# Nominated Members of Rajya Sabha

RAJYA SABHA SECRETARIAT NEW DELHI

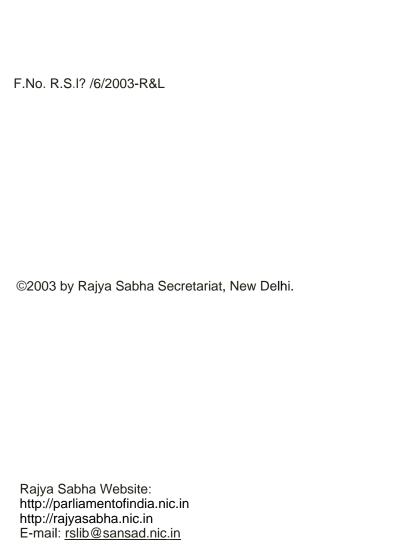
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## NOMINATED MEMBERS OF RAJYA SABHA

The path that the great men tread, becomes the path for others to follow. (Mahabharat; Van Parv)

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#### **PREFACE**

Under article 80 of the Constitution, President of India nominates 12 members to the Council of States from amongst those who have special knowledge or practical experience the fields such as literature, science, art and social service. Since 98 members have been nominated inception in 1952, the Council of States. They enjoy all the rights and privileges Members Parliament available to other except of that they cannot participate in the elections organised to elect the country. President of our During the last 50 vears they have significant contributions to parliamentary proceedings made and played an important role in consolidating democracy in India. booklet Outlining their contributions this gives an overview of Sabha. their ocjlvlties in Rajya hope the booklet giving panoramic view of the role of nominated members will be found useful by the readers.

New Delhi January 2003

DR. YOGENDRA NARAIN Secretary-General Rajya Sabha

#### NOMINATED MEMBERS OF RAJYA SABHA

#### Introduction

While the creation of the Council of States as part of the bicameral legislature at the national level remained central to democratic nation building its composition by blending the principles of election and nomination constituted one of its distinguishing and redeeming features. In fact, nomination of members to the Council accords it a special status in our body polity. Forming part of the rich and fascinating parliamentary mosaic, presence of the nominated members in the House is an affirmation of the architecture of our inclusive society and democracy. The founding fathers of our Republic in their wisdom thought that deliberations of the Council invested with their special knowledge and expert opinion would ascend to higher stages of maturity and excellence and attain added value and importance. Twelve members nominated under article 80 of the Constitution by the President of India from amongst those who have special knowledge or practical experience in the fields such as literature, science, art and social service make the composition of the Council unique and distinctive and elevates its position as a mature, deliberative and revisory chamber of our Parliament.

While electoral politics largely defines the contours of public life, it does not necessarily give greater depth and content to it. It was thought that public life of our country as represented in the Council of States could be further enriched by harnessing the talents of those persons who quietly but in a deeper and profound way engage themselves in the service of the nation. The nature and dynamics of competitive politics is such that normally it does not bring such people to its fold and they while pursuing their professional work neither find time nor show an inclination to be part of the mainstream political process of the nation. Enlisting their participation in representative bodies ensures that they get recognition for their splendid contribution to our nation and the country in turn gets benefited through their insightful thoughts and ideas which act as vital inputs for legislation and policy making in the highest forum of our democracy. Since political process in a democratic country like India has to be inclusive, it must not be restricted to only those who make it their profession but must encompass in its scope those who are away from it and essential for its larger goals and purposes vis-à-vis the nation. In this sense, through the mechanism of nomination, representatives with high indices of performance in diverse areas of our collective life have been chosen to contribute to the proceedings of the Council. Inclusion of distinguished and illustrious personalities in the Council for their high achievements in life and remarkable contributions to nation, imparts it with strength and vitality which the element of election alone possibly would not have given.

Our Constituent Assembly established the Union Constitution Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to give the framework of the legislature of our country. The issue of nomination of members was deliberated thoroughly by the Committee and in the minutes of its meeting it was noted that "The Upper Chamber should also include representatives of certain important functional interests such as scientists and university teachers, and for this purpose the President should be given authority to nominate some ten members in consultation with scientific bodies and universities". During the course of the debate in the Constituent Assembly about the composition of the Council of States while it was largely agreed upon that twelve members would be nominated by the President of India, a particular member moved an amendment to the draft Constitution suggesting that the provision of nomination might be done away with. The Assembly negatived it and during the discussion on the amendment on 3 January 1949, the observations of Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, about the philosophy and

purpose behind the nomination deserves reproduction here to validate the idea outlined above that the element of election alone would not have possibly given the Council its strength and vitality. He said that:

If you leave the representation entirely to election in a Council of States, the class of people whom we want to nominate by this article *i.e*, the class of people who must have some special knowledge in agriculture, fishery, administration and social services, these people generally fight shy of elections and will never be able to come to the House and therefore, it is necessary in the exigencies of circumstances that some provision should be left for nomination so that the House may get the advantage of people who would normally not like to enter into a contest of election and at the same time whose services to the legislature would be very useful.

Even earlier in 1947 participating in the debate in the Constituent Assembly for the establishment of the Council of States a leading member Shri N.Gopalaswami Ayyangar outlined the rationale behind the induction of experienced and seasoned people to the Council and said:

...we also give an opportunity, perhaps, to seasoned people who may not be in the thickest of the political fray, but who might be willing to participate in the debate with an amount of learning and importance which we do not ordinarily associate with a House of the People.

The above observation though did not specifically refer to the nominated members but probably encapsulated in its ambit the prominent and admirable personalities from beyond the frontiers of politics who by virtue of their signal accomplishments in life and career have attained exalted status and whose nomination during fifty years of the existence of the Council has been richly reflected in its proceedings "with an amount of learning and importance" which otherwise would not have been possible.

#### **An Overview of the Contributions of nominated Members**

This is more so for the Parliament of a country like India, where the very idea of introduction of representative institutions in response to the demand of our freedom fighters, was described by a British authority as "the wildest dream that could have ever entered the minds of men". Democracy in India, the success and marvel of which has fascinated the world and made us justly proud, owes a lot to our people, people's representatives and indeed nominated members who form an integral part of the Council of States, enjoy all powers and privileges due to any member of Parliament and as enshrined in the Constitution and who represent not any constituency or State but their respective functions and the whole country.

We are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of our Parliament and on this occasion the importance of preserving democracy and dedicating oneself for its cause is highlighted. It is interesting and instructive to note that even before we celebrated the first anniversary of the constitution of the Council of States, a nominated member of the House had expressed himself on this issue which compels attention and action on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the highest representative body of our country. Major General Sahib Singh Sokhey, a Medical Scientist, was a nominated member of the Council of States during 1952-56. While participating, on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1953, in a discussion on the general budget for the year 1953-54 he said, "A Parliamentary Government does not *ipso facto* become a democracy" and referred to the

speech of the prominent British leader Aneurin Bevan who had stated that the British parliamentary system became democracy in 1929 after the introduction of universal adult suffrage in that country. He then added, "...all Honourable Members here and all Members of every party should realize that...we have to deliberately work and act in the true spirit of democracy". In fact, the "deliberate work and action" of the nominated members has come up in abundant measure on the floor of the House and has silently and in an unspectacular manner contributed substantially to the deepening of our democratic tradition and the parliamentary work.

