Shri Dasaratha Deb: In another place.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. In another place or not, we are not concerned with it now. I am concerned only with the statement made by the hon. Member as a ground for the adjournment motion.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: The statement was.....

Mr. Speaker: No talks like that. To my mind, the position is very clear and whatever it be. I am not going to sit further in judgment upon the facts. Whether the hon. Member accepts the position or not. I accept the statement which is made after a judicial or semijudicial enquiry in the matter, on the spot, keeping the informant of the hon. Member present all through the enquiry. I do not think any further proof is necessary to accept prima facie the truthfulness of the account stated. On the facts stated, I am quite clear that I cannot give my consent to the adjournment motion.

Shri Kamath: Magisterial enquiry.

**Mr. Speaker:** The magistrate is different from police. The hon. Member himself was a magistrate for some time. The magistrate is connected with the police no doubt. That way, even a judge is connected, even a Minister is connected and hon. Members also are connected with the police. Whatever it may be, I am not quite sure whether the hon. Member has heard the whole statement.

Shri Kamath: I have heard it as carefully as you have.

Mr. Speaker: If he has carefully heard it, probably it is not necessary for me to say anything more. I do not say anything more. We proceed to the next business.

#### MOTION RE. REPORT OF THE STA-TES REORGANISATION COM-MISSION

Shri Lakshmayya (Anantapur): I would be failing in my duty if I do not answer the points raised by my hon, friends from Karnataka in regard to specific issues over the Tungabhadra project, the high-level canal and Bellary. I request you to give mechance.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is taking the opportunity of making out his points in the form of a point of order. That is very wrong; that is very irregular. The debate cannot proceed if merely because one hon. Member has said anything, the other hon. Member immediately wants to reply. It will be an endless business and if the debate is to be carried on in that manner, logically, I do not see any reason why hon. Members who have already spoken should not be given a chance again of speaking on some points raised after they have spoken. There is no end to that. Members must remember that the subject of the debate is not one remark of an hon. Member. That is not the subject of the debate. It is only the principles of reorganisation, a general picture of reorganisation, the advantages and disadvantages of a particular proposal of the S.R.C. These are the broad points on which the discussion is sought,-more with a view to discuss....

Shri Lakshmayya: With a view to...

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I shall have to ask him to leave the House if he gets up in the middle. He has been doing that persistently. If he does so, I should ask him to leave the House; I should be sorry, but then I shall have to do it. Even in interruption in debates, we must observe some parliamentary decorum, some kind of procedure. The point that he raises is not the way of discussion. The discussion should be confined to the main points of the subject under consideration. Even if a Member makes some remarks, casually, here or there, there is no reason why another Member should be called upon by the Chair to reply to it. I have again and again explained it. It is impossible to call upon all Members, but if the hon. Member has a grievance about it, and thinks that he must reply, he has got the remedy of making a statement and filing it. As I said, he can publish it

also provided it is admitted and then he can publish it as amended, and not in a way that he has liked it to write. I am trying every day to sit at least for a couple of hours, breaking my head over this thing. I am not interested in this Member or that Member speaking. I have no interest in any particular Member. I am equally in-terested in all and I am interested in seeing that all points of view are placed before the House. That is the position of the person in the Chair. He may commit mistakes; after all, he is a human being. But there need not be this kind of remark and suggestion as the hon. Member put forward. Let us not take the time of the House unnecessarily, especially when we have very little time at our disposal.

I was about to call upon Shri Hem Raj to speak. Now, he will be allowed to go on, without any disturbance.

The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the motion regarding S.R.C. Report.

Yesterday, Shri Hem Ra) was on his legs. Now the hon. Member may continue his speech.

भी हैम राज (कांगड़ा): अघ्यक्ष महोदय, कल में माननीय सदन के सामने पंजाबी भाषा के सम्बन्ध में बतला रहा था कि किस तरह से इस पंजाबी भाषा के प्रश्न ने पंजाब के वायुमंडल को विषम बना दिया है। मैं सदन के सम्मुख दो प्वाइंट्स आज और रखना चाहता हूं।

पहला तो यह कि अकाली दल की जो तजवीज है ग्रौर जो उनकी तरफ से कहा गया है कि जिले कांगड़े को पंजाब से बाहर कर के किसी इलाक़े में मिला दिया जाय, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ प्रर्ज करना चाहता हूं । श्री बहादुर सिंह ने यह कहा कि डोगरा लोगों की भाषा, कल्चर ग्रौर रीति रिवाज पंजाब की भाषा ग्रौर कल्चर से मिलती नहीं है । मैं समझता हूं कि उन्होंने हिस्ट्री का मच्छी तरह से मुताला नहीं किया। ग्रगर वह

हिस्ट्री का मुताला करते तो गालिबन यह बात नहीं कहते । मैं ग्रर्ज कर रहा था कि जिस भाषा ग्रौर जिस लिपि के लिए ग्राज वह इतने जोश से बोल रहे हैं ग्रौर में चाहता हं कि वह लिपि पंजाब में हरदिलमजीज बने, उस लिपि की भगर हिस्ट्री को वह देखें तो उन को पता चल जायगा कि उन की जो लिपि है उसका दरमसल भागाज भौर शुरुम्रात कहां से हई? हिस्ट्री इस बात को साबित करती है कि वह लिपि टांकरी से निकली है । ग्रियरसन की रिपोर्ट में लिखा हमा है कि जिला कांगडा इलाक़े की जो डोगरी भाषा है, यह पंजाबी की एक शाख है। भाई जोध सिंह जो कि पंजाब कौंसिल 🕏 मेम्बर हैं ग्रौर बड़े क़ाबिल ग्रादमी हैं उन्होंने प्रिसिपल बहादूर मल के लेख के जवाब में एक लेख लिखा है मौर उस में वह इस प्रकार कहते हैं:

"May I inform my friend that there is a script called Takri or Thakri used in Kangra hills and old inscriptions in that district. Gurmukhi and Thakri have 15 letters common, 5 resemble each other, 6 have some resemblance and eight are different in both."

[SHRI BARMAN in the Chair]-

में यह मर्ज कर रहा था कि उन्होंने भी यही लिखा है कि गुरुमुखी स्क्रिप्ट दरम्रसल टहांकरी से निकली है। इस के म्रलावा मैं म्रापको बतलाऊं कि श्री एम० एस० रंघावा ने जो किताब "कांगड़ा स्कूल म्राफ़ पेंटिंग" लिखी है उसकी दुनिया के हर एक कोने में घाक बैठ गई है म्रौर कांगड़ा पेंटिंग के मुता-ल्लिक उसमें, उन्होंने लिखा है कि कौन सा ऐसा पंजाबी भाई है जो कांगड़ा स्कूल म्राफ़ पेंटिंग्स पर फ़स्ट नहीं करता। तो मैं म्रापस मर्ज कर रहा था कि हमारा पंजाब के साथ जो रिश्ता है वह माज का नहीं बल्कि सदियां पुराना है। मौर हम हमेशा पंजाब का एक [श्री हेम राज]

हिसा रहे है। सरदार हुकम सिंह ने यह दलील दी थी कि चुंकि वहां के डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड ने इस तरह का प्रस्ताव पास किया है कि कांगड़ा पंजाब में नहीं रहना चाहता इसलिए इसको हिमाचल प्रदेश में जाने दिया जाय भौर इसको पंजाब में न रहने दिया **जाय, में ने उस वक्त उनको टोका था भौर** कहा था कि मैंने कांगड़ा डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड को निसा है कि उनका क्या कहना है ग्रौर उन्होंने चिट्ठी भेज कर बतलाया है कि उनका कोई प्रस्ताव इस क़िस्म का नहीं है बिसमें उन्होंने यह पास किया हो कि कांगड़ा पंजाब में नहीं रहना चाहता । इसके धनावा भगर पबलिक भोपीनियन को ही देवना है तो मैं भापको बतलाऊं कि पंजाब विधान सभा के कांगड़ा जिले के ६ मेम्बरों में से ७ ने विधान सभा में इस मज की तक़रीर की हैं कि हम पंजाब का हिस्सा है धौर हम पंचाब में ही बना रहना चाहते हैं। इसके साथ ही जितनी हमारी डिस्ट्रिक्ट में कांग्रेस कमेटीज हैं, म्युनिसपल कमेटीज हैं, उनके रेचोलेशन्ज मेरे पास पड़े हैं कि हम पंजाब का हिस्सा हैं धौर हम पंजाब के ही साथ रहेंगे। मैं यह मर्ज कर रहा या कि माज वंबाबी भाषा और लिपि के सवाल को **लेकर जिस तरह पर उनका भान्दोलन चल** रहा है, उसने पंजाब के वातावरण को विषम बना दिवा है भौर उसने साम्प्रदायिकता का रुख भक्तियार किया है। इसी तरह से यह जो कांगड़ा का सवाल है इसको भी फ़िरके-बाराना सौर पर सोचा जा रहा है।

कांगड़ा एक तो पहाड़ी इलाक़ा है भौर इखरे हमारे इलाक़ वालों ने सन् १८४८ धौर १८४७ में ग्रंग्नेचों के खिलाफ़ बगावत की धौर बिसके स्वरूप हम 'ग्रेज शासकों के कोषभावन बने ' क्ला नतीजा में बहु मिसा कि उन्होंने हुमारे पहाडी इलाके को हमेशा नेगलेक्टेड रखा झौर उसकी तरफ़ कतई घ्यान नहीं दिया झौर वहा बैकवर्ड झौर नेगलेक्टेड इलाक़ा बन कर रह गया खैर में झापको बतलाऊं कि जब यह मामला पंजाब विधान सभा के सामने लाया गया झौर हमारे कांगड़े जिले के जो झसेम्बली के मेम्बरान बे वह एक प्रस्ताव लाये झौर वहां पर हमारे झकाली भाई थे, गांधी जनता पार्टी के लोग थे, कांग्रेस के लोग थे झौर कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी थे झौर उन्होंने मुत्तफ़िक़ा तौर पर एक प्रस्ताव पास किया जो कि इस प्रकार है :

"In view of the extreme backwardness of the people of Kangrá District, Tehsil Una of Hoshiarpur District, Bhiwani Tehsil of Hissar District, Naraingarh Tehsil arfd other sub-mountaneous and backward parts of Ambala District, Jhajjar Tehsil of Rohtak District, Rewari Tehsil and undeveloped parts of Gurgaon District, Kaithal District, Bet Tehsil of Karnal агеа in thana Kanuan, Tehsil District Gurdaspur and and Shahpur Kandi, Gurdaspur District, in matters of education, of the lack of adequate drinking water facilities and of suitable means of transport and communications, of proper means of irrigation, of lack of any kind of industry and of their inadequate representation in Government services, this Assembly recommends to the Government that it should itself make funds available, and if necessary approach the Union Government for the purpose, for a proper and planned development of the said areas and it further recommends that special concessions be granted to the people of these areas in the matters of admission to all Government or Government-aided institutions and of appointments to services."

में यह ग्रजी कर रहा था कि इस बात को पंचाब की विचान सभा ने भी माना है कि बहु इलाका चो है यह माउंटेनस होने की वजह से नेगलेक्टेड रहा झौर बैकवर्ड है। झौर इसके झलावा एस० झार० सी० कमिशन के क़ाबिल मेम्बरान ने जहां झौर बहुत सारी तजबीजें की है वहां पर इस बात का खास तौर पर घ्यान रक्खा है कि जो रीजन्स मनडेवलप्ड हैं झौर नेगलेक्टेड रहे हैं, उनके लिए खास तौर पर डेवलपमेंट कॉसिल मौर स्पेशल ग्रान्ट्स देने की सिफ़ारिश की है । कमिशन ने हमारे पहाड़ी इलाक़ों के डेवलपमेंट के लिए काफ़ी दिलचस्पी दिखलाई है मौर पै इस सदन के सामने प्रपनी मावाज उसके साथ जोडना चाहता हूं कि यह जो बैकवर्ड, गन-डेवलप्ड झौर नेगलेक्टेड इलाक़ हैं उनके लिए स्पेशल डेवलपमेंट कॉसिल बननी चाहिये झौर स्पेशल ग्रान्ट्स मिलनी चाहिये ।

इसके बाद में एक दो प्वाइंट्स झापके सामने भौर रखना चाहता हूं । यह ठीक है कि मैं एस० मार० सी० की जो मेजारिटी रिपोर्ट है उसको सपोर्ट करता हूं जिसमें हिमाचल प्रदेश म्रौर पंजाब को मिलाने की सिफ़ारिश की गई है। हमारे बहुत से हिमाचल प्रदेश के भाई इस खयाल में पड़े हुए हैं कि हमें मलहदा रह कर फायदा है । में उनके सामने एक अपील करना चाहता हूं भौर में समझता हूं कि मुझे उसका हक़ भी हासिल है क्यों में भी तो एक पहाड़ी ही इलाक़े से झाता हूं भौर हमारे हिमाचल प्रदेश के भाई भी पहाड़ी इलाक़े से धाते हैं। उनको मैं बतलाऊं कि श्री फ़जल धनी ने,जो कमिशन के एक मेम्बर है, उनकी माइनारिटी रिपोर्ट है जिसने उन्होंने यह लिखा है कि मगर यह पहाड़ी इलाके के लोग मैदानी इलाके वाले लोगों मैं मिला दिये जायेगे, तो ग़ालिबन् उनकी वहां पर कोई भाबाज नहीं सुनी जायगी। लेकिन में निजी तौर पर भ्रपने उन भाइयों से पूछता हूं कि पाखिर हम सदियों से पंजाब में रहते माये 🖁, वहां तो कोई हमको 🛛 इड़प नहीं कर सका तो फिर झाप इस तरह की डर क्यों झपने दिल में रख रहे हैं। कमिशन ने जो रिपोर्ट

दी है उसमें यह लिखा है कि म्रापका वहां पर एक मिनिस्टर होगा भौर भ्रापके लिए स्पेशल डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल होगी भौर स्पेशल ग्रान्ट्स दी जायेंगी । तो में म्रापसे कहता हूं कि जब म्रापके पास एक म्रसेम्बली होगी भौर उसमें म्राप जितने भी म्रपने मसले हैं, तकलीफें हैं उनको रख सकते हैं मौर गवर्नमेंट की तवज्जह उन पर दिला सकते हैं । लेकिन मगर म्राप सेंट्रली ऐडमिनिस्टर्ड एरिया में चले जायेंगे तो बहां म्रापको मसेम्बली की सुविधा तो उपलब्ध होगी नहीं; मौर पंजाब मसेम्बली में म्रापकी मावाज कमजोर होगी यह भी नहीं । मैं तो उनको यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उनकी मावाज वहां पर मौर ज्यादा प्रबल मौर मजबूत होगी ।

उस की वजह यह है कि म्राप लोग भपने को सिर्फ दस लाख गिनते हैं भौर सोचते हैं कि झाप की । झावाज कम होगी । लेकिन में कहता हूं कि जिस वक्त वह पंजाब में भायेंगे उस वक्त वहां उन को पंजाब भौर पेप्सू के १४ लाख झादमियों की झावाज झौर मिल जायेगी जो लोग कि उन के पीछे होंगे भौर उन की मावाज दस लाख की न हो कर २५ लाख की हो जायेगी । ऐसी हालत में मैं नहीं जानता कि क्या वजह है कि वह घबराते है। यही नहीं, मैं तो यह भी कहता हूं कि जो उन की सर्विसेज होंगी, गवनमेन्ट सर्वेन्ट्स होंगे उन को भी पंजाब में रक्खा जायेगा। उन की जो फाइव इधर प्लैन है वह सारी की सारी ज्यों की त्यों रहेगी भौर जैसा कि गवर्नमेन्ट ने ऐश्योरेन्स भी दिया है वह सारी की सारी भ्रमल में लाई जायेंगी। इस के भ्रलावा उन को स्पेशल ब्रान्ट्स भी मिलेंगी । इन सब बातों को देखते हुए मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि बह किस लिये इस बात पर मड़े हुए हैं कि वह पंजाब से भसहदा रहें। उन के मलावा और भी बो पहाड़ी इलाक़े हैं वह भी उन की झावाब-के साम घषनी भाषान निजाने को तैवार हूँ।

[श्री हेम राज]

इस के प्रलावा में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे भाई श्री टेक चन्द जी ने इस रिपोर्ट पर बोलते हुए हम पहाड़ वालों के लिये कुछ ऐसे ग्रल्फाज इस्तेमाल किये जिन से हम को ग्राघात पहुंचा । मैं उन से ग्रर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि किसी के जखम पर ग्रगर नमक छिड़का जाय तो वह जखम भर नहीं सकता । हम पहाड वालों के दिल में भी कई जखम ह ग्रगर ग्राप उन पर नमक छिड़केंगे तो वह ग्रीर भी खराब होंगे । ग्रगर ग्राग हमारे जखमों को भरना चाहते हैं तो लाजिमी तौर से वह प्रेम से ग्रीर मुहब्द त से ही भर सकते है ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एस० म्रार० सी० की मैजारिटी रिपोर्ट का स्वागत करता हूं म्रौर उस को सपोर्ट करता हूं ।

श्री टंडन (जिला इलाहाबाद पश्चिम) : सभापति महोदय, इस विषय पर में ने भी कुछ विचार किया है कि हमारे राज्यों का पुर्नसंगठन किस प्रकार हो । विचार करने में कठिनाई यह होती है कि जो बात दलील ौर तर्क की दृष्टि से उचित दिखाई पड़ती है वह बहुत से भाइयों को ग्रच्छी नहीं लगती । जैसा कि कल हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा, ऐसी स्थिति में बड़ी बात यह है कि हम केवल तर्क को ही नहीं बल्कि पारस्परिक मेल भौर प्रेम का सहास लें । लेकिन इस पर भी कहीं कहीं पर प्रदेशों के ऊपर कुछ दबाव म्रावश्यक हो जाता है ।

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Members not to come and disturb the Chair while it is watching the proceedings. If any Member wants any information, I am of course prepared to give it.

भी टंडन : हम सबों की ही इच्छा है कि यह सारा प्रश्न प्रेम के साथ हल हो झौर भापस में कम से कम खींचातानी हो, न हो - तो बहुत ही सुन्दर है। हम सब एक देश के

बासी हैं। हम ने बार बार यह घोषणा की है कि हमारी एक संस्कृति है, भारतीय संस्कृति । यह सच है कि इस एक संस्कृति में कई झलग मलग रंग हैं, परन्तु सब मिल कर हमारे देश की एक सुन्दर संस्कृति है। हमारा यह देश भारत प्राचीन काल से चला मा रहा है इस लिये इस में भाषा के ग्राधार पर जितनी कम खींचातानी हम करें उतना ही झच्छा है। यह तो हम सभी जानते हैं कि भाषा स्थानीय संस्कृति का एक भंग होती है। इस से हमारे काम में ग्रौर दैनिक व्यवहार में सुविधा होती है । यही कारण है कि पुरानी कांग्रेस ने भाषा-वार प्रदेशों की बात कही थी । हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिये कि उस समय हमारे सामने म्रांगरेजों से संघर्ष करने का मुख्य प्रइन था, किस रीति से हम उस संघर्ष को तीव कर सकते हैं, भ्रागे बढ़ा सकते हैं, यह हमारा ध्येय थां। उस समय हमारे पास म्रधिकार नहीं था। इस लिये कुछ मोटी रीति से हम ने प्रदेशीय कांग्रेस कमेटियों को भाषा के ग्राधार पर बनाया । लेकिन साथ ही मेरा यह निवेदन है कि यह भ्रावश्यक नहीं है कि ग्रधिकार का प्रयोग करने में भी हम उसी प्रकार से उन प्रदेशों को पकड़े रहें । इस में बहुत सी कठिनाइयां होती हैं । वैसे में स्वयम् भाषावार प्रदेशों के बनाने का हामी रहा हूं । हमारे कर्नाटक के भाई जानते है कि जब में ने वहां, कांग्रेस का ग्राघ्यक्ष होने के नाते दौराकियातो मैं ने उन की इस मांगका पक्ष किया था कि कर्नाटक एक राज्य बने । मैं मपने भाई मान्ध्रों की भी इस मांग का पक्षपाती था कि एक राज्य ऐसा हो जहां पर तैलगू भाषाभाषी हों । इस लिये नहीं कि मैं मद्रास का विच्छेद देखना चाहता था या वह विच्छेद मुझ को ग्रच्छा लगताया। मुन्दर तो यही या कि कुल मद्रास एक बड़ा प्रदेश रहता, परन्तु में घपने वर्षों के घनुभव से यह सकता था कि वहां एकता चल नहीं रही है।

तैलगू भौर तामिलों के भापसी सम्बन्धों को देख कर यही उचित लगा कि तैलगूभाषियों के लिये एक प्रदेश अलग कर दिया जाय । साचारी कभी कभी हम को बाघित करती रही है, मजबूर करती रही है कि हम भाषावार प्रदेश बनायें परन्तु, जैसा कल प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा, एक राज्य एक भाषा का सिद्धान्त सदा स्वीकार्य नहीं हो सकता । उस के कुछ भपवाद भी होत हैं । जहां ऐतिहासिक कम इस प्रकार का बना है कि प्रदेशों में कई भाषायें साथ साथ चली हैं, उन को सहसा भलग नहीं किया जा सकता ।

कल हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने दो तीन बातें कहीं जिन पर मेरा विशेष घ्यान गया । एक तो उन्होंने यह कहा कि एक राज्य एक भाषा का सिद्धान्त सदा नहीं चल सकता । दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही कि वह स्वयम् इसे पसन्द करते हैं एक राज्य में कई भाषायें हों। उन्होंने बाईलिंग्वल भ्रौर ट्राईलिंग्वल की बात की मर्थात् यह कि म्रगर एक राज्य में कई भाषायें हों तो उन को पसन्द होगा। मैं इतना ही कहंगा कि इस में कोई बहुत पसन्द करने की बात तो नहीं है, परन्तु यदि हो तो उसे प्रेम के साथ स्वीकार करना चाहिये । सुविधा तो इसी में है कि जहां तक हो सके एक भाषा का राज्य बने, लेकिन ग्रगर दो या तीन भाषामों का बनता है तो इस में कोई ऐसी बड़ी कठिनाई तो नहीं है। उनकी इस बात से मैं बिल्कूल सहमत हूं कि हम दो या तीन भाषायें सीखें जब कि मंग्रजी हमारे सिर से हट रही है, यह बहुत ग्रासान बात है। हमारे देश की भाषायें को इतनी समीप हैं, इतनी मिली हुई हैं कि. उन को सीखने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होगी मैं तो इसे कोई कठिन समस्या नहीं मानता हूं । उन्होंने कल उर्दू भाषा की चर्चा की थी। में उन से बिल्कुल सहमत हूं कि उर्दू भाषा भी हमारे देश की ही भाषा है और यह किसी दूसरे देश में नहीं बनी है। मैं ने सदा एक

हिन्दी के कार्यकर्ता के नाते यह निवेदन किया है कि उर्दू हिन्दी का ही एक रूपान्तर है। हिन्दी भाषा में ही एक समय म्राया—एक ऐति-हासिक समय---जब कि फार्सी मौर मबी के शब्द मिलाये गए झौर एक भाषा बनी, प्राय: बह दिल्ली के बाजारों में बनी, पर वह फैल गई। इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि यह हमारे देश की ही एक भाषा है । परन्तु उस की जो लिपि है, साधारण रीति से लिखने की, उस को हम यह नहीं कहँ सकते कि वह हमारे देश की है । इस लिपि की कठिनाई कहीं कहीं पर मा जाती है। मैं ने तो उस लिपि को पड़ा है भौर मैं मानता ह कि उस लिपि में कुछ सुविधा है। परन्तु उस लिपि को प्रयोग में लाने से पहले हमें यह देखना पड़ेगा कि जो दूसरे लोग हैं उन को इस से क्या सुविधायें होंगी झौर क्या झसुविधायें होंगी । झस्तु यह प्रइन इस समय हमारे सामने व्यावहारिक रीति से नहीं है। काश्मीर में उर्दु लिपि है बहुत भच्छी तरह से यह वहां पर चल रही हैं वहां पर किसी को झापत्ति नहीं है, वहां के हमारे भाई इसे चाहते हैं, इस में किसी को ऐतराज नहीं है। हमारे यहां उत्तर प्रदेश में या दिल्ली में जो भी इस लिपि को पढ़ना चाहते हैं झौर इस लिपि को पढ़ने लिखने में प्रयोग करना चाहते हैं, उन को ग्रवश्य ही सूविधायें दी जानी चाहियें, मैं इस का पक्षपाती

, ग्रगर काम करने में, भदालतों में भौर कचहरियों में भौर व्यवहार में, इस लिपि का प्रयोग करने का प्रदन भाता है तब तो हमें दूसरों की सुविधाभों की भोर, जनता की सुविधाभों की भोर भी देखना पड़ेगा भौर इस पर भी विचार करना पड़ेगा कि उन को कहां तक कठिनाई पड़ती है । मैं इस का पक्षपाती हूं कि उर्दू में ग्रगर कोई भाई भपनी दरख्वास्त देता है तो वह छे सी जाये परन्तु जब कार्यालयों भौर दफ्तरों में उर्दू चलाने की बात भायेगी तो भवध्य ही कठिनाई

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[ श्री टंडन ]

पड़ेगी । जो देखने की बात है वह यह कि इसको व्यवहार में लाने से क्या क्या सुविधायें होंगी मौर क्या क्या प्रसुविधायें होंगी । इस बास्ते हमें उसी बात को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा जिस में प्रधिक से प्राधक सुविधा हो ।

हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रश्न को भी यहां पर दो एक भाइयों ने उठाया है । हमारे लंका सुन्दरम् साहब ने जब भाषण दिया, उस समय मैं यहां पर मौजूद या । उन्होंने कहा कि उत्तर प्रदेश को इसी तरह बनाये रखने से जो दक्षिण का संतुलन है जिस को उन्होंने मंग्रेजी में 'बैलेंस' कहा, वह बिगड जायगा । हमारे एक बने रहने के विरुद्ध उन्होंने जो दलील दी उस को मैं ने समझने का यरन किया लेकिन मैं बिल्कुल भी समझ नहीं पाया । हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के दो या तीन टुकड़े हो जान से दक्षिण वालों के तोल में क्या भन्तर पड़ेगा यह बात स्पष्ट नहीं हुई । भैं तो यह समझता हूं कि सिवाय इस के कि वह यह कहें कि चूंकि हमारा एक छोटा सा प्रदेश है इस वास्ते माप का भी एक छोटा सा प्रदेश हो जाय, भौर कोई बात नहीं है । यह तो कुछ बलील की बात नहीं हुई घौर न ही कोई सहृदयता की बात हुई। इस का तो मतलब यही हुम्रा कि म्राप को यह पसन्द है कि उत्तर वालों के प्रदेश को भी भाप उतना ही खोटा प्रदेश देखें जितना कि माप का मपना है या भाष भपने पड़ोसियों का देखते हैं। मैं तो इस बात का पक्षपाती हूं कि प्रदेश, जहां तक हो सके, बड़े बनें।

कल प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पांच या छः जोन की बात कही थी। उन्होंने कुछ स्पष्ट महीं कहा कि इसका मर्थ क्या है। मैं माज इस समय इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूं। उन्होंने मार्थिक पहलू की बात मी की कि बह समान होनी चाहिये। क्या इन जोनों का रूप माबेगा, यह मैं नहीं कह सकता।

साथ ही साथ उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि राज्य ज्यों के त्यों रहेंगे । राज्य ज्यों के त्यों रहेंगे भौर जोन भी उन के साथ बनें, यह कैसे होगा, क्या क्या इस में संघर्ष होंगे, इस की सारी तस्वीर मेरे सामने नहीं है। मेरा भ्रपना भ्रनुमान है कि यह बात ग्रभी व्यावहारिक नहीं है । परन्तु जो जन्होंने.कहा कि कई भाषा भाषियों को मिला कर भी प्रान्त बनें, मैं इस के पक्ष में हूं। उन्होंने जो यह कहा कि देश भर के पांच छः टुकड़े हो सकते हैं, यह मुझे व्यावहारिक दिखाई नहीं पड़ता। यदि ऐसा उन का मत था तो यह जो पुर्नेसंगठन भ्रायोग बना, इस को बनाने की ही मावश्यकता नहीं थी। भाषावार प्रदेश बनाने की सभावनाम्रों को देखना इस कमिशन का एक मुख्य उद्देश्य था, यह सही है। इस के साथ ही साथ उन्होंने जो दूसरी बातों का घ्यान रखा वह भी आवश्यक ही था। प्रपनी रिपोर्ट में उन्होंने कहा है कि उन्होंने केवल भाषा पर ही बल नहीं दिया बल्कि मौर बातों पर भी बल दिया है । इस को मैं ·उचित मानता हूं।

मब यह कहना कि उत्तर प्रदेश का विभाजन हो धौर इस बात की इच्छा रखना में तो इस को कुछ बहुत न्याययुक्त नहीं समझता । यदि हमारे यहां के भाई स्वयं उत्तर प्रदेश से भलग रहना चाहें, उस के टुकड़े करना चाहें, तो ठीक है, इस में मुझे कोई भापत्ति नहीं है । श्रगर हमारे पश्चिम के भाई चाहते हैं कि भागरा, मेरठ इत्यादि को मिला कर उनका भी एक राज्य बना दिया आए, तो वह बना लें, मैं भापत्ति नहीं करता । नेकिन यदि उत्तर प्रदेश में ऐसी कोई मांग न हो भौर दूसरे लोग यह इच्छा करें, यह सोचें कि उत्तर प्रदेश का विभाजन हो, तो यह तो मुझे एक भजीब सी बात लगती है। भाषावार राज्यों के हमारे भाई ढा० लंका सुन्दरम् बड़े पक्षपाती थे मौर चाहते थे कि एक विशाल म्रान्ध बने, इस लिए कि तैलगु भाषी प्रदेश सब एक हो जायें । मर्थात् वह भाषा के ऊपर सब से मधिक बल देते हैं । यदि हम भी इसी बात को कहें कि हिन्दी बोलने वालों का भी एक विशाल प्रदेश बना दिया जाए तो यह एक बहुत बड़ा क्षेत्र बन जायेगा । कोई तैलगु का प्रदेश बनाते हैं, कोई तामिल का प्रदेश बनाते हैं, कोई बंगाली का प्रदेश बनाते हैं, कोई मराठी का प्रदेश बनाते हैं, तो क्या कारण है कि हिन्दी वालों का भी एक प्रदेश न बने ।

# भी जी० एव० देशपांडे (नासिक-मध्य) । जरूर, जरूर ।

श्री टंडन : इस का परिणाम यह होगा कि बिहार, य० पी०, मघ्य प्रदेश, मच्य भारत, विन्घ्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान म्रादि को मिला कर एक प्रदेश बन जायेगा । यदि ऐसा होता है तो मुझे कोई ग्रापत्ति नहीं है। परन्तु हमारे भाई डा० लंका सुन्दरम् साहब कहते हैं कि यू० पी० के इसी तरह बने रहने से दक्षिण की तोल बिगड़ आयेगी, तो जब हिन्दी वालों का एक ही प्रदेश बन गया तो फिर तोल कहां जायेगी ! भगर बिहार के भाई यह कहें कि हम उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ मिल कर रहना चाहते हैं या कोई भौर टुकड़ा हमारे साथ मिलना चाहे तो दूसरों को इस में क्यों झापत्ति हो, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं भाता । उन का यही कहना है कि तोल बिगडेगी । उन्होंने कुछ दूसरे देशों की मिसालें दीं । शायद उन्होंने या किसी दूसरे भाई ने भ्रमरीका का हवाला दिया भौर कहा कि झमरीका में जो प्रदेश हैं वह प्रायः बराबर बराबर है । मेरा झनुमान है कि बराबरी के हिसाब से वहां प्रदेश नहीं हैं। रूस में भी बराबरी का हिसाब नही है। वहां भी घलग भलग प्रदेश हैं। जहां जहां इस प्रकार से प्रदेश मिलते हैं वहां वहां कुछ ऐतिहासिक कारण होते हैं। भाप रूस को देखिये, वहां को मुख्य रूस है, जो बड़ा प्रदेश है,

जिस की भाषा वहां चलती है, वह तो बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश है भौर वह समस्त रूस संघ के म्राधे से कहीं म्रधिक है----करीब दो तिहाई है झपने क्षेत्र में झौर जनसंख्या में भी माघे से मधिक है। यह तो कोई दलील नहीं है कि बैलेंस बिगड़ जायगा । हमारे यहां छोटे और बड़े दोनों प्रकार के प्रदेश बने हए हैं । इस विषय पर मैं ग्रधिक नहीं कहुंगा मेरा निवेदन केवल यही है कि मगर उत्तर प्रदेश स्वयं मपना कम रखना चाहता है भौर उस में सब मिल कर काम कर रहे हैं, तो दूसरों को कोई कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिए । म्राप इससे भौर बड़ा प्रदेश बनाइये । इससे भी बड़े प्रदेश पहले थे। मेरे मस्तिष्क में तो यह बात कमी नहीं झाई कि कोई प्रदेश हम से बड़ा है, तो इस कारण हम छोटे हो गए । बंगाल हमारे प्रदेश से बडा था। हमारे देश का विभाजन हमा। उस में उसके टकड़े हए । वह एक भकस्मात् बात थी मैं उसे झच्छा नहीं समझता हूं। परन्तु यह तथ्य है कि बंगाल हम से भी बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश था. ग्रपनी जनसंख्या में भी मौर मपने घेरे में भी । इस कमीशन ने जो सुझाव दिया है, उस में भी उत्तर प्रदेश म्रपने घेरे के हिसाब से----क्षेत्र के हिसाब से-चौथा है। तीन प्रदेश उससे बड़े हैं। जो सिफारिशें उसने की हैं, उनके धनु-सार बम्बई बहत बड़ा है भौर बम्बई से भी बड़ा मध्य प्रदेश है । बम्बई दूसरे नम्बर पर है भौर फिर राजस्थान माता है। उत्तर प्रदेश तो चौचे नम्बर पर म्राता है । परन्तु जनसंस्या में बह सबसे बड़ा है, आज ऐसा रूप बन गया है। लेकिन जहां पर भूमि है, वहां घाज न तही, पर कुछ समय के बाद जनसंख्या बढ़ेगी ही । भूमि साली रहने वाली नहीं हैं। वहां धर जन-संख्या भीरे भीरे बढ़ेगी ही । इस कारण उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रति ईर्ष्या द्वेष करना उचित नहीं। 1 P.M.

यहां पर बघेललंड के जो भाई बे, उन्होंने कहा या कि हम उत्तर प्रदेश में [ भी टंबन ]

भाना चाहते हैं। मेरे सामने कुछ कागद हैं, जिन से प्रकट होता है कि मघ्य प्रदेश के लोग उत्तर प्रदेश में भाना पसन्द करते हैं दूसरे प्रदेश के साथ मिलने की भ्रपेक्षा मुझे बताया गया है कि कई भाइयों ने---हमारी विधान सभा के सदस्यों ने----दस्तखत कर के एक ग्रावेदनपत्र भेजा है। उसका जो कुछ भी परिणाम हो। मुझ को एक बात ग्रवध्य लगती है कि भ्रायिक दृष्टि से उत्तर प्रदेश में कुछ कमियां है। में कह सकता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश भ्रापेक्षिक दृष्टि से बहुत दीन प्रदेश है। हमारे यहां जितनी गरीबी है, उतनी भ्राप को बहत कम स्थानों में मिलेगी।

एक माननीय सदस्यः बिहार भी गरीब है।

भी टंडन : में मानता हूं कि बिहार भी गरीब है, परन्तु मेरा मनुमान है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के कुछ हिस्से बिहार से भी ग्रधिक गरीब हैं। हमने ग्रनुभव किया है कि हमारे यहां भावश्यकता यह है कि कुछ खनिज पदार्थों वाता भाग हमारे साथ जुड़े। बघेतखंड में सनिज पदार्थ हैं, सानें हैं। ग्रगर वे तीन चार जिले----या दो जिले----जो हमारे दक्षिण में हैं, हमारे साथ म्रायें, तो उससे मध्य प्रदेश का कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा इसलिए कि मध्य प्रदेश में खनिज पदार्थ है ग्रौर उसका कार्य चल रहा है भौर उन दो तीन जिलों के माने से उत्तर प्रदेश का बहुत लाभ हो जाता है । म्राबादी में कोई बहुत बड़ा मन्तर नहीं हो जायगा । भगर बे लोग ग्राना चाहें ग्रीर उत्तर प्रदेश उन को लेने के लिए तैयार है----यह ठीक हैं कि इस तरह उसकी भावादी पन्द्रह बीस लाख बढ़ जायगी—तो कोई कारण नहीं है कि उनको रोका जाय। अब मैं कुछ शब्द पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं ।

वी बी॰ डी॰ झाल्बी (शाहडोल-सीघी) : वे एक बात पूछना चाहता हूं । ग्रगर विन्व्य प्रदेश म्रलग रहे, तो क्या दिक्कत हो सकती है ? उसकी जनतां चाहती है कि उसकी म्रलग इकाई बनी रहे । इसमें म्राप को क्या म्रापत्ति है ?

भी टंडन : मुझे कोई धापत्ति नहीं है । परन्तु प्रश्न यह है कि विन्घ्य प्रदेश छोटा पड़ता है । ग्राज समय बड़ी इकाइयों का है । मैं छोटी छोटी इकाइयों को स्वय पसन्द नहीं करता हू ।

**वाबू राम नारायण सिंह** (हजारी बाग-पश्चिम): विन्घ्य प्रदेश बम्बई शहर से तो प्रधिक ही होगा ।

**Mr. Chairman:** If this sort of questioning goes on, he will have to labour only one point, because the time is limited.

भी टंडन : में तो ग्राप की ही बात कह रहा हूं । विन्घ्य प्रदेश ने स्वयं फैसला किया है कि यदि हम ग्रलग नहीं रह सकते, तो हम उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ जाना चाहेंगे । मैं विशेषकर बघेलखंड की बात कर रहा हूं । ग्रायिक दृष्टि से बघेलखंड का उत्तर प्रदेश में ग्राना दोनों के लिए लाभदायक होगा ।

कुछ शब्द पंजाब के ऊपर कहना चाहता । मै ग्राज पंजाबो तो नहीं हूं, लेकिन किसी समय मेरी भी भूमि पंजाब ही थी । हम लोग पंजाब से ही उतरे हुए हैं । यू भी पंजाब से मे**रा** गहरा सम्बन्ध रहा है । प्रयाग के बाद लाहौर को ही मै ग्रपना घर समझा करता था ।

की नन्द लाल शर्मा (सीकर) : ग्रब तो वह पाकिस्तान में गया ।

भी टंडन : वह पाकिस्तान में गया, यह हमारे कुकमों का फल है । हम भ्रपनी राज-नीतिक बुढि में कुछ क्षीण रहे हैं, हम मे राज-नीतिक बुढिमत्ता की कमी थी, इसी लिए पाकिस्तान बना । भ्राज भ्राप ने हम को उसकी याद दिखाई ।

मझ को यही खेद है कि माज भी पंजाब में कुछ ऐसी प्रवृत्तियां दिसाई पड़ती हैं, जो दुःखित करती हैं झौर ऐसा मालूम होता हैं कि वे लोग राजनीतिक दूरग्रंदेशी से भलग हैं। पंजाब बहादुर प्रदेश है । वह किनारे पर है, इस लिए बड़ी मावश्यकता यह है कि वहां के लोग वीरता भौर एकता के साथ मिल कर भविष्य की बात सोचें। वहां पर माज जिस तरह से छोटे कम से विचार हो रहा है, वह मेरे हृदय में खेद उत्पन्न करता है । कभी कभी जब में सुनता हूं कि इस या उस बात से धर्म कुछ खतरे में पड़ जायगा, या कोई विशेष संस्कृति खतरे में पड़ जायगी, तब मैं सोचने लगता हूं कि क्या किसी धर्म का बड़प्पन उस के झनुयायियों की संख्या पर निर्भर करता है । पंजाब में जब गुरुनानक ने प्रचार किया था मौर म्रपने धर्म की शिक्षा दी थी, तब उनके साथ कितने म्रादमी हुए थे ? बहुत थोड़े । परन्तु उनका धर्म माज है । वह संख्या पर निर्भर नहीं करता है---वह भपने सिद्धान्तों पर निर्मर करता है। उन बड़े लोगों की जीव-नियों पर निर्मर करता है जिन को गुरु नानक ने प्रेरणा दी । जब तक भारतवर्ष है तब तक गुरुनानक] का शिक्षण भौर उनकी वाणी पढ़ी जायगी । जब तक भारतवासियों को अपने पूर्वं जों का गर्व है तब तक गुरुम्रों का त्याग भौर बलिदान हमारे इतिहास का स्वर्ण प्रतीक है—गुरुम्रों का जीवन उनकी वाणी देश भर की सम्पत्ति हैं । किसी विशेष सम्प्रदाय की बात नहीं है। मेरा निवेदन है कि जो सम्प्रदाय विशेष रूप से गुरुमों की भ्रपनाता है उसका तो यह विशेष कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है कि बह उनकी बाणी पर चले झौर इस प्रकार दूसरों को झपनी झोर सींचे । केवल संस्थाओं के ग्राघार पर बात करना यह तो कोई धर्म को चलाने की कसौटी नहीं है। मैं हृदय से निवेदन करता हूं। इसमें झाक्षेप ही ही नहीं सकता । गुरुझों के प्रति मेरी 524 L.S.D.

