#### SPIRIT OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION - POLITY

NEWS: Recently, Lok Sabha Speaker Om Birla addressed the "Parliamentary Action for Social Development and Justice" at the historic 150th Assembly of Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) at Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

• He highlighted "the spirit of the Indian Constitution is to treat all citizens equally, provide them with equal opportunities, and integrate the marginalized and backward sections of society into the 'mainstream of progress."

## **Spirit of the Indian Constitution**

• The Indian Constitution is not just a legal document but embodies the values, aspirations, and ideals of the nation.

"The Constitution is not a mere lawyers' document, it is a vehicle of Life, and its spirit is always the spirit of Age." – B R Ambedkar

- It reflects the **philosophy of justice**, **liberty**, **equality**, **and fraternity** as enshrined in the **Preamble**.
- The spirit of the Constitution lies in its inclusive, welfarist, and democratic nature, ensuring equal opportunities for all citizens.

## **Key Principles of the Constitution's Spirit**

- Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic, Republic
  - **Sovereign**: India is free from external control and has supreme authority over its governance.
  - Socialist: Commitment to reducing inequalities (added by the 42nd Amendment, 1976).
  - Secular: No state religion; equal respect for all faiths (added by the 42nd Amendment, 1976).
  - **Democratic**: Power rests with the people through elected representatives.
  - **Republic**: Head of state (President) is elected, not hereditary.
- Justice (Social, Economic, Political)
  - Social Justice: Removal of discrimination (e.g., abolition of untouchability under Article 17).

- Economic Justice: Reducing wealth disparities (e.g., Directive Principles of State Policy DPSPs).
- Political Justice: Equal voting rights (Universal Adult Franchise).
- Liberty (Thought, Expression, Belief, Faith, Worship)
  - Guaranteed under Fundamental Rights (Articles 19-22).
  - Ensures freedom of speech, religion, and movement.
- Equality (Status & Opportunity)
  - Article 14: Equality before law.
  - Article 15: Prohibition of discrimination.
  - Article 16: Equal opportunity in public employment.
- Fraternity (Unity & Integrity of the Nation)
  - Promotes national integration and dignity of the individual.
  - Fundamental Duties (Article 51A) reinforce this spirit.

# **Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)**

- The IPU, established in **1889**, is the global organization of national parliaments.
- **Vision**: A world where every voice counts, and where parliaments serve the people for peace and development.
- Mission: To promote democratic governance, institutions, and values by:
  - Working with parliaments and parliamentarians
  - Responding to the **needs and aspirations** of people
- Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
  - Offices: New York (USA) and Vienna (Austria)
- Members: 182 National Parliaments
  - Associate Members: 15
  - India: Founding member

• Financing: Primarily funded by Member Parliaments through public funds

# **Constitutional Provisions Reflecting the Spirit**

- Fundamental Rights (Part III): Protect individual freedoms (e.g., Right to Equality, Freedom of Speech).
  - Article 32: Right to Constitutional Remedies ("Heart & Soul of the Constitution" Dr. B.R. Ambedkar).
- Directive Principles of State Policy (Part IV): Welfare state principles (e.g., equal pay for equal work, free legal aid).
  - Article 39A: Free legal aid for the poor.
- Fundamental Duties (Part IV-A)
  - **Article 51A**: Duties like respecting the Constitution, promoting harmony.
- Parliamentary Democracy & Federalism: Balanced Centre-State relations with independent judiciary as arbiter.
  - Judicial Review ensures constitutional supremacy.
- Inclusive Growth & Social Justice: Reservation policies (Articles 15(4), 16(4)) for SCs/STs/OBCs.
  - Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 & Transgender Persons Act, 2019.

# Instances of history when Indian constitutional values has been let down

- The Emergency (1975–77) Breakdown of Constitutional Morality
  - Indira Gandhi's government imposed Emergency under Article 352, suspending Article 21 (Right to Life & Liberty) and Article 19 (Freedom of Speech).
  - Civil liberties were suspended, press was censored, and opposition leaders were jailed.
- Shah Bano Case and Aftermath (1985–86) Undermining Equality and Secularism
  - Shah Bano, a Muslim woman, was granted alimony under Section 125 of CrPC.

- Supreme Court upheld her right, but the government overturned the judgment by enacting the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 under political pressure.
- Caste-Based Violence and Discrimination: Melavalavu Massacre (1997, Tamil Nadu)
  - Elected Dalit panchayat president and five others were **brutally murdered by upper-caste individuals**.
  - The incident symbolized deep-rooted caste hatred and the failure of the State to protect Dalit representation in democratic institutions.
- Section 66A of the IT Act (2000) A Blow to Freedom of Speech
  - Section 66A of the IT Act criminalized vague online speech, leading to arbitrary arrests and stifling dissent.
  - It was struck down in *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India (2015)* for violating Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution.

