

Gita, said, "When Lord Krishna's Empire became prosperous, it degenerated." He warned us for all that. And we have to be very careful of that. These parliamentary institutions, where we are, are the moral arbiters of politics, economics and sociology of our country. So, these parliamentary institutions have not only to think of economic development and social development, but of moral regeneration as well. If we do not do that, moral and economic development and social reforms will not do. It has to be a part of it. I have been overwhelmed by what many of my friends said. It is difficult to express my gratitude for the generosity that many of you have shown to me. My father once told me. "In public life you will receive abundant, maybe excessive love and severe rebuke in varying measures. If you are correct, never bother about the rebuke as in the Emergency." The treasure of love has precious fragrance in the little box close to your heart. As Vinobaji talked about Gandhiji, "Take a pinch everytime a rebuke saddens you or a criticism bothers you." Hon. Members, the love showered on me today will be the reservoir from which I will derive solace during moments when I may be upset over what you do or when we become despondent.

12.00 Noon

Lastly, parliamentary institutions are the temples of democracy. They are the Gangotri from which people expect purity and probity flow incessantly to enrich the material and moral life of the country. I am sure the Rajya Sabha, the House of continuity—the Lok Sabha is a House of change; we have a beautiful Constitution, change and continuity are going together, that is the Indian tradition, that is the *dharma*—will set the moral ton and temper of the society while constructing a new India. In this task, I will be the first servant.

I am informed that a brief adjournment has been suggested. The House is adjourned for fifteen minutes.

The House then adjourned at twelve of the clock.

The House reassembled at sixteen minutes past twelve of the clock, Mr. Chairman in the Chair.

## RE. SPECIAL SITTING OF THE HOUSE ON THE OCCASION OF CELEBRATION OF FIFTY YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman and hon. Members of the August Council of States, on the occasion of the celebrations of the fifty years of our Independence, this is a Special Session of our House. For the next four days we would be discussing the vital issues that confront the Nations.

While we rejoice the golden jubilee of our hard-earned independence, it is also an occasion to analyse the fifty years goneby. This evaluation would form the basis of our future vision. The golden jubilee turns a new chapter in the life of our nation. Greater challenges and glorious successes are waiting to adorn us in the days to come.

Through our Constitution, we have entrusted our parliament the responsibility of being the highest decision-making body. It represents the desires and dreams of our people. This is the appropriate forum to recall the past experiences and to conceive future expectations. With this purpose, we have convened this Special Session.

While making an appraisal of last fifty years, it would be appropriate if we judge them in the backdrop of the ideals and objectives of National Movement. Our struggle for freedom was the turning point in the history of humanity. At the end of it, an Indian nation-state emerged out of the colonial world. The ideology of this new nation-state was based on spirituality and historical-experiences, which this civilization had assimilated in it during its long history.

Beyond the sub-continent our National Movement started a new phenomenon in the history of social movements. It was a

remarkable example of popular involvement in framing the political, social and the economic agenda for their own representative Government. It had a comprehensive vision for the future India. In 1936, while delivering the Presidential address at the Congress Session, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru underlined the objectives of the movement, and I quote:

"I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change."

The process of introspection that began in the society during the early years of freedom struggle as social movements preceded the upsurge for political independence. Education, exposure to the scientific knowledge, social equality, justice and gender parity in social life were the focal points of these social movements.

Colonial character of the Government and the drain of wealth were the cause of general impoverishment of India. The economic philosophy of the British rule had aggravated poverty and social tensions. It was understood by Dadabhai Naoroji and the leaders of National Movement that changing the economic thinking was essential to change the character of the Government. At the Karachi Session, the Congress adopted the Resolution stating, and I quote:

"In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress, therefore, declares that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide or enable the Swaraj Government to provide for the .... (Fundamental Rights and Duties)."

It was thought that economic decentralisation at village level and self-reliance through swadeshi could revitalise the de-railed economy.

The most remarkable aspect of the national movement was Gandhiji's non-violent methods and the mass participation.

It is relevant even today. A violent struggle would have resulted in an authoritarian dictatorship instead of democracy. It would have been difficult to stamp out the violence from the society resulting in political instability and social tensions. Violence has the propensity to become authoritarian.