जो श्रद्धा है उसका झनुमान भी हमारे पंजाब के भाई सम्भवतः नहीं कर पायेंगे । उस बात को बहुत कहने की मावस्यकता नहीं है । मुझे एक बाणी याद माती है जो कि जीवन को जलाने की बस्तु है । वह इस प्रकार है :---

''जो प्राणी ममता तर्ज लोभ मोह झहंकार । कह नानक झापै तरै झौरन लेइ उबार ।''

यह वाणी गुरुमों की है । इस वाणी पर जिन सोगों का जीवन ढला है वे सचमुच धर्म के रक्षक हैं वे ही सज्ये धर्म के रक्षक हैं । केवल संख्यामों से धर्म की रक्षा नहीं होती । मेरा निवेदन है कि राजनीति में धर्म के प्रश्न को जोड़ कर संख्यामों की बातें करना कुछ लाम-दायक नहीं है । यही कारण था जिसने मुसल-मानों के लिए पाकिस्तान की रचना करवाई । इसलिए धर्म भौर संख्या को मिला कर हम बात करें यह उचित नहीं है ।

पंजाबी भाषा मुझे बहुत प्रिय लगती है। भण्छी सुन्दर भाषा है। परन्तु उस भाषा के भाषार पर ही बार बार सूबा बनाने की बात माती है। कल इमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि चाहे हम किसी तरह से देखें हम ऐसा सूबा बना ही नहीं सकते जहां पंजाबी के साथ साथ हिन्दी न चले। जब ऐसा है तो में यही कहूंगा कि हिन्दी भौर पंजाबी दोनों प्रेम के साथ क्यों न चलें । दोनों में कोई इतना बड़ा झन्तर तो नहीं है। मैं झपने प्रदेश की बात ग्रापके सामने रखता हूं भौर भाप इस दष्टि से उसके ऊपर विचार करें । भाषा के भाषार पर हम भी म्रपने यहां तीन चार भाषावार सूबे बना सकते हैं । जो मन्तर हिन्दी मौर पंजाबी का है लगभग वही मन्तर हिन्दी का भौर बुज भाषा का है, वही मन्तर हिन्दी का ग्रौर मवबी का है मौर वही मन्तर हिन्दी मौर भोजपुरी का है। कम से कम ये तीन तो ऊंची भाषायें हैं इनके मलावा हमारे यहां बुंदेलसंडी भी है।

'[श्रीटंडन]

हमारे यहां बुज भाषा वाले खड़े हो सकते थे कि हमारा सूबा घलग करो, घवघी वाले भी यह कह सकते थे। मेरी मातुभाषा यह नहीं है जो मैं यहां बोल रहा हूं। मेरी मातृभाषा भवधी है। हम लोग घर पर ग्रवधी बोलते हैं मेल जोल में हम भ्रवधी बोलते हैं । परन्तु यदि हम ग्रवधी के ग्राधार पर एक ग्रलग प्रदेश की रचना करना चाहें तो हम ग्रपने प्रदेश को निर्बल बनायेंगें। इससे देश के ऊपर ग्रच्छा श्रसर नहीं पड़ेगा । इसीलिए हमारे यहां कुछ ऐतिहासिक समझौता सा भ्रापस में हो गया है कि हम राज-नीति में भाषा का यह टंटा नहीं उठायेंगे कि हमारा बुजभाषा का क्षेत्र ग्रलग है, हमारा भ्रवधी का क्षेत्र भ्रलग है भौर हमारा भोजपुरी का क्षेत्र ग्रलग है। मैं स्वयं हिन्दी का काम करता हुं भौर मैंने कभी यह भाषा का टंटा नहीं उठाया । म्रगर हमने यह टंटा नहों उठने दिया तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह हमारे प्रदेश की बुद्धि-मत्ता है। क्या हम पंजाब से इस बुद्धिमत्ता की माशा नहीं कर सकते ? हमारे यहां ये तीनों भाषाये चल रही है और हिन्दी भी चल रही है मौर हमने मान लिया है कि हिन्दी चले । इसी तरह से में समझता हूं कि पंजाब में पंजाबी भी चले भौर हिन्दी भी चले । इसमें क्या भापत्ति हो सकती है कि जिसका जी चाहे वह हिन्दी में काम करे झौर जिसका जी चाहे वह पंजाबी में काम करे। इन दो भाषामों के माधार पर जो पंजाब में दो जोन बनाये गये में समझता हूं कि वह एक ग़लत बात है। में इस समय उस व्यौरे में नहीं जाना चाहता । लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि भ्रगर भ्रम्बाले में कोई बच्चा पंजाबी पढ़ना चाहता है तो उसे वहां पंजाबी पढ़ाने का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए मौर मगर जालंघर में कोई बच्चा हिन्दी पढ़ना चाहता है तो वहां पर उसे हिन्दी पढ़ाने का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए । हां ग्रम्यापकों के लिए अरूरत दोनों भाषाओं को जानना धनिवायें होगा। में समझता हूं कि ऐसा मासानी से किया जा सकता है क्योंकि दोनों भाषाम्रों में कोई बड़ा मन्तर नहीं है । जो उन भाषाझों के पारिभाषिक बाब्द होंगे वे एक ही होंगे । इसलिए पंजाबी झौर हिन्दी में कोई बड़ा ग्रन्तर होने वाला नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसमें कोई कठिनता का प्रश्न नहीं है। थोड़ी सी हम में सहनशीलता श्रौर प्रेम की ग्रावश्यकता है । हमारे भाई श्री टेक चन्द ने बताया था कि हिन्दू ग्रौर सिखों में बराबर विवाह होते रहते है । शायद माज इसमें कुछ कमी हो गयो हो । पर सिखों का जो प्रादुर्भाव हुमा मौर जो उनको गुरुमों से बल मिला वह इसीलिए कि वे समाज की रक्षा करें। समाज की रक्षा करने के लिए वे ग्रगुग्रा होकर ग्राये थे किस समाज के लिए ? उस समय जो हिन्दू समाज था उसकी रक्षा के लिए। ग्रगर ग्राज वे भ्रलग भ्रलग सींचतान करें तो यह तो कोई हमको मजबूत करने वाली बात नहीं है । मेरा निवेदन है कि यह प्रश्न पंजाब में इस प्रकार हल होना चाहिए कि सब मिल कर रहें। पेप्सू भौर पंजाब एक हैं। हिमाचल प्रदेश उनके साथ भ्रायेगा या नहीं में नहीं कह सकता । ग्रगर हिमाचल प्रदेश के लोग नहीं ग्राना चाहते तो मैं जबरदस्ती उनको लाने के पक्ष में नहीं । लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि ग्रगर वह भी ग्रा जाता तो ग्रच्छा था । लेकिन पेप्सू भौर पंजाब तो एक ही हैं। वे तो एक ही प्रकार के प्रदेश हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि उनको भ्रापस में रहने में कोई कठिनता नहीं होनी चाहिए भौर इस प्रदेश में हिन्दी झौर पंजाबी दोनों भाषायें मिल करके चलें इसमें भी मैं कोई कठिनाई नहीं देखता । कहा जाता है कि नागरी मक्षरों में पंजाबी नहीं लिखी जा सकती । यह मांग पहले नहीं थी। यह मांग हाल की है। लेकिन मौर जगह तो माज यह मांग है कि मन्य भाषायें भी नागरी । लाप में ' नर्ख, जायें । बंगाल के भी धारदा चन्द्र मित्र ने कहा था कि बंगाली को नागरी लिपि में लिसा जाये। उन्होंने **'एक लिपि परिषद्' बनायी थी ग्रौर बंगा**लियों से कहा था कि तुम भ्रपनी लिपि बन्द करो नागरी लिपि में भपना काम करो । सन् १९१० में श्री वी० कृष्णस्वामी भ्रय्यर ने तामिल भौर तेलुगु भाषियों से कहा था कि मपनी लिपि को बन्द करो, देश की यह मांग है कि नागरी लिपि को भपनामो । यही नहीं बंगाल में जो बड़े बड़े मनीषी हुए उन्होंने भविष्यवाणी की थी कि मागे माने वाली भाषा हिन्दी है। श्री बंकिम चन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय ने ग्रौर श्री केशव चन्द्र सेन ने बहुत पहले ही कहा था हिन्दी भविष्य में माने वाली आषा है । शारदा बाबू ने नागरी लिपि पर इतनां बल दिया था। मेरा निवेदन है कि झाज से बहुत पहले दूसरे प्रदेश वालों ने हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार किया था । स्वामी दयानन्द गुजराती थे, लेकिन उन्होंने भ्रपना सारा काम हिन्दी भाषा में ही किया । महात्मा गांधी गुजराती थे, लेकिन उन्होंने हिन्दी को कितना बल दिया । पंजाब में हिन्दी चलेगी ही । पंजाबी भौर हिन्दी दोनों को मिलकर चलना चाहिए । मेरा निवे-दन है कि इससे पंजाबी युवकों को लाभ होगा क्योंकि इस प्रकार उनको हिन्दी का प्रच्छा ज्ञान हो आयेगा ।

में पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में बोलते हुए एक बात झौर कहना चाहता हूं जिसकी झोर कल मेरे भाई श्री झचिन्त राम जी ने घ्यान दिलाया था। मेरे पास भी लुहारू के कई भाई झाय और उन्होंने इस बात पर बल दिया कि लुहारू को पंजाब के साथ रहना चाहिए। मैं स्वयं इस बात की गवाही दे सकता हूं कि श्री झचिन्त राम जी के पास लुहारू वालों की भीड़ झाती रही है। वे स्वयं वहां गये थे, जैसा कि उन्होंने कल बतलाया था। वहां उन्होंने पता लगाया। वहां पर एक एक पंचायत की यही राय है कि बे पंजाब के साथ रहें। सेमापति महोदय : ग्राप कितना समव ग्रीर लेंगे ?

भी टंडन : लगभग दस मिनट मौर । लुहारू वालों की यह मांग है कि हमको धकेसो मत । मैं कुछ समझ नहीं पाया कि क्यों कमीझन ने लुहारू को झलग करने की सिफारिझ की है । मालूम होता है इस विषय में उन्होंने लुहारू वालों से बात नहीं की, किन्हीं दूसरों से इस के बारे में बात की थी ।

जयपुर में किसी ने शायद ऐसी बात कह दी कि राजस्यान के भाई लुहारू को घपने में रक्खेंगे । लुहारू के लोगों से इस बारे में नहीं पूछा गया क्योंकि लुहारू की जो ३० हजार की माबादी है उसमें से मैं समझता हूं २९ हजार मौर साढ़े २९ हजार ऐसे मिलेंगे जो कहेंगे कि हमको पंजाब से मत घलग करो घौर इसको सिद्ध करने के लिए सारे वोटरों के दस्तखत लाकर रख देंगे .....

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब (गुड़गांव) ः जी हां, दस्तखत मा सकते हैं मौर वह पेश कर दिये जायेंगे ।

श्वी टंडन : मालूम पड़ता है कि उन्होंने लुहारू के लीगों से इस बारे में नहीं पूछा, हालांकि झायोग के सदस्यों ने स्वयं यह सिढांत रक्का है कि जहां तक सम्भव होगा, हम जनता की इच्छाझों का झादर करेंगे । इसके झतिरिक्त एक झौर बड़ा सिढान्त है जिसके ऊपर में सदन का भ्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं मौर वह यह है कि उन्होंने झपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है कि हमने, जहां तक सम्भव हुझा है, जिलों के स्तर पर बंटवारा किया है । "डिस्ट्रिक्ट वाइज्" यह शब्द उसमें झाये हैं । उससे उतर कर साधा-रणतया हमने बंटवारा नहीं किया है । बहुत लाचार हुए हैं तो किया है । झब झाप देक्विये [श्रीटॅंडन]

कि लुहारू भाखिर है क्या । लुहारू हिसार जिले का एक भंग है, वह तहसील भी नहीं है भौर लुहारू भिवानी तहसील का एक टुकड़ा है। भ्राप जिला हिसार को राजस्थान में नहीं ले जा रहे हैं। मेरा तो ऐसा विक्वास है कि यदि हिसार जिले को म्राप राजस्यान में ले जायें तो यह जो लुहारू के भाई हैं इनको कुछ सन्तोष होगा । सब पुराने ग्रपने साथियों को ग्रपने साथ पाकर संतोष होगा । हमारे भार्गव जी को सन्तोष नहीं होगा, लुहारू वालों को सन्तोष होगा । लुहारू वालों ने मुझसे कहा कि म्रगर हमें उघर जाना भी हो तो भिवानी को भी साय में ले चलिये । उन्होंने कहा कि भिवानी उनकी तहसील है। वे बेचारे यह समझते हैं कि हम ग्रपनी तहसील से कट कटा कर कहां जायेंगे मौर मगर भिवानी तहसील भी पूरी की पूरी उघर जाती तो भी उनको कुछ संतोष होता है। लेकिन म्रापने जो ृसिद्धान्त रिपोर्ट में दिया कि हम जिले के स्तर [पर [काम करेंगे, उस सिदान्त को लुहारू के सम्बन्ध में ग्रापने छोड़ दिया.....

पंडित डो॰ एन॰ तिवारी (सारन दक्षिण) : बहुत जगह छोड़ दिया है ।

भी टंडन : एक छोटे से टुकड़े लुहारू को पकड़ना मेरी समझ में नहीं झाता । झलवत्ता झगर उसके पीछे कोई बड़ा झार्षिक कारण होता, जनता की मांग होती तो वह समझ में झा सकता था । इसके पीछे कोई झार्थिक कारण तो है नहीं । एक छोटी सी ३० हजार गरीब लोगों की बस्ती है, भिवानी तहसील का एक टुकड़ा है, उसको इस प्रकार से मलग करना जबकि उसकी मधिकांश जनसंख्या पंजाब में बने रहने के पक्ष में है, उचित कार्य नहीं जान पड़ता । घब में इस प्रश्न को यहीं छोड़ता हूं ।

कुछ शब्द मुझे बम्बई के सम्बन्ध में एक सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ला के नाते निवेदन करने हैं। पंजाब भौर बम्बई यह दो मुख्य विषय हमारे यहां शास्त्रार्थ के हो गये हैं भौर यहां पर जो शास्त्रार्थ हुम्रा है उसमें भी विशेष तौर पर इन दोनों प्रान्तों की चर्चा म्रायी है। मैं इस विषय में प्रधान मंत्री जी से सहमत हूं कि जहां तक सम्भव हो, वह रिपोर्ट जो ग्रायी है, उसको हम मान लें । बहुत ठीक बात है । परन्तु में इतना भौर जोड़ना चाहता हूं कि यदि हमारे महा-राष्ट्री भाई यह चाहते हैं कि मराठी भाषी लोग सब एक जगह हो ज़ायें, मर्थात् विदर्भ को भी अपने साथ में रखना चाहते हैं तो मैं अपने गुजराती भाइयों से यह सोचने के लिए कहूंगा कि क्या ऐसी दशा में यह सम्भव नहीं है कि वे उसके साथ रहें ? मराठी भाइयों ने कहा है कि वे यह स्वीकार करेंगे कि विदर्भ भी साथ रहे भौर समस्त गुजरात भी साथ रहे मौर बम्बई उसका मुख्य स्थान हो । वह द्विभाषी प्रदेश होगा पुनर्संगठन म्रायोग ने जो सुझाव दिया है उसके मनुसार भी वह दिभाषी प्रदेश होगा । हमारे मराठी भाषी भाई विदर्भ को साथ लेना बाहते हैं। यह स्पष्ट है कि वह भ्रपनी संख्या को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं भौर यह स्पष्ट है कि उसमें जाराती भाइयों की संख्या घट जायगी । उनका जो मनुपात है वह मनुपात कम हो आयेगा। परन्तु फिर भी मैं यही कहुंगा कि यह विचार की बात है कि क्या इस प्रकार से, भ्रस भरोसे पर कि मागे सब ठीक रहेगा, मिल जाना मसम्भव है भाखिर गुजराती में मौर मराठी में भाषा का बहुत मधिक भन्तर नहीं **है**। वह मिल कर रहें क्या यह झसम्भव बात है ? यह चेतना कि हम मराठी हैं, हम गुजराती हैं---मैं ऐसा मानता हूं कि कुछ दिनों यह ग्रथिक चलती है, फिर जब बहुत ग्रापस में हिल मिल जाते हैं तो वह बात समाप्त हो जाती है ।

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एक रास्ता मुझे झौर इस सम्बन्ध में सुझाई दता है, कहां तक व्यावहारिक [होगा यह मैं नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन वह झसम्भव नहीं है। वह यह है कि गुजराती भाइयों झौर मराठी भाइयों को एक करने के लिए यह हो सकता है कि कुछ भाग बड़े मघ्य भारत का उधर मिला दिया जाय, जैसे इंदौर की झोर का भाग इसी प्रदेश में झा जाय।

भी सी॰ सो॰ झाह (गोहिलवाड सोरठ) मालवा का कुछ भाग इघर मा जाय ।

भी टंडन : ठीक है, ग्रगर यह भाग उसमें भा जाय तो कोई हर्ज की बात नहीं है**।** मैं समझता हूं कि इसको हमारे मराठी भाई भी स्वीकार करेंगे ग्रौर गुजराती भाई भी पसन्द करेंगे । ग्रनुपात वाली बला बली की दृष्टि से बह बैलेंस झौर वह बला बली कुछ बन जाय तो ठीक बात हो सम्भवतः इंदौर के भाई बम्बई के साथ मिलना पसन्द करेंगे । अगर मध्य प्रदेश में कुछ कमी पड़े तो कुछ मान में अपने सूबे में से देने के लिए तैयार हूं । मुझ भापति नहीं है यदि ललितपुर का टुकड़ा ले लिया जाय, ग्रगर उससे ग्रापका झगड़ा तय होता है। ललितपुर के देने से हमारा सूबा थोड़ा कम हो जायगा । उधर बघेलखंड का कुछ टुकड़ा ग्राप दे दीजिये । उसको मांगने का कारण दूसरा है, वह म्रनुपात के लिए नहीं है । (हंसी)। ग्रगर ग्रायिक दृष्टि से बघेलखंड वा ले सोग उत्तर प्रदेश में ग्राना चाहते हैं तो उनको इवर माने दीजिये मौर हमसे ललितपुर का कुछ भाग ले खीजिये।

एक माननीय सदस्य ः एक वह भी वला बसी हो गई ।

भी टंडन : वह उनके लिए है। मेरे सामनें यह बसा बसी का प्रश्न नहीं है वह झाना बाहते हैं, इसलिए मैंने कहा कि बचेसजंड यदि इघर झाना चाहता है झौर वह झविक बलवान होता है तो मैं कहूंगा कि उनको झाने दो । मैं इस बात को उचित समझता हूं कि यह बम्बई का प्रघन प्रेम के साथ झौर मेल के साथ तय हो झौर झगर हमारे प्रदेश का कुछ हिस्सा देने से वह प्रघन तय हो जाय तो मैं उसके लिए तैयार हूं । मैं तो इस बात के लिए भी तैयार हूं कि झगर हमारे पश्चिमी प्रदेश का कुछ हिस्सा उघर पंजाब में चले जाने से पंजाब का प्रघन हल हो तो ले लो, मुझे उसमें कोई झापत्ति नहीं है । हरियाना, पंजाब, पेप्सू, को मिला कर झगर एक सूबा बनाने के लिए झापको मेरठ चाहिए तो मुझे कोई झापत्ति नहीं है ।

# कुछ मानमीय सबस्य : हमें आपत्ति है ।

भी टंडन : मगर मुझ को झापत्ति नहीं है, किन्तु झगर हमारे भाई उघर नहीं जाना चाहते तो इसके लिए उनको कोई मजबूर नहीं कर सकता।

भौर भविक नहीं कहूंगा । मेरा मुख्य कहना यही है कि भारतवर्ष की एकता को बनाये रखने को मैं बहुत महत्व देता हूं। कल हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने ४-४ जोन की बात कही झौर कहा कि हम केन्द्रीय सरकार को दृढ़ करना चाहते हैं मैं उनसे इस बात में सह-मत हूं। राजाजी ने इस सम्बन्ध में जो सुझाव दिया था वह मुझे बुरा नहीं लगा। राजाजी ने कहा कि हमारे यहां जिले वार प्रबन्ध हो मौर कमिश्नरियां हों भौर कुछ कमिश्नरों के जरिए से हमारे देश का प्रबन्ध हो, मुझे तो उनका यह सुझाव बुरा नहीं लगा भौर मैं समझता हूं कि उस पर विचार किया जाना चाहिए । राज्य सभा में भी एक सदस्य ने कहा कि देश के ४० भाग होने चाहियें । वहां पर यह वात शायद मेरे मित्र काका कालेलकर ने कही जो बड़े विचारवान व्यक्ति हैं। झवच्य ही यह बाख उन्होंने सोच विचार के बाद कही होगी । परन्तु

[भी टंडन ]

मेरा निवेदन है कि मुख्य बात हमें यह भ्यान रकना है कि हमारा केन्द्र दृढ़ रहे भौर वह कमखोर न होने पाये । पुराने समय में हमारा केन्द्र निर्बल रहा है भौर यह बढी कमी हमारी व्यवस्था में थी ।

किसी समय बहुत से हमारे प्रदेश थे परन्तु केन्द्र ग्रच्छा नहीं रहा । ग्रब हम केन्द्र को बृढ़ रक्सें गौर प्रपने छोटे छोटे स्वानों की रक्षा करने में केन्द्र को निर्बल न होने दें, इस की मुख्य ग्रावश्यकता है ।

Shri B. G. Mehta (Gohilwad): At the outset I desire to convey my hearty congratulations and also wish to associate myself in paying a tribute to the work that has been done by the S.R.C. The Commission has done its work with competence, uprightness and impartiality. Many tributes have been paid to the Commission from all quarters of the House and I would add my voice to the same. It is for that reason that I was pained to hear the bona fides of the Commission being challenged in certain quarters. I do not think that the Commission deseradverse ved such comments-especially allegations challenging the impartiality of the Commission are utterly out of place. I would have wished that some responsible Members of this House had refrained from getting into passion and charging the Commission with all sorts of motives. The even tenor of the debate has been going on for the last one week and we have heard many points of view debated from one side or the other. Fortunately this issue has cut across an party alignments and we have been giving thought to this very important problem without any party affiliations coming in the way. We are trying to assess the pros and cons of the problems that have been confronting our country. This House except for a few aberrations here and there has carried on the debate with dignity and without passion.

Yesterday the Prime Minister gave us a lead. His was the most magnificent speech in which he carried on the debate to a higher plane altogether. He lifted the debate to the higher plane it deserved. The Leader of the nation has brought out certain fundamental principles on which alone we can afford to think and act on the baffling problem which is before us. The Home Minister initiating the debate has urged moderation and sobriety. He has also asked the House to give freely its views but with the dignity that it deserves, in keeping with the good name of the House. I am glad the exhortations of both the Home Minister and the Prime Minister have borne fruit more or less and we have been trying to give the best of our thought to the problems that have been agitating our minds for the last few years.

There is more or less a conflict between two fundamental urges among the people of this country. One is for language and culture and the other is for unity and security. We have toiled and laboured for several generations past so that this country can come into its own and we aimed at complete independence so that we can order out the pattern of our life. We have suffered in order to see that: we become united, strong and powerful as an independent nation so that we secure a respectable place in the comity of nations. It is, therefore, that when some of our own friends who have participated and struggled together are divided on this very important problem we find it rather distressing; they find themselves on one side or the other.

That language is binding force and that culture has a place of its own and that both of them have got to be encouraged, stimulated and fostered nobody can deny. But that the country has to remain united cannot also be questioned. We have seen through the history of our nation that even though we have sometimes been united and became powerful, there had been something in the blood, something in the habit, something in the make-up of this nation that we had fallen apart. have become disunited and guarrelled among ourselves and given way to fissiparous tendencies in this country. Therefore, while we are going to consider this problem of reorganising the States in this country, we must look at it from the points of view of unity and security on one side the and language and culture on the other. We have to find a synthesis of the two, co-ordinating the various view-points that had been expressed. If we are able to build up something which can endure and endure for a long time and which can subserve the various noble objectives that we have placed before ourselves, then it will be a thing which would have been well done. I do not know how far it will be possible for us to attain that objective. It is a difficult thing and our best brains have been hard put to it to find a solution to problems which have been baffling us for the last several years.

I do not wish to dwell upon some of these fundamentals which have been before us. But the basic conception ought to be taken into account in the solution of our problems if we are not to go the way our generations have gone long before-the disastrous way. There has been a conflict between the nationalism which wants a strong Central Government in this country and those who want to champion the rights of the States and make the States rather more powerful. That conflict also has got to be resolved in order that the unity of the country may remain and in order that the central forces which could guide the ` nation may have sufficient power at their disposal so that they can help in the process of nation-building. The ' conflicting views and outlooks 22 champion between those who the rights of the States and the rights of the Centre have also got to be reconciled. If we can only look at this problem from this point of view, it will be possible for us to find accep-

table solutions without doing damage to the noble objectives for which we have been working. It was necessary to have the reorganisation of the States in this country; they have grown haphazardly. Only because of the course of history certain portions are placed in certain areas, whether they belong to them or not. That could not have continued for all time. We have thought about this problem from the birth of the national movement and we had come to the conclusion that the States could not exist as they were. Some radical changes had got to be made in certain places and it was for that purpose that Mahatmaji when he came on the political scene of this country decided that the Congress should be fashioned on linguistic basis so that the people could be educated in their own language, so that we can reach the hearts of the people, so that we can have a mass movement and a mass upheaval based on langu-**A**11 age and culture. that Was necessary at the time in order to fight an alien government and in order to muster all our forces. It was good that he did it and it was because of that that he succeeded in an ample measure.

With the advent of Swaraj the context of the situation has changed, but even though it may change, that urge for language has not changed, that urge for having reorganisation of not States based on language has changed; it has gone deep down. The resolutions of the Congress, the declarations of our national leaders and the history of the problem are there and we cannot deny the history. History is bound to dog our steps and we are bound to take notice of history. That is why I do not want to come in the way. I would not like anybody to come in the way of those who want to have a State on the basis of language if other considerations of unity, security, viability, financial resources and such other important considerations do not come in the way.

Karnataka was feeling all the time that it has been divided into various

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provinces and States and it could not have its self-expression and personahty to come into its own. The same was the case with Andhra. That is why the Congress leaders promised to the leaders of both these areas that Andhra shall be created and Karnataka shall be created. Because of those commitments when the people from Andhra wanted the creation of a State and when the people from Karnataka had been asking for the creation of a State we could not come in their way.

So far as Maharashtra and Gujarat are concerned they never asked for separate linguistic States of Maharashtra or Gujarat till very recently. It was only in 1946 that friends from Maharashtra in a conference of men of literature decided that there should be a State of Maharashtra. The demand is of recent origin. I remember once an ex-President of the Congress. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, remarked that he was surprised and pained that while the people from Andhra had been demanding a State of Andhra and when people from Karnataka had been asking for a State of Karnataka the people from Tamil Nad never asked for a State of their own. He also said, or rather complained, that the people of Maharashtra are not asking for a State of their own. Why? He said they are satisfied, they are saturated, they are ruling and therefore. they do not want to have a State of their own. That was how he put this problem as recently as in 1938. Till then his exhortations found no roots in Maharashtra or Tamil Nad. No demand was made either from Maharashtra or Tamil Nad. but then from 1946 onwards the demand is there. It is not only there but it grows; not only that, it has become irresistible and when we find that the people from Maharashtra want a State of their own we cannot come in the way of that elemental urge of the people of Maharashtra. We have to take the facts as they are whether we like them or not. The facts are there, the urge is there and the urge is to be respected. That is what I would like to submit to this House.

Gujarat and Maharashtra have been placed side by side. Every time one speaks of Maharashtra people expect that Gujarat is bound to be mentioned there. Gujarat never asked for a State of its own; not that it would not like all Gujarati-speaking areas to be united into one, but Gujarat Waa thinking differently. There was a point of view before Gujarat and it was this, that the process of nation building is still in its infancy. Their point of view was that we are still trying to hammer out a united nation of our own, but the process has only begun, it has not come to fruition and if we at this stage divide the country on linguistic basis and if this linguism becomes strong as it has become in certain guarters, if it comes in the way of nationalism and if there is a conflict between nationalism and linguism the nation's unity might be in dangar. The apprehensions may not be well-founded, they may be all illfounded, they may not have much basis, but the apprehensions were and recent occurrences there in several places have given force to these thoughts. Therefore, Gujarat was holding all along under the leadership and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi first and under the leadership of Sardar Patel afterwards and the tradition still continues. Gujarat did not ask for a State of its own. Gujarat said that if it is in the interest of the country that the process of nationalism that is going on in the whole country should also be carried on inside the State and, therefore, not one State but two States, not one language but two languages have to live together, work together and fashion their destiny on that basis Gujarat will be prepared to do it and to contribute to it. That was the idea. It is not that Ħ wanted to come in the way of linguistic States, not that it wanted to come in the way of the fulfilment of the aspirations of any group of people; it only wanted to say that if it is possible for us to live together and work

sible way to the building up of this nation, when they are called upon to do so. It has not failed the country in any juncture of its history. I hope it will not fail us hereafter too.

Now, there are points of conflict. We found out those points during the debates. How are we going to solve these conflicts? There are ways and means of doing it. We can solve a problem by virulent, vehement, poisonous campaigns being carried on in favour of one or the other point. There is also another way. We can meet and talk and discuss, can dif round a table and try to find a solution and not part till we find a solution. If we fail to reach an amicable agreement that way, there is another way of meeting the problem. We can leave it to somebody who can find a solution for us, and we can have faith in him; we can have confidence in him, and we take the decision that he gives. Either it is discussion and debate or it is a round table conference and discussion amongst ourselves as members of the same family. Failing that we can give it to arbitration, if necessary Failing even that, there is the national leadership in this country. We can leave it to the national leaders....

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: They are no national leaders.

Shri B. G. Mehta:....with the fullest possible faith and confidence and accept their award, whatever it is, if there is such a leadership in this country today. I hope and believe that we have got still, and we are fortunate in having, such a brilliant leadership. If we can only leave our points of difference and points of dispute to them, and if we are only prepared to accept whatever they say, it will be possible to find an amicable solution even to these difficult problems. If we preach Panch Shila to the warring nations of the world, if we try to put Panch Shila as the basic conception of our foreign policy, if we

together Gujarat will be willing to join. Gujarat will be willing to remain and Gujarat will not ask for a separate State of its own. That is the idea and I wish the friends from Maharashtra and friends from outside Gujarat in other parts of the country could appreciate this point of view for what it is worth. There was no idea to rule anybody from anywhere. Tt has been said that Gujaratis are rich. I wish they were, all of them. There are a few rich people in Gujarat as there are a few rich people in other parts of the country too. There may be certain cities which are dominated by some rich people, but taken as a whole Gujarat is as rich or as poor as any other part of the country. That is my contention and I wish this House to be disabused of the various prejudices that have been created, or various slogans that have been given currency to whereby there has been a sort of under-current of hostility being created against the people of Gujarat. Gujarat has contributed whatever it was possible in its humble capacity to the fight for freedom. It has done whatever it could towards the building up of this nation. It has done whatever it can towards the development of this country. It has done it as an humble duty which was enjoined upon it by the country. But I would urge upon you, not to listen to slogans that have been accepted and given currency to. There are friends who feel that if they go on repeating a thing and repeating it several times, just as Hitler said in his Mein Kampf that if you go on repeating a thing and repeat a lie several times, the lie becomes truth, the lie will be accepted as truth. Well, that may be so in Germany of the old days. It is not so in this country which has been created by Mahatma Gandhi and several generations of nationalist leaders, stalwarts, in truth and non-violence, in tyaga and tapascharya. These slogans will not find any currency, or at least will find no acceptance. I submit that the people of Gujarat are as good nationalists, if not more, as any other people in this country, and they are prepared to contribute in every pos-

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try to act on Panch Shila in this country so far as our international problems are concerned, is it too much to expect that we can still resort to Panch Shila so far as the solution of the national problems also is concerned? I believe we can still resort to the principles of Panch Shila in trying to solve the various problems that are driving us to divide rather than to unite. We can only solve our problems in a friendly way as members belonging to the same nation, as members belonging to the same family. We have outlived the family feuds, we have outlived the castes and communifies-we are trying to do that at least-and we are trying to outlive the old, quaint ideas, so as to become nationals of the same country, eager and anxious to serve the country to the best of our ability.

We are trying to take this process a little further and trying to create an international order of things wherein law prevails, justice prevails and not force and violence.

If we are going that way and if the world is going that way, if the country is going that way, that will be natu-' rally due to the preachings of our national leaders, due to the culture which our own nation has given us and all these concepts have sprung out of that culture. If we are doing that, all along the line, why not we do the same thing so far as the solution of this problem is concerned.

There have been boundary disputes. I do not think it is necessary to take the time of this House in pointing out those boundary disputes. So far as those disputes are concerned, we know there are opinions, rigid opinions, one side or the other, and people have been feeling very acutely on filese boundary problems. But can we settle them here? Why can we not have a forum where all these boundary disputes are heard and where people can go into the niceties of the problem and then come to a conclusion?

Shri M. Khuda Baksh (Murshidabad): The S.R.C. is there.

Shri B. G. Mehta: The S.R.C. is one. It may have solved problems and indicated solutions to some problems, but so far as the other boundary problems are concerned, what can We suggest? Supposing the award of the three men-three wise men, I should say—is not acceptable to some, still, a higher forum is required. For that, the national leadership is there. Let the people place, their case before the national leaders, put and urge their claims with all the strength that they command. Having done it, let them leave it to the national leadership to decide, whether it goes in one's favour or against, whether you like it or not. We are to live as a nation and prosper as a nation and if we are to build up this nation as we ought to and as we are called upon to do, we cannot afford to wrangle and continue to wrangle and hurl anathemas, one against the other. We must leave the questions to the leaders of the nation for their decision. The boundary disputes could be settled only in this manner and not in any other manner. That is what I want to submit to this House.

We have before our country great problems crying for solution. We have decided that the whole social fabric of this country will be given a new tone; that there will be justice, equity, brotherhood, and that everyone will have all the necessaries of life; that every man who seeks employment will get it. If that is the thing that we want, are we going to devote our minds, all the time towards solving these problems or are we going to lose ourselves in small things? Towards the ideals we have set before ourselves, we must certainly remove the hurdles from the way and then go forward so that we can order and shape our destiny in the way we have sought, with a new social outlook, and a new economic outlook. All that would be done only if we can decide to leave this matter to the arbitrament of the national leadership. 2 P.M.

There have been allegations made against the Government of Bombay.

Surely, they are more competent people who can take care of themselves. But if I have read anything or judged anything. I do not think that there is absolutely any reason for impeaching the Bombay Government for having done something which ought not to have been done. So far as I can see. the scales of justice have been kept even in every possible way and all interests have been served fully without any fear or favour. , I was pained to respectable friend making hear a allegations against the Government of Bombay, not from the time when we were fighting for Swaraj, but recent times, last two or three years. There has been a mention in the speech of an honourable friend that a prominent Congress leader toured a particular State, meaning that thereby there was some conspiracy or an attempt to create some such atmosphere. Probably he went at the invitation of the President of the P.C.C. Supposing it is a tour by a prominent leader, what is it for? It is only to propagate the ideals of the Congress. Supposing a man holds a particular view, is he not free to propagate his view. What is wrong in a man telling a friend. "This is my view and I believe it is going to be in the national interests: why not you also come and join with me"? Is there anything wrong in it? Does it mean that there is any conspiracy going All sorts of allegations on? have been made against the Commission, against the Bombay Gevernment, against some prominent Congress leaders....

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): Against you.

Shri B. G. Mehta: Against me as well. I am just telling you. I happen to be the President of what is known as the Saurashtra Administrative Committee, which is dealing from the Congress point of view with the problems before the State of Saurashtra. We held a meeting of that committee in the city of Bombay, as we have been doing now and then at various places. Because the S.R.C.

was going to visit the State of Saurashtra and as we had to appear before the Commission to present our point of view, I, as President, convened 2 meeting of the committee. As is usual with the Gujarat P.C.C.-there is no separate P.C.C. for Saurashtra or Kutch; they are part of Gujarat-we wanted the advice of our leaders. We wanted to consult them and put our point of view properly before the Commission. Therefore, the meeting was held in Bombay and naturally, it was held at the place of the present Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai. We discussed with each other: we exchanged views and came to the conclusion that whatever the Saurashtra Government said in its memorandum to the S.R.C., that would be the view which would be propounded by the Congress in Saurashtra. Was it wrong? Was it a sin? Was it a thing that should not be done? If we met in Bombay, if we got the advice from the leaders who have been there advising us for all these years, was there anything inappropriate or improper in doing that? I would like to submit that such allegations do not redound to the credit of those who make them? they do not increase the prestige of those who are indulging in them. T would submit that we must not go the way the other have gone. Ours is the path of non-violence and having pledged ourselves to that, we cannot talk of street demonstrations or decisions in streets. We cannot talk of baring the chest and saying "Oh, fire!". These are not the things that would create one nation or harmony or friendliness or brotherhood. We have to live together; we have to work together and we have to carry on our work so that the banner that has been left to us by the Father of the Nation can be kept aloft and we can grow from strength to strength, working together for unity in thought, word and deed, so that we can create a powerful nation which will be respected in the councils of the world.

**Shri Atulya Ghosh** (Burdwan): I want to remind this House that Bengal's problem is a border problem.

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We have no quarrel either with Bihar or with Assam. It is amazing that the previous speakers have tried to distinguish that unity and linguistic approach cannot go together. The document produced by three of the eminent sons of India, one a jurist, another known for his social and third and the service public historian and a diplomat, is based on linguistic data, but they felt shy to admit it. Otherwise, why should and States like Kerala, Karnataka Vidarbha have been recommended? Why should such a big zone as the Madhya Pradesh, consisting of four States, have been recommended? All these recommendations are based on a linguistic basis, which the Commission have felt shy to admit. There is also the creation of Visalandhra. I find that there is a feeling in the mind of our leaders to admit that linguistic affinity would not bring unity; it favours the cause of unity as it did in the case of Andhra. In the 1951 election, what happened? Not only was the Congress Party routed; not only was Shri Prakasam defeated; not only was Shri Ranga defeated, but all leaders of all the parties were defeatted, because the people themselves felt frustrated. They did not want a stable Ministry keeping the question of the constitution of the province of Andhra unsettled. You find that after tnat there is a stable Government . there. It has not been the cause of disunity; it has not created any fissiparous tendency. Therefore, why shou'd we feel shy about this question of linguistic affinity? If a number of people live in a certain area, they have linguistic affinity and they will be able to co-operate with the Government of India, with the Government of the State, for the development of the country in a much better way than if they have their own quarrels about their language and other things. I do not understand why there is this fear complex in the minds of many Members of this House that linguistic affinity will hamper the unity of India.

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am very much distressed to I speak about my State. Fortunately, U.P. has got a name which has no language of its own, styled Utter Pradesh. Fortunately or unfortunately. we have got a name associated with the language of the whole State. So anything we say goes in the name of linguism. Some will style it as militant linguism; some will style it as parochialism; some will style it as provincialism. What is the case of Bengal, nobody cared to learn. The hon. the Speaker says that it is a minor issue. The Members of the Commission say that it is a major issue. The hon. Prime Minister says: we won't bother about what happens about Bengal or Bihar. I say with due humility that he is going to bother about the condition of Bengal. If 20,000 people come every month to a State, if 21 lakhs of people come every year to a State, the Prime Minister of India wi'l have to bother his head to solve that problem. Our question is not a Bengal question. If our question is not solved, the unity of India will be hampered. This is not a parochial question.

I do not want to flaunt the sacrifice of Bengal. I do not want to say that Bengal was divided for the emancipation of the teeming millions of India. I will only say, we were a party to that division because we wanted to free ourselves also. We made that sacrifice for our emancipation also. But, we want a sympathetic treatment from the citizens of India. We want a sympathetic treatment from the other States. We want sympathetic treatment from the Government of India. I want to make it clear that I have not come here with a begging bowl. I do not want to draw the pity and merciful attention of other States. I want to be at par with other States of India. I want that a solution should be found for those persons who, leaving their hearth and home, are coming to Bengal every month, who have no future, for whom there is no silver lining in the horizon. those who do not know where they

will remain, where they will settle. We have to solve that question.

The Commission referred to financial viability. We are hearing about that when considering the question of the recommendations of the Commission. The Commission has said:

"The term 'viable' is generally understood to mean 'capable of living or existing or developing'. The two cardinal concepts of viability would, therefore appear to be:

(a) maintenance, and

(b) growth."

The Commission said further:

"The important questions to consider are whether financial viability can be defined, and, if so, how far it should be a factor having a bearing on the changes which we might propose."

They have given the analytical definition of maintenance and growth. If a State is encumbered with 31 million people, not through the natural growth of population, but by some other artificial design which a State was forced to accept, can there be any financial viability? Can there be any order of maintenance? Can there be any possibility of growth of that State?

We hear so many things about border, boundary and other things. We do not want any land. We are not urging for any border areas. We have asked for that land which at one time belonged to • Bengal. If the Government of India, if this august House thinks that it should not be transferred to Bengal, let them decide it. My hon. friend Shri B. G. Mehta was saying about commitments made to Karnataka and to others. Was not a commitment made to Bengal since 1912 that the territories which were artificially divided by Lord Curzon will be returned to Bengal if and

when an opportunity comes? This is not a question of a border area. Where shall we dump our millions? Is it. the recommendation of this House that the Bay of Bengal will be filled up, just not to have guarrel with any State, by the millions and other millions of people, that humanity which is suffering, which has no hearth and home? This refugee problem will have to be tackled on a governmental level. With a population of 852 per square mile, leaving aside Kerala, the highest density of population is in that State-how shall we accommodate these persons? Last month, 22,000 people came. You can have a statement from the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation, Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, how he is feeling embarrassed and how he is feeling difficulties in solving the problem. There is a widow with one acre of land. We ask her to keep one-third of an acre of land for herself and take two-thirds of an acre and give it to two refugee families. There is a small pond which is the source of income of another widow. We take half of that pond and rehabilitate some of the retugees. To turn the West Bengal people refugees: that is how the present refugee planning is being worked. That is not the proper way to bring unity to India. That is not the proper purpose for which this States Reorganisation Commission was appointed. In the terms of reference only linguistic or such other things were mentioned. They were to look after all the interests, all the problems of the States.

What have we done? We have helped the Commission. This is not a claim. Why should we put in a claim? We have got the privilege of placing before the Commission that such and such territories, such and such areas were with Bengal and under the circumstances, it will be beneficial for the State of Bengal, for the Government of India, to solve the problem of West Bengal, if they are returned to West Bengal. What is the Commission there for? Shri M. P. Mishra (Monghyr North-West): Is not rehabilitation of refugees a Central subject?

Mr. . Chairman: No interruptions. Let the hon. Member proceed.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: Everyday we hear that it is a border controversy. The Commission thought that the suggestions made by us were not proper. It is up to the Government of India, it rests with this House to take a proper decision. We want that much of consideration that the Bengal question has to be considered de novo. because the styling of Bengal as Bengal where there is acrimony, or Bengal where there is dispute or Bengal where there is controversy has misled our friends, the Members of this House as well as the Govern-" ment of India.

We talk about the stability of a State. But when there is so much increase of population, and there is no outlet for them, can you expect any stability in a State? What is the guarantee that the persons who have come to our State within a period of five or ten years will be accomon an modated and rehabilitated economic footing by the State Government? What is the guarantee that there will be a scheme which will enable the State Government to do that? I want to make it very clear to this House that unless the refugee problem is taken into consideration in all its seriousness, the work of the States Reorganisation Commission will be as good as invalid, so far as the State of West Bengal is concerned.

We have heard many things about the State of West Bengal. Many charges have been levelled against us. In this connection, I want to tender my sincerest apology for the utterances of a Member in the Bengal Assembly, who had said some objectionable things about our revered leader, the Chief Minister of Bihar. On behalf of the State of West Bengal, I extend my apology to him. Also, I extend my apology to the people of Bengal, as a Congressman, for being styled by a Congress member of Bihar assembly, that all Bengalis are Mir Jaffars.

We have heard many things about the sufferings of Bihar in regard to the DVC project. I convey mv thanks to the State of Bihar for having co-operated with the Government of India and for having joined the forces of progress by allowing the Government of India to have a river valley project in the State of Bihar. But what about those homeless people we hear about? In respect of every person whose homestead was taken and whose land was taken, proper compensation was demanded by the Government of Bihar, and that has been paid either by the Government of India or by the Government of West Bengal. Still, if the people are homeless there, I think that an inquiry should be made by the Government of India as to why the Bihar Government are still keeping them homeless. I hope this House will consider in all seriousness the charges levelled by some of the Bihar members that due to the DVC project, some people are still homeless there.

Regarding this acrimony, I want to contradict it with all the force at my command, that the insinuation made against the State, of West Bengal regarding their treatment of Muslims is not only incorrect but malicious. I would have understood it if it had come from the lips of petty politicians in maidan meetings. But when a member of the Congress Working Committee occupying the position of the Chief Ministership of Bihar says, we have not said a word, and we shall not say a word now about the position of Muslims in West Bengal, I want to ask, what is there which has prevented Shree Babu from giving free expressions as to the condition of Muslims in West Bengal. It should be thrashed out publicly. There are charges and counter-charges. But when there are charges that a State enjoying the Constitution of India,

which has been entrusted with the sacred task of protecting the rights and privileges of all the minorities in the State, has failed in discharging its duty, it rather pains me. If anything hampers the unity of India, then it is these kinds of statement.

My revered colleague, the Vicechancellor of Bihar University, that the gentleman as he is, has said in the course of his 'speech that he is ready to talk about the lot of Muslims in West Bengal, if that question were put to him in private. But I ask, why only in private? It is we who have passed the Constitution, and it is our sacred right to observe its provisions and to defend it. If the West Bengal Government had failed in their duties. it was the sacred duty of the hon. Member to have laid it before this House, and to have drawn the attention of the Government of India as well as of the whole world, that on the minority question, the West Bengal Government have failed. Why should there be insinuations? Why should there be whisperings? Why should the question of communalism be raised? Let the whole thing be discussed on merit.

After all, the problem of Bengal is not only our headache. We are a part of India. Our lot depends on the good wishes of Bihar, and also on the good wishes of Assam. Otherwise, we cannot live; we cannot survive.

Shri M. P. Mishra: You want to strangle them out.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: My hon. friend Shri Debeswar Sarmah has said that the condition of the people of Cooch-Behar is worse after its merger with the State of West Bengal. It seems that my hon. friend knows better about the lot of Bengalis in Bengal than about the lot of Bengalis in Assam. I am not going to level any charges against any State. I am not going to say anything about the deeds or misdeeds of any State. I would only say, do not tub us as communalists. There is no use throwing mud on us. After all, we belong to the Union of India.

I very humbly want to point out to my friends from Bihar who are trying to interrupt, that I have nothing against them. After all, if Bengal dies, Bihar cannot have her growth; similarly, if Bihar dies, Bengal cannot have her growth. So, we have to live together; we have to survive together. We have to solve our problems amicably. We have to remember ' that we are here as the elected representatives of lakhs and lakhs of people, elected on adult franchise. And what are we doing here for the last seven days? I was telling my friend Dr. Suresh Chandra that he is the only person sitting here from 11-30 to 6-30 p.m., and all the other benches are almost empty. We are discussing a vital problem affecting our life and death. It is a vital question that we are discussing. And yet I find that even the benches of the Opposition, who take so much interest in the debate, are empty. Is that a serious way of taking things?

We have placed our viewpoint before the Commission.

The Commission say that they cannot go on a linguistic basis. But while rejecting our claim for Dhalbhum, they say that the linguistic composition of Dhalbhum is such that no part of it can be transferred to West Bengal. If we want to develop our point, if we want to defend our argument, we will be dubbed as militant linguists. What then is this argument? We have heard so many things about the production of this very fine document, so many lauduable things. I accept that they have worked very hard. But what is the basis of this? Confusion worse confounded. What is there in it? In one breath, linguistic States have been given; in the same breath, no linguistic basis been adhered has to. In one sphere, the district level hee been the basis; in another, you find the thana level as the basis.

[Shri Atulya Ghosh]

For example, we demanded the whole of Manbhum district. They have conceded some part of it. They have said that there is the river Damodar which has divided it into two parts. One is Dhenbad and other is Purulia. So let Bengal have Purulia. It is on some other consideration. In the same breath, they say 'We cannot give you because there is a Hindi Chas majority'. On the same basis, let them give us a portion of Dhanbad where there is a Bengali-majority. What is this argument about? Either accept it on humanitarian grounds or have as basis a sound principle on which you will give your award. They are good men, eminent jurist, another a prominent social worker and the other prominent diplomat. Accepted. But let them find a basis on which they will work. We asked for Manbhum district. We asked for a portion of Singhbhum district, Dhalbhum, We still ask for Chas. They say, no. There is another argument that is put forward. It is that there are two coal mines in that area and so it cannot go to West Bengal. What will happen if two coal mines go to West Bengal? With so many millions and millions of refugees, if we can have two coal mines, what will happen? What will happen if we increase our finances by two pence? The heavens won't fall down

Then there is the question of Santal Parganas. We have asked for it. We require it for our development. The Bihar Ministry is there since 1937. It has not so far found it necessary to develop those areas, to develop the catchment areas. The moment the S.R.C. wanted to give some catchment areas to us—we are grateful to them for the mercy—the Bihar Ministry prepared some scheme to develop those areas. They won't be able to do it themselves, bcause if there is a river valley project there, it will be beneficial to Bengal.

We learn from this learned document that Rajmahal is a coal-field area. Can anybody say that Raj-

mahal is a coal-field area? Rajmahal is an area from where you can have stone chips. Stone chips and coals are different. They in their profoundness have said that it will affect the economy of Bihar; so it cannot go to Bengal. What is this argument about? How can it affect the economy of Bihar? West Bengal has been affected by the partition. The Government of India and we are spending for it. They have spent more than Rs. 70 crores up to 1954 on refugee rehabilitation, and you will be amazed to hear that out of it, Rs. 42 crores have been spent on temporary relief. That is the economy of West Bengal. Keeping in view that economy of West Bengal, you have to consider this question. You cannot summarily dismiss it saying that it is a border problem, a territorial dispute or a Bengal-Bihar jhagada. There is an absolute difference here.

