



“100 Best
Parliamentary
Speeches”
1947-1997

Compiled & Edited by
Subhash C Kashyap



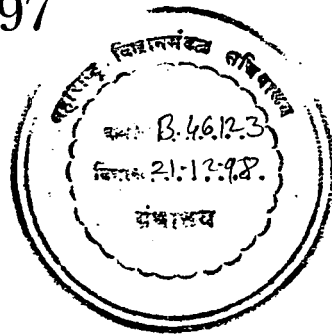
Amongst the men and women who strode the corridors of India's Parliament House, have been parliamentarians of outstanding ability, stature and exceptional oratorical skills. This book presents some of the most memorable parliamentary speeches delivered by them during the last fifty years (1947-1997). The book opens, quite appropriately, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's historic speech on the Objectives of the Constitution and 'India's Tryst with Destiny' delivered on the floor of the Constituent Assembly in 1947. It concludes with some of the most brilliant speeches in the fiftieth year of Indian independence – with former Prime Minister I K Gujral's assessment of fifty years, former Speaker P A Sangma's call for a second freedom struggle and Dr Karan Singh's vision of a resurgent India.

The selection covers diverse issues and themes of continuing national and international interest.

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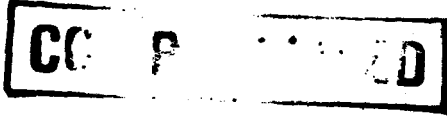
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DR. SUBHASH C. KASHYAP



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Dedicated to the parliamentarians
who strode the collonades of Parliament House
and with whom I had the pleasure to work.

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Preface



Some of the distinguished parliamentarians who strode the colonnades of India's Parliament house, have been men and women of such outstanding ability and stature that they would have done proud to any Parliament of the world. The effort here is to present some of the most memorable parliamentary speeches delivered by them during the last fifty years (1947-1997). The anthology very appropriately opens with Jawaharlal Nehru's historic speeches on the Objectives of the Constitution and India's Tryst with Destiny delivered on the floor of the Constituent Assembly in 1947. It concludes with some of the brilliant speeches at the special fiftieth Independence anniversary session of Parliament in 1997 – with former prime minister Gujral's assessment of the fifty years, Speaker Sangma's call for a second freedom struggle and Dr. Karan Singh's vision of a resurgent India.

The speeches included in the present volume have been selected with meticulous care and objectivity. The criteria employed have been those of the historical importance, quality and lasting value of the contents, eloquence and excellence of language and oratorical merits of the speeches and the personal eminence of the speakers. The party affiliation of members, their belonging to the ruling party or the Opposition, or their being ministers or private members, have been no consideration in determining the selection of their speeches. The

choice, however, was largely confined to speeches made in the English language even though increasingly over the years, about half of all the speeches in the Houses of Parliament happen to be in Hindi or Hindustani. In a few cases where it was considered absolutely necessary to include speeches originally made in Hindi or Hindustani, for example, in case of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's oft-cited speeches, care has been taken to use the official translations only.

Ordinarily, the endeavour has been to give the full text of every speech selected. Interruptions and short responses thereto have been excluded. Where minor editing out of some portions appeared unavoidable, it has been indicated by (...). As a rule, the original language of the speeches has been retained although some minor grammatical and the like changes may have been effected.

A brief introductory note has been added at the beginning of the text of each speech. The note seeks to explain the background, the occasion and the importance of the speech. The arrangement of speeches has been strictly in the chronological order. For facility of reference, besides the usual subject index, a biographical sketch about each speaker has been added.

It is widely believed – and not without justification – that there has been a general decline in the standards of parliamentary debate. It was natural, therefore, that the number of speeches selected from the earlier period was much larger.

A speech in Parliament is privileged; members have near-full freedom of speech subject only to the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure. While reproducing a parliamentary speech in any publication outside Parliament, one has to be very careful and assume full responsibility under the law of the land. Some of the controversial speeches containing allegations, accusations etc. have therefore been excluded.

