

[श्री हेम राज]

की आमदनी बहुत ज्यादा है। इस से बात यह होती है कि जहां हम देश में कास्टलेस और क्रीडलेस सोसायटी पैदा करना चाहते हैं वहां बजाय उस के हम वसूली तौर पर और अमली तौर पर दूसरी तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं। यहां पर कास्टलेस और क्रीडलेस सोसाइटी के बजाए जाति पांत बढ़ रही है। अभी हाल के इलेक्शनों में हम नें इसको देख लिया।

सन् १९४७ में हालत यह थी कि हम उस वक्त नेशनलिज्म के नाम पर इलेक्शन लड़ते थे। सन् १९५१ में हमारी हालत यह हो गयी कि जाति पांति के बन्धन में आ गये और जो जीत का स्लोगन उठता था वह यह होता था कि जाति पांत की बिना पर जीतना है। सन् १९५७ के चुनावों में चूँकि कुछ लोगों को कुछ सहूलियतें मिली हुई थीं इसलिये और भी ज्यादा जाति पांति बढ़ी और बढ़ती चली गयी। उस के बाद आप आज के इलेक्शन देखें। इन में तो जाति पांत की बिना पर ही हमारी चीज चलायी गयी। हर रोज जाति पांति बढ़ने की ही तरफ है, कम नहीं हो रही है।

मैं आप के सामने यह तस्वीर रखना चाहता हूँ कि जो तरीका हम ने अस्तियार किया हुआ है उस से जाति पांत बढ़ रही है। यह बन्द होना चाहिये। आज मैं पंजाब का उदाहरण आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पंजाब में बहुत सारी जातियां हैं

An Hon. Member: Sir, it is already past 5 P.M. (Interruptions).

Shri Hem Raj: If I am elected, I shall speak on this resolution in the next Parliament.

Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta-East): But it will lapse.

17.02 hrs.

VALEDICTORY REFERENCES

Mr. Speaker: I am extremely happy that the House is full. Mr. Prime Minister, and Members of the Lok Sabha, this is the last day of the sitting of the Second Lok Sabha. We have completed the proceedings today. Before the House is adjourned *sine die*, I wish to express my grateful thanks to the hon. Members of this House for the kind co-operation that they gave me in getting through our work during all these years harmoniously.

In particular, I must thank the hon. Leader of the House for his kind goodwill towards me throughout. His great regard for parliamentary democracy, for parliamentary procedure and conventions has been a source of strength to all of us. He is one of the tallest men of the present day, if not the tallest. It is our good fortune and the good fortune of the country and the Parliament that the leadership has been entrusted to his hands.

I am equally thankful to the Leaders of the various Opposition Groups and other Members on both sides of the House for having contributed in no small degree to the successful functioning of the Second Lok Sabha. It is a pity that the Leaders of the various Groups, or most of them, are absent, and will be absent from the next Parliament.

I am thankful to my hon. friend the Hon. Deputy-Speaker, the Panel of Chairmen, and the chairmen of the various committees, and all the officers of the Lok Sabha for having worked with me in a harmonious relationship and contributed to the growth of democracy.

Freedom itself was won in a unique manner in our country from a mighty Empire by peaceful means without shedding a single drop of blood. We

have achieved this by bringing about unity among all sections of our country.

There are, unfortunately, fissiparous tendencies rearing up their heads here and there now. Emotional and other integration is, therefore, the need of the hour.

Following closely upon our success in our struggle for freedom, other countries in Asia and Africa have also become free. As in the case of fighting for freedom, we are making a unique experiment in democracy also in this country. We have adopted the parliamentary system of Great Britain and adapted it to a federal structure. Many conflicts can easily arise between the States and the Centre. We have in this Parliament been able to resolve all such conflicts and have allowed autonomy to the States to grow consistent with strength in the Centre.

Parliament has also been vigilant in the discharge of its duties in maintaining and safeguarding the Constitution. Though in a few cases now and then it had to assume charge of the government of States, it tried to avoid doing so as far as possible. When a conflagration was likely to occur and there was a likelihood of the constitutional machinery breaking down, Parliament handled the situation carefully by entrusting the Speaker with the task of appointing a Committee of Members of Parliament to investigate and report to the House the causes for that conflagration, the situation then and the remedies to be adopted to avoid a recurrence. The supervisory jurisdiction of Parliament was exercised with great caution and the autonomy of the States was never interfered with.

Further, to spread the spirit of democracy decentralisation of power has been undertaken and the panchayat rap, as it is called, has proved successful. We are glad to see that parliamentary practice and procedure is adopted to a large extent in the

deliberations of the panchayat samitis and zilla parishads.

Three elections have gone off successfully and peacefully in our country and the voting strength has been steadily increasing during these three elections. During the last elections, in February 1962, as many as 210 millions were the voters and 60 to 70 per cent went to the polls, and there was not a single unhappy incident. The elections revealed that the Parliament is a truly representative body having representatives drawn from all shades of political thought.

In the membership of the Second Lok Sabha, the youngest Member was 25 years old and the oldest 73; the average age worked out to 46 years. The new entrants numbered 263 in membership with an average age of 42 years. In the Second Lok Sabha, lawyers constituted 30 per cent of the Members, agriculturists 29 per cent; the percentage of traders and industrialists was 10 and that of teachers 11. There was a happy blending of the old with new and the vigour of the youth combined with the experience of the older members.

We have passed as many as 325 Government Bills. As many as 70 Private Members' Bills were discussed. The most outstanding enactment in the field of agriculture during the Second Lok Sabha seems to be the Delhi Land Ceilings Act. In the field of social legislation, the anti-dowry Act was the most outstanding one. For the first time in the history of our Parliament, we had a joint sitting of both the Houses on that Bill.