I have placed all these things before you. The statement of the former Home Minister Rajaji is before you. That is about the Kishanganj area, a few miles in the northern area and a few miles in the southern area. If a further stretch of land is given, we will be able to have contiguity between the northern and southern portion of the State. If the Government of India want to do it, let them do it, because the former Home Minister and an astute politician, Rajaji, had said that it is for the defence of India, not for Bengal. He said clearly and categorically that this portion is to be given to Bengal not for Bengal, not for Bihar, but for the defence of India. What is the quarrel of Bengal with the defence of India? Why should the Muslims there object to this? This is for the defence of India and for no other purpose.

Under the circumstances, I request the Congress High Command, the Central Government, this august House, my Bihari friends and my Assamese friends not to feel distressed. We have not claimed anything. We have only made our suggestions before the Commission,

because we are confident that the Central Government will do justice, because we are confident that our leaders will do justice. With that confidence, we have placed our point of view. We also seek the co-operation of Bihar, we also seek the cooperation of Assam to relieve our distress. We have heard so many things about zonal affairs. The Deputy Chairman of the West Bengal Council in his speech also said that Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa should be turned into a zone, and if U.P. is also tagged on to it, we will be able to enjoy more privileges. We will then be, a very big unit. It will be such a big unit that nobody will dare to disturb the finances or economy of Bengal or Bihar or Assam.

I now request our leaders to kindly take into consideration the suggestions made by the West Bengal P.C.C. I request them to take into consideration our refugee problem which is a problem for the whole of India. I have not brought before you the sacrifices that we have made. We made sacrifices for our own emancipation, because we also wanted freedom; and we sacrificed two-thirds of Bengal.

Tandonii said there are many dukhis in U.P. Are they more dukhis than refugees? Are they more dukhis than those who have no hearth and home? Are there more dukhis than those people who have had to leave their hearths and homes without a future, without seeing a silver lining in the horizon? I am not asking for any pity. I want to be at par with other States. I want to be helpful to the Government and keep the unity of India, for the defence of India, for the economic development of India, for bringing the socialistic pattern of society in India. I have done.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवः भाज यह मौका हिन्दुस्तान के लिए ऐसा है कि जिस पर हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को जितनी मुवारिकवाद

वी जाए उतनी ही थोडी है। एक जमाना था कि हिन्दूस्तान के लोग दां सौ या तीन सौ बरस पहले या इस से भी ज्यादा पहले एक इलाके से दूसरे इलाके में हमला करने के लिए जाया करते थे ग्रौर लडाई से ही हददबन्दी या इलाके को बढाने की हर बात का फैसला किया करते थे । झाज यह एक मुबारिक दिन है कि हम यहां पर बैठ कर ग्रपनी हदूद का अपने मतभेदों का फैसला म्रापस में बहस मबाहिसा कर के करने को तैयार हैं। जो बहस यहां पर ६-७ रोज से हो रही है में ने उसको बडेगौर से सुना है। हर तरफ से कई प्रकार की बातें सुनने में भाई हैं। मैं ग्रापकी खिदमत में सारे मामले को छोड कर इस मामले की कांस्टीट्यूशन के लिहाज से क्या वक्कत है, भर्ज करना चाहता हं । जब हमने भ्रपना कांस्टीट्यशन बनाया उस वक्त हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने हम को इस सारे कांस्टीट्यु शन की एक कूंजी दी। एक फ़ारमूला हम को दिया, जो फ़ारमूला इस कांस्टीट्यूशन की रग रग में सरायत करता है । उन्होंने जो फ़ारमुला दिया, वह में ग्राप की खिदमत में पढ़ कर सूनाता हूं।

"We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation."

मैं भ्रदव से भ्रजं करना चाहता हूं कि इस फ़ारमूले की बेसिस पर हम ने कान्स्टीट्यूशन

524 L.S.D.

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागेंव]

में फंडामेंटल राइट्स बनाए और इस के झलावा दीगर प्राविजन्ज बनाए। इस फारमूले , और फंडामेंटल राइट्स के पीछे जो राज है, बो एक सुनहरी बीज है, जिस तरह एक माला के सब मनकों में से भागा गुजरता है, उसी तरह हमारी सब बातों और सब कामों की बुनियाद पर जो उसूल है, वह यह है कि हम ने यह कहा कि हम डिगनिटी झाफ़ दि इन्डि-विजुमल को हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक सिटिजन की डिगनिटी को—- और यूनिटी झाफ़ दि स्टेट को प्रपने हर एक काम में सब से झागे रखेंगे। दूसरा उसूल हम ने इक्वैलिटी झाफ स्टेट्स और इक्वैलिटी झाफ़ झापरचूनिटी का झपने सामने रखा। जस्टिस, सोहाल एंड इकानोमिक, यह थी तीसरी बात जो हम ने कही।

में भ्रदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि इन तीन बातों के होते हुए कौन सा ऐसा इलाका है जो यह कह सके कि मेरा इलाका [तो सरप्लस है, मेरे पास के डेफ़िसिट इलाके मेरे साथ मत भाने दो---में सरप्लस हूं भौर सरप्लस ही रहूंगा ? में पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस सूरत में इकानौमिक जस्टिस कैसे हो सकता है ?

इस के बाद हम ने कांस्टीट्यूशन में दफ़ा ३१ रखी भौर डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्ज झाफ स्टेट पालिसी में गवर्नमेंट का यह फ़र्ज करार दियाः----

"that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;"

में निहायत घदब से प्लानिंग कमीशन बालों से घौर उन लोगों से, जिन के हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की बागडोर है, पूछना चाहता हूं कि वे कैंसे यहां पर सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न कायम करेंगे---जिसका रोज ढोल बजाया बाता है----ग्रम्बर झरप्रलस एरियाज के लोग डेफिसिट एरियाज को घपने साथ रखने को तैयार न होंगे ।

मागे लिखा है :----

"that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;"

एक इलाके में से दरया गुजरता है, उस में मिनरल रिसोर्सिज हैं, क्या उस का यह कहने का हक है कि यह दरया मेरा है झौर ये मिनरल रिसोसिज मेरे है झौर में हिन्दुस्तान के फ्रायदे के लिए उन को इस्तेमाल नहीं करने दुंगा 🖡 में तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान को एक नहीं समझता हं जब कि पंजाब में चने का भाव छः रुपये है, मद्रास में ४२ रुपए है, कलकत्ता में २० रुपए है ग्रौर दिल्ली में १४ रुपए है । जब तक सारे देश के गरीब लोगों को खाने पीने की **भौ**र दूसरी चीजें यकसां कीमत पर नहीं मिल सकतीं, तब तक में हिन्दूस्तान को एक नहीं समझ सकता हुं । इसलिए यह निहायत जरूरी है कि जब हम स्टेट्स बनायें, तब इस बात का हरगिज ख्याल न रखें कि एक स्टेट तो मालदार बन जाय भौर दूसरी स्टेट पीछे रह जाय । यहां पर रोज इस बात का तनाजा होता है कि फलां एरिया बैकवर्ड है झौर फलां एरिया फार्वर्ड है। सवाल यह है कि बैकवर्ड एरियाज की कैसे मदद की जाय ? उन की मदद उसी हालत में हो सकती है मगर उन को उन सरप्लस एरियाज के साथ जोड़ दिया जाय, जिन को कुदरत ने ऐसी जगह बसाया है, जो दरयाओं मौर पहाड़ों के नजदीक हैं भौर जहां मिनरल रिसोसिज कसरत से मिलते हैं। इसी तरीके से देश की सम्पत्ति की यकसा डिस्ट्रिब्युशन हो सकती है।

में यह ग्रर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि कोई भी संखवींखु<del>⊨ \_ द्वा</del>ह उस को कोई कुसीशन करे

या कोई दुसरा करे-इन डायरेक्टिव प्रिसि-पल्ज के खिलाफ जाती है, वह कांस्टीच्यू शनल नहीं है झौर मैं उसको मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं । मैं ने इस रिपोर्ट में कितनी ही जगह पढ़ा है कि फलां इलाका कहता है कि हम सरलप्स हैं हम को डेफिसिट इलाके के साथ जोड़ने का क्या मतलब ; यह माना गया है कि सब भाई भाई है---- एक मां के बेटे हैं, मगर बड़ा भाई छोटे भाई से कहता है कि मैं ममीर हूं तुम गरीब हो, इसलिए मेरे पास मत भाभो । जिस खुशकिस्मत इलाके से मैं भाया हूं, उस की बाबत कहा गया है कि यह तो डेफिसिट एरिया है, हम इस के पास नहीं फटकेंगे । मैं बडे घदब से उन बडे भाइयों भौर चाचाम्रों से मर्ज करना चाहता हं कि मेहरबानी कर के माप इस कांस्टीच्यूबन के खिलाफ़ र्मत जाइये । मैं सरप्लस एरिया वालों से कहना चाहता हूं कि मगर माप ने इस कांस्टीच्यूशन को बनाया है, तो इस पर भ्रमल कीजिए वर्ना यह म्राप का कांस्टीच्युशन रह जायगा।

कांस्टीच्युशन में जहां हम ने लिखा है कि हिन्दूस्तान में लोग कैसे बसेंगे झौर कैसे सिटिजन बनेंगे, वहां हम ने लिखा है :---

"That State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

## इस के भलावा हम ने दफ़ा १९ में जो बड़े जोर का फंडामेंटल राइट रखा, उस में लिखाः--

"All citizens shall have the right-to move freely throughout the territory of India; to reside and settle part of the territory of in any India:"

जो लोग होमलैंड के बडे कायल है----माखिर होमलैंड मौर मामूली टेरीटोरी में कुछ न कुछ फर्क होता ही होगा-मौर जो लोग कहते हैं कि हम ने फलां खिलाए-जमीन की ठेकेदारी ली हुई है, उन से मैं पूछना बाहता कि यह होमलैंड का कनसप्ट हमारे कांस्टीच्यूशन के साथ किस तरह कनसिस्टेंट है। क्या मुझ को हक नहीं है कि मैं एक सूबे से दूसरे सूबे में जा कर बस सकू? क्या बंगाल के लोगों को भासाम में जा कर रहने का हक नहीं है ? क्या दस हजार पंजाबियों को यह हक नहीं है कि वे बंगाल में जा कर रह सकें ? à

भी अमजद अली (ग्वालपाड़ा-गारो पहाड़ियां): भ्रापको दावत है कि मासाम में भाकर रहें।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : माप मुझको तो दावत देते हैं, लेकिन में जानता ह कि मासामी बंगालियों के साथ किस तरह का सलुक करते हैं । मैंने देखा है कि मापके पास बेशमार जमीन खाली पड़ी है, लेकिन झाप बंगालियों को एक बीघा भी देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । यह निहायत गलत मौर नामुनासिब बात है । यह कांस्टीच्यूशन के खिलाफ है । म्रगर म्रापने इस तरह कांस्टीच्यूशन की मिट्टी पलीद करनी थी, तो भ्रापने उसको क्यों बनाया ?

यह भी कहा जाता है कि फलां जगह पर हम लोग बसे हुए हैं, वहां हम किसी को नहीं झाने देंगे । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि किसी को यह बात कहने का क्या हक है कॉस्टीच्यूशन की दफा २४ मौर २६ में मुद्देतलिफ रिलिजस सैक्शन्ज भौर डिनामि-नेशन्ज को परस्तिश वगैरह का हक दिया गया है। दफा २६ में लिखा हमा है :----

"Subject to public order, morality and health every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right to establish and 734I

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागेव] maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

to own and acquire movable and immovable property;

to administer such property in accordance with law."

दाफा २५ को पहने की जरूरत नहीं है. क्योंकि उसको सारा हाउस जानता है। किसी रिलिजस सैक्शन या डीनामिनेशन को इससे ज्यादा हक नहीं दिया गया है। इसलिए किसी रिलिजन के लोगों को यह कहने का हक नहीं है कि पंजाब के इस हिस्से पर या हिन्द्रस्तान के किसी खित्ते पर हमारा हक है, इसको हम रखेंगे झौर किसी को इसमें दाखिल नहीं होने देंगे, वह स्टेट हमारी होगी । मैं इस किस्म की रिलिजस स्टेटका सख्त मुखालिफ़ हं। रिलिजस स्टेट का ख्याल इस कांस्टीच्युशन 🕏 खिलाफ जाता है। हम देख चुके हैं कि इस ख्याल की वजह से हमको कितना नुकसान हुआ है और कितने वतरनाक नतायज निकले हैं । जो वाकयात मैं ग्रपनी ग्रांसों से देस चुका हूं, उनक दोवारा होने के स्थाल से ही मेरा दिल वदाता है। मैं सोचता हं कि क्या हम फिर उसी टू-नेशन ध्योरी में जाने लगे हैं, जिसकी बदौलत इतनी बरबादी हुई है झौर क्या हम हिम्दुस्तान भौर पाकिस्तान की किस्म के सगड पैदा करने जा रहे हैं? टू-नेशन श्योरी को मानकर कैस हम काइमीर को हिन्दुस्तान में रखने के हक़दार हैं?

यहां पर सैंगुंएज का बहुत जिक हुआ है। मैं इस सिलसिले में कांस्टीच्यूशन क बात मापकी खिदमत में पेश करना चाहता हूं। कांस्टीच्यूशन ने लैंगुएज के बारे में क्या रियायतें दी हुई हैं, यह बात हमें दफ़ा २६ सें मालूम होती है, जो कि इस तरह है:---

Report of S.R.C.

"Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same."

यानी कोई सैक्शन म्राफ़ सिटिजन्ज म्रपती लैंगुएज, स्क्रिप्ट मौर कल्चर को कनजवे करनेका म्रख्तियार रखता है। इसकेलिए वे क्या करें? यह म्रागेलिखा हुम्रा है:---

"All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice."

लेंग्वेज वालों को ग्रस्तियार है कि ग्रपने इस्टीट्यूदान खोलें, ग्रपनी भाषा पढ़ार्ये लिखायें। स्क्रिप्ट वालों को प्रस्तियार है कि बे ग्रपने स्क्रिप्ट को कंजर्व करें, लेकिन कास्टीट्यूदान में कहीं भी यह नहीं लिखा हुगा है कि कोई सेक्शन दूसरों की मजबूर करे कि तुम फलां लैंग्वेज बोलो या फलां स्कित्ट लिखो। खास कर यह तो हो नहीं सकता कि वह सैक्शन बजरिये स्टेट के दूसरों को ऐसा करने के लिए मजबूर करे। मैं हाउस की तवज्जह ग्रापके जरिये कास्टीट्यूदान की दफा ३४७ की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं। उसमें लिखा है:

"On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State

desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify."

मेरी अदब से गुजारिश है कि इसके मुताबिक किसी को भी यह झस्तियार है कि वह प्रेसीडेंट साहिब के पास जाकर यह कहे कि हमारी इस लैंग्वेज को रिका-गनीशन दिया जाय झौर झगर वह मुनासिब समर्झे तो वह रिकागनीशन देसकते हैं। सेकिन दफा ३४७ में किसी स्क्रिप्ट का जिक नहीं है। कोई सिटीजन यह नहीं कह सकता कि हमारे स्क्रिप्ट को लेकर प्रेसीडेंट साहब एक स्टेट बना दें या उसको दूसरों पर इम्पोज कर दें। इस चीज को लैकर ग्रगर कोई ग्रलग स्टेट की मांग करता है तो वह गलत है, बे बुनियाद है मौर कांस्टीट्यूसन के खिलाफ है, चाहे एसी बात इस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में या कहीं झौर ही क्यों न कही गयी हो। मैं मदब से भ्रर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस कांस्टीट्यूशन में इंडिया के सिटीजन की तारीफ दी हुई है पर किसी स्टेट के सिटीजन की तारीफ नहीं दी हुई है। ये जो स्टेटस बनी हुई है ये तो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव कन्वीनिएंस के लिहाज से बनायी गयी हैं। ये इस ख्याल से बनायी गयी हैं कि किसी एक इलाके के लोग पूरी तरक्की कर सकें जेकिन इसका यह मतलब नहीं है कि कोई स्रोग दूसरों के खिलाफ एक दीवार खड़ी कर दें भौर कहें हम इसके ठेकेदार हैं भौर इसमें किसी को नहीं धाने देंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह का

होमलैंड का कन्सेप्ट हमारे लिए unconstitutional मौर खराब है।

कहा जाता है कि कांग्रेस ने भी भाषावार सूबों की बात मंजूर कर ली है। हमको मालम है कि उसके बाद दार कमीशन बना, जे० वी० पी० कमेटी बनी मौर म्रब मालिर में इस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट मायी है। एक वक्त था कि हमारे पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने रावी के किनारे इंडिपैंडेंस का झंडा फहराया था। जो लोग उनके उस वक्त साथ थे वे कहते हैं कि उस रात भर पंडित जी इंडिपेंडेंस की खुशी में वहां पर नाचते रहे । जब कांस्टीट्यएंट मसेम्बली में उन्हीं पंडित जवाहरलाल जी ने यह रिजोल्युशन हमारे सामने रखा था कि हमको कामनवैल्य में शामिल होना चाहिए तो मैंने उनकी ताईद में तकरीर की थी भौर कहा था कि जब उन्होंने इंडिपेंडेंस का झंडा फहराया था उस वक्त तो वह हमारे लीडर थे, क्या वह इस बक्त हमारे लीडर नहीं हैं भौर क्या भव हमको उनकी बात नहीं माननी चाहिए, जब कि उनको पहले से झौर ज्यादा तजर्बा हो गया है झौर ज्यादा झक्ल झा गयी है। मैंने उस तक्त पूछा था कि क्या जिस जवाहर लाल ने इंडिपेंडेंस का झंडा फहराया था वह ग्रच्छा था भौर भव जो हमको कामनवैल्य में रहने के लिये राय दे रहा है वह जवाहरलाल खराब है। कल जो हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने स्पीच दी वह नेशनल स्पिरिट से भरी हुई थी। सबके सब ताली हाउस में पीटने को तैय्यार झौर जय बोलने को तैय्यार हैं। सेकिन यह सिर्फ लिप सरविस है, कोई उस पर ग्रमल करने को तैयार नहीं है। ईमानदारी की बात यह है कि उनकी नसीइत पर भमल करो भौर उनके बतलाइ हुए, धसुलों पर चल कर यूनिलिंग्वन स्टेट के क्याल को बतम करो।

# [पंडित ठाकूर दास भागव]

में मर्ज करना चाहता हं कि कमीशन ने जो उसूल स्टेट्स को बांटने के लिए रको हैं वे सूनहरी उसल हैं भौर वे इतने जरूरी हैं कि उनके बिना इस देश में ेस्टेट्स का बटवारा नहीं हो सकता । मुझे भ्रफसोस है कि कूछ लोग इन तीन बुजुर्गों पर, जिन्होंने इतनी मेहनत से इस रिपोर्ट को लिखा है, मिट्टी फैंकने की कोशिश करते हैं, जहां तक फैकट्स झौर नती जों का सवाल है उनसे किसी की राय मुख्तलिफ हो सकती है, मैं भी उनको इस मामले में किटिसाइज कर सकता हं। बहत से मामलों में हाई कोर्ट ग्रौर सुप्रीम कोर्ट की रायों में फैक्ट्स भौर नतीजों के मताल्लिक इस्तिलाफ राय हो जाती है।लेकिन यह कहनाकि फलां यू० पी० का रहने वाला है या दूसरी किसी ग्रौर जगह का रहने वाला है, इसलिए उसने ऐसी राय दी है, में भ्रदव से मर्ज करूंगा कि यह बिल्कूल गलत बात है। मैं भापकी तवज्जह खास तौर से उनके उन कनक्लूजन्स की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं जिनको कि उन्होंने सफा ४४ पर दिया है। इसी सिलसिले में एक कनक्लुजन जो कि उन्होंने सफा ४६ पर दिया है उसको में झापके सामने पेश करना बाहता हूं। वह यह है :

"Such a balanced approach would appear to be:--

(a) .....(b) .....(c) .....

(d) to repudiate the 'home land' concept, which negates one of the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution, namely equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens throughout the length and breadth of the Union;" में ग्रदब से ग्रर्ज करूंगा कि यह लिखने के बाद पैरा १०६ में इन सारी बीजों को एक कूजे में ला दिया है जब कि उन्होंने यह बतलाया है कि हमारा ऐप्रोच क्या होना चाहिए । इस सिलसिले में मैं ग्रापको एक छोटा सा पैरा पढ़ कर सुनाता हुं:

"A preliminary but essential consideration to bear in mind, therefore, is that no change should be made unless it is a distinct improvement in the existing position and unless the advantages which result from it, in terms of the promotion of 'the welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as the nation as a whole'-the objectives set before the Commission by the Government of India-are such as to compensate for the heavy burden on the administrative and financial resources of the country which reorganisation of the existing units must entail. The reorganisation of States has to be regarded as a means to an end and not an end in itself; that being the case, it is quite legitimate to consider whether there is on the whole a balance of advantage in any change."

यह सही चीज है। यह उसूल की बात है कि जो एग्जिस्टिंग स्टेट है उसमें माप तभी तबवीली करें जब कि यह उसके एडवांटेज के लिए हो। इस वक्त हालत यह है कि हम सारे हिन्दुस्तान में यह देख रहे हैं कि जितने प्रोविस हैं वे सब एक्सपांड करना चाहते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान का हर प्राविस एक्सपांड करने को तैयार है लेकिन हमारे पंजाबी माई कहते हैं कि हमको बौल में वापस जाने वो। हमको जोटा कर वो। हमारी स्टेट को एक करोड़

Motion re:

3748

७२ लास के बजाये ६३ लास की स्टेट कर दो। मैं भ्रदब से मर्ज करना चाहता हं कि जो उसूल कमीशन ने रखा है वह ठीक है झौर में भी उसकी ताईद करता हं। जो लोग कहते हैं कि यह उसल सही नहीं है वे गलती करते हैं। मैं तो यह समझता हं कि ग्रगर कमीशन रिलीजस मैजारिटीज भौर लैंग्वेज की मैजारिटीज के उसूल को मानती तो वह गलती करती। हमारे भाई सिखों के लिए जो पंजाबी सूबा मांगते हैं झगर इस मांग को मंजुर कर लिया जाता तो क्या नतीजा निकलता? उसका नतीजा यह निकलता कि दूसरे लोग भी ऐसी ही बिना पर भ्रपने लिए श्रलग सूबों की मांग करते। भ्रभी पंजाब म्रासेम्बली के एक मेम्बर मे कहा था कि हम ३० परसेंट ग्रछ्त हैं ग्रौर इस बिना पर हमारे लिए म्रछ्तिस्तान बनाना चाहिए। एक भाई कहते हैं कि मेरे लिए वैष्णविस्थान होना चाहिए। जैसा कि मैन पहले मर्ज किया, मैं हिसार के जिले से म्राता हं।

सरदार हुक्म सिंह (कपूरथला भटिंडा): पंडित जी के मुंह से यह ठीक नहीं मालूम देता ।

पंडित ठाकूर दास भागंव : आप कहते हैं कि ६३ लाख में से ४४ लाख सिख ŝι

सरवार हुक्म सिंह : हम तो पंजाबी जबान की वजह से अलग सूबे की मांग करते हैं, सिर्फ सिखों के लिए तो कोई आलग सुबा नहीं चाहते।

पंडित ठाकुर बास भागव : अगर -यही बात है तो मैं भापसे पूछना चाहता हं कि आपने कांगड़ा जिले को किस उसल पर

झलग रजा है जहां कि दस या १५ लाज पंजाबी स्पीकिंग लोग रहते हैं। इससे जाहिर है कि भाप ४४ लाख भादमियों का एक भलग सूबा बनाना चाहते हैं।

Report of S.R.C.

सरबार हुक्म सिंह : हम तो किसी को निकालना नहीं चाहते । धाप सेंसस के फिगर्स को देखिये।

पंडित ठाकुर बास भागंब : मैने सेंसस के फिगर्स को देखा है झौर जो झापने लिसा है वह भी में दिखाऊंगा।

Mr. Chairman: Let the hon. Member address the Chair.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: It is all right, Sir. He is not saying any-thing against me. Perhaps we are greater friends than any persons here and we are not excited.

3 P.M.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt .--- West cum Rae Bareli Distt .---East): When hon. Members like Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava are speaking, no Ministers are there.

The Minister of Revenue and Defence Expenditure (Shri **A**. С. Guha): I am here.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: You are enjoying; you are not taking any notes. You have not got paper or pencil.

Shri A. C. Guha: The Reporters are taking notes.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : सकर कीजिये में जवाब दूंगा। पंजाब के भ्रन्दर रहने वाले हर एक शस्स की जवान उसी तरह पंजाबी है जैसे कि माप पंजाबी के लिए दावा करते हैं। मगर मैं हिन्दी बोलता

## [पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव]

हुं तो वह भी पंजाबी है क्योंकि पंजाब में बोली जाती है ग्रौर ग्रगर में बाखड़ी बोलता हूं तो वह भी पंजाबी है। कोई जालंधर वालों ने सारे पंजाब का ठेका थोड़ेही ले लिया है। मैं भी पंजाब का उसी तरह से बेटा हूं जैसे कि झाप भौर दूसरे लोग। जब तक कि मैं पंजाब के ग्रन्दर हूं, मैं पंजाबी हूं। पिछले सौ वर्ष से पंजाब का इलाजा पंजाब के साथ लगाया गया, पूराने पंजाब के साथ लगाया गया। सन् १८४७ में हरयाना शान्त के लोगों ने गदर किया श्रीर सजा की तौर पर इसको मर्ज किया गया। भ्रब गरीबनवाज सुद ही मुलाहिजा फ़रमाइये सौ वर्ष इसको हो गये, सात वर्ष में तो इन्सान के जिस्म के जो जर हैं यह भी तबदील हो जाते हैं। सौ वर्ष से हम पंजाब के ग्रन्दर रहे। मैं पूछता हं कि माज से ४ सौ या ५ सौ वर्ष पहले दुनिया के भ्रन्दर सिक्ख कहां थे ? मैं यह भर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि सौ बर्ध से रहने वाले लोग भगर पंजाबी नहीं तो कौन हैं किन्हीं एक्सट्रा झार्डिनरी सरकम-स्टान्वोज में पंजाब छोड़ कर कोई शस्स कहीं चला जावे तो क्या पंजाबी नहीं रहता । माखिर यह जो ५० या ४४ लाख पंजाबी ग्रौर ३४ लाख बंगाली इधर झाये तो उनको इधर हरियाना भरतपुर, भलवर और यु० पी० मौर देहली के अन्दर किस हक़ से दाखिल हो गये? साफ जाहिर है कि जितने भी इस देश में इनसान बसते हैं सब इस भारतमाता के समान पुत्र हैं मौर कोई यह नहीं कह सकता कि नहीं यहां फलां जगह का भावमी नहीं बस सकता । यह तमाम देश सारे देश-बासियों का है मौर हम नहीं चाहते कि इमारे बीच में इस किस्म का मैद भाव हो भीर इस किस्म के टुकड़े बनें।

तो जो मैं जनाब की खिदमत में झर्ब कर रहा था उस पर झब झाता हूं। यह तो सरदार साहब ने बीच में टोक दिया इसलिए यह बात कहनी पड़ी । भगर सिक्स सूबे की बात नहीं होती तो मैं उनकी मांग को समझ सकता था । साथ ही यह जो झापकी तरफ से सिक्स सूबे की मांग झाई है, उसके लिए मैं झापको दोष नहीं देता बल्कि प्राप इसको मानने के लिए ड्रिविन हुए झौर झापको लोगों ने इसके लिए मजबूर किया। झौर जैसा झापने भी कहा कि गुस्से को वजह से यह मांग की गई है।

मैं पेइतर इसके कि मौर बातों की बाबत कहूं, कहीं मैं उन दो बातों को न भूल जाऊं जिनको कि मैं हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूं झौर इसलिए मैं सबसे पहले उन्ही का जित्र प्रापके सामने करना भाहता हूं। लुहारू एक सब तहसील है ग्रौर क़रीब ३० हजार की वहां पर माबादी है। मभी श्री टंडन ने भी उसके बारे में जिन्न किया। मैं उस पर ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। सिर्फ़्र दो तीन बातें उसके बारे में झर्ज करना चाहता हूं। कमिशन ने यह लिखा है कि क़रीब ३५० वर्ष से इसका ताल्लुक़ राजस्थान से है। ग्रव मैं ग्रदब से ग्रर्ज करना चाहता हं कि कमिशन ने जो यह लिखा है वह किस ग्राधार पर लिखा है? ग्रगर वह एसा लिखने के लिए किसी किताब का हवाला देते तो मैं उनकी बात को समझ सकता था। कमीशन ने जो लिखा है वह पूराने नवाब साहब ने जो जयपुर में उनसे कह दिया उस पर उन्होंने ऐसा लिख दिया है। यह नवाब साहब हैं जिनके खानदान का तक़रीकन् १४०,२०० वर्षे तक लुहारू पर राज्य रहा। सन्ः १८०३ में यह उनकी

गिफट के तौर पर दिया गया था ग्रीर उस गिफ्ट को लाई लेक ने कनफ़र्म कर दिया। सन १८६९ में नवाब साहब को हिसार में वहां पर इंस्टाल कर दिया गया। लुहारू के लिए यह कहना कि उसका जजाब से ताल्लक नहीं है हिस्ट्री से मुंह मोडना है। मेरे हाथ में गजेटियर मौजूद है, मेरे पास उसको यहां पर कोट करने का वक्त नहीं है, लेकिन ग्रगर ग्राप उसको मुलाहिजा फ़रमायेंगे तो म्रापको मालूम होगा कि लुहारू का कम से कम पिछले १४० वर्ष से हिसार जिले से झौर पंजाब से ताल्लुक रहा है भीर इसका सबूत यह है कि खुद नवाब की उनके चाचा की धौर उनके बेट की क़बें यहां दिल्ली में हैं। बड़े झादमी दिल्ली में बसा करते थे क्योंकि दिल्ली पहले हरियाना का एक शहर होता था। मौर हरयाने में हमारा उनसे गहरा ताल्लुक रहा है। वहां पर जो ५२ गांव हैं वह सब जाटों के गांव हैं। भव जहां तक नवाब साहब के लुहारू की बाबत कमिशन को बतलाने का ताल्लुक है तो उसके बारे में तो मेरा कहना यह है कि जयपुर के मन्दर नवाब साहब मौजद हैं, नवाब साहब का वहां सिनेम। मौजूद है, प्रापरटी मौजुद है मौर जयपुर से लुहारू बहुत दूर है। झब चन्द एक झादमियों को साथ लेकर जिनके साथ कि वह किसी जमाने मं एसा सुना जाता है कि व्लैक मार्कंटिंग किया करते थे, ऐसे कुछ मादमियों को कमिशन के सामने पेश कर दिया भौर लुहारू की बाबत उनकी राय ल ली गई <del>छ</del>ेकिन लुहारू का एक भी झादमी नहीं बरलया गया भीर जिनकी राय पूछी जानी चाहिए थी उनकी राय नहीं पूछी गई भौर कमिशन ने लुहारू की बाबत प्रपनी सिफारिश दिस दी। कल लाला भविंत राम ने मापको बतलाया कि सुहारू के

लोगों की क्या राय है। वे वहां सुद तशरीफ़ ले गये भौर उन्होंने हमें बतलाया कि ३९ की ३९ पंचायतों ने एक जबान होकर यह कहा कि हम पंजाब के बाहर नहीं जाना चाहते भौर हम पंजाब में ही बना रहना चाहते हैं। ऐसी हालत में उनको जबर्दस्ती दूसरी जगह धकेलना उनके साथ नाइंसाफ़ी करनी है। नवाब साहब के बारे में मैं मापको बतलाऊं कि सन ४७,४८ में जब छोटी-छोटी रियासतें खत्म हई तो नवाब साहब ने सोचा कि अगर मैं ब्रिटिश इंडिया के साथ चला जाऊंगा तो पता नहीं कि नया हो झौर नवाब साहब ने बीकानेर के साथ अपना रिक्ता क़ायम करने की कोशिश की भौर वहां पर उस समय श्री पणिक्कर साहब जो कि कमिशन के एक मेम्बर है, वह चीफ़ मिनिस्टर थे लेकिन वहां की जनता ने उनकी भाल न भलने दी झौर जनता ने इसके विरुद्ध भाग्दोलन किया भौर तार वगैरह काट दिये। यहां पटेल साहब को इस बारे में इत्तिला माई मौर उन्होंने इस मामले में तहज़ीज़ात कराई भौर भपना फ़ैसला दे दिया **कि यह बीका**-नेर के साथ नहीं जायगा **धौष यह ई**स्ट पंजाब में रहेगा। झौर इस बात का ऐलान हम व्हाइट पेपर के सफे ४३ पर पाते हैं जिसमें यह दर्ज है:

"The States merged in the Government of Punjab—Lohar, Dujan and Patadi are tiny States within the Boundaries of East Punjab. Geographically and for all administrative purposes these States formed part of East Punjab. The Rulers agreed to merge these States with . East Punjab."

नवाब साहव ने जब देखा कि बारों तरफ से लोगों ने उनके क़िले को घेर लिया है तो झाखिर वह मजबूर हो गये । झाखिर.कहां तक वह जनता की इच्छाझों के खिलाफ़ जा सकते में । चुनांचे यह सब

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव]

सुहारू दूखन और पटादी सन् ४० में ईस्ट पंजाब में अर्ज हो गई और पंजाब का हिस्सा वन गयीं । झब झाप ही फ़ैसला कीजिये कि धाप इस सबूत को मानेंगे या मियर 'हियर से १९ बिलीव कर लेंगे ?

सरदार **हुक्म सिंह**ः मगर वह तो ∙वड़े क़ाबिल धादमी थे।

पंडित-ठाकुर दास भागेव : ठीक है, ल्लेकिन क्या किया जाय, फैक्ट्स तो ग़लत . हैं झौर झाप तो उनसे भी ज्यादा काबिल .है। फैक्ट यह है कि यह स्टेट पिछले १४० वर्ष से पंजाब के मन्दर रही है मौर जिला हिसार का इससे ताल्लुक रहा ्रहै। झब ३५० वर्ष पहले क्या **मा भौ**र - क्यां नहीं था, मुझे उससे गरज नहीं है। ः १५० वर्ष के पहले झौर ३५० वर्ष पहले यह किसके साथ था, उसकी ्तवारीख मौजूद नहीं है। दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह लिखी है कि भौगोलिक स्राधार पर इसका राजपूताने के साथ कंटैक्ट है ग्रीर राजपूताना बार्डर इसको टच करती . है लेकिन मैं उनको बतलाऊं कि यह तीन तरफ पंजाब से घिरा हुमा है मौर सिर्फ एक तरफ इसकी हद राजपूताने से मिलती है। उन्होंने यह भी लिखा है कि यहां पर बूल टेड होती है लकिन मैं वतलाऊं कि सन् ४६ में एक कारखाना वूल का क़ायम किया गया जो कि सन् ४७ में बंद हो गया। एक साल तक कुछ जगह से ऊन झाया भौर र्रफर पंजाब में फाजिलका भेज दिया गया । मुनझुनूं वहां सं केवल ३०, ४० मील के फासलं पर है भौर जिला हिसार की ंभिवानी तहसील भी वहां से २४, ३० मील बतलाई जाती है। हिसार का जो हिडक्वार्टर है वहां से झूंपा मढौली से दो ेमील के फाससे पर है मौर मूंपा रेलवे

स्टेशन से हिसार का साढ़े दस झाने किराया लगता है। हिसार व भिवानी से भासानी से इन्तजाम नहीं हो सकता लेकिन इनको क्या मालूम, जयपुर में बैठे हुए हैं उनको क्या मालूम कि लुहारू कहां है। लुहारू का क़स्ब। एक्सट्रीम साउथ में है भौर बाकी में हिसार के बिलकूल नजदीक़ है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि झाम क्वेइचन आफ़ फैक्ट उनकी तीनों बातें ग़लत हैं। हमार भाई लाला म्रचिंत राम ने बतलाया कि वह खुद एक मीटिंग में वहां तशरीफ लेगय जिसमें कि ४,६ हजार म्रादमी मौजुद थे और उन्होंने एक राय से यह फैसला किया कि हम पंजाब के साथ बने रहना चाहते हैं मौर कल वहां से लोग मेरे पास ग्राए थे वह दरखास्त पेश करना चाहते हैं। हर एक बालिग वोटर के झंगुठे लगे हुए होंगे झौर हम देखेंगे कि जब १५ हजार लोगों के झंगूठे झापके सामने उनके पंजाब में बने रहने के हक़ में पेश करेंगे तब मैं नहीं समझता कि किस तरह से यह डिसिशन झाप उन पर जबर्दस्ती थोपेंगे? व बेचारे गरीब भौर मनपढ़ लोग हैं मौर वह झगड़ नहीं सकते लेकिन वे दिल के बहुत साफ हैं भौर इतने ही साफ़ हैं जैसे कि हमारे सरदार साहब हैं।

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हमारे पास भी राजस्थान के हक में भेत्रे गये हैं।

पंडित ठाकूर दास भागंब : मेरा वक्त थोड़ा है मौर मुझे इजाजत दी जाय कि मैं बगैर इंटरप्शन के भपनी बात कह सकूं। दूसरी बात जो मैं इस हाउस की खिदमत में मर्ज करना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि हिमाचल अदेशं की बाबत कहा गया है ग्रौर रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि यह पंजाब के साथ शामिल कर 'लिया जाय । लेकिन एक नोट है श्रो फज्ले झली साहब का जिस में उन्होंने कहा है कि यह लोग गरीब हैं, उन लोगों की बोल चाल में फर्क है उन को तकलीफ होगी । हमारे ग्रानरेबल, होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जब तकरीर फरमाई तो उस में उन्होंने बतलाया कि हिमाचल प्रदेश की पांच वर्ष के लिये इसी तरह से रखा जाना चाहिये, उन्होंने कूछ इसी तरह का इशारा किया था। मैं हिमाचल प्रदेश के बारे में यह मर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मगर हम सरदार साहब के दिल को ठीक कर देंगे, उन के दिल को पसीज देंगे, जिस बड़े भाई का उन्होंने जिक किया है उस को में चाचा कहता हूं, वह तो सिफ बड़ा भाई कहते हैं, ग्रगर हम उस को ठीक कर देंगे तो में पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब हम भी पिछड़े हुए हैं ग्रौर हिमाचल प्रदेश वाले भी पिछड़े हुए हैं, हम दोनों के साथ ही जब बुरा सुलूक वह लोग करते रहे हैं, तो क्या हम यह दावा नहीं कर सकते कि हम दोनों मिल कर उन लोगों को ठीक कर देंगे? मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि यह कहना कहां तक ठीक है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश ऐसी स्टेट है जिस का मिल कर इन्तजाम नहीं किया जा सकता, यह एक जाग्रेफिकल भौर हिस्टारिकल मिय है। मैं पूछना चाहता ह भाज दार्जीलिंग का इन्तजाम कौन करता है ? क्या वेस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेन्ट नहीं करती है आसाम का इंतजाम कीन करता है। आज यं ० पी० गवनंगेन्ट की तरफ से क्या कुमायू

का इन्तजाम नहीं होता है। पाज क्या पंजाब ही इतना खराब है कि वह इस इलाके का इन्तजाम नहीं कर सकता है ? यह बिल्कुस गलत बात है। वहां के लोगों का मौर हमारा साथ बढ़ा पुराना है, वह हमारे ऊपर निर्भर करते हैं हम उन से इन्डेपेन्डेन्ट हैं। इस सेन्स में जितने बहां के लोग है, पंजाब....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member must conclude now.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I have not yet come to Punjab, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: How much more time will the hon. Member require?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I want at least one hour. All these gentlemen have been getting 45 minutes and more. I have not come to Punjab at all. All right, I will not speak of Himachal Pradesh, but let me say something of Punjab.

Mr. Chairman: I hope he will finish within 15 minutes?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: In 15 minutes I can't. If the Chair orders I will sit down. I have to speak on the points raised by other hon. Members with regard to Punjab.

Mr. Chairman: All right. He may go on without giving in for interruptions.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागेवः में हिमाचल को छोड़ता हूं।

**एक माननीय सदस्य** ःहिमाचल को छोड़नाही पड़ेगा।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : उन के कहने के मुताबिक हम तो हिमाचल को छोड़ेंगे लेकिन वह खुद हमारे पीछे पड़ जायेगा, यह मैं जानता हूं। हिमाचल के प्रन्दर भाखरा डैम के जो दरिया हैं उन का कैचमेन्ट एरिया पंखाब में हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हम ने बिलासपुर को पानी में ढुबो दिया, प्राखिर किस लिये ? इसी लिये कि भाखरा डैम बन जाय। ग्राज बिलासपुर के लोग जिला हिसार में बसाये जा रहे हैं। प्रभी [पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव]

बंगाल की तरफ से साबित किया गया कि जहां पर डैम का कैचमेन्ट एरिया हो उस इलाके में ही डैम रहना चाहिये।

भी गोपो राम (मंडी महासु—-रक्षित— मनुसूचित जातियां): कश्मीर को भी पाकिस्तान ने, बतौर श्रपना कैचमेन्ट एरिया मांग लिया है तो क्या ग्राप कश्मीर को पाकिस्तान को दे देंगे?

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : मेरी घदब से गुजारिश यह है . . .

Mr. Chairman: Frequent interruptions are not at all helpful for a debate. I would request the hon. Members to be patient and let the hon. Member speak in his own way.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : ग्राज १०० वर्ष से हमेशा पंजाब के लोग हिमाचल के ग्रन्दर इन्तजाम करते रहे हैं ग्रोर हिमाचल की बोल चाल सब हम से मिलती है, हिमाचल का हमारे हाथ से निकल जाना ऐसी ही बात होगी जैसी नाखून को उंगली से दूर कर देना जिन का चोली दामन का साथ है । ग्रगर वह गरीब हैं तो हम उन की गुरबत में शरीक हैं उन की तकलीफ में शरीक हैं । मेरे पास मौर भी वजूहात थीं पंजाब के बड़े होने के बारे में लेकिन में उन में नहीं जाना भाहता । यह हमारा इन्टरनेशनल फ्रंटियर है लेकिन में इस में भी नहीं जाना चाहता ।

ग्रब में ग्राप की इजाजत से पंजाब की तरफ माता हूं । सन् १९४७ के पहले पंजाब की जो हालत थी में उस को पालियामेन्ट के सामने रखना चाहता हूं । ग्रौर में चाहता हूं कि जो दो तीन बातें में ग्रर्ज करना चाहता हूं उन को मेम्बरान ऐत्रिशिएट करें । पंजाब में ३८ लाख वह पंजाबी हैं जो कि हमारे सरदार साहब के बड़े भाई हैं, यानी पंजाबी हिन्दू ३८ लाख सिख भाई हैं जो कि हमारे चाचा हैं मौर ४० लाख मादमी हरियाना के हैं जो कि हिन्दी स्पीकिंग कहसाते हैं, जिन का मैं नुमाइन्दा तो नहीं क्योंकि उन के नुमाइन्दे

लाला म्रचित राम हैं, लेकिन जिन के यहां का में रहने वाला हूं। सन् १९४७ से पहले जब हम पुराने पंजाब के हिस्से थे, वहां पर ४६ फी सदी मुसलमान थे । उस वक्त सारे हुकूक इस तरह पर बंटे हुए थे कि मुसलमान हम पर हुकूमत कर सकें श्रौर ग्रपना सिक्का जमा सकें । उन के बाद नं. २ पर म्राते थे हमारे पंजाबी भाई **भौ**र सिख भाई जो कि जालंधर डिवीजन में थे। उन से जो कुछ बचता वह हम को मिलता था। टेबल पर जो ऋम्ब्ज रह जाते थे वह भी हम को नसीब नहीं होते थे। लेकिन मुझे उस जमाने की शिकायत नहीं, हमारे पंजाबी भाई मौर सिख भाई उस वक्त हमारी मदद नहीं कर सकते थे। वह तो श्रपनी ही मदद नहीं कर सकते थे। लेकिन जो हमारा हिस्सा था वह उन को मिलता था। में उस की कैफियत भी बताना चाहता हूं। जब राऊंड टेबल कान्फरेन्स का किस्सा ग्राया ग्रौर महात्मा जी वहां तशरीफ ले गये ग्रीर वहां पर कारबेट स्कीम चली तो कांग्रेस वालों ने कहा कि कारबेट स्कीम के मुताबिक इस इलाके को प्रलाहदा कर दो। ग्रम्बाला डिवीजन को मिला कर **भ**लाहदा कर दो वहां पर हमारे सिल मौर हिन्दू भाइयों ने जोर दिया कि नहीं इस इलाके को दूर नहीं करना चाहिये क्योंकि पंजाब का हिन्दू मुस्लिम का बैलेन्स खतम हो जायेगा घौर हम को तकलीफ होगी। इसी वजह से उनके इन्टरेस्ट में उस इलाके को ग्रलाहदा नहीं किया गया। हरियाना प्रान्त की जो स्कीम थी उस की चलाने वालों में से मैं भी था में इस से इनकार नहीं व रता लेकिन उस वक्त मुसलमानों का जमाना था हम उन के चंगुल से निकलना चाहते थे। इस के बाद सन् १९४७ के मन्दर जो वाकया हुमा उस के बाद की हिस्ट्री भी में भाप को सुनाना चाहता हूं। सन् १९४७ से भाज तक भाठ वर्ष हो गये, उस के भन्दर क्या वाकये हुए ग्राप इस का मुलाहजा फरमायें।

जब हमारी कान्स्टिटुएन्ट ऐसेम्बली की माइनारिटी कमेटी मौजद थी, मैं भी उस का एक मेम्बर था । उस वक्त हमारे सामने सवाल म्राया कि हम सब लोग माइनारिटीज का फैसला करें । जहां तक रिजर्वेशन का सवाल था, हमारे सिख भाइयों ने यह स्टैन्ड लिया कि म्रगर रिजर्वेशन मुसलमानों को दो तो हम को भी दो नहीं तो हम नहीं लेना चाहते । ग्रब चंकि मुसलमान साहबान को कोई रिजर्वेशन नहीं मिला, चनांचे इन साहबान ने भी कबल किया कि हम को रिजर्वेशन नहीं चाहिये। हम ने उस बनत भी कहा था कि भले ही श्राप हमारे सिख भाइयों को रिजर्वेशन न दीजिये, लेकिन सिख भाई इतने एन्टप्रीइजिंग है कि श्राप उन को कहीं रख दीजिये वह लोग ऊपर म्रा कर ही रहेंगे। यही हुमा। जितना रिप्रेजेन्टेशन उन को मिलता उस से कम लोग लेजिस्लेचर्स में नहीं ग्राये, कूछ न कुछ ज्यादा ही लोग भ्राये । भ्रब दूसरा सवाल जो पैवा होता है वह यह कि उन के हुकुक क्या थे। जिस वक्त माइनारिटी कमेटी चल रही थी उस वक्त हमारे सिख साहबान, हमारे भाई ज्ञानी कर्तार सिंह साहब ग्रौर दूसरे साहबान यहां पर तशरीफ लाये श्रौर बातचीत करते रहे। हम सबों से भी ग्रौर सरदार पटेल से भी आतचीत करते रहे। जब सरदार पटेल से उनकी बातचीत खत्म हई तो सिखों ने श्राखिरी बात कही कि सिखां के ग्रन्दर जो चार डिप्रेस्ड क्लासेज है उन को वही हुकक दिये जाये जो कि हिन्दू डिप्रेस्ड क्लासेज को दिये जाते हैं। यह उन की डिमान्ड थी। यही एक डिमान्ड थी बाकी सब बातों का फैसला हो चुका था। सरदार पटेल ने उन की यह माखिरी डिमांड भी मंजुर कर ली कि झाप यह डिमान्ड क्यों मांगते हैं। इस पर उन्होंने एक रेजोल्यूशन रखा। मैं ने उस वक्त इस रेजोल्यूशन पर एक ऐमेन्डमेन्ट रस्ता । सरदार साहब ने फरमाया कि म्रव्वल सवाल तो यह है कि हिन्दुमों में तो डिप्रेस्ड क्लासेज है, लेकिन सिखों, मुसलमानों, मौर किश्चियनों में डिप्रेस्ड क्लासेज होती ही नहीं हैं। इसी बात

पर राउंड टेबल कान्फरेन्स पर बडे जोर शो<sup>र</sup> से तकरीरें हुई थीं कि हिन्दुमों के ग्रन्दर डिप्रेस्ड क्लासेज हैं लेकिन हमारे ग्रन्दर नहीं हैं । चुनांचे जब रेजोल्युशन ग्राया तो सरदार साहब ने कहा कि माज माखिरी झगड़ा तय हो गया, मब हिन्दू मौर सिखों का कोई झगडा नहीं बाकी रहा। इसलिये इस बिना पर मैं ने भी भ्रपना ऐमेन्ड-मेन्ट वापस ले लिया । इस के बाद हमारे ज्ञानी कर्तार सिंह जी ग्रौर डा० गोपी चन्द भार्गव पटेल साहब के मकान पर गये । उन्होंने उन से बातूचीत की भ्रौर ज्ञानी कर्तार सिंह साहब से पूछा कि बतलाम्रो तुम्हारी कोई म्रौर डिमान्ड है ? ज्ञानी कर्तार सिंह ने कहा कि हमारी सारी डिमान्ड्स खत्म हो चुकीं, हमारा सारा झगड़ा खत्म हो चुका, इस के बाद मास्टर तारा सिंह को . . .

