

Welcome

HONOURABLE
CHAIRMAN



RAJYA SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

PREFACE

WELCOME

HONOURABLE CHAIRMAN



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NEW DELHI

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Preface

According to the Constitution the Vice-President of India is also the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States (Rajya Sabha). The Office of the Vice-President of India and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha has been held in high esteem, as it has been occupied by men of eminence, wisdom and learning.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the first Chairman of the Rajya Sabha was a great philosopher and statesman. On his assuming the office of the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, an eminent educationist became the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. The third Chairman of the Rajya Sabha Shri V.V. Giri, was a famous labour leader. Dr. Gopal Swarup Pathak who succeeded Shri V.V. Giri was a legal luminary. After Shri Pathak the august office of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha was occupied by Shri B.D. Jatti, a distinguished social and political worker. Shri M. Hidayatullah, the great jurist who was also the former Chief Justice of India, was the sixth Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Shri R. Venkataraman, an able and experienced administrator, who later became the President of India, was the seventh Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, who at present adorns the office of the President of India is a scholar of eminence. He was the eighth Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. The present Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Shri K.R. Narayanan is a renowned scholar and an educationist of great repute. All these Chairmen of the Rajya Sabha have lent charm and dignity to the proceedings of the House by conducting the debates in the House with judicious combination of firmness, fairness and flexibility. They have ensured that the Rajya Sabha plays its role, as carved out for it in the Constitution of India, with efficiency and with a determination to secure public good.

This book contains the felicitations offered to the Chairmen of the Rajya Sabha on their occupying the Chair of the Presiding Officer in the House.

(ii)

The speeches contained in this publication have been edited and the portions of the speeches which are not directly linked with the felicitations offered have been removed. Readers are, therefore, advised to see the relevant debates of the Rajya Sabha to get the authentic version of the speeches made in the House and the interjections made by the members.

I thank the officers and staff of the Research Service of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat who have coordinated the entire endeavour of bringing out this publication. Printing Service of the Secretariat also deserves to be thanked for seeing the manuscript through the Press and bringing out the publication in the final shape in a record time.

We hope that this publication would provide a glimpse of the multi-dimensional role which the Chairman of Rajya Sabha has to play as the Presiding Officer of the House. The eminent Chairmen of Rajya Sabha have been instrumental in laying down the firm foundations of the democratic traditions in the country. It is largely due to their influence on the functioning of the House that some healthy conventions have been evolved over the years which ensure today dignified debates in the House.

New Delhi
January 1996

V. S. RAMA DEVI
Secretary-General
Rajya Sabha

**FELICITATIONS
TO
HONOURABLE CHAIRMAN**



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan
(5.9.1888 — 17.4.1975)

Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(13.5.1952 — 12.5.1957)
(13.5.1957 — 12.5.1962)

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan: A profile

RADHAKRISHNAN, DR. SARVEPALLI: M.A., D. Litt. (Hony.), LL.D., D.C.L., Litt. D., D.L., F.R.S.L., F.B.A., Hony. Fellow, All Souls College (Oxford), Vidyachakravarti, Pour Le Merite (Germany); s. of Shri S. Veerasamiah; b. September 5, 1888; m. Shrimati S. Sivakammamma; 1 s. and 5 d.; King George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University, 1921—39; Vice-Chancellor, (i) Andhra University, 1931—36 and (ii) Banaras Hindu University, 1939—48; Indian Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to U.S.S.R., 1949—52; President/Chairman, (i) Indian Philosophical Congress, 1927 and 1950, (ii) Executive Board, UNESCO, 1948, (iii) University Education Commission, Government of India, 1948-49, (iv) UNESCO General Conference, 1952—54 and 1958 and (v) Buddha Jayanti Committee, 1956; Author of, (i) Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore, (ii) Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy, (iii) Indian Philosophy 2 Vols., (iv) The Hindu View of Life, (v) An Idealist View of Life, (vi) East and West in Religion, (vii) Kalki or the Future of Civilisation, (viii) The Religion We Need, (ix) Gautama the Buddha, (x) Eastern Religions and Western Thought, (xi) India and China, (xii) Religion and Society, (xiii) Education, Politics and War, (xiv) Bhagavadgita, (xv) Dhammapada, (xvi) The Principal Upanishads, (xvii) East and West: Some Reflections, (xviii) Recovery of Faith, (xix) A Source Book of Indian Philosophy, 1957, (xx) The Brahma Sutra, (xxi) Occasional Speeches and Writings and (xxii) Articles on Indian Philosophy in Encyclopaedia Britannica; Recipient of Bharat Ratna, 1954; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 13.5.1952 to 12.5.1957 and 13.5.1957 to 12.5.1962; President of India, 13.5.1962 to 12.5.1967; Died. Obit. on 25.4.1975.

Felicitations offered to Dr. Radhakrishnan on 16 May 1952

The Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, during the last two or three days we have been engaged on various ceremonials in this House and in the other House. Members have taken the pledges and oaths of service. It is right that we should go through these ceremonials; they have a definite meaning. And now we start, in both these Houses, on our real work. Before we do so, with your permission, Sir, I should like to say a few words, not of congratulation to you on occupying this high office, but rather of congratulation to the House that we have the privilege of having you here to guide the deliberations of this House as well as, if I may say so, to help us in a multitude of ways in another high capacity.

We are both old and new in this country and in these Legislatures. We have, I suppose, some fund of old experience and wisdom, if not in each individual, at least in the corporate sense. Nevertheless we face new situations and new problems, and the world itself rapidly changes, and it is not an easy matter to keep pace with those changing events either in our own country or in the world. At such a moment one requires many things. One requires some roots in our ancient wisdom and experience of a race through thousands of years; one requires at least as much a certain capacity to understand this changing world, to understand its new problems, to adapt ourselves to them; in other words, to interpret the fundamentals of wisdom in a new environment and for the new demands of the situation. I doubt if one can easily think of any other

individual who combines those two great qualities in himself more than you do, Sir, because you bring to this great task an intimate knowledge of the wisdom of our race, or the accumulated experience of our race—call it what you will. You bring also an intimate knowledge of the modern world and its movements and its problems.

You have occupied high positions in many fields. You are an educationist; you are a philosopher; and you have been, recently, a diplomat; and in that particular position also you distinguished yourself and did great service to this country, and, if I may say so, you contributed somewhat to that vast problem of today, perhaps the overriding problem of today—the maintenance of peace in the world.

Therefore, Sir, you come to us with this background and experience and insight and knowledge of affairs in the East and the West, in the past and the present, and with some vision of the future, and I do not think our country could have been more fortunate than to have you in this high position. Therefore, I beg with all respect to congratulate you on having come to this high position, and to congratulate this House and Parliament in general and the country that we have the privilege of having you there.

Shri P. Sundarayya: Mr. Chairman, we on behalf of the Communist Party of India who have been elected by the representatives of the people in the State Assemblies and who are present here congratulate you. We are glad that you are occupying this Chair, because you have won the confidence of not only the Congress Party but of all other democratic parties in the country, which has been shown in your unanimous election as the Vice-President of India. We have been following your multifarious activities in the interests of the country, first as an educationist and philosopher, and later as the Ambassador of India in the Soviet Union, our great neighbour. We are glad that you represented our people and our great country and explained to the whole world that we, Indian people, are for maintaining world peace. You have rendered a great service, and we feel pleasure and pride that you are presiding over this House. We hope and we are confident that you will see that the

deliberations of this House are conducted properly and the privileges of this House are maintained.

Shri C. G. K. Reddy: Sir, I have the greatest pleasure in associating myself on behalf of the Socialist Party with the sentiments that have been already expressed. I should have thought that it would not have been necessary to congratulate you because the whole country has in fact congratulated you in the sense that you have been elected to this high office unanimously. All the same, I should like to express on behalf of the Socialist Party our congratulations and we are sure that as the Chairman of this House, you will be able to—and I hope that you will—maintain the dignity of this House and control the deliberations in such a way that every section of opinion and every section of the Members present here would be able to express themselves, so that this House would set standards of dignity and decorum, probably a little higher than those of the Lower House.

Shri B. C. Ghose: Sir, on behalf of the K.M.P. Party* I should like to associate myself fully with the glowing tributes that have been paid to you by the Prime Minister. You will permit me to recall with a thrill the occasion when as a student in the London University I had the privilege of hearing you in the London University where a large number of students attended and loudly applauded you. Coming from West Bengal I also take special pride in the fact that you were long associated with the Calcutta University as the Professor of Philosophy there. It is extremely fortunate that we have you here as our presiding officer, for, I am certain that we shall have justice with an even hand and that we shall carry on the deliberations of this House under conditions which would move justice and equity to every section of this House.

Shri H. D. Rajah: Sir, I am extremely happy that the Prime Minister has congratulated you today. The point is that we have been here for the last four days and you have been elected to this honoured place by a unanimous choice inasmuch as the other parties in this country did not set up a candidate to

*Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party

oppose you. That itself shows that the entire nation looks upon you, not as a party man, but as a custodian of the rights and interests of the people in the country. As a great philosopher who is truly Indian, whose outlook is Indian and who will conduct and guide us in the true Indian spirit, so that the people who speak multifarious languages, who are of multifarious sub-races, who are in every aspect Indian to the core and whose culture and civilisation are deep-rooted for centuries in this country, and as an honourable and great citizen of our country, we look to you to guide the deliberations of this House in the true Indian style and tradition. With these few words I congratulate you, Sir, on this high office to which you have been elected and I hope that you will mete out fairness and justice to all the Members of this House.

Shri S. Mahanty: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Ganatantra Parishad may I join with others in paying my tributes for the high office that you have been elected to? May I say that in your achievements probably you are the nearest approximation to the Philosopher-King of Platonic ideal? To my reckoning, Sir, the sole purpose of this House is to bestow a certain amount of objective thought on the deliberations and legislations of the House of the People, who being directly elected, probably are subjective to a greater extent and therefore to my mind, Sir, none could have been better able than your esteemed self to preside over the deliberations of this great House where impassioned objectivity should be the guiding principle. With these humble words, Sir, I beg to resume my seat.

Janab M. Muhammad Ismail Saheb: Sir, on behalf of the Muslim League Party I wish to say that though I happen to be the only Member here of the Muslim League Party, my words are all the same as earnest as earnestness can be in the matter of congratulating you. I have great pleasure in associating myself with the words of praise that have fallen from the mouths of the previous speakers. Sir, you as a great educationist, a philosopher and a diplomat, have rendered distinguished service outside the field of Legislatures of the country and it is really our great good fortune that we have been able to secure your high services in the field of Legislature, particularly for guiding the deliberations of this

august House. It is really congratulating ourselves, as was said by the honourable Prime Minister, and not so much a matter of congratulating you. Sir, I join the others in the proud privilege of tendering our heartfelt praise to you and heartfelt thanks for securing your services for guiding the deliberations of this honourable House.

Shri S. Banerjee: On behalf of the Forward (Marxist) Bloc, I join my voice with the chorus of encomiums that have been showered upon you. Sir, congratulating you is superfluous. It is like painting a lily. You, Sir, are a philosopher and a statesman. You possess the wisdom of the past, the knowledge of the present and a vision of the future. We hope and trust that with that vision you will raise the dignity of this House before the world as it deserves and I am sure you will hold the balance even between all the parties and groups and the rights of the minorities will not be neglected at your hands. With these few words, I congratulate you once more and thereby congratulate ourselves.

Shri H. N. Kunzru: Mr. Chairman, the House is particularly fortunate in having you to guide its deliberations, for who could have believed a few months ago that you would agree to occupy the position for which you have been unanimously chosen? Our Constitution provides for the election of a Vice-President and so seeks to resemble the Constitution of the United States of America. But there is a vast difference between the position of the Vice-President in India and that of the Vice-President in the United States. While in the United States the Vice-President may be called upon in an emergency to take the position of the President permanently, here the permanent work of the Vice-President is to be the Chairman of the Council of States and he will only incidentally be called upon to act as the President of India for a short period, should an unfortunate emergency compel him to do so. Here he is the Chairman of the Council of States. It would be more correct to say that the position according to our Constitution is that the Chairman of the Council of States is asked to act as the President of India when that position falls vacant. In the United States, however, the Vice-President is asked to preside incidentally over the Senate. Your experience and wisdom, I

should have thought, would have been used for greater purposes more beneficial to the nation. We, however, are glad that a person of your eminence and of your ripe wisdom has been chosen to guide us in the work that we shall be called upon to do. As the Prime Minister has said, you combine in yourself the best that the East and the West have to offer. We could not have made a better choice. I am, therefore, very glad that, although you will not have many opportunities of utilising your grasp of fundamental principles and your knowledge of the modern world for the good of the nation, a person of your exceptional qualifications will guide us in the initial stages. I congratulate you also, Sir, on your modesty in having agreed to act as the Chairman of this Council.

Principal Devaprasad Ghosh: Sir, I have much pleasure in associating myself with the very proper chorus of congratulations that have been showered upon you, and upon this great House on its great good fortune in having a man of your stature and calibre to guide its deliberations.

Speaking on behalf of the Jana Sangha, an organization that cherishes the noble ideals of Indian culture, I welcome you all the more, Mr. Chairman, as our Vice-President, as you are in embodiment of Indian culture. We are on the threshold of a great era. But India stands at the present moment, despite the traditions of her hoary culture and civilization, in a state most perilous and dangerous. In fact, she is in danger of being swept off her feet by the impact of alien cries and crazes. In the midst of this slippery slope on which India stands today, the presence of a man like yourself, standing like a rock of Indian-cultural traditions, is a great solace and inspiration to us all.

I hope, Sir, you will not take it amiss if I strike a more particularistic, or if I may say so, parochial or provincial note. I come from Bengal, and I make bold to say that if Madras claims you as her son, Bengal claims you as her foster-son. Mother Bengal is proud to have such a distinguished foster-son of hers in the present high position that you have been called upon to occupy. The Calcutta University to which I have the honour to belong looks upon you as one of its ornaments. In fact, up till now, whatever situation providence has called upon

you to fill, there has been no situation that you filled but did not adorn; and I am sure and confident that the very exalted station that you have now been called upon to occupy will be no exception.

May God shower His choicest blessings upon you.

Shri D. D. Italia: 'Mr. Chairman, I heartily congratulate you on your election to the Vice-Presidency of India by virtue of which you are at this time acting as Chairman of this House. Parsis are the smallest community in India. I, as a member of this community, feel great pleasure in congratulating you. I am sure your high education, great experience and charming behaviour will stand you in great stead in giving us the right lead to solve the problems with which this House may have to deal. Members of every community and sect will, I am sure, be equally treated by you and given full opportunities to express themselves before this House. With these words I again congratulate you, Sir.

Dr. Kalidas Nag: With your permission, Sir, I wish to say a few words. India is a country not belonging to any province, but there is a greater India also. For the last quarter of a century, I wish to remind my honourable colleagues, that Dr. Radhakrishnan has not belonged to any province or any particular country. He has passed through five continents. I bring this fact before my colleagues that there is a world outside, which is looking to our Legislature, because we have the great tradition of Mahatma Gandhi who belonged not only to India but also to the whole world. The downtrodden millions of the world, for whom Mahatma Gandhi laid down his life, are looking to us. India possesses a great tradition which was admirably espoused by him in his life time and Radhakrishnan presents a picture of Gandhi to this outside world.

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव: अध्यक्ष महोदय, यद्यपि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने आप को सदन की ओर से बधाई दे दी है और इसके बाद अन्य सदस्यों को अलग-अलग बधाई देने की विशेष आवश्यकता नहीं रह जाती है फिर भी मैं इस परिपद की महिलाओं की ओर से जो कि यहाँ तो अल्प संख्या में हैं परन्तु देश की आर्थी जनसंख्या का प्रतिनिधित्व करती

²English translation of the Urdu speech.

हैं, आपको हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ। हमारे देश का महिला-वर्ग पिछड़ा हुआ है किन्तु हमें आशा है कि हम लोग आपको अध्यक्षता में कार्य करके इसे उन्नति की ओर अग्रसर कर सकेंगे।

आपका निर्विशेष चुना जाना ही यह सिद्ध करता है कि देश के सभी वर्ग तथा समुदाय आपको इस पद के लिये सब से योग्य समझते हैं अतः हमें गर्व है कि हमें आप जैसे योग्य व्यक्ति की अध्यक्षता में कार्य करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है।

मैं एक बार फिर आप का अभिनन्दन करती हूँ तथा बधाई देती हूँ।

Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo: Sir, I rise to congratulate you again with all my heart on behalf of the Ganatantra Parishad. I have heard, Sir, both in the Oxford University and in the Cambridge University the description of the "Walking Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy" attributed to you. In my opinion it is a title which should justly belong to such a distinguished person as yourself who combines in himself the wisdom of the East and all the experience of the West. In you we see today the embodiment of all that is good, all that is just, all that is impartial. It is my earnest hope that this august body will under your inspiration see our philosophy translated into true life, so that in this great Republic we shall truly see the rule of the people, for the people, by the people and so that the great maxim of vox populi, vox Dei, आवाज़े खल्क नकारा-ए खुदा, (Awaze khalk naqqara-e khuda), पंचमुख परमेश्वरमुख (Panchmukh Parameshwarmukham) will again be achieved truly in all our lives.

With these words I offer you, Sir, my heartiest congratulations.

Dr. (Shrimati) Seeta Parmanand: Sir, I do not like to add anything to what has been so eloquently expressed by the Prime Minister. I would just like to say what is in the minds of so many, that your noble example of humility, we should follow, as someone else has expressed. I would not congratulate you, Sir, because I feel it is we who should be congratulated. We who have come to this House have to bear in mind that we should try to serve the country rather than try

to serve ourselves by securing some offices and places. We should try to serve rather than try to see what percentages, what places as office-bearers, we get on different committees.

Mr. Chairman: Members of the Council, I am greatly moved by the very generous words used by the Prime Minister and those who followed him and also by the cordial way in which the House received those words.

I belong to no party, and that means I belong to every party in this House. It shall be my endeavour to uphold the traditions, the highest traditions, of parliamentary democracy and act towards every party with fairness and impartiality, with ill-will to none and good-will to all.

A democracy is distinguished by the protection it gives to minorities. A democracy is likely to degenerate into a tyranny if it does not allow the opposition groups to criticise fairly, freely and frankly the policies of the Government. But at the same time minorities have also their responsibilities. While they have every right to criticise, their right of criticism should not degenerate into wilful hampering and obstruction of the work of Parliament. All groups, therefore, have their rights, and have their responsibilities. And if we recognise them and act in their spirit I have no doubt we will be able to build up great traditions for this Council of States, which will be helpful to all sections of the Council.

Generally, in the rules, etc. that we have here, we take for our model the British Parliament and the conventions that have grown through centuries of parliamentary life in Great Britain. But we have to adapt them to our needs. We have to recognise the growth of public opinion, we have to be sensitive to it and we must try to adapt those conventions to our own needs. I remember a statement which Lord Balfour once made, that hell was probably a place where the only reading matter was the file of Hansard! We should not be bound down by everything that is laid down in Hansard. We should use our intelligence and try to develop traditions which are in consonance with our past and responsive to our needs.

There is a general impression that this House cannot make

or unmake governments and, therefore, it is a superfluous body. But there are functions which a revising chamber can fulfil fruitfully. Parliament is not only a legislative but a deliberative body. So far as its deliberative functions are concerned it will be open to us to make very valuable contributions, and it will depend on our work whether we justify or do not justify this two-Chamber system which is now an integral part of our Constitution. So it is a test to which we are submitted. We are for the first time starting, under the new parliamentary system, with a Second Chamber in the Centre, and we should try to do everything in our power to justify to the public of this country that a Second Chamber is essential to prevent hasty legislation. We should discuss with dispassion and detachment proposals put before us.

I do hope that we will all work together inspired by the one great ideal of a better life and a richer life for the ordinary people of this country.

Felicitations offered to Dr. Radhakrishnan on 13 May 1957

The Leader of the House, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Sir, it is my privilege to tender very respectful and cordial felicitations to you on your unopposed election as the Vice-President of India, on behalf of the Members of this House and also my own. You have filled this office with unique distinction. In fact, you have shed lustre on every office occupied by you. The millions living in this country have the benefit of your mellowed and mature wisdom and scholarship. You have carried to all parts of the globe the ennobling message of non-violence, truth, fellowship and friendliness on behalf of this ancient land. It is a matter of legitimate pride to us that the deliberations of this House are guided and regulated by you. You have treated every Member of this House with tender consideration and even affection. The proceedings of the House have been conducted by you with unerring dignity, grace, imperturbable patience and, if I may say so, gentleness. The rights and privileges of the Members of this House and of everyone of us are in your safe keeping, and we could not have thought of a better and safer custodian and guardian. I am confident that the proceedings of this House will bear your impress in the future as they have done in the past. It will be the unanimous prayer of all of us that you may be spared for many years to come and that under your guidance this House may gain further strength and prove equal to the confidence that has been reposed in it and in its Members by the country. I, Sir, with great humility wish you and this House godspeed and success.

Dr. R. B. Gour: Sir, on behalf of the Communist Party, I join the honourable the Leader of the House in greeting you as our Chairman again after the last five years. We have also shared the benefit of your benevolence as the Chairman of this House.

With these few words, I congratulate you again.

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह: श्रीमान्, आज इस पवित्र और महत्वपूर्ण अवसर पर इस सदन के लीडर के साथ मैं भी, सिर्फ बाधास्त तौर पर नहीं लेकिन हृदय से, हार्दिक रूप से, अपनी बधाई आपके देना चाहता हूँ।

बहुत बार ऐसा होता है कि ऊंचे पद के लिये उसी तरह का ऊंचा आदमी मिलना मुश्किल होता है, कभी-कभी हम ऐसा देखते हैं कि व्यक्ति बहुत ऊंचा मिल जाता है और पद उतना ऊंचा नहीं हो पाता है, कभी-कभी ऐसा होता है कि पद जितना ऊंचा है व्यक्ति उतना ऊंचा नहीं है। इस पद का और आपके व्यक्तित्व का जो सेने और सुगम्य का संयोग हुआ है वह हमारे लिये गर्व का विषय है। अपने व्यक्तित्व के जरिये से, अपनी विद्वत्ता के जरिये से, अपने व्यवहार के जरिये से—मैंने देखा इस पिछले एक वर्ष में जब से कि मैं इस सदन का सदस्य रहा हूँ—आपने सब की ब्रह्मा, सबकी पवित्र, सब का प्रेम हासिल किया है और आप को देखने के बाद भारतीय परम्परा की वह कद्री ज्यों की त्यों मालूम होती है जिस का वर्णन हम पहले से पढ़ते रहे हैं। आपुनिकता और परम्परा का ऐसा सम्मिश्रण शायद ही कहीं देखने को मिलता हो। इसलिये इस पद पर आपको फिर वा कर हमारे हर्ष का ठिकाना नहीं है। आपको देखने के बाद जो प्राचीन भारतीय नेतृत्व का चित्र वा वह आज हमारे सामने आ जाता है जिस का वर्णन किया गया था, "अमलद्वातुरो वेदान्तः सरारं धनुः", कह कर।

वही चित्र, वही परम्परा आज भी कवच मालूम होती है, और उसमें आपुनिकता का जो सम्मिश्रण हुआ है वह हमारे लिये, हमारे देश के लिये पूर्ण की वस्तु है।

मैं इन शब्दों में ब्रह्मा के साथ अपनी बधाई अर्पित करता हूँ।

Shri V. K. Dhage: Sir, on behalf of myself and the Democratic Party in this House, I join with the Leader of the House and the other friends here in offering felicitations to you for having been elected uncontested to this high office. Amongst other things that I have felt mostly, I would say that you as the Chairman of the House never allowed anyone in the Opposition to feel that you have been partial in any way in the matter of giving the rulings. We will be maintained and that we need not

be afraid of anything. You have in this House lent charm, grace and dignity on very many occasions. Your sense of humour sometimes—probably many times—had dissolved many an intricate position here. Sir, I am confident and we, being in the Opposition, feel secure that our rights and privileges will be completely protected by you.

Once again, I congratulate you.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम: श्रीमन्, संसद की महिला सदस्यों की ओर से अपने सदन के सम्माननीय नेता के साथ ही अपनी भावनायें आपको बधाई देने के लिये अर्पित करते हुए मुझे अपार हर्ष हो रहा है। श्रीमन्, इन दिनों में, जबकि हम देश का नव-निर्माण करते जा रहे हैं विभिन्न नई सामाजिक विधियों की रचना कर रहे हैं, उस समय आपके समान न्याययुक्त और समदर्शी अध्यक्ष पाकर हमारा हृदय खुशी से बहुत ही प्रफुल्लित है। एक बार मैं फिर से महिला सदस्यों की ओर से आपको हृदय से बधाई देती हूँ।

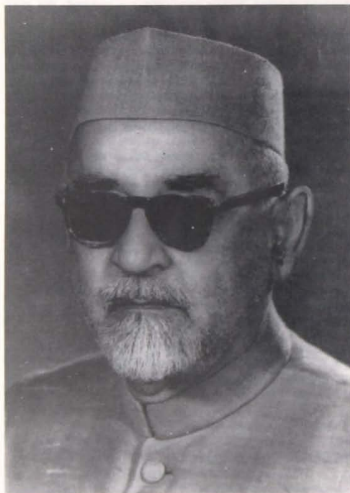
Mr. Chairman: Mr. Leader and friends, I am grateful to you for your kind words about my conduct as Chairman of this House. If I have been successful in that matter, it is not due so much to me as to the co-operation and goodwill and affection which have been extended to me by all Members of this House. It is quite true, being a smaller House, I know almost all the Members, I know their parentage, surroundings, neighbourhood and other things and so they trust me and I trust them and that policy has worked for the good behaviour of both the Chairman and the Members.

I would like to extend a very hearty welcome to the new Members who have been admitted today. They are men of great experience and wisdom, and they have come to us with stored-doubt that their contributions to our discussions will raise the level of our debates. I have no objection to anybody criticising frankly and freely. Only I hope that they will do so with charity to their opponents. So long as they do it, anybody has the right to express his opinions as strongly and as loudly as one wishes to do.

In the present state of our affairs, the work of our Parliament is of great importance. We have defined our ideals. We are politically sovereign. We have the framework of a democratic Constitution. We have defined our goal as a socialist order. We hope to create a new society. These are our ideals. If they are

to become realities, certain conditions are required. We may, with pardonable and justified pride, say that we have done some work. The integration of States, the land reforms, the construction of dams, hydro-electric projects, scientific laboratories and our efforts for peace in the international world, all these stand to our credit. But we should also realise that we cannot afford to be smug and complacent. We cannot live in a world of make-believe. As a people we tend to deceive ourselves a great deal. It is necessary for us to note the warnings that have been given to us, the demoralisation that has set in, which has come out in the recent elections—the caste spirit, the communal passions and the craze for power, personal ambitions, all these are there. We seem to be victims of too many small loyalties. If we are to realize our goal, we have to institute a search into ourselves and realize that we are divided not by external forces but by our own inward nature. The call is for an improvement in the quality of ourselves. We need hard thinking and self-examination. That is what is necessary. The conditions in the country cannot be allowed to drift. This is the time for dynamic, vigorous, courageous, imaginative leadership. If that is not given in this period of five years, our position at the end will be worse than what it happens to be today.

We are celebrating the Buddha Purnima today. For 2,500 years the Buddha has stood as an example of human nobility and moral purity. We have to absorb the lessons of his life and act in an unselfish manner, and try to promote the interests not of our parties but of our people. I hope this Council will contribute to the improvement of the general situation by restoring standards and values in public life. Thank you.



Dr. Zakir Husain
(8.2.1897 — 3.5.1969)
Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(13.5.1962 — 12.5.1967)

Zakir Husain: A profile

ZAKIR HUSAIN, DR.: M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin), D. Litt. (*Honoris Causa*) (Universities of Delhi, Aligarh, Allahabad, Calcutta and Cairo); s. of Shri Fida Husain; b. February 8, 1897; m. Shrimati Shahjehan Begum; 2 d.; Vice-Chancellor, (i) Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, 1926—48 and (ii) Aligarh Muslim University, 1948—56; President, Hindustani Talimi Sangh Sevagram, 1938—50; Chairman, (i) Basic National Education Committee, 1937, (ii) International Students Service, India Committee, 1955, (iii) World University Service, Geneva, 1955—57 and (iv) Central Board of Secondary Education, 1957; Author of, (i) *Shiksha (Hindi)*, (ii) *Capitalism: an essay in understanding*, (iii) Urdu translations of—(a) *Plato's Republic*, (b) *Fredrich List's National System of Economics* and (c) *Edwin Cannan's Elements of Economics*, (iv) *Lectures on the Scope and Method of Economics* (Hindustani Academy, U.P.), (v) *Educational Discourses (Urdu)*, (vi) *Principles of Educational Reconstruction Patel Memorial Lectures*, (vii) *Ethics and the State* (Mavalankar Memorial Lecture) and (viii) *The Dynamic University and Abbokhan Ki Bakri (Urdu)*; Recipient of, (i) Padma Vibhushan, 1954 and (ii) Bharat Ratna, 1963; Member, Rajya Sabha, 3-4-1952 to 2-4-1956 and 3-4-1956 to 6-7-1957; Governor of Bihar, 1957—62; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 13-5-1962 to 12-5-1967; President of India, 13-5-1967 to 3-5-1969; Died. Obil. on 5-5-1969.

Felicitations offered to Dr. Zakir Husain on 15 June 1962

The Minister of Irrigation and Power, Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Mr. Chairman, I heartily congratulate you on your election as the Vice-President of India and as a corollary to that, as the Chairman of this House. Sir, the highest honour which this country can confer on any of its citizens is the Presidentship and next to that is the Vice-Presidentship which this country has conferred on you because you are recognised by this country as a patriot, as a learned man, possessing abilities and efficiency of every kind. You had been most fit for the Vice-Presidentship of this country and, therefore, it elected you. I am going to quote a Persian proverb in this connection. I will translate it. There is a Persian proverb:

حق به حقدار رسيد

Rise reaches one who deserves it. It just applies to the election of our Chairman as the Vice-President of India.

Sir, I can say much about you but I do not want to take much time because so many other honourable Members of this House would like to say something about you. Therefore, briefly I will go into a few points about you.

First of all, I mention your career of studentship, how in the M.A.O. College where you were receiving education, you were respected by all the students and by the staff because of your brilliance and ability that you exhibited in various ways there as a student. After that I come to a point which concerns more with your service to the country, I mean your service in Jamia Millia. It is too well known in the country that in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi during the freedom movement, the institution was started, which was named Jamia Millia, which meant the University of the Nation. Education is imparted there

on national lines. I am mentioning that because of one thing. The pay of the staff there was very low. The staff could not meet both ends with the salary which they used to get. Anyone who used to go to serve there had to make a sacrifice and had to court inconveniences of life and you, Sir, accepted to be the Head of that institution. You served there as the Sheikhul Jamia. The Vice-Chancellor or the Chancellor was called the Sheikhul Jamia. There you spent years and years and you made so many improvements. You introduced so many branches of teaching there and at the same time you provided a very nice building for it which is existing—which is a very splendid building—in Okhla. I have seen that so many times. So, for the sake of the country you adopted and accepted a life of sacrifice and you worked there hard not for good money, not for any high salary but only for the sake of the country. After that you became the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University. There also you rendered a very splendid service to that University. There were so many difficulties and so many problems which required solutions, wise solutions and you were able to meet every situation which arose there. You enlarged the scope of the University by adding so many things to it for the purpose of education; also so many buildings were constructed there during your Vice-Chancellorship.