In working on this project, I had a distinct advantage inasmuch as I had been closely associated with Parliament right from the early '50s and had been a witness to the delivery and impact of some of the most outstanding parliamentary speeches. This volume does not, however, claim to cover all the great or all the really memorable parliamentary speeches of the last fifty years. Within a modest volume,

it is hardly possible. This may therefore, be seen as a compilation of some representative samples only.

The credit for conceiving this project goes entirely to HarperCollins who took the initiative, approached me for undertaking this rather difficult and challenging task and persisted in their endeavour.

To scan over two thousand volumes of debates spread over some million pages, select only hundred speeches and edit an anthology of a modest size is not an easy task. It may seem that the present work is merely a duly edited compilation of the texts of the select speeches, but in fact preparation of such an edited work calls for much more painstaking work, rigorous discipline and deft ingenuity than an original work on a theme or problem of one's own choice.

Thankful acknowledgements are due to all the friends and research associates who have assisted me and enabled me to adhere to the deadline for completion of this work. These thanks extend specially to Shri Vinay Bhatnagar and Smt. Sadhana Gupta whose help proved invaluable. The publishers deserve all the appreciation for the high quality of publication and the promptness with which it has been brought out.

Since the selections herein cover a large variety of themes and diverse issues of continuing national and international concern, it is expected that the volume would attract very wide attention, invite reading and inspire the present and the future generations of men and women of all ages. It is hoped the volume would be welcomed in India and abroad and would be seen also as a respectful tribute to the parliamentarians whose speeches have been reproduced here.

New Delhi
15 August 1998

Subhash C. Kashyap

Biographical Notes



Advani, Lal Krishna currently president of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), was born in Karachi (Sind) now in Pakistan in 1927. A journalist by profession, he was Chairman, Delhi Metropolitan Council. Repeatedly elected to Rajya Sabha or Lok Sabha since 1970, he has held offices of union Minister for Information and Broadcasting and Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha. Among the most outstanding parliamentarians, he is currently Union Minister of Home.

Ambedkar, B.R. (1891-1956) was an eminent jurist, crusader for the cause of scheduled castes, Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee and later the Union Law Minister. Ambedkar was also a prolific writer. The book *Pakistan or the Partition of India* (1940) authored by him is the most comprehensive study of Pakistan.

Anthony, Frank, born at Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh in 1908, was nominated as a member of all Lok Sabhas from the first to the eighth and the tenth to represent the Anglo-Indian community. A barrister by profession and an educationist, Frank Anthony was an accomplished speaker and parliamentarian.

Ayyangar, M. Ananthasayanam (1891-1978) was an advocate by profession and took active part in the freedom struggle but, above all, he is remembered as a parliamentarian. He began as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1934. He was also Speaker of the Lok Sabha (1956-1962), and occupied several other high offices including that of Governor of Bihar (1962-1967).

Ayyar, Alladi Krishnaswami (1883-1952) was an outstanding jurist and advocate and a prominent member of the Drafting Committee.

Chagla, M.C. born at Bombay in 1900, occupied some of the highest offices in his career — Professor of Constitutional Law, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, Minister of External Affairs and Education, Governor of Bombay and Ambassador to USA amongst several others.

Chakravartty, Renu, born at Calcutta in 1917, was one of the most active women parliamentarians and a powerful speaker.

Chatterjee, Somnath, son of a distinguished parliamentarian, N.C. Chatterjee was born in 1929 in Assam. A barrister by profession and prominent member of the Communist Party (Marxist), he won the Most Outstanding Parliamentarian award. He has been a Member of the Lok Sabha mostly since 1971.

Dandavate, Madhu, was born in 1924 at Ahmednagar (Maharashtra). He was a professor of physics till his election to the Lok Sabha in 1971. A committed socialist, he emerged as one of the most eminent parliamentarians of the country. He has been a senior Union Minister incharge of different portfolios under the Janata governments. He was also Finance Minister and later Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Dange, S.A., born at Bombay in 1899, was among the founders of the communist movement, an outstanding labour leader and freedom fighter.