Mr. Chairman: Unless the hon. Member gives way there cannot be any interruption like that.

पंडित ठाकूर दास भागव : में वाकयात के बर्खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहूंगा, सभी कुछ, सच कहंगा । झाप मुलाहजा फरमायें कि उस वक्त मास्टर तारा सिंह साहब कैद में थे उन की रिहा किया गया उन को कार के जरिये बुलाया गया मौर कहा गया कि माप चीफ मिनिस्टर पंजाब के पास चलिये। वह डा० गोपी चन्द के पास तशरीफ ले गये और दोनों की बातचीत हुई। डा० गोपी चन्द ने मास्टर तारा सिंह से पूछा कि बतलाइये मब माप मौर क्या चाहते हैं ? मास्टर जी ने फरमाया कि सविसेज में हमें कम जगह दी गई है, मैं इस से सन्तुष्ट नहीं हूं। सिसों को पूरी सविसेज मिलनी पाहियें झौर हमारी कोई डिमांड बाकी नहीं । डा॰ गोपी चन्द ने कहा कि सिसों को सविसेच

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव]

तो पूरी मिली हुई हैं, मैं झाप के पास इस का सारा नक्शा बनवा कर भेज दुंगा । चुनांचे हरकिशन सिंह साहब की खिदमत में सविसेज कानक्शाभेजा गया और मास्टर जीको इत्मीनान कराया गया झौर मास्टर जी ने तसलीम कर लिया कि भव सब डिमांड खत्म हो गई हैं। यह सन् १९४८ की बात है। इसके बाद किसी किस्म का कोई झगड़ा (नहीं हुझा । में फिर बतलाना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दू मौर सिख झलग झलग नहीं हैं यह दोनों ही ऐसे हैं जैसी उंगली मौर उसका नाखून है जिन को म्राप मलग नहीं कर सकते । जैसा कि मास्टर तारा सिंह ने कहा है यह दोनों एक पेड़ की दो शासायें हैं। इन को भलग-भलग नहीं किया जा सकता है। भगर एक को दूसरे से भ्रलग कर दिया गया तो किसी को भी कोई फायदा नहीं होगा।

में एक कहानी सुनाना चाहता हूं भौर में चाहता हं कि इस को सुनाने के लिए यह भवन धो मिनट का वक्त दे। जब इस चीज का फैसला हो चुका तो वजारत तबदील हो गई मौर वजारत के तबदील होने के बाद ज्ञानी कर्तार सिंह मौर सच्चर साहब के दर्म्यान एक पोलीटिकन फैसला हुम्रा जिस को कि बाद में सच्चर फार्मुला कहा गया इसको पंडित नेहरू की मंजुरी भी हासिल हो गई। फार्मुला यह था कि जो नौग हिन्दी स्पीकिंग एरिये में रहते थे उन के बच्चों को पंजाबी पढ़नी पढ़ेगी झौर जो लोग वंजाबी स्पीकिंग एरिया में रहते थे उनके बच्चों को हिन्दी सीखनी पड़ेगी। यह फार्मुला सञ्चर साहब ने सिख माइयों से घपनी वजारत को कायम करने में मदद लेने के लिये किया । इस फार्मूले के बारे में वहां के गवर्नर ने दूसरे लोगों के इलावा मुझे भी बुलाया झौर मुझे इसके बारे में भपनी राय देने के लिए कहा । मैं ने कहा यह चीज गलत है। भौर हरियाना प्रान्त के सौग इस को नहीं मानेंगे। मैं ने एक चिट्ठी भी फारमुला के विरोध में सरदार पटेल व पंडित

नेहरू की सेवा में मेजी जिस में उन से कहा कि धाप हमारे इलाके के ऊपर पंजाबी को बेवजह क्यों लादना चाहते हैं । हमारा इलका तो कांस्टीट्युशन की दफा १४ की रूसे झगर कोई मादमी मेरठ में बसता है तो उसपर पंजाबी पढ़ने की जिम्मेवारी नहीं तो रोहतक हिसार के रहने वाले पर क्यों हो ? गुरुमुखी सीखने के लिए क्यों मजबूर करते हैं। मैं ने यह सोच कर कि इस में कोई तबदीली होगी यह चिट्ठी लिखी थी। इस चिट्ठी की कोई परवाह नहीं की गई । यह फैसला यानी फारमूला हम पर लाद दिया गया । इस पर हमारे सिख भाई बहुत खुश हुए । इसमें हमें बहुत दुख हुमा लेकिन फिर फैसला भी हम ने यह किया कि क्योंकि हम भ्रपने सिख भाइयों के साथः रहना चाहते हैं, हम भ्रपने चचा सिखों के साथः रहना चाहते हैं, हम ने पंजाबी पढ़ना मंजुर कर लिया । हम ने इसके बाद भ्रपने बच्चों को पंजाबी पढ़वानी शुरू कर दी। ऐसा करना हमने इसोलिए तय किया कि हमें एक साथ रहनाः एक साथ मरना है हिन्दूमों मौर सिखों ने मिलः कर पार्टिशन के दिनों में खून बहाया भौर इसः को मान ही लिया जाना चाहिये । हम ने कोई <mark>झगड़ा खड़ा नहीं कि</mark>या । यह फार्मूला सारे पंजा**ब** पर लागू हो गया । भव फिर हमारे भाइयों की शिकायत है कि यह फार्मुला इफेक्टिव नहीं रहा । यह शिकायत दुरुस्त है या गलत है मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता । मैं तो इतना ही कह सकता हुं कि इमारे एरिया के स्कूलों में हमारे बच्चों को झब पंजाबी पढ़ाई जाने लग गई है। मुझे स्कलों का तजुबा है, मौर मैं ग्राप को बता सकता हं कि मंग्रेजों के जमाने में जब कि पंजाब में उर्दू झौर हिन्दी दोनों जबानें हुन्ना करती थीं। हमारे इलाके में पचास स्कूलों में एक एक मास्टर फी स्कुल के हिसाब से यह दोनों जबानें ढ़ाई बरस में पढा दी जाती थीं झौर लडके चार जमायत पास कर लिया करते थे। इसमें कोई दिक्कत की बात नहीं थी।

Report of S.R.C.

इस के बाद भव में सन् १९४१ की सेंसस पर झाता हं। इस सेंसस में हमारे पंजाबी भाइयों ने इतनी ईमानदारी बरती कि उन घरों में जहां पर पंजाबो बोली जाती थी, उन्होंने भी मपनी जबान हिन्दी लिखानी शुरू कर दी। इस पर सिलों को बहुत रंज हुमा मौर ठीक हमा । हमारे सिख भाइयों ने इसके बाद यह किया कि गरीब श्रस्तत भाइयों के घर गए झौर उन को डराना धमकाना शरू कर दिया भौर उन को मजबूर किया कि वह पंजाबी म्रपनी शिपि लिखायें । जिन्होंने हिन्दी लिखाई उनमें **से** बहतों का तो इन्होंने खाना पीना बन्द कर दिया भौर तरह तरह की उन पर सस्तियां कीं। यह शिकायत मेरी नहीं है। झाप पंजाब भ्रसेम्बली की प्रोसीडिंग्ज को देंखे तो श्रापको पता लग जायेगा कि वहां एक म्रछत मैम्बर ने खुद इस बात की शिकायत की है। सिर्फ उस ने ही नहीं बल्कि एक सिख मैम्बर ने भी इस की ताईद की है। मैं ने एक कानून की किताब में रूलिंग पढ़ा था भौर उस में लिखा या कि एक शस्स ने म्रांख उठा कर देखा; दूसरे नेगाली दी, एक ने मुक्का मारा, दूसरे ने थप्पड़ मारा, उसने लाठी मारी, दूसरे ने पिसतौल बला दी, उस ने राइफल का इस्तेमाल किया । भव सवाल सिर्फ यह था कि प्रोवोकेशन हुआ तो किस की तरफ से । मैं झर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि झगड़ा चला किस तरफ से पहल हुई म्रब यह कौन बताये । सरदार हुक्म सिंह का पैम्फलेट मेरे पास है भौर इसमें उन्होंने खुद तसलीम किया है मौर, मेरा खयाल है कि वह म्रब भी इस बात को तमलीम करेंगे इस झगड़े के होने से पहले सारा मामला शान्त था। इसमें पंजाबी सूबे की नांग का भी कोई जिक नहीं था। यह पंजाबी सूबे की मांग हिन्दू भाइयों के रबम्ये के खिलाफ गुस्से की उपज है। मैं भवब से भर्ज करना भाहता हं कि इस में सिखों भौर हिन्दुमों का **दो**ष नहीं है इस में सैंट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट झौर पंजाब गवर्नमेन्ट ने भी बहुत पार्ट प्ले किया है। मैं

क्यों सिर्फ सिलों को या पंजाबी या जालमर डिवीजन के हिन्दुओं को दोष दुं। इस मौजुदा सिचुएशन के लिए सैन्ट्ल गवर्नमेन्ट मौर पंजाब गवर्नमेन्ट की गलत पोलिसी भी जिम्मेवार है। इसमें सैंट्ल गवर्नमेन्ट ने झरसे से जो रवैय्या झस्तियार किया है बह : भी इस के लिए पूरे तौर से जिम्मेवार है। जिस तरह से सैंटूल गवर्नमेंट ने रवैय्या मस्तियार किया है उस से तो कोई भी सरकार पंजाब में ठीक तरह से काम नहीं कर सकती । मैं मदव से पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब मंग्रेजों का जमाना था सेन्ट्रल मिनिस्ट्री में executive coun-होते मुसलमान षे cillor हमेशा राफ़ी, फजले हसेन : म्**हम्मद** सर जफ़रउल्लाह वगैरा लेकिन हमारी माजाद सरकार की सेक्यूलर पालिसी को देखिये किः सिर्फ ग्रब सिस ही सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट में मिनिस्टर

ते हैं हिन्दू नहीं बन सकते । दूसरी पालिसी देखिये । पंजाब में हिन्दू **ही ची**फ मिनिस्टर बन सकता है सिख नही । कोई सिख चीफ़ मिनिस्टर नहीं बनाया गया है। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि कैरों साहब के पीछे चलने वाले *ज्यादा* मेम्बरान थे तो भी सच्चर साहब को चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया गया । मैं बड़े घदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्यों किसी सिख को चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं बनाया गया है। क्या उस को इसीलिये नहीं बनाया गया है कि हम को उन पर विश्वास नहीं है। ग्रगर ऐसी ही बात है हम कैसे कह सकते हैं कि सिखों को भी गवर्नमेंट झौर हिन्दुझों पर विश्वास हो । किस तरह से इन हालात में माइनोरिटीज को एतबार हो सकता है कि *उन*कें साथ इन्साफ हो सकता है। पंजाब मिनिस्टर्ज व एसेम्बली मेम्बरान की कैफियत सुनिये मेम्बर साहबान मिनिस्ट्रों के घर जा कर एसेम्बली के इजलास के दिनों में ठहरते हैं उनके घर रोटी साते हैं भौर उन के दबाव में रहते हैं झौर मिनिस्टर साहबा न उन सबको खुश करने में लगे रहते हैं। यह है छोटे से सूबे होने

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागेंव] कः नुकसान । कौन पंजाब की पब्लिक की<sup>#</sup> ग्रावाज सुनता है । बंताम्रो देश में इत्मीनान ब तसल्ली व विश्वास कैसे हो ।

सरदार हुक्म सिंह : हायर लिंग्ज को निकाल दो ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : आप किसी को निकालने की बात कहते हैं तो मैं हर एक पंजाबी भाई को बुरा हो या भला छाती से लगा कर रखूंगा श्रीर जबरदस्ती ग्रपने साथ रखूंगा इनको में कभी ग्रलग नहीं होने दूंगा । गो मैं जानता हूं आज कोई यह नहीं कह सकता कि पंजाब में हकूमत है कोई विश्वसनीय । पीछे थोड़ी देर ही हुई है कि हमारे १०,००० सिख भाइयों को इस अविश्वसनीय हकूमत ने •कैद कर दिया था । जिस दिन स्लोगंजा पर बैन लगा तो में यकीन नहीं कर सकता था कि कोई जिम्मेवार हक्मत ऐसा हक्म दे सकती है। इस से मुझे बहुत दुःख हुन्मा। इस के बाद जब मैं ने सुना कि सरदार हुक्म सिंह को भी गिरफ़्तार कर लिया गया है तो मेरे दुख की इंतिहा न रही कि ऐसे मान्य बुजुर्ग को जब वह फैसला कराने गए गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया----इतना ही नहीं सिख भाइयों के गुरू द्वारे के sanctus sanctoram में जिस के लिये हिन्दुम्रों के दिलों में कम इज्जत नहीं पुलिस दाखिल करदी गई झौर फिर गवनंमेंट ने गिड़गिड़ा कर मुझाफी मांगी । यह चीजें भ्रतीव दुखदायक हैं। हमारे दो लीडर दिल्ली में बैठे हुए हैं ं जो पंजाब के मिनिस्ट्रों के बाहमी झगड़ों क<sup>ा</sup> फैसला ही कराते रहते हैं, एक तो पंडित नेहरू साहब है मौर दूसरे मौलाना म्राजाद साहब है। मे दोनों पूजनीय हस्तियां है हम उनकी नेक सलाहों के तो मशकूर हैं। लेकिन इस तरह के सिस्टम भौर कार्रवाई ही सारे झगड़े व खराबी को जिम्मेवार है। हमारे मिनिस्टर को दिली कदूरत दूर नहीं होती है लेकिन इन बड़ी हस्तियों के डर से ऊपर से कह दिया जाता है कि फैसला

हो गया ग्रब कोई मतभेद बाकी न रहा। पंजाब के सारे लोग, हिन्दू मौर सिख दोनों ही, यह महसूस करते हैं कि पंजाब में कोई जिम्मेवार हुकूमत नहीं है । कोई देश की तरफ नहीं देखता । वहां पर प्राविशल म्राटोनोमी का नाम नहीं है । हम लोग सारे फस्टरेटिड हैं, हिन्दूमी मौर सिख भी। ग्रगर सब नहीं तो हरियाना के लोग तो बड़े फेस्टरेटिड हैं । कोई फर्म पोलिसी नहीं, कोई इनसाफ नही । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी सूरत में किस को दोष दूं। मेम्बरान एसेम्बली खुद फरस्ट्रेटिड हैं, झौर दूसरों पर क्या म्रसर डाल सकते हैं । दूसरी तरफ वह तो इरिमूवेबल एग्जेक्टिव ( irremovable executive) है । थोड़े दिन हुए पंजाब को मिनिस्ट्री गलत पालिसी से तंग ग्राकर पंजाब के लेजिस्लेटर्ज दिल्ली म्राये थे, उनको डरा धमका कर वापिस भेज दिया गया । यह सेंट्रल हकूमत का हाल है। मैं सिखों को क्या कहूं और हिन्दुओं को क्या कहूं । जनता महा दुखी है भौर पंजाब सरकार व सेंट्रल सरकार की पालिसी undemocratic ₹. कमजोर है ऐसी हालत में ग्रगर हिन्दू सिखों में ग्रविश्वास होना श्रनिवार्य है क्या ताज्जुब है कि सिख सूबे की डिमांड पैदा हो ग्रौर ग्रापस में मेल न रहे।

भव में वह एक दूसरे नमूने का नया नक्शा पेश करना चाहता हूं भौर में दरख्वास्त करता हूं कि यह हाउस उसका बड़े घ्यान से मुलाहिजा फरमाये भौर जो में कहने जा रहा हूं उसको जरा भपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर सुने। जालंघर डिविजन के लोग जिस के अन्दर हिन्दू भौर सिख दोनों शामिल हैं उन को कितनी जगहें मिली हुई हैं इसका हाल में भापको सुनाना चाहता हूं। पंजाब के सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर्ज दो हैं भौर दोनों ही जालंघर डिविजन के हैं। पंजाब कैबिनेट में माठ मिनिस्टर्ज हैं उन में से सान जालंघर डिवीजन के हैं भौर एक] हरियाना प्रान्त का

स्पीकर भौर चेयरमैन पंजाब मसैम्बली के दोनों के दोनों जालंभर डिविजन के हैं । हाई कोर्ट के जजिज सब जालंधर डिविजन के हैं। पब्लिक र्सीवस कमिशन के तीन मैम्बर हैं, तीनों जालंघर डिविजन के हैं। स्वार्डिनेट सर्विस कमिइन के सीन मैम्बर हैं तीनों जालंधर डिविजन के है।

पंजाब से कौंसिल म्राफ स्टेट के लिये चुने गये झाठ के झाठों मेम्बर जालंधर के हैं। बहां पर लेजिस्लेटिव कौंसिल के १८ नामि नेटेड मेम्बरों में से सिर्फ दो हरियाना प्रान्त के हैं। पंजाब से चुने गये लोक-सभा के मेम्बरों में से सिर्फ चौधरी रनबीर सिंह गौर मे, दो मेम्बर, हरियाना प्रान्त के है, बाकी दूसरी जगहों के हैं।

भी टेकचन्द (ग्रम्बाला-शिमला) : मैं झम्बाला से चुना गया हूं।

पंडित ठाकुर बास भागंब : माप मम्बाला के हैं, लेकिन माप भी उसी क्लास के हैं। हरियाना प्रान्त में नहीं मिले जुले इलाके के हैं। विधान सभा के कमेटी के मेम्बर्ज में १६ जालंघर के हैं झौर चार हरियाना प्रान्त के । गवर्नमेंट नामिनेटेड कमेटी मेम्बर्ज में दो आलंधर के हैं मौर हरियाना प्रान्त का कोई नहीं है । म्राई० सी० एस० मौर भाई० ए० एस० में २४ म्रादमी हैं मौर सब के सब जालंघर के हैं । सेकेटरी, डिप्टी सेकेटरी, ग्रंडर सेकेटरी गौर ग्रसिस्टेट सेके टरी १५ हैं झौर सब के सब जालंघर के हैं। हैड्ज झाफ दी डिपार्टमेंट २० हैं और दो को खोड़ कर सब जालंघर के हैं। वहां पर डिप्टी कमिइनर १३ हैं झौर सब के सब आलंघर डिविजन के हैं । सुपरिन्टेंडेंट माफ पुलिस २० हैं मौर सब के सब जालंघर डिविजन के हैं। गजेटिड जाफ़िसर्ज ३४८ हैं भौर उन में से सिर्फ ४० हरियाना प्रान्त के हैं।

में यह सारी फेहरिस्त म्रापके सामने वेदा नहीं बरना चाहता हूं क्योंकि मेरे पास वक्त बोड़ा है ये फिगर्ज तो मैंने एडमिनिस्ट्रे-524 L.S.D.

शन के बताये हैं। मब मैं कालेजिज मौर स्कूल्ज की पोजीशन बताता हुं।

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सारे सूबे में ४४०० प्राइमरी भौर मिडिल स्कूल है मौर उन में से सिर्फ १४०० हरियाना प्रान्त में है । हाई स्कूल ५०० हैं मौर हरियाना प्रान्त में सिर्फ १७० है मौर ४२ कालेजिज में सिर्फ १६ हरियाना प्रान्त में हैं। अस्पतालों के बारे में भी यही हालत है । मौर फिगर्ज भी दिल हिला देने वाले हैं। कमी वक्त से ज्यादा डिटेल में नहीं जाना चाहता ।

मब जरा कांग्रेस का हाल सुनिये । कांग्रेस हाई कमांड में एक मेम्बर है ग्रौर वह जालंघर का है । ए० माई० सी० सी० के १६ डेलीगेट्स में सिर्फ ४ हरियाना प्रान्त के हैं। प्रदेश एक्सीक्यूटिव कमेटी में २३ मेम्बद हैं झौर उन में से सिर्फ ४ हमारे यहां के हैं। यही हाल इलैक्शन बोर्ड, किडेंशियल कमेटी ग्रौर इलैक्शन ट्रिब्यूनल का है । सब में जालंघर के मादमी भरे हुये हैं। भाकरा नहर भाने से पहले द लाख एकड़ जमीन हरयाने की सैराब होती थी हालांकि आलंघर डिविजन की ३४ लाख सैराव होती थी, २४२ मील पंजाब की पक्की सड़कों में से सिर्फ ४० मील पक्की सड़कें हरियाने में हैं।

सरबार हुक्म सिंह : जो शिकायत इन्होंने की है में उससे मुत्तिफिक हूं ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : सवाल यह है कि मेरी यह शिकायत किस के खिलाफ़ है ? मेरी यह शिकायत न तो भ्रकेले सिक्षों के खिलाफ है, जिनको में चाचा कहता हूं भौर न म्रकेले उनके बड़े माई के जिलाफ है . . .

भी रमबीर सिंह (रोहतक): जो ताऊ हैं।

3767

## 3769 Motion re:

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पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव : लेकिन बदकिस्मती से मैं एक ऐसा भतीजा पैदा हुन्ना हूं, जिसको वे दोनों ही उसका हक नहीं देना चाहते हैं । लेकिन इस मामले में उनका ज्यादा कसूर नहीं है। मैं जानता हूं कि ये सब बातें उनको पहली पंजाब हकूमत से विरसे में मिली हुई हैं। म्राज हालत यह है कि सिवाय मेरे **भी**र मेरे चन्द भादमियों के हरियाना के लोगों में फस्ट्रेशन फैली हुई है। वे पंजाब में नहीं रहना चाहते हैं। यह बात नहीं है कि ऐसा करके वे कोई ग्रक्लमन्दी की बात कर रहे हैं। वह फस्ट्रेशन की वजह से इस किस्म की बातें करते हैं, जिस तरह कि सिख फस्ट्रेशन की बजह से पंजाबी सूबा मांग रहे हैं। हरियाना के लोग समझते हैं कि हमें पंजाब में इन्साफ नहीं मिलेगा, लेकिन मुझे इन्साफ की उम्मीद है । मैं पंजाबी सूबे की डिमांड की सारी तारीख को जानता हूं । यह सारा झगड़ा पोलिटिकल मामलात व पार्टीबाजी से हुग्रा। इसमें माम मादमी का कसूर नहीं । पंजाबी सूबे की मांग खुद मौजूदा सरकार की गलत पालिसी का नतीजा है जिसको सेंट्रल सरकार के रवय्ये से हवा मिली मौर सिखों मौर हिन्दुमों की क्रस्ट्रेशन के बुखार से भकल कायम न रह सकी, 'कोधात भवति संमोहः'

जनाबे वाला, मैं मदब से मर्ज करना बाहता हूं कि मैं पंजाबी सूबे की डिमांड का सब्त विरोधी हूं, इस वजह से नहीं कि यह हमारे सिख भाइयों की डिमांड है, बल्कि इसलिये कि मैं जानता हूं कि यह डिमांड हमारी सारी हिस्टरी के लैसन्ज, महात्मा गांगी के उसूलों मौर हमारे कांस्टीच्यूशन के खिलाफ है । मुझे इससे डर लगता है । खून में मैं म्रमुतसर में गया<sup>9</sup>। वहां पर मेरे पास डूख मादमी माये और कहने लगे कि यहां पर बलवा होगा मौर हम लोगों की हबेलियां सिक्कों ने बांट ली हैं कि फलां मादमी यह हबेली

लेगा ग्रौर फलां वह हवेली लेगा । मैंने उन से कहा कि तुम पागल हो, सरकार मौजूद है ऐसा कभी नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन उन लोगों ने इसरार किया ग्रौर कहा कि नहीं, ऐसा होगा । इस किस्म का पनिक फैलाने वाले पोस्टर लग गये ग्रौर श्री तेगराम एम.एल.ए. (M.L.A) ने स्पीच दी है कि सिख फलां दिन हमला करेंगे । इस किस्म के हालात वहां पर पैदा हो **ग्ये । इधर सिलों की शिकायत यह है----ग्रौर** सरदार हुक्म सिंह ने भी शिकायत की कि लोग हम पर भरोसा नहीं करते, कहा जाता है कि हम पाकिस्तान के साथ मिल जायेंगे मौर हम हिन्दुस्तान के वफादार नहीं हैं। उनकी शिका-यत बजा है। जो लोग ऐसा सोचते हैं भौर कहते हैं, वे सख्त गलती करते हैं। मेरे तो दिमाग में यह बात नहीं ग्रा सकती कि हमारे सिख भाई, जिनके गुरु हिन्दुम्रों के प्रोटैक्टर थे, हिन्दुस्तान के साथ गद्दारी करेंगे । हमारे यहां तो यह रिवाज रहा है कि फैमिली का सबसे बड़ा लड़का सिख बनता था । मैं ऐसी बात का ख्याल भी नहीं कर सकता हूं । लेकिन सवाल यह है कि म्रगर एक म्रादमी ने---किसी महासभाई ने---यह बात कह दी मौर मापने मान ली ।

सरदार हुक्म सिंह : कौंसिल माफ स्टेट में कहा गया है ।

पंडित ठाकुर बास भागेव : भगर कहा है, तो भापने कौनसी कसर उठा रखी है भापने कह दिया कि पंजाबी हिन्दू भपनी मां को मारते हैं।

सरबार हुक्म सिंहः मगर यह बात तो सब है कि उन्होंने भ्रपनी जबान को मानने खे इन्कार कर दिया है।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : ग्रापने कौनसी रियायत की है । ग्रापने कह दिया

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कि भाई तो पंजाब में रहें, सेकिन भतीषे को पंजाब से निकाल दिया जावे----

सरदार हुक्स सिंह : मैंने कमी नहीं कहा ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास मार्गवः फिर पंजाबी सूदे के क्या माइने ग्रगर नहीं कहा तो मेरा केस बरम हो गया ।

सरवार हुक्म सिंहः ग्रापने खुद कहा है कि हरियाना वाले पंजाब से बाहर जाना बाहते हैं।

पंडित ठाकुर बास भागंब: मैंने यह भी कहा कि वे फस्ट्रेशन की वजह से जाना चाहते हैं। मैं तो यह समझता हूं कि भ्रापकी मौर उनकी, दोनों की डिमांड गलत है झौर उनकी तह में गुस्सा या क्रस्ट्रेशन है। मैं यह कह देना भी अपना फ़र्ज समझता हूं कि यह बात दुरुस्त नहीं है कि हम को पंजाब से फ़वायद नहीं हुये हैं । हिसार का भूखा इलाका माज मगर सरसब्ज है, तो वह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की मेहर-बानी से है। यह हाल बाकी जिलों का है। गुड़गावां व महेन्द्रगढ़ झौर रिवाड़ी में हमें पूरी उम्मीद है कि झाबपाशी का ठीक इन्त-बाम होगा---भाखरा डैम से भौर पानी की पालिसी से भी हमको फायदा है। हम सब भाइयों के मशकूर हैं। जब भी कोई झगड़ा होता है, तो वे हमारी मदद को झाते हैं झौर हम उनकी मदद को जाते हैं । हमारे धौर उनके स्टेक्स एक हैं । हमको सब पहनुझों पर गौर करना है। मैं जानता हूं कि हमारे भौजूदा कांस्टीच्यूशन के मातहत में सारे हिन्दु-स्तान में घूम सकता हूं झौर हरियाना का हर एक झादमी सारे देश का दूसरों की तरह हकदार ब मालिक है। भगर हम देश में पीस चाहते हैं, ग्रगर हम चाहते हैं कि मुल्क का डिफ़ेल्स मजबूत हो भौर यह मुल्क तरक्की करे, तो

मुनासिब यही है कि हम इस किस्म की छोटी छोटी बातों में न पड़ें व बड़ी स्टेट्स बनायें । सरकार ने एक कमेटी बनाई थी जिसका में भी मेम्बर था। मैंने एक कमेटी बनाई बी झौर पंजाब झसेम्बली के मौजूदा स्पीकर साहब, व कौंसिल के चेयरमैन साहब, चीफ सेकेटरी साहब सरदार गुरुमल सिंह व रण-बीर सिंह चौधरी साहब झौर दूसरे दस पन्द्रह भादमी थे। हमने स्टेट्स के बारे में पंजाब पेप्सू व हिमाचल मिला देने की सिफारिश की थी जो कि एस० ग्रार० सी० ने की है । मैंने तो यह भी कहा था कि हमारा इलाका तीन करोड़ का होना चाहिये भौर मेरठ व मागरा भी शामिल करने चाहियें। म्राज सेंटर में हम पंजाब के प्रतिनिधि बैठे हैं लेकिन कोई इमको किसी काम में पूछता नहीं है । हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा इनक्लुएन्स उतना ही हो जितना किसी झौर सूबे का है । लेकिन हमारे सिस भाई नहीं मानते कि मागरा व मेरठ के सूबे मिलाये जावें। वे कहते हैं कि हमारा परसेंटेज कम हो जायेगा ।

सरबार हुक्स सिंह : ग्राप चाहें तो पांच करोड़ का कर लीजिये ।

पंडित ठाकुर बास भार्गवः ग्रगर ग्राप चाहें, तो ऐसा ही होगा।

एक सिख भाई ने शिकायत की थी कि हमको कूप संढूक क्यों कहते हैं। मैं तो यह बाहता हूं कि सिख सब जगह फैल जायें। हम सब गुरु का नाम रोज लेते हैं। मैं यह भी जानता हूं कि भगर सिख न होते, तो एक भी हिन्दू न रहता।

धाखिर में में यह घर्ष करूंगा कि धव पुराना हिसाब लेने का वक्त था गया है। जिन्होंने सौ बरस तक यह कार्यवाही की जिस का थोड़ा बिक मैंने किया, उन से हिसाब लिया जाय । इस इसाके के लोगों को वेटेज दिया जाय ः इरियाना प्रान्त जैसे गरीब इलाके के लिये [पंडित ठाकुर दास भागेंव]

सिर्फ सेफगाड्ं ज कमीशन के लिये काफी नहीं हैं। घगर सिखों को कोई डर है, तो उनको पूरे सेफगार्ड दिये जायें। जहां तक सर्विसेज का ताल्लुक है, एक सिख माई ने भी नहीं कहा कि वे सर्विसिज में कम हैं, लेकिन घगर कम हैं तो वह कमी पूरी कर दी जाये। दर घसल सिख माई घपनी परसेंटेज से बहुत ग्रधिक हैं छेकिन में इसकी शिकायत नहीं करता।

में यह भी झर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि पंडित जी ने झाजकल जोन्ज बनाने की जो स्कीम रक्षी है, वह बहुत माकूल है । चार पांच इलाकों का इकोनोमिक सिस्टम झौर हो सके तो तालीम का सिस्टम झौर मुक्तरका एक हाई कोर्ट बना दी जाय । झगर हो सके तो दूसरी कई बातें भी कामन रखी जा सकती हैं । इस तरह से सब इलाकों को एक श्रूवरंला में बांघ दिया जाए, ताकि इस देख का भला हो ।

shri Bansilil (Jaipur): I want to make one request to the hon. Chairman. I want to know who are going to be the speakers today, because we see that Members are called according to a certain plan. It will be very convenient to us if we know who are going to be the speakers today. I think the usual procedure of catching the eye of the Chairman is not being followed.

Mr. Chairman: The usual procedure is being followed. Mr. Giri.

Shri V. V. Giri (Pathapatnam): I am very grateful for the opportunity that has been afforded to me to make my observations on this report. In the first instance, it is my duty to congratulate the three distinguished Indian citizens who were members of that Commission. I do not wish to say that they are infallible. We have a right to state on the floor of the House in a constructive manner where it may be wrong, where rectifications have to be made.

I was amused and I enjoyed the passage at arms between two able

reliable, intelligent, instructive Chairmen who are sitting today on the floor of the House and I am absolutely certain that if I were one of the Members who were having that passage at arms and any of them had sat in that Chair, they would have made me sit down.

I agree with those who feel that heat should not be introduced into this debate, because heat produces heat and no light.

Shri Lokenath Mishra (Puri): This is winter.

Shri V. V. Giri: I am happy that today India is lucky in having a Home Minister with a head above his shoulders, whose judgment is generally sound, whose conclusions are not generally wrong. That has been my experience during the last 20 years of my friendship, and acquaintance with that great individual. I do therefore feel that while we have a right to differ with many of the observations contained in the report, we have also a right to place before the Government and before this House what we feel should be the rectifications, so that there may be a satisfactory conclusion.

In all humility, I claim that I am eminently entitled to speak on this report. Because, born in Berhampore and bred up in Berhampore, I lost it to Orissa in 1936. My wife hails from Bellary. The Misra Committee gave it to Mysore. I am, however, glad that the present Commission has discovered the mistake and has recommended giving it back to the Andhra State. I am equally glad, subject to correction, and I congratulate the Andhra State Government, if it has done so, that they have tried to understand the whole problem and put forward a via media proposal. That shows their greatness and their way of thinking. I do feel, therefore, that if we carefully go into these matters, things will be set right. I am therefore proud to be an Andhra. equally proud to be an Oriya and proud to be a Kanarese. You know

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I have settled myself in Madras for the last quarter of a century and it has gone to the Tamils. Therefore, I am proud to be a Tamilian as well. I must make it clear that I shall be most proud if every one of us can think that we are Indians first, Indians last and Indians always.

In the year of grace 1939, when the Ministers of various provincial Governments at that time were asked to resign as a protest against the action of the British Government in not conseding swaraj and self-determination, when the Congress had to go into wilderness, at the instance, I think, of Mr. H. G. Wells, some people in each country were asked to state their views on a world State. I have stated at that time that, not only will India gain complete maependence after the war, but a world State in two decades thereafter will be within practical politics. the realm of Nationalism is fast dying out and it is in its last stages. Internationalism is taking place. With this idea before us, to think in a small manner would not befit us. If only the big nations of the world can forget the colonial spirit and can forget the subjection of colonies under their heel, if only the south-east Asian nations which have acquired independence today can stand together by the subject nations of Asia and Africa, if only we are in a position to tackle in a proper manner the United Nations Organisation, not only will a world State be possible in the course of two decades. assuring every one to claim every inch of the world as his or hers, and resulting in a socialist democracy fundamental rights wherein the described in our Constitution and other Constitutions can be guaranteed to the fullest extent, but also the great teachings of the Father of the Nation, non-violence and truth, will replace the destructive bloody. weapons and the atom bomb. These the things that we should are remember and, keeping them as ideals, we should go on doing our work.

The present desire on the part of

many people in this country for division and disintegration is due to certain facts, is due to the acts of commission and omission on the part of majorities in many areas over minorities and the designing minorities over innocent and ignorant majorities. This is the cause that has led many people in many parts of the country to believe that if only they could get a State of their own on a cultural or linguistic basis, they will be able to improve their stature and status. That is the thing that has led the people to feel in that way. But, I am confident that, if only certain anomalies are gone into, certain mistakes rectified and certain actions taken to see that safeguards are given for a temporary purpose in a temporary way to those who are in the borders,-I am absolutely certain-India will have a perfect unitary State, but, I may say in all humility and humbleness that two years ago, speaking at Hyderabad before the Rotary Club, later on the eve of the formation of the Andhra State and four weeks ago in Banaras, addressing the students of that University, I said that the only hope of this country lies when the thirst for divisions is over. when certain safeguards are granted so that people may not think that this is this territory and that, that five States in India, northern, southern, eastern, western and central should not only be possible but should be practicable and that this should he done in the course of the next 20 years. This idea of division, doubt, has come on account of no the causes that I have mentioned. Let me assure you, this is only a temporary phase. In the days when we are thinking of a world State, in the days when we are thinking of each country as a unit, it is certain that when these little bickerings, these little difficulties that are occurring owing to our past acts of commission and omission are over. India will be a perfect unitary State and an honoured member of the world State. I have got a good deal to say, and I can explain in detail my ideas as to how [Shri V. V. Giri]

a unitary State of India is possible, how five States can be there in India and so on and so forth. But time forbids me to do so.

Now, I would like to make two constructive suggestions. They have already been made. But there is nothing wrong in reiterating them. The time has come when we have to remove the discontent, disgust and frustration that occur in different areas where these boundary disputes have occurred. We should try and tackle them, so that we can reach our ideal of one unitary State and one world-State. I do feel that bickerings. fighting and harsh words would not break bones. These things would not settle matters. If there are areas where disputes occur in spite of the statutory commission, then we have to solve them and resolve them at the earliest opportunity. Firstly, we can solve them by the good offices of a great personage like the Home Minister, by going to those areas, talking to both in a friendly manner, knowing their difficulties, and trying to see if the matter can be solved. If that fails, the Pradesh and other committees can sit together, and try to solve the matters. If that is not possible, let the Governments of the States come together and discuss the matters. If that is not possible, 88 my hon. friend Shri B. G. Mehta has suggested, let a boundary commission, impartial boundary commission, go into these matters and settle them once and for all, and we must abide by their verdict. If everything else fails, that is the only way of solving the problem. So, these are the ways in which we can resolve the various difficulties and differences.

So far as the border areas are concerned, there will always be discontent there. However perfectly anybody can help it, however perfectly we may go into this question and solve it, there wi'l always be a minority staying in the border. They sometimes have a feeling of frustration that because they have come away from their parent province to that province and become a minority, their interests have suffered politically, professionally, culturally, racially, educationally and so forth. We must see that those difficulties are not there. Those border people must be guaranteed that so long as they are Indian citizens, in whichever border they may be, they shall never suffer because of their being placed from one border into the other border.

My humble submission is that this problem can be solved. Only, the Central Government must take courage in both hands, and appoint a Central commissioner to be in charge of these areas, looking into all the factors that are involved. If they can be the guardians of the border people for ten years, they can make the border people forget all their discontent and make them feel happy that they would not mind where they may be. This is another point that I would like to put forward forcibly before the hon. Home Minister.

# [PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

I shall take only another five minutes and no more. I represent the northern boundary of Andhra. Our Prime Minister may be the Prime Minister of India, or our Home Minister may be a great personage. But I am No. 1 in this House. My constituency is No. 1. My State, namely, the Andhra State, is No. 1, and therefore I am No. 1 in this House. So, I have a right to be heard with respect and attention. What the Prime Minister said yesterday, I said two years ago. That shows, if I may say so in a lighter vein, that great minds think alike.

As a parliamentarian of some experience during the last three decades, it is always my habit, whenever I raise issues of an important nature, to write in the first instance, to the Minister concerned. And I am

sure my hon. friend the Home Minister and also my hon, friend the Deputy Home Minister will assure me that I have submitted to them six weeks ago a memorandum containing my views regarding this northern boundary, which they will consider. In fact, I got an acknowledgment in writing from the Home Minister that he is looking into all those matters. However, it is my duty to say a word or two about the northern boundary, over which my constituency runs.

I do feel that the Commission have not deeply gone into matters, with respect to three places, namely, Paralakimedi, Koraput and Berhampore, on the sea belt. I do not wish to say that the Home Minister should take my statements at their face value, but I want that if there is any substance in what I have stated, he should go into these matters in a careful manner and see that justice is done.

In the case of Paralakimedi, it was conceded in the end because the zamindar wanted it. If the Nizam wants that Hyderabad should be conceded to Pakistan, it should be conceded—that is the ground on which Paralakimedi, or a part of it was conceded. The Madras Government at the time, the Madras Legislative Council at the time, and the Indian Government at the time were absolutely certain that that should be in the Madras Presidency.

I would only like to read what Attlee and others have said on the matter. As regards Paralakimedi the O'Donnell Committee's report at page 56 in para. 56, Vol. I states:

"We are agreed that the said zamindari formed the majority of the population. On the population basis, therefore, the said estate should ordinarily have been left where it is in the Madras Presidency and not transferred to the proposed Orissa Province.".

Major Attlee, who was p member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, in his draft dated 18th June 1934 stated as follows:—

"We have great sympathy with the desire of the Raja of Paralakimedi for the inclusion of his estate in the new province, but in view of the racial and linguistic composition of the population therein contained, we are unable to recommend that his desire should be acceded to.".

But Sir Samuel Hoare, who was the deciding factor at that time said:

"The majority of the population of Paralakimedi is admittedly Telugu. On the other hand, the zamindar, the Raja of Paralakimedi who is a leading Oriya pressed strongly that his estates should be included in the new Province.".

And therefore, it was given. I am not going to comment. I am not going to argue. I am only stating facts. The reason why I am stating facts is that if the Home Minister feels that there is something in them, then I want him to go into the matter, and to put all that I have stated in my memorandum before the Orissa Government so that the two Governments concerned may meet and come to conclusions.

The unfortunate thing was that when Orissa was formed, there was no question of the Andhra State coming into existence; there was no question of the Andhra State being formed. If that were also there, then there would have been greater circumspection and examination. I do feel that the Commission have not done that justice which they ought to have done. I would like the Central Government to go into the matter in a careful manner.

So also, as regards Koraput, it was conceded because the Maharaja of Jaipur wanted it to be conceded to Orissa, and not because it was an Oriya-speaking area.

Shri Lokenath Mishra: On a point of information. May I know whether the hon. Member is speaking now as a member of the world-State or of [Shri Lokenath Mishra]

the Andhra State, or as a Tamilian? What is he now?

Shri V. V. Giri: All combined; there is nothing inconsistent about what I am saying. I want these defects to be removed, as I have stated earlier. If these ideas where people differ are removed, then there is possibility of the world-State coming into existence soon; there is a possibility of one State coming into existence in India. There is no question of any inconsistency about it. I have great respect for the ex-Chief Justice of Orissa, but I am sorry I have to differ from him.

Shri Lokenath Mishra: I was not the Chief Justice. I am a humbler man.

Shri V. V. Giri: Very good. It does not matter if I mistook the hon. Member for a Chief Justice.

As regards Berhampore also, it has been admitted that the majority of the population consists of Telugus. In Berhampore town itself, there are more Telugus than Oriyas. Sir Samuel Hoare admits and says:

"There appears to be no doubt of the correctness of the Telugu contention that judged by financial and economic tests, their interests predominate over those of Oriyas in the town.

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"Nevertheless, it seems impossible on these grounds to deny to this new province the only town which would form a suitable headquarters of the South Eastern area".

