

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The motion was moved. Anyway, we are now on a different Bill altogether.

Now I will put the motion to the House.

The question is :

"That the Bill to continue the Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Act, 1955, for a further period be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill. There are no amendments.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Title and the Enacting Formula were added to the Bill.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR : Sir, I moved :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

THE SLUM AREAS (IMPROVEMENT AND CLEARANCE) BILL, 1956

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT) : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill to provide for the improvement and clearance of slum areas in certain Union territories and for the protection of tenants in such areas from eviction be taken into consideration."

Sir, this is a non-contentious measure which has a laudable purpose. I believe that every one in this House is in sympathy with it, and also that it will be welcomed by the Members of this august House. It is not neces-

sary for me to make a very elaborate speech in regard to this particular Bill. As I have already said, it is intended to provide for the clearance and improvement of slum areas. The city of Delhi is the metropolis of India. It is also the emporium and centre of industry, trade and business in North India. It had a fairly large population even before Delhi was given an honoured place as the capital of India. Since then there has been a regular flow of people into Delhi. Its population has swollen greatly in recent years. The city of Delhi is now overcrowded, and in certain areas the conditions are extremely detrimental, not only to health and morals, but also to the safety of the people living in those areas. The buildings are of a ramshackle character, dilapidated and hardly fit for human habitation. There are no amenities of any type, neither drinking water, nor light, nor roads, nor drains. So, they are an eyesore. And what is much worse, they are dangerous to the very safety, health and morals of the people, not only those who live there, but also those who occupy houses in the neighbourhood. It is necessary to remedy this state of affairs. It is an imperative necessity which does not admit of any delay.

Sir, according to the normal standards, the population in an acre should not exceed 200. In Delhi, it is, on an average, as much as 600. But in the slum areas the numbers per acre—in some of the *Katras*—go up to about 2,500, with the result that an individual has even less than two square yards for himself. Well, one can well imagine the conditions which these people have to reconcile themselves to, and the consequences—almost disastrous—that must be prevailing in these areas. But that is not all. In some of these slums they have to share the accommodation also with animals like cows, buffaloes and horses. The question has come up for consideration more than once and it has engaged the attention of the Government, and especially at a time like this when Delhi has the honour of being visited by the leading statesmen, eminent personalities from far and near,

from countries which have set a very high standard of living for themselves and for their people, it is almost galling and it is a source of constant reproach to all of us that such slums should continue to exist. It is with a view to remedying this state of affairs that this Bill has been framed. Various expedients and devices had been adopted in order to improve these abominable conditions, but they have not yielded adequate results. So, we have had recourse to this measure, and after a very careful thought we have framed this Bill, which I am placing before this House.

Under this Bill, Sir, orders can be passed for the clearance of a slum when it has buildings which are not fit for habitation. When there are no amenities and when those who are forced to find accommodation there live a life worse than a dog's life, it is necessary to take effective measures. The competent authority will, under this Bill, have the power to declare any such areas, as has been indicated by me, as a slum area. Then orders can be passed for the clearance of the slums. After the land has been so cleared, the owner can be given the opportunity of developing that area in accordance with the plan and subject to such conditions and restrictions as may be considered advisable and necessary. Orders can also be passed for providing necessary amenities where the slums are not completely removed and the area is not acquired by the state. Provision of lights, of drinking water, of drains, lavatories, etc. can thus be ordered, the cost being payable by the owner of the area. The present estimates show that about 500 acres in Delhi are in the occupation of these slum dwellers. Their number comes to about 2 lakhs. Thus, about 40,000 families are living in these deplorable conditions. We hope to build an adequate number of houses gradually for the people who are at present living or managing to exist in these slums. The Development Authority to which Rajkumariji referred a few minutes ago had put up about 1,400 tenements during the last 10 or 11 months. About 1,700 more are expected to be ready in about

two months. The process will continue and efforts will be made to provide accommodation to the extent it is possible. Of course, it will take time but it should be the effort of all of us, whether it be the Government, the local authority, the owners of these areas or others, to see that Delhi has a fine, magnificent look, that the standard of living is decent and that every one has the opportunity of living in a healthy environment, in conditions which will conduce to moral, intellectual and physical growth and development. For this purpose it is necessary that the slums at least should cease to exist. Other measures may have to be taken in order to raise Delhi to the noble and dignified standard which it deserves. When we have these visitors from all parts of the world, then Delhi should have all those features which will indicate the clean life of our community which will show in a way how our people conduct their daily affairs and how on the whole our community lives in a very clean and at the same time healthy way. But so long as these slums continue to disfigure the face of Delhi, I do not think that the measures that may be taken otherwise to beautify this city or the huge edifices and structures that may be built here will compensate for the impression that these slums are bound to make on persons coming here on short visits.

I do not think it is necessary for me to say more. As I stated at the outset, I have every hope that this measure will be accepted unanimously and that it does not call even for any prolonged discussion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Motion moved :

"That the Bill to provide for the improvement and clearance of slum areas in certain Union territories and for the protection of tenants in such areas from eviction be taken into consideration."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I am interested in this Bill because I think that measures of this kind should

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be adopted more and more by the Government not only here at the Centre but also in the States. But I must confess that my initial enthusiasm has been somewhat damped by this short and intriguing speech the hon. Minister has made. I should have thought that this measure was conceived with human sympathy, with a view to making up what had not been done, with a view to mending certain past failings and omissions on the part of the Government. But now we have been told that it is for the visitors who come to this country, that they must not see such things and that in order that we can present a better and beautiful India we are going to clear these slums. Good luck for the people of Delhi because they are very near to our Ministers and also within the easy approach of the visitors but I, for one, do not view this problem from the point of view of window-dressing, because here is a problem which is a vast problem and on which the Members of the Government have spoken time and again but little has been done. I think hon. Members will remember the speeches made by the Prime Minister in various places against these slums. He seemed to be at war with the slums. If he had his way, we felt that he would abolish all the slums overnight. We were not interested in the heroics of these speeches but we thought perhaps the Government mind was somewhat disturbed over the spectacle of slums in our country. We thought that something drastic would be done in this matter in order that these 'ghettos' are abolished and the people who are condemned to lead a despicable life there are brought to lead a better life. But as you know, nothing practical has been done. We don't know to what extent things will be done through this measure in Delhi. The housing problem in our towns has become extremely acute over the last five years and as far as I can make out from a reading of the Second Five Year Plan, the promise for the future is also bleak. I say this because

4 P.M. it is clearly stated in the Plan

itself that at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the problem of urban housing would be twice as bad as it is today. It is stated in cold print and if you want, you can look into the Plan and see for yourself. We know that nearly over sixty million people live in towns and cities and a large chunk of this population live in slums unfit for human habitation. We have been told here that in Delhi itself there are over two lakh people living in slum areas which require the attention of Government for immediate clearance measures. The picture is the same and even much worse in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other places. But the Government has not done anything to remedy the situation. Of course, I entirely agree that measures are called for in order to compel greedy landlords to repair the slums, to keep them fit for human habitation and to extend civic amenities to the dwellers there. And if such compelling measures are not there, it does not bring credit to the Government. They have passed so many laws and so many measures. We have seen how Bills are rushed through in this House and the other House. But I would like to know from the Government how it is that it was not possible for them all these years to speed up measures in this direction so that this shame could be eliminated from the civic life. They have not done that. That is something on which the Government should give an explanation to this country. In my view, I say that this is because of certain pressures from these elements of vested interests that the Government has been hesitant in bringing in such measures. Otherwise, when it is keen on ensuring better lives for so many millions of people, how is it that they had not taken any measures to deal with this problem? The Government has to explain to this House and to the country.

This measure that has come before us now is again far too inadequate for meeting the needs of the situation. When the clauses are discussed, no doubt, opinions will be expressed on the various clauses, the inadequacies

pointed out and amendments suggested. But taking the measure as it is as a whole at this stage, I would like to say that it is far too inadequate and it will not improve the situation very much in the near future. This is my fear. Sir, this is not a question of your having certain regulations or certain impositions in your hands. The Government must have a proper perspective for rebuilding our towns and urban areas. This is vital in this connection; but nothing of that kind is reflected in the provisions of this Bill. Where is your housing programme? The common people are living in slums sharing places with animals attempting to live a life which is not good even for animals, but for them, there is practically no programme. I know that some slums will be cleared and some paltry amenities will be installed here and there, but nothing beyond that will be done. But what is needed is a comprehensive housing programme, with proper targets and a perspective set by Government. I think, a start could easily be made in this Bill. Here in Delhi, you are living in very fine houses. We all live in very fine houses here, compared to the houses in which our people are living. But why must not the Government pay attention to those people who are living within the perimeter of Delhi, in those neglected areas of Delhi under dreadful and intolerable conditions? Why can't we draw up a proper housing plan and proceed with it, no matter what the cost to the exchequer may be? Why can't we take measures compelling the greedy, big landlords to immediately make these places better, these slums better so that they may be worth living in? Why can't we ask them to provide better tenements for the people? I do not know how much you can improve these slums that are there. Certainly, you can take some water pipes to these places. You can give these people certain other facilities also, but most of these slums, I am afraid, are beyond repair and beyond any improvement, if we go by modern civilized standards. Therefore, what is necessary today is to have a housing programme and to have tenements where people could live.

