no regulations. There was no clarity on how many hours a worker should work. The poor worker continued to toil by stretching his body to its limits for as long as possible. Babasaheb Ambedkar demonstrated remarkable resolve and fixed an eight-hour working limit for workers. When a great personality undertakes such a reform, it continues to make an enormous contribution across generations. I firmly believe that it is essential for us to act and deliver.

When I assumed this responsibility, a worker holding an EPF account would move from one place to another and would not even know where his money had gone. The amount involved was often so small that he would not even go to claim it. As a result, Rs. 27,000 crore lay unclaimed with the Government. This was the workers' money, earned through their sweat, yet they had no voice and no

system to support them. We ensured portability by assigning a UIN number. The outcome has been that wherever a worker goes, whether he changes his job, leaves a State, or moves away from his village, this number travels with him, and his account moves along with it.

18. 00 hours

His money now moves with him, and no one can deprive him of what is rightfully his. We have made efforts to implement the LIN, the Labour Identification Number. We have introduced online systems for workers. The moment the LIN number is entered, all related details are automatically retrieved. In our country, there is the EPFO, under which pensions are provided. When I assumed office, I noticed that some people were receiving pensions of Rs. 7, some Rs. 10, some Rs. 20, some Rs. 25, and some Rs. 250. For the poor worker, even travelling by auto-rickshaw to the post office to collect the pension cost more than the pension itself. Yet this situation was prevailing. We took a decision and fixed the minimum pension at Rs. 1,000. We also linked them to the Direct Benefit Scheme through Aadhaar. *…(Interruptions)*

An Act is going to be introduced in this House. ... (Interruptions) A very important Bonus Act is going to be introduced in this House. Under the Bonus Act, a provision has been made to increase the ceiling from Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 7,000. The eligibility limit, which presently stands at Rs. 10,000, has been approved by the Cabinet to be raised to Rs. 21,000. This Session, a very significant Act for workers is going to be brought before the House. One after another, we are making efforts to take decisions that serve the welfare of the poor in our country.

It is true that at times we also engage in discussions on such matters. I had stated this once earlier in this House, and I wish to reiterate it today. A Government has only one dharma. A Government has only one dharma, India First. A Government has only one sacred text, the Constitution of India. The country will function through the Constitution alone, it must function through the Constitution alone, and it is only through the strength of the Constitution that the nation can derive its strength. There is no reason whatsoever for any doubt or apprehension in this regard.

HON. SPEAKER: Hon. Prime Minister, one moment please. It is 6 p.m. If there is the consent of the House, the time for the proceedings

may be extended until the conclusion of this discussion and the adoption of our resolution.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Agreed.

SHRI NARENDRA MODI: India has essentially been nurtured by certain ideals and values, and these constitute our strength. They are our inner spiritual strength. Therefore, there is no need to underestimate the internal energy of our nation. This internal energy has been built through thousands of years of penance. It gives momentum to the nation, gives momentum to society, and provides the strength to overcome crises. When I speak of this, I would like to refer to the idea of India-

Idea of India - Satyameva Jayate,

Idea of India - Ahimsa Parmo Dharma,

Idea of India - Ekam Sadvipraah Bahudha Vadanti

Idea of India - Paudhe mein bhi Paramatma hota hai

Idea of India - Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

Idea of India - Sarvpanth Sambhaav, …*(Interruptions)*

Idea of India - Appo Deep Bhavah

Idea of India - Tena tyaktena bhunjithaa

Idea of India - Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah, Sarve Santu Niramayah.