During fifty years of our Parliament, ninety-eight nominated members\* have adorned the seats of the Council of States and heightened its prestige and esteem through their meaningful and important contributions to the proceedings of the House. Among ninety-eight members, one captures the magnificence of their excellence as artists, scholars, scientists, educationists, historians, jurists, economists, journalists, litterateurs, administrators and above all as social workers.

A survey of the list of such members focuses our attention on their high stature and their absorbing and compelling performances in those fields from where civil society, the country and indeed posterity derive benefits and inspiration for ciivlised and fruitful existence. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that their superb achievements are central to the fashioning of the destiny of our country and influencing the course of many world events.

A glance at the list of nominated members beginning from 1952 to 2002 brings to our knowledge such cultivated and towering figures who inspire pride and confidence on their monumental works and instill optimism among our people for our country's future. Dr. Zakir Husain was among the twelve members nominated in 1952 on the strength and merit of his status as a prominent educationist. He used to say that "National renaissance cannot come through narrow gates of politics; it needed the flood gates of reformative education". It is lesser known that Mahatma Gandhi organized a National Education Conference in 1937 to discuss about a scheme of education for India centering around crafts. Dr. Zakir Husain attended that Conference and constructively criticised Mahatma Gandhi's approach. Gandhiji was so impressed by his ability and understanding that he nominated Dr. Zakir Husain as the Chairman of the Syllabus Committee of the Wardha Scheme of Education. The report submitted by Dr. Zakir Husain provided the blue print of basic education for our country. Later in 1938 Mahatma Gandhi generously wrote, "Had it not been for Zakir Husain... I would have abandoned the implementation of my idea of education". While functioning in the House as a nominated Member he offered his views in an independent and impartial manner on issues which he felt are not being adequately dealt with by the Government in its plans and policies. When the House was discussing a resolution regarding second Five Year Plan he frankly expressed his opinion on its shortcomings and at the end he focussed attention on education. Referring to the directive of the Constitution regarding the responsibility of the State to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years, he said, "There is no directive about the railway mileage; there is no directive about steel production and there is no directive about any other thing". Pointing out that the Planning Commission was not following that directive deliberately he observed, "I think there could be no criticism of the Planning Commission more damaging than this".

The damage has been "undone" and we have now enacted a legislation which guarantees free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years as a fundamental

right. Dr. Zakir Husain passionately devoted himself to the cause of education and for its promotion among people. Such an outstanding educationist rose to become the President of our Republic and in his assumption speech gratefully referred to the decision of the people's representatives for choosing him as their nominee for the highest office of our country primarily on account of his accomplishments in the field of education.

Dr. J.M.Kumarappa, the celebrated Gandhian scholar who figured in the first panel of nominated members had, with rare farsightedness advocated the theory of economy of permanence which embodied in its scope the idea of sustainable development. In the context of the environmental crisis confronted by humanity, it is of cardinal significance that at that time somebody of the stature of Dr. Kumarappa had raised such an issue which is now of global significance. Nomination of such visionaries to the Council of States redounds to the fame of our parliamentary democracy. As a Member of Rajya Sabha while participating in the discussion on the Andhra State Bill, 1953, he suggested for a change of heart on the part of Hindus for the safety and security of minorities.

Shri Maithilisharan Gupta, another nominated member from the first panel, was a great poet and fought for the freedom of our country. Shri Prithviraj Kapoor, a Member of Rajya Sabha nominated for his outstanding contributions as a theatre artist and cine actor while refuting the allegation that nominated members express the views of their "bosses" referred to Shri Maithilisharan Gupta and said on the floor of the House, "When the Britishers were here and when the sword of Damocles was hanging over the people, there were revolutionaries like Maithilisharan Gupta who had courage to write "Bharat Bharati. So those who could dare then would certainly brook no bosses today. They will bow before reason and love and nothing else." Probably in the history of parliamentary democracy in the world, Shri Maithilisharan Gupta would be the only parliamentarian who spoke in the House in verse form and invested the proceedings of the House with rare charm and beauty.

The magical words of the writers, poets and litterateurs create deep resonance in the hearts and minds of people and in the larger society. The Council of States had the benefit of getting their benign presence and their participation in its proceedings throughout these fifty years. Amongst the long list of such people acclaimed for their creative faculties, mention can be made of Shri B.V. (Mama) Warerkar, Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee, Shri Uma Shankar Joshi, Dr. Gopal Singh, Dr. Harivansh Rai Bachchan, Shri Bhagwati Charan Varma, Shri G. Sankara Kurup, Shri R.K. Narayan, Shrimati Amrita Pritam, Dr. C. Narayana Reddy and others who added lustre to the parliamentary business of Rajya Sabha through their special contributions.

Historians of great repute such as Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Dr. Tara Chand, Sardar K.M. Panikkar and Prof. S. Nurul Hasan had become members of this august Council and excelled in their own way as parliamentarians. Professor Rasheeduddin Khan and Dr. V.P. Dutt, nominated members of the House, belonged to the category of scholars and had enriched the academia through their learning, understanding and collegiate interactions with students, teachers, intellectuals and policy makers. Scholars and professors of national and international fame had brought to the Council the richness of their ideas and illuminating thoughts.

Scientific community found its voice in the House through the nomination of Professor Satyendranath Bose, Dr. B.N. Prasad, agricultural scientist, Dr. K. Ramiah, Prof. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee and Dr. Raja Ramanna. Currently serving his term in the Council of States, Dr. Ramanna had the unique distinction leading the country in conducting the first ever nuclear test in 1974. During the Winter Session (2002) of Parliament he felicitated the Chairman of Rajya

Sabha, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and said that nominated members played an important role in the House.

Since its inception in 1952, the Council of States had in its Chamber legal luminaries and jurists of the stature of Shri M.C. Setalvad, Shri C.K. Daphtary and Shri Madan Bhatia. Currently Shri Fali S. Nariman from the legal fraternity is a nominated member whose keen participation in various activities of the House is noteworthy and inspiring.

Prominent personalities from the field of media have been nominated to the House from time to time. Names such as Shri Khushwant Singh, Shri R.K. Karanjia, Shri Kuldip Nayyar and Shri Cho. S. Ramaswamy stand out for their dedicated participation in the House.

Shri Prithviraj Kapoor, celebrated artist and cine actor, Shri Habib Tanvir, the renowned theatre personality, film actor Shri V.C. Ganesan, famous actresses of the celluloid world Shrimati Nargis Dutt and Shrimati Vyjayantimala Bali had spent successful tenures in the Council. Currently, internationally acclaimed film maker Shri Mrinal Sen, four times winner of the national award for best actress and the U.N. Ambassador on Population and Development Shrimati Shabana Azmi and melody queen Ms. Lata Mangeshkar are Members of Rajya Sabha.

It is educative to go through the speeches of nominated Members of the House like Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye, an activist for the cause of family planning, Shrimati Ela Ramesh Bhatt, a social worker, and champion of women's banking, Shri Scato Swu, a prominent social worker from Nagaland pleading for the solution of Naga problem within the frame work of the Indian Union and Shri Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, noted economist. Shri Mahendra Prasad a social and political worker and a sitting Member of Rajya Sabha, was also its nominated Member during 1993-94.

Shri M. Ajmal Khan, Urdu lexicographer, Shri Salim Ali, the well known ornithologist, Shri M.F. Husain, the reputed artist and Pt. Ravi Shankar the world famous sitar maestro had also become Members of Rajya Sabha.

A careful analysis of the background of the nominated members of Rajya Sabha educate us about those great personalities who through their meritorious services represented broad spectrum of splendour of our composite social mosaic and brought glory to the Council.