## **Judicial Interpretations Strengthening the Spirit of the Indian Constitution**

- Basic Structure Doctrine
  - **Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala (1973):** Parliament can amend the Constitution, but **cannot alter its "basic structure"**.
    - Basic structure includes: Supremacy of the Constitution, Rule of Law, Separation of Powers, Judicial Review, and Fundamental Rights.
    - This ruling is a safeguard against authoritarianism and arbitrary power.
  - Preserves the integrity and spirit of the Constitution.
- Expanded Interpretation of Article 21 Right to Life
  - Maneka Gandhi v. Union of India (1978): Interpreted Article 21 to include procedural due process.
    - Right to life = not mere animal existence, but **dignified living**.
  - Francis Coralie Mullin Case (1981): Right to life includes shelter, livelihood, health, education, and dignity.

• Transformed Article 21 into a **reservoir of human rights**.

## Equality & Social Justice

- Indra Sawhney v. Union of India (Mandal Case) (1992): Upheld reservations for OBCs under Article 16(4).
  - Introduced the **creamy layer** concept to protect true beneficiaries.
- State of Tamil Nadu v. K. Shyam Sunder (2011): Upheld uniform quality of education as part of equality (Article 14).
  - Aimed to bridge social and educational disparities.
- Emphasizes inclusive development and affirmative action.
- Public Interest Litigation (PIL) A Social Revolution
  - S.P. Gupta v. Union of India (1981): Relaxed the doctrine of locus standi, enabling PILs.
  - Bandhua Mukti Morcha v. Union of India (1984): Enforced rights of bonded laborers under Article 21.
  - Vishaka v. State of Rajasthan (1997): Laid down guidelines against sexual harassment at the workplace.
  - PILs empowered courts to become guardians of the voiceless and marginalized.

#### Environmental Justice

- MC Mehta series of cases: Introduced polluter pays principle and precautionary principle.
  - Connected right to a clean environment with Article 21.
- Reflected the spirit of intergenerational equity and sustainable development.
- Judicial Review and Constitutional Supremacy
  - Minerva Mills v. Union of India (1980): Reinforced the balance between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles.
    - Struck down parts of the 42nd Amendment as violating the basic structure.

- I.R. Coelho v. State of Tamil Nadu (2007): Judicial review extended to laws placed under the 9th Schedule if they violate fundamental rights.
- Ensures **rule of law and supremacy of the Constitution** over legislative overreach.

# • Gender and LGBTQ Rights

- Navtej Singh Johar v. Union of India (2018): Decriminalized homosexuality (struck down Section 377 IPC).
  - Upheld dignity, equality, and privacy.
- **Joseph Shine v. Union of India** (2018): Struck down **Section 497 IPC** (adultery) as unconstitutional.
- Reinforced individual rights, dignity, and progressive values.
- Right to Privacy as Fundamental Right
  - K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India (2017): Declared Right to Privacy as part of Article 21.
    - Foundation for data protection and informational autonomy.
  - Evolved the Constitution to deal with **21st-century digital challenges**.
- Secularism and Religious Freedom
  - Shayara Bano v. Union of India (2017): Declared Triple Talaq unconstitutional.
    - Upheld gender justice and equality within the framework of religious freedom.
  - Balanced secularism, rights of minorities, and women's empowerment.
- Judiciary as Sentinel on the Qui Vive (Watchful Guardian)
  - The **Supreme Court in multiple cases** has stepped in where executive or legislative actions failed to uphold:
    - Social Justice
    - Accountability
    - Constitutional Governance
  - Justice Bhagwati: "Judges must be judicial statesmen with a social vision and commitment to the Constitution."