I do not wish, as I said, to make any comments. I leave it to the Home Minister to consider whether there is any case for probing into the whole matter and seeing that if justice is to be done, it should be done not only to Telugus but also to Oriyas; if the latter feel that they have to claim certain other parts of Andhra, let them do so. But let this matter once and for all be settled in a satisfactory manner.

I again say that as one who believes in a World State, as one who believes in internationalism and not nationalism, as one who believes in one unitary State of India with five divisions, what I have said is not at all inconsistent. I want to remove the disabilities, I want to remove the doubts. I want to remove the spirit of discontent that exist. Once this is done, my idea, my objective, will be reached in time. That is exactly the reason why I support Visal Andhra. I go a step further and say, that if Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Bombay and Gujarat come together and become one State, it would again lead us to my idea, namely, a unitary State of India, not a disunited India.

Dr. Krishnaswami (Kancheepuram): The publication of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report has let loose a flood of passions, anxious questionings, great doubts and misgivings in several quarters concerning the future set-up of administration in our country. Parliament has a duty to assuage passions, to satisfy these doubts and give a constructive lead to the nation.

At the outset, let me point out that one doubt that has been expressed by prominent persons both within and outside Parliament is: should WA have any States at all? Now, I am one of those who holds the view that a unitary State functioning through the whole of India would, not be even from the point of view of administrative convenience, workable. and would certainly be most disadvantageous. We have to realise that uniform rules uniform regulations and uniform have which are meant to apply to the whole country will work only when the conditions are uniform and not when the conditions are diverse. I am, therefore, opposed to a unitary State. I hold the view that if we are to have a welfare State where people's participation in government is to be real, it is absolutely necessary that we should have these States as a necessary link Motion re:

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between the Centre and the people. Nor do I think that there is any substance in the argument that if we have district boards or local selfgoverning institutions, we can have a nursery for national statesmen. Experience all over the world has shown that local self-governing institutions have ceased to be a nursery of national statesmen because of new trends in administration, and because of new developments associated with planning at higher levels.

Having disposed of this point, I shall ask straightway the one question which many of us have been burning to ask: is it feasible, in the present circumstances, to reorganise States to achieve two desirable ends? Those two desirable ends, I take to be firstly. Union in which units have relatively few grievances against the centre and secondly a Union in which the participating States are linguistically and culturally homogeneous so that people may participate in the functioning of government. We have to look at this problem of re-organization from a more—shall I say— long-range point of view. We have to view what the state of the Union will be once the present generation of statesmen is withdrawn from the scene. The dictum of the States Reorganisation Commission. One State one language,---not one language one State,---if translated into practice, may probably help to throw to the surface persons who are more representative of the people. This also may lead growth of a new and vital to the leadership in the Union of the future.

I should like, at the outset, to sound a note of warning. Hon. Members have been arguing in this Housethat we should create linguistic States but fetter them in such a manner that they may not function effectively. This would be a great calamity. These linguistic States have to be both vital and clothed with powers and functions if they are to be purposeful. Having said this, I should like to annalyse the actual recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commis sion. Hon. Members have heard the tributes that were paid to the objectivity, the impartiality and the intelligence of the members of the Commission, and I shall not waste the time of the House by adding one more bouquet to the bouquets that have already been given to the members of the Commission.

An Hon. Member: And brickbats.

Dr. Krishnaswami: But Ι should' like to point out that the recommendations are a jigsaw puzzle. They can make meaning only if you find out on what political grounds or political assumptions these recommendations are based. Once the political basis is understood, it will be found the auite that recommendations. assume coherence. The three assumptions that the Commission has made and which I mention straightway are: firstly, there should be no Rajpramukhs, secondly, Bombay cannot be the seat of a unilingual State, and thirdly, the territorial integrity of Uttar Pradesh should not be disturbed. Any major decision that has been taken by the Commission is explainable by reference to one or two or three of these principles.

Where do these premises lead us? They lead in many cases to arbitrary groupings. In this connection, I should like to refer to Sardar Panikkar's dissenting Minute. Now. T have read that Minute with great care. There are many valuable arguments, there are many observations shot through and through with insight; but I should like to point out that while the arguments are excellent, the conclusion, that there ought to be a dismemberment of U.P. does not in the least advance the case which he has put forward or solve the difficult problems he has envisaged. I feel that it is wrong to partition a State just because it is large. One does not partition a State just because

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historically it has become large. U.P. became larger on account of the partition of India, but on that account, one does not interfere with the State's administration. It is not a prescription that commends itself to me.

Shri Velayadha (Quilon cum Mave likkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): On the other hand, there is no need for fear about partition of U.P.

Dr. Krishnaswami: The hon. Member will allow me to complete my argument.

But I would like to point out that having accepted that there should not be partition of U.P., there is no need on the part of many of my friends here to assume that boundaries of U.P. should be the sacrosanct. A few minutes ago, I pointed out that these premises lead us to arbitrary groupings. 'Let **U8** take Madhya Pradesh, for instance. The new State of Madhya Pradesh is a huge sprawling area of 1,71,000 square miles with hardly any communications connecting four or five vital centres of this area. I challenge the Finance Minister or the Minister of Planning or the Minister of Transport to tell me that within the next decade or two, they will be able to have satisfactory communications of a minimum type at least for linking together the various centres in this State. I have to point out that the only way in which you can link together these various units within the next ten or fifteen years would be to make available resources by cutting down allotments to other States, and therefore, since this would touch the weal and welfare of other States, I have a right to protest against the proposed formation of Madhya Pradesh. It has received enthusiastic support. It has received also blessings from influential persons. But this does not preclude me from point-

ing out that this incongruous mating to heterogenous units is likely to lead to many difficulties. After all Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh enjoy a different type of administration and it is not right to bring about a premature fusion. between them and Madhya Pradesh which enjoys a different level of What would have administration. been more logical and proper for the Commission to do was to have transferred certain districts from Uttar Pradesh to Madhya Pradesh and to have constituted the Unit of Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh into one unit and this would have promoted peace and harmony.

I now pass on to the difficult question of Bombay on which there has been a great exercise of emotion. I want my hon. friends to consider this question from an objective point of view. I want them to consider it. in this manner because on the settlement of this question is going to depend, in a large measure, the weal and welfare of a great portion of our country. Bombay being a bilingual State in which the interests are conveniently balanced was recommended as a political compromise. The Commission arrived at the conclusion that this was a compromise and would be one which would commend itself to the two linguistic groups. But, as far as I am able to make out, one major linguistic group has rejected it lock stock and barrel. It is as dead as mutton and it cannot be revived Once bilingual Bombay is rejected, we have to fall back on other solutions. The solution that is suggested is that Bombay should be a City State, cannot commend itself to any sighted person who has the far welfare of India at What hea.t. would be the position of Bombay? People have been talking of the cosmopolitan character, the international outlook of Bombay, the greatness of Bombay and the culture and civilisation of Bombay. Now. I do

not question those statements. I myself am an admirer of Bombay. But, have they taken account of one fact; Bombay's culture, civilisation and cosmopolitan character has come into being because it is linked with a hinterland? If Bombay becomes a City State, then it will be reduced to Vienna after the the position of Austro-Hungarian war. Vienna which was once the home of civilisation, the home of great culture and the home of nourishing music languished and because nothing at all. Besides, if Bombay becomes a City State one has to take account of another factor. In a place where there is class conflict-most industrial areas are prey to acute class conflict-we would be feeding it with linguistic passion, and Government may become next to impossible.

I want my friends to look at it from this point of view. I want those who are great lovers of Bombay to consider what the solution should be. What is, after all, the issue that faces us today? I listened to the speech of Mr. Patil; I have been listening to those who love Bombay and I have listened to the speeches of Maharashtrian spokesmen. What is the issue that faces us today? Here is a classic instance of a conflict between the holders of economic power and a numerically large group. I do not say that we should dismiss the fears of those who hold economic power as groundless. We should take account of such fears and allay them. From the point of view of contiguity, from the point of view of greater affinity Bombay must form part of Maharashtra. At the same time, we should remember that there are safeguards which we have to give to Bombay city in order to assure the pre-eminence of that city. in order that it might become the pride of India, to quote the words of our Prime Minister. What are the safeguards that one can suggest? The Asoka Mehta-Harris formula, good though it is, does not go far enough.

The London County Council enjoys the powers envisaged in the formula in a unitary State. But, I go one step further. I say that Bombay should be treated as a special unit for the purpose of allocating income-tax proceeds. The Corporation of Bombay will then have an opportunity of spending a good bit for improving the welfare of the people and also of getting rid of the slums of that city. It would then become a magnet for attracting new enterprises and new ventures into that city. I also go another step further. There is a provision in our Constitution giving powers to the State Government to alter the boundaries of Corporations. I suggest taking account of the special circumstances of Bombay, that we should have a provision amending the Constitution only in respect of Bombay that the territorial limits of the Bombay Corporation shall not be interfered with except with the prior consent of the Centre. Here are safeguards which assure pre-eminently the status of the city of Bombay. Along these lines we can think and evolve some solution. It may take some time. I am not one of those who, like the Home Minister or the Deputy Home Minister, thinks that decisions should be rushed through at great speed. Speed has its advantages, but, as we have realised - the speed with which this country was partitioned, brought in its wake discomfort and suffering. Let us bear this in mind when we talk of speed and of the democratic process working.

Let me now go on to another issue, which is of some importance---Vidarbha. Un hold Vidarbha, I I suggest that the heretical views. joining of this area to Maharashtra is a matter for the people of that area primarily to decide. But, there is one matter from a broader point of view which I should like to bring to the notice of this House. The joining of Vidarbha must not be made

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a bargaining counter for special treatment of the people in that area. Only the other day, I read in the newspapers that negotiations were taking place on how much developmental expenditure should be incurred in these areas, what share of administrative jobs should be given to people in the area and how officers should be allocated. То certain extent. these claims should be met but they should not be met on the basis of a price for joining. If even before the new Madhya Pradesh State is started, if the three regions of the State start horse-trading, what sort of political life is it that you art going to assure in that area? Rather than that. I should like to suggest, let two States exist; no harm will be done. I think that since the first ideal is to have one State, one language, we need not worry about one language, one State. Now I have not been able to understand the tributes that were paid by several of my friends to the vision of the members of the Commission on subjects pertaining to finance and administrative reforms. Considering these suggestions in the most sympathetic spirit, I affirm that the weakest chapters of the report are those pertaining to administration and finance. If these recommendations аге implemented as they are not only will national unity be imperilled but even the possibility of a common life will be weakened

On viability, the Commission has adopted a fallacious approach. They suggest that at present rates and the structure of the tax system if the revenues are sufficient to defray administrative expenditure and normal developmental expenditure then a state is viable. But this is only part of the story. A State may become viable if it does not adopt prohibition. When is a State viable in the more meaningful sense of the term? It becomes viable when its potential resources are adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of development. But, in the present context of circumstances, no State-not even pros-

perous Bombay is viable except within the framework of Union aid and Union assistance. This has become all the more pronounced during the past 5 The Constitution has all vears. ensured the elastic sources of revenue being given to the Centre. We have also to realise that all external aid is routed through the Centre. Therefore, whether a State is viable or not depends on how much assistance it can look forward to in the scheme of Union revenues and expenditure. What we need to do and what the Commission should have done is to ave constructed States on certain acceptable assumptions and then looked to the viability of the scheme as a whole, which, incidentally, the Commission has not done. The test really is whether the Centre CAD give adequate assistance to weaker States without necessarily impinging on the development plans of the Union as a whole. If this test had been adopted, then it would have been found that the Commission would not have slurred over a number of issues like group tensions. historical antecedents because of a fallacious approach to viability.

The argument that Peermede and Devikulam should be part of the Madras State becomes unassailable. One Karnataka has been recommended mainly because two Karnatakas will not be viable. While as a desirable end one can and should advocate one Karnataka, one must take into account the historical background and the existence of group tensions. An immediate fusion is likely to provoke or aggravate tensions. What we should plan for-and this is the modus operandi-is for one Karnataka automatically coming into being as a result of definite evolution and intelligent direction. We can start by having two states speaking the same language but insist on common institutions like the High Court, Public Service Commission and even sharing of official buildings by the two units. As a result of people being thrown

in together, as a result of interchange of ideas there would be a lessening of tensions and an urge for automatic Union.

The Commission, strangely enough, has recommended the sharing of institutions for two States speaking two different languages. But logically speaking, these suggestions be adopted only where two States speaking the same language. The same argument applies to Telangana and Vishalandhra. Vishalandhra is a most desirable objective. I have not been able to understand why the Commission recommended a 60 per cent, majority voting at the end of five years for Telangana joining Vishalandhra. If it is a matter of group tensions, and historical antecedents what it should have done is to have assured that these two would independently exist and at the same time carry on together with common institutions and then eventually merge into something new and important. Just as viability has been played up too much by the Commission, the idea of national unity has been misconstrued and misapplied altogether by the Commission. In a modern environment what is it that makes for national unity? It is not the things on which the Commission lays emphasis. What makes for unity is a unified fiscal and monetary system, a single defence service, a knowledge of common history, a sense of geographical unity, facility of communication, absence of checks on mobility of citizens from one region to another and also the promotion of mobility. Surely it is not the creation of fresh All-India Services that is going to promote national unity. The All-India Services today suffer from this defect that they are separated from the State Services and are a rigid caste system-officers who are in the lower rungs in the State Services have a feeling that they are being shut out. What is necessary is for the All-India Services of the future to help people in the lower rungs to come up. What is necessary is for the All-India Services in future to absorb

persons at different age levels. There should be greater vertical mobility as well as horizontal mobility. It would also reduce antagonism between non-service Communities and service Communities

**An Hon. Member: Explain the** terms 'vertical mobility' and 'horfzontal mobility'.

Dr. Krishnaswami: By vertical mobility I mean that those who are in the lower rungs of the ladder—the non-gazetted officers—have an opportunity of moving up. Horizontal mobility means that the I.C.S. officer alone is not to be considered a son of Heaven and that he alone should be a Secretary. An I.F.S. officer may manage, as well in certain cases. That is the meaning.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Going towards Heaven will be 'vertical mobility'.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken 25 minutes and he should finish now.

Dr. Krishnaswami: I shall finish in another three minutes

The Commission has recommended that we should have in each State at least 50 per cent of the All India Administrative Services recruited from outside the home state. This is a most unwise recommendation and will not be workable at all. Bihar, Orissa and Assam to mention three States have more than 60 or 70 per cent. of the services filled by outsiders in the higher cadre. This is because of the paucity of local talent in the present situation. No one has told me that on this account there has been a greater sense of national unity in these States. But what I should like to point out is that if we are going to have this enforced as a statutory obligation it would go against tenor and spirit of a welfare State. In the olden days when the British ruled over us, they laid it down as a rule that the man in the home State should not be posted to the same area, since Collectors were meant to live as a race

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apart the Collector was meant to be cut away from the stream of the common people. In the future we are going to have developmental officers who have to enlist their coogeration; therefore, this recommendation is most obnoxious and will be rightly resisted by all States.

One matter on which the Commission has not devoted any attention and to which I wish they had devoted due attention is this: What are the positive measures that we should undertake to promote national unity? Today, for instance, one way of promoting a good deal of mobility and interchange of people as between one area and another is to see that many of the administrative offices which are clustered here in Delhi are dispersed. After all, what is the concrete form in which a person sees the Central administration? He sees it through the arm of the State; he sees it through the various agencies of the Central Government. There is however a glorious concentration of offices in New Delhi. Only the other day I learnt from a distinguished friend that Lighthouse Department had been shifted to Delhi though the Delhi is about 650 miles away from any harbour. Let there be, therefore, a dispersal of these offices, not only to the old Princely States which have suffered considerably in certain respects but also to peninsular India which has suffered from neglect. Let Central Government constructional activities not be centered in Delhi. This dispersal to different places would help the white-collared labour and sther labour from the different parts of India to rub shoulders with one another and lead to an interchange of thought and culture; is a sound reason for let the Centre become real by dispersing the agencies through which authority is exercised. I do not think that we have need entertain misgivings regarding the future. Many hon. Members have spoken of the future with deep misgivings, but I want this House to realise that while linguism has its dangers, they are not as serious as they are made out to be. In the United

States of America, until recently wave after wave of migrants speaking different tongues were admitted without hindrance and yet ....

Mr. Chairman: Not only five more minutes are over, but yet the hon. Member wants to continue. He has already taken 25 minutes on the general subject and other Members want to speak on specific subjects. I will, therefore, request the hon. Member to resume his seat.

Dr. Krishnaswami: Thank you; I have finished my speech.

Shri Anandchand (Bilaspur): Before I proceed to speak a few words about the region from which I come; in this House I have found that hon. Members have a tendency to get excited directly the questions of Bombay or Punjab are mentioned in the chamber. As I come from the Punjab region, I would request all of them most humbly to listen to me without heat and without impatience. Please let me try to develop my observations. Of course, they are at liberty to agree or not to agree but let me speak in an atmosphere which is not one of passion.

First of all, I should have referred to the Commission's Report in its many aspects; that will naturally take time and I do not wish to take more time than is really my due. I would, therefore, straightway come to the question of the Punjab and try to say what I have to speak about Punjab in general and about Himachal Pradesh in particular.

So far as the question of Punjab is concerned, I have tried to study encyclopaedias and histories about what it was. I have also tried to get my mind into it. The encyclopaedia has mentioned Punjab as a triangular country between the Indus and the Sutlej. Now, with the partition and with the going away of the Western Punjab into Pakistan, we have not got this territory, we have not got the Jhelum; we have not got the Chenab. So, it might be called the country between the rivers Sutlej and Ravi.

The pre-historic culture of this area is glorious. It is true that the Punjab has had many hordes of invaders in medieval times and even at the time of Alexander. All these invaders came into this part of the country and they have left their marks on the culture and history of this area. But it has a culture and history even previous to Alexander's invasion. Then is mentioned about the Harappa culture here. Near my home, Bilaspur, there is a township called Rupar and great excavations have taken place there. They have found here a city Rupnagar, 2,500 years old. Really, it is an old country and its culture has been enriched by all these invaders-Mohammedans, Greeks and so on. We have got a composite culture.

the problem Today before the Punjab, as far as I can see, is this. I am an onlooker. I do not come from that State; I come from an outside area. I belong to Bilaspur, surrounded on three sides by Punjab and on the fourth side by the State of Himachal. I am perhaps able to see even from a distance the things. As I see them the position is this. Reorganisation of the Punjab region was suggested to the Commission by various bodies on three lines. What are they? They were (a) Punjabi suba (b) Greater Delhi and Hariana and (c) Himachal State. Really these were the three demands before the Commission which they considered.

There is the question of Punjabi suba. Originally it might have been the Sikh demand to inflate the ratio of Sikhs. I do not want to go into past history. I have come to understand from the Akali memorandum and others that it is a demand for a State which is linguistically Punjabi-speaking. It is for a unilingual State, with Punjabi as the language. I do not see anything wrong in that demand. If there is a demand for Maharashtra, for Gujarat, or for Karnataka, why should not there be a demand for Punjabi Suba? But one difficulty has come which I have experienced. In this demand for a unilingual Punjabi State what have been lost sight of are

the areas which according to linguistic surveys are Punjabi-speaking. I told that to my friend, Sardar Hukam Singh. He is not here. I had a discussion with him and he agreed that certain areas according to the linguistic survey were speaking Punjabi, and their demand has not included them. He said he would welcome the inclusion of those areas.

What are those areas? I tried to make a study of that. The areas are: firstly, Kangra. The hon. Member from the Kangra area has spoken here-Shri Hem Raj-and he tried to say that Kangra was a Punjabi area. The other area that has also been left out of the Akali demand is the area of Bilaspur itself. Grierson in his 1916 Survey says that the dialect in Bilaspur was an off-shoot of Punjabi. Nalagarh and Melogh areas near Simla form part of Kohestan and they are speaking Punjabi. There are about 75,000 people speaking Punjabi here. Why were they left out? If we take nine lakhs of people of Kangra, a lakh and a half of Bilaspur and about 70-75 thousand people who are in the other areas, what do we get? We get an addition of about eleven lakhs Fortunately or unfortunately—I do not know what to call it-all these people happen to be Hindus. Add them. According to the Sikh conception, if the population in that area is 93 lakhs by adding then figures the ratio does not remain at 55 per cent. I may say that they have deflated the figures of Punjabi-speaking 81695 Where there is a Hindu population why not include it? Directly you include these areas and put these areas into that State, then there will be parity. It may be 49 per cent, of one or 51 per cent. of the other. My object in saying that was that they have misunderstood the facts relating to those areas. A doubt arises in my mind that perhaps the misunderstanding was intentional and not accidental. Sardar Hukam Singh said that whatever area had been left out, he welcomed it into the Punjabi suba. I have no grievance against that statement and I feel that it is the correct attitude.

#### [Shri Anand Chand]

When the Punjabi suba is allowed, the second question relates to Hariana and Greater Delhi. I have tried very understand the arguments hard to about these, for a larger Delhi State being a part of that and Hariana larger Delhi State. Hariana, geographipart of the cally speaking, is that in the Punjab area which plateau separates the water-shed of the Indus from that of the Jumna. They called Hariana the land where there was grass or green grass. Some say that it took its name from the Raja Harichand who migrated from Oudh and so on. Whatever it is, it is a plateau which separates the water-sheds of the Indus and the Jumna. The language spoken in that area really is Bangaru. There is no question about it. What does Grierson say about it? He has in his that Linguistic Survey of India said Bangaru or Jatu or Hariana-he gives these names of the language-was a dialect. This dialect is spoken in the areas of Punjab in the country to the north-west of Delhi and to the west of Jumna. He has described it and he says that "it is a vernacular Hindustani of the Upper Doab much mixed with Punjabi and Rajasthani".

What I was trying to make out was this. Here is an area which was very sparsely populated. In olden times. you yourself coming 88 from the Hissar district know, most of the lands were barren. I have been there for the resettlement of some ousters from Bilaspur and I had an opportunity to see this Hissar district. Most of the lands in those areas are still barren; most of that area is still sparsely populated. This area was an area sparsely populated and was a grazing ground. The language is akin to Rajasthani and akin to Punjabi. It is also akin to the Hindustani of the Upper Doab.

I listened closely to the speeches of my Hariana friends also in Chandigarh when the S.R.C. Report was being discussed. I went to Himachal Pradesh also after many years and wished to know what they wanted to do about the whole question and I was there for four days. I listened to their speeches also. It seemed to me that their demand was inter-linked with the demand for Greater Delhi. Now the question directly comes. Greater Delhi State is not conceded. There was another possibility, namely of adding some areas of U.P. which alone would have given viability to a new State being created on this side of the Jumna, but, this possibility has also been ruled out.

When these are ruled out, the question remains: what are you going to do with this area, even if it was that these people did not speak Punjabi? What are you going to do about it. What is going to happen to these 42 lakhs of people? They say the population of Hariana is about fifty lakhs have tried to work out my figures and it comes to about 40-42 lakhs. Certain people from Hissar—Karnal area speak Punjabi. They have been included in the Punjabi-speaking area What are you going to do about these torty lakhs of people? Are they going to be created into a separate State.

A novel suggestion has come that there should be three zones in the Punjab area-one for Punjabi suba. another for Hariana people and a third for Himachal people. May I use the phrase which was the cause of much heat here? To my mind the talk about these three separate zones appears to be "fantastic nonsense". It is nonsense because there is no sense in it. We are not going to have a State in India which consists of three separate zones with three Chief Ministers, three sepa-"ate assemblies, etc. but with a common Governor. It is not going to be done; it cannot be done. It is the conception of a State which will not function under our Constitution.

What I was going to say was this. The demand for Hariana being made into a separate State falls because Greater Delhi could not be brought into existence. Why was it so? The Commission has given very good reasons for that They have said that

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the case of Greater Delhi cannot be discussed as the capital must be under the Central control and that old Delhi and New Delhi are parts of one metropolitan area. It, therefore, follows, they say, that Delhi must have an administration controlled by the Centre.

Yesterday, certain friends from Delhi spoke. They asked: if you keep Delhi as a metropolitan area, why not and a Ministry? give a legislature According to the scheme of the Commission, as they have put it in this Report, the idea is that henceforward there are going to be two classes of units in India. One is the States. The other class are the Territories. They will be centrally administered for specific purposes as the Commission itself has said. Therefore, you make Delhi a State or you make it a Territory. There is no other media between the two.

Now, having accepted the question that Delhi cannot become a State the Commission came to the conclusion that it should be made into a Territory. It is true that, when you go into a Territory you lose your legislature, you lose your Ministry, you lose the organs of Government as they exist in the other States, be they High Courts, ministerial forms of Government and so on. That is true. But, then you have to make a certain amount of sacrifice for being centrally administered. What is the remedy? The Commission has said that in any place if the people who are kept in territories want a democratic form of Government or democratic form of rule the obvious putlet they have is to go and join the neighbouring State where they will get a legislature. Here, on the one hand I find with regard to Part C States the opinion expressed by one or two hon. Members: "We do not want to merge into Punjab"; Himachal Pradesh says: "We do not want to go into Punjab because there we will be a small area" and so on-I will come to those arguments laterand on the other hand they say: "We 524 L.S.D.

want separation, we want a separate entity". They do not want to merge with another State and at the same time they want all the paraphernalia of a democratic form of Government. You cannot have both at the same time. If that is the stand, if the idea was to make these territories later on into full-fiedged States, then I would say that the question of abolishing States like Vindhya Pradesh with a population of 35 lakhs to 40 lakhs, would not have arisen.

As I was saying without Delhi the Hariana demand does not come. The second point is that Hariana is economically linked, in my humble opinion, with the Punjab today on account of the great Bhakra Dam Project. Coming from that area and having seen the working of the project I may tell you, Sir, that the Bhakra Dam Project is going to irrigate 6.5 million acres in the Punjab and out of those 6.5 million acres I have worked out that nearly 2<sup>§</sup> million acres of land lie in the Hariana area. The electric power and other potential are extra. If you take out this and have no connection with the Punjab on the one hand if we set up the Himachal Pradesh State and put the Bhakra Dam there on the other hand, you separate Hariana and separate the rest of the Punjab. What happens there is that in three units we will have one integrated multipurpose scheme whose headworks are in one State, canals and arteries in another State and the areas which it irrigates in the third State. Above all even Sardar Hukam Singh has said in his memorandum-so far as I have been able to read it-that Punjab is going to be a rich area; it is going to be rich in agricultural products; it is going to be rich in power potential and all that. How will that be? How will it be rich in power potential if half the area going to be irrigated by Bharkra Dam is not there? By asking for a new Punjabi suba, are you not losing that richness, that potential which flows into that area?

Sardar Hukam Singh: 1 said, with out that.

Shri Anandchand: I stand corrected. He says that with half of that he will be rich. But, why not take the other half also and become richer?

Therefore, what I would respectfully and humbly submit to my friends in Hariana is, please do not at the present moment indulge in these separatist tendencies. It is after many long years of patient waiting that the Bhakra Dam scheme has come into operation. It is after many years. 1 know its history because I was connected with the administration for some time and even previously. From 1916 discussions had been going on about this scheme and it has only materialised after partition, because, for obvious reasons, during the British western side of Punjab regime the which is now in Pakistan was more favoured than the eastern side. And, directly the scheme has come in. directly the irrigation has started, do not talk about separation and things like that. Do not try to take yourself away simply because you have grievances. As you yourself said, Sir, there may be certain grievances; I am not seized of them. If there are any remove them by democratic methods rather than have a separate State because some 30 lakhs of people or 40 lakhs of people have certain grievances. If we make a separate State because we have certain grievances then I think India would become a land of grievances and States would be formed on the grievances issue rather than on linguistic or administrative issues.

Therefore, the Commission came to the conclusion that the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State falls because, firstly, it is strongly opposed by a large section of the Punjabi-speaking people themselves. I think nobody would deny that. Even if the weight of coming in the way is put on the shoulders of the Hindus of the Jullundur Division—in the last eight or nine years since India was partitioned I had not been to Amritsar—even looking at what has been said here that the Hindus of that Division are really opposed to the demand of a Punjabi-speaking State and they are Punjabi-speaking, nobody can deny the truth of what the Commission has said. The Commission has said that it is strongly opposed by a large section. of the people speaking the language. Now, we have a Marathi State, we have a Gujarathi State and we might have a Kannada State. But, where is the Kannada-speaking people refusing to come together? Where is the Marathi-speaking people refusing to come together? Here in the Punjabwe have got the people-be they Hindus or Sikhs-who themselves are refusing to come together, although. they speak the same language. That is the point, that is the principle on. which the Commission have rejected. the claim of a Punjabi-speaking State. Secondly they have said that Punjabi and Hindi are akin to each. other.

The third point they made was that. the domand was communally pressed. With due respect to Sardar Hukam Singh there I would like to mention one thing. As I see it he says that the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State is correct and it is not a communal demand. All right; I agree. If it is not a communal demand then why is it that in every newspaper, in every forum whenever we see a person going to see the Prime Minister, whenever we see a person coming here and making a demand the deputation or the person is always a Sikh and not a Hindu? Why was it that the Akali Dal should press the demand for а Punjabi-speaking State; there are other people also?

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** They disowned the language and now they have become wise. Just now you said that they disowned the language and how could they press the demand?

Shri Anandchand: I was trying to prove it and now he has admitted it.

The fourth thing they said was about the problem of language which is one of script. The hon. Prime.

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Minister also said yesterday that in the Punjab it was mostly a question of script.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken about 20 minutes.

Shri Anandchand: I would finish in another 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman: He has to speak about Himachal Pradesh also. If he wants he may speak about that; otherwise the time will finish.

Shri Anandchand: I will finish this in 3 minutes and then for Himachal Pradesh I require only 5 minutes,

I was saying about the problem of language. This problem is one of script. There are three scripts: Persian, Gurmukhi and Hindi. These three have been accepted by the University. I saw in the Tribune only this morning that the University of Punjab is also recognising teaching in Urdu script. Therefore, the Commission has come to the conclusion that the problem is not one of language but it is more a problem of script.

The fifth point they say is that the Dhar Commission has said that linguistic States should not be imposed on substantial minorities opposing them. In case a Punjabi-speaking State is created it will mean imposing the wishes of a substantial minority on a majority? It will be the other way round.

Therefore, taking into consideration all these things they said it is not practicable. So, they said the case falls because it lacks the general support and will not eliminate the causes of friction, but on the contrary will only enhance them.

Now, having said all that I want to speak a few words about the State of Himachal Pradesh. I will be very moderate in what I say because I find, that my friends sitting at the back are very touchy on that question.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West-Reserved-Sch. Tribes): In front also.

Shri Anandchand: I did not know that.

The demand for Himachal Pradesh or a Visal Himachal Pradesh is also connected with the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State because the demand originally is, or whatever I have heard in the Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha is, for a greater Himachal Pradesh, or a Visal Himachal Pradesh as they call it, and that the Himachal Pradesh is to Visal be created with the existing Himachal Pradesh in addition to Kangra in Punjab, Kohistan in PEPSU, Tehri Garhwal, Almora, Kumaon and parts of Dehra Dun in U.P.

An Hon. Member: Not Nepal?

Shri Anandchand: No. So, that is the position about the Visal Himachal Pradesh demand. I might draw your attention to the fact that though some have said that non. Members here they do not want the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab, the position is this. The people here say that they want Himachal Pradesh as a unit, a separate unit. But others are now trying to camouflage, in my opinion, the whole issue in Himachal that they want a separate state. They say why not take out the resolution which was passed by the Himachal Pradesh Legislature on the 30th November last? In that resolution they have definitely said, "this Assembly wants a separate State of Himachal Pradesh" and does not want a merger with Punjab. They do not want it to be a 'territory' to be administered by others. They want a full-fledged State. The 17th State of India. There is no question of ts becoming a territory and so, the demand was pressed on behalf of all the people of Himachal Pradesh, of all political parties, for a Visal Himachal Pradesh. Of course, some say that there is a silver lining in the cloud in that the Commission's Report has a separate Himachal Prafavoured desh; because Shri Fazl Ali has given a separate note on this matter, in the Report. But that is going away from the main point. I say that the people of Himachal Pradesh-I am not speaking for all-because some of us held a different view-the majority of the people hold the view that Himachal

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#### [Shri Anandchand]

Pradesh should be a separate State. But if there is no Himachal State, I challenge here and now and say that they will not accept it. The only thing that will come out is a 'territory' of Himachal Pradesh-a territorial existence just as the Nicobar Islands to which Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani referred yesterday. But Himachal Pradesh has had a legislature; they have had a Ministry and popular rule. So, the question is that they should not be relegated back to the former stage, after they have enjoyed the benefits of a democratic rule? I do not deny that there are backward areas in Himachal Pradesh. It does not lie in my mouth to deny that fact. I make no secret of the fact here. Indeed, I made no secret of the fact before the Commission, and told the Commission so, and said that there are backward areas in Himachal Pradesh. Chini in the Mahasu district and Pangi in the district of Chamba are backward areas. In the adjoining Kangra district of Punjab also, there are scheduled areas of Lahul and Spiti. I understood from the Home Minister's reply the other day that one of the Members of the Commission had recommended that Lahul and Spiti should be taken over and Central control, and administered as, say, a North Western Agency.

But then, is there anything sacrosanct about Himachal Pradesh that only the backward areas can be taken note of? If you want those backward areas to be centrally administere∂ why add to those areas the other people who have enjoved popular rule under an elected Ministry and which can no longer be availal 'e otherwise?

Shri M. L. Dwivedi (Hamirpur Distt.): They desire a separate entity.

**Shri Anandchand:** But what is that entity?

Now, I shall refer to one more thing about Himachal Pradesh before I come to Bilaspur. My hon. friend here referred in his speech to a point that this idea of Bilaspur joining the Punjab was given birth to, on account of

vested interests from Bilaspur. May I say respectfully that the voice that is raised is against the administrative structure of Himachal Pradesh and not because of vested interests. The maladministration of Himachal Pradesh. I think, is no longer a secret. I will not go into that matter in any great detail here because I have no time. Please read the speech of one of the Bilaspur M.L.A's. of Himachal Pradesh. Shri Dina Nath. He has given a few instances of what is happening in Himachal Pradesh. Most of the non. Members of this House know it. Perhaps you have not forgotten the potato scandal, the opium smuggling scandal and the other scandals. The ministers there are fighting against one another and the ministers are destroying files. This has come in the papers. These are some of the instances which have come to light in all the last few months of rule in Himachal Pradesn. I received a memorandum-which goes to show-that such small people have no place in India and they should go.

Now, I shall say a few words about Bilaspur. I have had the opportunity of presenting to this House even long ago the case of Bilaspur. At that time, of course, the hon. Home Minister said that the question of Bilaspur would be taken up along with Himachal Pradesh. We said even at that time that if he felt or if the Government felt that Bilaspur could no longer be continued as a Part C State, then the people must be given the option of deciding as to which of the States of Punjab and Himachal, Bilaspur should go. I put it up in the petition; I put it up in writing and I also put it up personally. The authorities then said that the States Reorganisation was coming and that we could go and represent our case to that Commis-Now, the Report has come. It sion. recommends the merger of the whole of Himachal Pradesh in Punjab. I do not know what decision the Government would take. I do not know what this hon. House would think of it and I do not know whether it would endorse all the recommendation of the S.R.C. But I will only say this and

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most respectfully and strongly, that ever since the integration with Himachal Pradesh, we have been saying that we are more allied with Punjab than with Himachal Pradesh, that our economies and other things are allied with Punjab. I said that our language inter-dependence, economic kinship. contiguity the geographical and Bhakra-Nangal project are compelling reasons for us to unite with Punjab and then there is the desire of the people generally expressed-of course I cannot call it universal. because there is no medium by which I can make 100 per cent. of the people express the same opinion-and also strongly expressed in unequivocal terms over and over again. For these compelling reasons, we find that so far as Bilaspur is concerned, it has no future in the State of Himachal Pradesh. Perhaps. even if Himachal Pradesh is retained as a separate territory, after five years or so, they might come and say that there is no democratic Government there and that the Commission's recommendations were right and correctly based. Therefore, I appeal to the House and to the Government that whatever mistakes have been done in regard to Bilaspur and whatever wrong decisions have been taken, they must now be rectified.

Sardar Iqbal Singh (Fazilka-Sirsa): Before the Chair calls on the next Member, may I submit that only four persons have spoken now on Punjab and they have all supported the recommendations of the S.R.C. I humbly request you to give opportunities to those Members who are against the recommendations of the S.R.C. in regard to Punjab.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member need not have made this request. When I am sitting here, I am watching all interests and there is nothing for the hon. Member to presume that those who are against the S.R.C. will not be given an opportunity to speak. Shri Datar will now speak.

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): For eight long

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days, we are having a memorable debate, possibly the longest in the history of this Parliament in India. The debate is drawing to a close in the sense that tomorrow, the debate will end. Now, while I have been very intently following the numerous suggestions, grievances and aspirations of the people from the different and outlying parts of India. I felt that after all, this was a debate that had a great value and has served a great purpose. One purpose is that we have got the exhibition of hidden talents and geniuses and a number of hon. Members who had taken only a little part hitherto, in the proceedings of the House. have very naturally and earnestly come forward and given to us a picture, fairly correct according to their light, of the views of the respective territories from which they have come in particular. They have also given us the advantage of their views on the general points that ultimately Parliament has to decide so far as the reorganisation of the States is concerned.

I felt very happy that, whatever the Members have in their mind,-and I am quite confident-behind all those expressions of their respective grievances, complaints or suggestions, there has been running an unbroken feeling that ultimately we are all one and that the unity of the nation has to be maintained. That is the feeling that I have carried. It is true that our philosophical ideal is unity in diversity, but diversity has ultimately to subordinate itself to the real unity of India. Therefore, I am happy that we have received numerous suggestions. the Prime Minister yesterday As pointed out, these are very valuable suggestions and Government will give their earnest consideration to them, because, after all, this House is the sovereign authority of India..... 5 P.M.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad): Address the Chair.

Shri Datar: You, Sir, are the representative of the hon. Members of Parliament who are the sovereign authority in India. All the suggestions will be very carefully considered and

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Bill will be presented to when a might be a Bill or Parliament-it Bills-you will find that the Government have taken into account all the suggestions and have tried to come to decisions that would be in the ultimate interests of India. I am obliged to all the hon. Members who have taken part in this debate and I must earnest congratulate them for the manner in which they have put forward their grievances or aspirations. These are very valuable to Government. I am extremely happy that we have had, rather, we are having till the end of tomorrow, a very memorable debate during which not less than about 110 or 115 Members would have of the part and the extent taken debate would cover 60 hours according to my calculation.

Now, I would pass on to the need for this reorganisation of States. By 1950, we took the first step, or you might call it that we crossed the first hurdle of having a Constitution of That itself was я India contribution by India to the making of the future of India. We have got other countries also where longer periods have been taken. But, it must be said to the credit of India's leadership that we have produced a Constitution that is of abiding interest and during the last five years, it has on the whole been of great help to the and the people Government alike. That constituted the first step so far as the establishment of a republican form of government was concerned. Then, naturally, after we came to normal times, after the various difficulties had been passed over in as successful and as satisfactory a manner as possible and after we had reached a fair measure of stability, the next step had also to be taken. That was the step about the rationalisation of boundaries. So far as the various States-formerly called provinceswere concerned, in India the process was in a converse way. In America, for example, when they formed the federation now called the United States of America, there you had various States. They were more or

less independent in the sense that they had grown there and ultimately they formed out of their different autonomous personalities or units .the Government. which was Central known as the Federal Government. The Federal Government, naturally, was formed out of more or less autonomous States. Here, either during the time of the British or earlier. during all those troublous time **a**]] that happened was we had various States formed not necessarily on the basis of language or other considerations except that the consideration that prevailed with a particular ruler was the consideration of the might of his own sword. That was how various States were formed and attempts were made to unify all these States. But, on the whole, except in the long past when we had Asoka and a few other emperors here and there you will find that the provinces grew more or less in a promiscuous way. So, when the British administration was firmly established in India, they started from the opposite point of a unitory government. Subsequently, under one unitary government of the Governor-General of India, you had various parts; and then, this continued till 1920 when a measure of autonomy given to certain States under was what is known as the diarchial system of Government. Thus, we proceeded on the basis of a mitary government. That is a matte: of history which cannot be rewritten or unwritten. Subsequently when we had the advent of power in 1947, naturally we had a Central Government and we had also various States which had grown not necessarily in a harmonious manner, but which had grown out of certain historical, and in certain cases you might also call strategic. considerations. That is the reason why sometimes found that so far it is as the present States administrations are concerned, rightly or wrongly, there have been feelings in the minds of the people here and there that the administrations were more or less promiscuous in character and that therefore an attempt should be made for rationalising the boundaries on the basis of certain principles. Then the

should be the

question arose, what principle on which the provinces should be re-formed. Then the wise men of India about 30 or 35 years ago considered that language-we had a number of languages-was a fairly uniting factor. Therefore, in 1920, on the basis of the leadership of Gandhiji, the Congress divided the country, so far as the Congress administration was concerned, on the basis of languages. We had certain important languages, called regional languages. It ກດໜ might be noted here that though as Indians we are one, still, when, for example, in 1920 within the Congress organisation provinces were formed on a linguistic basis, that gave a fillip the awakening of the people to in the various areas, especially in the South. Therefore, on the whole, you will find that the importance that Gandhiji with his genius and forelanguages has borne sight gave to fruit and it might have been difficult if we had not got these linguistic divisions. Though even in the Congress all along an emphasis has been laid that ultimately we are one, we are nationals of India first and last, far as the development of the SO language or the development of a region based on language is concerned, in the ultimate analysis, it is to subserve the highest interest of the country. Subject to this reservation, I would point out to this House that after 1920, during especially the period 1920 to 1947, various undeveloped or more or less backward territories came forward and took part in the national struggle for independence. Ultimately, under the guidance of Gandhiji we had independence in August, 1947. Then, after some time, the question arose as to whether we should or should not have a rationalisation of boundaries. That is now. though there were claims here and there and the Andhra State was formed in 1952 to a certain extent on the basis of the languages, still it was only left to this Commission to consider the whole question. And, I am happy to note that the Commission have carried out their duties in as satisfactory a manner as possible.

Therefore, on this occasion, I would tender my humble tribute and gratefulness to the three eminent sons of India who have done their best. Sometimes, people are not happy with certain conclusions. But, if you put it to them, as to what is the alternative suggestion you will find, difficulty arises and after a process of selfself-inquire they thinking and realise that after all. this Commission has done its task very well. Therefore, we have to be thankful to them. Of course, it is a report. But, it is a report that is entitled to great weight. Though the last word will be with Parliament. ordinarily, the principle that would be followed is that the recommendations of the S.R.C. would be accepted unless either there is unanimous agreement to the contrary or in certain matters, in the interests of justice, Parliament would consider it necessary to depart from these principles. Happily, we have the report. In the course of the next Budget session, we shall have also Bill placed before я and duly passed by this hon. House.

My hon, friend Dr. Krishnaswami said that there was an attempt at hastening the whole process, at rushing through the various stages through which this matter has to be taken. I would point out to the hon. Member that there has been no attempt at rushing, no attempt at haste. Everything is being done according to the schedule, and according also to the merits of the case. We are anxious that, consistently with the desire of the people to have a full say in the matter, the various processes or stages through which the report has to be taken should be according to schedule, so that we shall have the general elections early in 1957 as originally settled.

I would not like to go into the various controversial points at this stage. They have all been heard; they have all been known to the people. Government, as I have already said, would take into account the various

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suggestion. I would, however, like to state how we have to come to certain conclusions and how we have to implement the decisions and what ought to ultimately the attitude of the be citizens of India in the different parts of the country. I may add that, as I have found, just barring absolutely on a small number of occasions, that the debate was conducted in an absolutely dignified spirit and manner. That fills me with the hope that the process of coming to a decision and also the process of implementing the decision would be carried out in the same peaceful, persuasive and, above all, dignified manner.

Motion re:

Often times it has been stated, and generally more or less it is correct, that we are having unilingual States. This expression unilingual State has to be understood with a certain measure of perspective. A unilingual State should not be understood as a State where only one language prevails, and where other languages do not prevail at all. A unilingual State has to be understood only in the sense majority of the people in that the that area speak that language. Two circumstances may be noted in this connection. Why was a unilingual State required at all? It should should be understood very clearly that even the sponsors of this movement during the last 30 years or 35 years, have all been following nationalist methods. I would like to refer to one circumstance. In 1926 or 1927, we had the The Simon Commission. Simon Commission had been appointed in spite of all protests. It was ลท all-European Commission. The Congress and other parties completely boycotted that Commission. There was a proposal before the sponsors of this movement in my State of Karnataka. that we might approach the Simon Commission and then we might get a province, because there was complete boycot then from all other quarters. would T like to submit to this House that that particular narrow consideration did not at all weigh with them. There was a complete boycot in Karnataka in spite of all tem-

ptations to the contrary that approaching the Commis-DY we might get a sion, province. I am happy that we did not approach the Commission and as a Kannada, I am happy that my State—United ... Karnataka—is coming in. All along the sponsors of this movement were nationalists, they were leaders in Congress-we have had a long the line of leaders,- and they had never thought on narrow lines. They never thought on lines that were ultimately harmful to the interests of India. Now that certain States have been formed or less on the basis more of one language as being the predominant language, we have to take certain other factors into consideration.