The Council of States had at least six nominated members who were members of the hallowed Constituent Assembly which framed our Constitution, the fundamental law of our country. All those members are immortalized as the founding fathers of our Republic. While Shri Alladi Krishnaswami was member of the Drafting Committee, which drafted our Constitution, Shri V.T. Krishnamachari was the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly. Shri M. Satyanarayana, Shri R.R. Diwakar, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram and Shri Mohan Lal Saksena were other four nominated members who had also served the Constituent Assembly and therefore remain forever in the annals of our history as the makers of our Constitution and architect of our democratic Republic.

Some of the names of the nominated members currently serving the Council of States have been mentioned above. Apart from that, writer Shri Kartar Singh Duggal, educationist Dr. (Ms.) P. Selvie Das, agriculturist Chaudhary Harmohan Singh Yadav and social worker Shri Nana Deshmukh belong to the privileged category of nominated Members of Rajya Sabha.

As stated earlier nominated members have same rights and privileges as other members except that they cannot exercise their vote to elect the President of India. Like other Members of Parliament they have discharged their duties ably and effectively. While doing so they have not brooked any interference and firmly defended their status as independent Members of Parliament. In fact, within a fortnight of the constitution of Rajya Sabha, an honourable member

of the House expressed scepticism about the independence of nominated members. Referring to Shri Prithviraj Kapoor, nominated Member of the House, he alleged that Shri Kapoor being an actor and not a politician was bound to "sing praise of his bosses". Possibly the Member concerned had in mind that the status of nomination compels a nominated member to act at somebody's behest in the House. Shri Prithiviraj Kapoor said that such comments "... did not hurt much... but produced rather a jarring note". Firmly denying that nominated members have bosses to control them, he gave an appropriate outline of the role of such members and said, "I believe that these nominated members, scientists, eminent historians, literary men, poets, dancers and actors like my humble self - they are here just to play their part when the soul gets parched up in these days of political tangles and passions". Explaining his responsibility as an artist to turn the attention of the politicians for the good of the nation, he made a profound remark, the import of which is of immense significance in our age marked by insatiable search for mundane and material comforts. He said:

We may be flying to the skies but our contact with the earth must never be lost. But if we read too much of economics and politics, our contact with earth begin to disappear – our soul gets parched and dried up. It is from that drying up of the soul that our politician friends have to be guarded and saved – and it is for that purpose that the nominated Members, the educationists, scientists, poets, writers and artists are here.

The brilliant philosophical explanation given by an artist about the role of nominated members in a way justified his own nomination and the vision of the founding fathers of our Republic.

In fact, the nominated Members have provided the much-needed balm to the parched and anguished souls through their interventions in the House.

It is well known that Shrimati Rukmini Devi Arundale, a nominated Member of the House was instrumental in introducing a Bill to prevent cruelty against animals. She delivered a powerful speech while moving the Bill and Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was so stirred by that speech that he himself agreed with the basic principle of the Bill and requested her to withdraw it. He further assured that the Government would introduce a comprehensive legislation on the subject concerned. Subsequently the Government introduced such a legislation which was enacted. The parliamentary initiative of the nominated member had thus influenced the thinking of the Government for bringing in a legislation which eventually created the law to prevent cruelty against animals.

Going beyond the boundary of parliamentary initiative one finds that Shrimati Rukmini Devi Arundale raised fundamental questions which have profound and deeper implications for our time. On 4March 1953 participating in the discussion on Budget for the year 1953-54, she said, "At present we have completely forgotten the animal kingdom of which no mention is made here". The issue raised by her almost fifty years back is now the predominant issue before mankind. In Europe many countries have introduced legislations to protect the rights of animals. Environmentalists all over the globe are igniting consciousness to protect flora and fauna. The idea to respect all life forms including animals is now being advocated as a credo to protect mankind from the impending ecological disaster. In our own country and that to in the Council of States, a legislation was introduced in the past to protect wild life. This thought provoking idea of a nominated lady member raised almost half a century back, attests to her

farsightedness and the effective role played by the nominated members in sensitizing the Government and people about crucial environmental problems.

Again on 28 April 1953 while participating in the discussion on the Cinematograph (Amendment) Bill, 1952, she defined immorality in films not only in terms of depiction of sexually suggestive and obscene acts but also in terms of depiction of murder and cruelty. "Immorality" she said, "is not only that which is sensual or that which stimulates sensuality but that which is cruel and ugly, that which detracts from character". Such redefinition of immorality in the context of film censorship is of immense value. She being an artist emphasized on beauty and aesthetics of our cultural tradition which she said forms the basis of unity of our diverse people.

The essential unity of our people and their culture was also underlined by Shri Prithviraj Kapoor when he suggested on 15 July 1952 that through the construction of a national theatre, opportunities could be provided to people professing different religions and speaking different languages to come together and share a common platform and learn appropriate behaviour. Describing theatre as "a wonderful thing" and "the greatest temple on earth", he said, "In that temple, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jew, Sikh and Parsee all get together". At a time when religious divide is separating people and causing disunity, such an idea articulated in 1952 assumes significance, "... national theatre" he said, "... will teach us how to sit together, how to behave towards each other". He therefore, suggested that schools apart from giving medals to students for their academic proficiency must also institute medals for good behaviour. That emphasis on good behaviour and morality through culture and art which nominated members laid in 1950s is of relevance for our age which is witnessing disintegration of our values and crisis in standards of behaviour.

All the above testify to the serious manner in which nominated Members took up their parliamentary work and used the highest forum of our democracy to highlight issues with greater depth, the impact of which is reckoned with on the golden jubilee of our Parliament.

Another profound observation of Shri Prithviraj Kapoor in the Council of States need to be brought to limelight. While participating in the discussion on the Rehabilitation Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1952 on 25 November 1953, he referred to an event of historic significance not only for our nation but for the entire humanity. He said that on 15 August 1947 when almost all the leaders were in Delhi celebrating independence of our country from foreign rule and oppression, Mahatma Gandhi was walking in Noakhali barefooted administering solace and comfort to the victims of communal carnage. His presence at the riot hit area away from the center of power at a time when all the leaders were celebrating the transfer of power and independence in Delhi drives home very powerfully the compassionate leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Shri Prithviraj Kapoor while giving this example on the floor of the House urged the officials, entrusted with the responsibility of providing relief and money to refugees coming from across the border after India was partitioned, to imbibe the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi.

This example of remaining away from the center of power when Indian got power after their independence was cited by none other than the President of India Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam before he filed his nomination in July 2002 for the highest post of our country. At a Press Conference while answering a question, he dealt with the issue of leadership for his vision of a developed India and said that India must have compassionate leaders. In the book India 2020: A vision for the new Millennium" written by Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and Y.S. Rajan that incident has been graphically written. Narrating that experience President Kalam wrote:

I was in my teens when India became independent. The headmaster of my school used to take us to hear the news on the only available radio. We used to hear of the events in Delhi, and many speeches and commentaries. I used to distribute the morning newspaper *Dinamani* to households in Rameswaram, to help my brother with his work. While going on my daily morning round I also read the news items. One report which particularly struck me appeared in the heady days following independence. It was a time for celebration and the country's leaders were gathered in Delhi, addressing themselves to the momentous tasks that faced the government. At this moment, however, far from being at the center of power, the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was away in Noakhali caring for the riot victims and trying to heal the wounds inflicted by communal rioting. How many persons would have such courage of conviction as did Gandhiji at a time when the nation was at his command? It is that kind of deep and unshakeable commitment to the well-being of all Indians that underlines the vision of a developed India.