Desai, Morarji, born in 1896, lived to nearly complete a full century. An old Gandhian, Chief Minister of the old Bombay State, Union Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in Congress governments, he was also elected as the Prime Minister of the Janata Party government in 1977.

Deshmukh, C.D. (1896-1982) was a qualified barrister. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1919. He became the first Indian Governor of the Reserve Bank. In 1950 at Nehru's instance he became the Union Finance Minister. He resigned from the Cabinet in 1956. For several years (1950-56) Deshmukh was the Chief Planner, economic policy maker and Finance Minister. Thereafter, he emerged as a more distinguished national figure as an educationist, writer, orator and institution builder.

D'Souza, Jerome was principal of the Loyola College, and a member of the Constituent Assembly from Madras.

Fernandes, George, was born in 1930 in Karnataka. He is a prominent socialist, and currently leader of the Samta Party and Union Minister of Defence. A trade unionist, he was first elected to the Lok Sabha in 1967 and has been Union Minister of Railways, Communications, Industry amongst others. He is known as a forceful and forthright speaker.

Gadgil, V.N., was born at Poona in 1928. Gadgil, an advocate by profession, is an accomplished writer and speaker, senior leader and spokesman of the Congress. He has also been a Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

Gandhi, Feroze, son-in-law of late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and husband of late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, was an accomplished parliamentarian in his own right. Single-handedly, he unearthed serious scandals like the Mundhra deal.

Gandhi, Indira, daughter of the first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi was born at Allahabad in 1917. After Nehru's death, she became Minister for Information and Broadcasting in Lal Bahadur Shastri's cabinet. After Shastri's death, she was elected as the Prime Minister in 1966. She was assassinated by her own security guards in 1984.

Gandhi, Rajiv, elder son of Indira Gandhi and grandson of Jawaharlal Nehru, was born in Bombay in 1943. A pilot by profession, he was elected to the Lok Sabha four times in 1981, 1984, 1989 and 1990. He succeeded Indira Gandhi as prime minister after her tragic assassination in 1984 and was Leader of the Opposition during 1989-90. Rajiv Gandhi was killed during his election campaign in 1991 in Sriperumbudur.

Gopalan, A.K. was born in 1904. He participated in the national movement, and was an eminent trade unionist and Communist Party leader.

Gowda, H.D. Deve, born in 1933 in Karnataka, became Chief Minister of Karnataka during 1994-1996 and was Prime Minister of India in 1996-1997.

Gujral, I.K., born at Jhelum (now in Pakistan) in 1918, is an eminent writer and commentator, and India's ambassador to USSR. He has held different portfolios as Union Minister. I.K. Gujral was elected as prime minister of the Janata Dal led minority coalition government, and is also a member of the Rajya Sabha.

Gupta, Bhupesh (1914-1981) was a communist by conviction and party affiliation, an accomplished and talented parliamentarian, a great orator and a distinguished member of the Rajya Sabha for nearly three decades (1952-1981). He was first elected to the Rajya Sabha in 1952, and he remained there until his death in 1981 winning all the intervening elections to that House making him the longest serving member of the House.

Gupta, Indrajit, was born at Calcutta in 1919. He has been member of the Lok Sabha ever since 1956, with only one break. Indrajit Gupta won the Most Outstanding Parliamentarian award. A prominent member of the Communist Party of India, he was Union Home Minister in the Janata Dal led coalition ministry.

Gurupadswamy, M.S., born at Malangi (Karnataka) in 1922, was a committed socialist member of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha for many years. He was leader of the Janata Party in the Rajya Sabha and a minister in the Janata Party government.

Heptullah, Najma, was born in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh in 1940. She took her Ph.D. in Zoology, and has been Deputy Chairman Rajya Sabha for the longest period having been elected to the office thrice.