Then I go further and say a few words about your Governorship in Bihar. Personally I have no experience but from your example I came to know that Governors also can make themselves very popular among the public. For the first time I noticed this in your case. What I heard from the members of the Government of Bihar and also from the members of the public was very good about you. They said: "He possessed such a good reputation, he is very popular, he is loved by them for his character and ability and for the manner in which he conducted himself there as a Governor, etc." Lastly I attended a meeting here which was held in Delhi in which all the Biharis who are residing in Delhi were collected and I was invited there. There the speeches were made both by the Chief Minister and by the members of the public. On hearing those speeches, I formed the opinion that probably

no Governor might have been so popular and so beloved to the people as yourself. This much about the Bihar Governorship.

Now about the Chairmanship of this House. This is a House which is a very dignified House. It serves and performs very elaborate duties and it has its own traditions, practices, rules and regulations and I hope you will maintain them and I hope you will make such additions as may be more useful for the purposes for which this House exists. With these words I conclude.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I associate myself with the sentiments just expressed by the Leader of the House in welcoming you here amongst us as the Chairman of this House. It was a matter of great satisfaction and encouragement for us when we saw that you had been nominated for election as the Vice-President of the country. We felt that it was important in more ways than one. After all, in the presentation of the State and its structure and its high offices to the world, we make ourselves felt and understood. In a country like ours where there are, as we are told, majority and minority communities, we want to uphold this symbol of unity in every sphere of life. You, Sir, come here as the symbol of such unity. I need not mention about your past illustrious career. It is well known to the country. You have been a great educationist and scholar, an educationist born not out of the rich but out of the poverty-stricken people and in you the down-trodden of the society has expressed that it is in a position to produce such men of scholarship and learning even in circumstances that are not very congenial. These high traditions of the people you yourself carried forward when you, on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, took charge of a national institution in our country. That is your creation, and that is a tribute to your dedicated service to our nation, to that institution of learning and to education.

We have known you, Sir, not only as a scholar but also as a great patriot and it is no small task on the part of a person in such a position to present himself as an active patriot while engaged in certain other fields of activity which do not directly bear on political matters. Therefore, in you, Sir, is blended flaming patriotism and high scholarship. So we are particularly

happy to have you here because I think we shall get the radiation of those fine and excellent traditions of mind and heart in the functioning of this House.

Again, Sir, you are stepping into a situation which for the past ten years, has been adorned by one distinguished son of India who today, by the will of the people happens to be the President of this country. He has left us, no doubt, but he has left here certain excellent traditions of good humour, wisdom, tolerance and democratic orientation, and above all, regard for the parties of the opposition. I am sure, Sir, as you step into his shoes and assume the responsibility bequeathed to you by your predecessor, you will be living up not only to those traditions but as always dynamic personalities do, carry forward and enrich those traditions. That is what we expect of you.

On our part, Sir, we extend to you the fullest measure of cooperation. It is a matter of joy for us and also a little token of love from our side towards you that you have come to occupy this high office almost after a unanimous choice in the country. All the opposition parties which are sitting here supported your candidature, and if I may say so on behalf of one of the leading parties of the opposition, we felt so happy when your name was being discussed as one of the probable candidates for the Vice-Presidency. We made known to those concerned, that if you were nominated we would be whole heartedly supporting you. Naturally we are particularly glad to have you here amongst us.

Sir, I do not wish to say much now. I again join others in welcoming you to this House. This House occupies an important position and we, Sir, do not go by the moth-eaten procedures of May's Parliamentary Practice. We are a dynamic society and we have inherited certain noble traditions of our people. We, Sir, wish to shape our democracy according to the genius of our people and bring our parliamentary institutions close to their strivings and aspirations and the general democratic traditions of the masses. In that task, Sir—and it is no small task—I hope, Sir, you will be a creative instrument towards the fulfilment of the aspirations and desires of the people and expectations on their part, in this House.

This is all I wish to say. Once again, I congratulate you on your assumption of this high office and I hope what we have lost here will never be missed, because you shall fill in the gap and carry forward the torch that has come in your hands, in the interest of democracy and in the interest of our people. Thank you.

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह: आदर्शपूर्ण सभापति जी, आज आप हमारे नये अध्यक्ष की हैसियत से हमारे बीच में उपस्थित हैं। लेकिन आज जो इस हाउस के पुराने सदस्य हैं उनके लिए आज नये नहीं हैं और न यह हाउस आपके लिये नया है। बिहार का गवर्नर होने के पहले आप इस सदन के सदस्य रहे और जो पुराने सदस्य हैं उनके आपके साथ रहने का, काम करने का और आप से मिलने का मौका प्राप्त हुआ है। इसलिये आपके लिए यह कोई नयी जगह नहीं है और न कोई नयी परम्परा है। पर जो परम्परा कायम है उसके आप साक्षी रहे हैं और उसके कायम करने में, एक सदस्य की हैसियत से आपका हाथ रहा है।

जैसा कि पूर्व वक्ता ने कहा है, और खास कर हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेरा गुप्त ने कहा, आपका चुनाव वाइस प्रेजिडेंट की हैसियत से हमारे बेयरनेन की हैसियत से, भारतीय एकता का बहुत बड़ा प्रतीक, एक बहुत बड़ा चिह्न है और हम सब इसके लिये गौरव अनुभव करते हैं। आपका देश के राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन से प्रारम्भ से ही सम्बन्ध रहा है और हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा की जो आधारशिला रखी गई उस आधारशिला के रखने वालों में आप भी हैं और हम लोगों को यह उम्मीद है कि जिस तरह से राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा की आधारशिला रखने में आपने बड़ा प्रमुख हाथ बटया, उसकी नींव को मजबूत किया, उसी तरह से जनतंत्र का जो प्रयोग हम कर रहे हैं, जनतंत्र की जो इमारत हम खड़ी कर रहे हैं, उस जनतंत्र की इमारत की आधारशिला रखने में और उसके खड़ा करने में भी आपका उसी प्रकार सहयोग और उसी प्रकार हाथ रहेगा ताकि यह प्रयोग अच्छी तरह से सम्पन्न हो।

जहां तक बिहार का प्रश्न है, पिछले पांच वर्षों में आप हमारे सूबे में गवर्नर के पद पर रहे हैं। आपके निवृत्त सम्पर्क में न आने पर भी दूर से ही मुझ पर जो प्रभाव पड़ा, जो हमारे प्रांत पर प्रभाव पड़ा, जो परिस्थितियां वहां पैदा हुईं, वह ऐसी हैं कि आपके चले आने के बाद भी आज बिहार के लोग ऐसा अनुभव करते हैं कि जैसा उनका अपना ही आदमी बिहार से दिल्ली चला आया। आज आप वाइस प्रेजिडेंट हैं और बिहार के लोग ऐसा अनुभव करते हैं कि डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद आज प्रेजिडेंट नहीं रहे तो जैसा हमारे ही प्रांत के वाइस प्रेजिडेंट आज दिल्ली में बैठे हैं। पांच वर्ष के अरसे में जबकि राजनैतिक उथल-पुथल हो रही हो, आपस में संघर्ष तरह के प्रचल रहे हों, उस समय एक आदमी के लिये सम्बन्ध विच्छास प्राप्त करना, लोकप्रिय बनना, सम्बन्ध प्रियकर बनना, यह

कोई आसान काम नहीं है। यह बात बाहर वाले उतना अनुभव नहीं कर पाते हैं जितना हम बिहार के लोग अनुभव करते हैं। मैं यही आशा करता हूँ कि जिस तरह शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आपने हमारा मार्ग दर्शन किया उसी तरह से आगे भी मार्ग दर्शन करेंगे। अभी हमारी डेमोक्रेसी, हमारा जनतंत्र नया है। बहुत सी परम्पराएं नयी बन रही हैं, बहुत सी परम्पराएं बन चुकी हैं और बहुत सी बनने वाली हैं। इसलिये लक्ष्मण का फकीर होने से काम नहीं चलेगा और बहुत सी परम्पराओं का निर्माण करना होगा जो हमारे देश के वातावरण और हमारे देश की परिस्थितियों के अनुकूल हों।

शिक्षा शास्त्री होने के अलावा राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन से शुरू से आपका सम्बन्ध रहा है। मेरा निज का अनुभव है कि शिष्टता के साथ ही साथ आप में स्पष्टवादिता है और साफगोई है। किसी चीज को सचई के साथ कहने की आवश्यकता हो तो बेमुरज्बती के साथ कह सकते हैं शक्ति भी आप में है जो आज देश के लिये नितांत आवश्यक है और उसकी आज सबसे ज्यादा जरूरत मैं समझता हूँ। सिर्फ 'सत्यम् ब्रूयात्, प्रियम् ब्रूयात्' वाली ही बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। आज सत्य अगर अभिय भी हो तो कहना चाहिये। और मैं जानता हूँ कि उसकी क्षमता आप में है और इसलिये विशेष रूप से मैं आपके प्रति आकर्षित होता हूँ और आपका स्वागत करता हूँ।

आपके बारे में परिचय देना वा और कुछ कहना, सब पृथिवे तो मेरे लिये एक तरह की गुस्ताखी होगी। अधिकतर सदस्य आपके बारे में जानते हैं और बहुत तो मुझ से ज्यादा जानते हैं। इसलिये इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका स्वागत करता हूँ और उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इस राज्य सभा परिवार के अफसर-खानदान की हैसियत से आप हम सब की देखभाल करेंगे और मैं अपनी तरफ से विद्यास दिलाता हूँ कि जिस तरह का भी सहयोग आपके काम में आवश्यक होगा, उस तरह का हम पूरा सहयोग देंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका पुनः स्वागत करता हूँ।

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Mr. Chairman, I rise to associate myself with the remarks of the previous speakers. You have come, Sir, to this House with an illustrious career behind you. You were in the forefront of the struggle for independence. You were known for your outstanding nationalist attitude for which you, like many other patriots in this country, have had to suffer. You have come here after having accomplished many tasks, both in the sphere of education and in the political life of this country. You are no stranger to this House. You have been here before and compared to yourself I am a newcomer to this House and as one who sits in the Opposition I will have to ask for your indulgence and your kindness as all parties in the

Opposition will, because, if democracy is to progress in this country, it is the Chair that will have to safeguard the rights, the privileges of the parties which are smaller in number, of the voice that is feeble and is likely to be drowned in the sea of the numbers that sit on the majority side. Sir, we look forward with fond hopes to you and we hope that the traditions laid down in this House by your illustrious predecessor will receive the same consideration and will be cherished in the same manner by you and that the deliberations of this House will be carried on in the same way. We hope, Sir, that under your Chairmanship, the Opposition will be able to make its voice felt perhaps a little more. It has become the tendency of late that certain matters of procedure that are available under the Constitution, opportunities of speaking, have fallen into disuse. We hope, Sir, to see that they will be used more and more and that you will give us encouragement in using them during your time.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी: सभापति जी, आपके निर्वाचन पर मैं आपका हार्दिक अभिनन्दन करता हूँ।

एक शिक्षा शास्त्री के नाते आपने जो सेवाएँ की हैं वे सदैव स्मरणीय रहेंगी। बिहार के वैधानिक प्रमुख के नाते जिस प्रकार आपने अपने दायित्व का पालन किया वह भी हम सबके लिये मार्ग दर्शन का काम करेगा। मैं आपको निश्चय से बहुत थोड़े समय से देखा है। पिछले अक्टूबर में जब राष्ट्रीय एकता सम्मेलन हुआ था, उस समय आपने जो विचार प्रकट किये थे उन्होंने सभी देशवासियों के हृदय को आपकी ओर आकृष्ट कर लिया था। अभी राष्ट्रीय एकता परिषद की जो बैठक हुई, उसमें भी आपका योगदान हमें सही दिशा में ले जाने में सहायक हुआ।

यह बड़ी खुरशी की बात है कि जब इस देश में सभ्यतायुक्तता की आंधी चल रही थी और बड़े बड़ों के पैर उड़ड़ गये या डगमगा गये, तब भी आप राष्ट्रीयता के मार्ग पर दुड़ता के साथ आगे बढ़ते रहे। हम अपने देश में असामयदायिक राज्य की स्थापना कर चुके हैं जिसमें महजब के हिस्सब से किसी प्रकार के भेदभाव के लिये कोई स्थान नहीं होगा। और आपने अपने शब्दों से, अपनी कृति से इस असामयदायिकता के आदर्श को बल प्रदान किया है। उपरान्त के रूप में, भारतीय गणराज्य के अधिकारी के नाते आपका मार्गदर्शन हमें प्राल होता रहेगा, यह प्रसन्नता की बात है।

इस सदन के अध्यक्ष के रूप में हमें विश्वास है कि जो परम्पराएँ हमने अभी तक डाली हैं, उन्हें आप बढ़ाएँ करेंगे और परिस्थिति के अनुरूप उनका विकास करेंगे। एक नये सदस्य के नाते मैं यह अनुभव करता हूँ कि सदन को और भी प्रगति बनाया जा

सकता है। वाद-विवाद का, चर्चा का और देश की समस्याओं पर विचार-विनिमय का और भी अवसर इस सदन को दिया जा सकता है। इसके लिये सत्ताकण्ड दल को थोड़ा सा प्रेरित करना होगा। और सभापति जी, इस काम के लिये हम आपकी ओर आशा पूरी दृष्टि से देखते हैं। जहाँ तक हमारा सम्बन्ध है, आपको हम अपने पूर्ण सहयोग का आश्वासन देते हैं। आपको इस पद पर नियुक्त किये हमने आपको नहीं, स्वयं अपने को ही सम्मानित किया है और हम इस सम्मान के अधिकारी बने रहे, यही हमारी कामना है।

Shri Sudhir Ghosh: Mr. Chairman, may I, in the name of the independent Members of this House, pay my respects to you on joining our family? This House, Mr. Chairman, is very much of a family in spite of political differences between political parties and groups. Your predecessor was very much a father of this family and I am confident that you too, Sir, will occupy in the hearts of the Members of this House the same place and I am sure you will receive from the Members of this House the same respect and affection and co-operation as your predecessor did. I have had the opportunity of knowing you, Sir, in the past as a person close to Mahatma Gandhi. It is good to have as the head of this family a man who enjoyed the trust and confidence of the Father of the Nation.

श्री० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर: श्रीमान्, कांग्रेस दल के नेता के अभिनन्दन कर लेने के बाद मेरी हँसियत नहीं थी कि मैं कुछ कहने को उठूँ। लेकिन मैं अपने को रोक नहीं सका। जिस दिन अखबारों में यह खबर छपी कि आप निश्चित रूप से देश के उपगृहीत चुने जाने वाले हैं उस दिन हम लोगों का हीरोला बड़ गया, खास कर मुझे यह महसूस हुआ कि इस देश का भविष्य अच्छा है, हमारी किस्मत इतनी बुरी नहीं है जितनी वह कभी-कभी दिखाई देती है।

आप भारतीय एकता के सिपाही, सभ्यतायुक्त राष्ट्रप्राप्ति के प्रेरित और भारत के ध्वज के कर्णधार हैं। शिक्षा के आप नापी विशेषज्ञ हैं। जिसको भी यह मौका मिला है कि वह आपका भाग्य सुने या आपके निबन्धों को पढ़े वह इस बात से सहमत होगा कि शिक्षा के विषय में जो कुछ आपको मालुम नहीं है वह किसी के भी जाने लायक नहीं है।

मैं उस सुने का हूँ जहाँ का आप अपने को खोद मानते हैं। बिहार में पांच वर्षों तक आपकी उपस्थिति से बहुत अच्छा वातावरण पैदा हुआ। बिहारियों को आपने जितना प्यार किया वह हम जानते हैं और बिहारियों ने आपके प्रति जो धर्मित की वह भी बिहारियों को

मालूम है। असल में, जिस दिन आप पटना से चले वहाँ वही दृश्य उपस्थित हो गया जो दृश्य दिल्ली से राजेन्द्र बाबू के जाने के समय उपस्थित हुआ था।

हम बहुत ही आशा में हैं, आपके यहाँ रहते हुए हमारी बहुत सी कठिनाइयाँ दूर होंगी, हमारी यह भविष्य के लिये प्रशस्त होगी। हम अपनी भक्ति आपके अर्पित करते हैं।

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Mr. Chairman, I am very happy also to be privileged to join in the chorus of welcome that has been showered on you and quite rightly too this morning. I have had the privilege of your friendship for many years. I was with you as a member of the Indian Delegation to UNESCO on two occasions and I well remember the impression your personality, your learning and your oratory made on all the foreign delegates assembled there. Later I had the privilege of working with you on the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, which Gandhiji actually left in your hands because he had the utmost reliance and faith in you, not only as an educationist but also as a man who had sacrificed for India, who loved India and who could truly speak for the poor masses of our country for whom education was so necessary. Sir, you come to this House having the affection of all of us and the respect of all of us. We will, I am sure, give you the fullest co-operation and we know that the dignity and honour of this honourable House will always be safe in your hands.

Prof. A. R. Wadia: Mr. Chairman, whether as a nominated Member or as an educationist or as an independent Member of this House, may I add my humble voice to the warm welcome that has been accorded to you on your election as the Chairman of Rajya Sabha. I have had the privilege of knowing you for a number of years and I have always followed your career as an educationist and as a public man with very great interest and with very great admiration. I know that you have been taking a very leading part in the public life. You have never been a mere politician. You have been a great patriot and you have served your country well. To use an old Roman expression, "You have deserved well of the Republic." Now, you are entering upon a distinguished office and I am perfectly certain that you will follow in the footsteps of your distinguished predecessor, who added to the dignity of your office as well as

to the dignity of this House. May I wish you a very happy period of your Chairmanship?

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Leader and friends, how can I ever adequately thank you for the most generous words in which you have welcomed me. I am deeply moved even to the point of embarrassment. I am embarrassed for I am not at all sure that I deserve all the adjectives you have in your affectionate generosity showered on me. I wish I had deserved at least some of them. I am afraid there is not enough time left to me to set about deserving them and yet I promise I shall try. The embarrassment is also due to the fact that I have been elected to occupy a Chair which was for the last ten years, since the inception of this House, adorned by one of the greatest sons of India, our present President. My feelings at being asked to occupy the Chair can well be imagined. I can hope to maintain the traditions established during his stewardship of the Sabha only by your active goodwill and co-operation and I hope and trust that these will not be denied to me.

I wonder if I should not tell you that when I first came to know of it, I was greatly surprised that I was being considered for this high office at all and I could not easily convince myself of the reasons why. But the thousands of letters and telegrams of congratulation which I received after my election seemed to give me a clue, for, a disproportionately large percentage of these letters came from teachers, teachers of primary schools in remote corners of the country, teachers of high schools and teachers in the Universities. They all seemed to tell me that I was considered worthy of this honour on account of my close involvement in educational work, and the significance that our people rightly appear to attach to education in their life. Education, indeed, is the life-breath of our democratic life. A people as old and as young as ours can justifiably look upon education as the chief formative force of their life, for it is education that can critically appraise our great heritage, distinguish between the heritage that helps and the heritage that hampers; preserve the one and discard the other. It is education, again, that can give us a common vision of the future we are striving to fashion and generate in us the intellectual and moral energy to fashion it. Education alone can preserve the

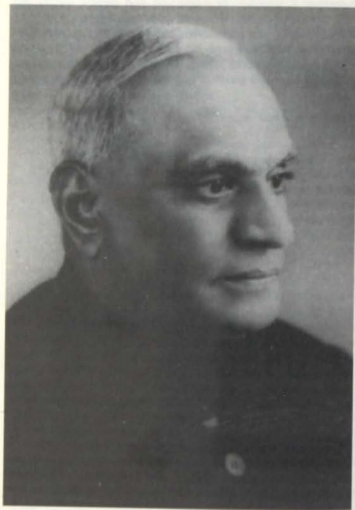
old values worth preserving. Education alone can give us new values worth striving for. This conception of the role of education in our life partly explains to me why you have chosen to elect a person who has so far done nothing more important than the work of a school teacher, as the Vice-President of India and the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. And in spite of a painfully vivid consciousness of my own personal limitations, I rejoice at this, my people's estimate of the role of education in national life.

But in a developing democratic society, the work of education is not confined to its schools, colleges and universities. All the institutions of public life are potent agencies of education. Among these the highest place naturally goes to the Houses of Parliament. These set the aims of national life and prescribe its procedures. A two-fold influence is demanded of them—a total commitment to a future worthy of a great people and a relentlessly objective appraisal of the appropriate means of attaining it. The first gives a unity of national purpose, the second a healthy variety of opinion regarding the methods of its attainment. The unity of national purpose makes the diversity of opinion regarding means a blessing. The differences of view between the Government and the Opposition are manifestations of this blessing and should, therefore, be welcome. I hope and trust that we in this House will be as tolerant of divergent views as we have always been. We should be as objective in our intellectual assessment as ever possible and that we should give to those not of our way of thinking the respect that all honest opinion demands and deserves. Discussion, criticism and persuasion, are the essence of the parliamentary process and I am confident that this House will continue to demonstrate this unmistakably. The quality of our discussions, the fruitfulness of our deliberations, will be the measure of our contribution to national life and I am sure it will be a decidedly significant contribution.

I pledge myself to leave nothing undone to help you make that contribution. I pledge myself to utter fairness and impartiality. I pledge myself to give to the Government every opportunity to explain and elucidate its measures. I pledge myself to secure for the Opposition due latitude to criticise them, and I

promise myself by doing this to ensure, with your goodwill and co-operation, a standard of discussion and debate conducted with decorum and dignity, which would contribute significantly to the attainment of the objective dear to all of us alike—the building up of our country as the home of a free people, safe against material want and striving towards moral excellence in a world free of fear and suspicion and distrust, a world of peace and goodwill.

I thank you once again for your most generous words of felicitation.



Shri V. V. Giri

(10.8.1894 — 24.6.1980)

Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha

(13.5.1967 — 3.5.1969)

V. V. Giri: A profile

GIRI, SHRI VARAHAGIRI VENKATA: Barrister-at-Law, D. Litt. (*Honoris Causa*) (Banaras Hindu University and Andhra University), LL.D. (*Honoris Causa*) (Agra University); s. of Shri Jogiah Pantulu; b. August 10, 1894; m. Shrimati Sarasvathi Bai Giri, 4 s. and 7 d.; Member, (i) Central Legislative Assembly, 1934—37 and (ii) Madras Legislative Assembly, 1937—39 and 1946—47; Minister, holding portfolios of Labour, Industries, Cooperation and Commerce, Government of Madras, 1937—39 and 1946—47; Indian High Commissioner to Ceylon, 1947—51; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952—57; Union Minister of Labour, 1952—54; Governor, (i) Uttar Pradesh, 1957—60, (ii) Kerala, 1960—65 and (iii) Mysore, 1965—67; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 13-5-1967 to 3-5-1969; Acting President, 3-5-1969 to 19-7-1969; President of India, 24-8-1969 to 23-8-1974; Recipient of Bharat Ratna, 1975; Died. Obit. on 24-6-1980.

Felicitations offered to Shri Varahagiri Venkata Giri on 22 May 1967

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I, on behalf of all of us, extend a hearty welcome to you? In your case, Sir, it is really a question of welcoming you back to the precincts of Parliament. You are no stranger to this building, having had a long and distinguished career, a parliamentary career, yourself. With your rich and varied background as one of our leading freedom fighters, a veteran labour leader, a Minister, a Governor and an elder statesman in the post-Independence years, you will no doubt bring to bear on your high and exalted office the valuable experience of a long and dedicated political career. We look forward to your wise guidance in the conduct of the deliberations of this House.

I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Government, to assure you, Sir, that you will at all times have our fullest support and co-operation in your task and of upholding the dignity of this august House, its privileges and the privileges of each of the honourable Members here.

Once again, I welcome you most heartily.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of my group, myself, and I believe, the other friends in the Opposition, I have great pleasure in associating myself with the remarks that have fallen from the lips of the Prime Minister. You are no stranger to Parliament. You come here after a very distinguished career, beginning with your life as one of the earliest

freedom fighters, then as a Minister in the Government of Madras during the early days when we still were under the British rule and then later on, as Minister in the Government of India; you have also served the Government of India with distinction abroad as High Commissioner in Ceylon; you have also represented this country at international labour conferences. You have always brought distinction to yourself as one who has spoken for the down-trodden, for the poorer classes of this country. May we expect, Sir, that during your regime, not only the down-trodden, but the neglected corner of this House will also receive its due attention and that we will not suffer from any disabilities that we used to during your predecessor's time?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a great privilege and pleasure for me to welcome you to this House. I belong to what you may call the superannuated category of parliamentarians since independence. Yet, we do not retire as many others in high places do not retire. But, Sir, one thought comes to me as I welcome you. Although you are the nominee of a particular party, we have known you in certain other capacity and situation. How could I forget that some years ago you, on a question of principle of the Bank Award, resigned from the Government and identified yourself with the interests of those struggling bankmen? I also recall the day, immediately after your resignation, when we two appeared on the same platform to speak to the bankmen. Then, Sir, the parting of the ways took place—you went in one direction after that meeting and I continued in my direction. Now, we have assembled here again.

Mr. Chairman, you have come to occupy this high and august office at a crucial moment in our constitutional and political history and I am sure that you are acutely conscious of this formidable fact of our political life. As you are here sitting in this House, I am sure that you are aware of the fact that this House which is supposed to be the representative of the States has acquired a certain anomalous character. For example, in the

States, in eight States of India, today the party which is occupying the Treasury Benches is in the Opposition; we are on the Treasury Benches. This is the kind of dichotomy and dual power in a constitutional set-up which has arisen. I mention this thing because our function is to protect the interests of the States. We are specifically assigned the task of looking after the interests of the States in terms of the Constitution. That is why the Council of States was created by the foundation of the Constitution. We have been functioning ever since. Today by the will of the people, the federal principles of our Constitution have come into play. Today, you have to find here, Mr. Chairman, the fulfilment of your high office in upholding the fundamental rights and the constitutional, political and legal privileges of the States in so far as the Centre-State relations are concerned. Here shall be hammered out in the course of the coming months and years, under your Chairmanship a certain thing which is new in our constitutional set-up, at least from the point of view of practical politics, namely, the Centre-State relations. I do hope, Mr. Chairman, that under your guidance and leadership we shall succeed in fashioning, with our common effort, common endeavour and common wisdom, the proper fundamentals, the proper norms, for a federal set-up.

Mr. Chairman, I am also very glad that you are here today because you had been identified with the working class movement in your times. Today it is the working people who are coming at the top of the world. They are asserting themselves and without them nothing is worth living for, nothing is precious, nothing is glorious, and that is why I welcome you. When I welcome you, I have these particular aspects in mind.

Mr. Chairman, now I should like only to say one thing more here in this connection and that is that you are undoubtedly in charge of the House. The dignity of the Chair is of fundamental importance, but dignity must base itself on the affection of the people, love for democracy and the passionate consideration for the norms of democracy, especially when the Opposition

which is morally powerful but numerically weak has got to be defended against certain other things from certain other quarters. Therefore, the dignity of the House, Mr. Chairman, I assure you, we are all interested in maintaining. But the greatest dignity that man can ever show in our parliamentary career and otherwise—we have come to learn—is the dignity of the love of the people, loyalty to the masses, and I do hope that under your Chairmanship, the word 'dignity' will acquire a new dynamic conception, a conception that will arouse interest in the masses, that will give them confidence, that will make itself felt in the day-to-day life of the people. Therefore, I assure you our fullest co-operation in enriching, enlarging and giving a new context and meaning to the words 'dignity' and 'democracy'. We do hope that under your guidance and leadership—since you have come here and for the next five years—we shall not only hold to what was good and decent in the past but being a dynamic society, we would like you to show the way how to go forward, how to combine the past with the future and how to blend into a common symphony the good traditions of the past into the promises of the future. I do hope that in this House under your guidance we shall be in a position to give an account of ourselves in the sense that we not only love what is best in the present but we project ourselves into the future.