The J.V.P. report has rightly pointed out that language is a unifying force in a sense, but it is also a dividing factor, because, thereby we form small groups, we develop intolerance and come to a conclusion that a man who does not speak my language is not my friend, is possibly my enemy. This feeling has got to be completely corrected. Therefore, in the new setup, we have to understand that even though we may call them unilingual States, they are not unilingual, States in the sense that we have got only one language. They are not water-tight States. That is not the position at all. Take the border areas of any of the States. You will find that there are a number of other people who speak other languages. What are we going to do about these people? One of the first points that we have to understand is, after the State is formed, we should not think that only the man who speaks the majority language is a member of that State. We have to understand that all those persons, take Karnataka for example, who speak Marathi, Telugu, Tamil or any other language. 8]] those persons whose mother tongue may be something other than Kannada, of the Karnataka are members State. I am positive we have to give full protection to. the linguistic and other rights to all the people residing in that area. It is only

by the goodwill of these people that we shall have our own State and develop it along lines which are least Ultimately, why are these harmful. States necessary at all? We have to remember that these States were asked for on the ground that the regional languages required a certain measure of development. After the establishment of the republican form of Govneed for the developernment, the ment of regional languages along with the national language has become very great. Because, the whole administration has ultimately to be carried on at the State level in the various regional languages and at the Union level in the national language of India. The object is, whatever we do 88 humble representatives of the people to be understood by all the ought people in the land. You cannot expect all people to know any language other than the regional language. The emphasis on the development of regional languages is only for the purpose of making democracy successful in that area. Secondly, there are certain areas which are not developed, for example, the tribal areas in various States. There are some backward areas in other States also. For example, in Karnataka we have got the potentially rich Malnad areas. All these areas have to be developed. Therefore, I would implore this House to give full attention to the very valuable suggestions that have been made in the last chapters of this report. There they have stated that the languages have to be developed, that minorities have to be given full protection and lastly that the backward areas have to be made absolutely progressive, so that ultimately there will be no backwardness, for it will be found that any backward area or the presence of backward areas to a very large extent in different parts of India would make the whole of India backward. We are anxious that the whole of India has to be brought on a common level of economic and educational development, so that there will be general enlightenment in the country. That is the object that one must have in view. And while having that view, naturally,

we have to take into account the fact that in many of these States-I would point it out from my own experihave got the ence-we process of emigration and immigration from various parts and to of India the other parts. We have to got in Maharashtra and Karnataka a number of families from the north. Quite a number of families from the south have come and settled in the north. It fills me with wonder to think of the genius and the generosity of our people in those days, long democracy. before we thought of Those wise people were having a free migration from one part to another.

There are families in the Karnataka. who are not Kanarese, but who have come and settled there two hundred, three hundred, and in some cases, four hundred years ago. Can you imagine we have in Karnataka that North Indian families like Dubes. In fact my hon. friend, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Production, is a man from the north. He is somewhere from Mathura, I think. His family went to Bijapur in the Karnataka State, about two hundred or three hundred years ago. And now, he has the privilege and honour of representing a Kannada area in Parliament though he is a North Indian. technically speaking but really not a Kannadiya.

This is the process that we have to follow. This is an imperceptible but sure process, and it has always been going on both ways. It is entirely wrong; and it is a travesty of history to say that the south and the north are not one. As I said earlier, we have had numerous migrations of the people from one part to another. We have had migrations of ideas and thoughts and philosophies from the south to the north. What would have been our case, had not the great Sankaracharya moved through India. What would have been our case had not Ramananda gone from the south to the ...orth? Ramananda's name is a name to conjure with. He was the guru of Tulsidas. You will find that the great philosophical literature. the great devotional

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literature, in the north has its origin in the great seers from the south, who never thought either of the south or of the north. They had a common tongwe long ago; it might have been either Sanskrit or some other language, but mostly it was Sanskrit. But they came and conquered other parts in a way, not in the physical sense. So, we had this migration everywhere.

Therefore, I am appealing to the members of the new States that are going to be formed that they should not think of their language only, either Kannada or Marathi or anything else. Their language will develop as a matter of course. But it has to develop not at the cost of other languages, and the people who are residents, of that area have to consider themselves as the residents of that area without any mental reservations. So, this process has to go on. Fortunately for us, it has gone on for years together.

You will find that the priest of Badrinath temple is a man from Travancore-Cochin.

An Hon. Member: He is a namboodri.

**Shri Datar:** Similarly, the priest of the Pasupati temple in Nepal is a man from my part of the country; he is a man possibly belonging to the Lingayat sect.

That is how all these processes have been going on, and they are rightly going on. India was one. We have got a verse in the Atharva Veda which says, let us say that "we are all the sons of the same land". This idea of oneness of India has always to permeate us. The absence of this idea of oneness has been responsible for our slavery for years together.

Take, for instance, the Rajputs or the Mahrattas and others. They were great; they were great warriors, and they had great resources, but unfortunately there was no unifying tie. Had this unifying tie been there, then perhaps India would not have lost her freedom. Whatever that may be, we have to maintain this unifying factor. All along, from the north to the south, from the west to the east, we have got one nation, and people have been going from one part to another.

When I had been to Madhurai in the south, I was surprised to find that there are more than 500 families of Saurashtrians there: we have got Gujarathis, we have got Marwaris. and various other persons. If vou know that in every region we have got a harmonious admixture of people languages and who speak different belong to different language groups, then you would agree that this process of absorption, this process of absorption, has to be imperceptible carried on actively, now that we know the value of unity.

Now, I shall make a reference to two or three points. One hon. Member suggested that some arrangement should be made for teaching South Indian languages in the north. The Government of India have taken up that question. I would point out to this House that in this respect we are having some arrangements made. especially in the four universities that are under the control of the Government of India. We have instituted a scheme in this respect. I would read out to this House the scheme the Government of India have accepted The Government of India already. have instituted a scheme of prizes and travel grants at the four Central universities, namely the Universities of Delhi. Aligarh and Banaras and Vishwa Bharati, to encourage the study of Dravidian languages-and I would add, not only Dravidian languages, but also Marathi and Bengaliby students of North India, and vice versa.

Now, what is proposed is that in respect of each of the members of these different languages, the Government of India have decided to institute two prizes of the value of Rs. 500 and Rs. 250 respectively for the study of each of these languages. Then, various languages have been mentioned.

In addition to giving these prizes for studying the various South Indian and eastern and western languages, we have also decided to give them special concessions and moneys for the purpose of enabling them to travel in those parts of the country whose language they have studied. That is how the south and the north have to be brought together. I am anxious that a time will come when most of the universities in the north will have chairs for the South Indian and other languages, and similarly we shall have chairs for the North Indian also languages in the south. It is only thus that the various diversities and varieties in this ancient land of ours have to be harmonised together. It is only thus that India will become great.

This is the step that we have taken, and I am confident that more steps would be taken with the support of this House.

Lastly, I would make a reference to Manipur. My hon. friend stated something about Manipur. His plea was that the Government of India were neglecting Manipur. That is not the case at all in reality. I would point out just one instance. So far as Manipur is concerned, we are having there one community development block which started, mind you, in 1952-53. This community development work was taken up sometime in October 1952. Immediately, we had this block in distant Manipur. The second was the national extension service block which was started in 1954-55. Over these two blocks, Government will have spent, by the end of this year, Rs. 44 lakhs. In addition to these two blocks, we are having one more block in the year 1955-56. In other respects also, Government are anxious that Manipur is developed as much 88 possible. Therefore, though technically it might remain as a Territory, you will kindly understand that it is not a Territory in the sense that it has no representation anywhere so far as the legislative bodies are concerned.

It will have representation in the highest body of the land, namely, Parliament. You will kindly understand that it is not a territory which will be unrepresented.

My hon. friend, the Raja of Bilaspur, stated something about territory. Let him please understand that we are not neglecting this territory at all, because what we are fighting against is backwardness of all parts of the country, be it educational backwardness, social backwardness or economic backwardness. That is the reason why we are anxious to bring all these parts together. I am happy that as a result of this memorable debate, Government will have very good material for studying the whole question and coming to a right conclusion.

सरदार इकबाल सिंह : साहबे सदर, स्टेट्स रिम्रार्गेनाइजेशन कमिशन ने जो फैसले किये हैं उससे पहले उन्होंने भ्रपने तौर पर कुछ नियम बनाये, कुछ उसूल वाजेह किये कि किस ढंग से वे इन स्टेटों को बनायंगे। मैं उन उसूलों के मुताबिक कहना चाहता हूं कि उन उसूलों को जिनको मैं ने नहीं बनाया झौर किसी झौर ने भी नहीं **ब**नाया बल्कि जिनको स्टेट्स रिम्रागनाइ-जेशन कमीशन ने बनाया है, उनको पंजाब पर कैसे लागू नहीं किया गया। साहबे सदर, म्राप जानते हैं कि झगर पंजाब के लोगों को बड़ी से बड़ी कूर्बानी करनी पडे तो बे उससे गुरेज नहीं करेंगे मौर जब जब हिन्दुस्तान को जरूरत पड़ी है तो पंजाब वालों ने भौर बंगाल वालों ने बडी से बडी कूर्बानियां की हैं, जिनके बारे में मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि वे तारीख़ की भीज बन चुकी हैं। लेकिन झाज मैं भापके जरिये सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो उसूल सारे हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे प्रदेशों **के ब**टवारे के लिये लागु किये गये **वे पंजाब** के लियं क्यों नहीं लागू किये गये । चाहे उन उसूलों के मातहत पंजाब छोटा बनता या बड़ा बनता इस से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता लेकिन जो उंसूल सारे हिन्दूस्तान पर लाग किये गय हैं उनको पंचाब पर और महा-राष्ट्र पर जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के दो मजब्त

[सरदार इकबाल सिंह] सूबे हैं क्यों नहीं लागू किया गया । यह inconsistency (फ़रक) थी ग्रौर यही वजह थी कि म्राज पंजाब का मामला कांग्रेस हाई कमांड के पास जेरे गौर है ग्रौर उसका कोई हल होता नजर नहीं श्रा रहा है। बम्बई का मामला तो हल होने के क़रीब है लेकिन पंजाब का मामला हल होता नजर ही नहीं म्राता म्रौर इसकी सबसे बड़ी वजह यह है कि पंजाब के मामले को इस ढंग पर टाला गया है कि उसका कोई हल ही नजर नहीं माता श्रौर जाहिर है कि जब तक श्राप इस मसले पर सही तौर से नहीं वलेंगे ग्रीर सही उसूल ग्रस्तियार नहीं करेंग, यह मसला हल होने वाला नहीं है।

साहबे सदर, ग्राप देखें कि कमिशन की रिपोर्ट में साफ़ लिखा है कि कोई सूबा बनाने के लिये लैंग्वेज (बोली) ग्रौर कल्चर (संस्कृति) को भाधार मानना चाहिये। मैं भ्रपने दोस्तों से पूछना चाहता हूं कि ग्रापने पंजाब के बारे में पंजाब की लैंग्वेज (बोली) भौर पंजाबी कल्चर (संस्कृति) को क्यों भुला दिया है । यहां पर यह कहा गया है कि पंजाब का कोई रीजन नहीं है। मैं झपने उन भाइयों से झापके जरिये कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे दो राष्ट्रीय गान हैं, बन्दे मातरम भौर जन मन गण, ग्रौर उसमें पंजाब का रीजन एक रीजन के तौर पर माता है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जब कौमी गानों में पंजाब का जिकर एक रीजन के तौर पर भ्राता है तो उसको क्यों नहीं रीजन तसलीम किया जाता । जहां तक पंजाबी बोली का सवाल है उसके बारे में भी मैं भ्रपने भारतीय संविधान का म्रापको हवाबा देकर बतलाना चाहता Ē भौर जिसको कि मापने भी पढ़ कर

सुनाया है झौर उसमें वाजे सौर पर कहा गया है कि हर रीजनल लैंग्वेज की अपनी स्किप्ट (लिपि) होगी भौर म्रपनी बोली रोगी ग्रौर सरकार का यह कर्त्तव्य होगा कि उस बोली ग्रौर स्क्रिप्ट (लिपि) को बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करे ताकि वह भाषा मौर लिपि फले फुले भौर मागे बढे। लेकिन पंजाब के ऊपर जब कमिशन ने गौर किया तो उसने संविधान में दिये हुये इस मसले को नजरप्रदाज कर दिया म्रौर पंजाबी गुरुमुखी स्क्रिप्ट (लिपि) को मान्यता नहीं दी । मेरी शिकायत यह है कि कमिशन ने पंजाबी भाषा भौर उसकी लिपि के साथ इंसाफ नहीं किया है श्रौर जो सिद्धान्त उसने दूसरे सूबों की जबानों ग्रौर लिपियों के बाबत ग्रपने सामने रक्खा है, उसको पंजाब पर गौर करते समय म्रपने सामने से हटा दिया है भौर यही वजह है कि पंजाब का मसला हल नहीं हो पा रहा है। मैं कहता हूं कि जब बंगाल के तक़सीम होने के बाद उसकी बोली नहीं बदली भौर बंगाली भाषा ग्रपनी जगह पर क़ायम रही तो क्या वजह है कि पंजाबी भाषा जो कि पंजाब के हिन्दु झों झौर सिक्खों की मादरी जबान है उसको वही दर्जा नहीं दिया जा रहा है यह इतराज सिन्खों है पर किया जाता कि सिक्ख सम्प्रदायवादी हैं जब कि वाक़यात इसके बरश्रक्स हैं।

कम्युनल सिक्ख लोग हुये या वह लोग जिन्होंने कि पंजाबी को नहीं माना ? हिन्दू भौर सिक्ख एक साथ पंजाब के घरों में पंजाबी बोलते हैं भौर उसको सीखते हैं लेकिन हमने देखा कि जब उनसे पूछा गया कि तुम्हारी मादरी जबान क्या है तो चन्द भाइयों ने कहा कि हमारी मादरी जबान हिन्दी है भौर यह इसलिये हुमा कि

## 3823 Motion re:

बन्द फ़िरक़ापरस्त भौर सरमायादार लोग ऐसा चाहते थे । यह कहना बिलकूल ह़क़ीक़त से इंकार करना है कि पंजाब में सबसटैंशियल माइनारिटी एक बडी पंजाबी को अपनी मादरी जबान नहीं मानती श्रौर जैसा मैंने कहा कि वहां पर लोगों ने जो पंजाबी बोली को ग्रपनाने से इंकार किया है उसके पीछे वह फ़िरकेदाराना जहनियत काम कर रही थी जिसने लोगों से यह गलत बयानी करवाई । यह जो आप सबसटैंशियल माइनारिटी की बात कहते हैं, तो मैं भ्रापसे पूछना चाहता ह कि ग्रगर कल को किसी सूबे की सबसटैशियल माइनारिटी यह कहे कि हम देश के कांस्टी-ट्यू शन को नहीं मानते, देश की सक्युलेरिज्म को नहीं मानते भीर हम हिन्दी को हिन्दू-स्तान की कौमी जबान नहीं मानते तो क्या श्राप उनकी बात को मान लेंगे। मेरा कहना यह है कि यह ग़लत बयानी वहां के हमारे भाइयों से फ़िरकापरस्त म्रादमियों ने करवाई श्रौर यह उन सरमाया-दार भ्रखबारों के जहरीले प्रोपेगेंडा का -ग्रसर था, यह वही श्रखबार थे जिन्होंने कि इस देश में पाकिस्तान को बनाया ग्रौर इस देश को तक़सीम करवाया श्रौर श्राज यह लोग पंजाब को फिर तक़सीम कराना चाहते हैं। साहबे सदर, मेरा कहना यह है कि जहां तक लैंग्वेज झौर बोली का सवाल है, पंजाब एक म्रलहदा रीजन है भौर मलहदा इलाक़ा है भौर यहां पंजाबी बोली जाती है ग्रीर यह म्रापका, इस हाउस का म्रौर सारे देश का फ़र्ज है कि पंजाब के बारे में भी उसी सौंग्वेज (बोली) झौर कल्चर (संस्कृति) को भ्राधार बना कर फैसला किया जाये ग्रीर पंजाब के साथ यह कह कर कि उसकी कोई भ्रपनी बोली नहीं, तहजीब नहीं, नाइंसाफ़ी की जा रही है उसको दूर करें कौर यक़ीन मानिये कि ग्राप के ऐसा करने

से माप पंजाब को मौर सारे मुल्क को मज्ज-बूत करेंगे । मेरी शिकायत इस कमिशन से यह है कि उसने पंजाब के मसले को सही तौर पर टैकिल नहीं किया है मौर यही वजह है कि पंजाब का मामला मभी तक सुलझ नहीं पाया है मौर हाई कमांड के सामने पेश है मौर मैं चाहता हूं कि पंजाब का सवाल ठीक मौर मुनासिब तौर पर हल हो जाय मौर यह न बिगड़े मौर पंजाब जो कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक शक्ति-शाली प्रदेश है मौर शक्तिशाली प्राग्त है, उसमें हालात खराब न हों मौर वह यूनाइ-टेड रहे ।

ग्राप पंजाब के लोकगीतों को देखें. गानों को देखें भौर नाचों को देखें भौर श्राप पायेंगे कि जिस तरह से मौर प्रान्तों के ग्रलग किस्म के नाच, गाने ग्रौर लोकगीत होते हैं, उसी तरह से पंजाब के भी म्रपने मलग लोकगीत, नाच मौर गाने हैं मौर म्राप यह कैसे कहते हैं कि पंजाब एक रीजन नहीं है ? हमारे कुछ दोस्त हिन्दी का नाम लेकर हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत बड़े झाद-मियों की हमदर्दी हासिल करना **चाहते** हैं ग्रौर पंजाबी जो कि वहां की रीजमल बोली है उसको नुकसान पहुंचाना चाहते हैं ग्रौर वह कहते हैं कि हिन्दी हिन्दुस्तान की क़ौमी जवान है झौर कहते हैं कि यह हर रीजन की जबान है। मेरा कहना कि हमें हिन्दी से मुखाल्फत नहीं है भौर जाहिर है कि जो भी पंजाब का प्रदेश बनेगा उसमें हिन्दी को लाजिमी जगह हासिल होगी झौर पांचवीं जमात के बाद हर एक जो पंजाबी को हिन्दी पढ़नी पड़ेगी म्रौर जो पढ़ता है उसको नहीं पढता है उसको भी लेकिन इन फ़िरक़ा-परस्तों का तो हिन्दी का नाम लैने के पीछे मक़सद पंजाब की जो पंजाबी जवान है

# [सरदार इकवास सिंह]

उसको नुक़सान पहुंचाना है भौर उसको उसका उचित दर्जा हासिल करने से रोकना है। इसलिये साहबे सदर, मैं चाहता हूं कि इस सवान पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया जाये भौर पंजाबी जवान के साथ जो नाइंसाफ़ी बर्ती जा रही है उसको दूर किया जाय ।

इसके ग्रलावा दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना बाहता हूं वह यह है कि कमिशन ने यह सिद्धान्त स्थिर किया है कि जो सूबा बनेगा बह वहां के लोगों की स्वाहिशास को मद्देनजर (keeping in view) रखते हुये बनाया जायगा झौर लोगों की स्वाहिशात के खिलाफ कोई सूबा नहीं बनाया जा सकता। तो मैंने ग्रापको पहले ही बतला दिया कि किस तरह से पंजाब के हमारे चंद भाइयों को फ़िरकेदाराना जहनियत के मातहत ग़लत रास्ते पर छे जाया गया है। इस झगड़े के हल के वास्ते ग्राप देखें कि वहां की जो नुमायन्दा जमातें हैं उनकी क्य। राय है। कांग्रेस पार्टी की क्या राय हे? झौर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टो जो म्राल इंडिया पार्टी है उसकी क्या राय है ?

सोशलिस्ट पार्टी पंजाब के इस हल के सिलाफ है, ग्रौर एक पार्टी है जिसके कई नुमाइन्दे यहां बोले, वह जन रांघ है, वह इस के हक में है। लेकिन पंजाब की ऐसेम्बली में कितने मेम्बर जन संघ के हैं? एक भी नहीं। पेप्सू में कितने मेम्बर हैं? एक भी नहीं। हिमाचल प्रदेश में शायद एक ग्राध हैं। इसलिये मे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक पार्टीज का सवाल है वह सब इस हल के सिलाफ हैं? पंजाब की दूसरी पार्टियों के बारे में ग्रब देखिये। वहां पर ग्रकाली पार्टी है, वह इस हल के सिलाफ है, गांधी जनता पार्टी है वह इस हल के नाफ है, जो झौर छोटी छोटी पार्टीज हैं वह मीं खिलाफ हैं। हरियाना प्रान्त वाले हरियाना का झलग प्रान्त चाहते हैं। मैं पूछना खाहता हूं कि झाखिर इस हल के हक में कौन है? हां, जो झादमी यहां से झखबार निकालते हैं झौर बड़े बड़े हाशिये देते हैं कि पंजाब को दुबारा तबाह किया जाय वही इस के हक में हैं।

यहां लोहारू का सवाल किया गया, पंचायतों का नाम लिया गया। मैं कहता हूं कि एलैक्टेड रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव (चुने हुय नुमाइन्दे) जो कि ऐसेम्बली में हैं, उन की लिस्ट मेरे पास है । पंजाब, पेप्सू झौर हिमाचल प्रदेश में १३८ मेम्बर बोले हैं । उन में से ६१ ग्रादमियों ने कहा है कि यह पंजाब का सही हल नहीं है । पांच ग्रादमी ऐसे थे जिन्होंने कहा कि हम कोई राय नहीं देते, चार ग्रादमी ऐसे थे जिन्होंने कहा कि जो कुछ कांग्रेस हाई कमान्ड कहेगी हम उस को मंजूर करेंगे । १३ मर्में से सिर्फ ३० म्रादमी थे जो यह कहते थे कि हम इस हल के हक में हैं। तो मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि मैजारिटी कहां 킁 ? से हम कह जिस तरह सकते हैं कि हम पब्लिक के नुमाइन्दे हैं, उसी तरह से उन को भी यह कहने का हक है कि वह पंजाब, पेप्सू ग्रौर हिमाचल प्रदेश की ऐसेम्बली के मेम्बारन इस कान्स्टिट्यूशन के मुताबिक<sup>:</sup> जो कि एक फेंडरल कास्स्टि-ट्यूशन है, पब्लिक के नुमाइन्दे हैं । लेकिन जब बह इस हल के हक में नहीं तो यत्न करना चाहिये कि पंजाब का कोई सही हल निकले जिस को सब मंजूर करें । सिर्फ इस ढंग से कह देना कि बड़ा पंजाब बने या छोटा पंजाब बने ठीक नहीं है, इस से पंजाब के लिये कोई भी फायदेमन्द हल नहीं निकल सकता

भी यह भी कहना चाहता हं कि जो सूबा सरहदी सूबा बने, कूदरती तौर पर सिक्योरिटी के नुक्ते नजर से धौर डिफैन्स के नुक्ते नजर से, उसके रहने बालों की मरजी के खिलाफ नहीं बन सकता। मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि एक बार सरहद बनने से पंजाब ने कितना सफर किया है। जब म्राप सरहद का नाम लेते हैं तो उन को पुराना जमाना याद ग्रा जाता है। शहरों के बसने वाले लोग यह भूल जाते हैं कि जब तक गांतों में बसने वाले लोग कंटन्टेड (संतूष्ट) नहीं होंगे तब तक ग्राप का काम नहीं चल सकता । ग्राज हमारे पडोस में जो पाकिस्तान देश है वह कोई हमारा दोस्त नहीं है । इस लिये जो भी हल निकाला जाता है जब तक वह हल वहां के बसने वाले किसानों को संतूष्ट नहीं रख सकता है तब तक वह पंजाब का सही हल नहीं हो सकता। मैं कहना चाहता ह कि सिर्फ इलाके की वास्टनेस (बड़ा होना) कोई खास बडाई की बात नहीं है, दिल की बडाई से ग्रसली बडाई हम्रा करती है। श्राप बतलायें कि जो इलाका पाकिस्तान की हद्द के साथ मिलता है वहां के रहने बालों में से कितने भादमी इस के हक़ में हैं। भ्रगर वह हक़ में नहीं हैं तो यह सही हल नहीं भौर भगर इसको जबर्दस्ती (forced) उन के ऊपर लादा गया तो में समझता हूं कि उस से फायदा नहीं होगा ।

एक तरफ कहा जाता है कि होमो-जीनिटी होनी चाहिये । रिपोर्ट के पैरा १०६ में यूनिटी के बारे में लिखा हुग्रा है :

"Since the unity and strength within the constituent units is a condition precedent to a healthy feeling of unity at the national level, any attempt to eliminate tensions and contradictions and to make units more homogeneous and internally cohesive is bound to strengthen the unity of the whole nation."

जो पंजाब भाग बनाने लगे है, मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि क्या वह इन्टर्नली (अन्दरुनी) तौर पर भी एक है ? क्या वहां के लोग इस फैसले के लिये कहते हैं किः यह ठीक है ? ग्रगर नहीं कहते तो सिर्फ वास्टनैस से ही वहां का मसला हल नहीं होगा । ग्राप ग्रगर किसी व्यापार में ही ऐसे मादमियां को एक साथ लाना चाहें जो कि मिलना नहीं चाहते, जिन के जिस्म नहीं मिलना चाहते, तो उस का क्या नतीजा होगा ? एक मिनट के लिये मान भी लें कि जो म्रादमी एक दूसरें के खिलाफ हैं वह इकट्रा भी हो जींय लेकिन इस पर भो क्या वह एक साथ चल सकेंगे ? म्राज हरियाना प्रान्त नहीं मिलना चाहता है, क्यों नहीं मिलना चाहता ? उन पर जो जुल्म हुये हैं उन की वजह से नहीं मिलना चाहता हिमाचल मौर जलंधर डिवोजन के लोग नहीं मिलना चाहते । जब यह हालत है तो क्या में पूछ सकता हं कि म्राखिर मैजारिटी कहां रहती है ? शायद ग्रखबारों में होंगे या कुछ थोडे से शहरों में होंगे। मैं किसी की बुराई नहीं करना चाहता लेकिन ग्रगर किसी वक्त देश को खतरा म्रा गया तो क्या शहर के लोग उस को बचायेंगे ? मैं पूछता हं कि जब हैदराबाद पर हमला हुन्ना था पंजाब से भागे थे ? तो कितने लोग जिस वक्त काश्मीर में कान्स्टिट्युएन्ट ऐसेम्बली बनी थी उस वक्त कितने भादमी पंजाब से भागे थे ? उन्हीं के लिये माप म्राज कहते हैं कि युनिटी होगी । म्राप उस किसान को भूल जाते हैं जिस को हट बक्त पाकिस्तान की सरहद पर हल चलाना

[सरदार इकबाल सिंह]

है जिसके सामने हर वक्त पाकिस्तान का तना हुम्रा रिवाल्वर है । उसके लिये म्राप कहते हैं कि वह यूनिटी रक्खेगा स्रौर मुल्क को स्ट्रग्य देगा ।

में ज्यादा वक्त न लेता हुन्रा कहता हूं कि द्याप एकोनामिक तौर पर जो यूनिट पंजाब को बनाने लगे हैं वह ठीक यूनिट नहीं होग। । जिस वक्तहिन्दुस्तान मौर पाकिस्त/न का बटवारा हुन्रा, उस वक्त पंजाब कोई सर्प्लस सूबा नहीं था, वह एक डेफ़िसिट सूबा था, उस में घाटा ज्यादा था। ग्राज इस वजह से कि पंजाब के लोगों ने मेहनत कर के पंजाब को सर्प्लस बनाया है . म्राप उस की उस की मर्जी के खिलाफ बदलना चाहते हैं ? पंजाब का क्लेम **६० लाख का था उस पुलिस के** लिये जो पाकिस्तान को हद्द पर रहती है, जिस को कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को देना चाहिये था । उस को टैक्सेशन इन्क्वायरी कमिशन के सामने पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने पेश किया । लेकिन उस को रिजेक्ट (रद्द) कर दिया गया । म्राज पंजाब के साथ इन्टर्नेशनल बार्डर लेगता है उस को पुलिस का खर्च ग्राखिर वह क्यों दे?

पंजाब की ग्रामदनी ३२ करोड़ के करीब है। उस के साथ एक बैकवर्ड इलाका हरियाना का भौर दूसरा बैकवर्ड इलाका हिमाचल का ग्राप करना चाहते हैं इस से सारे पंजाब को नुकसान होगा क्योंकि उस के पास उतने साधन नहीं है। उन पंजाब के ग्रादमियों का यही कसूर है कि वह ज्यादा मेहनत करते है। तो एक बैकवर्ड इलाके के साथ दो भौर बैक-वर्ड इलाके मिला दिये जायें भौर यह कहा जाय कि यह एक बडा यूनिट होगा भौर ग्रन्छा यूनिट होगा, इस को भानने के लिये में तैयार नहीं हूं।

इसके साथ ही मैं कहना चाहता ह कि पजाब को बाईलिंग्वल स्टेटस बना दिया गया । लेकिन जब विदर्भा का सवाल भाया भौर यह कहा गया कि विदर्मी को बम्बई में शामिल कर के एक बड़ी बाईलिंग्वल स्टेट बना दी जाये तो जबाब यह दिया गया कि बैलेन्स नहीं होगा बाईलिंग्वल स्टेट में । जब विदर्भा का बैलेन्स बाईलिंग्वल में ठीक नहीं हो सकता तो म्राखिर पंजाब का बैलेन्स बाईलिंग्वल में कैसे ठीक हो गया ? पंजाब का एक इलाका सर्प्लंस है दूसरे दो इलाक डेफि-सिट हैं । लिंग्विस्टिकली (जबान के ग्राधार पर भी) एक इलाका दूसरी बोलो बोलता है दूसरा इलाका दूसरी बोली बोलता है, भले ही पहले एक ही बोनी बोलता रहा है, लेकिन म्रब तो कहता है कि हिन्दी उस की जबान होगी। बहर-हाल जो इलाका कहता है में तो उस की बात कहता हूं। कहा जाता है कि पंजाब को यह हरू मंजूर है। लेकिन किस ने मंजूर किया है? कहीं पर ग्राप लग्वेंज **के** ग्राधार पर बैलेन्स रखना चाहते हैं ग्रीर कहीं पर एकोनामी के स्राधार पर। एक जगह एक चीज भ्रौर दूसरी जगह दूसरी चीज, यह ठीक नहीं चल सकती । कुछ **भ्रादमी भ्रपनी बात साफ तौर से नहीं** रखते हैं । उन के दिल में कुछ श्रौर बात है श्रौर मुंह पर कुछ भौर बात है। इसलिये मैं कोई झौर बात यहां नहीं कहना चाहता । हां रारदार हुक्म सिंह भौर जो श्रादमी उन के ढंग से सोचते हैं उन का यह नजरिया है कि ७० परसेन्ट मौर ३० परसेन्ट का कोई बैलेन्स लिंविजम् से नहीं हो सकता । साथ माथ में यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि पेप्सू में भी कोई कम्यूनिलिज्म नहीं था, वह कोई

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भन्डरडवेलप्ड एरिया भी नहीं था, आज उसको लोग बैकवर्ड कहने लगे हैं। पंजाब न्में जो बुरी बातें हैं उनको भी माप पेप्सू के लिये इस्रोमाल करना चाहते हैं। पेप्सू को जरूर शामिल होना चाहिय, लेकिन बहां की खो अच्छी बातें हैं उनको पंजाब पर लागू करना चाहियेन कि पंजाब की खुरी बातों को पेप्सू पर लादा जाय।

में हरयाना की बाबत इतनी बास कहना चाहता हूं ग्रौर यह कहते हुए मेरे दिल में किसी के लिए डिसरिस्पेक्ट नहीं हैं। जिस इलाके के ५० मैम्बरों में १७ वह हों जोकि दूसरे इलाके से खड़े हुये हों ग्रौर जो यह सोचत दूसरे इलाके से खड़े हुये हों ग्रौर जो यह सोचत दू कैसे मुर्माकेन हो सकता हैं। हरियाना प्रान्त के लोगों ने एक साथ मिल कर यह कहा कि हम पंजाब के साथ रहना नहीं चाहते। इसकी किसी ने वजुहात सोचने की कोशिश नहीं की कि वह क्यों रहना नहीं चाहते। जब वे ही पंजाब में नहीं रहना चाहते तो फिर उन को कैसे मजबूर कर के रखा जा सकता है।

जो मैं सब से जरूरी बात कहना चाहता क्तूं वह यह है कि पंजाब एक यूर्निलिगुन्नल <mark>सूबा</mark> होना चाहिए । छोटा हो या बड़ा इससे मुझे कोई वास्ता नहीं हूँ । अगर पंजाबी स्रौर हिन्दी दोनों बहतें है तो फिर क्या वजह है कि पंजाबी को पंजाब की रीजनल भाषा न रखा जाए । म्रगर किसी दूसरी जबान बोलने वाले प्रदेश को पंजाब के साथ मिलाना है बेशक सिलायें मौर इसी वजह से उसे बाई-लिंगुमल सूबा बनाना है इस से जो पंजाबी जवान है ग्रौर जो पंजाब की रीजनल लेंगुएज है उस को डिवेलेप होने का मौका मिलना चाहिये। हिन्दी एक नैशनल लेंगुएज बनी है ग्रौर इस वजह से वह पंजाबी को घोवर-शैडो कर देगी। हिन्दी को घपना थान मिला है मौर मंजाबी को ममना । मगर 524 LSD.

भापने पंजाबी को खत्म करना है तो माप बाई-लिंगुग्रल सुबा बना सकते हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि यह इलाका इस में जरूर शामिल किया जाए ग्रौर यह न किया जाए । जो इलाके मंजाब से झलहदा होना चाहते हैं वह ग्रलग हो जायें, जो साथ रहना चाहते हैं वह साथ रहें। म्राप चाहें पंजाब को एक बड़ा सूबा बनायें चाहे छोटा इस से मुझे कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। में तो यही चाहता हं कि पंजाब की बोली पंजाबी हो ग्रीर पंजाब एक यूनी-लिंगुझल सूबा बने । ग्रगर कोई कहे कि हिन्दी को रीज-नल जबान बनाया जाये तो इसमें बेहतरी नहीं होगी । हिन्दी एक नैशनल लैंगुएज है भौर इस को एक बहुत ऊंचा दर्जा प्राप्त हुन्ना है, मैं इस को मानता हूं। लेकिन जो रिजनल लेंगुएज है वह भी बहुत जरूरी है भौर जो दर्जा एक रीजनल लेंगुएज को दिया जाता है वही पंजाबी को भी दिया जाना चाहिए । जिस चीज की मुझे शंका है वह यह है कि हिन्दी पंजाबी को मोवर-शैडो न करे मौर मैं चाहता हूँ कि 'पंजाब की रोजनल जबान पंजाबी ही हो । <sup>.</sup>ग्रगर ऐसा न हुआ तो कोई भी मसला पंजाब का -हल नहीं ही सकता । हम नहीं चाहते किसी भी तरह से पंजाब को तकसीम किया आये। लेकिन जहां तक जबान का ताल्लुक है यह बरवाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता कि पंजाबी को किसी तरह से अभी ठेस लगे। अगर पंथाब को खबान की बिना पर ही तकसीम होना है तो कोई ताकत नहीं है जो कि उस की तकसीम को रोक सकती है। हम चाहे इस हाउस में ·कुछ कहें, इस हाउस के बाहर हम चाहे कुछ कहें, जितने यरन चाहे हम करें, पंजाब उस <sup>,</sup>यक्त तक एक नहीं रह सकेगा जब कि पंजाबी की पूरी सहूलियतें नहीं मिलती हैं।

में यह कहना चाहता हूं, साहवे सदर, कि -सच्कर फार्मूला के फेल होने का कारण -ग्रफसरों की फ्रिरकापरस्ती है। Shri Nand Lal Sharma: On a point of order, Sir. Is the hon. Member suggesting a two-nation theory in the Punjab?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has a right to say anything that he likes. Why does he interrupt the hon. Member now? He will have a similar right to speak later.

सरबार इकवाल सिंह : साहबे सदर, में बह कह रहा था कि जो सच्चर फार्म्ला था वह ग्रफसरों की फिरकापरस्ती के कारण फेल हुग्रा । यह मेरी प्रपनी राय नहीं है । यह जो सूबा कांग्रेस कमेटी है उस की राय है। ग्रगर यही पालिसी वहां पर बरती गई तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यही पालिसी नये पंजाब पर बरती जायेगी । फिर तो फिरकापरस्ती दिन-ब-दिन जोर पकडेगी, कम नहीं होगी ।

इसलिए आखिर में में यही निवेदन करता हूं कि कोई भी सूवा बने, कैसा भी सूवा बने लेकिन उस की जवान पंजाबी हो जो इलाके पंजाब के साथ रहना नहीं चाहते वह झलहदा हो जायें जो इलाके पंजाब में माना चाहते हैं, हम उनको बैलकम करते ह, मगर हिमाचल वाले जाना चाहते हैं तो चले बायें, हरियाना वास्ने जाना चाहते ही तो चले मोर पंजाब के मसले हल नहीं हो सकते ।

जब हर एक पंजाबी पढ़ने के लिए तैयार हो जाए, हर एक पंजाबी हिन्दी पढ़ने के लिए तैयार हो जाये, तब जो छोटी छोटी बातें हैं बह प्रासानी से तय हो सकती है। यह पंजाब के ही हित में है कि वहां की जो रीजनल सेंगुएज हो बह पंजाबी हो प्रौर हिन्दी भी चले भौर दोनों जबानें साथ साथ चलें। वहां की जो फिरकापरस्ती है वह हमारे देश को तबाह कर देगी । मैं समझता हूं ो हरू एस० मार० सी० ने तजवीज किया ह वह सही हल नहीं है । इसके बजाय जो इलाके पंजाब में शामिल होना नहीं चाहते वह न हों मौर जो रहना चाहते हैं वह रहें मौर इस तरह से एक सूवा बनाया जाए मौर उस की जवान पंजाबी हो मौर इसी जमान की ही रीजनल लगुएज तस त्रीम किया जाए । इस को डिवेलेप होने का पूरा मौका मिलना चाहिए मौर इसी दिशा में हमारी कोशिश भी होनी चाहिए । पंजाबी सरकारी वर्जा हासिल करें मौर जब ऐसा होगा तभी पंजाब का मसला हल हो सकता है ।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Nand Lal Sharma:

Shri Nand Lai Sharma rose—

Shri M. L. Dwivedi rose-

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt. South), rose-

Mr. Chairman: I have called Shri Nand Lal Sharma. How can I call three hon. Members simultaneously? If the other hon. Members continuestanding, am I to understand....

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: I did not hearyou; Sir:

An Hon. Member: Pandit Sharma thought that he was the Sharma called by you:

भी नन्द लाल शर्मा :

धर्मेण शासिते राष्ट्रेन चवाक्षा प्रवर्तते । नाऽषयों व्याघयश्चवै रामे राज्यं प्रशासिति ।

माननीय समापति महोदय, में ग्रापको विशेषकर धर्मासन के ऊपर विराजमान होने के कारण बधाई देता हूं ग्रौर ग्रपनी भारत माता को भी बध्मई देता हूं जिस के भाग्य में लगभग डेढ़ हजार वर्ष बाद ग्राज इम लोगों को ग्रखिल भारतीय रूप में ग्रपने राष्ट्र के संगख्ति रूप धारण करने की इच्छा पर बोलने का ग्रवसर मिला। ग्राज का जमाना कॉन के विजालों की उडानका जमाना नहीं है । वास्तविकता प्रापके सामने ग्रा गई है । यद्यपि इस भवन के निर्माण ग्रौर ईंटें जो इसकी नींव में रखो जा चुकी हैं, लाखों का बलिदान चाहे पूर्व में ग्रौर चाहे पश्चिम में हो गया है, उन के सम्बन्ध में यदि दो शब्द इस रिपोर्ट में ग्रा जाते या किर्सा माननीय सदस्य के मुख से निकल ग्राते तो बहुत ही उचित रहता । इस का मुझे थोड़ा बहुत झेद ग्रवश्य है । भारत माता की दाई बाई भुजायें कटी हुई हैं, शरोर काश्मोर भी ग्रभी जस्मी है लेकिन फिर भी दूसरे हिस्से हैं जिनका कि हम यदि घच्छी तरह से प्रबन्ध कर लें ग्रपने देश के हित में, भ्रपने देश के कल्याण के लिए, तो यह भी सौमाग्य की बात होगी ।

सभापति महांदय, राजस्थान की म्रोर से तो मुझे इस आयोग की रिपोर्ट का स्वागत ही करना चाहिए । मैं यह समझता हूं कि **भावू भजमेर को दान कर के श्री दातार साहब ने** विशेष ध्यान दिया है, वे दातार हैं, दाता हैं । एको वै दाता त्रयस्ते तु दातार । तीन मूर्तियों का उन में समावेश है इसलिए हमारे सामने तीन मूर्ति बन कर श्री दातार बैठे हैं । मैं यह समझता हूं कि इसके साथ ही साथ थोड़ा बहुत मंडसूर के प्रदेश का झगड़ा बच रहा है। मुझे मंडसूर के प्रतिनिधि स्वयं श्री त्रिवेदी, कह चुके हैं भीर राजस्थान की किसो प्रदेश के ऊपर बार बार क्लेम करने की भावना इसलिए नहीं रही क्योंकि वह चाहता है कि किसी क्षेत्र के स्व-रूप को नाश करना उसका दुष्टिकोण नहीं होना षाहिए । यदि हम को यह मालूम होता कि मघ्य भारत की जनता की इच्छा ग्रों के विरुद्ध उस को विलय कर दिया जाएगा तो मध्य भारत का राजस्यान हजार बार स्वागत करता मौर चाहता कि उनकी परम्पराझों के झनुसार मध्य भारत को राजस्थान के साथ मिला दिया जाए। जो प्रदेश बहुत दूर का है वह दूसरे क्षेत्र में जासकता था। में निवेदन करता हूं कि इस में भो मुझे एक दुर्गन्घ सी मा रही है **भौ**र वह दुर्गन्ध यह है कि भाषाबार

Report of S.R.C.