Kamath, H.V., born at Mangalore (Karnataka) in 1907, became a member of the Indian Civil Service, but resigned to join the freedom struggle. He was an active member of the Constituent Assembly, Provisional Parliament and several Lok Sabhas (first, third and sixth). Kamath was a master of the parliamentary procedure and an effective parliamentarian.

Kaur, Rajkumari Amrit (1889-1964) coming from a princely family became a devout disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and a freedom fighter. She dedicated her life to social service and was a crusader for the emancipation of women and weaker sections of society. Right from the days of the Constituent Assembly and later as the first woman minister of the Union Cabinet after Independence she emerged as a distinguished parliamentarian. It was as a result of her dedicated efforts that the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) — one of the best in Asia — was set up in New Delhi. Speaking in the Lok Sabha, she had called it as one of her 'cherished dreams'.

Kripalani, J.B., born in Hyderabad (Sind) now in Pakistan in 1888, was a senior Gandhian, freedom fighter and parliamentarian. He was an active member of the Constituent Assembly and later of Parliament.

Kumaramangalam, P.R., born in Tamil Nadu in 1952, in a family of eminent public men (his father and grandfather also had been Union Ministers), is a lawyer by profession. Elected to the eighth, ninth, tenth and twelfth Lok Sabha, he is currently Union Minister for Power.

Kunzru, H.N., was one of the most accomplished Indian parliamentarians who was listened to with rapt attention when he spoke on defence matters and foreign policy issues — the two areas in which he specialised.

Lal, Bhajan, born in a village in Bahawal (now in Pakistan) in 1930, was Chief Minister of Haryana (1989-1986) and later Union Minister for Environment and Forests, Agriculture.

Lohia, Ram Manohar (1910-1967) was a fiery socialist leader, an eminent freedom fighter, outstanding Opposition leader and a great parliamentarian. He was an original political thinker, a man of the masses and a prolific writer. When he entered the Lok Sabha as a member in 1963 and took oath, he was given an unprecedented standing ovation. A new life and a new light seemed to have entered the House.

Mavalankar, G.V. was born on 15 May 1952. He was elected Speaker of the Lok Sabha constituted after the first general election under the Constitution. Earlier Mavalankar had been President of the Central Legislative Assembly (1946-47), Speaker of the Constituent Assembly Legislative (1947-50) and of the Provisional Parliament (1960-52).

Menon, P. Govinda (1908-1970) was a successful lawyer, constitutionalist and parliamentarian. He served in the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Parliament and the third and fourth Lok Sabhas. One of the most notable legislations piloted by him as the Union Law Minister was on nationalisation of banks which was followed with acrimonious debates in Parliament.

Menon, V.K. Krishna (1896-1974) played an important role in India's freedom movement through the India League and the Labour Party in Britain. After independence, he was India's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom during 1947-1951. As leader of the Indian delegation to the UN, he delivered the famous seven and a half hour long speech on India's case on Kashmir. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in 1956 and he was India's Defence Minister during 1957-1965. In 1972 and 1977 he was elected to Parliament as an independent from West Bengal and Kerala respectively. An

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internationally and nationally controversial figure, Krishna Menon distinguished himself as an outstanding orator.

Mody, Piloo, born at Bombay in 1926, was known as a parliamentarian and for his sharp wit and humour. By profession he had been an architect but became one of the founders of the Swatantra Party. He was elected to the Lok Sabha twice and once to the Rajya Sabha.

Mookerjee, Shyama Prasad (1901-1953) was a barrister by qualification, and the youngest ever Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta (1934). He was inducted by Jawaharlal Nehru in his Cabinet in 1947 but resigned as a protest to Nehru's Pakistan policy and the Nehru-Liaquat pact in April 1950. Mookerjee founded the Jan Sangh and is remembered as a great orator of extraordinary merit.

Mukherjee, H.N., born at Calcutta in 1907, was lawyer, educationist and is one of the most distinguished parliamentarians alive. A prominent communist party leader, he was also a candidate for the office of the president.