I once again welcome you on behalf of my party and I give you the fullest co-operation and I do hope that a response shall be coming. Before I sit down I wish you well in this office and I do hope under your leadership the federal concepts of our Parliamentary democracy as well as fundamental rights, norms and privileges of the Members of the House and of the people outside will be enshrined never to be sullied by a party which does not respect such things.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह धंधारी: सभापति महोदय, राज्य सभा के सभापति पद पर आसीन होने के उपलक्ष्य में अपने दस्त की ओर से मैं आपका स्वागत करता हूँ और आपको बधाई देता हूँ। आपका एक सार्वजनिक जीवन रहा है और आपने विशेषकर जो सिरुद्धे वर्ग हैं, समाज का जो कमजोर भाग है उनको सुविधाओं को प्राप्त करवाने के लिए अपने

जीवन का कुछ समय लगाया है। अपना यह देश सब लोगों को साथ लेकर चलने वाली परम्पराओं में विश्वास करता है। आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक दृष्टि से भी हमारे जीवन में कुछ विषमताएं हैं। हमें इस प्रकार के प्रयत्न करने होंगे कि इन सारी विषमताओं से ऊपर उठ कर समाज के प्रत्येक वर्ग को चाहे वह किसी भी पक्ष का हो, चाहे वह किसी भी भाषा का हो, चाहे वह किसी भी प्रकार के व्यवसायों को करता हो, उन सबको मिला कर सफल प्रजातंत्र की नींव यहां पर डाल सके।

राज्य सभा का स्थान और भी महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि यहां पर हम अपने देश के विभिन्न राज्यों की समस्याओं को जो विभिन्न कारणों से यहां उलझन का रूप धारण कर लेती हैं और दुर्भाग्य से लोक सभा में भी जिनको ठीक प्रकार से सुनने और प्रतिनिधित्व दिलाने का उचित अवसर उपलब्ध नहीं होता, राज्य सभा में उन पर ध्यान दे सके, उनकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करवा सके। यह तभी सम्भव होगा जब आप अध्यक्ष के रूप में सरकार का ध्यान उन पर आकृष्ट करवाने में समुचित रूप से अवसर देंगे। मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आपके नेतृत्व में हम सब लोगों को और खासकर हम जो बाई तरफ बैठे हैं उन लोगों को अपने-अपने हितों के प्रश्नों को, सार्वजनिक प्रश्नों को और राष्ट्रीय महत्व के प्रश्नों को रखने का पूर्ण अवसर प्राप्त होगा। मैं फिर से इस पद पर निर्वाचित होने पर आपका अभिभन्दन करता हूं।

श्री गंगा हरण सिंह: माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, राज्य सभा के अध्यक्ष की हैसियत से मैं आपका यहां स्वागत करता हूं। आप हमारे देश के राजनीतिज्ञों की उस पीढ़ी के व्यक्ति हैं जो पारि-परि हमारी नजरों से अछल होती जा रही हैं। आपकी विशेषता यह रही है कि पुरानी पीढ़ी के होने पर भी आपने सिरफ समय के साथ कदम मिला कर चलने का अभ्यास नहीं किया, बल्कि आपका समय को आगे देखने का भी अभ्यास रहा। उसका सबसे बड़ा प्रमाण यह है कि उस जमाने में जब हिन्दुस्तान में श्रमिक आन्दोलन की तरफ लोगों का ध्यान आकृष्ट नहीं था, उस समय अपने और आपके स्वर्णिम बुजुर्ग साथी श्री एन-एन-जोशी ने हमारे देश में श्रमिक आन्दोलन की नींव रखी, उसके संगठन को मजबूत किया और उसको मार्गदर्शन दिया। पुरानी बातें ही नहीं, पिछले वर्ष बंगाली में मुझे जब आपके सभापतित्व में एक समवर्तन-संस्कार में दीक्षा-प्राप्त होने का मौका मिला, उसने जो आपके विचार मैंने सुने उससे मुझे यह लग कि पुराने श्रमिक आन्दोलन से लेकर आज तक समय की जो गति रही है उसके साथ आप कदम मिला कर चलते रहे हैं और जिस तरह आप उस समय आगे के समय को देख कर आगे बढ़ते रहे, उसी तरह आज भी वर्तमान के साथ गतिमत्त को भी देखने की क्षमता आप में है। इतनी बड़ी परम्परा लेकर आप आज हमारे बीच में आये हैं। उस परम्परा के पंथसे हम समझ सकते हैं कि राज्य सभा का काम सुचारु रूप से चलेगा। आप सिरफ आगे देखने वालों की परम्परा में नहीं रहे, सिरफ संगठन करने वालों की परम्परा में ही नहीं रहे, मुझे मरण है कि आपके साथी एन-एन-जोशी को उस पुराने जमाने में ब्रिटिश वासनाय,

सेन्ट्रल असेम्बली में बरकर नामजद करता था, लेकिन कभी भी उन्होंने अपनी मर्जी के खिलाफ सरकार के साथ वोट नहीं किया। अधिकतर अवसरों पर, सरकार के द्वारा नामजद होने पर भी, जोशी जी अपनी रुचि और अपनी बुद्धि का प्रयोग करते थे और उसके अनुसार वोट करते थे। ऐसी परम्परा डाली थी कि नामजदगी की और अपनी मेम्बरी की फिक्र नहीं की और अपने विचारों पर डटे रहते थे। मैं समझता हूं कि जनतंत्र की, विचार-स्वातंत्र्य की यह ऐसी परम्परा है जिसको आपने और आपके साथियों ने कायम किया है और मैं समझता हूं कि वह परम्परा यहां भी आप आगे चलावेंगे, विचार की स्वतंत्रता, व्यक्ति की स्वाधीनता और दलगत भावनाओं से ऊपर उठकर इस बात की चेष्टा करेंगे कि राज्य सभा का निर्माण जिसके लिए हुआ है वह उस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति कर सके।

आज की परिस्थिति और पहले की परिस्थिति में थोड़ा अन्तर आ गया है। जैसा मैंने मित्रों में जिक्र किया, राज्य सभा राज्यों का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है। इस चुनाव के पहले तक सभी राज्यों में और केन्द्र में एक ही प्रकार के लोगों का, प्रायः एक ही दल का शासन था, लेकिन इस चुनाव के बाद देश के आधे से अधिक हिस्से में दूसरे दलों का, दूसरे प्रकार के लोगों का शासन है, और यहां केन्द्र में दूसरे दल का शासन है। इससे नई परिस्थिति पैदा हुई है और मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि इस परिस्थिति का सबसे ज्यादा सामना राज्य सभा को करना पड़ेगा। ऐसी अवस्था में आपको काम थोड़ा मुश्किल तो होगा लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि जो आपकी परम्परा रही है, जो अब तक की शिक्षा रही है, जो आपको अब तक का अनुभव रहा है, उस अनुभव के बल पर आप इस काम को अंजाम दे सकेंगे। आप राजनीति के एक क्षेत्र में नहीं रहे हैं, विभिन्न क्षेत्रों का आपको ज़ुबान है और उस तजुबे से हम समझते हैं कि सिरफ हम ही यहां लाय नहीं उठावेंगे, सारा देश लाय उठावेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको पुनः स्वागत करता हूं।

श्री गोबिंद मुराहरी: सभापति महोदय, अपने दल की ओर से आपको स्वागत करते हुए, मैं सिरफ इस बात का जिक्र करना चाहूंगा कि आपने अपने जीवन में जो श्रमिक आन्दोलन के लिए प्रयास किया है और राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में जो कुछ आपने धींग लिया है, उससे हमको यह प्रतीत होता है कि राज्य सभा की कार्यवाहियों में भी आप वही दृष्टिकोण रखेंगे और जैसे श्रमिकों के पक्ष में अपना निर्णय दिया है उसी तरह जो यहां पर अपेक्षितान में बैठे हुए हैं उनकी ओर उसी दृष्टि को रखेंगे।

मैं भी एक तेलुगु भाषा-भाषी हूं और अपनी राजनीति आद्य प्रदेश के बाहर ही की है, जैसे ही आप तेलुगु भाषा-भाषी हैं और आपने अपनी राजनीति आद्य प्रदेश के बाहर की है। हम समझते हैं कि इससे आपको दृष्टिकोण एक राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण है और दल या एक विशेष गट के प्रति आप पक्षपात नहीं करेंगे। मैं आशा करूंगा कि जो भी कार्यवाही राज्य सभा में होगी उसमें हमारे देश की जो साधारण जनता है उसकी समस्याओं का प्रतिबिम्ब

आ सकेगा ऐसा तरीका आप निकालेंगे और अपने निर्णय हमेशा इस पक्ष में देंगे कि देश की जो साधारण जनता है, जो शोषित जनता है उसके सवालों को यहां पर प्रधानता मिले—चाहे सरकार उसके पक्ष में हो या न हो—इस तरह की तरीका अपनाए। इससे राज्य सभा की जो प्रतिष्ठा है वह बढ़ेगी और यहां की कार्यवाही की भी प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ सकती है।

जो भी यहां पर अशोषनीय, डिगनिटी या डिक्ोरम की बात कही जाती है वह सब इसी से उत्पन्न हो जाती है कि जब जनता के सवालों को इस सदन में पेश किया जाता है तो उसे दबाने की कोशिश होती है। उस कोशिश में जो कुछ कार्यवाही होती है, होती है। इसलिए मैं आशा करूंगा कि आपके पदाधिकार में जो कुछ यहां की कार्यवाही चलेगी उसमें जनता की जो समस्याएँ हैं उनके प्रधानता मिलेगी।

श्री ब्रिलोकी सिंह: मान्यवर, आपका स्वागत करते हुए इस स्थान पर मुझे महान हर्ष हो रहा है। आप आज इस स्थान पर बैठे हुए हैं जिसको डॉक्टर राधाकृष्णन, डॉक्टर जकिर हुसैन ने सुरोषित किया है और मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि जो प्रयास इस आदर्शपूर्ण सदन ने उनके समय में कायम की है उन प्रयासों को आप बनाये रखेंगे, केवल इतना ही नहीं बल्कि उनको इस प्रकार से माँजेंगे, चमकायेंगे कि राज्य सभा का नाम भारत में ही नहीं बल्कि भारत के बाहर भी रोशन हो जाएगा।

मान्यवर, यह सभा की विदित है कि जितनी संसदीय प्रथाएँ हैं वे अल्पमत के हक में हैं और उन प्रथाओं को कायम रखना, उन्हें बनाये रखना इष्ट है और बैठने वालों के अधिकारों के लिये है और संसदीय प्रथा की सबसे बड़ी प्रशंसनीय बात यह है कि अल्पमत को कभी भी यह आभास या छद्म नहीं होता है कि उनके विचारों की, उनके हक की किसी तरह से अंगहेलना की जा रही है।

मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जो आपकी जिंदगी का कारनामा रहा है, स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के एक पुराने सैनिक, ब्रिगिडों के क्षेत्र में संगठन बनाने वाले और उनके एक महाहूर और मारुफ नेता, भारत की पुरानी लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली तथा, मद्रास की लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली के सदस्य, इन सब को आपने सुरोषित किया है और आज जब कि प्लानिंग का युग है तो मैं यह नहीं भुला सकता हूँ कि कांग्रेस ने जिस समय प्लानिंग कमेटी को बनाया था उस समय उस प्लानिंग कमेटी के संघर्षों में से श्रीमान एक थे और योजना को बनाने में आपका बहुत बड़ा हाथ था। आपका यह पुराना इतिहास, पुराना जीवन जो हमारे सामने है और जो आपके करनामे हैं उन्हें हम भूल नहीं सकते हैं। मैं एक बार पुनः आपका स्वागत करता हूँ और आपका स्वागत करते हुए यह विचार प्रकट करता हूँ कि आपके सभापतित्व में इस राज्य सभा का काम सुचारु रूप से चलेगा और राज्य सभा अपने काम में और

अपने नाम में वह जोड़-गाँठ करेगी जिससे कि राज्य सभा का ही नाम नहीं बढ़ेगा बल्कि मान्यवर का भी नाम बढ़ेगा।

इसके साथ ही माननीय नेता सदन अथवा नेता विरोधी दल या अन्य नेताओं ने आपके सम्बन्ध में जो कहा है उन सभी से मैं अपनी सहर्षत श्रद्धा करता हूँ और आपको पुनः स्वागत करता हूँ।

Shri Niren Ghosh: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of our party, I welcome you as the Chairman of our House. Perhaps it is the first time that a Chairman has come to occupy the Chair through a contest, since the Congress Party and we do not see eye to eye on all the issues that face the country. However, we were happy when you resigned from the Central Government on the issue of their doing injustice to the working class as a matter of principle. But I would also say that we were not happy when you did not allow the Kerala State Assembly to be convened. In future we should expect you as Chairman of the House to function in a way so that we can approve all your actions and think of you as guarding the interests of the Opposition. I would have been happy if I could say that the federal principle has come into play. It is not so. But it is true that the battle has been joined that the federal principle should come into play and the fight will continue in future in all its aspects. In this connection, I would naturally expect you to see that the interests of the States are properly guarded by the House. I consider dignity and decorum is that which can only reflect the hopes and aspirations of the down-trodden masses of India. Dignity and decorum is not just bourgeois words to embellish the present system. So I would also ask you to remember these things when guarding the dignity and decorum of the House. We have seen a systematic sort of erosion of the privileges of the Opposition. So we would expect you to guard the privileges of the Opposition since, however weakly it may be, we hope to represent and do represent the working class and the down-trodden masses of the country. With these few words, I welcome you as the Chairman of our House.

Shri Chitta Basu: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join in the welcome that is accorded to you. Although you have been elected on the

support of a political party, I hope and I am confident that from the moment you were elected to this exalted office; you have ceased to be a party man. On you rests the dignity and decorum of this House and it is the privilege for us to have you in the Chair. A brilliant leader of the national liberation movement and organiser of the trade union movement in its formative period, you are well-acquainted and conversant with the trade union movement of this country. Not only that, the progressive and socialist thought of this country is familiar to you. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we expect and hope that the hopes and aspirations which we want to reflect here should be properly heard by you and through your wise guidance, we will be able to discharge our responsibilities to the people. With these words, I welcome you in this House as Chairman. I would also say that the Centre-State relations have to be re-assessed and re-evaluated on the basis of the changed political context. I think under your guidance we shall be able to re-assess and re-evaluate the Centre-State relations in the interest of the nation and the people of our country.

Shri B. D. Khobragade: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I extend a sincere and heart-felt welcome to you. You have a vivid experience of multifarious activities as you are interested in many spheres. You are a pioneer of the trade union movement in this country. As such, you have dedicated the major part of your life to the working classes and, therefore, you can justly be called the champion and guardian of the underdog. No doubt, you have been associated with Parliament for some time. But since then there has been a considerable change in the composition of Rajya Sabha. As there is a change in the political and social situation in the country, naturally there would be a reflection of that change in this House also. We believe in parliamentary democracy. My own opinion is that democracy cannot be successful until and unless there is equality, social and economic, and there is justice, social and economic as well. As you have been a champion of the downtrodden people, I hope that you will always strive to help the cause of the underdogs and whenever we try to raise issues of those people, we expect the full support and co-operation from you. Sir, on behalf of the Republican Party of India, I accord you a

welcome and I can assure you that we will always extend our full support and co-operation in maintaining the dignity and decorum of this august House.

The Deputy Chairman: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish to offer my felicitations to you. You now come to the Chair as a veteran. You have been in this House and the other House, and you have had a brilliant record, and with the abundant experience and understanding of men and matters you would be able to steer the debates and the proceedings of this House very diligently and to the satisfaction especially of the Opposition. There will be many problems, battles fought inside your chamber and on the floor. Passions will rise; reason will sag, and then you, as a veteran, will steer the deliberations of this House to the shores of calm and reason and peace. Again I wish you well.

श्री नेत्र सिंह ब्रार: चेयरमैन साहब, मैं अपनी तरफ से और अकाली पार्टी संत फतह सिंह गुप की तरफ से आपको खुश-अगमदी पेश करता हूँ। आपके जीवन से नावाक़िफ़ होते हुए भी प्रधान मंत्री और टीगर बुजुर्गों की ज़बानी जो मैंने आपकी तरफ़ सुनी है ऐसा दिखाई देता है कि आपके जीवन के पीछे एक हिस्ट्री है। इसके बारे में ज्यादा न जाते हुए कुछ और अर्ज़ करूँ क्योंकि बहुत सा टाइम पहले लिया जा चुका है कि मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से आपको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम हर किसम का आपके साथ तअयुन करेंगे। जहाँ तक कि गवर्नमेंट के कदम दुरुस्त होंगे, किसी किसम की गड़बड़ या आपके वक्त को जाया करने की कोशिश नहीं की जायेगी और आपकी कमलियत का हम एहतयाम करेंगे यह कहते हुए मैं आपको अपनी तरफ से और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से तअयुन पेश करने का यकीन दिलाता हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमान, मैं आपके साथ अपने पुण्य सम्बन्धों के कारण इस पद पर आपको देख कर बहुत प्रसन्न हूँ। जब सरकारी पक्ष के और विरोधी दल के लोग कुछ अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त कर रहे हैं, तो मुझे छिपने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि मैं आपके द्वारा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को बताना चाहूँगा कि आप मुझे अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं और मैं भी आपको अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। इसलिये इस सदन के सदस्यों को जन्मते सदर को जानने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होगी और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य इस बारे में निश्चित रहें कि मैं

आपकी खुशियों को जानता हूँ और उन खुशियों को जो सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य नहीं जानते आपको बताना चाहूँगा।

यह सही है कि चुनाव में मैंने आपका विरोध किया था, यह सही है कि चुनाव में हमने राष्ट्रपति पद के लिये डॉ॰ जकिर हुसैन का भी विरोध किया था। मगर सरकारी पक्ष के कुछ लोग रातों रातों में जब जाने लगे तो मुझे यह कहने लगे कि ये खी-खी गिरी साहब आ रहे हैं, अब इनसे कैसा सम्बन्ध रहेगा तुम्हारा? हमने कहा, हमारा सम्बन्ध बड़ा मधुर होगा जैसा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में विधान सभा के सदस्य की हैसियत से मैं था और राज्यपाल की हैसियत में जब आप वहाँ थे तब मैंने आपको वहाँ देखा था।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय के जो हमारे मौजूदा चेयरमैन साहब हैं, उनसे सदन को क्या-क्या उम्मीद करनी चाहिये। श्रीमन् आप श्री पुरुषोत्तमदास जी टंडन का नाम जानते हैं। श्री पुरुषोत्तमदास टंडन विधान सभा के सम्मानित अध्यक्ष रहे हैं। जब मुस्लिम लीग उत्तर प्रदेश में थी तब टंडनजी ने विधान सभा में कहा—क्योंकि एक बार मुस्लिम लीग की कमेटी की मीटिंग में कहा गया और अखबारों में समाचार आ गया कि मुस्लिम लीग अध्यक्ष के ऊपर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव पेश करने वाली है—कि अगर इस सदन के एक भी सदस्य का मेरे ऊपर अविश्वास है तो मैं अध्यक्ष पद पर रहने को तैयार नहीं हूँ। तो मुस्लिम लीग के लीडर जो बैठे थे उन्होंने कहा, नहीं श्रीमन्, आपमें हमारा विश्वास है, आप रहें, आपने जो अब तक व्यवस्थाएँ दी हैं उससे हम सन्तुष्ट हैं, जो अखबारों में बात निकल गई वह गलत तरीके से निकल गई। ऐसे-ऐसे अध्यक्ष, ऐसे-ऐसे सदर, विधान मण्डलों में रहे चुके हैं—मैंने तो केवल संकेत किया। यूँ मैं अपनी भावनाओं को छिपाना नहीं चाहता। मैं उस ऋषि की वाणी को याद करता हूँ जिसने सबक दिया है कि पहले तो विधान निर्मात्री परिषद में जाने के लिये लातापित न हो और अगर जाओ तो अपनी भावनाओं को छिपाकर कोई बात नहीं कहो, सत्य को असत्य द्वारा खंडित होते हुए मत देखो। उस ऋषि की वाणी को हम बराबर याद करते हैं और चाहते हैं जब तक यह जिन्दगी रहे तब तक और बराबर उसी के अनुकूल आचरण रहे, हमारी बुद्धि और आचरण में घेद न हो। जो आचरण बुद्धि के तदनुकूल नहीं है वह आचरण भ्रष्ट है, जो बुद्धि आचरण के तदनुकूल नहीं है वह बुद्धि छलना है। इसलिये भ्रष्ट आचरण और छलना बुद्धि एक साथ जाना चाहते हैं। मगर मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि जो हमारे संविधान में यह व्यवस्था है कि वाइस प्रेसिडेंट जो हों वे राज्य सभा के सदर के पद पर काम करें, मैं इस व्यवस्था से सहमत नहीं। उसके अनेक कारण हैं और मैं समझता हूँ, अगर व्यक्तिगत ढंग से आपको अपने जज्बात का इज़हार करना होगा, तो आप भी हमारी भावनाओं से संपन्न रहेंगे। मगर इस अवसर पर श्रीमन्, मैं अपनी ओर से आपको पूरा आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ, अपने संप्रकाश विचारधार रखने वाले लोगों की ओर से आपको पूरा आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ कि सभ्य संसदीय प्रथा और जनतंत्रीय प्रथाओं के विकास के लिये आप जितनी भी पुर्जानी, त्याग, मदद, बलिदान, हमसे

चाहेंगे, हम बराबर देने के लिये तैयार रहेंगे। अब सभ्य संसदीय प्रथा और जनतंत्र के समुचित विकास के लिये—यह सही है कि अगर सरकारी पक्ष यह चाहे कि यह सभ्य संसदीय प्रथा रहे और सरकारी पक्ष का कोई भी खड़ा होकर स्कूल बालक की तरह सबक देने लगे, तो मैं उस सबक को इन्कार करता हूँ और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, जब तक हमारे सदर श्री खी-खी गिरी जी रहेंगे तब तक और ज्यादा इन्कार करते रहेंगे क्योंकि हमें विश्वास है कि हमारे उन अधिकारों की रक्षा आप करेंगे। हमें पूरा विश्वास है, जनतंत्र की उन्नति के लिये, जनतंत्रीय प्रणाली की पद्धति को विकसित करने के लिये आप बराबर, सतत प्रयत्नशील रहेंगे और रहेंगे—क्या यह सबको मालूम नहीं है, क्या यह हमारे मौजूदा चेयरमैन साहब किसी चीज के भूखे हैं? वे श्रम मंत्री की हैसियत से इस्तीफा दे चुके हैं। मैं गिरी जी की भावना की कद करना चाहता हूँ। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ बहुत से, और बहुत सारकारी पक्ष के लोगों को गिरी जी की सभ्य और साधु व्यवस्था से चिढ़ होगी, मुझे मालूम है, मैं उस दिन को बहुत दूर नहीं देखता हूँ जब कि सरकारी पक्ष के लोग कहने लगेंगे कि चेयरमैन साहब आपके द्वारा विरोधी पक्ष को ज्यादा समय दिया जा रहा है वह समय आवेगा, क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ गिरी जी निष्पक्ष हैं। जहाँ निष्पक्ष सदर रहेंगे वहाँ विरोधी पक्ष को ज्यादा समय होगा, विरोधी पक्ष के अधिकारों की रक्षा होगी, विरोधी पक्ष को बहुमत पक्ष दबा नहीं सकेगा। किसी भी सभ्य संसदीय प्रथा में काम करने वाले अध्यक्ष अथवा सभापति का यह प्रथम पुनीत कर्तव्य है। तो श्रीमन्, मैं पुनः अपनी भावनाओं को आपके सामने व्यक्त करता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि सरकारी पक्ष के बहुत से लोगों को पहले लिखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। अगर वे पहले तो उनको मालूम होगा कि संसदीय प्रथा का अध्यक्ष कौन हो। तीन चार रातों विरोध है। अध्यक्ष वह होना चाहिये जो जब चाहे तब नेता, सदन की जगह ले सके। अध्यक्ष वह होना चाहिये जिसका त्याग, जिसकी विन्यास, जिसकी प्रतिभा सर्वप्रसिद्ध हो। अध्यक्ष वह होना चाहिये जिसके प्रति स्वतः, अपने आप आदर का, सम्मान का भाव व्यक्त हो।

मैं अदब के साथ आपके लिये अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त करते हुए सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से निवेदन करूँगा कि जो लोग गिरी जी से पक्षपात की उम्मीद करते होंगे कि बहुमत पक्ष को गिरी जी संरक्षण देते, उनको निराश होना पड़ेगा और जब-जब उनको निराश होना पड़ेगा तब-तब हमारी वाणी और बहोली, यह मैं आपको आश्वस्त करता हूँ।

इन ही शब्दों के साथ पुनः आपके प्रति आदर और बढ़ा व्यक्त करते हुए सभ्य संसदीय प्रथा के अभाव विकास के लिये मैं आपको इस पद पर और इस स्थान पर देखने के लिये बराबर लातापित रूँगा। नमस्कार।

RE

Mr. Chairman: Comrades and colleagues, I am extremely grateful to honourable Members of this House for their kind sentiments and I feel highly honoured. The encomiums you have showered on me, on the one hand, make me embarrassed and on the other place a heavy responsibility on my shoulders. My illustrious predecessors who adorned this high office are men of great intellectual attainments, known for their scholarship and erudition. In contrast, I am only a common man who has spent the better part of his life for the underdog. I hope to maintain the excellent traditions set by them and in this I count upon your goodwill, cooperation and support.

As you all perhaps know, I am no stranger to this House, nor this is my maiden speech. It may perhaps be styled as an old maid's address! I have been connected with the Parliamentary institutions for the last four decades either directly or indirectly and now I am returning to my old haunts after a decade.

I would like to utilise this opportunity to thank my comrades here and the Lok Sabha for electing me to the high office of the Vice-President of India in which capacity I am also *ex-officio* Chairman of this House.

I consider the felicitations expressed by the Members have deeper significance than mere congratulations to an individual chosen to be the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. In my view, they represent an urge that changes in the composition of the House or in its chairmanship, would not in the least affect the determination of all of us to bend our energies for the national task of speedy and orderly development. This House is not merely an Upper Chamber: this is representative of the States of the Union. In fact, this is the only place where the chosen spokesmen of the States are constantly and directly in touch with the representatives of the Union Government.

In the developing federal structure of our country, the Rajya Sabha has a greater role to play in the future. From the rich diversity of representative opinion we have here, from the daily dialogues we will be having on matters of moment, will, I am sure, emerge a greater unity, a more lasting national consensus. I feel it a privilege to be associated with this experiment.

Today we are facing great economic difficulties in different parts of the country and we cannot consider them as the

responsibility of any particular State or the Government at the Centre. It is only through the united effort of all that we will be able to solve them. Apart from this, I would like to reiterate that whatever our differences be, we should all consider that we belong to one nation and that we are Indians first, last and always, and the seeming diversities are not deeprooted but only superficial.

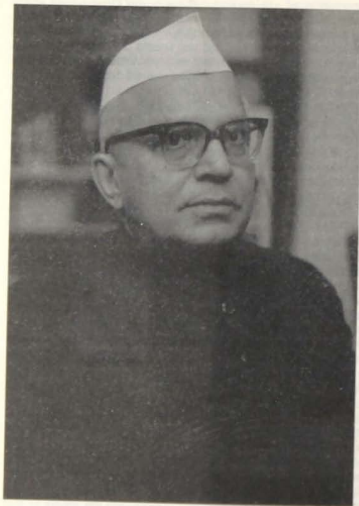
While it is held that the duty of the Opposition is to oppose, in my humble opinion, in a developing country like ours, the Opposition has a very important role to play, by being responsible as much as the Government in achieving for the common man the fundamental rights adumbrated in our Constitution, especially the right to work and the right to live.

So far as I am concerned, let me assure you that I will make no distinction between the Members of the Treasury Benches and those of the Opposition. I would give the fullest opportunity to every Member, to discharge his duty. In this connection, I would like to emphasise that the Question Hour the most effective method of parliamentary control over the activities of the Executive—should be judiciously used. The Members of the Treasury Benches should realise this as an opportunity to provide full facts and explain the policies of the Government. This will produce a happy atmosphere and result in the supplementaries being reduced. Of course, it should be understood, that the Ministers cannot divulge information which is against public interests.

In order to facilitate the work of this honourable House, I would concede the privilege to any honourable Member to see me any day during the session between 10.15 a.m. and 10.50 a.m. in my Chamber so that he may be able to make any representations on any matter which will ensure cordial relations and foster better understanding between the Chairman and Members and among the Members themselves.

On the last working day of the week I would like to meet the leaders of Parties or their representatives and the Whips so that we may generally discuss and review matters and that would facilitate our work.

I am grateful to you for allowing me the opportunity of stating some of my views regarding the conduct of business of this House. I thank you once again.



Shri G. S. Pathak
(26.2.1896 — 31.8.1982)
Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(31.8.1969 — 30.8.1974)

Gopal Swarup Pathak: A profile

PATHAK, SHRI GOPAL SWARUP: M.A., LL.B.; s. of Pandit Krishan Swarup Pathak; b. February 26, 1896; m. Shrimati Prakashwati, 3 s. and 3 d.; Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1945-46; Member, Rajya Sabha, 3-4-1960 to 2-4-1966 and 3-4-1966 to 13-5-1967; Union Minister of Law, 1966-67; Governor, Mysore State, 13-5-1967 to 31-8-1969; Chancellor, (i) Mysore University, (ii) Bangalore University and (iii) Karnataka University; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 31-8-1969 to 30-8-1974; Died. Obit. on 4-10-1982.

Felicitations offered to Shri Gopal Swarup Pathak on 17 November 1969

The Leader of the House, Shri K.K. Shah: Mr. Chairman, I deem it to be a privilege to extend a very warm welcome to you. You are no stranger to this House. You have distinguished yourself as a Parliamentarian and as a Minister in the past. You have earned a reputation for ability, integrity and judicious acumen of rare quality. With your background as a Judge, as an eminent jurist, as a diplomat and as an intellectual you have enriched different walks of public life and we have no doubt that we shall benefit considerably by your wise guidance and equanimous temperament.

It is only in times of stress and strains that one is called upon to give his best and very healthy precedents are created. We will be facing in this House momentous occasions when your wisdom, fairness and generosity will enable us to be participants in equitable decisions which posterity will acclaim with gratitude and will uphold as the highest traditions of parliamentary democracy.

Sir, I have no doubt that you will bring to bear on your high and exalted office not only the rich and valuable experience of a selflessly devoted career but your rare acumen of justice and fairplay. On our part, I wish to assure on my behalf and on behalf of Government that you will have our fullest support and co-operation in not only upholding the privileges of each individual Member in a just and equitable manner. It will be our endeavour to judge each issue with sobriety and in national interest. Needless to assure you that we shall strive our utmost to accommodate every point of view.

May I once again extend to you our warmest felicitations.

Shri S. N. Mishra: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my privilege to offer my sincerest congratulations and greetings to you on behalf of the Congress Party in Parliament. We are conscious that you have assumed office today in the midst of some profoundly seminal developments that have taken place in the country and also in the Parliament of India...You will be presiding over a House on which the shadow of the Government would not loom very large now, and in which there will be a rightful, official Opposition for the invigoration of democracy and for the establishment of democratic socialism in this country. We have heard too much about some of the socialist ideas which are, in fact pseudo-socialist slogans and it will, therefore, be the duty of my Party to work for the establishment of a real democratic socialist society.

The historic development that has taken place today is bound to have a tremendous impact on the political life of the country. It is in this context that you are now assuming the responsibilities of this high office. One who has got even a milligram of insight as they say into the future would feel somewhat disturbed at some of the portents. Our House is a continuing House and, therefore, it is a factor for stability. We want to preserve it as the bastion of democracy. We will co-operate with you in maintaining its position. It is possible that the waters elsewhere might be ruffled, but we would like that here the waters should be as placid as possible for it is a continuing House, as I said.

As was said by the Leader of the House, you are not a stranger to this House. You have been a distinguished Member of this House. A man so rich in experience, so eminent in law and so loved and liked by all the Members is certainly going to fill the bill admirably. We have absolutely no doubt about it. You have adorned not only our Benches, the Benches of the private Members, but you have also adorned the Treasury Benches. You have given ample evidence of your erudition in law and your devotion to the institutions and practices of democracy. Your familiarity with the rules and practices that govern the

conduct of this House is also well known. Your long and distinguished legal training and career is bound to prove to be a great asset to all of us.

You are also conscious, as you have been one of us for a pretty long time, how anxious we are to preserve the rights and privileges of all Members. We however, do not want that only the rights and privileges of the Members of the Opposition should be preserved, although their rights and privileges are really the concern of the whole democracy. It may be that sometimes you may not be indulgent to the Government, but you have to be indulgent to us. Therefore, since you have yourself experienced in this august House, for quite a long time, how Members are solicitous of the rights and privileges of this House, you will certainly give your best consideration to preserving them.

I feel that in you we have a person who has whenever he did anything earned only good-will and friendship from all and whenever he said anything he exuded only charm and sweetness. We are glad that such a person occupies the Chair today.

Now, on behalf of the Opposition generally it has become somewhat customary to say that we pledge ourselves to loyalty to the Chair and the high traditions of this House. Although it is a good custom to do that, we would like it to be more than a custom and I would not like to make any loud protestation about that and I would only submit to you that our Party is going to show that we want to back up this pledge by practice that is what we propose to do.

With these words, Mr. Chairman, I offer again our heartiest felicitations on this occasion and you can very confidently look forward to having very sincere co-operation from us.

Thank you very much.

Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of our group and other Members in this House, we welcome you to the high office that you are going to fill. You have a background, tradition and training which befits you most

eminently for this position and I am sure you will acquit yourself with credit in your duties. On behalf of a section that has suffered very much in the past, perhaps due to certain reasons, may I plead that this corner of the House would receive a fairer treatment? Intentionally or unintentionally, my group has been the group that has suffered very much in the past and I hope that will not happen in your regime. I am not making any charges. I am just mentioning a fact with the hope that there will be no reason for us to refer to this matter and that it will be a matter of the past.