This particular incident which was narrated by nominated member of the Council of States Shri Prithviraj Kapoor on the floor of House in 1953 and which had a profound impact on President Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's life when he was a young boy has been artistically depicted in the President's website (presidentofindia.nic.in).

India has been facing serious challenges to its unity and integrity right since we attained independence. On all such occasions, nominated members of the Council of States defended our unity and territorial integrity and expressed their ideas on those issues which are of lasting significance. For instance, after we attained freedom from foreign rule, Pakistan invaded Jammu and Kashmir to forcibly annexe it. After the Jammu and Kashmir Government signed the instrument of accession, the Government of India sent armed forces to fight the intrusion and restore the occupied land. When a discussion on the situation in Jammu and Kashmir took place in Rajya Sabha on 5 August 1952, celebrated historian and the nominated Member Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee eloquently spoke on the subject and referred to Mahatma Gandhi who had extended support to "... the national resistance of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs of Kashmir" and said that that national resistance would inspire the whole country. Describing the accession of Jammu and Kashmir as unreserved and unconditional, he categorically declared on the floor of the House that there was no legal obligation that could bind India to conduct plebiscite there. He also referred to the wishes of the people of Kashmir and stated that their wishes had been expressed through the Resolution of the Constituent Assembly. Clarification given by Dr. Mookerjee in regard to the irrevocable accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India and India's legal stand on the issue of plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir needs to be reiterated to defend our unity and integrity.

Another nominated Member, Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar while participating in the same discussion referred to Jammu and Kashmir as the confluence of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam and said, "... we who respect all the cultures and all the religions, in the name of a secular State, are out to have a synthesis of all cultures and religions". Stating that "... although... Hindu communalism has been discredited, Hindu cultural nationalism is still holding its reactionary field", he underlined the fundamental importance of ensuring that "... the future belongs not to Hinduism, not to Islam or to any particular "ism" but to the universal culture of humanity".

When a Short Duration Discussion on Jammu and Kashmir with particular reference to recent massacre in Kasim Nagar took place in Rajya Sabha on 31 July 2002, Shri Kuldip Nayyar,

a prominent media personality and a nominated member of the Council participated in it and referred to the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India and said that Shri Sheikh Abdullah preferred to do so because of India's pluralistic society and because he himself was part of India's struggle for sustaining such a society. Criticising the proposals emanating from some quarters for trifurcation of Kashmir, he firmly stated "We cannot reopen partition."

Earlier on 21 March 2002, Shri Kuldip Nayyar while participating in a discussion in the House on the Statutory Resolution Disapproving the Prevention of Terrorism (Second) Ordinance, 2001 and the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2002, referred to what he called "A new kind of terrorism", "religious terrorism" and said that it posed grave danger to our democratic and secular society which was established in our country due to the struggle and sacrifices of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. Highlighting the potential danger of religious frenzy to our country's secular and pluralistic ethos he reminded that we were saved of the religious frenzy earlier because of Mahatma Gandhi's martyrdom. This assertion against "religious terrorism" and for our secular ethos is an assertion for the unity of our country.

As we survey the debates of the Council of States we find that another nominated member of the House, Shri Khushwant Singh had defended our unity and integrity when religious fundamentalism and terrorism raised the secessionist idea of creating the so-called Khalistan. Analyzing the history of Sikhs, he referred to their fifth Guru who said that through the establishment of that religion they adopted a stand against caste system and idol worship. He asserted that at no time did the Guru mean to call it a separate nation.

These above observations of nominated members indicate their concerns to preserve our unity and integrity, our secular ethos and pluralism and above all our humanism which transcends all religious barriers and gives us sanity and strength for civilized existence.

Struggle for gender equality remains one of the central concerns of twenty-first century. It is said that development if not engendered will be endangered. While focusing attention on women's upliftment special attention has to be given to the problems of the widows of society who suffer the double jeopardy of loosing their husbands and confronting humiliation and social discrimination. Long years back Swami Vivekananda had observed that "...the land of India...is soaked with the tears of widows." To redress the problems of the widows and particularly to ensure that they get property rights, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, a nominated member of the House introduced a Bill to amend the Hindu Law governing Hindu Childless widow's rights to property in 1953. While moving it on 4 December 1953, he had said that the purpose of the Bill was to make the right of childless widow to her husband's property absolute. Even though he withdrew the Bill on the assurances of the Government that a comprehensive legislation would be introduced, it articulated the aspects of the sufferings of women who remain vulnerable to the exploitation and discrimination. It was indicative of the constructive exertion of a nominated member to bring to the highest forum of democracy the pitiable condition of women. In 1956 the law on succession incorporating the rights of childless widows was passed by Parliament.

Eighth Schedule to our Constitution contains a list of 18 languages. When the Constitution was adopted, Sindhi language was not part of the said Schedule. Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, a nominated member of Rajya Sabha, who served as a prominent Member of our Constituent Assembly, passionately took up the cause of Sindhi in the House and strongly pleaded for its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule. When the Government introduced the Constitution (Twenty-Second Amendment) Bill, 1966 to add Sindhi in the Eighth Schedule, Shri Jairamdas spoke eloquently about the rich history of Sindhi language and its contributions to India's literature and culture. He also pointed out that Sindhi has close affinity to ten out of the

fourteen languages in the Eighth Schedule and therefore took the stand that it should be part of it. Replying to the discussion on the above Bill, the then Minister for Home Affairs, Shri Y.B. Chavan referred to Shri Jairamdas's concerns for the cause of Sindhi and said:

Madam, Shri Jairamdas spoke very feelingly about the contribution made by Sindhis for the Independence of this country but the very process of independence made us lose the home of the Sindhis. Though Sind is lost to us, Sindhi is not lost to us and this Constitution (Amendment) Bill is a recognition of this fact.

While dwelling on the role of nominated members to address the problems faced by the weaker sections of society, it would be instructive to know that a Resolution was moved by nominated member Shrimati Ela Ramesh Bhatt on 5 August 1988, urging the House to formulate a national policy for the hawkers and vendors to protect their livelihood. Through that resolution she urged the House to issue licences to them so that they can be protected from harassment meted out to them by officials and some sections of the our society. She also pleaded that their interests should be taken into account while making plans for the urban development. Irrespective of the fate of the resolution, the very fact that she introduced and moved such a resolution amply speaks of her desire to uplift those sections of society who serve the rest of the population but get ill-treatment and humiliation. In fact, Shrimati Ela Ramesh Bhatt now remains in the forefront of women's banking in India. She is the moving force behind Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) Bank in Ahmedabad which is run entirely by women. By giving micro-credit to poor women, she is aiming at uplifting them from their deplorable social and economic conditions. When Mrs. Hilary Clinton, wife of former American President Bill Clinton visited South Asian countries she also visited SEWA Bank and in an article in the International Herald Tribune glowingly wrote about the way poor women are being benefited out of it.

A champion of women's causes Shrimati Bhatt raised many issues relating to women, such as harassment caused to them due to demand for dowry and their ill-treatment in society and family. She even suggested that projection of women in media in the rigid stereotypes also constituted indecent representation of women. While participating in the discussion on the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Bill, 1986 she redefined meaning of indecency *vis-a-vis* women and said, "It is indecent to reduce women to just an attractive body or an attractive face alone. It is also demeaning and I think indecent to show women only as a housewife, mother, Secretary, air hostess, etc. It is against the dignity and against the concept of equality between women and men to constantly show her as servant to men or subordinate to men. Such portrayal is equally insidious and dangerous also. In reality our women are in every profession. They are working as farmers, workers, engineers, doctors, pilots, politicians, etc. So this should be reflected in all the forums of our media."