We should have more tenements all over the area. But this is a task that cannot be left to the landlords. They will be guided by their profit motive and other considerations which have nothing to do with the well-being of our people. This is a task which has necessarily to be undertaken by the Government, because it is Government alone that can readily fork out the resources and execute a plan of that kind. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is very important that there should be a proper housing programme. But we find big palaces being built in Delhi. We find Ashoka Hotels and what not, being constructed one after another, whenever the Government wants to construct them. And when they want it, there is no dearth of money, no dearth of building materials and all that. But when it comes to a question of building tenements for the working people, for the Government employees of the lower grades, we find the Government moving very slowly, pleading lack of finance and giving all kinds of excuses. That does not speak well of the Government. Therefore, I say, let them take whatever measures are possible, under the provisions of this Bill. But what is essential is a comprehensive housing programme. The Second Five Year Plan fails on that score very miserably. And you know, Sir, it is a matter of sorrow and shame that even the funds that were allotted under the First Plan for industrial housing, for urban housing for the workers, were not spent. The Government was busy with something else. They did not have the time even to spend the money that had been sanctioned for the various housing schemes for industrial workers. This is there on record and Government cannot deny it. Therefore, I say so much has not been done and so much remains to be done. What you need is a regular drive, a regular war against slums and you have to start it in an entirely different way. Recall the speech of the Prime Minister in Kanpur and other places about slums and read this Bill. You will at once see the difference between the professed words and the promised purpose. This is where I say this Bill

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does not even put in the declarations of the Prime Minister of this country. And on that score it fails again.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would suggest in this connection that this Bill may be passed. But at the same time, the Government should immediately start consultations with those who are also connected with this matter, for evolving a plan for housing in Delhi, a plan which will provide a house for every one who works in this great city the capital of our Republic. We want to do so, not because we want it as a show-piece to the foreign observers, but we want to do so, because we have a duty by our people. We have to do so because certain things which had been denied to these people must no longer be denied to them. We want to do so because we want to raise the living standards and conditions of our people. We are guided by the Directives of our Constitution in this matter and by the considerations of well-being of our people, and that is what is important in this connection.

For this reason, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would have been in favour of restricting the construction of palatial buildings. Unless they are indispensable for Government purposes. I would not allow landlords, private persons putting up big residential houses and then letting them out at heavy rents. This is not the time for permitting such luxurious constructions, when people are sleeping on pavements, when people are sharing these slums with animals and when many thousands of our people do not have a roof to live under. When that is the condition, we cannot allow building materials, steel, cement and all that, to be used up in such constructions for the rich, which they can forgo for the time being.

We cannot allow building materials like steel, cement and all that to be diverted to the rich for their houses which they could forgo for the time being now. Delhi is the capital of India, but does it speak well of our capital that in contrast to this dismal picture of slums and sufferings, you are hav-

ing your building materials and other things for construction of big and palatial houses for the rich and for purposes which can wait till we have found houses for every working man in this country? That does not speak well of you. I do not know how a right minded foreigner would feel if you tell him this story. This is not a story which would easily escape note. Nobody would miss it. You know that in England under the various Governments there was some priority given to the construction of working class houses; in other countries too this had been done but in our country it seems that the palaces go up while the slums continue and the people are condemned to live in them for years on end. This is a record which brings no credit to the Government. Therefore the restriction should be there. I said this thing because I know that all kinds of excuses would be given that there is no cement, that there is no steel, that there is no finance, etc. All these excuses should not at all be accepted because if we save on the buildings that are coming up for the rich and use them for the poor we will have ample material to build such houses for the poor. About finance, I see that the allocation made in the Second Five Year Plan is very meagre as far as housing is concerned. I say this thing because until and unless finances are provided, the Home Minister cannot build houses. The Home Minister can produce any number of candidates for the Congress elections and make all kinds of choices that he likes but he cannot produce houses until and unless he is provided with the necessary finances, the necessary construction materials and all that. Therefore, I shall be on his side if he were to demand more allocation for housing, more allocation for urban and even rural housing—for the present we are concerned with housing in Delhi—but there is no such thing in the Second Five Year Plan and the other documents that are there. There is little that has been provided for drastic improvement in this direction. Therefore, what I fear is that there will not be any real re-making of the city of Delhi; there will be some chan-

ges here and there, some spotty changes in certain areas—one spotty change in one area and another spotty change in another area—in order to present a new and rising India in a particular way to some foreign visitor and nothing beyond that will be done if the Government does not change its policy. Therefore, a change in this respect is necessary. I would ask this question of the hon. Minister: What happens if the slums are not cleared and if the landlords fail to execute the directions of the Government? Now, you have all kinds of penalties but what happens to those dwellers there? Who undertakes to improve their lot? How would the money be realised and who will be made to pay for the improvement and how quickly would such improvements be effected? This is the question that I would like him to answer when he replies to the debate. Then again if certain areas are cleared, where would the people go and live? Government have to find alternative accommodation for such people. Is there any scheme for such alternative accommodation? As far as I can make out, there is no such scheme. I think, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that unless and until side by side with this measure, Government devises schemes of alternative housing which should go on expanding all the time, there will be difficulties for the people to find shelter and I think there may be some crisis even with regard to housing in the end. That is what I fear. I suggest that Government should earmark certain areas wherein construction for accommodating the city poor should immediately start. Now, this should go on simultaneously and Government should compel the landlords to improve the slum areas so that they are brought up to certain standards. This is how the work should be managed. After all in the final analysis, we will have to abandon this plan and build anew, build new houses, houses of the modern type and fitted with all modern amenities at least with the minimum of the modern amenities for the dwellers. That is how Government should view this matter. I would now give you an example.

I live in one of the bungalows given to Members of Parliament and I live in Delhi, of course. One day a person came and said that he would do something, some sort of repair or something. Then I said, "Nothing particular is wrong". He went to the bathroom and said that he would use mosaic for flooring instead of what was there. It is a very good bathroom and one could have a very fine bath in that bathroom but now orders had been passed for replacing the present arrangement with mosaic flooring for the Members of Parliament. I say that we can wait; Members of Parliament can wait till the other measures are taken for the city poor. Now, money is being wasted in these kinds of useless luxurious renovations for the houses of the Members of Parliament and I suppose in other houses also while the city poor live in their slums in a state of utter neglect and unspeakable misery. How you allow such things to happen even in this capital is a thing that I do not know. How would a foreign visitor feel if he were told this particular story? He will not be very much enchanted by the performance of the Government in regard to this matter. I tell you, Government is wasting a lot of funds on non-essential housing whereas essential housing goes by default and is neglected. This is what I want to say and I make this charge with all sense of responsibility and I would be very happy if this charge could be proved to be unfounded or false. Everybody in Delhi knows that the housing problem has become extremely acute and Government pays no attention to it. We know also how Government pays attention to the housing of the rich—I will not include the Members of Parliament amongst the rich—and the Members of Parliament. I want Members of Parliament to be accommodated in good decent houses and, as you know, when this matter was discussed some four years ago, we suggested that small little flats, one roomed tenements for humble Members of Parliament like us would be good enough and I think it would be good enough for others also who have dedicated themselves

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to the service of the nation. We do not find any such thing; we find that big constructions are going on. I would like the Government to go into this question particularly. I do not want the Members of Parliament to be put to inconvenience because they have to perform certain functions and discharge certain responsibilities and they deserve certain kind of amenities for their work. I am prepared to concede that but beyond that I am not prepared to go. As far as the hon. Ministers are concerned, I do not know but the hon. Member said that the hon. Ministers should not live in such big houses and all that.

(Time bell rings.)