श्री पीताम्बर दास: आदरणीय सभापति जी, उपरदृष्टि पद के ऊपर आपके निर्वाचित होने पर मैं आपको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ और इस सदन में सभापति के नाते आपके आगमन पर आपका स्वागत करता हूँ। एक जमाना था कि सत्तारूढ़ दल इस सदन में अत्यधिक भारी बहुमत में बैठता था, ब्रूट मेजॉरिटी में। उस समय जिन लोगों को सभापतित्व का काम करना पड़ा वह काफी सरल था। उसके बाद एक जमाना आया जब कांग्रेस पार्टी साधारण मत में बैठती थी और उस समय का काम कभी-कभी कठिन दिखाई देते हुए भी कठिन नहीं था, परन्तु आज परिस्थिति बहुत भिन्न है। आज का सत्तारूढ़ दल एक नाजुक बहुमत में है, मार्जिनल मेजॉरिटी में। मेरे कुछ साथियों का यह भी ख्याल है यह बहुमत है भी या नहीं लेकिन मैं उसके सम्बन्ध में अभी कोई मत प्रगट करना नहीं चाहता। तो ऐसी स्थिति में सभापति का काम बहुत कठिन है, परन्तु मुझे विश्वास है कि अपनी बुद्धिमत्ता, योग्यता, कुरालता, क्षमता और अनुभव के आधार पर आपके लिये वह काम कठिन नहीं होगा। इस सदन की कार्यवाही में मैं स्वयं और मेरा सारा दल आपको पूरा सहयोग देगा मैं इस बात का आश्वासन देता हूँ और ईश्वर से आपकी सफलता की कामना करता हूँ।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि: अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपका निर्वाचन और उपरदृष्टि बनना इस सदन के लिए एक गौरव की बात मैं मानता हूँ क्योंकि आप इस सदन के सदस्य रह चुके हैं। बाद में कई स्थानों पर मिनिस्टर और गवर्नर की हैसियत से रहे हैं और अपनी क्षमता की अम्की तरह अपने निष्ठावादी हैं लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि सबसे कठिन काम जो आप निभाने वाले हैं वह राज्य सभा की चेयरमैनरी है और वह भी ऐसे समय जबकि राज्य सभा का स्वरूप बदलता हुआ है क्योंकि कल तक जो राज्य सभा का स्वरूप था वह आज से नहीं है और कल परसों यह पता चलेंगा कि वह सरकार बहुमत में है या अल्पमत में है या कितने लोग, कितनी पार्टियाँ इसके साथ हैं और कितनी पार्टियाँ इसके खिलाफ हैं।..... मैं आपको अपनी पार्टी की ओर से बधाई देता हूँ और आश्वासन भी देता हूँ कि हमारी पार्टी कभी भी पार्लियामेन्टरी नियम और जो प्रवृत्ति है उसके खिलाफ काम नहीं करेगी, लेकिन अगर कहीं अन्याय होगा तो उसका प्रतियोग हम करेंगे। जब तक हम

अन्याय का प्रतिरोध नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारे यहाँ आने का मकसद ही पूरा नहीं होता। इसलिए मैं आशा तो यही करूँगा कि आप किसी समय ऐसा अवसर हमें नहीं देंगे और इसी आशा के साथ मैं आपको अपनी पार्टी की ओर से बधाई देता हूँ।

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my party I welcome you not as a granite nor as a lollipop. I am a man of common clay, and in that humble capacity I heartily welcome you in the esteemed and high position which you occupy today. It has been one of your unique privileges today to preside over this House when our parliamentary democracy is facing certain deadly challenges from the side of dark reaction. It is a testing time which has summoned you to an assignment of high importance, and I have no doubt in my mind that you shall discharge your responsibility in a true spirit of democracy, keeping all the time in view that what happens outside in the life of the masses finds its vibrations within the precincts of Parliament. When the life marches outside in giant strides, Parliament cannot mark time or stand still. Therefore, it will be one of your very basic assignments, if I may say so, and undoubtedly you shall carry out that assignment, capturing the spirit that is outside.

You are also in a very interesting situation for the first time in the annals of parliamentary democracy. Suddenly overnight an opposition has been born in the womb of a party that is in power. It has not been created by any mandate of the people. The party has not been created by the mandate of the people outside or by election through our Assemblies. It has been created somewhere else by, shall I say, defection or fascination for something else. This itself is a unique situation. Whether it is a drama or a melodrama is not for me to say, but nonetheless we take the life in its stride and we take it for what it is worth. I am sure you should bear in mind that even in the Opposition there are oppositions and oppositions. It cannot be tarred with the same brush or painted in the same way. There will be always something to be sorted out from others. I have been here in this House for the last sixteen years on the mandate of a parliamentary party, elected by an Assembly and came here in opposition. I have not left my parents to become the opposition. I have not forsaken my mother or my father to

assume suddenly the mantle of opposition. You will forgive me if these are my disqualifications. I tell you that despite these disqualifications and difficulties I shall be, without being a granite co-operative with you.

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure that we have today in you an esteemed jurist, an eminent lawyer and above all a man of integrity and I am sure you do not like in the political life malpractices, corruption, syndicalism or whatever it is. It is quite clear. You like in political life straightforward behaviour.

I look forward to your indulgence sometimes, your affection sometimes, your admonition sometimes, your rebuke sometimes, but always I shall expect of you that in the crucible of the fight for democracy against reaction you are on the side of democracy and against reaction. Parliament is not a non-aligned body between democracy and reaction. Parliament is a partisan of progress. Parliament is a partisan of democracy and it shall be your privilege, Mr. Chairman, when the challenges are being met here and outside by the people, even the turmoil inside what has been the big ruling party—I am sure your guidance, your wisdom, your statesmanship, your courage, your integrity of character, your knowledge, your judicial mind, will all be harnessed to the cause of tending the forces of democracy and weakening the forces of reaction so that this Parliament under your leadership records a new chapter of fighting counter-revolution and reactionary forces and of triumph of democracy.

Thank you. With this confidence I greet you on this happy occasion.

Shri Niren Ghosh: On behalf of my party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I would like to heartily welcome you. You have been a Member of our House and have come to occupy this august position. Now, Mr. Mishra said that turbulent times are ahead. I say, there are turbulent times, and it will perhaps be a turbulent House. So, it would need all your skill, sagacity and sense for the rights and privileges of the Members on the basis of democracy in order to conduct it.

If we in this House even in a faint way reflect the people who are fighting outside for better times, we will be fulfilling our minimum duty. But I can only say—Mr. Murahari has said that if there is injustice we will protest—that I would expect that there should not be partisanship in deciding questions of procedure, etc. In that way you should see that all parties and all groups can have their say and that a broad exchange takes place and in that the issues take shape. You will see to it and I can assure you from my party, that you will get our sincerest co-operation in this effort.

Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy: Mr. Chairman, on my behalf and on behalf of my party, I offer sincere and heartfelt felicitations to you. I know you for a long time. You were with us as a Member of this honourable House. You were with us in this House as a member of the Treasury Benches. And till very recently, you were the Governor of Mysore. Wherever you have been and whatever position you have occupied, you have always distinguished yourself as a great jurist, as a great administrator and as the Governor of Mysore you have always followed the Constitution of India in letter and in spirit and you have always upheld the right causes. I have no doubt that you will strive your best to safeguard the rights and privileges of Members of this House and you will also try your best to maintain the dignity and privileges of this House when we are confronted with such a situation.

Mr. Chairman, we are very happy that you are presiding over this House at a time when things are changing very rapidly in this country. We are sure that you will always try to uphold the right causes, that you will strive for the establishment of a democratic society in this country and that you will help this House in striving to establish that society where injustices perpetrated upon the larger sections of the masses will be done away with.

Shri Thillai Villalan: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I welcome you wholeheartedly. You have adorned the Bench in the field of Judiciary previously; you have earned fame and name. Now, in the political field, you are adorning the Chair. I hope you will earn

fame and name. Whether you are in the Chair or in the Bench, I hope the judicial mind is always there. Being Members of the House of Elders, we consider that you are the elder of the elders of this House. On behalf of my party, I assure you of my fullest co-operation in the conduct of the proceedings of this House. With these words, I welcome you.

Shri B. D. Khobaragade: On my own behalf and on behalf of the Republican Party of India, I offer my sincere felicitations and congratulations to you on this occasion. Being an eminent lawyer, erudite scholar, skilled and experienced Parliamentarian, and having shouldered multifarious responsibilities with distinction, I have no doubt that you will conduct the proceedings of this House fairly and impartially.

On behalf of my party and myself, I welcome you and say that we will extend our full co-operation to you in conducting the proceedings of this House.

Shri Chitta Basu: Sir, I offer you my sincere felicitations and in the course of it I do not like to repeat the most splendid career that you have had.

I think you are well aware of the mass democratic movements taking place outside this Parliament, and we, being the representatives of the people, elected by the representatives in the States, are naturally to reflect the movements that are taking place outside. And in the course of reflecting the hopes and aspirations of the people outside, we are to abide by your ruling, we have to accept the rules and procedures of this House. Although you have been elected as the candidate of a particular political party, it is also your responsibility to see that the people's hopes and aspirations are

adequately represented and reflected in this House. And in the matter of shaping the destiny of the people, you have a very big responsibility to shoulder.

I sincerely assure you, as a Member of this House and also on behalf of my party, of my party's fullest co-operation in the matter of the peaceful conduct of the proceedings of this House.

Shri A. K. A. Abdul Samad: On behalf of my party, the Indian Union Muslim League, I congratulate you and assure you of our support in maintaining democratic traditions and constitutional rights.

सरदार नरेन्द्र सिंह झावर: चेयरमैन, सर, आपके इन्तेखाब पर मैं अपनी तरफ से और अकाली पार्टी की तरफ से आपको मुबारक बाद पेश करता हूँ। आपके कामयाब होने की हमें खुशी है। हमको तो इसका उसी वक्त अन्दाजा हो गया था जब कि हमने आपके नाम के आगे जी-एस लिखा देखा। श्री जी-एस-डिल्लों से तो हम पहले ही ताल्लुक रखते थे और आपके नाम के साथ भी जी-एस आ गया तो आपके नाम के साथ ब्रह्मकाव हो गया। यह सवाल जी-एस के लिये बढ़ा मुबारक है और आज हमको खुशी है।

अब दिक्कत यह दिखाई देती है कि कितनी कठिनाइयाँ आपको आज आई हैं और कितनी आयेगी लेकिन इस के बाद भी हमें पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आपकी सी कबिलत शक्तिशाली जिसको इतना तजुर्बा है, जो कि हर श्रुअबा से गुजरा है वह इस काम को बढ़ी खुरा उसलवी से निभा सकेगा। मगर साथ ही मैं आपसे इत्तजा करूँगा कि आप जब हाउस में आये तो एक गवर्नर की कबिल में आये और जब आपकी विनम्रता मैंने देखी तो ऐसा मालूम होने लगा कि कोई बुजुर्गों के बुजुर्ग, कोई एलर्ज के एलर्ज बैठे हुए हैं। इस वक्त जो आपकी विमोदारी है वह एक अच्छे बुजुर्ग की हो गई है। पिछली बातों को छोड़कर मेरी अर्ज है कि जहाँ तक हमारे तआवुन का ताल्लुक है हम अपना बेहतरीन तआवुन आपको देंगे और जहाँ तक मुमकिन होगा अपनी आआ से बर्दाश्त करेंगे और आपको कोई ऐसा मौका नहीं देंगे। फिर भी इतफ़ाक से कुछ गलती हो जाये तो आप बुजुर्ग हैं। गालिबन इसको महसूस नहीं करेंगे। मेरी छोटी सी पार्टी है और हमारी तरफ आपकी तकवो गालिबन रहेगी और मैं यह भी कहता हूँ कि जिस तरह आप मेरी तरफ अब देख रहे हैं इसी तरह कभी-कभी देखते रहेंगे तबकि हमको भी मौका मिलता रहे। यह कहते हुए मैं फिर अपने तआवुन का यकीन दिलाता हूँ। धैक-यु।

*Spoke in Urdu.

Shri A. D. Mani: Sir, I cannot speak in a representative capacity, but as an old independent Member of this House may I join the Leader of the House and the honourable colleagues on this side who have paid warm tributes to you on your election. In electing you the country has not elected a politician but a jurist of great standing whose sense of fairness is well known all over the country. You have also been associated actively with the social service movement, and you have been called upon to occupy this office at a time of great crisis and tension. We are sure that you would maintain the dignity, decorum and the furtherance of this Chamber and give a lead to the country. I extend my warmest feelings to you for success in your office.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Leader and friends, I cannot adequately thank you for the warm welcome that you have given me. I greatly appreciate your congratulations on my election as Vice-President in which capacity I have to act as Chairman of this august House also. I am not indulging in the language of conventionalism when I say that I have been touched by the generous terms in which you have spoken about me.

For seven years I enjoyed the privilege of working with you in this House as your colleague. I recall with pleasure and gratitude the uniform courtesy and kindness that I received at your hands. By the expression of your sentiments today I have been assured that my absence from this scene for a little over two years has not made any difference and that I enjoy your confidence which, I am certain, will make the fulfilment of my responsibility as your Chairman, easier.

Parliament occupies the centre of our constitutional structure. It is the most powerful instrument for securing to our people, who are sovereign, justice, economic and social, and for making political progress. It is through Parliament that peaceful change is ensured. Parliament is the protector of the citizens' rights and citizens' freedom in the land. All this

underscores the solemnity of our obligations to Parliament. We must, therefore, endeavour to preserve and strengthen our parliamentary system. We can secure that end by faithful observance of the relevant constitutional provisions, the rules and our conventions. These constitute the real bonds ensuring the healthy functioning of the various parts of the parliamentary machinery.

The Government must govern, but the Opposition is also an essential part of our democratic system. While the Government has a right to explain its policies, the Opposition is entitled to criticise it, and to exercise control over legislation by debate and over the administration by seeking information. The parliamentary machinery must function according to parliamentary law and within the limits assigned by law.

Friends, you have spoken about my work in the legal sphere. I do not know whether I deserve even a modicum of the praise you have bestowed on me. It is true that I spent half a century, the best part of my life, in the service of the law. The training and experience gained have created in me the faith that nothing is higher than justice. The office to which I am called involves the exercise of some judicial functions. The ordinary task of interpretation of the Constitution and the Rules devolves on me. I assure you that I shall give fair and impartial judgment in the fullest measure I am capable of.

I shall always be anxious to help in the preservation of the dignity and decorum of the House. Our House has great traditions. I pledge my service to the cause of Parliament and shall faithfully observe the traditions that belong to it. I deem it a great honour and privilege to serve it as its Presiding Officer. I assure you that I shall make every endeavour to protect and defend your rights and privileges and the rights and privileges of this House. For all this, I need not say, I need your goodwill

and co-operation which you have so kindly offered me today. I am confident that working together we shall be able to meet successfully the challenges of these times. I thank you once again for your felicitations.



Shri B.D. Jatti
(10.9.1912)

Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(31.8.1974 — 30.8.1979)

Basappa Danappa Jatti: A profile

JATTI, SHRI BASAPPA DANAPPA: B.A., LL.B; s. of Shri Danappa Jatti; b. September 10, 1912; m. Shrimati Sangamma B. Jatti, 3 s. and 1 d.; Member, erstwhile Princely State of Jamkhadi Legislature; Chief Minister, Jamkhadi State for three years; Member, erstwhile Bombay Legislative Assembly; Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister and Minister, holding portfolios of Health & Labour, Government of Bombay State; Member, erstwhile Mysore State Legislative Assembly, 1956 and 1967; Chief Minister and Minister, holding portfolios of Finance and Food, Government of Mysore State, 1958—66; Chairman, Land Reforms Committee, Mysore State; Lt. Governor, Pondicherry, 1968—72; Governor, Orissa, 1972—74; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 31-8-1974 to 30-8-1979; Acting President, 12-2-1977 to 24-7-1977.

Felicitations offered to Shri B. D. Jatti on 31 August 1974

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The Leader of the House, Shri Umashankar Dikshit: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a privilege for me, on behalf of myself, on behalf of the Treasury Benches and, if I may say so, on behalf of the whole House, to extend to you a most hearty welcome. You have occupied positions not only of ability but of great responsibility. You practised as a lawyer for many years with credit to yourself and to the various courts in Karnataka and former Maharashtra. You held several portfolios as Minister first in Maharashtra and then in Karnataka and for four years or so you were the Chief Minister of Mysore now known as Karnataka. Thereafter, as everybody knows, you occupied the responsible position of Lieutenant Governor of Pondicherry and recently, until you resigned, you were the Governor of Orissa. Irrespective of whichever position you have occupied, you have given credit to it and have thereby earned a high reputation. For these reasons and because of your legal background and because of your great experience, we regard it as the good luck of this House that we have you as our Chairman. This House and the honourable Members who compose it have their own ways and sometimes their own mood. There is such an intellectual and political equipment possessed by most of the Members that you will find a great variety and enrichment in the phraseology that we use sometimes, but, on the whole, you will find that we are a very reasonable and co-operative lot. We expect from you and we promise to you that we will give you all the co-operation and support in upholding, promoting, observing and preserving the high standards of parliamentary procedure and parliamentary life of this House.

Sir, I welcome you again.

Shri S. S. Mariswamy: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I deem it to be a privilege to extend a warm welcome to you. You are not a stranger to the parliamentary system of the country, as you have held with distinction various offices before. With your good and varied background, I am sure you will enrich this House by your wise guidance. This House, which was presided over by illustrious leaders who were your predecessors, had set up a record for impartiality and fairplay. The House had the opportunity of having great and eminent scholars like Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Zakir Husain and, again, the great leader who stood for the working class, Mr. V.V. Giri, our former President, as the Presiding Officers of this august House. Your immediate predecessor, a great legal luminary, Mr. Pathak, was adorning the same Chair for the last five years. You have succeeded all these eminent sons of this country. I wish you all success and good health.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not make a mention that we are passing through very bad days. Our economy is in shambles and I am afraid things, as they look, are not very bright. I do not want to strike a note as a prophet of doom, but yet it is my duty to remind you, as well as the Government, that difficult days are ahead. Sir, this is the House where we reflect public opinion, their sufferings and troubles. It is not only our duty to echo the feelings of the public, but also it is our sacred right to do so. While discharging our duties as responsible members of the parties we may, at times, in our anxiety express our views a little harshly which some people might not like. During such occasions we want you to be more indulgent to the Opposition than to the ruling party because we are in a minority and also in Opposition.

As you know very well, without Opposition, no democracy will thrive and if there is no Opposition no Minister and no Government would be active. As a result, we will have nothing but a fertile ground for Fascism to emerge. So, you will understand the importance of the role of the Opposition parties and would be a little more indulgent.

There may be times when stresses and strains will compel people on this side to be a little tough. On such

momentous occasions, your wisdom, fairness and generosity should be there to guide us on the right lines and also direct the Government to be more serious. We want that your decisions and guidance may be acclaimed with gratitude by posterity and upheld as the tradition of Parliamentary Democracy.

Sir, there may be times when we may disagree from you but you must appreciate as Napoleon once said that—

"The people to fear are not those who disagree with you but those who disagree with you and are too cowardly to let you know."

So, you need not have any fear about us, but you have to be very cautious with the people who disagree with you but are too cowardly to let you know that.

Once again, I welcome you to this august House and wish you good luck and godspeed.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta : On behalf of our Party in this House and on my own behalf, I welcome you, Mr. Chairman, on your installation in the august Office of this House. You have today come to occupy a position in the House which over the years has acquired a high distinction and a certain democratic credibility, not so much as a result of the fact that the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha happens to be the Vice-President of India as due to the contributions which have emanated from the Chair in the conduct of the business of the House. Indeed, your high office in this House has shone not in any reflected glory but in its dynamic impartiality, its boldness, its comprehension of the problem afflicting the nation and our people's struggle to remake our country and, above all, in its responses to the urges of our toiling masses.

Mr. Chairman, it was my privilege to be in this House when your great office was inaugurated 22 years ago with that eminent philosopher and educationist, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in the Chair you, Sir, have now come to occupy. In those days when the British Parliament, misnamed 'Mother of Parliament' was uncritically adored in some quarters as a model to follow, there were some attempts to make this House something like

the House of Lords in the Westminster, if only in the matter of functioning and procedure. That the Rajya Sabha was the product of no heredity or royal prerogatives tended to be forgotten by those for whom Westminster was almost a shrine and May's out-dated book on parliamentary practice a Bible.

But, Sir, it goes to the credit of our first Chairman and the Members that they did not allow such anti-democratic tendencies to overshadow the Rajya Sabha's future. Step by step, the Rajya Sabha, through the leadership from the Chair and by the efforts and struggles of its Members, has fashioned itself into a strident forum of our parliamentary institutions, despite the obvious limitations arising from the manner of its creation and existence and, if, I may say so, the attempts on the part of certain authorities to treat it as a mere show-window. I must, however, add that the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, treated this House with great respect and shared our strivings to make this House dynamic, lively and useful within of course, the four corners of the Constitution. Our first Chairman, Dr. Radhakrishnan, truly an independent, played yeoman's role in building up the high tradition not only of this House but of the Chair itself. Permit me, Sir, to wish him speedy recovery from his present illness on this occasion. He won our hearts not only by his scholarship, high vision but also by his good humour, disarming smile and deep regard and affection for all Members, particularly those in the Opposition. Sir, the image of the Chair in a parliamentary institution such as ours rises with the Chair's attitude of sympathy, understanding and accommodation in relation to the Opposition. This indeed has been the Chair's by now well-established as well as cherished tradition to which, we hope, you, Sir, will add your worthy contribution not only to uphold but to carry forward that tradition.

We know your path may not always be easy, but you can count on the willing co-operation and goodwill of all of us. We gave that co-operation to Dr. Radhakrishnan's successors and your predecessors, Dr. Zakir Husain, Shri V.V. Giri and Shri G.S. Pathak. You, Sir, have stepped into this office at a very critical moment in our history when the worst ever economic crisis since independence has overtaken our country,

when the privations and sufferings of the masses have reached the limit of endurance, when the sharp struggles are opening out between the forces of progress, on the one hand, and those of reaction, on the other, with the protagonists of *status quo* and so-called pragmatism showing up their utter bankruptcy in facing the grim challenge. Democracy is grievously threatened by the combined forces of reaction, and these forces are ramified on either side of the line that, in a parliamentary setting, divides the Treasury Benches from the Opposition. Democracy, including its parliamentary form, is menaced by the forces of neo-colonialism, monopoly capital landlordism and by an arrogant and politically ill-bred bureaucratic brass which has only contempt for Parliament and, last but not the least by rampant corruption to which your predecessor, Shri Pathak, had rightly referred in is farewell address to us the other day. I hope, Sir, you will take note of corruption not in a valedictory performance but in your day-to-day functioning which begins from to-day as the Chairman of this House.

Sir, the masses are struggling to-day against high prices, unemployment and for social justice so long and so cynically denied to them. They are fighting for a radical change of the social order which alone can save them from the depredations of the exploiting classes and the nation from an economic and political catastrophe. The Rajya Sabha to-day can justify itself by giving language to the fighting urges of our down-trodden millions and not by trying to sweep them under the carpet. The voice of the masses echoed, heeded and respected here makes the House great and win it popular esteem and affection. The House must mirror the life and struggles of the masses outside and that must not be allowed to be clouded by what goes on in the corridors of power elsewhere. The rapport with the toiling masses is of paramount importance for the vitality and future of parliamentary institutions and in this context you, Sir, are called upon to play an important and creative role.

You, Sir, in your election appeal to us, expressed your sentiments for overcoming age-old poverty and making "Economic inequality and social injustice" things of the past. You will agree with us that those objectives can never be won

except by the struggles of the masses. They can never be advanced by serving the *status quo* or encouraging the policies that are responsible for perpetuating economic inequality and social injustices.

In your appeal you have said : "I pledge myself to be worthy of the confidence that you have reposed in me. I seek your goodwill and support". On behalf of my Party, I reciprocate by pledging our goodwill and support to you trusting that your deeds will match in spirit and letter the profound words of your solemn pledge. May I, in the end, congratulate you on the assumption of the great responsibility in the service of the masses, democracy and the nation for which impartiality, imagination and courage to displease the vested interests in economic life as well as in the seats of monopoly power are essential prerequisites.

Sir, once again I thank you and congratulate you.

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा सौभाग्य है कि मैं अपनी ओर से और अपनी पार्टी की ओर से आज आपका अभिनन्दन और स्वागत करने के लिए यह सुअवसर प्राप्त कर रहा हूँ—केवल इस कारण से नहीं कि आप अध्यक्ष बन कर यहाँ उपस्थित हुए हैं बल्कि इस रूप में कि इस अध्यक्ष पद को सुशोभित करने वाले आप ने व्यक्ति हैं जिन्होंने देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए संघर्ष में अपने को रत रखा और जिन्होंने इस देश के राष्ट्रपिता स्वर्गीय महात्मा गांधी के चरणों में सेवा करने का सुअवसर प्राप्त हुआ। राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी इस देश के किस स्वरूप को लेकर संघर्ष कर रहे थे, उनकी कल्पना का भारत क्या था, उनकी दृष्टि में भारत की आर्थिक नीति क्या थी, सामाजिक ढांचा क्या था, इस देश की राजनीति और धर्म का संबंध क्या था आप इससे भली भाँति परिचित हैं। मैं महात्मा गांधी के प्रयत्नों में से एक ही बात भी और संकेत करना चाहता हूँ। महात्मा गांधी की एक मान्यता थी कि धर्मबिहीन राजनीति रावण-राज को पैदा कर सकती है, परन्तु राम-राज्य पैदा नहीं कर सकती। मैं समझता हूँ कि संसार में वही एक अद्वितीय आत्मा थी इस शाताब्दी में जिसने राजनीति और धर्म के सन्तन्ध को रखते हुए इस देश में संघर्ष किया। उनके समस्त संघर्ष का मूलाधार अहिंसा थी और उनके लक्ष्य का भारत न यूरोप और अमरीका था, न रूस और चाइना था। उनके लक्ष्य का भारत वही भारत था जिसकी परम्पराएँ अदि काल से इस देश में चली आई हैं। उनकी हार्दिक अभिलाषा थी कि इस संसार में भारतवर्ष अपने स्वरूप को बनाए रखे और राजनीति क्षेत्र में भटके हुए देशों को एक सही मार्ग-दर्शन दे। ऐसी उनकी अभिलाषा थी और ऐसी भावनाओं में पले हुए व्यक्ति के रूप में आज आप हमारे सामने उपस्थित हुए हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारतवर्ष इस समय की संसार की राजनीति में बहुत बड़ा स्थान रखता है और वह यह कि प्रजातांत्रिक क्षेत्र में संसार में भारतवर्ष ही सबसे बड़ा महान देश है। जहाँ तक संसार में प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करने वाले देशों का संबंध है उन सभी की दृष्टि अमरीका और इंग्लैंड पर नहीं है, वे प्रजातंत्र के परीक्षण को भारतवर्ष में देख रहे हैं कि भारतवर्ष किस रूप में अपने प्रजातंत्र को सफल बनाता है। उनकी दृष्टि भारतवर्ष की ओर है। भारतवर्ष के प्रजातांत्रिक ढाँचे का निर्माण अगर कहीं हो रहा है तो इस संसद भवन में हो रहा है। इस संसद में विचारधाराएं विभिन्न रूप में आती हैं और आती रहेंगी।

संसार के राजनीतिक पटल पर इस समय हम उन्नत देशों में नहीं हैं, हम विकासशील देशों में से हैं, परन्तु हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि प्रजातांत्रिक दृष्टिकोण से हमारा महत्व सर्वोपरि है, सबसे आगे है, हमारा देश नम्बर वन पर है। अगर प्रजातंत्र का पालन करने में हम असफल रह गए तो संसार के दूसरे देश लड़खड़ा जाएंगे। इस दृष्टि से जिस महत्वपूर्ण पद पर आप आसीन हैं उस पद पर रहते हुए इस महत्वपूर्ण बात को ध्यान में रखने की आवश्यकता है।

एक बात मैं विरोध रूप से आपसे कहूंगा और वह यह कि प्रजातंत्र के लिए सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है विरोधी दल का संरक्षित होना। अगर प्रजातांत्रिक शैली में विश्वास करने वाले देश में विरोध और विरोधी दल न हो तो रुढ़िगत पार्टी उसे तानाशाही में परिणत कर सकती है। फिर एक तानाशाही स्थापित हो जाती है, उसे फासिम्य कहिये या डिक्टेटोरिशप कहिये, उस में कोई अंतर नहीं रह जाता। देखने भर के लिए वह प्रजातंत्र रह जाता है। दुर्भाग्यवश भारतवर्ष के अंदर 27 वर्षों में एक सभल विरोधी दल एक शक्ति के रूप में इन संसद भवनों में उपस्थित नहीं हो सका और इस को मैं देश का दुर्भाग्य मानता हूँ साथ ही दुर्भाग्य मानता हूँ इस रुढ़िगत पार्टी का जिस के हाथ में राज सत्ता है। क्योंकि उस को सही मार्ग पर चलाने के लिए विरोधी दल का हँटर, उसका कोड़ा पराम आवश्यक है।

इस पद पर आसीन होने के बाद हम सभी आशा करते हैं और हमारा यह विश्वास है कि आप सच्चाई के साथ इस देश के हित में इस देश की परिपक्वताओं को स्थिर रखने के लिए आप पूर्ण तटस्थता के साथ अपने कर्तव्य को निभाने की चेष्टा करेंगे ऐसी मेरी हार्दिक प्रार्थना है। जिस पद पर आप बैठें हैं वह कंटेंट से भरा है।

जो तज रखता है आप ने सिर पर वह कंटेंट से और कठिनाइयों से भरा है। उस में आप को कभी कभी ऐसे निर्णय लेने पड़ेंगे कि जिस में कभी विरोधी दल नागज हो

जायेंगे और कभी शासक दल। अंत में मैं आपसे यही प्रार्थना करूंगा कि देश में आज विषम परिस्थिति है, देश में मंहगाई है, देश में भ्रष्टाचार है और दूसरी अनेक समस्याएँ हैं जिन पर यहाँ चर्चा होगी। इन समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए यहाँ चर्चाएँ होगी, विधेयक आयेगे और उसमें आपको अपने निर्णयों से सदन को सुशोभित करना है। मैं अंत में परम पिता परमात्मा से यही प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह आप को शक्ति और साहस दें ताकि आप अपने पद के कर्तव्यों का सच्चाई के साथ पालन कर सकें जिस प्रकार इस पद पर बैठे हुए डा० राधा कृष्णन और डा० जॉकिर हुसैन साहब ने इस पद को सुशोभित किया है। उनकी परंपरा को आप बनाए रखें और उसमें आप सफल हों। मेरी हार्दिक शुभकामनाएँ आप के साथ हैं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी: श्रीमन्, आपको चेयरमैन पद को सुशोभित करने के इस शुभ अवसर पर मैं अपनी ओर से और अपनी पार्टी के सब सदस्यों की ओर से आपको हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ और आपका स्वागत करता हूँ। मुझे आशा है कि आप पूरी निष्पक्षता के साथ इस सभा का संचालन करेंगे।

वास्तव में प्रजातंत्र का महत्व इसी में है कि विरोधी दलों के सदस्य जनता की कठिनाइयों को पूरी स्वतंत्रता के साथ सदन के सामने पेश कर सकें। चेयरमैन की हैसियत से आपसे मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि आप हमारे इस कर्तव्य को पूरा करने में पूरा सहयोग देंगे। विरोधी दलों को जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने की पूरी छूट देने क्योंकि जो पार्टी पावर में आ जाती है उसका काम ज्यादातर गवर्नमेंट के काम को जस्टिफाई करने का हो जाता है। जो विरोधी दल के लोग हैं उन्हीं को छूट रहती है कि जनता की शिकायतों को संसद के सामने पेश कर सकें। इसलिए जनता की शिकायतों के पेश करने का कर्तव्य जो हमारा है उसको पूरा करने में आप का पूरा सहयोग चाहते हैं और हम आशा करते हैं कि जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने में आप हमारे साथ पूरा सहयोग देंगे और हमको पूरी छूट देंगे। मैं अपनी ओर से और पार्टी की ओर से आपको आभारन दिलाता हूँ कि हमारा पूरा सहयोग आपके साथ रहेगा।

अभी मेरे मित्र ने कहा था कि दिनाग आपका उधर हो सकता है, लेकिन जब आप इस कुर्सी पर बैठते हैं आपके जिस की बाईं तरफ दिल है और दायीं बाईं तरफ है, दिनाग उधर हो सकता है पर दिल हमारी तरफ है। इसलिए मैं आपके दिल से अपील करता हूँ और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप विरोधी दलों के साथ इस तरफ से काम लेंगे और चूंकि हम जनता का फर्ज अदा करते हैं इसलिए हमारा ध्यान रखेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन्, मैं भारतीय लोक दल के सदस्य की हैसियत से और भारतीय लोक दल की ओर से आपको ससम्मान स्वागत करता हूँ।

इन शब्दों का प्रयोग ठीक से किया करें। कौन दक्षिण है, कौन वाम है? क्या अपने देश में उस शक्ति को वाम शक्ति माना जाता है जो मातृभूमि की सीमाओं को दूसरों को देने से रोकने के लिए अपना बलिदान कर दे? मैं उन व्यक्तियों को वामपक्षी नहीं मान सकता जो हमारे कार्यों के लिए, जनता और सरकार के कार्यों के लिए जनता की भाषा की आवश्यकता नहीं मानता। इन तमाम बातों को अगर आप देखेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि यह संसद् क्या है? संसद् वह स्थल है, वह शोरा है, वह दर्पण है जिसमें बाहर की स्थितियों का प्रतिबिम्ब आए। अगर बाहर की स्थितियों का प्रतिबिम्ब यहीं पर नहीं आएगा तो आप बताएं कि क्या यह संसद् रह जाती है?