Her ardour and initiative for the protection of women's interests was amply demonstrated during the discussion in Rajya Sabha on the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Bill, 1987. Describing sati as "... basically a property motivated evil" she categorically stated that "The motive is to remove women out of the line of succession". Explaining further she forcefully stated that no poor family would ever push its woman to the funeral pyre of her dead husband. She proposed to move an amendment to shift the burden of proof to those who are charged with the crime. The then Minister for Women and Child Development, Shrimati Margaret Alva in her reply to the discussion acknowledged that Shrimati Ela Bhatt's proposal had been taken care of.

By that measure a nominated Member's concerns for women's interests were reflected by the Government action.

One of the most exploited sections of our country is the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For centuries they have been excluded from the mainstream of our society. Dr. Kalidas Nag, a nominated Member of the Council of States drew attention to their problems during the Question Hour on 25 November 1953 and said, "...the entire population represented by the Scheduled Castes is equal to the population of Great Britain – nearly 50 million – and they are bracketed with the tribal people who are 18 million, equal to the entire population of Turkey. What judgement will we face before the world if we cannot prepare them for "Leadership" in amelioration of conditions of our backward brethrens?" Expressing such concerns about the conditions of underprivileged sections of our society, nominated members have made the proceedings of the House relevant for the people of our country.

Problem faced by our farmers and people in general due to one of the worst droughts in independent India is well known. Entire nation has focused attention on this crisis so that people can overcome it without facing much difficulties. In 1973, in some of the States of our country we faced similar problems. Shri Abu Abraham, a renowned artist and cartoonist, and a nominated Member of the House, during that time visited drought affected areas in Maharashtra. He was not distressed to see the condition of people there. While participating in the discussion regarding approach to fifth five year plan he said, "I was inspired by what I saw there". Adding that "... tens of thousands of people, men, women, children, some women with babies in their arms, worked at digging wells and making canals", he said that "toughness... their tenacity and their comparative cheerfulness" impressed him the most. He informed the House that he wrote an article about his visit to that drought affected area and sent it to the Guardian, a famous British newspaper which published it under the caption "Miracle in Maharashtra". Shri Abu Abraham told the House that the title to the article was given by the newspaper because the editors of the Guardian thought that a miracle was happening in that part of India. He then added that people's achievement in removing huge tons of earth by physical force was remarkable. "... but the real miracle" he said "... was the mood and the spirit of the simple peasants who were trying to beat one of the worst droughts of our times". He then commented that "... we have a great potential of human energy and we have not used even a fraction of that yet". Therefore, he suggested to use the physical energy of our people which has not been used properly so far. Then he proposed that development from bottom covering the needs of poor and common people can benefit the country.

When there is so much debate and discussion going on in the country about electoral reforms and the need to restore values in public life, it is important to hark back to the ideas of a nominated Member Shri Mohan Lal Saksena who was a Member of the House during 1959-64. While participating in the discussion on the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill 1962, he had suggested some measures which are of paramount importance to purge our public life of many evils. Among others he had suggested that an all party organisation should formulate a code of conduct for the parties and candidates contesting elections. Besides, he expressed the point that the code of conduct should be enforced to discipline the parties and candidates during elections.

On 12 February 1960, Sardar K.M. Panikkar, a nominated member of the House, while participating in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address suggested that "Parliament may create any authority within its own body to enquire into any corruption, any kind of mischief, any kind of mistake that is made." This suggestion probably contained in

embryonic form the idea of an Ethics Committee which for the first time in our country was established by Rajya Sabha in 1997.

Much before the general public became conscious on the problem of pollution and its contaminating effect on air, water and atmosphere, the Council of States had the benefit of knowing it and getting sensitised about it with greater depth through the interventions of nominated Members. Fascinating account given by eminent economist Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, a nominated Member of the House about the cause of pollution in our river and atmosphere throws light on his depth of understanding. Participating in a discussion, which took place on 19 August 1983, when a particular Member called the attention of the Minister regarding the situation arising out of the air, water and gas pollution Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah delivered a thought provoking speech and expressed hope that through the debate in the House "there could be a much wider discussion of this little known and little regarded problem". Dr. Adiseshiah had the insight to see through the "little known and little regarded problem" and wanted a "much wider discussion". Today "the little known problem" has assumed a form of a major crisis, a crisis of ecological disaster, which has been created by modern development and advancement of human civilization. Prof. Adiseshiah said that development, under-development and people's unclean habits generate pollution and environmental problems. Elaborating people's attitude he referred to his own mother's way of keeping his house neat and tidy and said, "Look at the way we live. For example, in my own house my mother, an old Brahmin lady, sweeps the house and takes all the rubbish and throws them in the next door. That is how the house is kept clean. This is going on in our rivers so that there is this problem here of our society and our people causing pollution. It is not only industries which are responsible". Former President of India, Shri K.R. Narayanan in his address to the nation on 25 January 2000, on the eve of Republic Day referred to Dr. Adiseshiah's observation on the floor of the House and said, "The late Dr. Adiseshiah, one of our prominent economists and academicians, wrote about his mother that she was a high born lady who kept her house spotlessly clean. Every morning she used to sweep and clean the household herself and then dump the rubbish in the neighbor's garden. Self-regarding purity and righteousness ignoring others has been the bane of our culture". The above example shows that what a nominated member said on the floor of the House in 1983 had an impact on the mind of the President of our country who used that idea after more than one and half decades to convey a powerful message to the entire nation on the occasion of the golden jubilee of our Republic. It is indeed gratifying to recapitulate this point when Parliament of India is celebrating its golden jubilee.

One of the serious problems which causes deterioration of our environmental standards and which remains at the root of the creation of pollution is the rapid pace of urbanization. Shri Jagmohan was a nominated Member of Rajya Sabha during 1990 and 1996 and currently is a Cabinet Minister, holding the portfolio of Culture. While participating in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address he had extensively dealt with the issue of urbanization and said that cities are going to present the problems for public health and social harmony among our people. Expressing the opinion that proliferation of cities and urban population leads to social tension and what he called "inner irritation" he attributed the cause of communal riots in some cities of India not only to religious tension but to the inner irritation among individuals. Therefore, he frankly expressed regret that President's Address did not contain this important problem faced by our country.

Shri Abu Abraham's contributions have been mentioned earlier. In the context of urbanization one of his ideas is of great significance. While participating in the discussion on the

Motion of Thanks on the President's Address in 1975, he referred to the rapid migration of people from rural to urban areas and suggested that by using solar energy, wind power and gobar gas we can develop rural areas and check the massive movement of people from rural to urban areas

Urbanisation and population explosion are closely related to environmental crisis. In Rajya Sabha we had a lady nominated member, Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye during 1960s. She remained in the forefront in educating and sensitizing people to control population growth. She raised this issue on the floor of the House through many questions and discussions and introduced a Bill on 27 November 1964 under the title the Sterlisation of the Unfit Bill, 1964. The motion to take the Bill into consideration was moved by her after a gap of more than four years, that is, on 13 December 1968. The Bill was then referred to a Select Committee of Rajya Sabha on 28 November 1969. Eventually, the discussion on the Bill took place on 20 March 1970 and on that very day the House negatived it. However, this step of Shrimati Paranipye received wide publicity in media and a nation wide debate took place on the issue. One member Shri Abid Ali while participating in the discussion described the Bill as a laudable step and said that many editorials and special articles were written on the parliamentary initiative of Shrimati Paranipye. At the end of the discussion when the Bill was negatived, the then Vice-Chairman Shri Akbar Ali Khan paid glowing tributes to her services to the country and said, "...let me tell you on behalf of the House that ... you have brought a very important matter to the notice of the Government and Parliament... We appreciate your social service not only in this House but in the country."