साम्प्रदायिकता चल पड़ी है। मैं साम्प्रदायिकता का धर्ष धर्म के ग्राधार पर लेता हूं न कि ; ग्लिश में जो इसका ट्रान्स्लेशन है कम्युनिसिज्म का, उस ग्राधार पर । तुल्यं साम्प्रदायकम् मीमांग्रा सूत्र है । साम्प्रदायिक शब्द जो है यह लौकिक, ग्रथवा पार-लौकिक ग्रथवा पार-मार्थिक विद्या की प्राप्ति के लिए गुरु परम्परा से प्राप्ति जो है वहीं साम्प्रदायिकता है ।

## 6 P.M.

में जीवित रहूं मौर बाकी सब समाप्त हो जायें, यह भावना कम्युनलिज्म में हो सकती है, लेकिन सम्प्रदायबाद में नहीं है। उस के लिए हिन्दी भाषा में कोई दूसरा शब्द नहीं है । मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि भाषा के भाषार पर जो सम्प्रदायवाद प्रारम्भ हुआ है, वह म्रागे चल कर इतनी भयंकर मग्नि लगा देगा कि हम लोगों को बहुत हानि होगी । माज हम उस बात को देखते नहीं हैं। सरदार इकबाल सिंह ने जो शब्द कहे थे, स्पष्ट रूप से उन का यही ग्रर्थ निकलता है कि ग्राज नहीं, तो कल, किसी भी समय पं<mark>जाब को</mark> हिन्दी **भौर गुरु-**मुखी के ग्राधार पर बांटना पड़ेगा मर्थात् पंजाब के दो टुकड़े हुए बिना नहीं रह सकते । इस विषय में सर्वप्रथम में स्पष्ट रूप से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सिख धर्म का मनुयायी मैं भी हूं। सिख धर्म के विरुद्ध हमारे मन में कोई भावना धाही नहीं सकती है। हमने बाल्यकारू से सिख धर्म के ग्रन्थों का मध्ययन किया है। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने घ्रपनी डिवाइड एंड रूल की पालिसी के मनुसार जैसे दक्षिण म बाह्यण भीर नान-बाह्यण का प्रश्न खड़ा किया, वैसे ही उस ने सिख झौर हिन्दू को भलग करने का प्रयत्न किया। महाराजा रंणजीतसिंह के जनरलों द्वारा विश्वनाथ मन्दिर पर स्वर्ण-कलश चढ़ाया गया ग्रौर सियालकोट में शंकर के मन्दिर का निर्माण किया ग**या** । हम हिन्दू दसों गुरुमों के भागे सिर झुकाते हैं **भौर** नित्य घ्रपने घरों में गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब, सु<del>ख</del>-

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[ श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा ] मलि साहव, जपजी साहब ग्रीर ग्रानन्द साहब का पाठ करते हैं। मैं कह सकता हं कि विशेष-कर दशमेश भगवान के ग्रन्थ के ग्रर्थ बडे बडे सिख नहीं लगनस कते हैं, जितना कि हम लोग लगा सकते हैं। कारण यह है कि उसके भाषा सौष्ठव की समझना एक बात है और उस की भावनाको किंचित मात्र भी ग्रहणन कर के उस के नाम पर्केश्वा झौर आमक प्रचार करते हुए राष्ट्र को एक प्रकार की धमकी डेना दूसरी बात हैं । दोनों में बहुत ग्रन्तर है । में सरकार से नम्ग्र निवेदन करूंगा कि उसे इस प्रकार को धमकियों की ग्रोर ध्यान नहीं देना णाहिए --- वाहेवे भमकियां किसी कांग्रेसी सदस्य की ग्रोर में ই ने वना किसी ग्रन्य सदस्य की ग्रोर से, भ्रौर उस को स्थिति के प्रति जागरूक होना चाहिए । अगर इस समय उस ने अपने घटने कमजोर कर दिए, तो वह कभी भी, कहीं भी ठहरने में समर्थ न हो सकेगी । परिणाम . यह होगा कि हर एक म्रादमी किसी भी समय खड़ा हो कर ग्रात्म-निर्णय के ग्रधिकार---सैल्फ़ डेटरमिनेशन के प्रिंसिपल-को दिखा कर जब चाहेगा लड़ाई कर के प्रपना भाग मलग बंटवा लेगा । मैं म्रनुभव करता हूं कि भ्रगर ग्रान्ध भाषा के नाम पर स्नान्ध्र प्रदेश की मांग को स्वीकार कर लिया जाता, तो वह बात समझ में ग्रा सकती थी। लेकिन जिस समय ग्राग जग गई, दफ्तर लूटे जाने लगे ग्रौर हाहाकार मच गया. उस समय उस को स्वीकार किया गया। उस के बाद हर एक के मन में यह बात समा गई कि जो कानून को तोड़ता जायगा, नियमों का भ्रौर संविधान का उल्लंघन करता जायगा' उस के सामने सरकार झुकती जायगी। यदि यहुभावना बल पकड़ गई, तो मैं समझता हूं क हम लोग इस समय जान नहीं सकते कि संसे कितना भ्रनर्थ होने वाला है।

एक माननोय सदस्य : ग्रगर ग्राप के हाथ में शक्ति होती, तो द्याप भी यही करते ।

भी मंदलाल झर्मा: में तो यह चाहता ह कि जिन लोगों के हाथ में इस सम यसरकार की बागडोर है, उन का हाथ मजबूत हो । में यह चेतावन) इसलिए दे रहा हूं, क्योंकि श्रगर वे गलत रास्ते पर जायेंगे, तो उसकी हानि हम लोगों को होगी। सम्भव है कि कांग्रेस से हमारे मतभेद हों, परन्तु हम यह भी समझते हैं कि जिस के हाथ में सरकार है, उससे शत्रुता करने से हमारी क्या दशा होगी और किसी दूसरी पार्टी की क्या दशा होगी । हमारा किसी ग्रन्य देश से सम्बन्ध नहीं है ग्रौर न ही हमारी कोई टेरीटोरियल एस्पीरेशन ही है । हमारी एस्पीरेशन स्पष्ट रूप से यह है कि हमारी सरकार में जो भी थोड़ी बहुत त्रुटियां हे या भिन्न प्रकार की पद्धति है ग्रगर वे ठीक हो जायें, तो उन का स्थान बलिष्ठ होगा और साथ ही भारत का स्थान भी बलिष्ठ होगा।

सभापति महोदय, मेरा निवदन यह है कि यदि भाषावार प्रान्तों के सिद्धान्त को माना ही गया है, तो फिर महाराष्ट्र ने क्या दोष किया है, जो उन को ग्रपने ग्रधिकार से वंचित कियाजारहाहै? जब इस बात को स्वीकार किया गया है कि दे म्रार ए विराइल एंड पेट्रियाटिक पीपुल, तो क्या विदर्भ को काट कर म्राट जिलों के देने से ही महाराष्ट्र को शान्ति हो जायगी ? क्या महाराष्ट्र का घर केवल विदर्भ तक ही है, उस के भ्रागे नहीं है ? श्रगर यह भावना है कि दूसरी भाषा वात्रों को किसी प्रकार का डर नहीं होना चाहिए, तो हमें स्मरण रखना चाहिए कि भ्रगर मराठा के घर में शत्रु की लड़की माई, तो उस भी रक्षा करके उस को वापिस पहुंचा दिया गया । मैं स्वयं मराठा नहीं हूं, परन्तु मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि मराठों के हाथ से राष्ट्र का झाहत कदापि नहीं हो सकता है । **मौ**र फिर हम तो धौर भी ऊपर जाने वाले हैं---केवल राष्ट्र मात्र तक ही ठहरने वाले नहीं हैं।

श्चस्ति सामाज्यं वैराज्य पारमैष्ठ्यराज्यं महाराज्यमाधियस्य मयं समन्तपर्यायी स्यात् सार्वभौम ।

Motion re:

सार्वःयुष म्रान्तादापराघीन् समुद्रपर्यन्ताया एकराजिनि ।

भहाराष्ट्र के दो विभाग नहीं होने चाहिएं। विदर्भ को शेष महाराष्ट्र के साथ मिला कर मराठों को जीवित रहने का ग्रवसर दीजिये । देश की सेवा करने में मराठा कभी पीछे नहीं हटेगा । यद्यपि विशालांध्र के लिए हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने संकेत कर दिया है भौर मैं उस का स्वागत करसा हूं, परन्तु तेलंगाना को भौर सेष मांध्र को ग्रलग नहीं रखा जा सकता है— उन लोगों को ग्रलग रखना ग्रान्ध्र के साथ ग्रन्याय करना होगा ।

मार्थिक निर्भरता, क्षेत्रफल, जनता की भावना, इतिहास—इन ग्राधारों क ऊपर राज्यों का पुनर्गठन किया गया है । परन्तु बहत से स्थानों पर जनता की भावनाओं को नहीं देखा गया है। ग्रभी यहां पर बैठे बैठे चार बजे के बाद मेरे पास विन्ध्य प्रदेश से टेलिग्राम धाया है, जिसमें लिखा है कि मैं पंद्रह दिन से केन्द्रीय कारावास रीवा में बिना जलग्रहण अन्हान किए हुए हूं। जेल मैनुग्रल के विरुद्ध मेरे साथ बहुत ग्रत्याचार हुए हैं, परन्तु उन के विरुद्ध कोई झावाज उठाने वाला नहीं है। मैं ने कइयों को सूचना दी है, इत्यादि । नाम है डा० राम कुमार शास्त्री। मैं यह कहना चाहता हुं कि जनता की भावना को जागृत करने की भावश्यकता है । जनता में यह भावना नहीं होनी चाहिए कि मैं दूसरा हूं मौर वह दूसरा है । जहां तक पंजाब का प्रश्न है, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि महापंजाब की मांग करने से पहले पंजाब का प्रश्न तो उठा लो । पंजाबी से षंजाब नहीं बना है बल्कि पंजाब से पंजाबी बना है। कम से कम रबरछन्द डेफ़ीनीशन्ध नहीं बनाई जानी चाहिए । पंचाम्बु---पंचनद

से पंजम्ब बना है----वितम्ना मे सेकर शतद्व

तक की पांच नदियोंसे पंजाब बना है पाकिस्तान ने रावी के उघर का भाग काट लिया है, परन्तु पंजाबी सूबे की मांग करने वालों में हिम्मत होती तो वे कहते कि मेरा पंजाब तो रावी के पार भी है, उघर भी मेरे भाई है, हम उन को भी मिला कर अपना पंजाब बनायेंगे—और महापंजाब वाले कहते हैं कि फन्टियर तक हमारा प्रदेश है।

दिल्ली में म्राकर बहुत से पंजाबी शरणार्थी बसे हैं, वह भी पंजाबी बोलते हैं, मौर वे ४० परसेंट से जपर हैं इसलिए इसको भी पंजाब में **शामिल किया जाये । यह तो होता महापंजाब** मौर वह होता पंजाब सूबा । यह तो मेरी समझ में ग्रा सकता था। किन्तु ग्राज जनता के सामने भाषा की साम्प्रदायिकता को खड़ा कि<mark>या</mark> जा रहा है । इसके फलस्वरूप जिस समय लोग रोयेंग तो भेता लोग भी कहीं दुबक कर रोयेंगे । प्रजा के ग्रन्दर शत्रुता की भावना पैदा करना कोई ग्रच्छी बात नहीं है । मेरी भाषा पंजाबी है। मैं घर में पंजाबी बोलता हूं, मेरे बन्धू पंजाबी भाषा बोलते हैं। मैं ने गुरुमुखी पढ़ी है लेकिन हम घर में कभी गुरुमुखी नहीं लिखते । हमारी पंजाबी भाषा हिन्दी लिपि में लिखी जाती है । मुझे भ्रपन छुर्टपन की याद है कि जब भी पत्र इघर उघर माते जाते थे तो वे पंजाबी भाषा में परन्तु हिन्दी लिपि में लिख जाते **थे। मब** गुरुमुखी का प्रइन सामने ग्राया है । यह प्रइन कब से उठा है? यह प्रक्न सन् १९२१ से उठा हैं जब से कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने हिन्दू झौर ग्रकाली प्रदन खड़ा किया था । उस जमाने में हिन्दुम्रों के घर में गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब रखे जाते थे। हिन्दुमों नें बहुत सी धर्मशालायें बनवायीं। उस वक्त तक गुरुद्वारा शब्द नहीं निकला था। यह शब्द तो गुरुद्वारा ऐक्ट बनने के बाद निकला है। गुच्द्वारा ऐक्ट बनने के बाद सिस्तों को गुच्द्वारों की प्रापर्टीज मिलने लगीं मौर जहां गुरु ग्रन्थ साहव रखे होते थे उस प्रापर्टी को सिखों की प्रापर्टी समझा जाता था। मुझे कहत दु: होता है कि इसके फलस्वरूप लोगों ने गुद ग्रन्थ

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[ श्री नन्द लाल जर्मा ]

साहब को काड़ फाड़ कर फेंक दिया ताकि बगर कोई देखने मावे तो उसको गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब न मिछे मौर यह कहा जा सके कि यह तो हमारा घर है, गुरुदारा नहीं है।

मैं गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब के प्रति बहुत श्रदा भीर भक्ति रखता हूं। मेरा विश्वास है कि यह जो पालीटिकल सिख मौर पालीटिकल हिन्द्र को खडा किया गया है ये दोनों के दोनों हिन्दू भौर सिख भावनाओं को नष्ट करने वाले होंगे। झगर इस भावना को निकाल कर शुद्ध हिन्दू धौर शुद्ध सिख धर्म की भावना को रखेंगे तो झापको कहीं भी फर्क नहीं मिलेगा। मैं तो कहूंगा कि भ्रपने धर्म शास्त्र को मानने वाला हिन्दू **धौ**र ग्रपने धर्म को मानने वाला ईमानदार मसलमान कभी भी म्रापस में एक दूसरे के शत्र नहीं हो सकत । ये तो बेईमान हिन्दू भौर बेईमान मुसलमान हैं, जो कि न हिन्दू धर्म को मानते हैं झौर न मुसलमान धर्म को मानते हैं, जो कि ग्रापस में लड़ते हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि जो भ्रपने घर का नहीं हुग्रा वह पड़ौसी का कैसे बन सकेगा । इसलिए मैं श्रापसे निवेदन करूंगा कि ग्रापको उन लोगों से भय नहीं होना माहिए जो कि गुरु नानक के चरणों में सिर झकाते हैं झौर गुरु मोविन्द सिंह के चरणों में सिर झुकाते है। ग्राप कहते हैं कि पंजाबी को भाषा बना दिया जाये। मैं पूछता हूं कि भाषा को कौन बना सकता है। किसी की मातृभाषा को पहचानने का एक तरीका है । वह यह है कि जब कोई गहरी नींद में सोता हो तो उस के मुख पर एक तमाचा ठोक दिया जाय, मौर जिस भाषा में उसकी पहली आवाज निकले उसी को उस की मातुभाषा समझा जाये। तो मातुभाषा के लिए कौन मना कर सकता है। किन्तु प्रश्न तो लिपि का है। हम उन लोगों पर किसी विपि को नहीं थोपना चाहते जिनकी संस्था ७२ परसेंट है। म्रगर ऐसा किया गया तो ब समझता हूं कि उनके साथ भन्याय होगा ।

इसलिए में नहीं चाहता कि हमारे सिख बन्धुझें के साथ कोई अन्याय हो । मैं ईख्वर को साधी दे कर कहता हूं, मैं तो ईश्वर को मानता **इं** बाहे और कोई माने या न माने, कि सिख गुरुषों ने शिखा भौर सूत्र की रक्षा की भौर ऐसा करने में उन्होंने भ्रपने सर्वस्व का बलिदान किया। भगर हमारे सिस भाई माज चाहें तो हम उनके त्याग भौर बलिदान का बदला चुका सकते हैं भौर में समझता हूं कि इस कजें को चुकाने के लिए न सिर्फ पंजाब के बल्कि अन्य प्रदेशों के भी हिन्दू युवक तैयार हो जायेंगे झौर कहेंगे कि हमारा मस्तक प्रस्तूत है इसको ले लो । लेकिन **मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारे सिल भाई उस त्याव** भ्रौर तपस्या को राष्ट्र के हित के विरुद्ध प्रयोग में न लावें। चाहे श्राज हम इस हानि को न समझें लेकिन कल हम भी बैठ कर रोयेंगे झौंर ग्राप भी बैठ कर रोयेंगे । श्रभी तो ग्रापको इस हानि का पता नहीं चलेगा । भ्रगर भ्रापने पंजाब से ग्रपना घर त्यागा तो ग्रापके दूसरे वन्धुभों ने भी ग्रपना घर ग्रापके साथ त्यागा जिनको भ्राप मोना कहते हैं । ये भी सिख धर्म पर विश्वास रखने वाले थे । इसलिए मैं निवेदन करता ह कि इस साम्प्रदायिकता को निकाल दिया जाये।

साथ साथ में एक शब्द भौर कहूंगा । यदि विन्ध्य प्रदेश का विलय स्वीकार किया गया तो वहां वालों के लिए राजधानी, जो कि भोपाल होगी, ४०० भौर ८०० मील दूर पड़ेगी । इसीलिए वहां से उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने की मावाज माती है क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने के पर उनके लिए राजधानी, लखनऊ या इलाहावाद दो चार घंटे के रास्ते पर होगी । इतना होते हुए भी मैं समझता हूं कि विंध्य प्रदेश की माविकांश जनता उत्तर प्रदेश में मिलने के प्रश्न में नहीं है । मैं समझता हूं कि वहां की जनत में नहीं है । मैं समझता हूं कि वहां की जनत को यह निर्णय करने के लिए कुछ समय दिया जाये भौर वहां पर जनमत को जागृत किया जाये ऐसा करने में चाहे कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को कार्यान्वित करने में कुछ मावक समय जा का बाब तो जगाया जाये झौर इस बीच में वहां जनमत को जान्नज्ञ कर के साम्प्रदायिकता को इर फिया जाय तर्हक जनता कमीशन के निर्णय का स्वागत करे। मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसा करने में राष्ट्र का भी भला होगा और हमारा भी भला होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ में उन महासुभावों को जिन्होंने इस भायोग में भ्रपनी पूर्ण शक्ति अहान की है झौर सरकार को दोनों को घन्यवा मौर बधाई देता हूं भौर फिर निवेदन करता हूं, क इब भावनाओं का घ्यान रखें। इसी के साथ में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो छोटे छोटे कमजोर प्रदेश हैं, जैसे कि हिमाचल प्रदेश है कांगड़ा है, हरियाना है, ये प्रदेश शक्ति कम कोने के कारण झलग रहने के लिए हल्ला मचा रहे हैं। इन के झागे झौर कोई प्रश्न नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं कि सर छोटूराम ने जो कि हरियाना के थे, पंजाब के लिए ऐसा कार्य किया है कि कोई क्या करेगा। इस पर भी इरियाना वाले दिल्ली प्रान्त में मिलने की बात करते हैं। ग्रगर दिल्ली का ग्रलग प्रान्त न बना तो वे कहां जायेंगे ? ऐसी भवस्था में यह ग्रावश्यक है कि उनको अपनी भाषिक उन्नति करने का पूर्ण अवसर प्रदान किया जाये । साथ ही मैं नेताओं से भी प्रार्थना करूंगा कि व सदभावना के विचारों को बडावें मौर भेदभाव के विचारों को छोड़ दें। यह निष्चित है कि हिन्दू भौर सिख मलग अलग नहीं है। हमारे १ गुरु केशघारी नहीं थे । केवल दशवें गुरु ने ही केश भारण किये हैं। म्राप मझे क्षमा करेंगे -यदि मैं यह कहूं कि उन्होंने हमारी शिखा की रक्षा करने के लिए ही केश धारण किये मौर सारे सिर पर शिखा धारण कर लीं। इसीलिए मुझे उन के प्रति श्रदा झौर भक्ति है। अुझे ग्रपने केशघारी भाईयों स उतना ही प्रेम है जितना शिखाधारी भाइों के साथ ह। इसलिए मैं म्राप]के जरिये प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह आतुरव की भावना की रस कर झापस के मतभेद को हटा दें।

Shri Gidwani (Thana): I am opposed to the recommendation of the S.R.C. regarding the Bombay State. I am also not in favour of the 'three-State formula" proposed by the Congress Working Committee.

As my time is very short I will briefly go into the history. I am a humble Congress worker and I attended the first session of the Congress in 1916. Then our Bombay Province was one administrative unit and we had also the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee as one Congress Committee. Under the old constitution of the Congress the members of the Subjects Committee used to be elected by the delegates present at the Congress. So, when we went to the Lucknow session of the Congress all the delegates-Sindhis, Gujarathis. Marathis. Kannadigas-met together under the chairmanship of Lokmanya Tilak. In the meeting of the delegates two lists of members for the subjects committee were proposed. In one list WAS Mahatma Gandhi's name, but that list was supposed to be supported bv moderates of those days. So, some of us voted against Gandhiji being elected to the subjects committee. According to us, the majority of delegates did not vote for Gandhiji, yet Lokamanya Tilak declared that Mahatma Gandhi was elected to the subjects committee. This is only by way of information. After that, what hapwas in 1920 that Congress came under ¥I Gandhiji's leadership and what were known as Congress provinces were formed on the linguistic basis. It was then that the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee was separately formed and a Maharashtra Congress Committee was also separately formed. Till this day, that is continuing.

I may also refer to the fact that when Sind was separated from Bombay in 1935, I opposed it. I opposed it on the ground that it was not being done on any administrative ground. You know then that in the Central Assembly, Mr. Jinnah and Shri Srinivasa Ayyangar wanted to come to

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some kind of agreement for settling the communal problem. One of the demands of Mr. Jinnah was that Sind should be separated not on administrative grounds but he wanted я "hostage" province where Muslims were in majority. I was then the President of the Sind Congress and I said. "why separate Sind on that ground?" To say that a person or a particular community wants a 'hostage' province is something which cannot be understood, nor tolerated nor agreed to. In short, I went on agitating against it till the Congress session was held in Madras, where even Maulana Mohammedali and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya came to an agreement on this issue. I still resisted. Of course Sind was separated and that was the seed for Pakistan. I need not go into the history of these matters. Later n Orissa came in as a separate province. I have read the States Reorganisation Commission's Report carefully. I do not find in their recommendations any State being formed as a bilingual State-except Bombay State. I am also surprised to find that while new States are being created on a unilingual basis such as Vidarbha, Karnataka, Kerala, etc., Bombay has been recommended as a bilingual State. I really cannot understand why it is so. The only argument that is being advanced is that Bombay city it is so. is a consmopolitan city and cannot be merged with any unilingual State. The first thing is that all the Maharashtrian people including those living in Vidarbha should have been brought together. The Working Committee of the Congress is rectifying that misonly But the proper and the take. course should have been for the Commission to recommend that the Marathi-speaking population including the people of Vidarbha, should have been joined together in one State.

The second question is, why has not Bombay city been made the capital of Samyukta Maharashtra? It is a part of Maharashtra. This has been recognised by everybody. Even yesterday the Prime Minister has made the following observations in his very good speech and a very persuasive speech. Mr. Nehru said he had heard arguments advanced on the part of Maharashtrians and others in Bombay. He had no doubt at all that the arguments advanced on the part of Maharashtrians had great force. But, unfortunately, there was force in the other arguments too. He further said:

"I do not want to force my opinion down their throats, more especially the Maharashtrians who have played such a vital part in. India's history and have to play in the future of India".

It is being said that Bombay city being a cosmopolitan city cannot form part of a unilingual State and that the majority of the population of the Bombay city is not in its favour. We know that the Marathi-speaking people in Bombay city constitute about 45 per cent. of the total population. Beside that, the Report has also admitted that even Muslims belonging to Maharashtra have declared that they speak urdu language. The leader of the Opposition in the Bombay Corporation, Mr. Mohiuddin Harris, is a Muslim. He belongs to Maharashtra. He is editing an Urdu paper in Bombay city. What about Dr. Johan Mathai, the former Finance Minister in the Government of India. He is a Christian. He said, in an interview, the following:

"The best solution was the MPCC alternative of a composite: State comprising all the Gujarati and Marathi-speaking areas, including Bombay City and Vidarbha. These areas will constitute a State not merely of vast but of balanced anď nuturally complementary resources and inhabited by two peoples who, whatever their feelings towards each other might befor the moment, are sufficiently practical-minded to know how to close their differences in face of common responsibilities.

A powerful State covering important strategic areas, resting on the economy in which industrial and agricultural resources are well-balanced and run jointly by some of the most gifted peoples in India is a prospect that ought to make a strong appeal".

Then there are the Marwaris. Shri Govindlal Shivlal was here for a number of days. He presided over two Maharashtra conferences in Bombay. He is a Marwari, what about him and other Marwaris.

I was reading the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council where Shri D. B. Agarwal a Member in Council has said:

"As the hon. Member Dr. Khair pointed out, just as the Portuguese say that Goa does not belong to India you cannot say that the City of Bombay does not belong to This is the age of Maharashtra. socialism. Socialism is the creed of the age. The City of Bombay is full of Maharastrian labour. I feel that ultimately labour will triumph over capital. If the City of Bombay is not separated from Maharashtra and if the industrialists had chosen to live with labour, they would have had а peaceful time. But if the City of Bombay is separated, I am sure that they will not have a peaceful time not only for five or ten years but for many years to come."

Now, I want to draw your attention to what he further said:

"The Rajasthani capitalists have shown great farshightedness and they are for Samyuktha Maharashtra with Bombay City as capital because they know that it is better to carry on peacefully with labour. I must say that our Gujarati friends have failed here."

That is his view.

Then there is Shri Bharucha an independent member of the Bombay State Legislative Assembly. He was demanding Samyukta Mahara<sup>5</sup>htra. We has done so in the Bombay State Assembly. He is one of the great supporters of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement. He is a Parsi.

I have also received a copy of а statement issued by the professors of Bombay which has been signed by about 56 professors of various colleges. In that list I find the names of Messrs... M. Demello, P. B. Desai, F. D'Souza. and S. S. Hoskot, and there are also. two Sindhis-Messrs N. J. Hingorani and V. V. Hingorani. There was also a statement presented to the Prime Minister which was signed by 250 advocates of Bombay, who belonged to. all communities in Bombay. apart. from the Maharastrians.

Now, talking of myself, though I am a a Sindhi, you might say that I am the ... adopted child of Maharashtra, because --Maharashtra returned me to this House in the last elections. A Sindhi nominated member of the Rajya Sabha challenged my representative character on this issue of Samyukta Maharashtra. I have purposely avoided to involve displaced persons in this controversy. But I may bring this fact to your notice, that the biggest camp . in the whole of India for the displaced persons is in Maharashtra and it is called Ulhasnagar. There are nearly one lakh of people living in that campand the Ulhasnagar Congress Committee which consists of ex-Congressmen of Sind have passed a unanimous resolution supporting the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay City as its capital. It is being further alleged that the minorities living in Bombay City do not trust the majority community and they are afraid that they will not get fairplay or justice from the Maharashtrians. I am surprised at this funny charge or allega-. tion made against the Maharashtrians. After all, there are so many industrial and commerical cities in other . States as well. You have got Cal-Bangalore, Delhi. cutta. Madras. Lucknow, Cochin and so on. In all those big cities, there are a substantial number of people not belonging to those particular states. So, that is not a ground for denying the people of Maharashtra only the right of having Bombay City as their capital. On the

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contrary, the facts are that Maharashtrians are not industrialists. They are not commercial men yet. There are only two firms that I know of in the whole of Bombay State which belong to Maharashtrians: one is the firm of Kirloskars and the other is that of Dhanukan: The others are all managed by non-Maharashtrians. Similarly, the non-Maharashtrians are traders and commercial men all over Maharashtra. Therefore, there should he no fear on that score at all. Regarding my personal experience-if that experience can be of any use to the House, I say that-the Maharashtrians are the most liberal, the most catholic and the most fair-minded people. **Take my own case.** I was living in Delhi; the headquarters of the All India Refugees Association were in Delhi. I had no intention of contesting from Maharashtra. I was thinking of contesting for a seat in Delhi, because there are a large number of displaced persons here. A friend wrote to me that the Socialist Party-it is dissolved now-wanted to put up a candidate for the Parliamentary seat in Thana district and asked me whether I would stand. I went there and I agreed to stand for the election. Т am not going into the details, because I have very limited time. T stood against a Congress Minister. You will be surprised to know that out of the 14 candidates for the Bombay State Assembly there was only one Sindhi candidate from Ulhasnagar and the other 13 were Maharashtrians. It was a double-member constituency with a population of 14 lakhs, and 8 lakhs voters. Out of the 14 lakhs only 1 lakh population was Sindhi and out of seven to eight lakhs voters there were probably not more than 30 to 40 thousand voters who were The rest were all Maha-Sindhis. rashtrians. I did not know the language of Maharashtra and I spoke in very simple Hindi. On one occasion when I was speaking in Hindi, in a meeting one person from the audience you "What person asked have chosen your candidate? He 85 does not know your language."

You will be surprised to know that he was hooted down. I am reminded of what happened in Sind some years ago. In Sind we had two main communities among the Hindus. called Amils, who carried on the administartion and the other called Bhaibands were traders and merchants. My friend Mr. Jairamdas, who is now Governor of Assam, stood for a seat for Bombay Legislative Council. the As he belonged to the Amil Community and his opponent belonged to Bhaiband Community, the issue of Amil versus Bhaiband was raised and the voters majority of whom were Bhaibands were asked not to vote for an Amil. Though Shri Jairamdas succeeded but it was with a verv narrow majority. But the Maharashtrians showed a great sense of catholicity generosity, and largecase, heartedness in my though known to them. So. T was not I urge that on grounds of justice and fairplay, either accept the first proposal of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay city as its capital; or, if you think that for Bombay city's sake Gujarat and Maharashtra should be put together, it can only happen when you bring all the Maharashtra people and the Gujarati people together with Bombay as their capital. If you are not going to do so, of course, I am not going to give any threat, but the things will not run smoothly. On question all · Maharashtrians. this prominent men like Acharya Karve or Shri Jayakar, or Congressmen, Communists, Socialists or whether they belong to any party, they are all for Bombay being made capital Maharashtra. Without of Bombay city, Maharashtra cannot progress. You must realise the feeling of crores of people; it is not . small community. The Commission says they are patriotic people; they are virile people and that they have made sacrifices. Even our Prime Minister yesterday has said that we want them to work for the prosperity of the country and play their part. It is this great community which produced Lokmanya Tilak who gave us

the mantra that swaraj was our birthright. Are you going to deny that community their birthright of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay City or a bi-lingual State as proposed by the M.P.C.C.?

\*Written Statements of Members

Shri Sanganna (Rayagada-Phulbani-Reserved-Sch. Tribes): As my foregoing speakers have dealt with the general aspect of the Report, the points on which I wish to speak are in respect of Adivasi interests and welfare in Orissa as well as on the border areas of the adjoining States. 'The Adivasis in Orissa as well as on its border areas are Oriva in culture and language, though they have a separate dialect of their own. Century long association of Adivasis and Orivas at every level of social activities has created a composite culture in Orissa. There is a social intermingling of Adivasis and Oriyas. So when the Orissa State was formed on the 1st April 1936 a demand was made for the merger of all the tribal areas adjacent to Orissa State. But to the great disappointment of Orissa State and to the detriment of the Adivasis as a whole all the border Adivasi areas were not merged with Orissa.

Coming to the southern border of Orissa State namely-the Adivasi areas on the Orissa-Andhra border. I can say that adjustment of boundaries resulting in the transfer of Adivasi areas from the Andhra State to Orissa State is inevitably necessary at ٥n early date in the larger interest of the Adivasis as a whole. So the claims of the Andhra State on the Adivasi areas in Orissa State do not arise at all. Accordingly I stoutly refute the arguments put forth by the hon. Members from the border districts of Andhra State that the population of Andhras in Koraput and Ganjam districts is 11 lakhs. I wonder how Dr. Lanka Sundaram, a highly . cultured and well-informed Member representing one of such border districts in Andhra State claims to have 11 lakhs of Andhras in the absence of

any reference to facts and figures. In this connection I am humbly inviting to read the All-India Census Report, 1951—in figures at pages 42-47—Orissa State—wherein you will please see the Andhra population in Orissa is thus given:—

1921	2,31,561
1931	2,69,784
1941	2,98,250
1951	3,42,523

This slight increase is due to a few thousand Andhra population living in the Orissa State added to Orissa after the merger on 1-1-1948. Hon. Members will please see this constitutes 2.3% of the total Orissa population. This also indicates the floating Andhra population in the industrial and the mining areas of the Rayagada Taluk and the Rayagada town.

The Andhra population from the same census report in Koraput district is merely 6.5 per cent of the total population which is about 12 lakhs. In the district of Ganjam it constitutes merely less than 1/7th of the population according to the 1951 census of Ganjam district. These are patent facts.

I represent Koraput district. This Commission has rightly held that Koraput should remain in Orissa. The figures of previous census as also of 1951 have given no corner to anv Andhra claim. It may be stated here that Orissa Province was created in 1936 when the Maharaja of Bobbili a leading Andhra and a leading light of the Andhra Maha Sabha was the Chief Minister of Madras. Grave injustice has been done to Orissa in this regard. The Andhra Maha Sabha in its recommendation in 1919 before the Joint Committee of the British Parliament stated that an area of 10,000 square miles of the then Vizag Agency is an Oriya and should go to Orissa. Orissa's claim was 14,000 sq. miles out of the vast Vizag Agency. Out of this Orissa got in 1936 merely 9000 and odd sq. miles consisting of the present district of Koraput. Andhra's claim on the Koraput district with merely 1/6th of the total population

\*Written statements of views of Members in rigard to the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission -Vide Para No. 2710 of Lok Sabha Billetip in Port II dated the 20th December 1955.

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is only one anna in the rupee. Thus it is a claim for the moon. I invite Hon. Members' attention to subsidiary language table of 1951 Census showing how among Khonds, Savaras, and other tribal people Oriya speakers dominate while no Andhra language speakers are to be seen. /

The Agency division was created in 1919 constituting the paritially excluded areas of Vizag and Ganjam districts. The court languages of the area except the Godavari Agency and a few ( patches of Vizagapatnam the entire area consisting of over 14,000 sa. miles was regarded Oriya. In fact an Oriya Educational Officer was specially appointed for this It is. newly created agency division. therefore, absurd to lay claim on the district of Koraput. We have our claim on Andhra area. Andhra could have no claim on the Oriva areas.

Their claim to certain areas of Ganjam district is equally ridiculous. Let me invite to page 9 para 25 of the O'Dennell Committee Report of 1932 wherein the Committee has said that such areas of Madras and Central Provinces, where Oriya people are in a majority both on point of race and language, are only given to Orissa.

I claim this as unjust in the extreme. Instead of existing language speakers why should you take into consideration the majority in a race question as if birth constitutes anything in this regard. All these are weighty grounds for the revision.

Our State Adivasi Conference and Shri our Adivasi leader Sonaram Soren, Minister for Tribal Welfare in Orissa as also the Adivasi leaders of Singhbum have claimed Orissa as the Jhadkhand of our conception. Tt is really so. With 28 members out of a total of 140 members in the Orissa Assembly we have our say and no one dare neglect us. It is why there is a Minister in the Orissa State with an Adivasi population of 29,67,334. While Adivasi population constitutes double the number in Bihar their representatives constitute a negligible fraction in their Assembly-never

to think of a Cabinet Minister. Further worse is with the case of Adivasis in Andhra State where the population of Adivasis is only 5 lakhs, whose representatives in the 196 Member Assembly are 5 in number, and at the Centre only one representative. As the: Adivasi population of 5 lakhs in the entire population of Andhra State, I. am afraid, that the welfare of the Adivasis who are microscopic in number cannot receive proper attention. Moreover, as the areas consisting of these 5 lakhs Adivasis are contiguous. to the Orissa State and are anxious to come to Orissa, the Adivasi areas in Andhra State may be merged with: Orissa State for the socio-economic uplift of the Adivasis as a whole. I Demand historical, geographical, social and economic dependence relations with Orissa are connected with these areas by direct communications.

Similar is our pressing demand over south Bastar areas between the rivers. Savari and Indravati of Madhya Pradesh.

Lastly I invite attention also to the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Orissa to the States **Reorganisation Commission in respect** The delegation, of these areas. in which I was one of the members, in their evidence before the Commission pleaded for the consolidation of all the contiguous tribal areas in the State where the Adivasi population is more in number. The Commission appeared to have appreciated the idea as it would be convenient for the Union as well as the State Governments to concentrate their attention on general uplift of Adivasis. I. therefore, urge the Government to see that the tribal areas in the other adjoining States where proper attention is not devoted to their development may be transferred to the Orissa State where the welfare of the Adivasis is secure and certain, in view of the fact that all the Adivasi areas in with are scheduled Orissa State anđ special constitutional facilities privileges.

Shri Magan Lal Bagdi (Mahasamund): Personally, I am against any

major change in the construction of States at this moment when we are about to complete our first Five Year Plan and are drafting the second one. Any upheaval for redistribution of States will necessarily hamper the progress of national reconstruction programme. I also feel that linguistic ' or territorial distribution of the country is advisable only after the idea of nationalism is fully rooted in the country, and I may be permitted to that the recent upheaval for say. redistribution shows that feelings of nationalism are not yet mature in our country, so as to indulge in the distribution of States on linguistic, territorial or cultural basis.

But after the publication of S.R.C. Report and on account of the sentiments roused by it, my own personal opinion seems to me, though sound and correct, is not as popular as, say, the idea of Samyukta Maharashtra etc. Therefore, I am left only to choose the lesser evil, the alternate which does not very much disturb the country at this moment.

In the circumstances, I am of the opinion that the recommendations of the S.R.C. with respect to the formation of a bilingual State of Bombay does good to none of its constituents. It would only breed the seeds of rivalry in politics as well as in administra-The proposal of the Congress nion. 'Committee, therefore. Working is definitely better-we get at least two somewhat homogeneous States, with a future hope and possibility of Bombay's joining Maharashtra to make it a strong and united State.

The formation of Vidarbha as a separate State is no solution of the apprehensions of a few Vidarbhites. On account of remaining in separate States for over a century, the people of Vidarbha and Maharashtra naturally could not inculcate the social and cultural homogeneity, but that is no reason why they should not live together henceforth. Some safeguards, however, could be provided to allay the fears in the minds of Vidarbhites, who consider themselves as minority in Maharashtra.

In this connection the question of

Nagpur as capital comes in the forefront. Nagpur not only stands **8**5 most suitable place with cent. per cent. resources and conditions for being capital of Maharashtra State (If Bombay is not included in it), but the acceptance of Nagpur as capital nŦ Maharashtra will go a long way to remove all the doubts and apprehensions in the minds of Vidarbhites. It is not in a way detrimental 'to the interests of the State. On the other hand, if Nagpur is not given the status of capital of Maharashtra, it will not only widen the already strained relations between the Vidarbhites and Maharashtrians, but will also require large amount on new construction etc., which money can be usefully spent on national reconstruction programmes. If status of city of Nagpur is reduced to that of a district headquarter, it will not only harm the city but such a huge city which has no industrial or commercial importance will be liability for any State headquarter.

I, therefore, support the decision of the Congress Working Committee formation of three States, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay City, but request that Nagpur should be made the capital of the proposed Maharashtra State.

Shri S. G. Parikh (Mehsana East): When the Report was first published, I found that Bombay State is to remain a bilingual State. It was a gratifying news to me. But subsequent events showed that the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee is not accepting the S.R.C. Report as regards bilingual Bombay State. The B.P.C.C. and G.P.C.C. both hailed the Report and they showed the willingness to work in a bilingual State. In spite of Gujarat being in a minority to the extent of 43 against 57 still the G.P.C.C. showed its willingness to abide by the decision of the S.R.C.

The city of Bombay stands on a different footing. It is a cosmopolitan city, where the Maharashtrian population is to the extent of 44 per cent. Its importance is on an all India one, being the major port in the country and an industrial and financial centre of the whole of India. So it does

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not belong to any unilingual State, but it belongs to India as a whole. Prime Minister recently stated in his speech at Hyderabad that Bombay City, being a cosmopolitan city, enjoys a unique position not only in India but in the world and as such it is a property of the nation and he will not tolerate it to go or merge in any unilingual State.

The Congress Working Committee had also accepted the S.R.C. Report in regard to Bombay State. But when they found that Maharastra P.C.C. is not agreeable they made the offer to the M.P.C.C. at their request to accept Samyukta Maharashtra without Bombay City forming three States. namely, Samyukta Maharashtra with Vidarbha and without Bombay Citv. Gujarat and the City of Bombay. Τf the above proposition is not agreeable to the parties concerned, I am of the opinion that the second alternative as suggested by the Congress High Command would be the next best. In no circumstances Bombay should be part and parcel of the unilingual Maharashtra State. I, therefore, commend that this House should accept the proposition enunciated by the Congress Working Committee.

As regards Punjab State, my views are that the new Punjab State should be formed of three States, namely, Punjab, PEPSU, and Himachal Pradesh. In no circumstances Himachal Prade<sup>s</sup>h should be separated and made into a separate State. As 8 matter of fact the language and culture of the whole area is practically the same and as such it should be merged into one State. On all other aspects I fully agree with the proposition of the Congress High Command and as such this House should implement the same.

Lastly, I welcome the suggestion of the Prime Minister that India should be divided into five zones and the States comprising those respective zones should form inter-State Advisory Councils. I believe, if this is implemented the unity of India will be maintained and the country rs a whole will be benefited. I therefore, feel

that the Government should incorporate this view in the Constitution Bill, which is likely to come before: the House in near future. This idea should be given constitutional status, otherwise it would be merely an Advisory Council without any powers. As a matter of fact zonal, economic: and financial policies should be decided by such Councils and for that purpose necessary amendments should be made in the Constitution. If it is found that this is a workable arrangement in course of time the States. should be abolished and these zones should have the full powers of State Governments. I personally highly commend this idea.

Shri P. Subba Rao (Nowrangpur): The S.R.C. Report speaks about the repudiation of the Homeland con-This is a very sound advice but: cept. how did ine concept arise and who is responsible for it? It is the State Governments that: are responsible for this. If the step-mother treats step а child properly, the child does not think of his mother. If the States treat the minorities properly, the minorities would not turn their attention elsewhere. When the State treats them badly they naturally turn to the State to which they originally belonged. Every State in India governed by Congress Ministers is looking upon liguistic minorities as step children. I do not blame one State in particular. When on 7th February 1954 a meeting was arganised by the Oriyas at Sareikela, the Bihar Government brought goondas by lorries from Jamshedpur. who assaulted the people in the meeting, broke the head of the Maharafah of Kalahandi, who was speaking and assaulted the Maharajah of Patna. Arr enquiry was pressed but Sri Krishna Sinha made a statement exonerating the Government of Bihar and throwing the blame on others. Naturally the people have to believe. The report published by the non-official committee appointed for the purpose contains photos of the part taken by the State-Police, which is black indeed. On theother hand the Orissa Government turned down the request made by

Andhras for an enquiry into the communal disturbances at Parlakimedi and Berhampore. I would ask every Government to cast off the beam in its eye before I can point the mote in its brother's eye and ask them to do unto others as it would be done bv. There is an appeal case before the Cuttack High Court. Accused was sentenced by a magistrate for contempt of court on asking the magistrate to explain the charge against him in his own language as he did not know the State language. In 1949 the Telugu language was abolished in Berhampore schools. The Andhras were refused a representation to the authorities for this. A protest dav was observed and there was lathicharge and use of tear gas. Names of 3999 Telugu voters were removed from the voters list. Can this be done without the connivance of high officers? The high officers are instructed by the Ministers to do such nasty things. A person who carries on а trade is not allowed to do so unless he shows that he is a resident of that State for 12 years. A motor driver cannot get a driving licence, if he belongs to a minority community. An electrician will not be given a licence till he has passed an examination in which only those, who give a declaration that they are residents for 12 years, can appear. An advocate and a Doctor can exercise their profession but not an artisan as the former do not require any licence from the State. Even leaders of first rank cannot safely go to another State and hold a meeting. Sri B. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, now Governor of M.P. was pelted with stones in 1948 when he went to Berhampore as guest of Sri Biswanath Das, President P.C.C. who afterwards became Chief Minister of Orissa. Every State is suppressing the minority languages, defying the instructions of the Central Government. A public prosecutor resigned his post to contest election as M.P. Applications were called for to fill up the place and the post was not filled up for 9 months. The defeated candidate who resigned his job was reappointed by calling fresh applications on the plea that the file was lost. All this is done to avoid

an Andhra as public prosecutor. Can any man have confidence in such a Government or such a minister whostoops to such meanness? I do not like to quote more instances. Hence no State Government can be trusted for doing justice to minorities. Statutory safeguards should be provided and enforced by a machinery outside the control of the State Government. The District Officers in the Bilingual districts should not belong to the majority community but should be from outside. S.R.C. has suggested recruitment of 50 per cent. from outside. I would even urge that the I.A.S. personnel should belong to a different. State as they can infuse confidence in the people. The Englishman was able to hold the scale even because he did. not belong to any language group in. India. In my own district which is bilingual the minorities were satisfied when the District Collector and Police Superintendent were men from different State. Even the members of the Public Service Commission should: be from a different State. Whenever there is a communal rioting an enquiry should be held by the Central Gov-The State should not ernment. he trusted. It has forfeited the confidence of the minorities. As linguisticfactor is accepted as the major factor for re-organisation, boundary should be set right by taking the Taluk and village as the unit and narrowing down the communal area so that large. minorities should not exist and giverise to trouble. It is inevitable that minorities do exist and safeguards: should be devised for the unavoidableminorities.

In the re-organisation of States, not mere geographical contiguity is enough but the boundary line should not be · It. indented as far as possible. means not only pockets should be eliminated but gulfs and promonotories should be avoided paying attention to linguistic factor. As an example. Madakasira Taluk or a portion having Kannada majority should go to Mysore and Pavagada given to Andhra. The Allampur and Gadwal Taluks of Raichur District should go to Andhraand similarly Maharata and Kannada Areas of Bidar should go to Mysore-

#### [Shri P. Subha Rao]

and Maharastra. These anomalies arose as the S.R.C. took the district as unit. But below district level the S.R.C. laid down mutual agreement by the concerned States. Hyderabad is split up. Where is the other State to come to mutual agreement? So. that principle does not hold good here. Every State has got land hunger and is making demands on other States. There should be appointed as many boundary commissions as are necessary to set right the rival claims of one state over another. Andhra is claiming Parlakimedi which has а large Telugu People. It is also claiming the whole of Koraput District but the claim cannot be supported except to a bit here and there such 88 Malakanagiri, Narayanapatnam, portions of Gunupur; and Orissa on the other hand has claim over Sujankota abutting Malaganagiri.

Then administrative convenience is ignored in some cases. Why not the Jhansi District be merged in M.P. inistead of allowing it to stand as an obstacle from one portion of M.P. into another. Then Bastar District is too far away from Bhopal or Jubbulpore. Konta in Bastar is 300 miles to Raipur, the nearest Railway Station, by road and 120 miles of this road is fair weather road. The same difficulty occurs if it is joined to Ortssa. So Bastar which is a hernia for M.P. should be thrown into Andhra. It has no Hindi population.

Last of all I come to Bellary and 'Sareikela and Kharaswan. The dispute about Bellary would not have arisen if the Andhra State was not formed two years ago but had come Mysore now. It was given to as 'Madras did not like to retain it. 'Mysore is now claiming it as if it was part of Mysore for hundreds of years and some are saying that Mysore without Bellary is like a temple without an idol. Mysore was without an idol for hundreds of years and why is it anxious for an idol now? Let Mysore worship Nirguna Brahma and disscard the unwanted idol and throw it at the head of Andhras.

Similarly Sareiketa and Khraswan

would never have been placed under Bihar administration six years ago if Mayurbhanj had integrated with Orissa then. Why should Orissa pay a penalty for the non merger of Mayurbhanj in 1948? These two States are Orissa States. They ате inhabited by Oriyas and Hos, but there are no Hindi speaking people at all. The kith and kin of Hos in this portion are in Orissa. Dr. Katju transferred these States to Bihar due to the then administrative convenience. On this ground alone the two States with the Sadar Sub Division of Singhbhum should be transferred or re-transferred to Orissa.