Sarve Bhadrani Pashyantu, Maa Kashchit Dukh Bhagbhevt,

Idea of India- Na tvaham kaamaye raajyam, na moksham na punarbhavam, Kaamaye duhkha-taptanaam praaninaam aarti-naashanam

Idea of India - Vaishnav Jan To Teene Kahiye Kahiye, Je Peer Parai Janee Re,

Idea of India -Jan Seva Hi PrabhuSeva,

Idea of India - Sahana Bhavatu Sahnau Bhunaktu

Sah Veeryam Karwawahe,

Idea of India - Nar Karni Kare To Narayan Ho Jaye,

Idea of India - Naari Tu Narayani

Idea of India - Yatra Naryastu Pujyante, Ramante Tatra Devta

Idea of India - Aano Bhadrah Kritvo Yantu Vishvath

Idea of India - Janani Janam Bhumishcha Swargadapi Gariyasi.

With these sentiments, I once again extend my heartfelt congratulations to all the Hon. Members of the House. I also express my gratitude to you, Madam Speaker. The initiative that you have taken will remain a matter of lasting indebtedness for the nation. Thank you very much.

———————

HON. SPEAKER: No questions will be asked. This is not a question-and-answer session.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE (GULBARGA): I am not asking questions. *...(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: No clarification.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: No clarification is allowed.

… (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: This Resolution has to be made by everyone.

... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: I am not asking any clarification. … (*Interruptions*) [Translation] I am bringing to the notice of Hon. Prime Minister. *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: I am not allowing any clarification.

…(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Why are you doing this? Please remain calm.

…(Interruptions)

SHRI MALLIKARJUN KHARGE: When you were delivering your speech, we did not disturb you. ... *(Interruptions)* With your permission, I want to set the record straight. The Hon. Prime Minister has stated that the decision to fix a minimum pension of Rs. 1,000 in the Employees' Provident Fund under the Labour Department was taken during our UPA Government. ...*(Interruptions)*

Secondly, the portable account system that you are referring to was also initiated by us. ...*(Interruptions)* We had opened the first office in Haryana. ...*(Interruptions)*

HON. SPEAKER: Your forty-fifty, is all combined.

...(Interruptions)

HON. SPEAKER: This matter has been discussed many times. When the Bill comes, you may speak on it.

…(Interruptions)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: What is it? I am not allowing any clarification.

…(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

HON. SPEAKER: Your party has already spoken.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

HON. SPEAKER: I am sorry Madam Teacher. You give it in writing.

… (*Interruptions*)

18. 09 hours

RESOLUTION

HON. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, the discussion on commitment to India's Constitution is now coming to close at this two-day Special Sittings to commemorate 125th Birth Anniversary celebrations of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar. It gives me immense satisfaction that there had been fruitful discussion on our commitment to Constitution of India. There has been an overwhelming enthusiasm amongst hon. Members from all sections of the House to participate in this two-day Special Sittings. Owing to paucity of time, I have, therefore, allowed hon. Members who could not get time to speak to lay their written speeches on the Table of the House.

Hon. Members, I will now propose the following Resolution:

"We, the Members of Lok Sabha, in this Special Sittings of the Lok Sabha on 26th and 27th November, 2015 for celebrating the 'Constitution Day' as a part of the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Birth Anniversary Celebration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, -

Having remembered with gratitude, the commitment of Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi; pioneering and monumental role played by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad and other founding fathers of our Constitution and their contribution in enabling us to give to ourselves the Constitution on the 26th November, 1949; and having enacted it on the 26th January, 1950; and

Having recalled with appreciation, the invaluable services rendered by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly and all its Members in the framing of the Constitution of India;

Do hereby solemnly affirm our commitment to the principles and ideals of the Constitution, and resolve to –

(a) uphold and maintain the sanctity and supremacy of the Constitution;

(b) respect the constitutional institutions, their freedom and authority;

(c) protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of our country and its democratic, socialist and secular character;

(d) maintain transparency, probity and accountability in public life; and

(e) dedicate ourselves to equality and social justice and contribute to the task of building a strong republic."

I hope the House agrees to this.

Now, the House stands adjourned to meet again on Monday, the 30th November, 2015, at 11 a. m.

18. 13 hours

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, November 30, 2015/Agrahayan 9, 1937 (Saka).

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Published under Rules 379 and 382 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha (Seventeenth Edition)