Insights of nominated Members to address the emerging challenges of India provide us their deep understanding of the complex and bourgeoning needs of our people, society and country. During 1950s and in fact till 1980s there was no separate Department or Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education was entrusted with the responsibilities to look after matters relating to Culture. Shri B.V. (mama) Warerkar, the celebrated Marathi writer while participating in the discussion on the resolution regarding Sixth Five Year Plan suggested that the Government should promote art and culture and in that connection opined that for giving exclusive attention on Culture a separate Ministry on the subject should be created by taking it from the purview of Education Ministry. The creation of separate Department of Culture in 1985 underlined the significance of the suggestion of a nominated Member of the House put forth on 6 September 1956. Shri Habib Tanvir, one of the accomplished artists and outstanding theatre personalities of modern India and a nominated Member of Rajya Sabha during 1970s, with rare farsightedness had talked in 1973 about the impact of satellite TV and the necessity of ensuring its sanitized impact on society when terrestrial networks of Doordarshan had not even been properly established in metropolitan cities of our country. Participating in the discussion on the Cinematograph (Second Amendment) Bill, 1973 Shri Tanvir had said, "The satellite TV and the film medium, before they begin to have their powerful effect on a large scale, it has got to be ensured that they come to the right path".

In the beginning of twenty-first century national attention is focused on the linking of rivers so that our farmers and people get enough water for irrigation and drinking purposes. This issue has been taken up by the nominated Members from time to time on the floor of the House. It is evident from the initiative of Shri Joachim Alva, a nominated member of the House, who while participating in the discussion on the working of Ministry of Irrigation and Power on 13 April 1973 had said that "Irrigation is hand maiden of Agriculture" and requested the Government to consider extending the linking of Ganga and Cauvery to other Southern States.

In 1983, while participating in a discussion arising out of a calling attention notice on the issue of deterioration of telephone services, Prof. (Shrimati) Asima Chatterjee, a scientist, and a nominated Member of the Council of States suggested to the Government to send more satellites to space for improving our telephone connectivity. The rapid spread of telephone links in the length and breadth of our country during 1980s and 1990s after we launched satellites for communication purposes bring to light the relevance and importance of the suggestion of a nominated Member of the Council of States.

As early as 1953, Major General S.S. Sokhey, a medical scientist and a nominated Member of the House, while participating in the discussion on the Cinematograph (Amendment) Bill, 1952 suggested the Government to set up a Film Finance Corporation to give financial assistance for film production to "...enable ourselves to make use of film medium both from the cultural as well as from the artistic points of view". The establishment of the Film Finance Corporation few decades after the suggestion of a nominated Member of Rajya Sabha testifies to significance of his idea.

In many parts of the country campaigns were launched demanding right to information. This issue has also been raised by Members of Parliament on the floor of both Houses of our national legislature. Shri Kuldip Nayyar after getting nominated to the Council of States in 1997 as a Member, delivered his maiden speech and dealt with the issue of demand for right to information. Appreciating the efforts of the then Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and presently the Chairman of Rajaya Sabha, to make accounts available for public scrutiny he emphasized that the right to information must enable people to know how money is spent on developmental work. He also stressed that all the registers, muster-rolls, bills etc. "should be open to people not only in Delhi but also at every Panchayat Headquarters". Freedom of Information Bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and has now become an Act. When the Bill was being discussed, Shri Nayyar participated in it.

Many of the issues concerning education for our children relate to the heavy burden of school curriculum on them. A nominated Member of the Council and a writer of national and international acclaim Shri R.K.Narayan, in his maiden contribution to the Council, raised the issue of heavy school bags through a Special Mention. Extracts from the Special Mention is reproduced below to drive home the agitation of the nominated member on the issue of crushing burden of a heavy school bag on children.

The hardship starts right at home when straight from bed the child is pulled out and got ready for school even before his faculties are awake. He or she is groomed and stuffed into a uniform and packed off with a loaded bag on her back. School bag has become an inevitable burden for the child. I am now pleading for abolition of the school bag by an ordinance, if necessary. I have investigated and found that an average child carries strapped to his back like a pack-mule, not less than 6-8 kg. of books, notebooks and other paraphernalia of modern education in addition to lunch box and water bottle. More children on account of this daily burden develop a stoop and hang their arms forward like a chimpanzee while walking and I know some cases of serious spinal injuries in children too.

$$X \qquad \qquad X \qquad \qquad X \qquad \qquad X$$

It is a cruel harsh life imposed on her and I present her case before this House and the Hon'ble members to think over and devise a remedy by changing the whole educational system and outlook so that childhood has a chance to bloom...

After Shri R.K Narayan made the Special Mention, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman said,"...the entire House associates with Mr. R.K. Narayan and I feel that whole of the country will notice it and the Government will take note of it."

Another Special Mention made by nominated member Shrimati Shabana Azmi during the Winter Session of Rajya Sabha (2002) on the issue of the implementation of Mid Day Meal Scheme For School Children under the National Programme of Nutritional Support for Women Education made a powerful impact on the House and the whole House associated with her Special Mention.

India is internationally acknowledged as a leading country in software production. Our potentiality in the field of computer and information technology application may get us the status of a super power. For better connectivity among our people, speaking different languages, we have to reach out to them through softwares developed in their own lingua franca. Nominated member of Rajya Sabha Dr. C. Narayana Reddy and a celebrated writer, who won Jnanpith Award in 1988 and who has been focusing attention on the issues of Indian languages, while participating in the discussion in Rajya Sabha, made a Special Mention regarding the use of Indian languages in e-governance. Stating that "India has been making rapid strides in computer application in various areas" and "progress of software in Indian languages is not upto the required extent" he appealed for multiplication of software in Indian languages for ensuring effective e-governance in our country.

The dreadful phenomenon of drug disease emerging out of side-effects of allopathic drugs and excessive application of anti-biotics for common ailments are posing challenges to public health. Therefore all over the world holistic healing has gained importance. new fascination for Ayurveda and other indigenous medicines all over the world. More than seven decades back Dr. G.E. Clarke of Philadelphia wrote, "If the physicians of the present day world drop from the pharmacopoeia all the modern drugs and chemicals and treat their patients according to the methods of Charaka, there would be less work for the undertakers and fewer chronic invalids in the world." Realising the importance of Ayurveda, celebrated scientist Dr. Raja Ramanna, a nominated Member of the House, made a Special Mention regarding the application of modern and scientific methods in the fields of Ayurveda for achieving greater effectiveness of drugs derived from that system of medicine and for identifying and standardising them so that their misuse can be stopped. As early as 1921 Mahatma Gandhi had written, "The condition of indigenous medicine is truly deplorable. Not having kept abreast of modern research, their profession has fallen largely into disrepute." The Special Mention made by Dr. Raja Ramanna evoked not only his concerns but in a way concerns of the father of our nation articulated at a time when we were fighting for independence and also demanding introduction of representative institutions as part of our demand for freedom of our country.