The process of nation-building had begun much before the clarion call for Purna Swaraj. As early as in 1947, at Allahabad, Gopal Krishna Gokhale had appealed. I quote:

"I recognise no limits to my aspirations for our motherland... I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full heights of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially....in science and in arts."

The essential elements of socio-economic progress had long been identified and efforts were being made for their redressal, though in isolated localised manner. These efforts and aspirations converged in the demand for Purna Swaraj.

All the above objectives found echo in our Constitution. These ideals were listed in the Objective Resolution moved by Pandit Nehru at the Constituent Assembly. The Resolution adopted on 22nd January, 1947, spelt the philosophy of our Constitution. Our Constitution is a comprehensive document that carries the ideals and the legacy of our national movement and a vision for future.

It is not only a formal declaration of our unlimited sovereignty, but also compassionately expresses the aspirations of our people. It is the expression of our solemn resolve to live by the exalted

ideals of our freedom struggle. As the guiding light of our state policy and national commitment, it explicitly enlists the rights and obligations of people and the Government. Pandit Nehru had rightly expressed this resolve for those in decision-making positions. I quote:

"The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us. But as long as there are tears and sufferings, so long our task will not be over."

Belonging to a family of freedom fighters, I clearly recall my childhood both with emotion and with a sense of fulfilment. I remember the turmoil under which the family had to move from Calcutta to Bombay and then to Bhopal, under the colonial persecution. The singing of Vande Mataram and prabhat pheries which charged the struggle for freedom in the early days of school still reverberate in my ears.

For me, the partition of the country was a human tragedy. The resolve for universal brotherhood, tolerance and a land where everyone could aspire for freedom of expression, faith and profession was to be the objective of a free nation which we dreamt of.

The fiftieth year is an occasion to evaluate our achievements in this background. Despite obvious shortfalls, our accomplishments have been impressive. We were able to break the inertia that had crept into our society during colonial rule. The vicious circle of economic backwardness and socio-economic stagnation started cracking.

We have taken giant strides forward in the past half-a-century. From a feudal economy we have become an industrialised economy, based largely on socialism. By the conventional analysis of development, we have superseded the entire phase of capitalist development that lasted for a couple of centuries in Europe before reaching the socialist stage.

While doing so, we retained and strengthened the liberal democratic character of our polity. This has been an exceptional achievement. India has emerged as a role model for the developing countries. Its non-violent struggle for freedom from colonial rule and economic backwardness inspired several movements for decolonisation worldwide.

We extended the philosophy of non-violence and Panchsheel to worldly affairs. We have been staunch protagonists of disarmament and world peace. Through the non-aligned Movement, India has contributed in assuaging the inter-bloc rivalry by bringing the developing countries together in support of world peace.

After Independence, we had to start from the beginning. It was essential that ignorance among the people must be replaced by scientific temper. Education and science were to open new vistas of development and newer horizons of knowledge. Introduced in production, they democratised the economy. To bring about change in agrarian relations, we abolished the zamindari and all other possible forms of exploitation. It also helped in uplifting the plight of those who, for centuries, were at the margin of our society. The Constitution provided for special measures to give them greater opportunity in the nation's mainstream.

We have built an effective infrastructure, based on which the rate of growth will get a fillip. Ever since 1960's, the country has become self-reliant in food production. As a result of green revolution and sustained scientific research in agriculture, the annual foodgrain production which was 50 million tonnes in 1950-51 has gone up to more than 190 million tonnes in 1996-97. Similarly, the net national product of 1950-51 at Rs. 40,000 crores has gone up by more than four times in 1996-97.

We have recognised the importance of science and technology in nation building. Our achievements in this field are significant. Our space programme, nuclear

ower programme, industrial, medical and agricultural researches, bio-technology and ocean development projects have made an impressive progress. However, there are a few areas of concern. We still invest less than 1 per cent of the GDP in research and development. There is low participation of private sector in the R & D. This can adversely affect the scientific research.

Without compromising with our development initiatives, the protection for environment has been our prime concern. In 1972, when the first Heads of Government meet was convened at Stockholm, the sole Head of Government present was our Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi.

