

17 01 hrs

PONDICHERRY BUDGET, 1979-80 —
 GENERAL DISCUSSION, DEMANDS
 FOR, GRANTS ON ACCOUNT
 (PONDICHERRY), 1979-80, AND
 SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR
 GRANTS (PONDICHERRY),
 1978-79

MR CHAIRMAN The House will
 now take up (i) General Discussion
 of the Pondicherry Budget for 1979-80,
 (ii) discussion on the Demands for
 Grants on Account (Pondicherry) for
 1979-80, and (iii) discussion on the
 Supplementary Demands for Grants
 (Pondicherry) for 1978-79 All the
 three items are to be discussed to-
 gether

If the House agrees, 2 hours might
 be allotted for discussion of these
 items, as suggested by Government

SOME HON MEMBERS Yes, yes

MR CHAIRMAN Then we will
 have two hours for this discussion

Motion moved.

"That the respective sums not ex-
 ceeding the amounts on Revenue
 Account and Capital Account shown
 in the third column of the Order
 Paper, be granted to the President
 out of the Consolidated Fund of the
 Union Territory of Pondicherry,
 on account, for or towards defraying
 the charges during the year ending
 on the 31st day of March, 1980, in
 respect of the heads of demands
 entered in the second column there-
 of against Demands Nos 1 to 33."

*Demands for Grants (on Account) (Union Territory of Pondicherry) for 1979-80, submitted to the
 Vote of Lok Sabha*

No of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account to be submitted to the Vote of the House
1	2	3
		Revenue Rs Capital Rs
1	Legislative Assembly	2,69,000 ..
2	Administrator	5 000
3	Council of Ministers	90,000
4	Administration of Justice	9,63,000
5	Elections	2,78,000
6	Revenue	32,25,000 .
7	Sales Tax	4,60,000 .
8	Taxes on Vehicles	1,60,000
9	Secretariat	18,20,000 .

1	2	3
	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
10 District Administration	41,61,000	10,25,000
11 Treasury and Accounts Administration	9,11,000	..
12 Police	50,26,000	..
13 Jails	2,75,000	..
14 Stationery and Printing	8,09,000	..
15 Miscellaneous Administrative General Services	14,85,000	..
16 Retirement Benefits	26,06,000	..
17 Public Works	2,32,28,000	1,22,04,000
18 Education	2,64,11,000	15,000
19 Medical	1,61,45,000	..
20 Information and Publicity	8,70,000	..
21 Labour and Employment	14,38,000	..
22 Social Welfare	72,74,000	8,000
23 Co-operation	20,61,000	20,20,000
24 Miscellaneous General Economic Services	4,35,000	..
25 Agriculture	65,81,000	2,88,000
26 Animal Husbandry	22,49,000	..
27 Fisheries	25,20,000	5,000
28 Community Development	35,72,000	1,50,000
29 Industries	9,23,000	27,20,000
30 Food and Nutrition	2,64,000	..
31 Electricity	1,68,46,000	1,24,75,000
32 Ports and Pilotage	2,93,000	1,23,000
33 Loans to Government Servants	—	49,07,000

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the respective Supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the third column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the Union Territory of Pondicherry to defray

the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1978, in respect of the following demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demands Nos. 4, 7 to 12 and 16 to 33."

*Supplementary Demands for Grants (Union Territory of Pondicherry) for 1978-79 submitted to the
Vote of Lok Sabha*

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the Vote of the House	
1	2	3	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
4	Administration of Justice	32,000	—
7	Sales Tax	10,000	—
8	Taxes on Vehicles	53,000	—
9	Secretariat	90,000	—
10	District Administration	14,04,000	2,60,000
11	Treasury and Accounts Administration	86,000	—
12	Police	5,92,000	—
16	Retirement Benefits	3,88,000	—
17	Public Works	25,06,000	3,83,000
18	Education	21,84,000	—
19	Medical	6,23,000	—
20	Information and Publicity	1,21,000	—
21	Labour and Employment	1,46,000	—
22	Social Welfare	6,07,000	75,000
23	Co-operation	—	37,53,000
24	Miscellaneous General Economic Services	15,000	—
25	Agriculture	2,43,000	5,60,000
26	Animal Husbandry	—	1,27,000
27	Fisheries	12,33,000	—
28	Community Development	11,06,000	1,35,000
29	Industries	53,000	10,37,000
30	Food and Nutrition	27,000	—
31	Electricity	25,24,000	51,35,000
32	Ports and Pilotage	8,000	—
33	Loans to Government Servants	—	75,49,000

MR CHAIRMAN Shri Banatwalla.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Pon-
nani) I beg to move

"That the Demand for Grant on
Account under the head 'Adminis-
trator' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Need for categorical assurance
that the administrative status
of Pondicherry will not be
changed without ascertaining
the wishes of the people
through proper referendum
(1)].

"That the demand for Grant of
Account under the head 'Adminis-
trator' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Utterances of the Prime Minister
for merger of Pondicherry
with neighbouring States
without reference to the opin-
ion of people through referen-
dum leading to widespread
popular agitation (2)]

"That the Demand for Grant on
Account under the head 'Adminis-
trator' be reduced to Re. 1"

[Need for adequate compensation
to the victims of brutal police
atrocities in January, 1979
(3)]

"That the Demand for Grant on
Account under the head 'Adminis-
tration of Justice' be reduced to
Re. 1."