Functioning within the parameters of the Constitution and the rules of procedure and conduct of business, the nominated members have set a remarkable standard of discipline, decorum, dignity. Representing their respective professions they speak for the whole country transcending the boundaries of constituency and State interests. In fact, their sage councels have acted as the constructive restraints on the Government as well as the Opposition. Shri Fali S. Nariman, an outstanding member of the legal fraternity, while participating during the Winter Session (2002) of Parliament in a Short Duration Discussion on Disinvestment of Public Sector Undertakings reiterated that the Constitution is fundamental to the governance of the country and therefore he urged both the Opposition and the Government to consider constitutional goals

while pursuing objectives they have set before themselves for economic reforms and privatization.

In 1982, a nominated Member of the House Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan had thoughtfully said, "...dignity of Parliament is reflective of the national ethos." In fact, by representing the nation as a whole the nominated members reflect the national aspirations and ethos in the House and enhance its dignity. Our country is passing through many problems and there are even challenges to our unity and integrity. But our national ethos and indeed our genius have always been stretching out to address those problems in a democratic manner. Democracy of our country, tolerance of our people and our social harmony constitute the greatest strength behind the success of India. It has the amazing ability to transform a dissenter to the defender of democracy. One of the outstanding nominated Members of the House Shri Kuldip Nayyar, while participating in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address referred to his tenure as India's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom and narrated his experiences with Mr. Phizo who hailed from Nagaland and was residing in London. He quoted Shri Phizo who said, "My demand, my experiment has been wrong. Nagaland must have some kind of status within India." A prominent social worker of Nagaland Shri Scato Swu during his tenure as a nominated Member of the House from 1974 to 1986 had pleaded for the solution of Naga problem within the framework of our Constitution and dissolved the underground "Revolutionary Government of Nagaland" of which he was the Prime Minister with a view to joining the Indian Union voluntarily. It is this inclusive identity of India which gives us strength and which the nominated members represent in the House.

Apart from their activities on the floor of the House, nominated members have participated in many of its Committees and made important contributions for their successful functioning.

Many of them have also been appointed as Chairmen of the Committees. While Prof. A.R. Wadia was the Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Delhi Primary Education Bill, 1960, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, was appointed Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Visva Bharati (Amendment) Bill, 1976. Dr. M.S. Adiseshiah, was the Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Visva Bharti (Amendment) Bill, 1978.

#### Conclusion

There is an erroneous impression that nominated Members have just adorned the seats of the Council of States without significantly contributing to its proceedings. A study of the debates of Rajya Sabha reveals their prodigious contributions. They have worked inside the legislature and its Committees with dedication and devotion. In fact, a few months after the constitution of Rajya Sabha, nominated Members asserted their rights on behalf of the Council of States for associating themselves with legislative work. They demanded that the Government must heed to their suggestions and implement them. This was indicated by the observations of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, a famous historian and a nominated Member of the House. While participating in the discussion on the Collection of Statistics Bill, 1952, he lamented that "... this House has been practically reduced to a debating society." "I feel" he said with sadness, "I may be only talking in the air and none of my suggestions is going to be accepted by the Government..." But conscious of his role as a Member he said, "... I feel that I have a duty to perform by throwing some light on some of the obscure points left in this Bill".

Asserting that Rajya Sabha and its Members cannot be taken for granted and adequate attention must be given to the House so that it takes indepth view of all the legislations

introduced in Parliament he observed, ".. this Bill has been thrown at us as an accomplished fact. I say this House is an integral part of the legislature and this House must be associated with every process of legislation if it is to be effective."

Expressing the grievance of the House and its Members he searchingly asked, "Why was not this introduced earlier? Why was not time given to us for making suggestions which could have been considered by Government?

Stressing that "... we have a right to be associated with all processes of legislation at every stage", he gave a novel suggestion and said, "What is the harm if the legislative process is undergone simultaneously in both the Houses? That will be really conducive to the welfare of the country and I think we shall be doing our duty if we are allowed to play our full part in the process of legislation. I think this House qualitatively is not at all inferior to the other House. If you really consider this House as the House of Elders, I ask, when are you hearing the voice of Elders?"

The above observation of a nominated Member in the formative stage of our parliamentary democracy constituted a standing refutation of the critical remarks made in some quarters that nominated Members have not shown enough interest in the parliamentary work.

Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan, an eminent social scientist and a scholar of vast research experience and profound ideas, was a nominated Member of the House for two terms. At the time of his retirement he posed questions to himself on the floor of the House and asked, "Am I justifying my nomination?" Outlining the purpose of providing nomination of Members to the Council of States, he said, "... the founding fathers included this provision ... especially in the Council of States ... which looks after the States – to have the benefit of functional opinion available to the House".

Saying that every nominated Member "... is the apogee of high achievement in his own profession...", he emphasized that "... the ambition ... of a nominated Member should be to play a constructive, critical role in consonance with the profession which he represents, make his view available to the ruling party and to the opposition parties and persuade them to take a larger national view and leave it at that".

At the end expressing the hope that the House will allot nominated Members a categorical place he said, "... it is very important that no attempt should be made either by the ruling party or the opposition parties to indulge nominated Members in a group and yet give adequate respect to their views".

In fact, nominated Members, by and large, have played "a constructive and critical role" and "persuaded both the Government and the Opposition to take a larger national view" of the issues raised in the House. The account of their functioning as outlined in the preceding pages is an ample proof of their range of activities during fifty years of our Parliament.

Acceptance of the proposals by the House advocated by the nominated Members and the Government approval they have got are indicative of their approach which is above party considerations. Shri Joachim Alva, a nominated Member of the Council moved a Resolution in 1970 making it mandatory for routing of all Government advertisements including advertisements of Government sectors such as railways, public sector undertakings or any industrial or other organizations which enjoys financial assistance or protection from Government, only through the Indian controlled and Indian owned advertising agencies and not through foreign advertising agencies whether wholly or partly owned or controlled by foreigners. The resolution was adopted by the House and the act of approval reflected the "larger national view" on an initiative taken by a nominated Member.

Another example concerning the initiative of a nominated Member which brought to public knowledge the all India perspective of the Government on education is given here. The 10+2+3 scheme of education is now a settled fact in our country. Government of India had assured Rajya Sabha in 1973 to introduce that pattern of education to ensure uniformity throughout the country. In fact it is interesting to note that the Government's assurance to that effect had come on the floor of the House when a resolution moved by a nominated Member Dr. V.P. Dutt was being discussed during July and August, 1973.

There are numerous such examples in the pages of the voluminous debates of the Council of States, some of which have been mentioned in this booklet. These go a long way to justify the role of nominated Members during the successful functioning of our Parliament for the last five decades.

As earlier mentioned Shri Prithviraj Kapoor in 1952 envisaging the role of nominated Members had said that they could play their part "when the soul gets parched up in these days of political tangles and passions". Even Professor Rasheeduddin Khan had requested the Chair that nominated Members should not be allowed to speak on ordinary things but on matters in which they "submit a higher precedence". Whenever they have stood up to intervene when 'The soul gets parched up due to political passion' or to 'submit a higher precedence' on issues before the House, they have done so remarkably well".

Our first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once refuted the notion that presence of nominated Members in the Council of States in any way lowers its position *vis-à-vis* the House of the People, (Lok Sabha). He said:

There are a few nominees. For instance, the President has nominated some Members of the Council of States, who, if I may say so, are among the most distinguished, taking everybody in Parliament altogether... They do not represent political parties or anything but they represent really the high watermark of literature or art or culture.