India spearheaded the movement, and twenty years after in 1992 at Rio, more than a hundred Heads of Government attended the global conference. The destruction of environment has been caused by the lusty life style of the rich, but the effects have to be equally borne by the developing nations as the sky has no boundary.

The commitment of the developed countries for the transfer of environment-friendly technology is yet to take place, and, therefore, we have to work hard to evolve indigenous technologies. India has the third largest scientific manpower in the world. I would invite the corporate world and the private sector to come forward and join the Government as partners in this task of nation-building.

In the social sector, we have been able to bring down the infant mortality rate, and, due to advancement in medical science and availability of the health care system, the life expectancy has gone up from 41 years in 1951 to 61 years at present.

However, we have failed to bring down the population growth rate to the required level. I am reminded of the prophetic lines from the speech of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, which he delivered as the President of the Haripura session of the Congress in 1938. He had

at that time foreseen the consequences of population explosion, and I quote:

"The first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population....I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade."

He further cautioned:

"If the population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in recent past, our Plans are likely to fall through."

His caution is still relevant even today.

Still, around 30% people are living under the poverty line. Still 40% women are illiterate in the country. Despite self-sufficiency in food, the average Indian takes lesser calories than standard 2,400 calories per day. Though the number of Primary Health Centres has gone up from 725 in 1951 to 21,000 in 1996, there is a wide gap between the demand and the availability in the rural health care.

The network of educational institutions has spread significantly, but there are still about 200 million illiterate in the country. Thirty five million children of primary school-going age do not have access to education, and there is 40% drop-out at the primary level. The sector lacks infrastructure, lack of trained teachers and adequate learning material.

The goal of allocating 6 per cent of our GDP to the education sector still eludes us. Realising the priority of education over other areas, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who assumed the charge of the Department of Education of the independent India, while delivering the Statement of Policy before the Parliament in March, 1948 stated, and I quote:

"I need hardly say that whatever be our programme for industrial, scientific, agricultural, commercial or material progress and development, none of them can be achieved without an improvement of the human material

which is the basis of our national wealth. That human material is largely conditioned by the training and education which it receives. It seems to me that whether we think of defence or of food or of industries and commerce, we must take every step to see that education is given the first priority among all our national requirements."

This objective has to be fulfilled.

More than 60 per cent population is still unemployed. Of these, the women have got the raw deal. Only 22 per cent of women are in employment. Generally women have remained deprived of the fruits of development. This might further relegate them into background. Therefore, special provisions are needed to uplift their lot.

We have reserved 33 per cent seats for women in the grassroot elected bodies of the nation. All the political parties have time and again reiterated the resolve to provide a similar affirmative support to women in higher legislative bodies of the nation and the States. However, the dream of assigning equal role to women in the decision and policy making positions still eludes us.

Our national Parliament has only 7.2 per cent women members and this percentage is still less in the State legislatures. The assurances voiced across the country are yet to be honoured.

Today, when the voices of dissent are heard from far-flung States, when deviance is growing in all social classes, when discontent and corruption is attempting to fragment our faith in oneness, I am reminded of the words of Dr. Ambedkar, who said, and I quote:

"I am quite convinced that given time and circumstances, nothing in the world prevents this country from becoming one. Our difficulty is not with regard to the ultimate, our difficulty is with regard to the beginning."

And I have no hesitation to say that such a beginning for India of our dreams, can be today, now and here itself with

our commitment and pledge to the common aspirations which bind us together.

The 50th year of our independence shall open a new chapter in our nation's life as we look at our future with great hope and optimism. I recall the lines of Guru Rabindranath Tagore:

"Where the mind is without fear  
and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken  
up into fragments by narrow  
domestic walls;

Where words come out from the  
depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its  
arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason  
has not lost its way into the dreary  
desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by  
Thee into everwidening thought and  
action...

Into that heaven of freedom, my  
Father let my country awake."

At this historic juncture with the experience of five decades of Swaraj and with the vistas of next millennium ahead of us, this House must give voice to the nation's resolve to forge ahead with united vision towards a better future for all. Let each last citizen of this country feel proud to be an Indian. We are all part of this indivisible unity that is Indian nationality.