## Recent Legislative & Policy Measures Reflecting Constitutional Spirit

- Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS), 2023 Criminal Law Reforms
  - Replaces the colonial Indian Penal Code (IPC), 1860.
  - Focuses on: Justice-oriented framework over punishment-centric law.
    - Defines terrorism, organized crime, and hate crimes.
    - Includes **victim-centric provisions** like zero FIR and mandatory forensic investigation.
  - Strengthens justice delivery, promotes rule of law, aligns with constitutional morality.
- Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS), 2023
  - Replaces the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), 1973.
  - Key Reforms:
    - Mandatory forensic investigation for crimes punishable by 7+ years.
    - Digital FIRs & Zero FIR to improve accessibility.
    - **Time-bound trials** (judgment within 45 days after arguments).
  - Constitutional Link: Ensures speedy justice (Article 21) and police accountability.
- Bharatiya Sakshya Adhiniyam (BSA), 2023
  - Replaces the Indian Evidence Act, 1872.
  - Key Changes: Electronic records (emails, digital contracts) as primary evidence.
    - Expands admissibility of digital evidence (e.g., CCTV, social media posts).
  - Strengthens fair trial rights (Article 20, 21).
- Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019
  - **Prohibits discrimination** in education, employment, healthcare.
  - Mandates welfare measures (e.g., rescue, rehabilitation).
  - Upholds dignity (Preamble) & equality (Articles 14-18).

- Hamara Samvidhan, Hamara Samman Campaign (2024)
  - **Promotes constitutional awareness** (e.g., Preamble reading, legal literacy).
  - Sub-campaigns:
    - Sabko Nyay, Har Ghar Nyay (access to justice).
    - Vidhi Jagriti Abhiyan (legal rights awareness).
  - Constitutional Link: Citizen empowerment (Preamble, Article 51A).
- Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam (106th Constitutional Amendment), 2023
  - Reserves 33% seats for women in Lok Sabha and State Assemblies.
  - Seen as a major step toward **gender justice** and **political empowerment**.
- Ayushman Bharat PM-JAY
  - Provides free health insurance up to ₹5 lakhs to the bottom 40% of India's population.
  - Targets **universal health care** and inclusion of vulnerable populations.
- Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016
  - Expands definition of disability to include **21 conditions**.
  - Provides for non-discrimination, accessibility, education, and employment opportunities.
  - Mandates reservation in education and jobs.
- Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019
  - Recognizes transgender identity and prohibits discrimination.
  - Mandates the government to ensure welfare measures, education, and healthcare access.

## Reflecting Constitutional Ideals through Parliamentary Committees

- **Principle of Separation of Powers:** While the doctrine is not rigidly applied in India, Committees play a key role in maintaining **functional boundaries** between the legislature and executive.
  - Through **oversight functions**, they ensure the **executive remains answerable to the legislature**, preserving institutional checks and balances.

- **Example**: Public Accounts Committee (PAC) audits government expenditure using CAG reports, ensuring financial discipline.
- Rule of Law: Committees scrutinize laws and executive actions, reinforcing that all actions must conform to the Constitution and legal norms.
  - Their **non-partisan**, **evidence-based** approach helps prevent arbitrary law-making and promotes **legislative integrity**.
  - **Example**: Standing Committees often send Bills back with legal and constitutional concerns, leading to revisions or withdrawal.
- Democratic Ideals: Representation and Participation: Committees include members from across parties and states, ensuring broad-based representation and reducing majoritarian dominance.
  - Provide a forum for **in-depth debate**, deliberation, and consultation, promoting **participative democracy**.
  - **Example**: Deliberation in the Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution often involves civil society stakeholders and NGOs.
- Social Justice and Equality: Committees review schemes and bills targeting weaker sections—SCs, STs, OBCs, women, minorities—aligning with the constitutional mandate of justice (social, economic, political).
  - Ensure equitable allocation of resources and scrutinize affirmative action policies.
  - **Example**: Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes investigates implementation gaps in welfare schemes.
- **Federalism:** With members drawn from across states, Committees allow **regional concerns** to be voiced in national policy-making.
  - Acts as a **bridge** between Centre and States in legislative matters, particularly in Union-State subjects.
  - **Example**: Department-related committees bring together MPs from all states to discuss centrally sponsored schemes, ensuring a federal lens.
- Transparency and Accountability: Committees foster institutional accountability by reviewing the functioning of ministries and departments.
  - Their reports are laid before Parliament and are often debated, thus promoting **transparency in governance**.
  - **Example**: The Committee on Public Undertakings evaluates efficiency and integrity of PSUs.

- Constitutional Morality and Ethical Governance: Encourage adherence to constitutional values like fraternity, secularism, and probity in public life.
  - Through **privileges committees** and **ethics panels**, they ensure that public representatives uphold the dignity of Parliament and public trust.

# **Challenges to the Constitutional Spirit**

- Executive Dominance over Legislature
  - Parliamentary Committees sidelined: A declining trend in referring Bills to committees undermines detailed scrutiny and deliberation.
    - In the 17th Lok Sabha (2019–2024), less than 16% of bills were referred to committees.
  - **Ordinance route**: Frequent use of ordinances bypasses legislative debate, diluting parliamentary sovereignty (Article 123 misuse).
  - Whip culture: Stifles independent thought and reduces MPs to rubber stamps, contrary to the idea of **free and reasoned debate**.