Truly they have proved that "they represent really the high watermark of literature or art or culture" and their role as nominated Members in Rajya Sabha constitutes a high watermark of our democracy of which the whole country is proud of.

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<sup>\*</sup> See Annexure containing the list of nominated members

### LIST OF NOMINATED MEMBERS OF RAJYA SABHA (1952-2002)

- 1. Dr. Zakir Husain (Educationist), 1952-57
- 2. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami (Legal Luminary), 1952-53
- 3. Prof. Satyendranath Bose (Scientist), 1952-59
- 4. Shrimati Rukmini Devi Arundale (Artiste), 1952-62
- 5. Prof. N.R. Malkani (Educationist), 1952-62
- 6. Dr. Kalidas Nag (Educationist), 1952-54
- 7. Dr. J.M. Kumarappa (Educationist), 1952-54
- 8. Kakasaheb Kalelkar (Educationist), 1952-64
- 9. Shri Maithilisharan Gupta (Poet), 1952-64
- 10. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji (Historian), 1952-58
- Major General Sahib Singh Sokhey (Medical Scientist),
   1952-56
- 12. Shri Prithviraj Kapoor (Artiste). 1952-60
- 13. Dr. P.V. Kane (Lawyer), 1953-59
- 14. Prof. A.R. Wadia (Educationist), 1954-66
- 15. Shri M. Satyanarayana (Social Worker). 1954-66
- 16. Shri B.V. (Mama) Warerkar (Litterateur), 1956-64
- 17. Dr. Tara Chand (Historian), 1957-68
- 18. Dr. A.N. Khosla (Engineer), 1958-59
- 19. Sardar K.M. Panikkar (Historian), 1959-61
- 20. Shri Jairamdas Doulatram (Lawyer), 1959-76
- 21 . Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (Lawyer), 1959-64
- 22. Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee (Litterateur), 1960-64
- 23. Shri V.T. Krishnamachari (Administrator), 1961-64

- 24. Shri R.R. Diwakar (Author and Social Worker), 1962-68
- 25. Dr. Gopal Singh (Author), 1962-68
- 26. Shri G. Ramachandran (Social Worker), 1964-70
- 27. Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye (Social Worker), 1964-70
- 28. Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantalankar (Educationist), 1964-68
- 29. Dr. B.N. Prasad (Educationist), 1964-66
- 30. Shri M. Ajmal Khan (Scholar), 1964-69
- 31. Shri M.C. Setalvad (Legal Luminary), 1966-72
- 32. Shri M.N. Kaul (Authority on Parliamentary Practice and Procedure), 1966-72
- 33. Dr. Harivansh Rai Bachchan (Poet), 1966-72
- 34. Dr. D.R. Gadgil (Economist), 1966-67
- 35. Shri Joachim Alva (Advocate and Journalist), 1968-74
- 36. Prof. S. Nurul Hasan (Educationist), 1968-71
- 37. Dr. K. Ramiah (Agricultural Scientist), 1968-74
- 38. Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha (Social Worker), 1968-74
- 39. Shri G. Sankara Kurup (Litterateur), 1968-72
- 40. Shrimati Maragatham Chandrasekhar (Teacher and Social Worker), 1970-84
- 41. Shri Uma Shankar Joshi (Litterateur), 1970-76
- 42. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan (Educationist), 1970-82
- 43. Dr. V. P. Dutt (Educationist), 1971-80
- 44. Shri C.K. Daphtary (Legal Luminary), 1972-78
- 45. Shri Abu Abraham (Cartoonist), 1972-78
- 46. Shri Habib Tanvir (Artiste), 1972-78
- 47. Shri Pramatha Nath Bisi (Educationist), 1972-78
- 48. Shri Krishna Kripalani (Author), 1974-80
- 49. Dr. Lokesh Chandra (Writer), 1974-86
- 50. Shri Scato Swu (Social Worker), 1974-86
- 51 . Shri B. N. Banerjee (Authority on Parliamentary Practice and Procedure), 1976-82

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- 52. Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande (Writer), 1976-82 and 1988-94
- 53. Shrimati Fathema Ismail (Social Worker), 1978-84
- 54. Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah (Economist), 1978-84
- 55. Shri Bhagwati Charon Varma (Writer), 1978-81
- 56. Shri Pandurang Dharmaji Jadhav (Social Worker), 1978-84
- 57. Shrimati Nargis Dutt (Artiste), 1980-81
- 58. Shri Khushwant Singh (Journalist), 1980-86
- 59. Prof. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee (Scientist), 1982-90
- 60. Shri VC. Ganesan (Artiste), 1982-86
- 61 . Shri Hayat Ulla Ansari (Writer), 1982-88
- 62. Shri Madan Bhatia (Lawyer), 1982-94
- 63. Shri VN. Tiwari (Educationist), 1982-84
- 64. Shri H.L. Kapur (Military Service), 1985
- 65. Shri Thindivanam K. Ramamurthy (Advocate and Social Worker), 1984-90
- Shri Ghulam Rasool Kar (Political and Social Worker), 1984-87
- 67. Shri Purushottam Kakodkar (Social Worker), 1985-91
- 68. Shri Salim Ali (Ornithologist), 1985-87
- 69. Shrimati Amrita Pritam (Litterateur), 1986-92
- 70. Shrimati Ela Ramesh Bhatt (Social Worker), 1986-88
- 71 . Shri M. F. Husain (Artist), 1986-92
- 71. Shri R.K. Narayan (Litterateur), 1986-92
- 72. Pt. Ravi Shankar (Artiste), 1986-92
- 73. Shri Sat Paul Mittal (Industrialist and Social Worker), 1988-92
- 75. Shrimati Syeda Anwara Taimur (Administrator), 1988-90
- 76. Shri Mohammad Yunus (Administrator), 1989-95
- 77. Shri Jagmohan (Administrator), 1990-96
- Shri Prakash Yashwant Ambedkar (Advocate and Social Worker), 1990-96

- 79. Shri Bhupinder Singh Mann (Agriculturist), 1990-96
- 80. Shri R.K. Karanjia (Journalist), 1991-97
- 81. Dr. M. Aram (Educationist), 1993-97
- 82. Dr. B.B. Dutta (Educationist), 1993-99
- 83. Shrimati Vyjayantimala Bali (Artiste), 1993-99
- 84. Maulana Habibur Rahman Nomani (Social and Political Worker), 1993-99
- 85. \*Shri Mahendra Prasad (Political and Social Worker), 1993-94
- 86. Dr. Raja Ramanna (Scientist), 1997-till date
- 87. Shri Mrinal Sen (Artiste), 1997-till date
- 88. Shrimati Shabana Azmi (Artiste), 1997- till date
- 89. Dr. C. Narayana Reddy (Poet), 1997-till date
- 90. Shri Kuldip Nayyar (Journalist), 1997- till date
- 91 . Shri Kartar Singh Duggal (Writer), 1997- till date
- 92. Dr. (Ms.) P. Selvie Dos (Educationist), 1997-till date
- 93. Kumari Nirmala Deshpande (Social Worker), 1997-99
- 94. @Chaudhary Harmohan Singh Yadav (Agriculturist and Political and Social Worker), 1997- till date
- 95. Shri Nana Deshmukh (Social Worker), 1999-till date
- 96. Ms. Lata Mangeshkar (Artiste), 1999-till date
- 97. Shri Fali S. Nariman (Lawyer), 1999-till date
- 98. Shri Cho S. Ramaswamy (Journalist and Writer), 1999-till date