श्रीमन्, मैं समझता हूँ आप को थोड़े में ही इस सदन की परिस्थिति का ज्ञान हो गया होगा, क्योंकि आप ज्ञानवादी हैं। आप देख लीजिए—एब्सट्रेक्ट और कंक्रीट। मैं चाहता हूँ लोग समझें—What is the difference between abstract and concrete? Generalised programme is principle; concretised principle is programme. निर्गुण और सगुण। सिद्धांत तो है वह निर्गुण है, कार्यक्रम जो है वह सगुण है। अगर हम निर्गुण को सगुण में लाएं तो लोग हमको कहते हैं कि आप तो गड़बड़ कर रहे हो। जनतंत्र, समाजवाद, समता, बराबरी, सेक्सुअलिज्म, सर्व धर्म समन्वये—यह सब बोलते हैं मगर जब जनतंत्र का ठोस आग्रह तो वही तो सर्वग्राही मनोवृत्ति बन जाएगी, सारी सत्ता अपने में लेने की मनोवृत्ति आ जाएगी। इसलिए मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि आप कुर्सी पर बैठकर विरोधी पक्ष के अधिकार के संरक्षक हों और संसद् के सदस्यों के अधिकारों के संरक्षक हों। सत्ताधारी दल बहुत विचलित हो गया है, उनके आपको संरक्षता की आवश्यकता नहीं है। अगर आवश्यकता है तो विरोधी पक्ष को है। विरोधी पक्ष को, अपने कार्य का संपादन करने में सत्ताधारी दल दिन-प्रतिदिन अपनी सत्ता-गृही, सर्वग्राही मनोवृत्ति को छड़ा करके, खण्डित करता है। मैं चाहूँगा, आप हमारे अधिकारों की रक्षा करेंगे जिससे हम संसद् की महिमा, संसद् की गरिमा को बचाएँ, जिसमें हम देश की नगरी, पूछी जनता की मुसीबतों को यहां प्रतिबिम्बित कर सकें और जिन भावनाओं से आज देश की तमाम जनता आपको देख रही है उन भावनाओं को आप साकार स्वरूप प्रदान करेंगे। इन भावनाओं के साथ मैं आपको स्वागत करता हूँ। भारतीय लोक दल की हैसियत से, उस दल की ओर से, आपका बार-बार स्वागत करता हूँ। आप गांधी परम्परा से आए हों, उस परम्परा को बराबर कायम करें।

Shri Niren Ghosh: Sir, I rise, last of all, to welcome you. I extend to you a warm welcome on behalf of my party and on behalf of myself as well. As has been said earlier, you have

been occupying various positions of responsibility in the system of parliamentary democracy. But we have a feeling that parliamentary democracy is being systematically eroded and is being sought to be muffled. I have seen your predecessors in this office. Though I have not been in this House as much longer as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but I have seen in this office Dr. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Zakir Husain, Mr. Giri and last of all, Mr. Pathak. So, over the great number of years, all through this period, I have a feeling, I have a direct experience that the privileges, conventions and traditions which this House enjoyed at the time of Dr. Radhakrishnan, have been greatly eroded. That is my strong feeling. I do not know whether all will agree with me.

Sir, I would like to remind you that Rajya Sabha represents the States of India, that means the nationalities of India. And as such, I have a feeling and I am firmly of the opinion that Rajya Sabha should enjoy equal powers and privileges with Lok Sabha. And the Constitution should be amended so that the representatives of the States, i.e., the nationalities can be directly elected to this House. That is my feeling. So, Sir, now we are passing, as I feel in my long life, perhaps through the worst period in the history of India, since Independence.

I hope you will maintain the traditions and privileges of this House and seek to extend them further as these were during the time of Dr. Radhakrishnan at least.

Sir, I warmly welcome you.

Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad: Mr. Chairman, Sir, let me on my own behalf and on behalf of my party, Muslim League, wholeheartedly and sincerely welcome you to this House which is the supreme legislative body of the land. Late V.J. Patel, when he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Assembly, declared "I cease to belong to any political party or I belong to all political parties". That was the sense of impartiality, that was the sense of justice that has been shown by that great leader. I am quite sure, Sir, that you also would show that sense of justice and impartiality to all groups and to all the parties that are here in this House. You have got wide and rich experience as a

legislator, as a Minister, as the Chief Minister of Karnataka and also as a Governor. Now, Sir, as the Vice-President of this great land of ours and as Chairman of this House, I am quite sure you will be upholding the integrity and decency and decorum of this House and on our behalf and on behalf of my party let me assure, you, Sir, that we will co-operate with you in upholding the integrity, decency, dignity and decorum of this House. Let me wish you all success, Sir. Let God Almighty give you strength and courage to do justice without fear or favour.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री एन. एच. कुम्भारे: अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं रिपब्लिकन पार्टी तथा अन्य छोटे दलों की ओर से आपका हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। आपके व्यक्तित्व के प्रति यहां जो सद्भावना व्यक्त की गई है उससे मैं सहमत हूँ।

यह सभागृह दो हिस्सों में बंटा हुआ है। कुछ लोग आपके सामने बैठे हुए हैं। हम कुछ लोग इस सभागृह में पीछे बैठे हैं। जो लोग सामने बैठे हैं। उनकी ओर आपको दृष्टि जाएगी हो किन्तु मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इस सभागृह का कामकाज चलते वक़्त आप थोड़ी दूर-दृष्टि भी रखेंगे।

Shri N. G. Goray: Sir, I am very glad to extend to you a wholehearted and warm welcome on behalf of my party as well as on my own behalf in this House. Sir, I think this is not the occasion when I should inflict an erudite lecture on neo-colonialism and fascism or refer to the good old days of Ramrajya about which nobody knows anything. We have to live in the present. I can only say that so far as this House is concerned, we have tried to maintain a tradition of dignity, of brotherhood and of justice. Sir, I am quite hopeful that under your guidance this tradition will be maintained. It is very necessary to be very careful about it because the days ahead are likely to be very difficult and very turbulent. A great responsibility will rest on the shoulders of all the Members of this House. There will be differences of opinion, there will be conflict, there will be contradictions. But, Sir, I have no inferiority complex because of the fact that I belong to a small party. Also I have no doubt that those who enjoy the majority are in, no way less than me in their patriotism or in their good intentions for the welfare of the people because, Sir, if I lose that confidence, as soon as I begin to doubt their *bona fides*, I think there is no reason why I should sit in this House at all. Therefore, so long as I sit in this House, so long as I participate

in the debates, the basic assumption is that it is possible to convince those people who are sitting opposite to me if my arguments are valid and if my love for my countrymen is genuine. That is how I work, Sir.

Sir, I hope and trust that the traditions that have been set by your illustrious predecessors will be upheld by you. I am quite sure, Sir, that in your case appearances will be deceptive: You have a meek and modest exterior but I am quite sure, when occasions arise we will find that you can be firm and you can be decisive. I hope, Sir, you will be firm and decisive in upholding the fine traditions of this House.

Thank you, Sir.

Shri K. Nagappa Alva: Respected Chairman, Sir, it is with pleasure and happiness that we welcome you, the Vice-President of India, as the Chairman of Rajya Sabha. I am sure, with your vast experience of over 30 years in public life and having served the country in different capacities, you will conduct the business of this House ably, upholding the great traditions. You are a man of character; you are personification of simplicity and humility; you are an integrated personality. Devotion to duty and devotion to God are the two vital characteristics of your life. My greatest satisfaction is that at this critical and difficult period of history of this sacred land the one who has grown up in stature with spiritual strength has become the Chairman of this House of Indian Parliament. I wish and pray for your success as Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and Vice-President of India and greater success in your life in the years to come.

Shri Godey Murahari: Mr. Chairman, Sir, without taking much of the time of the House let me welcome you on my own behalf and on behalf of the other Members also to the Chair. Sir, I have been assisting your predecessor also in this onerous task of presiding over this House and I know, Sir, that when you come on the first day you begin with some amount of nervousness; that happens to everybody because I remember when I first took over the Chair I had the same kind of nervousness and most of the Members I suppose probably felt that being a very meek and soft type of man I might or might not be able to conduct the proceedings of the House. Sir, once you sit there you know what to do. It is with firmness and fairplay that you have to conduct the House and once you sit there I am sure you will do it. It is not just the Rules of

Procedure that help the Chairman. Oftentimes we have to skip the Rules of Procedure and cast a blind eye to it because Members also digress from the Rules of Procedure but then that is all in the game and the main purpose of each Member trying to put forward his point of view is to reflect the trials and tribulations that the country is facing today. There are various issues, various problems, that country faces and it is but natural that Members, whether they be in the Opposition or on the Treasury Benches, try to reflect the aspirations of the people of the country and in doing so at times it is possible that a Member feels agitated or a little perturbed with what is going on and reflects it in a very heated type of argument but, Sir, once you know what the Member is about you will also know how to deal with the situation. I know you have had experience not only as a Minister, as a Governor but also as a legislator and you have known politics in this country. You have dealt with politicians and you will be dealing with politicians in this House also. Therefore, it will not be difficult for you to know the minds of the Members and to deal with them and to act with fairness, fairplay and firmness in upholding the good traditions that this House has always upheld and to blaze a path which will enable you to endear yourself to all sections of the House irrespective of party or politics. Sir, you would have had an inkling of what the Members think because even while welcoming you some of the Members had used the occasion to refer to their own programmes and policies and their own political philosophies. And that I think was in a very subdued tone and in the days to come you will see how it expresses itself in more exuberant forms. I know that with all the rich experience that you have you will be able to endear yourself to all the Members of the House and keep up the traditions that we already maintain.

With these words, Sir, I welcome you to the Chair.

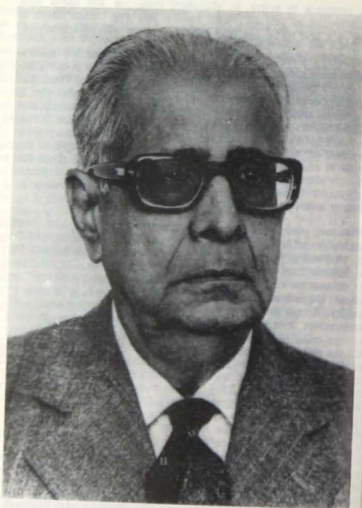
Mr. Chairman: Friends, I thank you all for your kind words of welcome. I feel overwhelmed with gratitude by this signal mark of your confidence, but, even more than gratitude, I feel the heavy responsibility and burden of this high office. I am, however, confident that in lightening my labours I can count upon the rich legacy I will be inheriting from my illustrious predecessors. While doing my duty and discharging my responsibility, it shall be my constant endeavour to follow the guidelines laid down by the galaxy of distinguished men who have occupied this august office before me. In this task I shall require the co-operation of you all and I hope and pray that I

may continue to enjoy, in abundant measure, the same love and affection of you all. I can assure you that I shall strive to deserve it and to be fair and impartial under all circumstances.

Friends, I should like to say a few words about my special predicament today. I seem to be at a disadvantage in comparison to my predecessors in one respect. Whilst all of them had ample opportunities of meeting you and getting to know you at a personal and social level before assuming the responsibilities of Chairmanship, circumstances beyond my control have denied me that opportunity. As you are aware, I was sworn in as Vice-President of India just today and I had to come straight to this House to conduct its business. You will, I hope not allow this fact to stand in the way of establishing mutual intimate relations. I hope to make amends for this shortcoming by meeting everyone of you during the next few days.

We are pledged to the democratic way of life and have adopted its techniques of discussion, persuasion and compromise. Under the guidance of Parliament, we have laboured for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in our Constitution, viz., to secure for all our citizens social, economic and political justice. Democracy signifies a temper of mind, a sense of humility. A true democrat must subject himself to frequent self-examination. It is only such self-scrutiny that will save us from feelings of infallibility and vanity, which are utterly inconsistent with the democratic spirit. In a democratic form of Government, we all subscribe basically to the main objective laid down in the Constitution and may differ only as to the manner in which the objective is to be reached. The plan of action of every party has necessarily to conform to the constitutional imperative of securing social and economic justice. The party programmes may only differ in regard to the methods to be employed, the paths to be chosen and the pace at which progress is to be achieved. Let us, therefore, put our shoulders to the wheel and strive unitedly to make a success of this exhilarating experiment in which we are all engaged. I look to you all for your valuable co-operation. For my part, I repeat that I shall strive to be fair and impartial. I do hope that, with your co-operation and goodwill, we will ensure a standard of debate, conducted with dignity and decorum, which would ensure the smooth working of this House, and through this means, the due attainment of our national goals.

I thank you all once again for your affectionate welcome.



Shri M. Hidayatullah
(17.12.1905 — 18.9.1992)
Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(31.8.1979 — 30.8.1984)

M. Hidayatullah: A profile

HIDAYATULLAH, SHRI M.: M.A., Barrister-at-law, LL.D. (*Honoris Causa*) (University of Philippines), D. Litt. (*Honoris Causa*) (Universities of Bhopal and Kakatiya); s. of Khan Bahadur Hafiz M. Wilayatullah; b. December 17, 1905; m. Shrimati Pushpa Shah, 1 s.; Advocate-General, Central Provinces and Berar, 1943—46; Puisne Judge, 1946—54 and Chief Justice, Nagpur High Court, 1954—56; Chief Justice, Madhya Pradesh High Court, 1956—58; Puisne Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1958—68; Chief Justice of India, 1968—70; President, (i) Indian Law Institute, 1968—70, (ii) International Law Association (Indian Branch), 1968—70, (iii) Indian Society of International Law, 1968—70 and (iv) Indian Red Cross Society, 1982; Author of, (i) *Democracy in India and the Judicial Process*, (ii) *The South-West Africa Case*, (iii) *Judicial Methods*, (iv) *A Judge's Miscellany*, (v) *USA and India*, (vi) *A Judge's Miscellany (Second Series)*, (vii) *The Fifth and Sixth Schedules to the Constitution of India*, (viii) *My Own Boswell (Autobiography)* and (ix) *Editor, Mulla's Mahomedan Law and Constitutional Law of India*; Recipient of, (i) *Order of the British Empire*, 1946, (ii) *Order of Yugoslav Flag with Sash*, 1970, (iii) *Medallion and Plaque of Merit Philconsa, Manila*, 1970 and (iv) *Knight of Mark Twain*, 1971; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 31-8-1979 to 30-8-1984; Acting President of India, 20-7-1969 to 23-8-1969 and 6-10-1982 to 31-10-1982; Died, Cbit. on 24-11-1992.

Felicitations offered to Shri M. Hidayatullah on 24 January 1980

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I offer my sincere congratulations to you on behalf of the Members of this House and on my own behalf. A wise provision in our Constitution requires the Vice-President to be the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. It is our good fortune to have had men of the highest character and standing as our Vice-Presidents—scholars with vast experience in different spheres of national activity. You, Sir, are a jurist of great distinction and have held the highest judicial office in our country. To you, law is not merely a set of decrees to be enforced and obeyed, but the articulate conscience of our nation. It is well-known that your concern was to ensure that laws fully reflect the imperatives of human justice no less than the eternal varieties of truth and freedom. Your pronouncements from the Bench have taken note of the aspirations of our people. We can be sure that your rulings from the Chair in this august House will be imbued with unswerving devotion to principles and proprieties. The two Houses of our Parliament are like two halves of the country's legislative heart. Members may be elected to the two Houses in different ways but in dedication to national welfare and the desire to redress the common people's difficulties, neither House would yield to the other. The Council of States is perennial while the House of the People is subject to dissolution and re-election. Thus, between them, the two Houses give us the advantages of continuity and change. We are indeed privileged to have a person of your eminence, experience and social vision as our Presiding Officer, I assure you of fullest co-operation.

विपक्ष के नेता, श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: मान्यवर सभापति जी, मैं विपक्ष की ओर से आपको स्वागत करता हूँ और आपको अभिनन्दन करता हूँ। यद्यपि यह पहला ही प्रसंग है जब कि सदन के सभापति का चुनाव होने के कई महीने बाद सदन को अभिनन्दन करने का अवसर मिला है। परन्तु विलम्ब से ही सही मैं विपक्ष के अपने सब साथियों की ओर से और व्यक्तिगत रूप से अपनी ओर से, आपको हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ और अभिनन्दन करता हूँ।

मैं सम्मत्ता हूँ कि हमारे लिये यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि आप जैसा व्यक्ति जो कि किसी समय देश की न्यायपालिका की घुरी के स्थान पर रहा है वह आज इस सदन का सभापति है। शासन की व्यवस्था के जो तीन भाग हैं, उसमें जिस प्रकार से कार्यपालिका की घुरी प्रधान मंत्री रहता है और न्यायपालिका की घुरी वहाँ का चीफ जस्टिस रहता है, उसी प्रकार से विधान मंडल की घुरी 'पिवट', लोक सभा का अध्यक्ष और राज्य सभा का सभापति ये दोनों मिलकर बनते हैं। आपने जिस शानदार ढंग से, शालीनता से और जनता की इच्छाओं और आकांक्षाओं को ध्यान में रखकर, कल आँफ लॉ को ध्यान में रखकर न्यायपालिका की घुरी के रूप में कार्य सम्पादित किया है, मुझे विश्वास है कि उसी तरह से आप इस नये दायित्व की भी निभायेंगे। मैं विपक्ष और अपनी ओर से आपको पूरा आश्वासन देता हूँ कि हमारी तरफ से आपको पूर्ण सहयोग मिलेगा जिससे कि आप सुचारु रूप से इस सदन की कार्यवाही को संचालित कर सकें। धन्यवाद।

श्री भोलू पासवान शास्त्री: सभापति जी, मैं अपने दल की ओर से और अपनी ओर से इस महती संस्था के सभापति पद पर आसीन होने के लिये आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि आप इस सदन की गरिमा को रक्षा करेंगे। रक्षा हो नहीं करेगी बल्कि इसके महत्व को बढ़ावेंगे। मैं जानता हूँ कि आप बड़े अनुभवी आदमी हैं और आप देश की सर्वोच्च न्यायपालिका के मुख्य न्यायाधीश रह चुके हैं। इस पद के लिए यह बड़े महत्व की बात है लेकिन वहाँ जो बहसे होती होगी, मैं क्वील नहीं हूँ मुझे कभी कचहरी में जाने का भी मौका नहीं मिला—लेकिन फिर भी मैं सम्मत्ता हूँ कि यहां आपको जो कठना पड़ेगा वे कुछ दूसरी किस्म की बातें हैं। मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से और अपनी ओर से आपको पूरा-पूरा सहयोग दूंगा, लेकिन साथ ही आपसे भी कुछ आशाएं रखूंगा और वह यह कि जो हम लोग विरोधी दलों में हैं उनके प्रति भी आपकी तरफ से न्याय हो। आप न्यायाधीश रह चुके हैं, लेकिन यहां का सभापतित्व करना और कोर्ट में मुख्य न्यायाधीश होना इन दोनों में फर्क जरूर है। आपको एक नये सिरे से जिम्दारी शुरू हो रही है। मुझे विश्वास है कि आप सरकार के साथ तो न्याय करेंगे ही लेकिन साथ ही वह भी देखा जायेगा कि आप विरोधी दल के साथ भी कैसा न्याय करते हैं। यहां ऐसे भी प्रश्न उठेंगे जिनके ऊपर जजमेन्ट लेने में आपको दिक्कत हो सकती है। यह ऐसी संस्था है यहां हिन्दुस्तान के कोने-कोने से

प्रतिनिधि आये हुए हैं और आज जो हमारी संसदीय शासन पद्धति है उसका स्तर नीचे गिर रहा है, ऐसा मैं देखता हूँ। मैं 8 वर्षों से सदन का सदस्य हूँ और मैंने इन वर्षों में जो देखा है उसके आधार पर यह कह सकता हूँ। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि आपको जो अनुभव है, आपको जो तजुर्बा है और जिसके लेकर आपको यह नया मौका मिला है उस फिल्ल से, उस हुरर से और उस अनुभव से इस सदन को पूरा स्वस्थ मिलेगा। इन दो चार शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका स्वागत करता हूँ तथा अपनी पार्टी की ओर से पूरा-पूरा सहयोग देने का वचन देता हूँ।

श्री रबी राय: सभापति महोदय, मैं विरोधी दलों की ओर से और अपने दल की ओर से आपका हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि आप यूके के एक सम्मानित व्यक्ति हैं एवं जूरिस्ट हैं। कल आपने हम लोगों को यह कहा कि आप इस सदन के और लोक सभा के बहुत से सदस्यों के टीचर भी रहे हैं। यह इस सदन का सौभाग्य रहा है कि आप से पहले डा० राधाकृष्णन और डा० ज़ाकिर हुसैन जो इस सदन के सभापति के नाते काम कर चुके हैं, वे भी कभी अग्रापक रहे थे। मैं आपको यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधी दल प्रजातांत्रिक पद्धति का एक अभिन्न अंग है और हम लोग एक राष्ट्र के नाते कुछ सिद्धान्तों को मानते हैं। हम लोग इंग्लैंड-सिस्टरन सोसाइटी में यकीन करते हैं। इसलिए संविधान में यह सिद्धान्त वर्णित है कि हम लोग प्रजातांत्रिक सेकुलर समाजवादी समाज को हिन्दुस्तान में कल्पना चाहते हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि इन सिद्धान्तों के ऊपर सारे सदन का विश्वास है। मान लीजिए, उस सिद्धान्त से शासक दल कभी हटता है या हम लोग जो विरोधी दल में हैं हट कर काम करते हैं तो आपको यह जिम्मेदारी है कि आप हमको ठीक रास्ते पर लावें।

हम लोग जो विरोधी दल में हैं, मैं शासक दल के सदस्यों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग रैटी और नागरिक स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई लड़ते रहेंगे। इसलिए हम लोग जो विरोधी दल के सदस्य हैं, मान लीजिये कोई तीखा अल्लोचना करते हैं जो कि संसदीय पद्धति के अनुसार है, मैं यह मान कर चलता हूँ कि आप इस काम को आगे करने में, देश की सर्वोपयोगिता की रक्षा करने के लिए, प्रजातंत्र को बरकरार रखने के लिए आप हमारी सहायता करेंगे। मैं फिर अपने दल की ओर से और विरोधी दलों की ओर से आपको सम्पूर्ण सहयोग देने का वायदा करता हूँ।

Dr. (Shrimati) Sathiyavani Muthu: It is very pleasant duty to express my felicitations on behalf of the All India Anna D.M.K. in the Rajya Sabha on your assuming the distinguished Chair of this august House of the Parliament. On this occasion, I cannot but marvel at the validity of the Indian democracy which never failed to throw up such eminent persons in eminent positions.

Sir, from the record of your brilliant career in the service of our glorious country, I derive a sense of satisfaction that the Chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha has been placed in such an eminent hand of our glorious motherland. Sir, you have been elected by consensus amidst all the controversies. It is not only a great tribute to your head and heart, but it is also that they should throw away their controversies in the national interest. When I speak about your outstanding personality, it is not merely on account of convention. I speak about your eminent personality keeping in mind your career of more than 40 years as an eminent jurist and as the Chief Justice of India. Sir, you had been the acting President of India in 1969. The Chairman is the custodian of the rights and privileges of members of this House. I assure you, Sir, that we extend on behalf of our Party, our full co-operation and expect that our rights and privileges will be safeguarded in your hands. I would like to extend also my Party's cooperation to maintain the dignity and decorum of the House and to maintain the traditional glory of this House.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, I rise to extend to you on behalf of our Group the felicitations of the Party. I represent in this House.

Sir, you have come to occupy the Chair which was once occupied in the formative days of this House by Dr. Radhakrishnan, who made the unique contribution, shaping the genius of this Institution to which you have the honour to belong. He was followed by other men of eminence in public life like Dr. Zakir Husain, Mr. V. V. Giri and others. And, therefore, Sir, we would expect the high traditions under their leadership of the House will be upheld and carried forward by you in the days ahead. You have the unique distinction also of presiding over a House in which the ruling party by a mischance of Constitution and democratic anomalies and otherwise happens to be a party of minority with barely 71 members at present not even one-third of the total strength of the House. Sir, this is not merely a contradiction in the make up of the two Houses, but a

contradiction that reflects the political life of the country. In the past, Sir, we had the experience of the majority on this side of the House being ignored and neglected because the Government being a minority, thought that we should not be given due say or due place in the working of the House. You have even now certain things passed by the majority but disregarded by the Government that occupied those benches. It is an irony now and interesting and exciting that those who were with me on this side of the House constituting the majority now have gone to the other side carrying the tradition of minority there. And I do hope, Sir, neither you nor they, having learnt from their own bitter experience of the past will ignore the majority opinion in this House. It is not an issue of minority and majority only. Sir, we expect that the majority should be heard subject of course to the constitutional limitations and inhibition. Sir, besides you are also presiding over a House which is soon likely to undergo certain changes in the composition.

Finally, Sir, what should I say in your praise? It is customary to praise the Chair. And, it is sometimes also customary for the Chairman to praise the opposition. I need not exchange such needless courtesies. You are a man of eminence. We have disagreed with you, Sir, when you held that property is not a fundamental right. In some other situations also we respectfully disagreed with you. Now, happily, we have come to a situation where property is held to be a fundamental right. These fundamental differences should be understood and their connotation properly drawn.

Sir, you will, no doubt, extend to the ruling party the rights and privileges that are due to them as the ruling party. Equally, we would expect that you would extend to us the same rights and privileges that are due to us as an opposition; all the more so because we constitute the majority in the House. Sir, our counsel, our wisdom had been shared only a few months back by them and I hope they have carried some good sense with them. I say this thing because the Treasury Benches are

corrupting benches. Good men become bad but bad men never become good. That is our experience. So, Sir, I hope under your guidance we shall all behave according to the highest standards of democracy.

Sir, time has come when we need vigilance for our democratic institutions. Time has come when we need renovation of them. Time has come when we must see that the requirements of democracy and social justice for the people have precedence over the so-called precedents, May's Parliamentary Practice and other things like that.

Sir, I may say one thing in the end, namely, that one of the reasons for the great success of Dr. Radhakrishnan in this House was that he never read the Rule Book. I can tell you that he had read many books. He was a voracious reader. But one thing he realised namely, that he would be losing his leadership, initiative, his own genius and talent and scholarship and his capacity to carry the House with him, if he looked into the dried rules and procedures of the House, or, for that matter, into the May's Parliamentary Practice. He responded to the promptings of life, demands of democracy and wishes of the people and to the extent he did so he rendered a great service to the House and to the nation. I do hope, Sir, that you would emulate the great example which your forebears left for you. We shall give you all our cooperation in the interest of democracy and for enhancing the prestige and honour of this great House.

Shri P. Ramamurti: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join all the Members and leaders of the various political parties in welcoming you to this House. I do not want to refer to extraneous matters while associating myself with what comrade Bhupesh Gupta said about your predecessors. I would like to point out, Sir, that you have a heavy responsibility in this House. I would like to remind the ruling party that after all they represent 42 per cent of the electorate; they do not represent the majority of the people of this country. Therefore, as far as this House is concerned,

though you have been accustomed in other courts to legal debates on the interpretation of various clauses of the laws that have been enacted by this House, the Parliament, I want to tell you, is not only a legislative body enacting legislations but it is also a watch-dog of the doings of the executive. Many Members of this House are extremely perturbed at the way in which executive is assuming more powers to itself and subordinating Parliament to the executive. Therefore, Sir, whatever might be the rules, whatever might be the procedures that are laid down, it is necessary for you to take the traditions forward and to see that the Parliament really acts as the watch-dog of the executive and prevents the executive from carrying things down. Therefore, it becomes important that opportunity must be given to the opposition Members here to raise important questions of policy, important questions on the activities of the executive so that we really act as the watch-dog of the executive and do not allow the executive, running the Government in their own way without the wishes of the Parliament. That is a very important question that I would like to stress upon here.

Apart from that, as I said earlier, Parliament will have to reflect the struggles and the aspirations of the common people in this country and from time to time we would be raising the issues that are today agitating the minds of the various sections of the working people of this country and I know that time for it will have to be given by the Government. But I would look upon you to see to it that the Government agrees to give time for all important questions affecting the common people, the various sections of the working people in this country who are struggling for a better life and their struggles have got to be reflected in this House and I hope that you will compel the Government to give sufficient time to all those questions to be raised and debated upon in this House so that the common people feel that this Parliament is really the custodian of their interests that it is a Parliament which reflects the real aspirations of the people and which debates upon their problems and it is not debating something with which they are not concerned. Therefore, Sir, I look to you to carry forward the traditions that

have been created by your predecessors, particularly by the first incumbent, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and see to it that Parliament really reflects the entire aspirations of the people of this country.

Once again I associate myself with all those people and I would like to point out to you that in this work, you can depend upon our fullest cooperation.

Thank You.

Shri B. V. Abdulla Koya: I on behalf of my party, Indian Muslim League and on behalf of myself, have great pleasure in congratulating you and welcoming you, Sir, as the Vice President of this great country and also as the presiding officer of this august body.

Sir, you have proved yourself as one of the eminent jurists of this country and I am sure that you will be able to prove yourself as one of the eminent custodians of democracy in this country.

I wish you success, Sir.

Shri V. Gopalsamy: Sir, on behalf of the DMK Party I extend my warmest congratulations to you. I have great pleasure in associating myself with the sentiments which have been expressed by our honourable Prime Minister and other distinguished Members of this House to felicitate you on your election to this high office of Chairman.