Munshi, K.M., born in 1877, was an advocate, writer, member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Drafting Committee. He was later Union Minister incharge of Food and Agriculture and Governor of Uttar Pradesh. He was known as a distinguished scholar and jurist.

Naidu, Sarojini (1879-1949) was an eminent poetess, and known as the nightingale of India. Sarojini Naidu was a prominent leader of the freedom struggle and a powerful and charming orator. She adorned the office of the governor of the most populous state of India — Uttar Pradesh.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889-1964) was among the most prominent freedom fighters and one of the founding fathers of the Constitution and the republic. Jawaharlal Nehru was an accomplished writer in English and India's first prime minister (1947-1964).

Pant, G.B. (1887-1961) was one of the foremost leaders of the nationalist movement for freedom and among the distinguished builders of modern India. A great parliamentarian, he was Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (1947-39 and 1947-1954) and later the Home Minister of India (1945-1961).

Pandit, Vijaya Lakshmi (1900-1990) sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, herself a prominent freedom fighter, occupied some of the highest positions in public

life both nationally and internationally. She was the first woman minister in Uttar Pradesh (1937-39), ambassador to USSR (1947-49) and USA (1949-53), High Commissioner to UK (1954-61), Governor of Maharashtra (1962-54) and Member of Lok Sabha (1966-68). She was leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations and became the first woman President of the UN General Assembly.

Patil, Shivraj, born in 1935 at Latur (Maharashtra), is an advocate by profession. Patil was Speaker, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, Union Minister of State for Science and Technology, Civil Aviation and Defence before being elected as the Speaker of the tenth Lok Sabha. He is an active parliamentarian.

Prasad, Rajendra (1884-1963) was one of the most distinguished leaders of the freedom struggle, a committed non-violent satyagrahi and a Gandhian. He was the President of the Constituent Assembly and was elected the first President of the Republic (1950-62).

Radhakrishnan, S. (1888-1975) was a distinguished philosopher, scholar, author and statesman. Dr. Radhakrishnan occupied high positions as Professor at Oxford, Vice Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, Ambassador to the then Soviet Union, Vice President (1942-62) and finally President of India (1962-67).

Ranga, N.G., born in 1900, was an agriculturist and freedom fighter and Professor of Economics. He was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, Constituent Assembly Provisional Parliament, Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha for over half a century making him the senior most sitting Parliamentarian of the world before his demise.

Rao, P.V. Narasimha, born in 1921 in Andhra, was Prime Minister of India during 1991-96. Narasimha Rao had been earlier Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and Union Minister incharge of various portfolios like HRD, Defence, Home, External Affairs. He is known as a linguist and an erudite scholar.

Sangma, P.A., born in 1947 in Meghalaya, had been Chief Minister of Meghalaya and Union Minister of State for Labour, Coal, Information and Broadcasting before he was elected Speaker of the eleventh Lok Sabha. Known for his competence and friendliness, Sangma is an outstanding parliamentarian.

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Shah, K.T., was born at Cutch Mandir in 1888. He was known as an eminent economist, author and active parliamentarian.

Singh, Karan, was born at Cannes (France), in 1931. He became maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and Sadr-i-Riyasat at the age of twenty-one. He was governor, union minister, is world famous scholar, thinker, author, poet and statesman. He was also India's ambassador to the United States and is currently member of the Rajya Sabha.

Singh, Manmohan, born in West Punjab in 1932, is a well-known economist, professor and civil servant. He became the Finance Minister of India in the Narasimha Rao Cabinet and is known for the new economic policy of liberalisation.

Subramaniam, C. was born in Coimbatore in 1910. He was one of the most outstanding senior statesman around. He occupied some of the highest offices as Governor and in the Union Cabinet.

Sundaram, Lanka (1905-1967) was an eminent parliamentarian, economist, trade unionist and writer. Lanka Sundaram spoke in Parliament more as an experienced journalist than anything else.