Well Sir, if you ring the bell when I talk of the Ministers, people outside might misunderstand.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken half an hour. There are other speakers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know but if you ring the bell when I mention the Ministers, people may misunderstand. There are other officers also. Now, here again, you see such huge palaces, big houses, being given to them no matter who lives there, how many souls are inside. I think this is not a good exhibition of moderation or social justice. In any case, it does not set a good example when there is neglect elsewhere. I am not at all suggesting that they should also move into the houses in which we are living. If I were to be a Minister, I would not mind living in the house in which I am now living. It is quite comfortable for me and for people like me. I would not ask Shri T. T. Krishnamachari to go into that house. Nevertheless I can only say this that here is a point which requires your consideration. All this I say because until and unless you have an integrated scheme, a scheme in which every requirement has to be fitted in, you will not have any improvement in the matter of housing, at any rate the kind of improvement that we all desire. Now about other houses, I think the Government should take an

inventory and prepare a list of all the big palaces and private residential houses and see as to how they could be utilised. During the war we knew in Calcutta the houses were requisitioned for providing shelter to the Government employees but here the employees of this present Government go without shelter when big houses are being used by a few people who do not need them at all. This, I call, gross social injustice. The Government can take steps in this direction and requisition some of these houses and find shelter for the employees who have not got any shelter today. These are the suggestions that I can make. As far as slum clearance is concerned I emphasise again that what we need today is a housing programme for new constructions, that will in the near future replace the existing slums which are beyond repair and beyond improvement. Let there be no mistake about it. This Parliament—the other House—is coming to an end and I do not know if any such measures will be possible immediately. Anyway they would all be busy in the elections but I think with a promise of this kind the elections could be better fought, and . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would therefore suggest that the Government should direct its mind towards the preparation of such schemes. We must come to grips with the housing problem; we must fight these slums and fight in a human way, in a vigorous manner so that those people who have been condemned to live there are no longer condemned to live there and so that we find better housing for them, so that they live as one of us with at least the minimum necessary amenities of modern civilisation and civic life.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश):
उपसभापति महोदय, मुझे आज बड़ी ही प्रसन्नता हो रही है कि मैं इस महत्वपूर्ण विधेयक को रखने वाले मिनिस्टर महोदय को बधाई देने का अवसर प्राप्त कर रही हूँ। श्रीमन्, उन्हें बधाई देने क

साथ-साथ में अपने देश के प्राइम मिनिस्टर श्री नेहरू को भी धन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ, जिनकी प्रेरणा से आज दिल्ली में स्लम क्लीयरेंस का कार्य ही नहीं हो रहा है, बल्कि आज यह अवसर भी आया है कि इस संबंध में हम लोग सदन के समक्ष एक विधेयक पेश कर सकें। श्रीमन्, स्लम क्लीयरेंस का काम इस विधेयक के आने से पहले ही प्रारंभ हो चुका है। श्रीमती राजकुमारी अमृत कौर की संरक्षकता में दिल्ली की कई एक संस्थाएँ, विशेषकर भारत सेवक समाज और इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट, स्लम क्लीयरेंस का काम शुरू भी कर चुके हैं। मैं जानती हूँ कि आज का दिन उन सब गंदी बस्तियों में रहने वालों के लिये बहुत ही सौभाग्य का और मुबारक दिन है।

श्रीमन्, जैसा कि गृह मंत्री जी ने बतलाया, दिल्ली में इन गंदी बस्तियों में एक एकड़ में छः सौ से लेकर बारह सौ तक लोग उन मकानों में रहते हैं, जिनकी मरम्मत वर्षों से नहीं हुई है और जहाँ उन लोगों को पाशविकता का जीवन बिताना पड़ता है। इनके प्रति लैंडलॉर्ड लोग जिस तरह का हैरेसमेंट का व्यवहार करते हैं, उसका कोई ठिकाना ही नहीं है। जैसा कि अभी बतलाया गया है, इस तरह के मकानों में न नल का इंटरग्राम है और न ही पानी की निकासी का कोई समुचित प्रबंध है। इसके साथ ही उन कटरों में जहाँ पर दो तीन हजार आदमी रहते हैं, किसी तरह की लैट्रीन का भी प्रबंध नहीं है। यद्यपि यह बिल एक टेम्परेरी मैजर की तरह लाया जा रहा है, फिर भी यह अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण चीज है और इसकी वजह से गंदी बस्तियों में रहने वालों के जीवन में एक नई क्रांति आने वाली है।

श्रीमन्, इस बिल के मुख्य रूप से तीन उद्देश्य यह हैं—पहला उद्देश्य यह है कि मकानों की मरम्मत करने के लिये सरकारी तौर पर कुछ रुपया दिया जाय और वह राशि पाँच हजार प्रति बस्ती के अनुसार रख दी गई है। दूसरा उद्देश्य इन में रहने वाले लोगों को एक्विशन से बचाया जाय। आज हालत यह है कि इन मकानों में जो लोग रहते हैं, वे लोग बहुत ही दुःखी हैं। कारण यह है कि ये मकान इतने टूटे-फूटे हैं कि रहने लायक ही नहीं हैं। मकान मालिक इन मकानों की मरम्मत नहीं कराता है क्योंकि अगर वह इन मकानों की मरम्मत कराता है, तो वह किरायेदारों को वहाँ से नहीं निकाल सकता है। मकान-मालिक इन मकानों को और ज्यादा दाम में किराये

पर लगाने के लिये उनमें रहने वाले किरायेदारों को तरह-तरह के कष्ट देता है। तीसरा उद्देश्य उसमें इम्प्रूवमेंट लाना है। श्रीमन्, क्लीयरेंस के लिये मैं जानती हूँ कि जब भारत सेवक समाज को इन कटरों का काम सौंपा गया था तो हम लोगों को वहाँ पर जाने की इजाजत नहीं मिलती थी। लैंडलॉर्ड हम लोगों को इस बात की इजाजत नहीं देता था कि हम उसके मकान में किसी तरह की मरम्मत करें। जब उससे मरम्मत करने के लिये कहा जाता तो वह कोई बात नहीं सुनता था। हमने जब कभी इन कटरों में पानी के प्रबंध के लिये किसी जगह पर नल लगवाया, तो मकान मालिकों द्वारा तुड़वा दिया गया। इस तरह से मकान-मालिक इन कटरों में रहने वाले लोगों को आज भी कई तरह के कष्ट देते हैं और टारचर करते हैं।

श्रीमन्, इस विधेयक के पास हो जाने पर कितना बड़ा सिर दर्द उन कार्यकर्ताओं का दूर होने वाला है, जो इन स्लम एरियाज में काम कर रहे हैं और उसके प्रब्लम को समझते हैं। इस बिल के पास हो जाने पर इन कार्यकर्ताओं को कितनी बड़ी सहायता मिलने वाली है, यह तो वही बता सकते हैं, जो इन क्षेत्रों में काम करते हैं।

श्रीमन्, अभी श्री भूपेश गुप्ता ने लंबी-चौड़ी स्पीच दी। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा कि दिल्ली में बड़े-बड़े मकान और बिल्डिंग बनाई जा रही हैं, क्यों नहीं स्लम-ड्रवैलर्स के लिये मकान बनाये जाते हैं। श्रीमन्, अभी हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने इस संबंध में विस्तार से बतलाया और मैं समझती हूँ कि उनके हृदय में भी इन स्लम-ड्रवैलर्स के प्रति हमदर्दी है। आज दिल्ली की स्थिति यह है कि यहाँ पर मकान बहुत कम हैं और स्लम-ड्रवैलर्स की तादाद हजारों में है। अगर हर एक मकान वाले से यह कहा जाय कि वह अपने मकान में कुछ स्लम-ड्रवैलर्स को जगह दे तो वह कोई न कोई मजबूरी प्रकट करेगा। अगर पालियामेंट के मेंबरों से कहा जाय, तो वे कहेंगे कि हमारे पास तो तीन ही कमरे वाले मकान हैं, हम इतनी जगह में बाहर वालों को कैसे जगह दे सकते हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I share a room with another Member of Parliament.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम: श्रीमन्, स्लम-ड्रवैलर्स की हालत आज यह है कि वे लोग आसमान के नीचे सड़कों पर पड़े रहते हैं। मैंने स्वयं देखा

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

कि २५ आदमी सड़को पर इस ठंड में पड़े रह रहे हैं। हमें इन सब लोगों के लिये हमदर्दी है और सरकार को भी इन लोगों के प्रति हमदर्दी है और वह इनके लिये सब कुछ करने जा रही है। मगर हमारे सामने तो कुछ मजबूरिया भी हैं जिनकी वजह से हमारे रास्ते में बहुत सी अड़चने आ जाती हैं। इन लोगों को बसाने के लिये बहुत सी हाउसिंग स्कीम बनाई गई हैं और बनाई जा रही हैं। यहाँ पर सिर्फ स्पीच दे देने से यह हाउसिंग की समस्या पूरी होने वाली नहीं है। हमें अपना एप्रोच कस्ट्रक्टिव बनाना चाहिये, जिससे कि हमारे देश और हमारे समाज का भविष्य उज्ज्वल हो।