[Failure to hold judicial enquiry
into brutal Police atrocities
in January, 1979 (5)]

"That the Demand for Grant on
Account under the head 'Police' be
reduced to Re. 1"

[Frivolous prosecutions of the
leaders and protagonists of the
anti-merger movement and
the need to withdraw such
'framed' cases (7)]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The cut motions
are before the House. According to
the list with me, Shri Swaminathan

has to speak first. Shri A. Bala Paja-
nor, the hon. Member from Pondi-
cherry has expressed a desire to speak
first, as he is from Pondicherry.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN
(Madurai): Yes, let him speak

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Pondi-
cherry): Mr Chairman, Sir, I am
thankful to you for giving me this
opportunity to initiate the discussion
on the Pondicherry Budget. At the
same time I also thank the hon. Mem-
ber, who has consented for my speak-
ing first on the budget, and draw the
attention of the House as also of the
country to the very bad state of affairs
that exist in that territory.

At the outset, I would like to ex-
press my unhappiness that when I
speak on this occasion, I see the Minis-
ter of State for Home Affairs is very
badly missing from the Treasury
Benches. I am sure, the hon. Minis-
ter for Finance, Shri Satish Agarwal
cannot answer the very vital question
that I am going to raise. And on this
question, I have the support of the
various hon Members, whom I have
consulted earlier.

Then, another thing that I have been
repeating rhetorically for the past
five years in this august House is that
the discussion on Pondicherry has be-
come a routine affair and a formal
exercise and is meant only to meet
the constitutional requirement as
correctly stated by the Finance Minis-
ter.

This year, the discussion on Pondi-
cherry requires to be taken up serious-
ly and a greater attention is needed
to be paid to the position of this
Union Territory, situated in a remote
corner of our country. I expected
that the Prime Minister will be pre-
sent or at least his representative will
be present in the house
to give an assurance to the
people of Pondicherry and clear their
doubts and remove the confusion that
has been created in that tiny territory

with a good historical and cultural past. I was thankful to my hon. friend Shri Vayalar Ravi and others when they raised the question of division on the earlier Bill a little while ago, and many hon. Members were forced to come to the House, and I was having a fond hope that they would remain here to participate in this discussion so that they could understand what this territory is, what is going to happen to this territory. And what is going to happen to this territory will happen to other territories also if an autocratic regime is allowed to rule this country in future.

As I said, Pondicherry is in a very bad state of affairs today. Many hon. Members who had promised to extend their support to Pondicherry are unfortunately not present here. They seem to be more interested in a Bill that is being discussed in the other House, the Special Courts Bill, meant to prosecute a person. People seem to be interested in individuals; interested in prosecuting and penalising others, but they are not at all interested in the welfare of the people at large. That is our misfortune. I now rise to speak on this Budget. As I said earlier, I want to say that there is a very big turmoil in my Territory. You know pretty well that this Territory is being represented by a solitary Member viz. myself, though ours is a very big party which is very strong, and which is the 3rd or 4th biggest Opposition party in this House.

The President's rule was imposed there for reasons best known to this Government. These people proclaimed from the house-tops that they were against horse-trading, and that they were for democracy. But the very same people, through their party which is in the Opposition there, has done horse-trading. On this day, I am not going to discuss it. I will reserve it for some other occasion, because this matter is a very solemn and a very serious thing for the people of Pondicherry.

We people, numbering 6 lakhs, are now being crushed, in our thinking. And the matter has come to such a level as if we are fighting for our own freedom. Without taking our consent and bypassing all the sacred treaties, people here in Delhi and at other places talk about the merger question. I have to deal with that aspect first, viz. how this is going to be dealt with, and how you are going to answer us and the people there, and the people with whom you had made that treaty. If it is a dictatorial regime, we will not have any question to put, because we will be certain that their word will be the law, and we will be the last persons to question it, and to expect a democratic decision from it. But you are the persons who tell the world and every individual in this country that you stand for democracy, you will always stand by democracy and will always respect the aspirations and wishes of the people. So, I expect this Government (under the leadership of the great Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai and his team of Ministers, to come forward and tell my people that they will not do anything against their wishes—which has been solemnly assured in the two treaties of the past.

Before I enter into it, let me briefly narrate the history of the Territory of Pondicherry. When you got your Independence in 1947—I am sure many Members will not be knowing it, they must be thinking that Pondicherry also got Independence in 1947. It was not so—only Chandernagore got itself out of the clutches of the French regime and joined the State of West Bengal. But there were the other 4 *contuwaras*, all falling in the coastal areas of this great country, viz. Yanam, in Andhra Pradesh, Pondicherry and Karaikal in Tamil Nadu, and Mahe and Pallur in Kerala. They were the constituents of the Pondicherry Territory which were agitating for their freedom from French rule—though we had a better freedom than the people who were

ruled by the British in those days From 1874 onwards this Territory was conquered and ruled by the French, but in 1947, we could not get out of the clutches of the French rule, we remained under it, and we were not able to do much at that time, but had to wait upto 1954 When *de facto* transfer took place When I talk about *de facto* transfer, I have to say that the then Prime Minister of French Mr Mendes France and our late revered Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru entered into an agreement in October 1954 and the *de facto* transfer took place, in effect, from 1st Novembr 1954 From 1954 to 1962 the state of the Territory of Pondicherry was very nebulous The *de facto* transfer took place only in 1962 At that time we entered into another treaty with the same French Government and that is called the *de jure* transfer It was in November 1962 Even to get the decree of *de jure* transfer, it took 8 years But now in one stroke it is said that Pondicherry will be merged with the neighbouring States