Sir, I am very glad, you have come to preside over this august House at a crucial time in our country's political history. All of us are aware that in our country, there is a fresh awakening and a new found confidence that our foundations of democracy are as strong as they should be and that under the leadership of our honourable Prime Minister, our country once again will resume its march in the right direction. I and also my colleagues feel extremely happy that at this moment we have, with us, you who have the unique and unparalleled experience in tackling the problems of law and justice. Sir, you have presided over the Supreme Court of India with dignity and honour. While keeping the dignity of your office, you did not miss to take note of the problems of the people. Sir, right from your Lincoln's Inn days, you have shown great interest and understanding of the problems facing our nation. Your works as President of the Indian Society of International Law, as executive member of the World Assembly of Judges, your

lectures in memory of Lajpat Rai and Feroze Gandhi, your publications on "Democracy in India and the judicial process" and also on "The South West Africa case" are well known and appreciated throughout the world. I am sure and confident that you will preside over this House with a deep sense of commitment to do justice to all. Once again, on behalf of the DMK, I congratulate you, Sir.

Shri Dinesh Goswami: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the Independent Members of this House which constitute a substantial number and which may influence the voting pattern of the House to a great extent in the days to come. I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by my colleagues felicitating you. You have occupied the highest seat of justice in this country. But the atmosphere in which you have worked in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts will be vastly different from the atmosphere which you have experienced here and about which some indication was given by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta when he said that you must not look to the Rules Book, but you should be guided by the mood of the House. I know, Sir, as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, you will find it extremely difficult to depart from the Rules. But I hope you will also carry this in mind that this House reflects the mood of the country. Parliament reflects the mood of the country. Parliament reflects the mood of the people. Whenever the House becomes turbulent, it is not because the Members are turbulent, but because the atmosphere in the country is such that the Members feel agitated. To a certain extent, you cannot depart from looking to the Rules Book. After all, we know from our own experience that the judicial interpretation of a particular statute depends upon the conscience of the judge also. Therefore, I hope, you will interpret the Rules in accordance with the atmosphere prevailing in the country and in accordance with the mood of the House. Sir, I assure you our fullest co-operation and we have no doubt that under your able guidance and leadership, both the ruling party and the Opposition will get its due share and will get equal treatment from you.

Mr. Chairman: Madam Prime Minister, Mr. Leader and other honourable Members, I am overwhelmed by the kind words in which you have welcomed me to this office, and I am very

grateful for the assurance to me of co-operation in my difficult task, a task to which I am completely new. After nearly 25 years of life as a Judge, I went into retirement for over eight and a half years but the confidence expressed by all political parties in India foreclosed my own choice and I undertook this burden. The gesture of confidence, which was then made and now reaffirmed encourages me and puts me at ease.

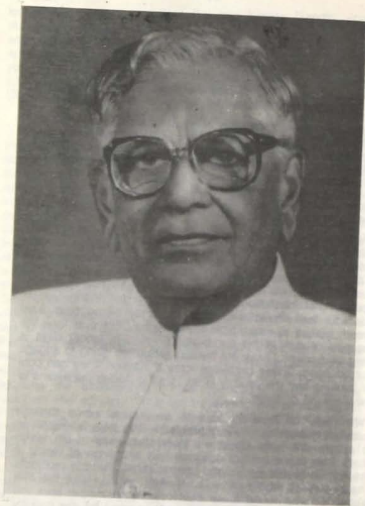
I can only renew my pledge of equal and respectful treatment to all of you and in return I crave your indulgence. When I make mistakes you must put them down to ignorance and not to any design. On my part, I am trying to learn and learn rapidly all that will be required of me.

Some of you are already known to me from before and I hope to make the acquaintance of others very soon.

Parliament representing the people faces today more problems than it ever did before. The country relies upon the wisdom and energy of the leaders it has chosen and it behaves us all in this House to discharge the trust placed in us by our country. Today, we have the pressures of our ever-increasing population, of inflation, of short supply of commodities which, added to the almost unbearable cost of oil supplies from abroad, makes our economic front gloomy. There is then the presence of danger on our borders which in recent days is giving us anxiety. These are matters which are going to engage your attention. These problems have a solution if we can pool our thinking and the country looks to us to devise the means to overcome all of them.

We have no time to lose if we are to come through successfully from our difficult problems. The time is, therefore, for action. We have chosen a democratic way of life which allows free expression of opinions and exchange of views. It also admits of differences and contradictions. But the problems I have outlined above must have their solution and the true solution can be found if we can look at the matter from the country's point of view because what is good for the country seldom admits of doubts and difference. We must, therefore, apply ourselves to this our task with determination to act and to act quickly.

Friends, thank you for the confidence you have expressed in me and I assure you that it has not been misplaced. Thank You again.



Shri R. Venkataraman
(4.12.1910)
Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(31.8.1984 — 24.7.1987)

R. Venkataraman : A profile

VENKATARAMAN, SHRI R.: M.A., B.L., Doctorate of Laws (*Honoris Causa*) (Universities of Madras, Nagarjuna and Burdwan), Doctorate of Social Sciences (University of Roorkee); s. of Shri K. Ramaswami Iyer; b. December 4, 1910; m. Shrimati Janaki Venkataraman, 3 d.; Member, (i) Provisional Parliament, 1950—52 and (ii) Lok Sabha, 1952—57, 1977—79 and 1980—84; Union Minister holding portfolios of Finance and Defence, 1980—84; Chairman, Public Accounts Committee, Lok Sabha; Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1957—62 and 1962—67; Minister holding portfolios of Industries, Labour, Co-operation, Power and Transport, Government of Madras, 1957—67; Leader of the House, Madras Legislative Council, 1957—67; Member, Planning Commission, 1967—71; Member, United Nations Administrative Tribunal, 1955—79 and its President, 1968—79; Chairman and President, (i) Jury for the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, (ii) International Jury for the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development, (iii) Indian Council for Cultural Relations and (iv) Indian Institute of Public Administration; Recipient, (i) 'Tamra Patra' for participation in the Freedom Struggle, (ii) Soviet prize for travelogue on Shri K. Kamraj's visit to the Socialist countries, (iii) Souvenir by the Secretary-General, United Nations for distinguished service as President of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal and (iv) Title 'Sat Seva Ratna' by His Holiness Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 31-8-1984 to 24-7-1987; President of India, 25-7-1987 to 25-7-1992.

Felicitations offered to Shri R. Venkataraman on 18 January 1985

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to congratulate you and welcome you as Chairman of the House. You come to this Chair in the long line of distinguished Chairmen, starting with Dr. Radhakrishnan. And you bring to this Chair a dignity and honour which, I hope, will keep the Rajya Sabha at a higher level and maintain a high dignity that the Upper House needs. The Rajya Sabha is traditionally known as the House of Elders. But we see the age becoming younger and younger. And I know, Sir, that you too are mentally very young and alive. And this will go well with the House. We look forward to a long co-operation with the Opposition and with yourself, Sir, in the Rajya Sabha.

Thank you.

Shri Dipen Ghosh: Mr. Chairman, let me take this privilege of associating myself with the Prime Minister of India to congratulate you on assuming the august office of Chairman of Rajya Sabha which was held by eminent personalities like Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Zakir Husain and others. Prior to your assuming this august office, we saw you as a very prominent member of the Union Council of Ministers handling very important portfolios like Finance and Defence. Basically you are a politician and so are we, and from that point of view we are on the same wave length. We know each other's requirements and it is, therefore, expected that a better understanding will prevail between the ruling party and the Opposition through you as the Chairman. You know better than me or anybody else that the major task of Parliament is to

reveal the truth about the functioning of the Government to the people. And here lies the importance of the Opposition, and I hope the Opposition will be allowed to play that important role in the functioning of the largest democracy in the world. As Marxists we believe that progress takes place through contradictions and if one side of the contradiction is nipped, then, progress will be thwarted. Therefore, I expect that Opposition parties will get a better deal from you as Chairman in ensuring that progress takes place.

With these few words I congratulate you once again on behalf of my colleagues belonging to the CPI(M).

Shri R. Mohanarangam: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the All India Anna DMK I associate myself, with the Prime Minister of the country and my colleague and Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ghosh, in congratulating you on assuming the Chairmanship of Rajya Sabha. My relationship with you is very, very sentimental. I know you for the past thirty years when I was studying in college and I am your voter and you are my representative. I voted twice when you contested from South Madras Constituency in Madras. Whatever task was entrusted to you, you did it to the satisfaction of all. Whenever I pass through the industrial estates of Tamil Nadu, whenever I pass through the industrial estates of Ambattur or the industrial estates of Avadi, each and every owner of the estates would say, Mr. Venkataraman—familiarily known as RV—is responsible for the industrial development of Tamil Nadu. You have travelled throughout the length and breadth of the world. During the freedom struggle you were imprisoned for more than two years. All these things made your way up to this high post of responsibility. I was holding a certain post in my State and whenever I conducted any meeting or any programme, I would remember Mr. RV on almost all occasions. It is not an exaggeration if I point out one thing. Let me tell you what happened just two or three months before when I was conducting interview of a lady of 40 years of age who came along with her daughter to obtain my signature for a passport. After obtaining my signature for a passport, the mother told the daughter in Tamil, "Tatai kitte chollu"—which means, take leave of the grandfather. Till that moment I was under the

impression that I was young and energetic. Only when that lady asked her daughter to get permission from her grandfather did I realise that I had grown old enough to be a grandfather. Sir, even after reaching that age of grandfather, still you look like a bridegroom.

Secondly, Sir, you were the Industries Minister of our State. You made Tamil Nadu as number one in the map of India. It has developed industrially to that extent for which you were responsible. When you were the Finance Minister of this whole country, you have considered almost all the States right from the lofty peaks of Himalayas to the sacred shores of Kanyakumari as one. You have done very excellent work for the betterment of this country. Now, you are here, Sir. I am not asking you as your voter or as one of the people of Tamil Nadu State to give me preference or consideration. But, in fact, I will try to catch your eye. But sometimes even this size of a man cannot usually catch the eye of the Chairman. Now, I personally feel that you would definitely take up the responsibility of giving that preference for a person who comes from this side. Sir, some consider me that neither I belong to the Opposition nor I belong to the treasury benches. I do not know why is it so? But I will tell you, Sir, that I belong to the ruling party, whenever they bring forward good things, and whenever some controversial things come up here I will take up the role of the opposition party. My role is like that. Sir, what I would infact tell is that you are a man who will consider every thing neutrally. That is why, Sir, on behalf of my All India Anna DMK Party, on behalf of our Members, I again congratulate you on assuming the charge of this Chairmanship.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: Sir, it is a matter of great satisfaction to me and to my colleagues in my Party that you have been elected as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Sir, my contact and association with you has spread nearly to three decades. Sir, you and I worked together in the First Lok Sabha in 1952. Since that time to this day, I have watched you at close quarters and also at a distance, and you had occupied places of power both in your State and also at the Centre. Sir, Power and humility do not go together always. To use a Marxian phraseology, power represents thesis and humility

represents anti-thesis. In your case, I find a synthesis of both. While in power, you have been humble. Sir, till the other day, you were in power, you enjoyed power. Now, you have shifted from power to status. You have shed power and occupied a place of honour now. You have not only become the Chairman of this House but you have also become the Vice-President of India. You are the Vice-President, Sir, without vice, if I may say so. . . .

Coming from me, you know what I mean. Sir, the majority in a parliamentary system, has a right to rule. The minority, the Opposition, has got a right to oppose. And it is for you to balance the two. In the parliamentary history of our times, we are facing a number of difficulties. We are in the most trying times of our history, if I may say so. As Presiding Officer of this august body, you have got a great responsibility. I am sure, you will exercise this responsibility with dignity, with decorum and to the satisfaction of all of us.

Sir, while exercising your authority here, may I make a request? You can give your ears to the other side of the House, not your eyes. But you must give your eyes to this side of the House. I am hopeful, in your dignified presence, the deliberations of the House will achieve a new level of dignity. I am also sure, in your presence, we will be establishing innovations, new and healthy innovations. You should prove to be not only a dignified Vice-President and dignified Chairman of this House, but also an innovative and vigorous Chairman of this House.

The young Prime Minister is here. May I request him that Rajya Sabha should be restored to its pristine glory, which it enjoyed once? It should achieve a new status. While the Lok Sabha performs its duties and responsibilities as representative of the people, the Rajya Sabha should perform its duties and responsibilities as representative of the States, in a federal structure. And it is we, who should be the guardians of the rights and privileges of the States of the Indian Union. May I hope and trust that the Prime Minister and you, Sir, will give heed to this and whenever there is time, we should devote this

time to discuss various subjects which are not discussed in the other House? This is what we have been pleading with the Chair all along.

Sir, in the end, on behalf of my party, may I compliment you and may I wish you well as the Chairman of this House?

Shri Jaswant Singh: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my privilege, on behalf of the Bharatiya Janata Party, to welcome you as a member of our fraternity. For the last four years, you sat opposite us, across the well of the House and we did our best of discomfiture and irk you. Your elevation as the Vice-President of the country and as our Chairman is a just and due recognition of your long public life. A distinguished public life brings you to occupy this Chair which has been occupied by very distinguished Indians. You are perhaps, the first Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the first Vice-President who comes from public life. In that sense, you are nearer us in as much as the knitty gritty of politics is concerned. And you are far removed from us because of the distinction of your office, the very Chairmanship that you presently and rightly occupy. We congratulate you on this.

As Chairman you are the custodian of the privileges of all of us Members. Your authority as the Chair is cumulative authority of the House and of each of us as Members of this distinguished Assembly. We repose this authority in you, Sir, as our custodian, in full faith and in full confidence that in your hands that privilege, as Members of this House, is safe.

I would like to join the honourable Prime Minister and other Members in the Opposition in welcoming you, congratulating you and wishing you a distinguished, enjoyable and only at times irksome tenure as the Chairman of this House.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: आदरणीय सभापति जी, इस सम्मानित सदन के सभापति के रूप में आपका निर्वाचन होने पर हमें बड़ी खुशी है और हम आपको हृदय से बधाई देते हैं।

सर्वत्रता संग्राम के वीर सेनानी, जिस खूबसूरती और सफलता के साथ आपने तमिलनाडु स्टेट में मंत्री पद सुरोभाित किया था और केन्द्रीय सरकार के वित्त और रक्षा मंत्री की हैसियत के सफलतापूर्वक कार्य किया, इस सदन का प्रत्येक सदस्य

आपसे यह अपेक्षा करता है कि उसी सफलता के साथ इस माननीय सदन की कार्यवाही का संचालन भी आप कर सकेंगे।

सदन के सदस्यों के अधिकारों की रक्षा आपके द्वारा होगी और बहुत ही योग्यता के साथ, निष्पक्षता के साथ आप कार्य का संचालन करते हुए सत्कारी पक्ष और विपक्ष के सभी माननीय सदस्यों का विश्वास प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने आपके सम्बन्ध में जो विचार व्यक्त किए हैं और विपक्ष के हमारे अन्य साधियों ने भी जो विचार जाहिर किए हैं, उनके साथ अपने को सम्बद्ध करता हुआ, आपकी सफलता की पूर्ण आशा रखता हुआ, परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप सदैव यशस्वी भी हों और हाउस का संचालन बहुत सुन्दरता और खूबसूरती के साथ करते रहें।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: सभापति महोदय, मेरे लिए और मेरे दल भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लिए यह बहुत ही प्रसन्नता की बात है कि आप जैसे योग्य व्यक्ति को इस पद को सुरोभाित करने का अवसर दिया गया है। आपका जीवन एक राजनीतिज्ञ का जीवन है, टेड यूनिपन आंदोलन और सरकार चलाने का, अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर भी विभिन्न विभागों के संचालन करने का भारी अवसर आपको मिला है। इतना बड़ा अनुभव आपको प्राप्त है जिससे मैं समझता हूँ कि अन्य सभा, जिसको कहा जा सकता है कि यह सिंहवलीकन सभा भी है, के काम में भारी मदद मिलेगी।

प्रधान मंत्री ने जो आपके प्रति उद्गार प्रकट किए हैं, मैं उनके साथ सहमत हूँ। मैं यह भी आपसे कहना चाहूँगा कि इस चुनाव के बाद विरोध पक्ष कापक्ष पाएल होकर निकला है और प्रजातंत्र के लिए विरोध पक्ष का मजबूत रहना बहुत ही जरूरी है। इस अवसर पर जो चेयर का काम है वह और भी ज्यादा बढ़ जाता है और इसीलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि जब प्रधान मंत्री अपेक्षा करते हैं कि उनके दल के ही लोग विरोध पक्ष का भी काम संपाले, तो इस सदन के विरोध पक्ष को यह अवसर मिले कि हम लोग अपनी बातें रख सकें। इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि आप जैसे योग्य व्यक्ति को इस पद पर जो आने का अवसर मिला है, उसके लिए मैं बधाई देता हूँ और आपकी पूरी सफलता की कामना करता हूँ।

धन्यवाद।

Shri Parvathaneni Upendra: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to add my own voice and the voice of my party colleagues in congratulating you on your elevation as the Chairman of this august House and also as the Vice-President of India.

Sir, you bring to this august office a varied experience in the administration, in the legislature and generally in public affairs.

You have been a Minister in the State and the Centre also for a long period. Sir, being a Minister will be both an advantage and a disadvantage and the proceedings in the House can be influenced to a certain extent. Since you have worked as a Minister, you know very well how to bale out the Ministers when they are in trouble, as you have just now done in the Question Hour. And being a Minister you also know how the Ministers dodge or try to dodge and here we need your help. I hope you will come to our rescue whenever a Minister tries to dodge the House or mislead the House and catch him in the act and help the House also.

Sir, with your experience, you will no doubt be a friend, philosopher and guide to all the Members here, particularly to the young Members to whom the Prime Minister has rightly referred. This House had never seen so many young members in its history and I hope the Prime Minister will ensure that more and more young Members will come to this House in future also.

Sir, all our privileges are in your hands now. Democracy flourishes when the system of checks and balances functions well, as you very well know. We are happy that the Prime Minister has started well in trying to enlist the cooperation of the Opposition. We are ready to reciprocate the same provided the Government and the Prime Minister genuinely act upon their desire and assurances.

Sir, I do not expect you to be partial. But anytime you feel inclined, be partial towards this side because we need your protection.

And lastly, if you allow me a little frivolity, the Chairman's functioning is often guided by whether he is suffering from spondylitis or not because you have to turn your head to the left, to the centre and to the right. When I came here first and saw my seat I thought I was very fortunate in just being before the Chairman. But unfortunately I found that your predecessor always looked to the left or right and never to the centre. So if you suffer from spondylitis, I am at an advantage, but I will request you to look to all sides and see that justice is done to all the sides.

Sir, I wish you all success in your assignment and wish all of us better luck during your tenure.

Thank you.

Shri Murasoli Maran : Sir, today it is my privilege to join honourable Prime Minister and other honourable Members in welcoming you and congratulating you. We are pleased that a son of Tamil Nadu has been given an opportunity to serve as the Vice-President of India and the Chairman of the Council of States. It is a fitting tribute bestowed upon you for your long and distinguished career in public life. Sir, throughout our career, you have exhibited sobriety and wisdom coupled with extraordinary courage. Mr. Dipen Ghosh said that the Opposition wanted a better deal. I am sure, Sir, we will get it from you because, having been under the shadow of Mr. Kamraj you had the courage to oppose the Emergency; you did so by writing bravely against the Emergency in the front-page article of *Swarajya* founded by the great Rajaji, when you were its Editor — though you supported it at a later stage. Sir, you know the pulse and the anxieties of the Opposition because, if I may say so in a lighter vein, you were sitting as an Independent Member also in the Lok Sabha for a short duration during Janata days. Therefore, I have no doubt that you would be even-handed in running the affairs of the House, because you know the mood of the Opposition also. In Tamil Nadu, because of your political skills, you are called a great Chanakya. In fact, the playground of Tamil Nadu has lost its best player, but what Tamil Nadu has lost is a gain to the Council of States.

Sir, you have got legislative experience for more than a quarter of a century—in the Constituent Assembly, in the State Legislature and in Parliament. I am sure you would run this House with extraordinary ability. I, on behalf of my party, offer you, Sir, our best cooperation. Sometimes, in this House we may have to test your eardrums and that too during the Zero Hour. Our previous Chairman used to run away from the scene the moment the clock struck twelve. I am sure, as the honourable Prime Minister has put it, you are young in spirit and I think you will stay with us during these testing times. Thank you, Sir.

Shri S. W. Dhabe : Sir, on behalf of the United Association of Members, the constituents and independents, I join the honourable Prime Minister and other opposition leaders to felicitate you on your election as the Chairman of this House. Sir, we have seen politicians presiding over this House and also a judicial person, your predecessor, Justice Hidayatullah.

The august office of Chairman requires that not only he must balance the views of the different political parties but also bring impartiality in the discharge of his functions towards all the constituents who are here. Sir, we have also seen you, as my friend rightly said, defending the Government as Defence Minister and also as Finance Minister very ably and many times disarming us with the answers and clarifications which you used to give us. But now your role is entirely different. As soon as you occupy the Chair, the august office, you are free from political affiliations or political parties and whatever views you had propounded as a Minister.

Sir, it is expected that this House will be able to discharge its functions smoothly under your leadership and also I hope the high traditions and conventions built in this House over a long time will not only be maintained but also restored to their own glory. On behalf of myself and my friends I wish you all success in your tenure as Chairman.

Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto : Sir, on behalf of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, I join the honourable Prime Minister and other friends in congratulating you on your being chosen as the Vice-President of India and, consequently, the Chairman of our House.

Sir, I may share certain secrets which you told me, with the other Members of the House in order to prove your integrity and honesty. When you were the Defence Minister, I saw you in the Central Hall with a small key in your hand. I asked you as to which key it was that you were holding in your hand round your finger. You were pleased to tell me, "This is the key of my telephone at my residence. I do not want that my telephone as Defence Minister should be misused. So, when I come to office, I see to it that it is locked."

The second thing that you told me and I share with all the Members here is that as Defence Minister you told me that you were getting from home Rs. 1,000 a month to meet your expenses.

Finally, Sir, you were always, at least twice a week, feeding us with a cup of coffee, in the Central Hall.

Now, Sir, you have occupied a position in which you have not only to look to the interests of the ruling party but to the Opposition. I am sure that under your leadership Members from the Opposition will get the same treatment, if not better than the ruling party Members.

I, on behalf of the National Conference, again congratulate you and also join the Prime Minister in saying that the sense of humour which is lacking now in many Parliaments of the world, should be injected in this House also.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman: Hon. Members, I am deeply touched by the very kind references you made to me. I am not vain enough to think that I deserve all that but I shall be modest enough to admit that they are the goals which I will have to strive to achieve.

India is one of the biggest democracies in the world. It is not enough that it is the biggest democracy in size. It must be the biggest democracy in quality, and this can be done only if Parliament, both the Houses, maintain very high standards in debate, in discussion, in interpellations and in every one of the other activities connected with Parliament.

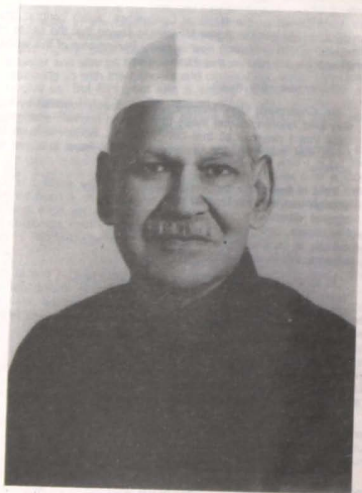
In all my long years in politics over 25 years, in one or the other Houses, I have never been even in the panel of Chairmen. In that sense, I am a novice in this office. Well, to quote Shakespeare again, which I am very fond of doing in the debates, "I am not yet so old, but yet I may learn."

Well, I can appreciate your anxieties that the pristine glory of this House should be restored. I am well aware that very high traditions have been established by people like Dr. Zakir Husain, Dr. Radhakrishnan and a number of others. They were all giants that India had produced. Well, I can only tell you that I shall endeavour to walk in their footsteps to follow their example.

I was told that I should not lend my ear but lend my eye to this side. I have proposed doing both, not only lend my ears but also lend my eyes to all sides of the House. If in the exigencies, I am not able to do so it is not for want of goodwill but only because of the pressure on time in parliamentary proceedings.

I shall only confine myself by saying that I look forward to a very pleasant and a very fruitful association with you in the years ahead.

Thank you very much.



Shri S. D. Sharma
(19.8.1918)

Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(3.9.1987 — 24.7.1992)

Shanker Dayal Sharma: A profile

SHARMA, DR. SHANKER DAYAL: M.A., LL.M., Ph.D. (Cambridge University). Diploma in Public Administration (London). Bar-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn) Fellow. Harvard Law School, Zurich University and Paris University, Doctorate of Laws (*Honoris Causa*) (Universities of Vikram, Bhopal, Agra, Sri Venkateswara, Tirupati, Devi Ahilya Vishwavidhyalaya and Mauritius); s. of Pt. Khushilal Sharma Vaidya Shastri; b. August 19, 1918; m. Shrimati Vimala Sharma, 2 s. and 2 d.; Member, Bhopal Legislative Assembly, 1952—56; Chief Minister, erstwhile Bhopal State, 1952—56; Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1956—71; Minister, Government of Madhya Pradesh, 1956—67; Member, Lok Sabha, 1971—77 and 1980—84; Union Minister for Communications, 1974—77; Governor, (i) Andhra Pradesh, 1984-85, (ii) Punjab, 1985-86 and (iii) Maharashtra, 1986-87; Chairman, (i) International Jury for the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, (ii) International Jury for the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development, (iii) National Committee for Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Centenary Celebration and (iv) National Committee for K.M. Munshi Centenary Celebrations; Recipient of Chakravarti Gold Medal for Social Service; Author of, (i) Congress Approach to International Affairs, (ii) Studies in Indo-Soviet Co-operation, (iii) Rule of Law and Role of Police, (iv) Readings in Indo-Soviet Friendship and Co-operation, (v) Jawaharlal Nehru: The Maker of Modern Commonwealth, (vi) Jawaharlal Nehru Selected Speeches and (vii) Eminent Indians; Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, 3-9-1987 to 24-7-1992; President of India, 25-7-1992 till date.

Felicitations offered to Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma on 6 November 1987

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi : Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I felicitate you on your election as the Vice-President and as the Chairman of this august House.

In you, Sir, we have a renowned and highly respected figure. You have held high offices as Chief Minister, as Cabinet Minister, as the Congress President and most recently, as Governor.

We welcome you as the Vice-President and as the Chairman of this House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have been a scholar and an authority on international law and the Constitution, on history, and more especially on our culture. As a teacher you have taught many of the Members sitting in this House. Now you will be their mentor and guide. We are privileged, and indeed fortunate, to have you at the helm. The position you hold has been held by many highly respected and admired figures in the history of our Parliament. Let me assure you of the fullest cooperation of the Government and I have no doubt that your wisdom will prevail over this House.

Thank you.

Shri Dipen Ghosh : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of myself, the other members of my party, the CPM, and by other colleagues in the Opposition, I join the Prime Minister in offering our warmest felicitations to you on your assuming the august office of the Vice-President of our country and as Chairman of this august House, Rajya Sabha.

Sir, You have been in active politics for a long time, and we too are still in politics. And, therefore, from one way we are at the same wave-length. You will surely, therefore, appreciate

our requirements in the Opposition while presiding over this august House. The ruling party, by virtue of its majority, will have the final say—good, bad or indifferent. But before that the Opposition must be given the opportunity to place their point of view. Earlier, the dignified persons who held this august position here, particularly Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Zakir Husain, and lastly who is now the President of our country, Shri R. Venkataraman, had looked to this particular point, and I hope you will follow their foot-steps and give the Opposition a hearing on various issues that this House will confront from today onwards when it will be in session.

Sir, again, I offer our felicitations and welcome you to this House as Chairman of this House. Thank you.

Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the Anna DMK and on my own behalf, I congratulate you for having been elected to the office of Vice-President of our Republic. It is a matter of great pleasure to know that you have been elected unanimously by both Houses of our Parliament. After Dr. Radhakrishnan and Justice Hidayatullah you have been elected with consensus of all political parties. It shows your eminence and remarkable enlightenment, fairness and judicious approach. Sir, in maintaining the dignity and decorum of this House the Anna-DMK extends its support without any reservations. May I remind you that the dignity and decorum of this House is maintained not only because of the cooperation from all political agencies but also by the personality which holds office.

Sir, the paramount responsibility of this House is to protect the interests of the States. That is why it is called Council of States. Unfortunately during the post-independence period transgression into the jurisdiction of the State has become a regular feature of the Government. Unless it is properly checked, the purpose and the very objective of this House will be undermined. The AIADMK Party is always at your disposal to maintain the prestige of this House. Once again I felicitate you.

Shri Parvathaneni Upendra : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of my party, Telugu Desam, and myself, I offer you our warmest

felicitations on your assumption of office as Chairman today. Sir, your election to this high office has a special significance in that you have been a consensus candidate of both the ruling party and all the opposition parties. Sir, while agreeing to the consensus, we have put ourselves in a disadvantageous position. We know that. We have to be guided by you and we have to be more restrained perhaps because of the obligation we have taken upon ourselves. We felt that among the candidates considered, you are the most ideal and fit to occupy this office because you combine in yourself age with wisdom, wisdom with tact and tact with statesmanship.

Sir, as Chief Minister, as Central Minister, as the President of one of the leading parties and as Governor, you have had wide administrative experience. Added to that, you have the political acumen and wide knowledge of constitutional law. Sir, you are a worthy successor to a number of distinguished people who occupied this Chair. Your predecessor, Mr. Venkataraman, has handled the affairs of this House most tactfully. Since he is no longer occupying the Chair here, I can confess that we had a perfect understanding with him. That understanding even extended to confiding in him about our plans for walk-outs and noise in the House. We kept confidentiality and we expect the same type of understanding from you and also the confidentiality which we were maintaining with the previous Chairman.

Sir, the people say that you are a leftist. We would like to know by experience whether you turn more to the left or to the right of the House.

Lastly, I know that when you were the Governor of Andhra Pradesh, you had a picture of Lord Venkateswara in your office. You always looked to him. You told me also that whenever you are in doubt, you look to Lord Venkateswara for guidance. In this House, you may not be able to have a picture of Lord Venkateswara, but I will constantly remind you of Lord Venkateswara as, a representative of Andhra Pradesh. I won't say as a representative of the Lord, but as a representative of Andhra Pradesh, I will be a constant reminder to you of your devotion to Lord Venkateswara. May he guide you to be more

impartial, more tactful and more fair in dealing with the affairs of this House.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy : Sir, November 6, 1987 is a very important day in your life. You have taken over this august Chair today. On my own behalf, on behalf of my Party, and on behalf of other colleagues here, I sincerely welcome you to this Chair. I say this with feeling because my association with you has been very very long indeed, a very meaningful association. I do not want to recall my long association now because of paucity of time.

Sir, pedagogy to Vice-Presidency of India is a long journey. You were a pedagogue to begin with in the Lucknow University where I was a student myself. You taught Constitutional History there very successfully. You were not a bad teacher at all. Then fate had a hand in your life, and indeed fate had definitely a hand when you were chosen unanimously to the very important place of Vice-Presidency of India. In this play of fate, both the Ruling Party and the Opposition had a role to play. During the time when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Opposition were differing widely on various issues, we agreed, both the Ruling Party and the Opposition, the Prime Minister and the Opposition leaders on your candidature; it was a happy augury. And you are the Vice-President of India, you are the Chairman of our House. You have seen life, occupied many places of importance. You were a Chief Minister, you were a Cabinet Minister here, you were a Governor and now the Vice-President. Besides, you had managed the affairs of the political organisations. So, you have the experience of an administrator as well as manager of political parties. You have the knowledge as a teacher, experience of an administrator and organiser of political parties, and more than all the ability and competence to manage public affairs.