The increasing amount of interest taken by Members on matters of public importance pertaining to various governmental activities has been reflected in the number of questions that has been tabled. The total number of questions admitted during this period was 63,641. 107 half-an-hour discussions were also held. I must congratulate all on having strengthened democracy in our land and made

[Mr. Speaker]

it the object lesson for others to copy. In the words of President Eisenhower, who addressed a mass gathering in the Ram Lilla Grounds, our democracy is the foremost democracy in the world, and even the USA comes only next to it. We must, however, be very careful in dealing with this delicate mechanism as in all parts of Asia and even in some States in Europe, democracy has since become a casualty.

During these five years, I have constantly attempted to enhance the power and prestige of Parliament and make it the supreme forum for the expression of the people's will. I hope and trust that in the years to come, our Parliament will be a model for others to copy not only in our land, but in the rest of the world as well.

It must be said to the credit of the Government that during this period, we have added to our territory by the acquisition of Goa.

In the field of economic activity, we have successfully gone through the Second Five Year Plan and have embarked upon the Third. I hope that the Third one will also be equally successful and that Parliament and every Member thereof will contribute his mite to national consolidation and to the growth of economic prosperity.

Let us remember that in addition to having won freedom by peaceful means, we have liquidated the Rajas and Maharajas equally peacefully. We have also removed the zamindari system peacefully; and we have introduced the socialist pattern of society peacefully. Our contribution, therefore, not only to ourselves but to the rest of the world, is the message of peace. Let all the proceedings in Parliament be conducted with decorum and absolutely peacefully. That is the one thing that we can contribute to the rest of the world.

I thank you once again for the hearty co-operation that you gave to

crown the activities of the second Parliament with success and benefit to the community.

The Prime Minister and Leader of the House (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the House I venture to offer you our grateful thanks for what you have said. But, it is something more than that. We have become accustomed to you for so many years as the Speaker of this House that if we speak of the Speaker, inevitably your picture comes before our minds; and it will continue to come whether someone else occupied this high office or not.

You have been Speaker here at a very important and formative period of our Parliament; and we have learnt much from you; and sometimes taken mild exception though, naturally, it has to be a silent exception to what you decided.

Democracy, as you have just now said, is the hallmark of India at present. But democracy does not consist of 210 million people voting. Democracy, ultimately, is a way of life, a way of reacting to circumstances, a way of thinking and a way of putting up with the things we dislike even. And, I think, on the whole, we have done fairly well. I cannot say that we have not erred. That would be too much to say. But, considering everything, we have done rather well; and considering the state of the world today when every other day we read about *coup d'etat*s in various countries, it is surprising how we have carried on our normal way.

We come here at 11 o'clock and you are in the Chair; the Marshal announces that you are coming; we stand up to respect you and you take up questions and so the conventions go on. There is something in convention; something in the repetition of a certain procedure. It shows a certain stability; it shows what is going to come next. And so, we have functioned in this way and presumably, we shall continue to function in this way.

In this matter, you Sir, and your predecessor Shri Mavalankar, have laid down these conventions and moulded them. And, we are, therefore, very grateful to you for this. It may be that this is the last time that you preside over Parliament as Speaker. It is always a little difficult to say words of parting. Parting cannot be, of course, because, whatever high office you may occupy, you will be near us; you will be working for the same cause for which you have worked throughout your life. Only you will be working in a different way. Still, we have become so used to your sitting in that high Chair that we shall miss you very greatly and miss even the things which we, in private, sometimes criticised, because whatever you have done here you have done in goodwill and friendship, meaning ill to none in this House and that is an important thing. Whenever we shall think of Speakers, your name will always come up before us, first of all. And so all we can do now is to offer you our thanks and our congratulations on your period as a Speaker of this Parliament and to hope that you will continue to serve the cause that you have at heart and we have at heart for long years to come and to hope that your successor, whoever it might be, when the time comes for him also to retire from that high office, would also carry the abundance of goodwill such as you are doing. So, on behalf of this House, I wish to convey to you our good wishes for the future and our hope that you will be long spared to serve the country and to co-operate with us in Parliament or elsewhere in the great works we have undertaken. You have mentioned some of these in your closing remarks. They are no doubt very big tasks. The mere size of India makes whatever we do big. But what is more important is the quality of what we do and I believe that whether we may have erred or not now and then, we have aimed at quality and if we have not succeeded

in the full measure that we would like to succeed, we have succeeded in a fair measure and in the world as it is today that success is something to be proud of. So, we shall have with us your good wishes and if you are not sitting in that Chair, I have an idea that your shadow will be somewhere near about it, guiding us, and wherever you may be, you will be thinking of how the Lok Sabha is functioning.

I hope, Sir, that these few words that I have said—they are simple words and I have not endeavoured to say anything in rich language—will convey to you the warmth of feeling and warmth of heart that goes with it, not only of some of us but of all of us here. And I hope that you will whatever high office you may adorn, keep the ideals you have had before you and train our people to live up to them.

So, Mr. Speaker—perhaps for the last time I address you as Mr. Speaker, it is rather sad.

Every kind of parting has an element of sadness in it. It breaks continuity. As they say in a French, saying, to part is in a sense to die a little. We die, put an end to something, and so, in a sense, we are putting an end to a phase of our existence which has stood up because of your presence here as Speaker.

We shall go on, of course, because men may come and men may go, but Parliaments and countries go on. That is how we have looked upon it. Individuals count, but ultimately, it is not the individual but the nation or the institution that counts. We shall go on, and others will come after us. But, I think, whoever may come after us will remember this period of our early years and you, our guiding spirit, Mr. Speaker.

17.22 hrs.

Mr. Speaker: The House is adjourned sine die.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned sine die.