Why do I recite these historic facts? It is not to remind you of anything, but to make you at least understand things and do some homework before you utter something which can take away the precious lives of my beloved people in the Territory

I am sorry to say that it is very easy to make some remarks from the house-top but it is very difficulty for you to give back life to my people who have lost it to save their territory identity and self protection Why I say this? When this treaty was entered into, I want to remind some of the hon Members that in 1952 when *de facto* transfer took place we were not Indian citizens, because I belonged to the category of renaissance which you may not be aware of In 1962 only we became Indian nationals as far as the category like mine is concerned It may be jocular thing it may be a surprising thing to note that I had finished my

MA in 1957 I was not permitted to sit for the IAS examination, because, they said, at that time, that I was not an Indian national We were all considered as foreigners in those days Only after 1962, we were allowed to do so I am not sorry for it because I have not become such a glorified man in that position But I am happy with this But I want to make or bring home to you what prevented in those days from 1954 to 1962 It was a question of two countries sovereign nations France and India entered into an amicable agreement to make this territory the contuwards to come into the main line in a democratic in a constitutional and a pucca manner It took eight years for them Then, thereafter also, they have made clear and categorical statements in the two agreements If you see in the 1954 *de facto* agreement you will find that article 1 is itself very clear I quote from article 1 agreement between the Government of India and the Government of France for the settlement of the question of the future of the foreign establishments French establishments in India signed on the 31st October 1954

With effect from November First 1954 the Government of India has taken over the administration of the territory of the French establishments in India These establishments will keep the benefit of the special administrative status which was in force prior to the *de facto* transfer Any constitutional changes in this status which may be made subsequently shall be made after ascertaining the wishes of the people

It is not maybe made it shall be made after ascertaining the wishes of the people This is a categorical thing that was gone into in 1954 But after 8 years of negotiations after 3 years of understanding, after 8 years of better exchange of views between the then French Prime Minister and our great revered leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—you see in the end of the signature of

the then Ambassador S. Ostrorog—along with Kirpal Singh signed in 1962 this thing. This clause is not given a go by. You take 1962 agreement. What was article 1 had become article 2 in 1962 transfer *de jure* on 16th August, 1962. Article 2 reads as follows.

“These establishment will keep the benefit of the special administrative status which was in force prior to the First November 1954. Any constitutional changes in this status which may be made subsequently shall be made after ascertaining the wishes of the people.”

It is not that your wish is to be made. If you have any respect for the treaties that are entered into, if you have any respect for the democratic values or if you have any request for the wishes of the people, it can be met only after ascertaining the wishes of the people of that area not wishes of the people in Delhi, not the wishes of the people elsewhere by the neighbouring States, not the wishes of certain individuals who think for the great country, for the great cause. Why I specify it? Why I put special attention on these two clauses is this. Now you have seen that Pondicherry has risen as one man without any difference. There are no two thinking on this question of merger at all. There is not a single person who can speak against it. All are one in this aspect, forgetting their political differences. They are one in this aspect. All the people from Pondicherry are one and they say that they want to maintain their identity, they want to maintain their self-respect. But people from outside talk something else. But there were some strong stories about many persons. I do concede that. But it is natural for the people to believe them, when they are in an agitated mood, when they are very much worried about their future, when they are thinking about their next day. Naturally, they are bound to believe in rumours. But who are the persons who are for this trouble there? Why have you unnecessarily created a problem? Why have you

created a problem and still keeping quite? Now I beg of the Government to come forward and say categorically—I am not saying to you that you should come forward and say “We will not merge it for ever and ever”—but you must categorically state, as per this agreement that “We will not merge these territories unless we take the consent of the people.” Otherwise you are not fit to be a democratic government, you cannot call yourself Janata Government in this country. So, I charge these people on this question to take a serious note of it. But you fail to do your home work, as I said earlier. Please go through the discussions in 1963 when the Union Territories Bills were passed. There is not much time for me, it may take four hours. But I will say the relevant portion. At that time, our great Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Home Minister. What was the discussion going on at that time? The same questions were raised. But I am sorry to say that some of the political parties which now try to clamour, were very vehement in making these territories merge with the neighbouring States. We are thankful to our great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who came to Pondicherry and Karaikkal twice, who understood the feelings of the people who worked for the independence of this territory, and who said, “The identity of the territory will be maintained. The special status for Pondicherry will be kept for ever, until the people wish for a change.” That is the reason why Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri moved the Union Territories Bills in 1963. At that time it was asked, why not merge it? I am sorry to say that some of the greatest protagonists who now talk about it for their own political self-interests—I do not want to depict them—they wanted merger at that time, but the great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stood by it and said, the territory must be separate. At that time it was argued that at a future date, sometime later on these territories must merge with the neighbouring States. Then also it was argued, why should these territories have their