Swell, G.G. was born in Meghalaya in 1924. He was educationist and Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha during 1977-71. He has also been a Member of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha for nearly three decades and India's ambassador to Norway and Burma.

Vajpayee, Atal Bihari is currently the Prime Minister of India. Vajpayee was born at Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh in 1926. He is an eminent writer, poet and journalist, and has been adjudged as the most outstanding parliamentarian. He is known as a very powerful speaker and is widely respected, transcending all party labels and ideologies.

List of Abbreviations



<i>AICC</i>	-	All India Congress Committee
<i>ASEAN</i>	-	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
<i>BJP</i>	-	Bharatiya Janata Party
<i>CAG</i>	-	Comptroller and Auditor General
<i>CARE</i>	-	Co-op. American Relief Everywhere
<i>CPM</i>	-	Communist Party Marxist
<i>CRP</i>	-	Central Reserve Police
<i>CSIR</i>	-	Council of Scientific & Industrial Research
<i>CVC</i>	-	Central Vigilance Commission
<i>DIB</i>	-	Director Intelligence Bureau
<i>DIG</i>	-	Deputy Inspector General
<i>DMK</i>	-	Dravida Munnetra Kazaghram
<i>EAC</i>	-	Economic Advisory Council
<i>EPT</i>	-	Excess Profit Tax
<i>FAO</i>	-	Food and Agricultural Organisation
<i>GATT</i>	-	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<i>GDP</i>	-	Gross Domestic Product
<i>HRD</i>	-	Human Resource Development
<i>IAF</i>	-	Indian Air Force

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<i>IB</i>	–	Intelligence Bureau
<i>IMF</i>	–	International Monetary Fund
<i>IPKF</i>	–	Indian Peace Keeping Force
<i>ISI</i>	–	Inter Services Intelligence
<i>JKLF</i>	–	Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force
<i>LTTE</i>	–	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
<i>MISA</i>	–	Maintenance of Internal Security Act
<i>MLA</i>	–	Member of Legislative Assembly
<i>MOSIS</i>	–	Minister of State for Internal Security
<i>MP</i>	–	Member of Parliament
<i>MRTP</i>	–	Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices
<i>NAM</i>	–	Non-Aligned Movement
<i>NEFA</i>	–	North East Frontier Area
<i>NIDC</i>	–	National Industrial Development Corporation
<i>ONGC</i>	–	Oil and Natural Gas Commission
<i>POK</i>	–	Pakistan Occupied Territory
<i>PSP</i>	–	Praja Socialist Party
<i>PTI</i>	–	Press Trust of India
<i>RSS</i>	–	Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh
<i>SEADO</i>	–	South East Asia Defence Organisation
<i>TISCO</i>	–	Tata Iron and Steel Company
<i>UNO</i>	–	United Nations Organisation
<i>UGC</i>	–	University Grants Commission
<i>UNESCO</i>	–	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
<i>UT</i>	–	Union Territory
<i>VHP</i>	–	Vishwa Hindu Parishad

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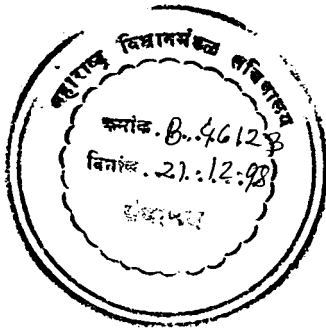
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Dr Subhash C Kashyap, well-known parliamentary and constitutional law expert and author of several prestigious works, had his higher education and professional training at Allahabad, New Delhi, Dallas, Washington DC, London and Geneva. He was intimately associated with Parliament for over thirty-seven years, from the first Lok Sabha of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mavalankar. He has been the recipient of several prestigious awards and honours amongst which are the U.S. Congressional Fellow of the APSA, UNDP Fellow and was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship in 1996.

Currently Dr Kashyap is an Honorary Visiting Professor at the Centre for Policy Research and Honorary Editor, *Politics India*.

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