Sir, you are the Vice-President of India. I hope you are the Vice-President without being 'vice', bereft of any vice. You have combined in yourself a long experience and knowledge. That I hope will help you and help us in this House to carry on our task.

Sir, your duty as the Chairman of this august body is very

difficult indeed because you are occupying it at a very difficult time. It is not enough to keep the law and order in the House, however, much it is important. It is more necessary, more important to keep up the dignity, the norms, the traditions of this House. More than all this, Sir, it is your onerous responsibility to see that this Parliament, this House of ours, which is a limb of Parliament, a part of Parliament, sheds all its weaknesses, becomes strong. It is fragile for various reasons. There have been onslaughts on Parliamentary institutions in India. There has been considerable erosion of its importance, its relevance even. At this juncture you are occupying this Chair. It is your duty, Sir, not only to uphold the dignity of the House but to keep the balance even between the Treasury Benches and the Opposition.

As the days go on, the accountability of the administration is also affected, accountability of the administration to the Houses of Parliament. As the presiding authority, it is your task to restore its importance, its personality. All of us are one here in spite of the fact that we are divided between various political parties. Respect for parliamentary institutions is dwindling in the country and parliamentary institutions are in a state of crisis, if I may say so. The Government has become very authoritarian and the master, the Parliament has been reduced to insignificance. Therefore, Sir, without taking much of the time of the House I request you as the Chairman of the House in future to safeguard the interests of both the Treasury Benches and the Opposition evenly and the Opposition at this particular hour, juncture is very important. Though they are divided, we are one on various issues. This should guide you, Sir, in your role and conduct.

May I, Sir, in the end wish you well and hope and trust your career as the Vice-President of India, and the Chairman of this House, will be remembered for a long time to come. I will be present in my duty if I don't say one word for your illustrious predecessor, Shri Venkataraman. My colleague has already spoken about him. He did really well and you have succeeded him and also succeeded many many illustrious predecessors.

Sir, in the end I wish you the best.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: मान्यवर, भारतीय जनता पार्टी की ओर से और अपनी ओर से मैं आपको विचार बर्धाई देना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बर्धाई इसलिए कि आप केंद्र में वापस आ गये हैं। तीन प्रदेशों में राज्यपाल के पद का और उसके दायित्व का गम्भीरता से और गरिमा से पालन करने के बाद केंद्र में आपको वापसी स्वागत योग्य है। यहां से आप सारे देश को प्रभावित कर सकते हैं, इसलिए हमें प्रसन्नता है। दूसरी बर्धाई इसलिए कि उप-राष्ट्रपति के नाते आप राज्य सभा के सभापति हैं और देश के इस दूसरे सदन से, महत्वपूर्ण सदन से सदस्य के नाते नहीं, लेकिन सभापति के नाते आपको सम्बद्ध होने का अवसर मिला है। मान्यवर, बिना राज्य सभा में रहे राजनीति का पूरा प्रशिक्षण, पूरा अनुभव पूरा नहीं होता। मैं यह अनुभव लेता रहा हूँ। राज्य सभा यह दूसरा सदन है। यह दूसरे सदन की बिम्बेदारी का ठीक तरह से पालन करे इसकी ओर मेरे ध्यान से संकेत किया है। आपको राज्य सभा को देखने का भी अवसर मिलेगा और राज्य सभा के संचालन के दायित्व का भी आपको पालन करना होगा। तीसरी बार बर्धाई इसलिए दे रहा हूँ जैसा कि अन्य मेरे मित्रों ने कहा आप भारत के उप-राष्ट्रपति के महत्वपूर्ण पद पर सर्वानुमति से चुने गए हैं। आज जब सत्ता पक्ष और प्रतिपक्ष के बीच में ठनी हुई है, जब तलवारें तनी हुई हैं तब आपका निर्विरोध सर्वानुमति से निर्वाचन यह भारतीय लोकतंत्र की शक्ति का प्रकटीकरण है। अगर सत्तापक्ष इसी तरह से युक्ति-युक्त रवैया अपनाए और प्रतिपक्ष का सहयोग लेने का प्रयत्न करे तो सब मामलों पर नहीं तो बहुत से मामलों पर राष्ट्रीय सहमति का विकास किया जा सकता है, ऐसे मामले सब के सहयोग से निपटारे जा सकते हैं।

सभापति जी, आपका सार्वजनिक जीवन लंबा और अनुभवों से परिपूर्ण है। लेकिन राजनीति के साथ आपने जीवन के और पहलुओं की उपेक्षा नहीं की है। अनेक भाषाओं पर आपका अधिकार है, अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों में आपने शिक्षा प्राप्त की है। अनुभव की यह सारी पूंजी उप-राष्ट्रपति के नाते, इस सदन के सभापति के नाते हमें लाभान्वित करेगी, यह मैं आशा प्रकट करता हूँ। आप भोपाल में जन्मे, भोपाल एक देशी रियासत की थी। मैं भी एक देशी रियासत में जन्म लेने वाला व्यक्ति हूँ। उस समय स्वाधीनता के लिए लड़ने के लिए लोकतांत्रिक सरकार की स्थापना के लिए संघर्ष करना किटना कठिन था, और उस कठिन परीक्षा में से आप निकले। भोपाल के मुख्य मंत्री के पद को आपने अलंकृत किया और फिर आपकी सफलता की यात्रा शुरू हुई, लेकिन इस सफलता की आपको कीमत भी चुकानी पड़ी है। आज मुझे गीतांजलि का स्मरण हो रहा है। भाई माकन हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं। एक बच्चापन हुआ थे राष्ट्रीय एकता के शहीद बने। आपकी पीढ़ी शक्तों में प्रकट नहीं की जा सकती है। श्रीमती शर्मा की वेदना भरी जकानी में, भारत की राजधानी में इस तरह से वे निर्मम हलवाई। आपको जब-जब हम देखते हैं, हमें पंजाब की शासनी का स्मरण होता है। यह बात बार-बार हमारे मन और चिंतन में टकनती है कि

स्वाधीनता के 40 वर्ष बाद देश में यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण परिस्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई? मगर उस शोक को आपने भी लिया है, देश की सेवा के लिए उस ज़हर को आपने कण्ट में धारण कर लिया है। आपके मुख से एक भी शब्द ऐसा नहीं निकला, जो बड़ता पैदा करने वाला हो, जो भाईचारे को खल करने के विधटनवादियों के मनसूबों को पूरा करने वाला हो। उस दिन हमारी नज़रों में आपका सम्मान बहुत बढ़ गया।

आप हमारे सभापति के रूप में बैठे हैं। इधर बैठने वाल हम संख्या में कम हैं, मगर हमारे तर्कों में ज्यादा बल होता है। कठिनाई यह है कि तर्क गिने नहीं जाते और खरों की गिनती होती है। लेकिन पक्ष और विपक्ष में आप निष्पक्ष भूमिका निभायेंगे इसका हमें विश्वास है। इसी आशा से, इसी विजृम्भ से हमने आपके निर्विरोध निर्वाचन में सहयोग दिया है। मैं राज्य सभा में दूसरी बार आया हूँ। पहले भी मैं लोक सभा में हारने के बाद आया था। मगर तब राज्य सभा कुछ अलग थी। क्षमा कीजिये, अभी कुछ महीनों का मेरा अनुभव अच्छा नहीं है, अब जो पीठासीन हों, जो सभापति के आसन पर बैठे हों, वे अगर मेरा पूरा वाक्य भी न सुने और बीच में कट दें और फिर रिप्लेटों को कह दें कि यह लिखा नहीं जायेगा, तो हम तो बेनीत मारे गये। मैं समझता हूँ ऐसी हलियाँ अब सदन में कम होनी चाहियें।

सभापति महोदय, मैं चाहता हूँ कि आपके सभापतित्व में राज्य सभा अपने पूर्व गौरव को प्राप्त करे और सबके सहयोग से यह सदन देश के लोकतन्त्र की न केवल धड़कन बने बल्कि देश के लोकतन्त्र को सबल बनाने का एक साधन सिद्ध हो।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः आपको बधाई देते हुए अपना आसन ग्रहण करता हूँ।

श्री श्रीरत्न वर्मा: आदर्शपूर्ण सभापति महोदय भारत के उपराष्ट्रपति एवं इस माननीय सदन के सम्मानित सभापति पद पर निर्विरोध सर्वसम्मत आपके निर्वाचन पर मैं अपनी और अपने दल—लोकदल की ओर से आपको बधाई देता हूँ एवं आपको स्वागत करता हूँ। पिछले बहुत वर्षों से आपके सार्वजनिक जीवन को मुझे जानकारी है। स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम के वयोवृद्ध नेता, भोपाल के मुख्य मंत्री, कांग्रेस के प्रेसिडेंट, भारत सरकार के कम्युनिकेशन मिनिस्टर, विभिन्न प्रदेशों के राज्यपाल की हैसियत से जिस प्रकार आपने कार्य किया है, उसी के फलस्वरूप ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इस माननीय सदन के इस पद को जो आप सुरोभिष्ठ कर रहे हैं और सर्वसम्मति से आपने सभी लोगों का अपनी कार्य शैली से सम्मान और विश्वास प्राप्त किया है, मुझे यह विश्वास है कि इस सदन का आपके नेतृत्व में, आपके सभापतित्व के काल में गौरव बढ़ेगा। आपके निर्वाचन में इस सदन के सभी सदस्यों का जो विश्वास रहा है वह विश्वास आपके द्वारा इस सदन का कार्यसंचालन जितनी अधिक निष्पक्षता के साथ होगा, उतना ही अधिक इस सदन का गौरव बढ़ेगा, उतना ही आपका गौरव बढ़ेगा, उतनी ही इस सदन के कार्य-संचालन में आपको अधिक सफलता मिलेगी।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः हृदय से आपकी सफलता की कामना करते हुए आपको गौरव बड़े, इस सदन का गौरव बढ़े, आपको बधाई देता हूँ और हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ।

Shri N. E. Balaram: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of myself and my party I offer my felicitations. I know that you are a great scholar and a man of rich experience in politics. I am very glad that you have been elected as the Chairman of this House and the Vice-President of this country. Once again I would like to offer my felicitations to you on my behalf and on behalf of my party.

Shri Murasoli Maran: Mr. Chairman on behalf of my DMK party and on my own behalf I whole-heartedly welcome you on your election as Vice-President of this great republic and the Chairman of this illustrious House. We all know you have a brilliant academic career. In fact, you have been in the teaching profession and for a long period. For nine years, you taught law in the Lucknow University and then you taught law at Cambridge also. Here I would say, perhaps after Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan you are the only teacher to have come here to occupy the highest post. So, it is a great tribute to the teaching community of our nation. I think Dr. Zakir Husain was also a teacher. So, you belong to that noble tribe of teachers who can guide us. Sir, many of your students are here as Members. So, you have got a very good lobby here. In fact, I would say, our House is also very much like a classroom—not like your Cambridge University but like a village school. You have to meet many recalcitrants more often, but, Sir, you can counsel and conduct the House in a nice manner.

Sir, I for one would not accept that this is the House of Elders. No, it is not a House of Elders, it is the Council of States, a part of our federal system. Therefore, Sir, we have got certain traditions. As honourable Vajpayee was saying, we have noticed that our words had been often butchered. In this House there had been a tradition to raise many important public issues after the Question Hour. Somehow or other that right of the Members has been taken away. Therefore, I would request you to restore that pristine glory of this House once again and give us back the right that we have lost. That is my request.

I know, Sir, that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made use of you as the personal emissary and you had visited Tamil Nadu many a time and also you returned to Delhi with great success. I know that, Sir, this morning along with all the opposition group leaders I met you. I was simply astonished by your diplomacy and persuasive power. Sir, I do not want to let the cat out of the bag as my honourable friend, Shri Upendra, who told you how he was dealing with your predecessor. I would say that I am very much worried because of your persuasive abilities. We the opposition people, have to be very careful with you because you are a type of diplomat who will kill us with kindness. So we have to be careful. With these words, I offer you our whole-hearted cooperation in the conduct of the business of the House.

Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and on my own behalf and as Chief Whip of the United Association of Members of this House, I offer my felicitations to you for being elected as the Vice-President and Chairman of this House. I vividly recall an incident in 1964 when you were the Minister of Industry of the State of Madhya Pradesh. There was a meeting of the Small Scale Industries Board to be held in Bhopal and I, as Chairman of the Kashmir Chamber of Commerce, had also to attend that meeting. We left in a train from Delhi. There were torrential rains and the train got stuck up at a place near Gangapur, I think. You were also travelling in the same train. The first thing that you did on that occasion was that you came out of your compartment and ensure that every passenger in the train got his food. That was your great achievement and I saw how you worked in that capacity. Of course, when we reached Bhopal, the meeting was already over, although you were the Industry Minister there.

I also vividly remember that when you were a Member of the other House, you were also travelling in the same Matador for M.P.s. to and from your house as other M.P.s. would do. We lived in the same Canning Lane. Sir, you are an embodiment of humility and wisdom and I trust and feel sure that in your hands the prestige of this House will remain secure and safe.

I again offer my heartiest felicitations to you, Sir, and hope that under your kind guidance this House will fulfil the task that has been assigned to it by the Constitution of India.

Shri Chitta Basu: Sir, I join the Prime Minister and other distinguished Members of the Opposition in extending, on my own behalf and on behalf of my party, heartfelt and sincere felicitations on your being unanimously elected as the Vice-President of this great Republic and the Chairman of this House.

Sir, this House has got its own distinct features and responsibilities to discharge. As it is the Council of States, this House has greater responsibility of looking after the interests of the States which constitute this great Union of India. You, Sir, as the Chairman of this great House happen to be solely and undisputedly the custodian of the rights and privileges of the Members of this House. We, the Members of the Opposition, are sometimes faced with certain situations in which I would urge upon you, in the interest of the dignity of the House and in the discharge of your responsibility of maintaining the decorum of the House, that you should show us a little more indulgence. We, as you know, Sir, as Members of the House, are always amongst the people, in the midst and thick of politics. There is no virtue in concealing it. And we have to associate ourselves with the hope and aspirations of the people outside. We are also to articulate their hopes and aspirations. Sir, you have been, in the past, in the very thick of politics and I don't think that you repent for it. It is a glorious part of your brilliant career. You know the emotions, sentiments, hopes and aspirations of the people who are not here, who are outside this House. You have represented the vast masses of our country at different places and you have done it successfully. You have rich and varied experience, and I hope and believe that with your rich and varied experience you would guide us, help us, as Members of this House with the particular role that we have to play from this side of this House, to discharge our responsibilities.

We in the Opposition, as I have mentioned earlier, have got our own role and we shall play it, and we can play it better if

you have the generosity of showing a little more indulgence to this side of the House because on us rests a bigger responsibility to bring about changes in the policies of the Government and the attitudes of the Government.

Again, Sir, on behalf of my party and on my own behalf, I extend my heartfelt and sincere felicitations to you.

Thank you.

Shri Nagen Salkia: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I and other Members of my party, AGP, are very happy on your election to the glorious office of Vice-President of this great country and on your assuming Chairmanship of this august House. We think it is a matter of pride for the whole country to have a man of knowledge and wisdom as the honourable Vice-President of this country.

Sir, the country finds in you a rare combination of the personality of a scholar and the personality of a political thinker and political worker, without any conflict between the two. I hope and believe that your personality will guide not only this august House but also the whole nation.

With these few words, Sir, I, on behalf of my party, AGP, and also on my behalf, offer my respectful felicitations to you.

Thank you.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय: माननीय सभापति जी, 21 अगस्त को उपराष्ट्रपति के पद पर आपके निर्विरोध निर्वाचन हुआ और 4 सितम्बर को आपने उस पद के लिए शपथ ग्रहण की। इस नाते आपको इस राज्य सभा के और इस सदन में सभापति का आसन ग्रहण करने का प्रथम दिन है। मान्यवर, आप का दीर्घकालीन प्रशासनिक और राजनीतिक अनुभव रहा है। जहां मध्य प्रदेश में आपकी जयस्यली रही है, आपकी ननिहाल रही है वहीं पर आपने अपना राजनीतिक जीवन भी प्रारम्भ किया और राज्यपाल के पद पर आश्रय प्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र तथा पंजाब में रह कर इन पदों की गरिमा को आपने बढ़ाया है।

मान्यवर, लोकतंत्र सत्ता पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों के आधार पर चलता है। इस सदन में विपक्ष की संख्या कम है और आपने स्वयं कहा है कि सभापति के नाते आपको काम एक एग्यार की तरह है। लेकिन मान्यवर, मैं यह समझता हूं कि जहां संख्या के आधार पर, बहुमत के आधार पर, निर्णय होते हैं, वहां पर जो कमजोर वर्ग हैं, वेग मतलब विपक्ष से है, जिसकी संख्या कम है, उसके लिये आपकी ओर से विशेष संरक्षण और आपके विशेष आशीर्वाद की जरूरत है। मान्यवर, इस देश की प्रथम व्यावसायिक, सेंट्रल

लेबिलेचर के जो प्रथम भारतीय अध्यक्ष थे, श्री विठ्ठलभाई पटेल, उन्होंने अपने स्वागत भाषण में कहा था कि:

"I belong to all, and I belong to none."

मैं सबका हूं और किसी का भी नहीं हूं। मान्यवर, इसी तरह से पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने उनके चित्र का अनावरण करते हुए इस देश की संसद में कहा था कि:

"Speaker is the symbol of the nation's freedom and liberty."

मान्यवर ठीक यही बात आपके लिये भी कही जा सकती है। आज आप उस गरिमामय पद पर हैं जिस पर डा० राधाकृष्णन, डा० जवाहर हुसैन, श्री बी० बी० गिरी और आपसे पूर्व श्री वेंकटरमण रह चुके हैं। इन चर्चों विपुलियों ने इस देश के राष्ट्रपति के पद को भी सुरक्षित किया। मान्यवर, श्री मारन की इस बात का मैं सम्मर्पन करता हूं और कहना चाहता हूं कि पूर्व के कुछ वर्षों में इस सदन के सदस्यों के अधिकारों में कटौती हुई है। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि उन अधिकारों की आप रक्षा करेंगे और उनको पुनर्जीवित करेंगे। आप सदन के रक्षक हैं और इस सदन के जितने भी सदस्य हैं, चाहे वे सत्ता पक्ष के हों या विपक्ष के हों, उनके अधिकारों का आप संरक्षण करेंगे इस आशा और विश्वास के साथ मान्यवर मैं इस देश के लोकतंत्र और उसके द्वारा आपके उज्ज्वल भविष्य की कामना करता हूं।

Shri Tridib Chaudhuri: Mr. Vice-President and Chairman, Sir, I rise only to add my voice to the sentiments of felicitations and welcome that have been already voiced by so many distinguished Members of the House.

Sir, knowing you as I have been for the past so many years, I have known that you have never allowed differences in political opinions to affect personal relations or your fight for the just rights of everyone. Sir, you have added lustre and distinction to the various high offices that you have occupied in your varied and distinguished career. I hope and have great confidence that you will add greater distinction to the office that you have come to occupy as Vice-President and Chairman.

Thank you.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my proud privilege to felicitate you on behalf of the Akali Dal and on my own behalf on your election to the august office of Vice-President of India and Chairman of Rajya Sabha.

You, as Governor of Punjab, endeared yourself to all Punjabis, and it is to your credit that, in spite of being in politics for such a long time and having held important organisational and administrative offices, you have managed to remain non-controversial and command the confidence and respect of all parties. It is a great achievement, and I am sure you will adorn this office with credit. I wish you, Sir, well and look forward to this House performing its constitutional and political duties with competence while maintaining its decorum as the House of Elders under your able guidance.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री बैकल 'उस्ताही': मोहतरम,

आप आए बचम में ले कर चिरगो दिल का नूर,
अब उजालों से अम्बेर दोस्ती फरमाएंगे।

हमारे आदरणीय अटल जी का और हमारा सम्पर्क सन् 1957 से है। इसलिए उन्हीं की तरजुमानी मैं कर रहा हूँ। दो लाइन मैं अपने प्रधानमंत्री जी के माध्यम से आपको समर्पित कर रहा हूँ:—

गौरव और खुशी के धन से खुद को मालामाल किया,
आँखों से स्वागत और दिल से आपका इतकनाबाल किया।

उस ने दिया ज़ख़ब अनोखा इस ने अज़ब सवाल किया,
इस हाऊस में बैठ के हमने क्या-क्या नहीं कमाल किया।

शोर-शराबा हंगामी में वक्त का आदर कर न सके,
अपनी बातें मनवाने को फिर भी बहुत मलाल किया।

अन्दर बैठ के अज़बारी की हर सूरखी में उलझे रहे,
बाहर क्या-क्या बीत रहा है, यह भी नहीं ख्याल किया।

राजनीति के रा से ता तक कुछ पहुंचे कुछ डूब गये,
अक्सर इस खूँचातानी में देश का रूप निहाल किया।

श्री राम चन्द्र विक्रम : सभापति जी, आज आपने जिस पद को सुशोभित किया है, माननीय नेता सदन, विभिन्न पार्टियों के नेताओं ने जो आपको बधाई दी है मैं उससे अपने को सम्बद्ध करता हूँ। सभापति जी, मैं आपको वयोवृद्ध तो इसलिए नहीं कहता क्योंकि आप उम्र में मुझ से थोड़े छोटे हैं परन्तु जो पद आपने ग्रहण किया है आपने मुख्य मंत्री

के पद से लेकर केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमण्डल में तथा मेरी पार्टी के अध्यक्ष पद को, राज्यपाल पद को, विभिन्न पदों को सुशोभित कर के आप यहां तक पहुंचे हैं। मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है डेमोक्रेसी जिस का जनता और नुमाइंदों से संबंध है जिस देश की जनता और नुमाइंदे सजग तथा सावधान होते हैं उससे उसका गहरा संबंध है। परन्तु सदनों से डेमोक्रेसी का बहुत गहरा संबंध है। पक्ष और विपक्ष का तो यह कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि सरकार के सही कार्यों का दिल खोल कर के समर्थन करें उसमें संकोच न करें। डेमोक्रेसी तभी सफल होती है। सरकार का यह कर्तव्य होता है कि विपक्ष के सही सुझावों को मान लेने में उसे कोई संकोच नहीं होना चाहिये। मैं गुरुपदस्वामी जी से इतना निवेदन करूंगा कि उन्होंने सदन के अनुशासन का दायित्व आप पर छोड़ दिया है मैं उन से कहूंगा कि सदन में अनुशासन का दायित्व सभी सदस्यों का है चाहे वह विपक्ष के हों या पक्ष के हों। अटल जी ने बहुत भावपूर्ण बधाई दी है उससे मैं अपने को सम्बद्ध करता हूँ परन्तु जो पक्ष और विपक्ष की तलवारें तनी हुई हैं उससे मैं सहमत नहीं हूँ। डेमोक्रेसी में वाक् युद्ध और तर्क युद्ध होता है परन्तु तलवारें नहीं चला करती हैं।... सभापति जी, मैं आपका हृदय से सम्मान करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि आपके द्वारा यह सदन और इस देश की डेमोक्रेसी सुसंस्थित रहेगी। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको पुनः शुभकामनाएं देता हूँ।

Shri Thomas Kuthiravattom: "Honourable Chairman, Sir, I am very happy to offer my sincere felicitations to you in Malayalam, my mother tongue. I fully associate myself with the sentiments already expressed by my distinguished colleagues here. Sir, on behalf of my party, the Kerala Congress from the small State of Kerala in the southernmost part of this large and great country, I offer my heartfelt felicitations on your being elected as the Vice-President of the Republic and Chairman of this august House. Sir, you have held many high positions before occupying this high office. I wish you all the best in your new assignment as well. May God bless you."

Mr. Chairman: Honourable Prime Minister, honourable Leader of the House and honourable Members, I am most touched by the warmth and kindness with which the Prime Minister and honourable Members have welcomed me to this House and the generous sentiments expressed here. It is with humility that I have entered upon this office. I pray that I may be enabled to uphold the high traditions of the Rajya Sabha. I am conscious of the invaluable contributions made by my great

predecessors including specially Dr. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Zakir Husain and Shri R. Venkataraman. I shall endeavour with your cooperation to follow their light in materialising the will of the House.

The Rajya Sabha as a deliberative body can bring to every issue an outlook of mature, dispassionate and sensitive contemplation in consonance with the lofty idealism of the stalwarts in our nation's history. The House thus has a vital responsibility to fulfil *vis-a-vis* the past, the present and the future. While we address ourselves to this task, the eyes of the world outside perceive our every mood and motion. The people of India hope unflinching to benefit from the wealth of patriotism, knowledge and wisdom that abounds in this House. I am fortified by the presence here of personages who have been in the forefront of our national life and have long parliamentary experience. Their contributions from day to day will be an invaluable element in our proceedings. Equally, I am happy that the House has honourable Members who while young in years have the marks of wisdom on their brow. As a Persian saying has it "बुजुर्गों का अकलम ना बा माह-ओ-साल", that is, a person is respected as an elder not so much by the age in months and years as by the wisdom he displays. So I would like to repeat that this is the House of the Elders. So in the House I look forward to dignified discussion guided purely by perceptions of the national interest and I hope that in doing so, honourable Members will be mindful and considerate about each others rights at all times, more especially when a coincidence in their views eludes them. We could with advantage keep in mind what Voltaire is said to have stated "I might disapprove what you say, but I will defend to death your right to say it." वैसे भी हिन्दी में कहावत है "निन्दक नियरे रहिए..." It is perfectly in consonance with our own thought emanating from ancient origins. The Rigveda enjoins: "आ नो मघाः कृतवो यन्तु विरक्तः"

On my part I pledge myself to do all that I may during my term of office to enable you to participate in the deliberations of this House in due and appropriate manner.

Once again, I thank you most sincerely for your most generous words of felicitations. I offer my salutations to the *gana nayaks*. मैं आप सब गणनायकों को प्रणाम करके अब कार्य का श्रीगणेश करता हूँ।



Shri K. R. Narayanan
(27.10.1920)
Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha
(21.8.1992 —)

K. R. Narayanan : A profile

NARAYANAN, SHRI K. R. : M. A. (English Literature), First Class First, University of Travancore, Kerala, B.Sc. (Economics), First Class Honours, London School of Economics; s. of Shri Kocheril Raman Vaidyan; b. October 27, 1920; m. Shrimati Usha Narayanan; 2 d.; Lecturer, University of Travancore, 1943; Journalist with 'The Hindu' Madras and 'Times of India' Bombay, 1944-45; London Correspondent of 'Social Welfare'—a weekly from Bombay edited by Shri K.M. Munshi, 1945—48; Joined the Indian Foreign Service, 1949 and served with the Indian Missions in Rangoon, Tokyo, London, Australia and Hanoi and held different positions in the Ministry of External Affairs; From 1954 to 1955 taught Economic Administration at Delhi School of Economics and was also Joint Director of the Orientation Centre for Foreign Technicians; India's Ambassador to Thailand, 1967—69, Turkey, 1973—75, The People's Republic of China, 1976—78; Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1976; After retirement from Foreign Service in 1978 was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University in January 1979 and held the post till October 1980; Appointed Ambassador to United States of America, 1980—84; Had been Member of Indian delegation to, (i) United Nations General Assembly, 1979, (ii) the U.N. Security Council¹ in November 1985 on Namibian Independence, (iii) Conference of Non-aligned Nations at Harare in 1986 and (iv) the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly in May 1986 on the critical situation in Africa; Elected to Lok Sabha, 1984, 1989 and 1991; Union Minister of State for (i) Planning, 1985, (ii) External Affairs, 1985-86 and (iii) Science and Technology, Atomic Energy, Space, Electronics and Ocean Development and Vice-President, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, 1986—89; Member of the Universal Academy of

Cultures, Paris; Honorary Fellow of London School of Economics; Honorary Fellow, Jawaharlal Nehru Centre for Advanced Scientific Research, Bangalore; Honorary Fellow of Centre for Development Studies, Kerala; Doctor of Science (*Honoris Causa*), University of Toledo, USA; Doctor of Laws (*Honoris Causa*), Australian National University; Australian National University has instituted an annual "K.R. Narayanan Oration"; Awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship in 1970—72 for study of Nehru's Non-alignment; President, (i) Indian Institute of Public Administration and (ii) Ramakrishna Mission Institute; Chancellor of Delhi University, Punjab University, Pondicherry University, Assam University, North-Eastern Hill University and Gandhigram Rural Institute (Deemed University); Visitor of Makhanlal Chaturvedi National University Institute of Journalism, Bhopal; Chairman of (i) Jury of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, (ii) International Jury for the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development, (iii) The Advisory Committee for the Rajiv Gandhi Sadbhavana Award, (iv) The Jury for International Gandhi Award for Leprosy, (v) The Jury for Indira Gandhi Paryavaran Puraskar, (vi) The Jury for Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Award for Social Understanding and Upliftment of Weaker Sections, (vii) The Jury for Dr. Ambedkar International Award for Social Change and (viii) Jury for G.D. Birla Awards for Humanism, India's Heritage and Culture and Rural Upliftment; Author of, (i) "India and America: Essays in Understanding", (ii) "Images and Insights" and (iii) "Non-alignment in Contemporary International Relations" (Joint Authorship); Vice-President of India and *ex-officio* Chairman, Rajya Sabha since 21.8.1992.

Felicitations offered to Shri K. R. Narayanan on 25 November 1992

The Prime Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of my Government and my party and all the Members of this House, may I extend a very warm welcome to you. We feel privileged to have you with us here to conduct the proceedings of this House.

The rich experience in such diverse walks of life as journalism, academics, diplomacy and politics that you have brought with you will, I am confident, be of immense value to all of us. Your erudition and intimate knowledge of parliamentary procedures will be a source of inspiration and guidance. Your quiet confident demeanour that endeared you to your colleagues in the other House will help this House in functioning smoothly. For our part, we assure you of our full co-operation.

Mr. Chairman, we have worked together so long that we have got used to look upon you more as a brother. Now it will be a little difficult to look upon you in an exalted position.

I cannot help recalling the invaluable service you rendered to this country as our Ambassador to the United States. Yes, diplomats have a job cut out for them. But you helped India; you helped the Government in more ways than as a diplomat, particularly in the academic field. I do not recall any other Ambassador having done so much as you did. I shall never forget the great contribution in that sphere which you rendered as Ambassador. It is not easy for the same diplomat to be successful, on behalf of India, both in China and the United States. The job is so different; the atmosphere is so different, and I am glad, and I am proud of you that as India's first

Ambassador to China after a period of comparative tension, you were able to bring down the tension and bring our relations to almost normal level within a very short time. This is the kind of persuasiveness which I found in you and I am quite happy to see you here because the same persuasiveness will be needed in a greater measure in this House. I wish you all the best.

The Leader of the House, Shri S. B. Chavan : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my privilege to tender very respectful and cordial felicitations to you on your election as the Vice-President of India and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Sir, today is your first day of occupying the distinguished Chair of this august House after your assumption of office as the Vice-President of India on August 21. May I, therefore, on behalf of all of us, extend a very hearty welcome to you?

It is really a question of welcoming you to this House only in a new capacity. You are no stranger to this House, having been Minister of State, holding the portfolios of External Affairs, Science and Technology, Atomic Energy, Space, Electronics, and Ocean Development, for four years.

In your election to this exalted office, Members of Parliament have fulfilled the dream of Mahatma Gandhi and acted in consonance with the secular beliefs of Jawaharlal Nehru. However, it is your accomplishment that makes you a distinguished choice. You had proved to be an able diplomat, an academicien of repute and an efficient parliamentarian.