श्रीमन्, इस बिल में एक बहुत जबरदस्त बात छट रही है और उसकी तरफ मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। हम इन स्लम में रहने वालों को जो एमिनिटीज देने जा रहे हैं या दे रहे हैं, वे उनके लिये एक आशीर्वाद है, एक वरदान है। किन्तु जब तक हम उनकी और उनके बच्चों की भावनें सुधारने का प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे तब तक ये एमिनिटीज उनके लिये व्यर्थ सिद्ध होगी। इस सम्बन्ध में जो रूपया एमिनिटीज के लिये खर्चा गया है उसमें से कुछ रूपया अगर हम उन समाज सेवी सस्थाओं को नहीं देंगे, जो इस क्षेत्र में काम कर रही हैं, तो हमारा जो मकसद है वह पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा। अभी होता यह है कि अगर हम किसी क्षेत्र में बड़ी मेहनत के साथ कोई नल लगवा देते हैं तो दूसरे ही दिन उसकी टोटी गायब हो जाती है। लैट्रीन में जो फलश सिस्टम होता है, उसके लिये जो जमीन होती है, दूसरे दिन तोड़ डाली जाती है या गायब हो जाती है और उसका प्रयोग नहीं होने दिया जाता है।

श्रीमन्, आवश्यकता इस बात की है, जो लोग सदियों से निम्नतर जीवन बिता रहे हैं, मजबूर हैं, ऐसे लोगों को जीवन की जो एमिनिटीज की वस्तुएं दी जा रही हैं, उनका उपयोग करने का तरीका हमारे समाज सेवी व्यक्ति उनके बीच में जाकर उन्हें बतलाये। इन लोगों में जाग्रत पैदा करने के लिये कार्यकर्ताओं को इन बातों के बारे में बतलाना बहुत आवश्यक है।

श्रीमन्, अगर हम इन लोगों को किसी ट्रांज़िट कैम्प में उठा कर ले जाते हैं तो वे नाराज हो जाते हैं, वे लोग इस बात के लिये तैयार नहीं होते हैं कि थोड़े से समय के लिये भी वे किसी दूसरे मकान में चले जायें। जब तक उनका मकान नये सिरों से नहीं बन जाता या भरपूर नहीं हो जाती, तब तक के लिये भी वे अपने मकानों से

हटने के लिये तैयार नहीं होते हैं। इन लोगों को हमेशा ही दुख भोगना पड़ता है। ये लोग दूसरों की सेवा करते हैं मगर स्वयं गंदी जगहों पर रहते हैं। ये लोग दूसरों के लिये तो मकान बनाते हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतें बनाते हैं लेकिन उनका शोषण दूसरे करते हैं। श्रीमन्, इस शोषण में और आर्थिक विषमता में जो कि पूँजीवाद की देन है ये लोग इधर-उधर पड़े रहकर महीनो इसी तरह से बिता देते हैं। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जहाँ पांच हजार रूपया एमिनिटीज के लिये खर्चा गया है, वहाँ इस बात का भी प्राविजन जरूर किया जाता और इस बात के लिये कोई अथारिटी बना दी जाती, जिससे समाज-सेवी और सोशल एजुकेशन का काम करने वाले उनके और उनके बच्चों में रहकर उन कामों को करते और उन्हें बताते कि अच्छा जीवन किस तरह से बिताया जाता है। हम अगर उन स्लम-डवेलर्स के पास किसी डाक्टर को ले जाते हैं तो वह उनको दवा देता है लेकिन उससे प्रॉब्लम साल्व नहीं होती है। दूसरे दिन वह फिर बीमार हो जाता है। जब तक हम एक फंड इस सब में क्लिएट नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम यह समस्या हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर हम प्रत्येक स्लम-डवेलर्स के लिये आठ आना दे, तो दो लाख स्लम-डवेलर्स के लिये एक लाख रूपया इकट्ठा हो जायेगा। अगर इस तरह का कोई अमेडमेट इस विधेयक में लाकर कोई रूल ड्राफ्ट किया जाय, तो जहाँ कहीं भी अच्छी और प्रतिष्ठित सामाजिक सस्थाएँ हैं, जो कि इस विधेयक के आने से बहुत पहले से काम कर रही हैं, वे उस फंड के द्वारा स्लम एरियाज में एक नया जीवन और एक नई क्रांति ला सकती हैं।

श्रीमन्, अभी यहाँ पर यह भी कहा गया है कि सरकार दिल्ली शहर को सुन्दर बनाने जा रही है। दिल्ली को हमें ऐसा बनाना है कि जो विदेशी लोग आते हैं, वे देखें कि गवर्नमेन्ट ने इस शहर को कितना सुन्दर, कितना आकर्षक और कितना आर्टिस्टिक बनाया है।

श्रीमन्, उसके लिये यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि इन स्लम-डवेलर्स को निकाल करके कहीं बाहर फेंक दिया जाय। इन स्लम-डवेलर्स के लिये यदि कई मजिल की सुन्दर और आकर्षक बिल्डिंग्स बनाकर, उनको एक एक कमरा दे दिया जाय और उनको सोशल एजुकेशन दे दी जाय ताकि वे एक साथ ठीक रहना सीख जायें तो मैं समझती हूँ कि इससे वे बहुत सत्पुष्ट होंगे। यदि हम दिल्ली को सुन्दर बनाना चाहते हैं तो यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि हम इन बेचारों को ले जाकर कहीं

दूर डाल दें। अगर इनको हम दूर डाल देंगे तो इनके जीवन में इतनी अधिक कठिनाई आ जायेगी कि ये अपनी जिन्दगी नहीं बिता पायेंगे। इनमें कोई बेचारा नाई का पेशा करता है, कोई जूते बनाने का काम करता है, कोई घरों में काम करता है, कोई दूसरी सेवा का काम करता है, और इसी से इनकी रोजी चलती है। यदि हम सचमुच इनको दूर ले जाना चाहते हैं, तो हमें सब से पहले इनको रोजगार दिलाना चाहिये, रोटी दिलानी चाहिये। अगर १०, २०, २५ मील ले जा कर इनको सुन्दर मकान दे भी दिया, तो ये सुन्दर मकान नहीं खायेंगे। इनके लिये सब से पहले रोटी का सवाल है। माननीय भूपेश गुप्ता जैसे सदस्यों की, जिन्हें स्लम-डवैलर्स से वाकई हमदर्दी है, मे दावत देती है कि वे हमारे साथ चल और देखें कि इन गंदी बस्तियों में रहने वालों की क्या समस्यायें हैं। जैसा उन्होंने समझ रखा है, वैसी आसान इनकी समस्याये नहीं हैं। इनकी बड़ी गंभीर समस्यायें हैं और उन समस्याओं को बड़ी गंभीर दृष्टि से देखने के बाद जब तक हम लोग अपना तन, मन, धन न्योछावर न कर देंगे, तब तक न इनके रहने का स्तर ऊंचा होगा और न वास्तव में गंदी बस्तियों की सफाई हो पायेगी। एक बार मैं फिर कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन स्लम-डवैलर्स की सोशल और हेल्थ-एजुकेशन के लिये यदि समाज की सेवा करने वाली संस्थाओं को कुछ धन दिया जा सके तो मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से वायदा करती हूँ कि इन गंदी बस्तियों के दूर करने के इस महान यज्ञ में वे हमारा पूरा-पूरा सहयोग पायेंगे।