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own identity? When will they merge? There also Shastriji was very clear in his answers. He created a small confusion there in the Rajya Sabha. Then it came to the Lok Sabha also. Then he said, later on it will be merged. Then he said, consent of the people will be taken. When Shri Vasudevan Nair and Shri Bhuvesh Gupta and some other hon. members in the other House raised the question it was made clear that it would be kept as a separate territory and any change would be made only after the people give their consent for that. Till that time, it will not be done. How the consent is to be ascertained, the *modus operandi* for that, will be worked out later on. This they thought of not today but in 1963. In 1973 we say that it should be merged, it should be amalgamated, it should be annihilated, it must join with the neighbouring States. But for what? The reasons given by Shastriji in those days were clear. It had a different cultural identity in the past. It is economically backward because they never got independence in 1947. They may be a misfit in the neighbouring States. Thirdly, we have to develop the art and preserve the culture of these Union Territories, especially Pondicherry, which had its own very rich heritage. Pandit Nehru himself said, this is a window to the world and the French culture has well mixed up in this territory.

On this occasion I want to remind the House what is the speciality about Pondicherry. Many people ask about it. The specially about Bala Pajanor may be that he is 6' 1 1/2', that is all. But Pondy has a different culture. Many members of the House condemn the bureaucratic tendencies in this country. But it was very much missing and it was not at all there in Pondy. Why? Because what the great Rousseau said—'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'—these were nourished in our territory. Your great Aurobindo took shelter in my territory. My father gave him shelter. Your

great poet, Bharati, who fought for the independence of this country took shelter in my house. I take the credit for it. My father, with Gandhiji, worked for the independence of this country. In those days, when you could not open your mouth, when you could not fight for the independence of the country, Pondy gave shelter. Don't forget that. That is the matter which you are forgetting today. When Pondy aspires for its independence you are denying it. Why? I want to place it on record. I want a categorical answer from the Home Minister and from the Prime Minister also. Pondy has its own culture now. In Pondy we never had the feeling of high-ups and low-ups. The top-most judge, before entering the court to preside over it will shake hands with the peon and then go to the top. He will never assume airs that he belongs to a different category. Now you have brought this liability to the Union Territory, the great liability which you inherited from the British, the bureaucratic mentality of being a big boss or big brother. You would not talk to a chaprasi. You won't talk to the clerk, you won't talk to the Superintendent, you won't talk to the assistant IAS men. This unwanted bureaucratic system you were trying to inject even into Pondicherry after the merger took place. But I am proud to claim that even after all your efforts we are able to maintain our special culture. This culture I want not only to go upto Kanyakumari but also come upto Kashmir. This is what Pondicherry possesses which you fail to understand. You say what is Pondicherry, it is a tiny territory finish it up. If you do any moral reform or any good for the people of Pondicherry

I welcome it. Please remember the day when I first entered in this august House in 1974. In the maiden speech I said, if you talk of merging the State, woe upto you—some Members from Kerala said that—because Pondicherry people are aspiring for statehood. Consistently I have been repeating in this august House, that you must give

more powers to our State. I have been asking for statehood, a High Court, university, an airport and everything for Pondicherry like any other territory. I have been asking these things not only for Pondicherry but for other territories also like Goa, Daman and Diu, Manipur Mizoram and others. But when I ask for food, all of a sudden, you say 'I will deny you even water' which is very necessary for the existence of the people. Is it democracy? Is it generosity? Is this the thing that you are going to teach other people? When I talk, some Members may perhaps think that after all, it is affecting Pondicherry, what is going to happen. I may not be the beneficiary because for the past 26 years I have been in Madras. But I hail from Pondicherry. My people are in Pondicherry. I represent Pondicherry. It is my duty to fight for my people. It is my duty to present the case of my people in a correct perspective so that you will understand. What happens to Pondicherry may happen to any State. If you allow this tendency to grow just because somebody thinks that this has to be done or this should be done, woe unto you. I am not warning. I am not a prophet or saint to warn you but woe unto you. As a political figure I can tell you that this will happen to other States also. That is the reason why Chinese attacked us and did some damage to our country. What is good in our country is also good outside. What is bad in our country, it also bad outside. It is not only a question of sentiments but you have to understand the problems of the people from our side, not from your side as we are trying to understand your problems from your side. Please, for Heaven's sake, try to understand our problems from our side. So, I appeal to you to put an end to this. I agree with the Prime Minister when he said that it was a personal remark. Some press people asked him and he said it. But afterwards, why are you keeping quiet when agitation took

place, when we lost several precious lives and property? Even my life was in danger but I was not sorry for it because in an agitated mood, my people would be like that they do not know what is happening. Some miscreants might have created some misunderstanding. That is no problem at all. But I want to go with the main life of my people, with the spirit of my people, with the aspirations of my people. In that they say: Bala, please save us from the demon of their thinking. I never moved any motion here because I knew pretty well that things would come up when Pondicherry Budget would be discussed in the House. Prior to Emergency for 3 1/2 years, we were under President's rule. Now, for the last 1 1/2 years, we are under President's rule. Out of 20 years life of Pondicherry, we were under President's rule for 19 years.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 23 minutes. You can take 7 minutes more.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: Our party did not take part in the Mizoram Budget only on the understanding that we would be given more time during Pondicherry Budget.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: I give half of my time to time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How long will you take?

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: Half-an-hour. I do understand the generosity of my friend, Shri Kundu; I also understand the generosity of my esteemed friend for whom I have great respect, Shri Satish Agarwal. Similarly, I have great respect for the Prime Minister. Our personal relation has nothing to do with the public life.