You have a variegated and highly successful record. I may mention here that your term in the United States as Indian Ambassador was highlighted by a new turn to Indo-US relations. As Vice-Chancellor of the prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru University, you were instrumental in widening the scope of the University. As Minister of Science and Technology, you were instrumental in implementing the missions of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, to transform the tradition-bound India into a progressive, modern nation.

Your life has been a saga of struggle against adverse circumstances, social and economic. You faced and overcame them, undaunted and undeterred, to traverse from village to

Vice-Presidency of India. Without doubt, your wide-ranging experience as teacher, journalist, academician, diplomat, administrator, Member of Parliament, Minister and author will stand you in good stead. In electing you, therefore, to this high office, we are not only honouring you but honouring ourselves. I have no doubt that you will be a fine example of constructive co-operation among political parties and of India's vibrant democracy. With these words, Sir, I once again extend to you, on behalf of the entire House, our warmest felicitations.

The Deputy Chairman, Dr. (Shrimati) Najma Heptulla : Honourable Chairman, Sir, it gives me great pleasure, today, to welcome you, along with Members of the Rajya Sabha, as the Chairman of this august House. This House of Elders has had the privilege of being chaired by eight outstanding luminaries, and you, Sir, represent yet another jewel in this chain of illustrious personalities.

During my tenure as the Deputy Chairperson of the Rajya Sabha, I had the proud privilege of working under the Chairmanship and benign guidance of Shri R. Venkataraman and Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, who went on to adorn the highest office of this country. Similarly, Sir, I shall now look forward towards your kind guidance, co-operation and confidence. It will be my constant endeavour to fulfil, to the best of my abilities, the tasks and responsibility you bestow upon me.

Needless to say, Sir, that your very presence will bring grace and discipline to the functioning of this House.

In conducting the proceedings of the House, you have a vast repository of experience to draw from. Besides being an eminent writer, journalist, teacher of economic administration and international affairs, you, Sir, have had national and international exposure as a seasoned diplomat and a capable administrator.

We are honoured to have in you a man of wide and varied experience. You have been the Vice-Chancellor of the prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru University. Your interests in national and international affairs will surely enrich the Members

during discussions. Your understanding of the masses and the political temperature of this country has earned you the distinction of having been elected to the Lok Sabha for three consecutive terms and your administrative capabilities were fully demonstrated under your Ministership of Planning, External Affairs, Science and Technology, Atomic Energy, Electronics and Ocean Development.

You had taken up challenging and innovative responsibilities in the past. Now that you are on other side of the House, you will surely contribute towards healthy and fruitful discussions on national and international issues. Though the Members of this House are forthright in putting forward their views, their commitment and zeal sometimes results in heated discussions and hurt sentiments. Your presence would stimulate honourable Members to be more diplomatic and reasonable, I hope, in putting forth their points before the House. You embody the qualities of gentleness and firmness, both proving to be your strength in running this House with ease and efficiency.

I welcome you again and assure you of my fullest cooperation in conducting the proceedings of this august House and if I remember the words of our great poet, Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, perhaps he said them for a person like you:

यर्बं मोहकम अमल पैहम, मोहम्बत फ़ातहे-आलम ।

बिहदे बिदगानी में ये हैं मर्दों की शमशरी ।

Translated into English, it means unflinching confidence and continuous striving, love and affection to the whole world, these are the swords for those people like you to win over the world in the battle of life. These words must have been said for people like you. I thank you very much and felicitations to you again.

विपक्ष के नेता, श्री सिकन्दर बख्तः सदर साहब, जिन्दगी की मजबूरियाँ भी अजीबो-गरीब होती हैं। कल आप पहली बार तारीफ़ लाए और यह सदन की कुर्सी-ए-सदरत को संभाला, लेकिन कल हम लोगों की बैठक बड़ी मुजससर थी, हमारे ये साथी जो हमसे बिछड़ गए थे उनके याद किया और सदन खल

हुआ। स्वागत की बात आज पर रही। आज बकसपदा कारोबार इस सदन का शुरू हो रहा है। आप कुर्सी-ए-सदरत पर जलवा आक्रोश हैं। आपका इत्क़बाल, आपका स्वागत।

फारसी की एक बात है, जिसमें कहा गया है कि अगर पहली ईंट टेढ़ी रखी जाए तो उस ईंट पर बनाई हुई दीवार अगर आसमान तक भी पहुँचे तो टेढ़ी होगी। इसी मायने में अगर पहली ईंट सीधी रखी जाए, वो फारसी में कहावत है "खिस्ते अव्वल गर निहब में मार कन्न, ता सूरया भी खद दीवार कन्न", पहली ईंट अगर दुरुस्त रखी जाए तो उस पर बनाई हुई दीवार आसमान तक भी जाएगी तो सीधी जाएगी। आपके चुनाव का तरीका ही बहुत कबिले तारीफ़ था। हिन्दुस्तान की हर सियासी जमात ने आपके इतफ़ाके-राय से चुना। यह चुना जना ही इस चीज की दलील है कि आपकी छत्रुपाई में जब यह सदन चलेगा तो मजबूती के रास्ते से चलेगा, कामयाबी के रास्ते से चलेगा, इसका कारोबार खुश-उसलूमी से पूरा होगा।

मैं और मेरी पार्टी खुले दिल से आपका स्वागत करती है। मैं उन तजुर्बानों की तफ़सीलात में जाना बहुत गैर-जरूरी समझता हूँ क्योंकि बहुत सारे हजरत ने उनका जिक्र कर दिया बल्कि मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हर सियासी और जिन्दगी के हर कौमी पहलू पर आपका तजुर्बा मुकम्मल भी है और कामयाब भी है। यह नया तजुर्बा, इस सदन की सदरत का तजुर्बा, मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि यह तजुर्बा भी उन्हीं रास्तों पर चलेगा, जिन रास्तों पर आप कामयाबी की मंजिलें तय करते रहे हैं।

दुबारा अर्ब कदना चाहूँगा कि आपका स्वागत है और यह यक़ीन दिलाना चाहूँगा कि मेरी पार्टी की तरफ से पूरे एहतसाम, पूरी इज्जत, पूरे ताकून के साथ आपका कारोबार चलेगा। आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

Shri S. Jaipal Reddy: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is with immense joy and pride that I join the Prime Minister and other Members in offering warm felicitations to you on your election as the Vice-President and also I am welcoming you as Chairman of this House on behalf of myself and on behalf of my party, the Janata Dal. Your candidature commanded spontaneous support from all the political parties across the board, which is proof positive, if proof was ever needed, of your multisplendoured merit.

Everybody in this House knows about your brilliant academic record and about the fact that you have been a distinguished author, an eminent educationist, a great diplomat, a successful Minister and a good parliamentarian. We also know that in your 20's you were imaginative enough to have gained a personal

audience with the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and you were gifted enough, in your 20's itself, to have been a favourite student of that celebrated Professor, Harold Laski and to have been handpicked by none other than Jawaharlal Nehru for induction into the Foreign Service.

In 1990, I had the rare opportunity of spending a few days with you in Moscow in undivided solitude. I had occasion to have a glimpse into your multifaceted personality.

You are scholar extraordinary. What is more, you are a scholar with a difference. Your scholarship, though massive, is not of the mildewed or pedantic kind. It is modern, multidisciplinary, practical and professional. It is said in the Bible, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth." Everybody is struck by your gentleness, but I have seen, Sir, behind your gentle exterior you possess a beautiful blend of firmness of purpose and clarity of direction. We are, therefore, very proud and fortunate to have in you a person who combines in himself versatile talent, profound commitment and cheerful temperament. It was Lord Tennyson, I think, who said—and I quote—"Wearing all that weight of learning lightly like a flower."

It is known from your chequered career that you have risen from the lowest rung of society to this very exalted office. I am pleasantly surprised to note that the wear and tear of your long social march has not left any trace of fatigue on your face. If anything, this odyssey while deepening your understanding psyche has only broadened your smiles. In your conduct of the proceedings of this august House, you will need to use your smiles and frowns too. As a member sitting on this side, I can only request you to reserve your smiles for this side of the House and frowns may be directed towards the places where they are well-deserved.

With these words, Sir, I pledge to extend my unstinted co-operation on behalf of myself and on behalf of my party, I welcome you once again, Sir, Thank you.

Shri Dipen Ghosh: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have a proud privilege to felicitate you as the Chairman of this august House.

Literally you have a many splendoured life, from a journalist you rose to be the Vice-President of our country and thereby the Chairman of this House. Our Prime Minister was right when he mentioned particularly your role which you had played as a diplomat in bringing a thaw in the hitherto embittered relations between the two great neighbouring countries in Asia. I hope that a person like you, the persuasiveness in you, would bring a thaw in the embittered relations between the two sides of the House, would certainly help in bringing together the two embattling sides in this House, on the right and the left, particularly at a point of time when the nation is facing very serious problems, sometimes confrontationist issues. Obviously, this House cannot remain oblivious to what is happening and what will be happening outside of this House. As the representatives of the people we may reflect the feelings of the people inside the House, either from this side or that side. I hope that you as the Chairman of this House will be in a position to bring a rapprochement between the two sides and take the nation to a better future and a greater advancement.

Sir, already the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House, the Deputy Chairman, the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the Janata Dal have stated a lot about your personal qualities and already we have got a taste of it on the eve of this session how your persuasiveness could avoid a confrontation and I hope that this spirit will last as long as you are sitting on that Chair and we are here.

With these few words, on behalf of my party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), on behalf of my colleagues and on my own behalf, I once again felicitate you and welcome you to this House as the Chairman of this august body.

Thank you.

Shri Yashwant Sinha: Sir, I join my colleagues, on my own behalf and on behalf of my party, to felicitate you on this very happy occasion.

When I rise to relate myself to you, Sir, I feel a special kinship. A certain part of your background is similar to my

background. I have, therefore, a special reason for rejoicing in your elevation.

Sir, much has been said about your many-splendoured personality, the many facets of your personality so far. I feel that any one of these facets would be a matter of pride for the life-time of an ordinary human being. If he had held any of the positions that you have in the past, that would be considered the epitome of achievement for an ordinary or even a distinguished person. But you have gone from one-mile-post of success to another and I have no doubt, in voicing the sentiments—I am sure—of many here in this House, that you have still miles to go before you rest. It has been said that some people derive their dignity from the Chair they occupy and some people lend dignity to the Chair they occupy. You have always lent dignity to the various chairs that you have occupied in the past and I have no hesitation in saying that this particular exalted Chair that you are occupying will also get some dignity from you. You have, in your life, translated into practice the ancient saying of 'simple living and high thinking' and it is an example for all of us and for the rest of the country.

I am sure that during your tenure here we will have a very good time together. I can only tell you, I would like to warn you, well, you might have managed the Chinese and the Americans, but it might be, at times, difficult for you to manage us in this House. But, as my colleague, Mr. Dipen Ghosh, would say, you have already won our hearts in the very brief meetings that we have had with you yesterday morning and this morning. We do realise that whatever excitement that might be there in our hearts is immediately cooled when we interact with you. I am sure this is the way it is going to be. We may be naughty, we may be difficult at times, but I am sure, in your wisdom, you will be able to direct the House and conduct its proceedings in the manner in which you have done it so far.

With these words, I join my colleagues, as I said, in offering our congratulations and felicitations to you and wishing you all the good luck for the future.

Thank you.

Shri Murali Maran: Honourable Vice-President and Chairman, Sir, I feel highly elated to join hands with my friends,

on behalf of my party, the DMK, and on my own behalf, in offering encomiums to you.

To use the phrase of Rabindranath Tagore: "From the humble among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost section of society" you are the first one to reach this high office and you can rightly be called the common man's Vice-President. Your choice is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Indian society is passing through a critical stage of social change and the impact is most striking among the lowest strata of society because these strata had remained relatively immobile in the past and their progress cannot be stopped in future. Therefore, your victory is a victory of our ideas and an assertion of the sense of social justice. That is why you have got a remarkable outpouring of national affection and national respect.

Your life is a saga of struggle and conflict, trials and tribulations and finally of success and achievement. You are like one of Bernard Shaw's characters who never blames circumstances for what they are and who never believes in circumstances to favour him but assiduously and dogmatically makes circumstances, creates circumstances. When there were hardly any concessions, when it was difficult to pay even two rupees per month as school fee, you found your way to become an honoured journalist, diplomat, academician, administrator and a great politician. That is why, when the Dewan of Travancore, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, just offered a clerical job to you in spite of your excellent academic credentials, you refused it probably to become the Vice-President of India.

Like Dr. Ambedkar, for you, darkness, as the poet has said, is light enough to pursue your goal. It is my fond hope that your life will enthuse our younger generation because you made it by working hard and by trusting the logic of events which always favour the bold, the active and the prepared. As Jaipalji has stated you have been brought up under the tutelage of the legendary Professor Harold Laski. It is yet another feather in your cap. More than anything else, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had many gifts to the nation and you are one among them. We are proud of you. As a successful diplomat we know your amiable disposition, tact, persuasive skills and understanding of

- men and matters and you would be practising Dale Carnegie all the time and therefore, we have no doubt that you would be holding the scales even or appear to hold the scales even. More than anything else, you were the Vice-Chancellor of the Jawaharlal Nehru University—a tumultuous institution—and had an insight into all the operational forces of Indian politics. I have got an interesting news to remind you that at the time when you were the Vice-Chancellor, the student union leader, who gheraoed you, is here as an honourable Member. He is none other than Shri Digvijay Singh, who was a Minister of State in Chandra Shekharji's Government. I don't think he will repeat the performance. He told me that even at that time, you tackled the situation in a very diplomatic way. It seems the students made an offer to you to take meals and you refused to take meals until the students also took meals. You defused the situation in such a way with a Gandhian approach and we have no doubt that you would be a great success in this House with such a powerful weapon in your hands.

Sir, on behalf of my party, I offer fullest co-operation to you.
Thank you.

Shri G. Swaminathan: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very glad that I have got this unique privilege and opportunity to offer my felicitations to you as the Chairman of this House. In the recent elections in USA, one of the candidates, Mr. Clinton, who has been recently elected as President of that country, was born in a place called 'Hope'. Some of my friends who came back from USA and who had watched the elections told me: "To a large extent, the slogan was that Clinton was born in 'Hope' and he is contesting the election to give hope to America." That was the slogan that was given in that country. When I was going through your bio-data, I found that you were born in Travancore State in a place called Uzhavoor. Uzhavoor in Tamil means agriculture. Most probably that is the meaning in Malayalam also. In India, as everybody knows, 75 per cent of the people are living in villages and agriculture is the most important thing in this country. Sir, as one born in a place called Uzhavoor which represents the agriculture of this country, I am sure that you will represent the poor people of this country and you will help this august House to voice their aspirations.

I also find that you were born in a family of Vaidyas who had been practising traditional medicines. It has also been said that your father was practising traditional medicines in his village. In spite of the fact that you have travelled many times abroad and you have been our diplomat in many countries, you belong to a family which has been practising traditional medicines and you will definitely maintain the traditions, the culture and the ethos of this country, in spite of your long innings in the other places. It has been said that you have been our diplomat in many countries starting from Rangoon and you had been in China, in USA and many other countries. I also understand from Jaipalji that you were in Moscow too as one of the diplomats. Many people when they go abroad assimilate only wrong things of the other countries and come back to our country. Only a few people go and select the best out of the other countries. You are the one who had selected the best in other countries the best culture, the best in every country and you have come back. You had proved it from your first appointment in Rangoon, you picked up the best lady in Rangoon and married her and made her your best half. He told me how you assimilated the best things of other countries. We will be able to gain from your experience. It has also been said that you have been a poet, a journalist and an educationist. My friend has also said that all parties have unanimously elected you to this House. Only one more thing I will add regarding your persuasiveness before I end my speech. Yesterday when we had been there, you said, "It so happens that sometimes I have to start Rajya Sabha with obituaries." Then you also mentioned that it may not be an ill-omen because when you went as an Ambassador to China and when you landed in Peking, most probably, the Head of the State died and you were informed about it. They also said that you would be able to present your credentials only after a long time because the Head of the State died. Immediately you sent a message to the Foreign Office, "I am sorry the Head of the State has died and I may be able to present my credentials only after a long time. But I am happy that the funeral is not mine." With that we all laughed and we were

all happy, the heat of the discussion yesterday with that kind of anecdote you mentioned went deep into our heart.

I take this opportunity to felicitate you on behalf of the AIADMK party to which I belong and of which party I am a leader, I wish you all the best as the Chairman of this House and during your Chairmanship, we also wish ourselves all the best so that we will be able to conduct the proceedings harmoniously.

Thank you very much.

Shri N. E. Balaram: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is with great joy that I am joining my colleagues to felicitate you on this occasion. Our personal friendship for the last four decades does not permit me now to speak much. You as a true Gandhian and I as a true Marxist, were working together on several occasions and I know those experiences. So I do not say anything at this juncture about that.

As a scholar, educationist and great social reformer of uncommon brilliance, your services will be remembered by all sections of the people, in all walks of life, that you have served. I think that your rich experience in different walks of life will definitely enrich the contribution of the House to the betterment of the society. I do not want to say anything more than that. I extend the full co-operation of my party to you. Thank you, Sir.

Shri Mentay Padmanabham: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I offer my sincere felicitations to you on your unanimous choice as the Vice-President of India and also as the Chairman of this august House on behalf of my party, Telugu Desam, and on my own behalf. You have rich and varied experience as an academician, as a diplomat and as a politician. You have done your greatest service to this country as a diplomat and your stint as the Vice-Chancellor of the Jawaharlal Nehru University is still remembered by a number of students as well as the staff of the University as a period when the institution had achieved tremendous reputation. My friends on this side have said many things and expressed their feelings about your achievements and I don't want to repeat any of them. At the end, I extend our full co-operation to you as Chairman of this House on behalf of my party and on behalf of my colleagues. Once again, I offer my congratulations to you.

Shri P. Upendra: Sir, on behalf of the non-aligned, unattached and miscellaneous Members of this House I extend a warm welcome to you as Chairman of this House. Your election as the Vice-President of this country is a great tribute to the vibrant democracy that we are having in this country which enables even a man of the humblest beginning to reach such a position of high eminence. It is also a recognition of your qualities as a leader and also as an erudite scholar. Your near-unanimous election is an indication of the supreme confidence various political parties have in your capacity to handle this difficult job. I am sure, with your scholarship, your temperament, your knowledge and your experience you will be able to make this job a successful one. Though the Rajya Sabha is considered as a House of Elders, it is much younger in behaviour and response. It is turbulent at times though some of the trouble-makers, like me, have been neutralised since then. When your name was announced as the Vice-President, some people and the media said that you were too soft for this job. But I know that behind the facade of softness there is firmness, a firmness coupled with tact. Moreover, for a man who handled the affairs of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, it should not be difficult to handle the Rajya Sabha.

We are fortunate in having you as the Chairman of this House. A glorious future awaits you and I am sure, by the turn of this century Mahatma Gandhi's dream will be fulfilled and you will occupy the highest office in this land.

Thank you.

Shri G. G. Swell: Mr. Chairman, others including the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Deputy Chairman of the House have narrated the highlights of your long, chequered and distinguished career before you came to occupy your present office as the Vice-President and the Chairman of this House. We have known each other for some time. My vivid recollection is the many encounters that I had with you in the Parliament Library where you were often seen browsing at journals, magazines, and papers and where we had occasion to sit down together and exchange information and views on various important events, national and international. Those encounters

will now be only memories. They are behind us. You as Chairman, I as a Member of this House will still have occasions to meet and exchange views on various events and developments. I am happy that circumstances have led you to occupy the present Chair where you have to run the affairs of this House and I am more than sure that with your intellectuality, your information, your rationality, your pleasant personality, your pleasant exterior, you should be able to control this House, which sometimes can be boisterous and troublesome. The qualities that you have, are just the qualities that this House needs. The qualities that you have, are just the qualities that this country needs today. We are living in difficult times. We are living in times when confrontation seems to be the order of the day. We are living in times when tempers are high. This House is in a way a reflection of the nation and the way this House behaves will, to a great extent, influence the shape and the development in the nation. Much will depend on your performance. Intellectuality, rationality, information, these are just the things that are necessary and very much depends on the man sitting in that Chair. To allow these qualities to come to the surface, where do we see these things? I have had the experience of sitting in the Chair of the other House where I had tried them and I found that it worked. Sir, whenever the House is in trouble, when the Members know that you are fair, you like to do the best for them, and more than that, you follow every word that they say, that you appreciate their information, their articulation, the Members will respond to that kind of approach, the House will become more receptive, more rational in its discussions. You, Sir, have a responsibility. I wish you godspeed. We welcome you and we wish you every success.

Thank you.

Shri H. Hanumanthappa: Mr. Chairman, Sir, while joining my other senior colleagues, I am unable to control myself on this occasion being the mover of the resolution to place the demand of redeeming the wishes of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, before the nation. Having thrown the ball into the ring, for some time, I was a worried man. That was the situation, an occasion when the air was thick between merit and Mandal. I was confronted everyday by my friends and even the

Press friends asked me whom I was having in view. I had only one belief. Even Mahatmaj did not have anybody in view when he placed the demand before the nation. Let the *Dandranarayana* occupy the highest post in this country.

Sir, during those two months when we were confronted with these questions, I spent many sleepless nights, having moved the resolution. The capacity of the intelligentsia of this country was able to find out a man who could be an administrator, an ambassador, a vice-chancellor, a Minister and a parliamentarian and who could also be Vice-President of India and President of India when the occasion comes. Today I welcome you, I felicitate you and I also thank all those people who are responsible, all the parties, all the leaders including my party leader and the Prime Minister for redeeming the wishes of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. I thank one and all who are responsible, who have lent their hand including all my friends who worked with me throughout and all the party leaders and every citizen and every country man. I thank them for giving an opportunity to the *Dandranarayana* not only in name but who actually had no money to pay the fees, who could not have higher education who had no facility and who later on with the help of scholarship, with the help of a Maharaja, could come up. All this has been narrated. This is the real Indian, this is the real Indian villager occupying the highest place, which was the wish of Mahatma Gandhi. I once again welcome you and felicitate you on this occasion.

Shri Vishvjit P. Singh: Sir, in unison with all my colleagues who have spoken before me, I welcome you to this august House. You have a very special responsibility. For the first time in my life I find myself in total agreement with my friends in the Opposition who have praised you. My friend, Mr. Jaipal Reddy, spoke the truth when he quoted from the Bible, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

You are meek, Sir, in the sense of humility rather than any weakness. You are meek, Sir, in the sense of gentleness again, rather than any weakness. Everybody must be surprised why I am speaking today. I have a certain right to speak because I

have been your neighbour for many years. Living in the house next to yours, I have seen you at close quarters. I am, exercising my right as a neighbour. I wish to warn you, don't believe in everything that you have heard today. There are many testing times ahead of you but don't worry. These very people who have praised you today, tomorrow they will trouble you a lot. I am a seer of the future. With these words I congratulate you once again and welcome you amidst us.

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम: सभापति महोदय, आज सर्वोच्च सदन की सर्वोच्च कुर्सी पर पदासीन होने पर मेरी हार्दिक बधाई स्वीकार करें। स्वतंत्र भारत के राजनैतिक इतिहास में पहली बार आपके व्यक्तित्व के रूप में देश के कमजोर वर्गों को यह सम्मान में समझता हूँ कि मिला है। जो आपको यह सम्मान मिला है संविधान के तहत, इससे सारे देश के कमजोर वर्ग के लोग गौरवान्वित अनुभव करते हैं। महोदय, आज बाबा साहब डॉ॰ अम्बेडकर की भावनाओं का एक समग्र इस देश में हुआ है। राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की आत्मा भी प्रसन्न रही होगी। आपके चुने जाने में सभी राजनैतिक दलों ने जो सहमति दिखाई वह सभी लोग बधाई के पात्र हैं। मैं उनको भी बधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिनोंने समाज के कमजोर वर्ग को गांधी जी की भावना को अनुसार, बाबा साहब डॉ॰ अम्बेडकर की भावना के अनुसार देश की सर्वोच्च कुर्सी पर बैठने की बात की और राष्ट्रीय बहस का मुद्दा बनाया—वह थे की० पी० सिंह जी और मैं अनुसूचित जाति, जन-जाति के संसदीय फोरम को भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ जिनोंने भी एक अपनी मींग राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर रखी थी। इन सबके फलस्वरूप यह अवसर मिला, यह वक्त आया कि आज आप इस विधान सदन की सर्वोच्च कुर्सी पर आसीन हैं। मेरी आशा है कि आपकी विद्वता और अनुभव से भारत के संसदीय इतिहास में एक नया पन्ना जुड़ेगा और आपके इस पद पर आने से—जो एक बहुत बड़ी विद्वता का पद माना जाता है—देश में एक जो पुरानी विचारधारा जली आ रही थी कि विद्वता किसी वर्ग विशेष में ही संविहित है, उस पर भी कुतरपात होता है। पार्टी लाइन से ऊपर उठ करके सदन में जो स्वतंत्र विचार रखते हैं उन लोगों की ओर से और अपने दलित वर्ग के संसदीय साधियों की ओर से मैं आपको हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ और आपका स्वागत करता हूँ।

इन्हीं चंद शब्दों के साथ, मैं पुनः आपको हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ।

Mr. Chairman: Honourable Prime Minister—though he is not at the moment here—honourable Leader of the House, honourable Deputy Chairman, honourable Leader of the Opposition, leaders of all the political parties, honourable

Members.... I am deeply moved by the kind, warm and generous words with which you have welcomed me to this House of Elders, as it has been called. Actually, this is the first time I have been praised in this manner straight in my face. Perhaps, this is an earnest of speaking other things also straight in the face. If the speeches were not full of such goodwill and relieved by such wit and humour, the characteristic of this House, it would have been almost unbearable for me. As I said, I have not been used to such praise ever in the past. I stand here with great humility before you today. This is a Chair which has been adorned by such eminent personalities as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Zakir Husain, Shri V.V. Giri, Shri G.S. Pathak, Shri B.D. Jatti, Shri M. Hidayatullah, Shri R. Venkataraman and Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma. It is not easy for me to rise up to the great traditions set by these great Chairmen of this House. But I think that these traditions will be an inspiration to me. At the same time, they make me feel very humble and they fill me with a sense of heavy responsibility. My only hope is that with your goodwill, with your co-operation and with your generosity, it would be possible for me to fulfil the heavy responsibilities that have been placed on me. I find here many familiar faces because I have had the good fortune to interact with this House as a Minister of State sitting in the Treasury Benches. I had tremendously enjoyed and profited a great deal from that experience. And to see the old, familiar friendly faces and many new friendly faces makes me feel a little at home at least on this day of felicitations. And I think that is a good beginning.

The manner in which I was elected and the manner in which all of you have expressed your goodwill towards me makes me a little bold to face this House. A mention has been made to the element of social justice in this election. I also feel that my election was a very powerful expression of the sense of fairness and justice that resides deep down in our society. In spite of its differences, its inequalities, I think we have to strive to give some scope to this inherent sense of fairness and justice that is in our society. If we do so, it will come to the surface and I think many of our problems will become manageable.

My previous experience has been mentioned by almost all the honourable speakers. But I doubt very much if my previous

- experience would be very relevant to this. One honourable Member has already pointed out that it may not be just like managing the Chinese or the Americans. That management was within the framework of certain diplomatic rules and etiquette. There are rules and regulations, etiquette and traditions in this House also. Therefore, I think as long as we play according to the rules, it would be possible for me to manage this House. The other thing which has really struck me in my election is that it is a manifestation of our democracy. We do not often realise how precious this democratic heritage of ours has been. I think it is because of this and because of the freedom which allows the expression of differences and discontents that we have been able to survive, cohere as a nation when many other nations have not been able to do so. It is through this, shall I say the magic of democracy which brought about a certain unity among all parties, that I have had the good fortune to be elected to this high post. My honourable neighbour has mentioned that this is the first occasion that he found it possible to agree with people on the other side. I do sincerely hope that this will not be the last occasion. I think it is absolutely necessary for us to carry on the traditions of agreeing to certain basic things. A great Dutch philosopher had once mentioned that democracy means to learn how to differ decently. I think that is the secret of the success of the parliamentary work also. All of us have differences and some of these differences would be very, very intense, sometimes based on deep ideological divisions. But the art of parliamentary democracy is in the expression of these differences. We have to learn the art of differing decently and this has been manifested in this House and in our Parliament on innumerable occasions. I believe that the other things are only exceptional. Even the Mother of Parliaments has been called a great talking shop.

This is also a great talking shop. One of the Professors who taught me, Dr. Popper, the Logician, used to define the human being as a talking animal, a discussing animal. That is the distinguishing quality of the human being. If that is so, then, a talking shop is very important and discussing and talking about things is a substitute for brute and blind action. It is a kind of, shall I say, Parliament is a kind of mighty bloodless substitute for violent revolutionary action. And, as long as we learn how to

talk about our ideas, that will lead to wise and civilized action here as also outside in the nation as a whole. Therefore, I feel that even tumultuous debates are not fruitless. They are ultimately productive because they are a substitute for non-peaceful action, non-peaceful interaction among the people. This great quality of democracy, I think can be maintained if we fix our attention on certain basic things.

Gandhiji used to say that when you are in doubt about any decision, you imagine the face of the poorest man you have seen and see if what you are going to say or do will benefit this poorest man. I think if our debates here are centered on the problem of the poorest man, if we bear in mind the face of the common man in India, then, I think we will automatically get a minimum basis on which we can agree while the methods of helping this poor man may be debated. We may have many differences about it. But the fundamental aim of all our words, all our actions, should be directed to the benefit of the common man in India. That would be the only basis, the sure basis, on which we can take common action and find a certain minimum unity.

We are today, I think, passing through a great crisis. Our values are being eroded from every side, by a kind of pervasive process. There is a certain visible and invisible disintegration of values taking place which we cannot face at one place at all. And, if we have to prevent this, the invisible eroding of the value systems in this country, I think we have to put the common man at the centre of things and direct our attention to him. Then, I feel, everything else will fall in place.

You have given me this very heavy burden of presiding over this august House, I know that it is not easy for me probably to control this House. But I can assure you that as someone who believes in the free play of democratic rights and as someone who believes that from the clash of words and ideas and opinions truth will finally emerge, I would strain every nerve to give full scope for discussion, full scope for expression, to every Member of this House.

But, of course, that has to be within the framework of the rules of the game. And that has also to be controlled, if I may say so, by what Gandhiji used to say, "I obey only one dictator; that is my watch." And, I think, one has to look at the clock also

and obey the clock, if not the rules, if we are to debate. I think, Parliament obviously has to be a very lively place. It cannot be a tame club. It has to be full of excitement, full of debate. Without it, I think, you do not run a Parliament but some other kind of a tame club. And one should welcome such things. Otherwise, it would be very uninteresting to sit here for the Chairman or the Deputy Chairman. I also can assure you that it would be my endeavour, constant endeavour to uphold the rights and privileges and the dignity of this House and every Member of this House because if you do not uphold this dignity, the rights and privileges of this House, then there would not be any platform on which we can erect our edifice of democratic Government. And in this, I hope you will lend me co-operation, support and goodwill in the same way you have offered me such overflowing goodwill and support when you elected me to this high office. I want to thank you for the very generous words, encouraging words you have said today. And I also want to thank you for something which was behind it, the support you gave me for my election to this high office which I had never dreamt of, never.

Thank you all.