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR (Bihar): Sir, inspite of my best efforts and full attention given to my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta I could not understand and follow him. I expected that once at least in an exceptional way with regard to this useful legislation, my friend, Mr. Gupta, will come to reason, break his vow of opposing the Government in all directions. At least I expected that Mr. Gupta would take into consideration the various provisions of this very innocent, important and useful Bill which has been placed before the House for discussion today. But his ire had been raised to a high pitch when he said that the poor people's interests had been overlooked in this Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want you to rise, but you are only limping.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR : I say if you had attempted to follow that you would have confessed that it is in the interests of those poor people, it is in the interests of those sufferers who are rotting in slums, it is in the interests of those poor men for whom no care was taken by the society or by any other political party crying in the name of poor in this country. It is the Government which has come forward with this useful measure for the acceptance of this House and practical steps will be taken in that light for poor sufferers. I can remind him that in the metropolis of Moscow when the Soviet Government had taken steps to build houses for the relief of the Soviet people, they did not demolish their multi-storeyed buildings nor did they stop the beautifying of their towns and countryside with the construction of beautiful buildings. It is a fact. Of course, you will be utilising all these words of slur, just after a few months, just after a few weeks, by giving bad name to Government, giving bad name to good measures, in the field of ensuing elections. But let me tell you, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, that this is primarily intended for helping the poor people. That is a mirage, you say, that it is only to show to the outside people, that it is only to show to the dignitaries from different parts of the world. I hang down my head on such observation under party spirit overlooking the spirit of the Bill. At least it was not expected of the party which Mr. Gupta represents. I expected that you would look to the spirit of the provisions through which the Government is attempting to bring the people out of that curse in which they are passing their life for ages past. And when the Government is taking this step, you are going back to the First Five Year Plan. You should take the Second Five Year Plan more appropriately which the Government has got before it. In this Second Plan Government has got its programme and schemes for the provision of houses to labourers and workers in large number.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Very little.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR : Yes. Everything which is done by Government is very little, Mr. Gupta, in the view of the party which opposes it, which opposes the Government in all right and wrong directions. Let me tell you once more that this Bill is a blessing. This Bill is a blessing for the people for which at least you ought to have felt a bit softly. When the Government is trying to remove those curses for the help of the poor you are so much angry.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Member has not even understood me. I support every good provision.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Please address the Chair.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR: One word, and I have done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I cannot help . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Please address the Chair, Mr. Umair, not the hon. Member.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR: I am only naming Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but I am looking to you. My friend sometimes diverts attention. He may be asked not to divert my attention. You see that in this city of Delhi which is a historical city, this curse is continuing for hundreds of years. You, Mr. Gupta, want the present Government to remove this curse overnight. You want the present Government to remove these curses in a day. You want the Government to remove now or never whereas you do not look to the achievements of this Government made during the last few years. The Government has constructed so many thousands and lakhs of buildings and houses for these poor displaced refugees. You do not look to these achievements. You look to your election programmes and, therefore, you want to talk against the Government's achievements. But lakhs and lakhs houses have been constructed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Where?

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR: Dossens of new colonies have been constructed here in the outskirts of Delhi city. More and more buildings are going to be constructed everyday. Now, here is a scheme for the removal of slums, yet you maintain that the Government has not got any scheme for the provision of accommodation for those persons who would be dislodged, who would be dislocated from those slums. It is indeed a misapprehension on your part against every act of Government. As regards the Second Five Year Plan, nobody should be more convinced, Mr. Gupta, than yourself that the Five Year Plan has got ample and very comprehensive provision for such sort of buildings and constructions. Therefore, you need not be afraid. You are cursing the Government for removing these curses. If you could not co-operate with the Government, at least you should not have discouraged this sort of step which is a historical step, on the part of the Government.

With these words I congratulate the Government, I congratulate the Home Minister, I congratulate the Health Minister, for bringing forward this very useful and beautiful measure which, I think, after it comes into effect, will convince Mr. Gupta of its utility.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, as the hon. Minister at the time of introduction clearly pointed out that this was a non-controversial Bill, it is absolutely non-controversial from the point of view that there is no opposition to it from the different benches. All of us hang down our heads in shame when we see slum areas in this great metropolis, and efforts should be made to remove these slums. When we discuss this Bill, we must explore all avenues and aspects of improving and expediting the clearance of slums. This is not an occasion to offer any cheap jibes against the Government or pass any cynical remarks about high officers or Members of Parliament, of this House or that. It is not the occasion for that. Our object is whether the

Bill as it is brought before the House is going to achieve or help in achieving our object of removing the slums as early as possible and provide the people now residing in slum areas with some sort of suitable accommodation.

Sir, you know that ours is a growing city. There are large cities in existence which have solved the problem of slum clearance in their own cases, and we should profit by their experience and see what mistakes they have committed. I find, Sir, that we are going to make the same sort of mistakes that were committed by them, while they are now realising that the method adopted by them for slum clearance was not the proper method. I hope that in this case also it is only a temporary measure. This Bill authorises the Government to go to the slum areas and if there is any building unfit for human occupation to demolish that building as early as possible and to force the landlord to patch up here and there or build some new building in its place probably to make the area a little less ugly. Sir, in such a case are we solving the problem? My contention is that if you take out these people from these areas and put them in far off places, it is not a solution of the problem. It adds to the traffic difficulties. All these people have to be transported during the day for their normal avocations and then back to their homes in the evening for rest. The modern idea is that every colony has to be made into a self-contained unit, that the residential accommodation, the shopping accommodation, the office accommodation, all that has to be blended in such a way that an area is complete in itself, that the people living in that area find their occupation also in that very area, and that they do not have to travel to their place of occupation. You know Sir, that in the major part of London, 90 per cent is day population, and the moment it is four o'clock or five o'clock, that population leaves London. They have to be provided with buses and other means of transport to take them back. Then again, in the morning at nine o'clock or ten o'clock all that population has to be brought

in, and this has led to such a congestion of traffic that they now realise that the solution suggested some twenty years ago about slum clearance was not a good suggestion, and they are now repenting for it today. Are we going to make similar mistakes here? Are we now thinking of taking these people and putting them in far off places from the centre of their present residence? That will not be a solution. A mere patchwork will not solve the problem.

The hon. Minister said that area of slums is about five hundred acres and that the people living there are two lakhs. Now simple arithmetic will convince him that five hundred acres are an ample area for accommodating two lakhs of people provided we have four or five storeyed buildings properly designed and spaced in that area. So, when the hon. Minister is thinking of clearing the slums, he must prepare a master plan not only for these areas but for the rest of Delhi city, and after the master plan is prepared for the Delhi city, if any building crops up in a haphazard way, it should be replaced by a building in accordance with the plan. It should not be a patchwork. But according to that plan every building, small or big, must be replaced as and when it becomes unfit for human residence, and it must be demolished. I was suggesting that first of all the hon. Minister has to make up his mind whether he is going to have three storeyed or five storeyed or seven storeyed buildings and what is going to be the width of the roads and streets in the whole of Delhi city, how they are going to be laid out, how they are going to lay out office accommodation, shop accommodation and residential accommodation. Traffic routes also should be taken into account. Once this plan is ready, then only slum clearance can be effective. Otherwise, as a temporary measure, just for the time being, let the Government have this power and utilise this power for patching up buildings in the slum areas or to demolish them or to replace them by temporary structures because if you build a permanent structure it should be a permanent part of the master plan. I do not

[Shri Kishen Chand.] want to stress the same things over and over again, but take the constructions in New Delhi, which are being sanctioned by the Government. There also you will find that there is no master plan. The master plan is still under preparation and probably it will take ten years' time to be completed. By that time Delhi would have become so disfigured that the cost of remodelling would become tremendous.

Once more I submit that I have no grievance against this Bill. But it should be treated only as a temporary measure and the least amount of money be spent on patching up work. The underlying idea should be that all unfit buildings should be removed and they should be replaced by proper buildings which are an integral part of the master plan.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LAL (Bihar) : Sir, I have no desire to speak at length on this Bill. This Bill was only introduced two days before and it is now being passed today. I wish that this Bill had come before us in the next session and people had been given an opportunity to study it thoroughly. Of course, there is no doubt that there can be no two opinions with regard to the clearing of slums in Delhi. But it is not only clearing of slums that is mentioned here. The object is surely something very sweet and melodious. Nobody can have any objection to that. But the practical operation of the Act, I am afraid, may be found to be very difficult. It cannot be so easy, and we cannot take it so lightly that it will be so smoothly put into practice and that officers will operate so conscientiously and at the same time in the best interests of the development of the city. They may sometimes suggest how the officers should function. And such provisions for the clearance of the subject before coming to the houses and all these may be part of the hardships of the people. So, this should have been followed by a study of the subject before coming to the measure. Of course, even as it is, I agree with the object and I wish that

this pious aim be fulfilled sympathetically and the Government may clear up all the difficulties and clean the slums as they think it proper. But at the same time, I would like to make one suggestion, even in regard to this Bill, as I made only a few minutes before.