It is the question of rights that we are fighting for. As I said earlier the people of Pondicherry had a different culture. The people of Pondicherry gave shelter to many people who

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fought for the independence of the country. But at this moment you want to threaten us. I am very grateful to the Prime Minister that he has come forward with a letter that the Pondicherry territory will not be merged immediately. In reply to my letter and telegram he has stated:

"Dear Bala Pajanor,

I have received your telegram, urging me to announce that Pondicherry will not be merged with Tamilnadu. I am surprised at the reaction of some people at what I said at the press conference in Madras. All that I have said was that the question of merger of small territories with the States was under the consideration of Government. We have not taken any decision on the subject. We shall take all relevant factors into consideration before a decision is taken. I, therefore, feel there is no cause for agitation on the question of merger."

Sir, I am happy to hear from the Prime Minister that there is no cause for agitation. He has said it and our people believe him now. He has said that it is under consideration.

Now it is known to you very well that the people are very much against it. That is the reason why I have cited two clauses in the 1954 and 1962 Agreements. Those clauses categorically state that you cannot do it unless you consult the people, take them into your confidence. So, the Prime Minister in his letter says "I will go democratically, I will consider it and at the appropriate time I will do it". But after this agitation, after this turmoil, after this request, after this persuasion and representation, I hope they will give due consideration to the desires and feelings of the people there.

I want to tell you that some people from my territory, members of the

Anti Merger Committee, they are going from door to door, asking them to give them protection, to gain support for the territory. They are here in Delhi city and they are asking for the same thing. That is the reason why I say that the time has come for the Home Minister and other Ministers to tell our people "we are not going to merge now; we will take you into confidence before we go in for it, unless you give consent, we will not go for it". You have to convince the people. You are democrats, so, you have to persuade the people. Let the people say that they are for it and then you do it. When the people have said it as one man "we are not for it", there is nothing left with you except to make it as an issue in the coming elections. You have to tell the people "we are not going for the merger, we are not going to annihilate your territory, but we will call for elections in your territory and this will be one of the issues". Because, our territory has a special record in this country of being under the President's Rule for a very very long time. So, you call for elections.

I was happy to see that the Minister of State for Home Affairs was very eloquent when he said that on the 27th of April there will be elections in Mizoram. But what about Pondicherry and what about Manipur? When I asked him about the elections in Pondicherry, he was saying that the enumeration has to go on, the electoral rolls have to be revised and so on. But may I remind him that on the 11th of November they imposed President's Rule in Mizoram and on the 12th of November they imposed President's Rule in Pondicherry. The difference was only one day. They were able to check up the electoral rolls and make them up-to-date in one of the hill and frontier States like Mizoram, but it was difficult for them to do it in Pondicherry. Why? That is why the people of my territory are suspecting your intentions, your bona fides. Caesar's wife must be above suspicion. That is why I ask you to come forward with a state-

ment to the effect "you will have elections this month or next month".

I am sorry to say the bureaucrats of my territory tell one thing there and a different story here. They are making a big drama to get out of the difficulties; they are presenting difficulties. They tell the people there one thing and tell something else in Delhi. They get something from Delhi and tell the people something else, which I cannot do that is not in my blood. I believe in frankness. I tell you very categorically that you must speak the truth if you are true Gandhians you should not experiment with untruth but you should experiment with the truth. Please speak truth. Have the elections and speak the truth to the people. I am interested in acquiring as many seats as possible so that we can become Chief Minister and other Ministers. I also aspire for it and there is nothing wrong in it. You all have fought for it, captured power in this Country and you are ruling. The same thing can happen there in Pondicherry. You can make merger an issue at the elections. The people will give their verdict. I am sorry to say that our territory is under President's Rule for a long time, and that too at this time and juncture. It is far away from Delhi, 1700 miles away from here. People cannot come to Mr. Mandal or Mr. Agarwal or the Prime Minister or the Deputy Prime Ministers, both of whom are missing. They cannot come here. They have to believe the Lt. Governor the Administrator there, they have to believe the Secretary. Whatever they say is gospel truth for them.

Here, people are very eloquent saying that the bureaucrats are controlling Mizoram, Himachal Pradesh, that they are in top form everywhere etc. but what are you doing in Pondicherry? You are not showing any sign of your wisdom. The people there suffer a lot. For small representations, they have to come to Bala Panajor or some other Member of Parliament or other local politicians who cannot do anything for them because they have no power.

So, I think it is high time for you to reorganise the entire system of administration. It is a sorry state of affairs there. It was a draconian law which was passed with the support of some of the opposition Members also. When a State is under President's rule, there is a fear in us that it cannot be extended for more than six months, that we have to come to Parliament, that at the most it can be only one year with the latest amendment, but in the case of Union Territories, under section 51 of the Act of 1963, there is no limitation. You need not come to Parliament at all. Article 239 is not at all attracted. You can do it freely any number of times, and that is why in the last spell for 3 1/2 years continuously Pondicherry was under President's rule. Naturally we have a fear now that you may extend it after May, and again in November, and like that it will go on. So, please come forward with an assurance. I have been asking for it. Three times I brought an amendment to the Constitution so that the Union Territories also may be put on a par with the other States. What this discrimination? Article 14, which is sacrosanct, is very much there, proclaiming equality before the law, no discrimination at all, but even in the case of Union Territories you are making this discrimination in the matter of President's rule.