## • Politicization and Partisanship

- Committees often face **political bias in appointments** and functioning, limiting objective analysis.
- Deliberations sometimes reflect **party lines** instead of public interest, weakening the **non-partisan ideal** of committees.

## • Lack of Binding Authority

- Committee recommendations are advisory, not binding.
- The **executive may ignore suggestions**, especially if politically inconvenient, reducing committees to symbolic relevance.

## • Poor Attendance and Lack of Debate

- Many MPs skip committee meetings, and discussions are not always substantive.
- Affects the quality of reports and violates the principle of **effective legislative** participation.

#### Judicial Overreach and Activism

• At times, courts are accused of encroaching into legislative and executive domains (e.g. guidelines issued in the absence of laws).

- This **disturbs the separation of powers** (a basic structure of the Constitution) and reflects **judicial adventurism**.
- However, judicial intervention is sometimes necessary when other branches fail to act (e.g. Vishaka Guidelines, 1997).

# • Weakening of Federalism

- Centralization of power (especially in fiscal matters post-GST and with central agencies) erodes **cooperative federalism**.
- States often lack a significant say in national policy decisions, which contradicts the **federal structure envisaged in the Constitution**.

# • Inadequate Empowerment of Committees

- Parliamentary Committees lack expert staff and technical resources.
- Many committee reports are **delayed** or **lack follow-up action**, undermining **accountability mechanisms**.

## • Undermining Institutional Ethics

- As per ADR (2024), over 44% of MPs in the current Lok Sabha face criminal charges, undermining institutional integrity.
- The **Ethics Committees** have limited enforcement powers, impacting the commitment to **constitutional morality**.

## Public Apathy and Awareness Deficit

- Citizens often lack awareness about **committee proceedings or their significance**.
- This reduces **external pressure on the system** to maintain high standards of accountability and performance.

## • Legislative Vacuum and Judicial Compensations

- In several areas (e.g., data protection, hate speech), **delay in legislative** action has led to the judiciary stepping in.
- Despite multiple SC observations (e.g., **criminal candidates**, **electoral bonds**), the **Parliament has not acted adequately**, leaving the judiciary to fill policy gaps.

# Way Forward for Preserving the Constitutional Spirit

- Strengthen Committee Systems Statutorily: Provide legal backing to Parliamentary Committees to ensure mandatory referral of major Bills and implementation tracking of recommendations.
  - Legal backing for mandatory scrutiny (e.g., UK's House of Commons Standing Orders mandate committee review for all Bills).
- **Promote Deliberative Democracy:** Ensure **mandatory debate** on key committee reports in Parliament; improve **public consultations** and expert inputs in committee processes.
  - **Mandatory debate** on key reports (e.g., Sweden's Riksdag debates all committee findings).
- Balance Institutional Powers: Enforce institutional discipline to maintain separation of powers; judiciary must exercise self-restraint, and executive must uphold parliamentary accountability.
  - Follow UK's Ministerial Code, where ministers resign for misleading Parliament.
- Enhance Transparency and Public Access: Live telecast or digital publication of important committee proceedings can boost awareness and public pressure for ethical governance.
  - An example of **enhancing transparency is India's Sansad TV**, which broadcasts live parliamentary proceedings and committee meetings to the public.
- Curb Politicization and Ensure Ethical Oversight: Appoint neutral chairpersons, empower Ethics Committees, and crack down on conflict of interest and absenteeism among MPs.
  - Adopt Germany's Bundestag model, where senior MPs chair committees impartially.
- Revive Federal Balance: Strengthen Inter-State Council and GST Council, ensure states' participation in national decision-making, especially during crises.
  - **GST Council's consensus model** worked well initially—expand it to health/education policies.
- Empower Citizens and Civil Society: Encourage citizen-led audits, RTI activism, and PILs to hold institutions accountable, ensuring constitutional ideals percolate to the grassroots.
  - SC's Shreya Singhal (2015) struck down Section 66A IT Act due to PILs—more such interventions needed.

# Conclusion

The **spirit of the Indian Constitution** lies in its vision of a **just, democratic, and inclusive society**. To preserve this spirit, institutions must function within their constitutional limits while remaining responsive to the aspirations of the people they serve.

Source: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/in-recent-years-parliament-has-passed-several-laws-that-promote-social-justice-inclusion-lok-sabha-speaker/article69419682.ece