Only pious thinking and moving negatively towards certain directions will not give us any positive achievement. Even in this Bill, there is only slum clearance. But how buildings will spring up is not taken into account. I hold the view that if you go on issuing sanctions to build buildings, automatically slums will be removed. Today, there is much hardship in the way of slum-owners and house-owners to rebuild their houses because there is only the negative law: "Do not build". Everybody is asked not to build; everybody is asked to demolish houses that are not in proper order. But there is no provision for helping the building up of houses. If you go on on the positive side, there will be an incentive for the house-owners in Delhi. There are people of means who are prepared to invest and build houses by demolishing their existing houses. But no such thing has been taken into account and I would only like to make a suggestion. Of course, the Bill is going to be passed in spite of any opinions to the contrary. But I will only say that the positive side should not be neglected and the authority should take up the programme of sanctioning construction of buildings, of course, with the help of laws as suggested by my friend, Shri Kishen Chand. And as a matter of fact the Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority should think what should be the breadth of the road, how much land should be given for the different kinds of roads and how much land should be provided for different purposes for schools, for parks and all these things. So, after providing these things in a certain law, you should help and encourage the growth of buildings—that is, sanctioning the building—and that positive step will lead to the demolition of the slums automatically. But if you only stick to

your bosom the activity of demolishing the slums and no sanction is given for any further building construction, that is a positive discouragement to the builders and discouragement to the development of Delhi.

This is what I wanted to suggest to the Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): May I speak a word?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You want to speak? Yes.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir I think the House will agree that this is a good Bill. Social conditions require that the problem of slums should be dealt with courageously. In order to encourage building programmes, it is necessary to demolish buildings which are unfit for human habitation. Twelve years back, while serving on the Bhore Committee, I had the opportunity of seeing something of these slums in our industrial towns. I saw some slums in Delhi and I was actually horrified to see those slum areas. It is inconceivable that men and women in the twentieth century should be made to live under horrible conditions of life. There are provisions in the Bill for slum clearance and I am sure that the building aspect will not be ignored. In fact, we want a big programme of housing in an expanding city like Delhi. The population of Delhi has increased very much. Big houses have grown up but we would like to see the living conditions of the mass of the people also improved. The socialistic pattern of society will be a dream if we do not provide some basic housing requirements for our people.

One thing that I would like to say is this. I do not like the one-room tenement. I rather gathered the impression that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was for one-room tenements for Members of the Houses of Parliament.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Members like me, you see.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Well, I have a higher regard for him than he has for himself.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : He is a bachelor. He wants an one-room tenement.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Bachelor or widower, single man or married man, I do not like the one-room tenement. I think a person ought to have at least two rooms, a verandah, a kitchen and some plot of land if this is possible. Now, I have seen so many types of buildings in Bombay—big, multi-storied buildings. They are very ugly. I have seen in New York buildings of 30 or 50 storeys. Well they are skyscrapers and I rather think that our development in this country should be on somewhat different lines. We have plenty of land. It should be possible for us to acquire that land. Property rights cannot be respected to the exclusion of human rights. Property rights are not fundamental. What is fundamental is the right of the human being to a decent standard of living and I think that we should move courageously forward in the direction of planning on a vast scale as far as housing is concerned. A good house makes for efficiency in a worker. You cannot expect efficiency from your working-class men if their conditions of living do not improve. Many of the frustrations they suffer from are due to the fact that they live in dark dingy surroundings. They do not get fresh air. They suffer from diseases and they become addicted to the evil of drink. Now, you want to change the face of this country. It may not be possible for us to have a very high standard of living in his country. But I am coming round to the view that we can all be happy or let us at least be happy in comparative poverty. Let us have a decent standard of life for every single citizen in this country. It is unnecessary for us to have very rich people and very poor people. We want to do away with social injustices. The slum constitutes a slur upon the fair name of our country.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): Sir . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I had already called the Home Minister earlier. I gave a chance only to Mr. Sapru.

5 P.M.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Sir, my only apology for requesting you is that I happen to be a member of the Slum Clearance Committee appointed, and if I did not stand earlier, it was only because I thought that after having heard the views of others I would submit my views as a member of the Committee.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak at the third reading stage.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : All right, Sir. But I hope that the scope will not be closed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have now called upon the Home Minister to reply.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Sir, I have listened to the speeches of hon. Members with undivided and respectful attention. Well, so far as the present Bill is concerned, there does not seem to be any difference of opinion in this House. That alone is relevant; everything else is irrelevant. So, if I were to concentrate on the relevant part of the speeches, I could not but welcome the unanimous support which has been accorded to this Bill. That is sufficient for my purposes. But I should like to thank hon. Members for their words of wise counsel, for if one accepts that what has been placed before one is perfect and unobjectionable, there is a feeling left behind that perhaps "I may not be supposed to be wiser than those who are the authors of the Bill". And that does not always satisfy one's sense of conceit or arrogance, or whatever one may like to call it. So, something must be said to indicate that one is wiser than others. I bow to that too. We do not claim to have a monopoly of wisdom or foresight, and we are here to benefit by the advice that must

be given to us by the Members sitting here, and especially by those sitting on the opposite side; and especially when certain Members have nothing else to do except to speak, their speech must carry sound as well as sense perhaps. If there will be nothing of the latter, even the former has some utility of its own in a democratic body. So, I have listened with interest to all that has been said. I thought—when I was listening to the hon. Member sitting opposite to me—that he was perhaps living in the Bhangi Colony. I made enquiries, but I was told that he was occupying one of the houses built for the Members of Parliament and was enjoying all the amenities to which others are entitled. Well, I congratulate him for having uniformly adhered to the practice which is followed by other Members of Parliament. I was reminded that Gandhiji used to live in the Bhangi Colony. He perhaps thought that it would be sacrilegious to what Gandhiji had done. But when he says that nothing has been done for the poorer classes I think he is mistaken. I know that thousands of houses have been built for workmen and labourers. While I was connected with one of the States in the country, I had myself the privilege of being associated with large scale house-building for the benefit of workmen. In almost every industry there were hundreds of houses constructed either by Government or with the aid of Government for the benefit of labourers. They are living a life perhaps better than in some other parts such as the eastern regions of Soviet State—Uzbekistan—and others, and perhaps the workmen here are happier than those in Hungary, at least today. So, they are not being shot down by anybody. However that is a minor point which again is not very relevant or germane to the Bill that is under discussion. It is not only the question of workmen. We have passed a number of laws, not only here, but also in the States, for the benefit of the poorer sections of the community. There is control of rents all over. Eviction and ejection is almost banned, and the tenants, in many places, are paying rents which they had been

paying ten years ago. Well, I do not know how it strikes Mr. Gupta. Perhaps he thought that if they are charged heavily, he could have found some congenial soil in that quarter. But that is not available to him. Similarly, in other matters we have tried to do what we could. We had the housing programme previously, and we have one now. Those who have cared to see our Second Five Year Plan, must have noticed that there is a plan for housing too. Well, our resources are limited, and those who have to do solid work have to be guided by the realities of the situation. Those whose part begins and ends simply with wild utterances have not to bother about anything real or practical. So, he is free to make such remarks as he chooses.

I can also remind him that we here have framed this Bill for all Union territories. Only it is to be applied to Delhi primarily. But if necessary, it can also be extended to other Territories. Other States have got their own Bills. They have the competence under the Constitution to introduce and pass such legislation, and many have—at least the Andhra State and the Madras State—got their Bills for the clearance of slums. Bombay is having one. The Municipal Acts, as they exist, also contain certain provisions. Only they do not go as far as this Bill does.

Then, Sir, it is, I think, acknowledged by everybody that more of constructive work is necessary and less of destructive, and that, I wish, could be remembered even by the speakers here. As to the best method of tackling this problem, I welcome the proposals that have been made, but I may also remind hon. Members that some time ago a Board of specialists was appointed to prepare a Master Plan for Delhi. I presume they were as familiar with modern trends and the steps that have been taken in other countries for dealing with a problem of this type and this magnitude as any other Member of this House may claim to be. If we attach value to their opinions, it does not mean that we deprecate the advice that may come

from other quarters. We welcome the advice given by experts after a close study of the problem for days, weeks and months, and also we attach considerable importance to the suggestions made in this House.

I may also state that under the Master Plan provision has been made for the construction of a large number of buildings and this sort of indiscriminate haphazard construction will cease. Other measures will also be taken to rationalise and regularise the system of house-building. I hope that while the slums will be cleared, efforts will also be made to see that the people are put to minimum inconvenience. When new schemes are implemented, there is inevitably some sort of inconvenience. But for the sake of permanent advantages and benefits one has occasionally to put up with temporary discomforts. I understand that the Bharat Sewak Samaj and other bodies, under the guidance of the Central Government, or at the request of the Central Government, if that be more agreeable and pleasant, have been doing really very wholesome and useful work. A number of *katras* have already been cleaned up and adequate amenities of the proper type are also being thought of and will, I hope, be soon provided in other *katras*. Of course, it will take time. We have no magic wand and we cannot work out miracles. Perhaps some others may. So, it will take some time but there is no doubt that this is not a negative but a positive step. I regard the clearance of the slums by itself a positive step. The slums are a menace to health, to safety, to morals and the non-existence of a menace by itself is a wholesome step in the right direction and it gives us a congenial environment for healthy growth. So even if nothing more were done and if these people were to live in open grounds under the sky, even that would be better than living in these dirty, dingy quarters.