I am sure this Janata Government came to power on the assurance that they would respect the wishes of the people and democratic values in this country. Let any Government come to power and rule, I am not particular that my party should come to power there, but people should have an elected Government, and then alone it can look after them.

It is said that there is President's rule because you cannot have a stable Government there, and so it is better to kill the entire thing, but is that the solution? Let me ask you one question. If there are pickpockets, is it your suggestion to remove the pocket? Is it not your duty to control the pickpockets and get rid of them? So, how can you suggest that because there is

[Shri A Bala Pajanor]

no stable Government there, it is better to annihilate the whole thing? Both are on the same analogy. And Gandhians do not go without pockets, they are having four pockets.

Your Budget is not satisfactory. I will not blame Mr. Agarwal for that. Last year the Budget was for Rs. 30 crores. While in the case of Madras the Budget has gone up to Rs. 6 crores in the case of Pondicherry it has gone down by Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 26 crores. That is a fact. As he correctly said in the beginning itself, this is only an exercise to save a constitutional anomaly that he is presenting the Budget. I am very sorry to find these amounts mentioned here. I know how the officials make up the Budget. It does not reflect the aspirations of our people. I tell you that without having an overall picture it is very bad for you to present a Budget like this. This Budget is not going to benefit the people at all. What are the progressive measures that you have suggested? Do you say anything about an airport, harbour, berth, hotel, industry, car industry, youth hostels, university, anything that is demanded by the people, any of the things that I have been repeatedly demanding for five years? I feel sorry why I am a Member here. I can walk out. I know what your Secretaries are doing. They are living in comfort. The people there are saying that the Sultan is ruling there. Not only now it was the case even earlier. How can you take away the popular Government? The people do not find there the name of the Member of Parliament, the Speaker or anybody else, they will find only the names of the officials and the Governor-General. I call him the Governor-General. I have no personal grievance against any of these people, they are good at heart but you are the cause of all this. When you allow such a thing, the fast is there, power is very tasty. After all Lord Gladstone says, "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Neither Mr.

Mandal nor Mr. Patel nor our beloved Prime Minister can have control over Pondicherry. You do not have time at all. You are very busy in so many other things, you are busy in the Special Courts Bill, in achieving common unity in mobilising support against Mr. Raj Narain and many other things. I do understand your position. Day in and day out you are having problems in this House. You cannot have time for it. Then what is the solution? You must decentralise and give it back to the people. Why do you want to grab it and keep it here? It is a very interesting thing to read what Mr. Vasudevan Nair said in the Rajya Sabha when the Union Territory Bill was passed. He referred to it and said that it is a very very bad demon again, this is what Mr. Gauri Shankar Kakkar said then—not our Gauri Shankar Rai—I quote from the Lok Sabha Debates of 1963:

'A responsible Government is now sought to be given according to the Constitution of the Union Territory Act. But a look into this Bill will show that it is a sort of an attempt of the pre-British or medieval age. I am reminded of something like the Helmsford Reforms of 1918 or so where the administrator had been given full powers. Now he has been made a monarch to govern those persons who had been duly elected by the masses. I fail to understand the logic. There is no provision in respect of Council.'

When the Bill was passed this was the remark made not only by the Opposition but by the ruling party Members also. That is the Union Territory Act that you are having. A Union Territory with an elected Ministry is the condition. But now without a Ministry, without an elected Government, you can imagine. I leave it to your imagination. Let it ride. I appeal to you once again. I am not going into the intricacies or small legalities of it. Please come forward and tell us that you are going to hold elections in June, July or August whatever month may

be convenient for you. Do not postpone it for a long time. People are agitated. Every day many rumours are being spread there. People do not know what will happen. If you think that merger is an issue which is to be decided by a referendum, hold it. If you want, you can make it an election issue and ascertain the wishes of the people. I represent the people of Pondicherry. All of us say with one voice that we will maintain our identity. What is the next thing? How to rule best? We should not say that Pondicherry is a State which is adjacent to Tamil Nadu. We are having a State, as I have repeatedly said in this House, which is having a special culture. I cannot be a communal man, I must be a linguist. I must understand and speak Malayalam, Telugu and Tamil. According to the provisions of the Constitution, French language shall be maintained unless the people or the Council or the Legislature changes that. We are having 3 languages, not only English, we have French, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu. We have such a composite culture in our territory. Neither Goa nor Manipal has that. People come and talk in the National Integration Council that we must forget the small barriers of the linguistic fanatics, we must forget the small castes and communities. We have a brotherly feeling in our territory. I am proud to say with my head erect that we never had any communal feelings in our territory until you marched into our territory and injected that ill-feeling amongst us. Still, we are trying to maintain that. We maintain the Dravidian culture of ours.