Each one of us is indispensable to this noble edifice and without any one of us this splendid structure of India is incomplete. Let us endeavour together over the next four days, putting aside narrow political differences, to formulate a resolution that the House could adopt with one voice.

I will end with a message by Mahatma Gandhi:

"The highest moral law is that we should unremittently work for the good of mankind".

Thank you very much.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Sikander Bakht.

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री सिकन्दर बख्त): सर साहब,.....

श्री एच० हनुमन्तप्पा (कर्नाटक): सिकन्दर बख्त साहब एक मिनट।

Sir, I want to make a submission. The Deputy Chairman has set the tone. But what we were told was it would be only a partywise discussion and introspection of our performance over the last 50 years and challenges — how to face them. As the Deputy Chairman said in her last sentence, the views that are going to be expressed here should be formulated in the form of a resolution. Are we going to concretise these views? Sir, the whole country is looking towards the Special Session of Parliament, as to what we are going to do, after introspection, what is the next? A message should go to our countrymen, a message should go to the executive as to how we will go about it and how we will take action. So, I drew inspiration from the last sentence of the Deputy Chairman. Are we concretising the discussion or are we only expressing our views party-wise on these things and leaving it at that? We are told that it will be only a discussion, the Government will not reply, the Government will also participate in the discussion.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): It has already been decided in the Business Advisory Committee that it will be in the form of a resolution.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: We were not told of it. If it is in the form of a resolution, it is okay.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, it is coming up.

DR. (SHHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I clarify his point? At the end of the forth day of the session, we are planning to have a common resolution adopted by both the Houses. We are working on it.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI S.R. BOMMAI): It has been mentioned in today's List of Business that the Deputy Chairman will propose that the House adopt a Resolution in the course of the Special Sittings on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of India's Independence.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Deputy Chairman clarified that it is being worked out by both the Houses and it will come up.

#### DISCUSSION ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री सिकन्दर बख्त): सर साहब, मैं पहले ही काफी उलझा हुआ था एच० हनुमन्तप्पा साहब ने अपनी बात कहकर मेरी उलझनों में इजाफा कर दिया। बहुत मुश्किल टाइम हम लोगों के पास है, इसके लिए तो मैं शुक्रगुजार हूँ कि मुझे जो पांच मिनट सबजेक्ट्स हैं उनमें से दो सबजेक्ट्स पर बोलने के लिए कहा गया है—ह्यूमेन डेवलपमेंट एंड साइंस टेक्नालजी जो डाक्यूमेंट सक्लेट हुआ है वेरी वेल ब्रॉट आउट, अच्छा है। इसमें इन दो मिनट सबजेक्ट्स के जो सब-सबजेक्ट्स हैं वह करीबन 70 हैं। जाहिर है कि मुझे सिर्फ एक फायमली पूरी करनी है। मैं इन दो सबजेक्ट्स पर कुछ अपने ख्याल जाहिर करूँ। इन 50 सालों में क्या हुआ है, यकीनन तरकी हुई है। मगर तरकी एक बहुत रैलेटिव टर्म है। डाक्टर नजमा जी ने अपनी तरकीर में बताया कि हमारी आबादी एक बेतहाशा रफ्तार में सरफट दौड़ रही है, काफी रफ्तार से बढ़ रही है, यह हमारे लिए शर्मनाक है। आज भी 40 फीसदी से कुछ कम लोग 38 फीसदी गारिबी की रेखा के नीचे इस मुल्क में रहते हैं। लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा कि तरकी और तनजुल ये दोनों टर्म्स भी बड़े रैलेटिव हैं। मैं अर्थ मेटिक्स से बहुत वाकिफ नहीं हूँ बल्कि मैं इससे भागता हूँ जितना मेरा बस चलता है। अगर हम हिन्दुस्तान की मौजूदा आबादी को लगभग सौ करोड़ मान लें, करीब-करीब उतनी है और 40 फीसदी लोगों को गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे मान लें तो 60 फीसदी लोग गरीबी की रेखा के ऊपर हैं। 1947 में जब मुल्क आजाद हुआ तो हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी 30 और 32 करोड़ के दरमियान कहीं रही होगी, गरीबी की रेखा 50—60 फीसदी रही होगी लेकिन मैं अपनी बात साबित करने के लिए 50