So the Bill, by itself, is an unobjectionable one and I hope hon. Members will be pleased to endorse and accept it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill to provide for the improvement and clearance of slum areas in certain Union territories and for the protection of tenants in such areas from eviction be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2.—Definitions

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Sir, I move :

1. That at page 2, lines 3-4, for the words "improvement" with its grammatical variations includes" the words "work of improvement includes" be substituted.

The words 'work or works of improvements' have been used throughout the Bill. So, in order to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding, I am suggesting this amendment.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

1. That at page 2, lines 3-4, for the words "improvement" with its grammatical variations includes" the words "work of improvement includes" be substituted.

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 3 to 5 were added to the Bill.

Clause 6—Expenses of maintenance of works of improvement, etc., to be recoverable from the occupiers of buildings.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Sir, I move :

2. "That at page 4, line 27, after the word 'incurred' the words 'by the competent authority or, as the case may be, any local authority' be inserted."

This clause provides for the recovery of the charges so incurred as areas of land revenue. This procedure should be admissible only where such cost has been incurred by a competent authority or a local authority. So, this amendment is proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

2. "That at page 4, line 27, after the word 'incurred' the words 'by the competent authority or, as the case may be, any local authority, be inserted'."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That clause 6, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 6, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 7 and 8 were added to the Bill.

Clause 9—Power to declare any slum area to be a clearance area

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Sir, I move :

3. "That at page 5, lines 40 and 41 be deleted."

This proviso is likely to give cause or unnecessary complications and may create difficulties. It is redundant. So, it may be deleted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

3. "That at page 5, lines 40 and 41 be deleted."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That clause 9, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 9, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 10—*Slum Clearance Order*

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Sir, I move :

4. "That at page 6, line 9, after the words 'specified therein' the words 'and requiring each such building to be vacated within such time as may be specified in the order' be inserted."

There was this lacuna in this clause. So, these words had to be inserted.

I also move :

5. "That at page 6, for lines 16 to 23, the following be substituted, namely:—

'(4) When a slum clearance order has become operative, the owners of buildings to which the order applies shall demolish the buildings before the expiration of six weeks from the date on which the buildings are required by the order to be vacated or before the expiration of such longer period as in the circumstances of the case the competent authority may deem reasonable.' "

This is to improve the language.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The clause and the amendments are before the House.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Sir, may I, with your permission, suggest a slight amendment to, amendment No. 5? For, that appears to me to be very necessary. What I suggest is that in amendment No. 5, the words 'required by the order to be' should be deleted. I am sure the hon. Home Minister, on second thoughts, will be pleased to accept my amendment. Let us read how this amendment No. 5 stands.

"When a slum clearance order has become operative, the owners of buildings to which the order applies shall....."

this is the operative part of it—

"demolish the buildings before the expiration of six weeks from the date on which the buildings are..."

these are the words which I want to be deleted—

"required by the order to be"

then it says:—

"*vacated or before the expiration* of such longer period as in the circumstances of the case the competent authority may deem reasonable."

The amendment as it stands would mean that the building must be demolished within six weeks from the date on which the order is passed irrespective of the fact whether that building has been vacated by the occupants or not. What I suggest is that the order for demolition should be enforceable within six weeks after the premises are vacated. For, obviously when persons are already living there, the buildings are not intended to be demolished. That is a necessary amendment which must be incorporated. An order of vacation under a previous clause would, of course, be passed but supposing the occupants don't vacate it, you will have probably to go to a civil court. That will take time. The poor owner—I will not call him poor—may, according to your directions, go and begin to demolish even when the occupants are there. So this period of six weeks should begin from the date on which the premises are vacated.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : If they are not vacated?

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: If they are not vacated, then of course, you cannot demolish them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you finished, Mr. Kapoor?

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Yes, Sir.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: You cannot demolish the buildings before the expiration of six weeks from the date on which the buildings are required by the order to be vacated. That is to say, these six weeks are given from the date on which the buildings should have been finally vacated; if necessary, further period may be given. I do not see anything wrong about the amendment.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : About my amendment?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: No, about my amendment.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

4. "That at page 6, line 9, after the words 'specified therein' the words 'and requiring each such building to be vacated within such time as may be specified in the order' be inserted."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

5. "That at page 6, for lines 16 to 23, the following be substituted, namely :—

'(4) When a slum clearance order has become operative, the owners of buildings to which the order applies shall demolish the buildings before the expiration of six weeks from the date on which the buildings are required by the order to be vacated or before the expiration of such longer period as in the circumstances of the case the competent authority may deem reasonable.'

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

"That clause 10, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 10, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 11 to 40 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Title and the Enacting Formula were added to the Bill.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Sir, I move

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Mr. Deputy Chairman, the few observations that I propose to make at this stage, I must confess, would have been more appropriate at an earlier stage of the Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If you make them at a later stage, there are more chances of your remarks being remembered.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : But then it hardly makes any difference whether it is made at one stage or at another stage, more particularly Sir, if I have your indulgence as I hope I have now. If I venture to make some observations even at this stage, it is not because I am suffering from any sense of conceit, that I am wiser than the framers of this measure, but because nothing in this world is perfect and even in the case of a measure like this, I do not know whether much attention had been paid to it by the hon. the Home Minister because I am almost inclined to feel that this has been drawn up in a little hurry, from the very fact that a number of amendments were moved by the Home Minister himself the notice of which was tabled so late as this afternoon. So, I venture to think that if a little more attention were given to it, or even now if you give more attention to it for the sake of bringing in some improvements in the measure later on, it is worthwhile doing so.

Sir, one point I would like to dispose of at the outset and that relates to the provision that is made in the

Second Plan to which reference was made by the hon. the Home Minister just now. That is the point I want to allude now and it is not the first time that I am doing it and what I am going to say will be virtually a repetition of what I have been stating on two or three previous occasions. But unfortunately, that suggestion of mine did not find favour with the Planning Commission or the Government. In the Second Five Year Plan, if you look at page 555 of this Second Five Year Plan book, you will find that the provision of Rs. 120 crores has been made for housing purposes. Out of this pretty big sum what is provided for slum clearance and sweepers' houses is a meagre amount of Rs. 20 crores. I say 'meagre' relatively only, for it is a big enough sum, being Rs. 20 crores. What I am suggesting is that rather than allocating only Rs. 20 crores out of a sum of Rs. 120 crores, for slum clearance, a much bigger portion of this total allotment should be allocated for slum clearance. I am not suggesting that you should do it by increasing the total amount provided for housing purposes. They can do it by reducing the amount provided for the housing of the low-income groups for which they have allotted an amount of Rs. 40 crores. What is the definition of a low-income group? I am glad the hon. Minister for Housing is also present in the House now, because this question concerns him more than anybody else. The definition of a low-income group for the purpose of granting loans is that the person should not have an income of more than Rs. 6,000 a year. Sir, we are going to have a socialist pattern of society. Therefore, to me it seems that we should start from the very lowest bottom and not just from the middle strata. According to me, if a person has an income of Rs. 6,000 a year he is not even in the middle, but he is pretty high above, though not among the rich classes, he comes immediately below them in our poor country.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. P. TAMTA) in the Chair]

So, rather than spending Rs. 40 crores for providing accommodation to persons having an income of Rs. 6,000 per year . . .

THE MINISTER FOR WORKS, HOUSING AND SUPPLY (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): That is the maximum.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : That may be the maximum, but my personal experience has been that this so-called maximum invariably becomes the minimum. I have some experience of how money allotted for building houses gets spent in some parts of our country. I have good experience of one particular place. I know of some other places also. The application of persons with incomes of Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 are more easily accepted and for obvious reasons, because they have a little more pull. Of course, there is nothing wrong about it. People cannot be divested of what influence they have with some people, their good relations and all that. There is nothing dishonest about it. But unless and until you bring down the ceiling from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 you cannot improve matters. Better still would be to accept my suggestion and allot this amount of Rs. 40 crores for slum clearance in the next five years. Let, at least, another Rs. 30 crores be added to the Rs. 20 crores. that you have already allotted for this work and you may make it Rs. 50 crores. I hope the hon. the Home Minister will be able to bring pressure on the hon. the Minister for Housing so as to increase this amount of Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 50 crores so that the purpose of this measure and also the object which is behind this measure in a general way, may be more fully fulfilled. I should feel happy if hereafter this has the full support of such a mighty personality as the Home Minister.