Fortunately or unfortunately, we never had Chandranagore with us. If we had that, I would have learnt Bengali and conferred with Mr. Mukerjee and others in Bengali. But that has gone away and I am not sorry for that. These are the things which are special for Pondicherry. These are the things that are existing there. I prepared a list of the things that my people want-

ed. But I am not able to present them due to want of time. I am grateful to Agarwal and many other Members for allowing me this much time. I appeal to the hon. Minister, through you, Mr. Chairman, not only to him, but also to the hon. Prime Minister, two Deputy Prime Ministers, the set of Cabinet Minister, all the Ministers of State and to all the Members of this House to do it. I want to go on record that I have appealed to all the Union Territory Members for this. I have personally talked to you and you said "Bala, for your sake, we will do it." Please do it, not to save me alone, but also to save my people. If I do not represent their wishes, I am not fit to be in this House. If I do not reflect their aspirations, I am not qualified to be in this House at all. You may say that Bala speaks well, he will persuade us, his argument is good. But that is not the feather that you can add to me. If your friendship with Bala is sincere, please do it. I reflect the wishes of my people, I reflect the request of my people and I present the aspirations of my people. Please consider that.

I hope, all other members will join with me and we will have a peaceful territory in Pondicherry. Day in and day out, we do not know what is going to happen. The morrow is not known to us. I have to repeat the Latin saying: *Quadis Domane* -- My Lord, where I am going! "My Lord" means, you be the lords and tell me where we are going so that we have peace.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN (Madurai): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to raise my voice about Pondicherry, a small union territory. It is a very peaceful State, a State of peace-loving people. Peace has already been disturbed all of a sudden when the hon. Prime Minister went to Madras and made a statement in a press conference that the union territory of Pondicherry will be merged with Tamil Nadu.

[Shri R. V. Swaminathan]

I am from Tamil Nadu. I may also feel that it will benefit us if Pondicherry is merged with Tamil Nadu. But I will not say so. Being a true Tamilian, it will be wrong on my part to say, you merge Pondicherry with Tamil Nadu. The hon. Member who preceded me, Shri Bala Pajanor, was giving the background of the whole story of Pondicherry. I know, the French culture as also the French civilisation is still there. It was all established in a very fine manner. When our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while he was the Prime Minister saw the French culture in Pondicherry he said that it must be preserved. It was not that Pondicherry was merged with Indian mainland so easily. There is a background to that. There was a big fight for Independence movement. I was also in the background of the struggle. When the people of Pondicherry agitated for liberation, I was there in the territory of Pondicherry. The great leader, Mr. Kamaraj Nadar, our Congress leader, asked me to go to Pondicherry. He sent some important Congress workers to Pondicherry border. I was also there to see how the people conduct the struggle. I know the background of all that.

The French Government thought that there was no chance of holding this area under them. They thought they must surrender. They said, "We have no objection to surrender this territory. But you guarantee and give us an assurance that the French culture, the French civilisation and such other things will be preserved." When the Prime Minister of France made this offer, immediately our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru responded saying, "I assure the French Prime Minister and the French Government that their culture and civilisation would be preserved."

After that, there was a treaty entered into by the two Governments, the French Government and the Indian

Government where under article 2 of the treaty, it was assured that the French culture will not be disturbed and that the constitutional changes will not take place unless the people wish for it. The people's wish should be taken into consideration when they want to make any changes. Are we not to honour the treaty? Is there no value for the treaty? I ask the Prime Minister and the Janata Party whether there is no value for the treaty. Shri Bala Pajanor was calling Janata Party members as his friends. But I say that they are not his friends..
(Interruptions)

SHRI RAGAVALU MOHANARANGAM: It is not a question of friendship; it is a question of just putting the facts before the members of the Janata Party.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: We are all friends. My hon. friend forgets that when he was in power, I was also friendly to him. Let him not compare with that. The things can be easily misunderstood. That is why I want to clarify. He should not forget that I was so friendly with them even at the peak of Emergency.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: So, I ask the Government and the hon. Prime Minister: Is there no value for treaty? It must be valued.

Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave two assurances to the people of South India, namely, that the territory of Pondicherry would be preserved and would not be altered until the people wanted a change; and Hindi would not be thrust on the people of South India until the people wanted it. These two assurance are being thrown into the waste-paper basket. Is it proper? Is it the way that the assurances given by a great person like Pandit Nehru are to be treated? It is wrong on the part of the present Government to do so.

The present Prime Minister went to Madras and made a statement there

about the merger of Pondicherry. It was like beating the hornet's nest. We all know what happens when the honey comb is disturbed. The same thing happened there. There were big agitations in Pondicherry and several people died; many people were injured and admitted in the hospital; also several vehicles were burnt. Why should he have invited this trouble unnecessarily? It is wrong to think on those lines. If Government wants to have a referendum on this, let them have it. They had a referendum in Goa. What happened? Immediately people decided to have a separate State; we want to live separately. If you want to hold a referendum in Pondicherry on this, do it. But as a Congressman and a Tamilian, I want to support the aspirations of the people of Pondicherry. They want to live separately, they want to maintain their culture, what they had inherited from the French.

Coming to the Budget, they have not given a proper Budget. The previous Government, the Congress Government under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, gave an assurance to Pondicherry that a Central University would be established in Pondicherry; a scheme was prepared and 600 acres of land was also acquired in Pondicherry. But there is nothing about that in the present Budget. The present Government has thrown this assurance also into the waste-paper basket. Why do I plead for a Central University in Pondicherry? For instance, there is a medical college there. JIPMER in Pondicherry; every year they recruit about 75 students, and out of 75 they give only 15 seats to Pondicherry and the balance of 60 seats go to the other States; the adjoining State, Tamil Nadu, also gets some seats. If a Central University is established there, then Tamil Nadu and the other States will also be benefited; Pondicherry will not consume all the seats. Therefore, a Central University in Pondicherry should be established.

Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan once mentioned that the small Union territories must be allowed to continue as such; in fact, they should be made strong; only if they are strong will the Centre also be strong. Therefore, he pleaded that the small Union territories should be maintained as such. Therefore, Sir, the *status quo* should not be disturbed. I appeal to the Government, to the hon. Minister and through him to the hon. Prime Minister that he should not again talk of merger.

Pondicherry is being played like a toy. They removed the elected Government there and brought it under the Central rule. This should not be done often. We want that elections should be held in Pondicherry immediately. Why are the elections being postponed? It is a well-established State. In one month you can enumerate and prepare the voters' list. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to conduct the elections there. We, the Congressmen, want that elections should be conducted immediately within 2 or 3 months. You should not postpone it to August. You should have it in June or July.

Sir, with these words, I oppose the view expressed by the Government and by the Prime Minister that Pondicherry should be merged with the neighbouring State.

SHRI MUKUNDA MANDAL: (Madurai): I want to speak something about Pondicherry. I have no concrete knowledge about Pondicherry. But, Sir, with the recent utterances of Prime Minister, Morarji Bhai Desai the issue of Pondicherry came to lime light. We all talk of democracy and the Janata Party talks of democratisation. We know, some of the State Governments already demanded more power and more autonomy for States but it is such type of utterances which are responsible for a serious consequence. As a consequence of this utterance of the Prime Minister, we find several persons lost their lives and several other persons were injured. We

[Shri Mukunda Mondal]

saw also forces of destabilisation and destruction took the field and created violent activities. All this happened only because of the utterance of the Prime Minister. That is why I want to mention here that such type of expressions should be avoided. If he things, 'It is my personal view', he can do this in his house but your personal view should not be expressed before the public as the reaction will be much more. So, I would request the Prime Minister that in future he should not express his views in this manner.

Regarding the merger of Pondicherry with Tamilnadu, it is an issue which should be decided by the people of Pondicherry, not by imposition. You can have a referendum. What I want to say is that now Pondicherry is under President's rule. There should be a popular government and elections should be conducted immediately for that purpose. The Budget which we are now considering should have been considered and passed by the people's representatives there. So, I would request the hon. Minister and the hon. Government to declare the date for election to Pondicherry Assembly.

Coming to developmental work, as I told you earlier, I do not know anything concrete about development work of Pondicherry. One thing that I know is that no irrigation project or power project is there in Pondicherry. I came to know that 45 per cent of the population depend on agriculture. There 86 per cent of the land is under irrigation. This is a good sign. But, there is no project in Pondicherry. (Interruptions) There is no industrial development there. There are only small scale industries being developed at Pondicherry. There is no heavy industry there. Mr. Chairman, I have information that 746 small scale industries are there in Pondicherry but there is no heavy industry. For that at least some measures should be taken

by the Government for the upliftment of the people of Pondicherry. That does not mean that Pondicherry should remain under President's rule for times immemorial.

I urge upon the Government that the elections should be held immediately there.

With these words I conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Asaithambi. You may start speaking today. Still one hour is there for tomorrow.

*SHRI A. V. P. ASAITHAMBI (Madras North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the Discussion on the Budget of Pondicherry on behalf of my party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

In his speech, the hon. Member from Pondicherry. Shri Bala Pajanor, forcefully pointed out how 6 lakhs of people of Pondicherry are being oppressed and how there was eruption of violent agitation leading to loss of human lives and property. He made a passing reference to a high dignitary's casual remark, which caused this upheaval in Pondicherry. Shri Morarji Desai is the Prime Minister of the country. He stated in a Press Conference that Pondicherry would be merged with the neighbouring State and there is nothing wrong in that proposition. Immediately there was violent agitation in Pondicherry, resulting in loss of valuable human lives and public property. Shri Bala Pajanor did not categorically say that the Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai made this statement at a Press Conference. He did not affirm that this was Prime Minister's personal opinion or confirm that there was some invisible force behind this statement of Shri Morarji Desai, based on later Press comments. Shri Bala should have made this fast speech in his Party Forum. He should not have chosen the forum of Lok Sabha for this speech.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: Sir, I object to it. Let him not politicalise the entire issue. I am against it. I only want to reflect the wishes of the people of Pondicherry. This cannot be taken as a party issue. He should not also misquote me. I won't allow him to talk like that. They are enemies of the Pondicherry people. I never make statements on party basis. Sir, this is a very serious matter. He is also aware of it. He is now trying to wist it. I talk here by reflecting the wishes of the people of Pondicherry. It is your party people who have created the difficulty there. He should not talk like that. He must be very careful.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are not raising any point of order. You can of course explain your views. Let him go on.

18 hrs.

SHRI C. N. VISVANATHAN (Tirupattur): I seek a clarification. He spoke about the All-India Anna-DMK.

SHRI A. V. P. ASAITHAMBI: I never intervened when he was speaking.

SHRI C. N. VISVANATHAN: There was no party affair discussed here. So, I seek a clarification. He said that the Anna-DMK had moved a resolution in its Working Committee in Coimbatore. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: Sir, was he present in the General Council when I spoke. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry I cannot decide anything today. It is already 6 p.m. The time is over. The House stands adjourned. Mr. Asaithambi will continue his speech tomorrow.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 22, 1979/Chaitra 1, 1901 (Saka).