Sir, needless to say, this is a measure over which we are very happy. This is a measure which is going to be extended to other centrally administered territories. I wish the hon. the Home Minister were

[Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor.]
in a position—I do not know whether he is in a position now—to throw some light on the position of slums in Himachal Pradesh, Tripura and Manipur. Perhaps he may not have the necessary information with him at the moment. He is having wider powers under this measure so that he may be in a position to apply them in case of necessity in those areas but he can do that if he has any information with regard to the conditions there. We would be glad to know something about them.

Now, Sir, a question has been rightly pointed out and it has been so clearly admitted which obviously shows that the hon. Minister realises it and that is, it is not merely a question of clearing the slums but also of providing alternative accommodation to the persons who are evicted from the slum areas. Sir, this is an aspect of the question to which we should pay very particular attention. When the slum areas are ordered to be cleared and when buildings on land are ordered to be demolished, the question that easily arises is about the provision that would be made for accommodating all those persons who are being ordered to vacate those areas. So far as the private owners are concerned, so far as the slum owners are concerned, it has been provided herein and rightly so that the persons shall not be evicted even if there is a decree from any civil court except with the prior permission of the Administrator. This is good so far as it goes but what about those persons whom the Government itself is going to evict? Well, admittedly slums have got to be cleared, buildings have got to be demolished but would it not be advisable and very very necessary for Government to see that before any slum area is ordered to be demolished or acquired advance arrangements are made to provide alternative accommodation to the poor people who are living there already? To say in a general way, I submit; Sir, it would not very much serve our purpose. Of course, Government is trying to build new buildings; that is all right but I would like

is that we must specifically decide upon this thing that before issuing orders for the eviction of those people alternative tenements must invariably be provided for them; otherwise, their conditions, bad as they are would become worse if you throw them overnight in the streets. That is a very important thing. You are going to do something good for the poor of the country but, rather than doing good to them, if you throw them out even for a period of two or four or six months, that would be worsening their situation. That will be something very pitiable. What I would submit for the consideration of the Home Minister is that it should invariably be the policy of the Government that before issuing orders of eviction, alternative tenements must be provided to those persons who are being called upon to quit.

May I make two suggestions in regard to this problem? One is that the Government—or, if it so likes, a corporation might be set up for this purpose—should provide the wherewithal to those who have been asked to clear the slum areas and to build new constructions according to a plan if they have not the necessary funds. These people should be provided with loans by this Corporation which I am suggesting may be established. These loans could be at a reasonable rate of interest so that those very persons may be able to carry out all your directions in the matter. That is one suggestion which I am making. The second suggestion is that you may have another House Building Corporation. This is a suggestion which has been made on the floor of the Parliament from time to time and even when the hon. Mr. Gadgil was Minister in charge of this portfolio, this suggestion was made and we had almost an assurance from him that he was going into the question and that he was trying to consult the life insurance and general insurance companies to ask them to help Government with their finances for setting up a House Building Corporation for Delhi. I do not know what happened to that. It will be much better if some light is thrown

on it and if no further step has been taken in that direction, it will be worthwhile to move in the matter and establish a Housing Corporation which might take up the work of building new houses. Of course, Government, with its own resources is doing it but then, in addition to that, it may very well call upon private individuals, big insurance companies—of course, they are now under a Government Corporation but some substantial portion of their funds may well be utilised for this purpose—to subscribe to this. It may very well ask other private persons to subscribe to the share of this Corporation.

Sir, this is all that I have to say about this Bill excepting one thing to which I would only like to make a passing reference and that is the question of compensation that has been provided herein. We do not seem to have given adequate consideration to this question & since this measure has not been before the public for any substantial period, I am sure some slight dissatisfaction is likely to be created by the provisions regarding compensation which have been provided here. I am afraid, Sir, I myself do not feel very competent to speak at length on this because I have only very cursorily gone through those provisions but, even as such, I find that perhaps they are a little too niggardly because if I understand the provision rightly—I speak subject to correction and further enlightenment from the hon. the Home Minister—if an area is acquired by Government and there is a building constructed on the land, then compensation will be paid only for the land and that too only to the extent of the rental value thereof for a period of five years. If the building thereon is demolished then nothing will be paid as compensation. I do not know whether I have rightly understood it but if it is so, then it does appear to me, on first reading and on first thought, that it may not in all cases perhaps be very fair. I speak subject to correction and I would be happy if my reading is wrong.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh) : It is provided in the Schedule.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Then it is very good.

With these words, Sir, I congratulate the hon. the Home Minister for having brought this measure and in trying to put it on the Statute Book as early as possible, for the Bill was introduced only within the last two or three days and now he is asking us to give our assent to it which we must do very happily and rightly.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I make a Christmas present of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill, 1956, to those friends of the House who had been ridiculing the Congress as well as the party in power, as they call it since the time we passed that Resolution in the Hyderabad Congress regarding the socialistic pattern of society. At each and every occasion we were ridiculed, laughed at and sneered for having adopted that eloquent. . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Avadi, not Hyderabad.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is Avadi.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : There is no Hyderabad now. I admit but then it has become part and parcel of the bigger State known as Madras.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Andhra.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : Yes, Andhra.

Now, Sir, with this, I invite them to say whether these measures are not intended for the amelioration of the conditions of the poor and the down-trodden people or whether they are intended for the uplift of the capitalist classes and the monied classes and the rich classes. Is it making the rich richer and making the poor poorer or is it intended to bring about the uplift of the conditions of the poor and the down-trodden people?

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]

I had risen to make only one suggestion which also had incidentally enough been dealt with by my hon. friend, Shri Kapoor, who spoke before me and that was this. I am feeling very much concerned about the conditions of those people who are occupying these slum areas today and who will, in the process of slum clearance, be evicted from those areas. I know that there are provisions made in this Bill according to which they will not be put to any great or severe inconvenience but then it is just possible that the owners of those areas which are intended to be cleared may devise ways and means of troubling those dwellers of those slum areas and put them to inconvenience. So, I would beg of the hon. the Home Minister to make some such arrangement so that those people who are evicted and ejected from their habitations may not be put to any serious inconvenience. Of course, as has already been pointed out, there shall be some little inconvenience or the other; that is inevitable but at the same time so far as the general question of eviction and ejection is concerned, I may respectfully invite the attention of the hon. Sardar Swaran Singh also that one condition should be adopted and adhered to and that is that no person should be evicted or ejected except for non-payment of rent. That should be the only condition under which a person may be evicted or ejected, otherwise the devices that are generally found that the habitation is needed for self-use or for some such other purpose should not be taken into account and no person should be evicted or ejected unless and until it is for the reason of non-payment of rent.

Sir, I am reminded that all the attention of the Government is being paid to the city of Delhi. All congratulations of mine go to my friend Shri Onkar Nath and other friends who are fortunate enough to be residing in Delhi. But, Delhi in spite of its being the metropolis, is not the only place which has got to be rendered beautiful and made magnificent. There

are other places also historically important, which have got to be beautified and made magnificent so that we can make a 'present' of these places throughout our country to the foreigners who happen to visit our country and go to various other places excluding Delhi. With these remarks I heartily and wholeheartedly support the measure and congratulate the mover for this brilliant and splendid piece of legislation.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT:
I am thankful to Mr. Kapoor and Mr. Saksena for their observations and suggestions. I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with those matters at any length now. They will be borne in mind.

I should like to say that this Bill protects every person who is occupying a slum against eviction. When an area has been declared as a slum area no one can be ejected from that area except with the approval and sanction of the authority appointed for that purpose. No court can eject an occupant of a slum in a slum area except with the permission of the special authority appointed for this purpose. That indicates the attitude of mind of those who are associated with the framing of this Bill.

The other observation made about the amount that is provided for housing being limited to persons who have an income of Rs. 6,000—I hope that the bulk of the amount will be used for the poorer sections of the community. Those at the top, that is, getting Rs. 500 per month or having an income of Rs. 6,000 per annum will certainly not be allowed to appropriate the major part of this amount. It is meant for the poorer sections of the community. I do not think I am called upon to say anything more at this stage, rather late stage.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. P. TAMTA) : The question is :

“That the Bill, as amended, be passed.”

The motion was adopted.