श्री महोवय (नीमाइ) : देश में राज्य पूनः संगठन ग्रायोग की सिफारिशों का भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार से स्वागत हुआ है। कुछ लोगों ने उन्हें उचित बताया है कुछ ने उन की म्रालोचना की है । मध्य भारत के कार्यकर्ताओं म्रादि के जो विचार प्रकट हुए हैं उन में से बहत बडे हिस्से ने भ्रपनी यह राय प्रकट की है कि मध्य भारत को नये मध्य प्रदेश में विलीन नहीं करना चाहिए । सीमा सम्बन्धी कूछ मामुली ग्रावश्यक हेर फेर भल्ले ही कर दिये जावें किन्तू मध्य भारत को एक स्वतंत्र राज्य ही बना रहने दिया जाय । ग्रपनी इस राय के पक्ष में हर कार्यकर्त्ता ने भ्रपनी म्रलग म्रलग दलील दी है। संक्षेप में इन का सार यही है कि मध्य भारत का शासन झब स्थिरता को प्राप्त हो गया है। वह प्रगति भी कर रहा है। मौर उस का बजट घाटे का बजट नहीं है। तहां जिन ग्रन्य तीन राज्यों के साथ उसे मिलाया जा रहा है उन के शासन घाटा उठाकर चलाये जा रहे हैं। फिर इन राज्यों का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा भादि-वासियों से बसा हुग्रा है जिस के कारण वह बहुत पिछड़ा हुम्रा तथा म्रविकसित है । ऐसी सरत में झगर मध्य भारत को उन के साथ जोड दिया गया तो उस की प्रगति तेजी से नहीं हो सकेगी। बल्कि वह उल्टे कुछ पिछड जायगा । वगैरा । मेरी भी राय मध्य भारत को ग्रलग रखने के पक्ष में रही है। परन्तु

मेरी मुख्य दलील यह रही है कि मध्य प्रदेश, भोपाल भौर विन्ध्य प्रदेश की स्थिति में भौर मध्य भारत की स्थिति में एक खास मंतर है। यह कि मध्य प्रदेश का मराठी भाषी हिस्सा भलग जा रहा है इसलिए उसे मपने शेष हिस्से को सुव्यवस्थित करना भाग है । इसी प्रकार भोपाल मौर विन्ब्यप्रदेश ग श्रेणी के झौर छोटे राज्य होने के कारण उन को भी कहीं पास पड़ौस के राज्य में मिला देना जरूरी हो गया है। मध्य भारत इस श्रेणी में नहीं झाता । राज्य पूनर्गठन म्रायोग ने प्रायः ऐसे ही म्राकार प्रकार के कुछ पुराने झौर नये राज्यों की सिफारिश की है। ग्रगर इतने छोटे पुराने (बंगाल जैसे) राज्यों को रहने दिया जाता है----यही नहीं बल्कि हैदराबाद, विदर्भ, केरल जैसे नये राज्य बनाने की सिफारिश भी की जाती है, तो मध्य भारत को एक भ्रलग राज्य बना रहने देने में क्या हानि है ? हमें उस के पृथक भस्तित्व का इतना मोह नहीं है। बल्कि इस बात पर विचार होता है कि देश के एक हिस्से का गाढ़ा जब ग्रच्छी तरह शांति से चल रहा है तब उसे नाहक हम क्यों छेड़ें ! इस से उस की प्रगति में रुकावट ही झावेगी । > उसकी प्रगति के प्रवाह को भगर छेड़ा न जाया तो वह शान्ति के साथ काफी झागे बढ़ सकता है। भौर साथ ही देश के म्रन्य हिस्सों की मदद भी कर सकता है। म्रगर यह प्रश्त विचारणीय नहीं है तो मुझे मध्य भारत के विलीनीकरण से कोई दुख नहीं है । मुझे भय है कि एकीकरण की इस नई विधि में हमारा बहुत सा कीमती समय चला जायगा । झतः इस का प्रयोग हम बहीं करें जहां यह मनिवार्य हो । मेरी नम्न राय में शेष मध्य प्रदेश, विन्ध्य मौर भोपाल के लिए यह जिस प्रकार मनिवार्य है वैसे मध्य भारत के लिए नहीं । परन्तु मध्य भारत का घलग रखने के पक्ष में जिन्होंने राय दी है उन का इस में कोई ऐसा भाग्रह नहीं है जिस में किसी प्रकार भी कटुता हो । 524 L.S.D.

संसद् मौर शासन के सामने यह पक्ष भी मा जाना चाहिए यही उन का उद्देश्य है। इस के बाद जो निर्णय होगा उसे वे प्रसन्नता पूर्वक स्वीकार करेंगे ।

नये मध्य प्रदेश की विशालता भौर साधन प्रचुरता की दृष्टि से विचार करें तो निःसन्देह वह एक महान राज्य बनेगा । किन्तु इस के लिए केन्द्रीय झौर प्रान्तीय शासनों को वर्षों लगातार एकाग्रता के साथ प्रयत्न करना होगा । यह ख्यास करना गलत होगा कि मध्य प्रदेश, मध्य भारत, भोपाल अथवा विन्ध्य में जो कमियां या दोष थे वे नये मध्य प्रदेश में नहीं रहेंगे । यह एकदम झस्वा-भाविक होगा । परन्तु साथ ही यह भी क्या कम प्रसन्नता की बात है कि वहां इन सब के गुणों का भी सन्निपात हो जावेगा **भौ**र विशेष लाभ यह होगा कि मच्छाइयों की तरफ बढ़ने के लिए हम को एक नया भवसर तथा मनुकुल वातावरण मिल्लेगा । हम परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करें कि वह हम सब को झपनी दुर्बलतामों पर विजय पाने का भौर इस विशाल प्रान्त की जनता की सेवा में मपनी सारी शक्ति लगा देने की प्रेरणा तथा बल दे।

नये राज्य के निर्माण के साथ प्रआधानी का भी सवाल पैदा होता ही है। इस का समय पर निर्णय नहीं होने के कारण मघ्य भारत में जो ग्रसुविधायें ग्रौर कष्ट उठाने पड़े उन की पुनरावृत्ति नये प्रदेश में नहीं होगी यह ग्राश्वासन भोपाल नगर के पक्ष में निर्णय हो जाने से मिल रहा है। यह प्रसन्नता की बात है।

भोपाल एक छोटा सा नगर है। सारे प्रदेश की प्रजाधानी के दफ्तरों के लिए जितने भवन निवास-व्यवस्था चाहिए उतनी वहां नहीं है। सैंकड़ों नये मकानात बनाने होंगे। क्या हम यह ग्राशा करें कि इन के बनाने में सादगी तथा कम खर्बी का पूरा पूरा ब्यान रक्षा जायगा?

# [श्री बहोदय]

शासन का केन्द्र मोपाल को बना देने के बाद दूसरे नगरों का भी प्रश्न स्वभावतः उठता है। उन का महत्त्व घटने न पावे तथा बहां बेकारी न बढ़ने पावे इस का घ्यान रखना परम भावश्यक है। इन नगरों में प्रान्तीय ग्रथवा केन्द्रीय शासन के कुछ दफ्तर रक्खे जा सकते हैं। जहां संभव हो नये उद्योग भी खोले जा सकते हैं। नये राज्य के निर्माता इस का घ्यान जरूर रक्खेंगे ऐसी भाशा है। भौर इस प्रश्न का निर्णय शासन केन्द्र का निर्णय करते समय उस के साथ साथ ही कर दिया जाय। किसी ग्रागे की तारीक्ष या प्रसंग पर इस निर्णव को बकेलना उचित नहीं होगा।

मध्य भारत से बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण सम्बन्ध रखने बाला एक और प्रश्न है । शान्ति और सुख्यवस्था का । मध्य भारत के उत्तरी हिस्सों में खास कर यह प्रश्न बहुत जटिल बना हुम्मा है । इसे सुलझाना परम ग्रावश्यक है । कहीं ऐसा न हो कि नये राज्य के निर्माण की गढ़बड़ी में यह प्रश्न ग्रांखों से म्रोझल हो जाबे भौर उपद्रव बने रहें या बढ़ जावें । नये मध्य प्रदेश के शासन की योग्यता की यह पहली कसौटी होगी । दूसरी कसौटी होगी बेकारी को मिटाना । नये राज्य के मन्दर जहां जहां भी बेकारी मौर दरिद्रता हो उसे मिटाने में शासन को प्राणपण से लग जाना है ।

राज्य पुनर्गठन भायोग की रिपोर्ट जब से प्रकाशित हुई है देश में एक बहुत बड़ा मन्यन पैदा हो गया है। जाहा यह गया या कि राज्यों के पुनर्मिण का माघार भाषाएं नहीं हों। परन्तु सिफारिशों का परिणाम भाषाबार राज्यों के निर्माण में ही हुमा है। भौर जहां कुछ कमी रह गई वहां स्थानीय धान्दोलन उस की पूर्ति में लग गये हैं।

परिणाम यह हुआ है कि इस समय देश में इतना भेद फैल रहा है कि लोगों की मार्शका होने लग गई है कि इस का बरा मसर हमारे राष्ट्र की एकता शक्ति पर तो नहीं पडे । किन्तू मुझे निक्चय है कि यह भेद भौर शोर एक तात्कालिक वस्तू है । इस से हमें चिन्तित नहीं होना चाहिए । हमारे राष्ट्र के प्रत्येक नागरिक कां भ्रपने देश पर श्रटट प्रेम है। मौर वह उस की भलाई तथा रक्षा के लिए इन छोटे छोटे प्रश्नों से ग्रपने ग्राप को उत्पर उठाने की क्षमता जरूर रखता है। राज्यों का पूर्नीनर्माण हो जाने पर हम देखेंगे कि सारे राज्यों के नागरिक देश की विविध विकास योजनाग्रों को पूरी करने में तन मन से लग जावेंगे श्रौर इस देश को एक समुद्धिवान तथा सामर्थ्यंशाली राष्ट्र बना देंगे ।

Shri R. C. Sen (Kotah Bundi): I humbly beg to state that the formation of new provinces on linguistic basis would inevitably result in the Balkanisation of the country, and the consequences of such a state of affairs could only be imagined If unity of India is our principal aim, then all actions, however remote, leading to any disintegration should be avoided. We should not forget the past chapter of Indian History that foreign domination was only possible because of a disunited country.

As a member from Rajasthan, and having closely watched the happenings there during the last fifty years, I can say with some confidence and conviction that people in Rajasthan today feel more united and proud of belonging to India than they did during the State's period, when every State considered a world unto itself. I fear that formation of states on linguistic basis would result in breaking up the unity of the country, which has been built up since 1947.

I would suggest that for the greater good of the country there should be

no states at all. If the country is too big to be administered by the Centre, then I whole heartedly support the suggestion made by the Prime Minister in the House today about having five or six zonal states.

If, however, things take the shape of formation of states as proposed by S.R.C. Report with modifications and in case Madhya Bharat is made to disappear altogether, then I would suggest that that portion of Madhya Bharat which would be irrigated by the Chambal scheme called the Kotah Barage, should be annexed to Rajasthan for the purpose of greater administrative convenience and efficiency.

Shri Kirolikar (Durg): Before I begin my speech I would like to congratulate the members of the S.R.C. for the efforts they made in preparing the report and for giving their honest and sincere recommendations. Though we may differ with some of the recommendations they made, we have no doubt about their sincerity of purpose.

The recommendations about the provinces of Bombay and Punjab had been subjected to strong criticism while other recommendations with slight changes are being welcomed. As far as the proposed Bombay State is concerned, as it has not been met with sufficient measure of agreement, the Bombay Assembly has moved a resolution for the formation of three States of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay. Even this proposal has not been met with approval. The Maharashtra P.C.C. and Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad are very keen in having Samyukta Maharashtra with Vidarbha and Bombay. They аге strongly opposed to the separation of Bombay from Maharashtra. Men like Shri S. K. Patil and Shri Biyani had agreed to Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay in 1947. The S.R.C. Report has not favoured the idea of secarate. Bombay State. The natural links of the city with its hinterland in Maharashtra are admitted. Besides the whole of Maharashtra is a contiguos to Bombay that practically people from every village depends for their

livelihood on Bombay. The masses are very poor and they have to go to Bombay for earning their live!ihood, so if Bombay is separated from Maharashtra it will have a very sad psychological effect on the poor masses of Maharashtra. In my opinion, therefore, Bombay should not be separated from Maharashtra. The merchant community need not be nervous at all. On the other hand they should welcome this.

As for Vidarbha, it consists of two parts. One is Berar which consists of four districts namely Amraoti, Akola, Yeotmal and Buldana. Berar was formerly part of Hyderabad State. In 1903 it was leased to British Government and was then joined with Madhya Pradesh. The Land and Tenancy Laws in Berar are different from those of Nagpur District. It is these Berar districts which started the agitation of separate State of Vidarbha.

The four Marathi Districts of Nagpur, Bhandara, Wardha and Chanda formed Gondwana State with Hindi Districts of Chhattisgarh and ruled by Gond Raja. Subsequently Bhonslas ruled this territory. The land and tenancy laws of these districts аге similar to those in Hindi Districts. The Hindi Districts and these four Marathi Districts have been living together for more than hundred years. In fact most of Marathi speaking people have shifted to Hindi districts and made them so to say homeland from generations. They have come together and their culture has in . way become one. Difference in language has in no way affected their relations. Language is not the only principle for reorganising States. I am, therefore, of opinion that the four districts of Berar namely Amraoti, Akola, Yeotmal and Buldana be joined with Maharashtra and the other Marathi districts of Nagpur, Bhandara. Wardha and Chanda should remain in Madhya Pradesh.

I welcome the formation of proposed Madhya Pradesh which will include Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal and 14 Hindi Districts of old [Shri Kirolikar]

Madhya Pradesh. The four Marathi speaking districts of Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda and Wardha should also form part of this proposed Madhya Pradesh. When these Marathi districts are included in the proposed Madhya Pradesh the capital of this state will be Nagpur. Controversy of capital of this State will naturally be dropped as everybody will like to have Nagpur as the capital.

As for the proposed capital of new Madhya Pradesh State I would agree with the recommendation of the S.R.C. Report that it should be Jubbalpur because it will be a central place. If Bhopal is made capital, it will be most inconvenient to the people of Chhattisgarh districts of Raipur, Bilaspur, Sirjuga, Baster and Drug. They will have to travel a distance of about five to six hundred miles to reach Bhopal and they will have to change trains at Bilaspur, Katni, Jubbalpur and Itarsi. It appears this inconvenience has not been taken into consideration when the decision to locate capital at Bhopal was taken by the Congress Working Committee.

सेठ अचल सिंह (जिला झागरा पहिचम) : भारतवर्षं की सम्यता व संस्कृति माज हजारों वर्षं पुरानी है। २५०० वर्षं के तो प्रमाण व शिलालेस म्रादि उपलब्ध हैं। २४०० वर्ष पूर्व इस प्रप्य भूमि में भगवान महावीर श्रौर बुद्ध थे । जिन्होंने संसार को श्रहिंसा, प्रेम का संदेश दिया । उनके बाद म्रशोक हये जिन्होंने न सिर्फं भारत में पर भारत के बाहर तक भ्रपना विशाल राज्य स्थापित किया । मुस्लिम व मुगल राज्य ११ से ले कर करीब १८०० सदी तक रहा । इससे कुछ पूर्व से पुर्तगाल, फान्स भौर मंग्रेज ने भपना राज स्यापित करना शरू कर दिया । पर भाखिर में मंग्रेजों का इ.आ कायम रहा झौर उनकी जड़ सन् १००० के शुरू से मजबूत होने लगी । प्रथम मद्रास प्रेप्तीडेन्सी, बाद में बम्बई प्रसीडेन्सी व बंगाल प्रेसीडेन्सीं बनी । १८३३ के चारटर एक्ट के मनुसार जब बंगाल प्रेसी-डेन्सी बहुत बड़ी हो गयी उसमें से कूछ हिस्सा ग्रलग कर झागरा प्रेसीडेन्सी कायम की । १८३६ में नार्थ बेस्ट प्राविन्स को लेग्टिनेण्ट गवर्नर के मातहत किया । १८४९ में पंजाब सूबे की स्थापना की झौर १६०१ में नार्थ वेस्ट फ़न्टियर सूबे को एक चीफ कमिश्नर के मातहत कर दिया । १८७७ में झवध को नार्थ वेस्ट प्राविन्स में शामिल कर दिया । १८६१ में सेंटल प्राविन्स बन गया । १८७४ में भ्रासाम को चीफ कमिश्नर सूबा बना दिया। नार्थं वेस्ट प्राविन्स एण्ड ग्रवध का नाम युनाइटेड प्राविन्स म्राफ म्रागरा एण्ड मवध रख दिया ।

इस प्रकार ग्रंग्रेजों ने हुकूमत का खर्चा कम करने, ग्रौर रक्षा के विचार से भारतवर्ष का सबों में बंटवारा किया था। १९०४ में लाई कर्जन ने बंगाल का बंटवारा किया। एक सुबा ईस्ट बंगाल झौर झासाम का झौर दूसरा बंगाल का जिसमें पच्छिमी बंगाल, बिहार, उडीसा ग्रौर छोटा नागपूर शामिल किया । जिसके परिणाम में एक बड़ा मान्दो-लन हुम्रा जिसके फलस्वरूप छः वर्ष बाद यानी १९११ में झासाम को एक चीफ कमिइनर सूबा, पूर्वी श्रौर पश्चिमी बंगाल को शामिल करके बंगाल सूबा झौर बिहार, उड़ीसा झौर छोटे नागपुर का बिहार-उड़ीसा प्रान्त बना दिया ।

इंडियन कान्स्टीट्यूशनल रिफार्म कमेटी ने यह सिफारिश की कि भारत का पूनगंठन होना श्रावश्यक है, पर बंगाल के झगड़ों को देख कर ग्रंग्रेजों की हिम्मत नहीं होती थी पर १९३० में इंडियन स्टेटियुरी कमीशन ने कूछ सूबों के बारे में फिर सिफारिश की उसके फलस्वरूप १९३६ में उडीसा प्रान्त बनाया गया ।

१९०५ में जब मंग्रजों ने बंगाल का बंटवारा किया उस समय कांग्रेस ने मावाज उठाई कि भाषावार प्रान्त बनने चाहियें । उसका समर्थन समय समय पर कांग्रेस करती रही । यानी १९२० में, १९२८ मौल पार्टी कान्फरेन्स, १९३७ में कलकत्ता कांग्रेस म्रधि-वेगन ने, १९३५ में वर्षा वर्राकंग कमेटी ने, १९४७ नवन्बर बंटवारे के बाद दर कमी शन कुकर्रर हुमा । उसने मपनी रिपोर्ट १९४८ दिसम्बर में दी मौर जयपुर कांग्रेस ने जे० बी० पी० कमेटी ने भी सिफारिश की कि भाषावार प्रान्त बनने चाहियें पर शर्त यह रखी कि रक्षा, एकता, म्रायिक स्थिति का पूरा ज्यान रखते हुये कार्य होना चाहिये ।

भारत के पुनःगठन का प्रश्न एक बड़ा भ्रहम ग्रौर पेचीदा सवाल है । यह बजाय गठन के विगठन कर सकता है इसलिये बड़ी सावधानी ग्रौर विचार पूर्वक काम लेना चाहिये।

१९४३ हैदराबाद १९४४ में कल्याणी मधिवेशन में इसी बात को फिर से दोहराया गया। इन सब बातों के फलस्वरूप १० ग्रगस्त १९४३ की लोक सभा में एक बिल पेश हुम्रा कि मान्छ की एक स्टेट कायम की जाय। १ मक्टूबर १९४३ को ग्रांध की स्टेट बनी। २९ दिसम्बर १९४३ को ग्रांध की स्टेट बनी। २९ दिसम्बर १९४३ को होम मिनिस्ट्री ने एक तीन महानुभावों का कमीशन मुकर्रर किया। कमीशन में तीन बड़े योग्य मनुभवी पुरुष रखे गये उन्होंने मपनी रिपोर्ट ३० सितम्बर, सन् १९४४ को दी। उस पर समस्त विधान सभाम्रों, देश में ग्रौर ग्रब लोक-सभा में विचार विनिमय चल रहा है।

मेरे विचारानुसार मभी इस प्रक्त को उठाने की मावश्यकता नहीं थी । विदेशी हुकूमत के समय यह मांग उचित यी मब जब कि हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र हो गया है उस समय भाषावार प्रान्त बनाने का प्रक्न जचता नहीं है । म्राजकल म्राने जाने के जरिये बहुत सरस ब सूगम हो गये हैं । एक ब्यक्ति देश के एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक रेज डारा ७२ घण्टे में मौर हवाई जहाज डारा म वर्ण्ट में पहुंच सकता है । साथ साथ हम भारतवासियों की सम्यता व संस्कृति एक है । हम लोग सब महिसा, प्रेम, सत्य, बड़ों का मादर, मतिथि सत्कार में विश्वास करने वाले हैं । ऐसी मवस्था में हमको बड़े से बड़े यूनिट बनाने चाहियें जो स्वावलम्बी हों, रक्षा संगठन के ख्याल से मजबूत हों । म्रभी हमने मुना कि पाकिस्तान पच्छिमी पाकिस्तान के सारे प्रान्तों को खत्म करके एक बड़ा यूनिट बना रहा है । इस प्रकार हम भी म्रपने देश को माठ दस बड़े यूनिट में बांट सकते हैं ।

पर चूंकि यह पुनः संगठन का प्रश्न उठ चुका है भौर काफी हद तक हम भागे बढ़ चुके हैं भौर एस०भार०सी० ने बड़ी योग्यता भौर समझदारी से रिपोर्ट दी है। उसके भनुसार हमें उनकी सिफारिशों को मान लेना चाहिये । प्रत्येक प्रदेश चाहता है कि उनकी इच्छानुसार उनका प्रदेश बने । वह कैसे संभव हो सकता है। मैं तो मध्य भारत के धगुम्रों की प्रशंसा करूंगा कि उन्होंने स्वदेश प्रेम की भावना से भपने प्रदेश को समाप्त होना सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया । मुझे ग्रकाली सिखों भौर महाराष्ट्रियनों की विर्थारघारा देख कर बड़ा दुःख होता है । वे लोग बड़े बहादुर शिक्षित हैं । उनको विशाल धृष्टि रखनी चाहिये झौर सारे भारत को झपना देश समझना बाहिये । भाजकल के समय में प्रान्तीयता, भाषावाद, जातिवाद कुछ गोभा नहीं देता । में इस विचार का हूं बगैर दिक्कंत के जितना बढा प्रदेश बन सकता है बन जाना चाहिये। मैं ग्रपने लोक सभा के सदस्यों ग्रौर देश-वासियों से भ्रपील करूंगा कि उनको एस॰ भ्रार० सी० की रिपोर्ट को स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिये भौर इषर से घ्यान हटा कर पंच भौर हितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाने में लगाना चाहिय । मैं माशा करता हूं कि जो मोक

## [ सेठ अपल सिंह ]

त्रभा का फैसला जो भविव्य में होगा उसे सारे देश मौर स्टेटों को सहर्ष स्वीकार करना चाहिये झौर झपने देश प्रेम का परिचय देना चाहिये ।

Shri Basappa (Tumkur): The question of Reorganisation of States in India has evoked great interest in India and outside. On the solution of this problem depends the solution of many problems. Though the report lacks universal and rational basis, we have to accept the same with suitable modifications without creating bitterness. Wise statemanship consists in not shelving this problem but in solving it once and for all with a view to better integration of India even during the time of the present leaders. Under the present context of things it is better to have bigger States in India than smaller States where administrations are more 11nstable and communal domination is more. Development programmes have suffered in smaller States. Minority Communities feel much better in bigger States. Power politics and vested interests have lesser chances of success in bigger States than in smaller States, Linguistic States have come to stay. The greatness of India consists in its organic unity in diversity. The development of regional language will certainly help the Hindi language for which we have all respect as an official language of the country. It must be recognised that the problem of reorganisation of States is more acute and keenly felt in South India. Delay is beset with great danger to the solidarity of India

I want to say a few words about the State of Karnataka. S.R.C. has recognised the necessity for the formation of this State including Mysore not only in the interest of Mysore but also of other parts of Karnatakaand of India in general. Gandhiji and Sardar Patel have all blessed this state of Karnataka. Pandit Nehru himself has admitted that there is not of much opposition in Mysore.

The desire of the people of all Kannada areas have been expressed in unequivocal terms in many wavs. through Conferences and through resolutions in legislative Assemblies of Mysore, Madras, Bombay, Hydera The Mysore Cabinet has also bad. approved of the proposal of one Karnataka State. The Raipramukh of Mysore will not stand in the way of the formation of one Karnataka Mysore State is known for its State. broadness of outlook and the slogan of "Mysore for Mysoreans" is engendered by only a few vested interests. The fear expressed by a few Mysoreans is unfounded. The Centre will always come to the rescue of backward areas wherever they may be situated. The opposition is of recent origin. The theory of two Karnataka States is neither possible nor desirable.

The States Reorganisation Commission has done great injustice to the people of Bellary, Sinigoppa, Hospet and Mallalpur taluks by retransfering them to Andhra. These were given to Mysore in 1953 by an act of Parliament after great deliberations on the various reports of Justice Misra and Justice Wanchoo, the Partition Com mittee report, Kelkar's award etc The S.R.C. has not given valid grounds for changing the decision once taken by Parliament. It is wrong to say that Andhras have vital interest in the waters of Tungabhadra. On the other hand the areas to be irrigated in Karnataka by this river is more than six lakhs while the area irrigated in Andhra is about two lakhs of acres. It is wrong to say that Mysore Government is not cooperating with the Tungabhadra Board. Shri Gokele the Chairman of the Board has admitted that the Board is working smoothly. The two Central bills are before Parliament and they will remove all disputes regarding the sharing of waters and between Andhra Karnataka States. The other two grounds adduced by the S.R.C. for giving Bellary to Andhra State are administrative convenience and economic links. These

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factors are more in favour of Karnataka. It is very strange to see that they want to give the entire Kannada area to Andhra simply because the Tungabhadra Dam is important to Andhras. In this respect the report is one-sided and a lot of prejudice has entered in the minds of the members of the Commission due to no fault of the people of these areas There is reason to believe that the pull of the Andhra leaders is more on the Commission. They are wrong in mixing up the question of Bellary with Kolar. Each must be decided on their own merits Bellary should not be treated like a football be kicked from one side to other as and when we like.

Though I dislike the recent satya graha for retention of Bellary in Mysore, I clearly see the desire of the people when they go to jail in large numbers in a peaceful manner.

There are other border areas which have been left out from Karnataka. The Kannada areas in Alur. Adoni and Rayedurg Taluks will have to be demarcated and given to Karnataka as suggested by Misra's Award. The question of Madaksira as a complete enclave in Mysore which has 64% Kannada speaking population with with administrative convenience with Mysore must be added to Karnatak. The integrity of Rayalaseema does not lie in retaining Madaksira in Andhra Administrative convenience in the case of the Hosur Taluk and geographical contiguity and desire of the people in the case of Talawadi firka where more than 80% of the population are Kanshould nada speaking people, S.R.C. have enabled the to give them to Karnataka. The whole of the rural population in Nilgiri district are Kannada speaking people and hence deserves to be in Karnataka. Chandragiri river must be taken as the boundary line in Kasargod taluk between Kerala State and Karnataka. Akalkot and South Sholapur taluk including city of Sholapur have a big Kannada speaking population and hence must go to Karnatak. The case of Kannada taluks in Bidar District have been

conceded by the Chief Minister of Hyderabad. In the end I say that this problem of States Reorganisation must be solved in a calm atmosphere.

Shrimati Maydeo (Poona South): All of my friends and hon. Members from Bombay have discussed this question in its various aspects. I would confine myself to two or three important points only. If we go through the S.R.C. report regarding Bombay and Vidarbha we come to the conclusion that some injustice has been done to Marathi speaking people. We will see that almost all the States proposed by S.R.C. are unilingual, the exceptions being Maharashtra, Punjab and Assam;

The composition of Assam after partition is such that it can never be a unilingual State. In Punjab the problem is not much of language but is of a communal character. Therefore the only exception made by the Commission is of Maharashtra,

The request of the Marathi speaking people to the S.R.C. was that they who were divided in three different States, namely, Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay, should be brought together to form one Marathi langauge province with Bombay as Capital. The Maharashtrians made many strong and convincing representations and the S.R.C. themselves admit that they were impressed by the cogency of their arguments. But how did they solve this problem? One will not understand why this was done. They brought eight districts from Hyderabad into Bombay that were majority Marathi speaking but they separated six lacs of Marathas from their brothers, by including majority Marathi districts in Karwar and Belgaum into Karnatak, and they also created a new very small State of Vidarbha with as small a population as only 76 lacs comprising of eight Marathi speaking districts from Pradesh. Madhya The remaining Marathi people were kept in the composite State of Bombay with the addition of Saurashtra and Kutch.

[Shrimati Maydeo]

This formation appears to be against the very principles laid down by the S.R.C. themselves, because on page 45 para. 159 S.R.C. Report, they have denounced the formation of composite States, saying that "a sense of loyalty to the State does not develop." A small State like Vidarbha is also not correct when they have abolished all Part C and Part B States. The creation of Vidarbha was responsible to create separatist tendencies among the The Maharashtrians ex-Marathas. pressed their great dissatisfaction st this.

The Congress Working Committee was felt that this dissatisfaction genuine and therefore invited prominent Maharashtrians leaders. discussed with them the problem and placed before them an alternate proposal. This alternate proposal was the formula of three States. The two States of Maha Gujarat and Maharashtra with Vidarbha were welcome suggestions but the creation of Greater Bombay as a City State was totally unacceptable to Maharashtrians, 85 Bombay affected the life of Maharashtra most vitally.

One cannot understand why such a City State was formed which was even less in population than Vidarbha, and when the S.R.C. had advanced very strong arguments against its being a separate City State.

By this change of proposal, however, two things were clear. One is that Vidarbha really belonged to Maharashtra but was purposely kept separated under some pretext or the other and that both S.R.C. and the Working Committee did not want Bombay City to merge with Maharashtra. Why the S.R.C. and the Working Committee should thus be partial to Maharashtra was a puzzle indeed.

Bombay geographically lies in Maharashtra and has to depend upon Maharashtra for its electricity, water supply and further expansion. It was insisted by B.P.C.C. and G.P.C.C. that it should be kept separate. One feels from this that because Gujaratis could not claim Bombay, they could not entertain the idea that a prosperous and important city like Bombay should belong to Maharashtra, although it was a part and parcel of it. This attitude is really not good. They should realise that it is they who have reaped the benefits of Independence most. All the import export facilities, trade relaxations, financial help towards their enterprises have enriched them considerably and has given them better position as well as power in the country over their economically poor brethern. They might have invested some money in the mills and factories in Bombay at the beginning but have they not taken away hundred times more by way of profits?

They should not deprive their Maharashtrian brethern from their legitimate claim and keep them subdued and poor Let me tell them with all friendliness, that they should brush aside this selfish thought as it will neither serve their country nor themselves. They should bear in mind that if they try to stretch too far it will break and create tremendous illeffects. They should not be too much ambitious but should become broad minded, generous and just. Everyone can see that the apprehensions they are expressing are not real but only pretentions to gain their say. If they behave true to their inner instinct and come forward to accept the legitimate claims of Maharashtra on Bombay they will not only be praised on all sides of the country, but their position in Bombay will be most sound than it was ever.

I, therefore, once again appeal to the good elements in our Gujarati brothers and sisters and ask them to respect the human sentiments in Maharashtrians and to come forward, and in the most fitness of things allow Bombay its natural, logical and proper place which is Maharashtra.

Shri H. G. Vaishnav (Ambad): Though I may disagree with many of the recommendations of S.R. Commission, I feel it my duty to congratulate them for some of the good things they have done. First good and appreciable aspect is that they have recommended the disintegration of Hyderabad State. I think this to be a very bold action on their part, without which the task of reorganization in the Deccan could have never been fulfilled.

Second good thing is that the Commission has abolished the present discrimination between Parts A and B States and has also done away with the Part C States. This is a very congenial step they have taken and is appreciated by all.

Third important thing which they did is that they have abolished altogether the superfluous institution of Rajpramukhs and by doing so have removed an eye-sore from the minds of our masses.

particularly coming from I. Marathwada area of Hyderabad State should also express my thanks to the Commission for joining all the five districts of Marathwada to the Bombay State and not dividing the area between Vidarbha and Bombay as was proposed by the sponsors of Maha Vidarbha. The age long unity of Marathwada is maintained by this good act of the Commission. However the commission is not justified in recommending the whole of Bidar and Adilabad districts to be joined to the Telangana State of residuary Hyderabad. As a matter of fact three and Taluks—Nilanga, Ahmedpur Udgir of Bidar district and three Taluks-Kinwat Rajura and Utnoor Adilabad district are completely of Marathi speaking while parts of other Taluks also in these districts speak Marathi. It is well and good that Hyderabad Government have provided facts and figures in this respect and join have shown their readiness to Marathi speaking area of these districts to Maharashtra State.

The recommendation of the Commission regarding formation of residuary State of Hyderabad viz. Telangana for the period of first five years and later on its merger with Andhra State is not based on sound principles. The Congress High Commands have recently expressed in favour of the immediate merger of Telangana with Andhra and from one Vishal Andhra State, which is a welcome measure.

Now coming to Samyukta Maharashtra, the Commission appears to have utterly failed to understand the problem. They have proposed Bombay as a bilingual State while fourteen out of sixteen States created by them are unilingual. Though the Commission went on denying vaguely the formation of States only on the basis of a language, but while doing so carved not a few but 14 States purely on the linguistic basis; but when the turn of Bombay came they invented the principle of "balanced approach". It is not at all shown by the Commission that if the 15th unilingual state of Maharashtra with Bombay as its natural capital would have been formed how this "balance of approach" would have been lost or how the security and unity of the country would have been endangered. The Commission has admitted that geographically the City of Bombay forms part of Maharashtra. They have praised Maharashtrians as brave and patriotic people and have also praised their great past. But in spite of all these virtues they are denied of their right to have Samyukta Maharashtra State. On the other hand separate small state of Vidarbha and the bilingual state of Bombay are thrown to their lot. This is nothing but great injustice done to them.

The question of Bombay city appears to have prejudiced the minds of the Commission. According to natural justice it is part and parcel of Maharashtra which nobody can deny. But it is designed not to be given to them because of the misapprehensions of some big capitalists. They appear to have turned the tables. They pre-tended and apprehended imaginary lears on one side and preached and propagated the so-called 'cosmopolitan' nature of the city on the other side. They also tried to impress upon the Commission that the commercial and

#### [Shri H. G. Vaishnav]

industrial importance of the city would be lost if the city becomes a capital of unilingual state of Maharashtra and thus succeeded in getting the bilingual state of Bombay-consisting of the whole of Gujerati speaking area and a part of Marathi speaking area. This appears to be a very strange recommendation. It is said that Bombay has a cosmopolitan character. I nave not been able to understand what is meant by "cosmopolitan character". It is contended that if Bombay city were to become a part of Samyukta Maharashtra, the very next day the cosmopolitan character would disappear? Is it ever seriously contended by anybody that, if Bombay city were merged in Maharashtra, the next day all Gujeratis, Parsis, Christians, Jews etc. will give up their business and go elsewhere? It is well known to all that capital does not know linguistic bounds. It flows where the rate of profit is high.

Like Bombay every other big city in India is cosmopolitan but has it been separated from the concerned State? Should bilingual states be proposed regarding all the cities like big Calcutta, Madras, Hyderabad, Delhi. Bangalore to maintain the so-called cosmopolitan character of the city? If the principle of bilingual state was a good one the Commission ought to have recommended at least half a dozen such States instead of recommending only Bombay of that type. Even if the Commission had desired to bring Gujeratis and Maharashtrians together in the Bombay State, they should have brought the whole of Marathi speaking area (without excluding Vidarbha) in that bilingual State just as the whole of Gujrati speaking area is brought in it. It would be quite unfair to divide Maharashtrians into two states so as to balance equal with all make the Gujerati speaking population coming together in one state. Double injustice is done by the Commission to Marathi speaking people by recommending separate State of Vidarbha and making Bombay a bilingual State. Capitalists

and vested interested persons appear to have gained in either case. The voice of the masses is totally ignored in these recommendations. This being the case naturally the S.R.C. Report is resented throughout Maharashtra and Vidarbha.

Taking stock of this situation, the Congress High Command have felt need of changing the S.R.C. the formula regarding bilingual State of Bombay. They have proposed three State formula viz, Maharashtra State including Vidarbha, Citv State of Bombay and Maha Gujerat State. denied unfortu-Maharashtrians are nately their legitimate claim over Bombay in this proposal also because of which there is great frustration and disappointment all over Maharashtra.

I need not dwell upon discussing in details how the very object of creating the city state of Bombay will be frustrated. The present glory and importance of Bombay can never remain if it is separated from its hinterland and its future administration would be too difficult in the present democratic set up if nearly half of its Marathi population is kept continuously dissatisfied.

I therefore appeal to our great leaders and to all the hon. Members of this House to be compassionate to their Marathi brethren and consider dispassionately their legitimate demand of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay city as its capital.

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): The S.R.C. report recommending the division of India for a better unity is calculated to promote the integration of the various provinces and states primarily on linguistic and secondily on other consideration 80 there may be a consolidated that The immediate renational unity. action of the report was far from unity or national consideration. The voice of the people reacted, protest and dissatisfaction echoed from every nook and corner of India, creating a disintegrating confusion in most of the States with Lathi Charge, shooting.

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smoking into poison gass, recalling the unhappy events in the freedom struggle in recent past.

To my mind the report is a sinister device in the name of unity to create disension between States and ill-will, jealousy and distrust in the hearts of the people. The report clearly indicates that it is not mainly linguistic. To some it creates new linguistic minorities ad infinitism. It is not based on any financial stability for it is not preceded by a financial commission's report. It is not based on any economic progress or finality for the Second Five Year Plan is only in view and the first is still in progress. It is said that the report was envisaged to check disruptionist tendencies in the States. The result of the report has created major disruptionist tendencies in the whole country. No State is satisfied boundaries or the with its present boundaries marked by the report. Every State want to exploit its neighbours as much as possible striking at the very root of unity.

Considering that aspect of the report regarding my state. I must frankly admit that the report has missed its aim of creating a Kerala Province whole and sound. It has ignored all historical traditions and geographical contiguity that has created the present economic and cultural unity and prosperity of the State amputating a beautiful state in its vital parts.

Already it is a deficit area with a teeming population. The newly envisaged area is a greater liability on the Government aggrivating the deficit nature. It has created ill feeling with its immediate neighbour, Madras which is looking with greedy eyes to grab at the flourishing taluks in the T. C. State. There is difference of opinions with regard to the people in the five taluks recommended to be added to Madras. As for Malabar it is reported that they are not anxious to enter into the newly suggested alliance with T. C. States. The T. C. Legislature have expressed its decided

disapproval regarding S.R.C. Report. There is mischievous tendency in the S.R.C. Report to consolidate the north disintegrate the south. and The Northern States are to be widened and consolidated in the bigger States where as the Southern States are to be disintegrated into smaller units with exploiting neighbours glaring at each other. In the face of this fact I agree with the suggestion that a Dakshina Province with Madras, T. C. States and Coorg would be a better scheme to promote national unity, peace and well being. The Malayalee and Tamil cultures have the same basis as the two languages and are from the same basis as the two languages are from the same source, Sanskrit and are intelligible to each other.

I am not entering into the merits of each of the 16 States recommended by the S.R.C. report. The representation of the respective States in Parliament and in the local legislatures will speak for themselves still this much I can say that no State was ever satisfied with the recommendations. Ĩn the face of such dissatisfaction, confusion and disapproval why this report should ever be considered. The people of India irrespective of State, Province or language united under the same flag for freedom and hitherto nothing untoward had happened to disintegrate the country. Then why give any consideration to the S.R.C. report. It should be expunged from the routine proceedings of the present administration. I must remind the Central authorities that they are poking their noses too much into the States and their peaceful administration.

Dr. Kamble (Nanded-Reserved---Sch. Castes): I am giving my views on the adjustments of the border areas pertaining to the Marathwada districts.

As one of the representatives of the three crores of the Marathi speakers, I should unequivably put on record that the people want one State of all the Marathi speaking population at present living in the three States of

#### [Dr. Kamble]

the present Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad States. The city of Bombay lies in the heart of Maharashtra and naturally and rightfully belongs to Maharashtra. I would hope that our leadership would not lend ear to the imaginary phychological fears and apprehensions which are, in fact, born out of their financial interests.

To deny the inclusion of the city of Bombay in Maharashtra is to set at naught the aspirations of 30 million Maharashtrians for the whims of some interests of Bombay and the people of Gujerat who have forfeited any say on the question by having their own Maha Gujerat. The creation of the Bombay city State is full of dangers and will create rather innumerable problems than it would solve. Other cities also would come forth with a plea for separate State.

As I come from the Hyderabad State, I must also say that the formation of Vishalandhra is necessary immediately. The immediate formation of one State of all the Teluguspeaking people would spare the odds and tribulations, inherent in the postponement of the step for a period of five years. Immediate formation of Vishalandhra is, therefore, desirable and essential from all points of view.

I cannot but place on record the injustice done to Marathwada by the S.R.C. by their retaining the Bidar district in the residuary Hyderabad State. Bidar, being a trilingual district, it has Marathi speakers as the largest single minority group. Marathi speakers in Bidar are 89 per cent., Kannadigas, coming next with 28 per cent. If the District was not to be split up it should have been placed in Marathwada.

It is the unanimous demand of the people of Bidar district that the three linguistic groups should be joined to their respective regional groups. Marathi-speaking area should be attached to Marathwada.

The taluks of Ahmedpur, Nilanga and Udgir are purely unilingual Marathi areas with no sprinkling of Kannad-speakers. These taluks should be attached to Marathwada. This is accepted by the Kannadigas.

There are 81 villages (Bhalki and Hulsur revenue circles) with the majority of Marathi speakers and contiguity with the Marathi having speaking areas. Their population is about 75,000. They should be attached to Marathwada. In the Santpur taluk villages (Aurad and are 82 there Thorna revenue circles) having about 73,000 population. They should be joined with Marathwada as the people desire so.

In the Humnabad Taluk of Bidar district there are 31 villages (Ladwanti revenue circle) with an approximate population of 25,000. They should be linked with Marathvada.

In the Adilabad district, the taluks of Rajmura and Kinwat the Marathi speakers are 86 per cent. and 79 per cent. respectively. The Telugu speakers are only 9 per cent. and 11 per cent. respectively. These two taluks should, therefore, be joined with Marathwada or Vidarbha. The Telugu people also agree to this.

In the Adilabad taluk of Adilabad district, the Beia Revenue Circle should be attached to Maharashtra as it is a purely Marathi area. The Islapur revenue circle of the Boath taluk also is predominantly Marathi and should, therefore, be joined to Marathwada. The Wankadi and Ada revenue circles of the Asifabad taluk are purely Marathi and hence they should go with Marathwada. The Sirpur revenue circle of the Sirpur taluk having majority of Marathi speakers should be joined to Maharashtra.

Shri Ram Dhani Das (Gaya East— Reserved Sch. Castes): Some of our colleagues from West Bengal have made out a 'labourious' case in support of the demand for the transfer of certain border areas of Bihar to West Bengal. But; I much regret to have

to point out that, perhaps, due to their over enthusiasm for their case, they have made themselves responsible for statements which are wrong and misleading. I propose to discuss here some of these statements and place the facts before the House for information and consideration.

Our friend, Shri Barman, in the course of his speech delivered in this House, the other day, referred to a certain statement of Shri Rajagopalachari made in 1951 and tried to show, thereby. that Shri Rajajee had supported the demand of West Bengal. But a perusal of the official report of the debates in the Parliament of India held on Thursday the 23rd August, 1951 reveals that when Shri Barman moved a resolution standing in the name of Shri Basanta Kumar Das. demanding that 'steps should be taken to alter the boundaries of the State West Bengal with a view to of establishing contiguity between the Shri detached parts of the State', Rajagopalachari in the course of his remarks made in the capacity of the Home Minister of India, dealt with the problem relating to the Bihar-West Bengal boundary dispute, in considerable detail, and concluded as follows:----

"It is not a corridor problem as was eloquently and graphically put, bringing before us all the pictures of the corridor problems of Germany and Poland. It is a totally different thing. They want an administrative improvement in the matter of communications. It is really a question of communications and of bringing about a state of things whereby our general defence position and our administrative position may be improved. This is the real and legitimate aspect in which we should understand this Resolution. And from that point of view I must on behalf of Government be ready to tell the House that the Government will have to consider this, and must consider it very seriously and do all that is in their power. Let there be no mistakes. It is not a Bengal problem. Nor is it a Darjeeling problem. It is an Indian problem. The idea that Bihar is foreign territory and

that Bengal has been divided into two parts without any connection whatsoever between them is a little exaggerated. After all Bihar is our own and no passports are necessary for the Bengal people to go to Bihar. There is no visa necessary for people from the other side to come into Bengal. Trains are not examined for Biharis or for Bengalees when they move and the buses are not examined. The territory is ours and it was on this ground that the objection raised by Bengal to the original idea of partition was met that Bihar should not be looked upon as a foreign territory and therefore, the communication was in tact. But it can be argued that the communication is not efficient. Although there are highways, railways, rivers, bridges and ferries across, they are not sufficiently efficient and I think that it is the duty of the Government of India to consider this very seriously and indeed, if necessary, to take over the responsibility of this communication between north and south Bengal as one of its responsibilities. instead of giving money and watching its expenditure. In fact, Government will probably come to the conclusion that this is an All-India national affair and it must be taken in hand, but if we move in another direction and look upon Bihar as a stranger territory or Bengal as a stranger territory, it would not be the right thing to do."

These observations of Shri Rajajee made in the capacity of the Home Minister of India, are too clear and categorical to need any comment or elucidation. I can only add that what he uttered in 1951 is equally true in 1955 and, as such, I earnestly appeal to Shri Barman and our other colleagues from West Bengal to see the unmistakable force of reason behind the aforesaid remarks of our revered leader Shri Rajajee and not press the demand for the transfer of any part of Bihar to West Bengal on such untenable grounds. I may also remind Shri Barman that after hearing Shri Rajajee, on the said occasion, he had readily agreed to withdraw his motion stating that his only purpose was to

#### [Shri Ram Dhani Das]

inform the Government about the difficulties in communication and that was done. Shri Barman may also recall that, while seeking permission of the House to withdraw his motion, he had also said, "After all these things we can settle among ourselves". I think, what he suggested in 1951 is possible even today. I should like to make the same suggestion today, as already indicated by our friend Shri Syam Nandan Sahay, in the course of his speech delivered in this House on the 15th December, 1955 and I fervently hope that whatever difficulties the people of West Bengal are actually experiencing in matters of communications etc. will be quickly removed by means of joint effort of the two Chief Ministers of Bihar and West Bengal, but no part of the territory of Bihar will be sought to be transferred to West Bengal against the wishes of the people of the areas concerned.

Shri N. T. Das (Monghyr Sadr.-cum-Jamui-Reserved Sch.-Castes): I have heard with great interest the observations made by a number of hon. Members of this House on the report of the State Reorganisation Commission and I am sorry to notice that the proposals formulated by the Commission have evoked sharp criticisms from various quarters. I, however, propose to confine my remarks to the claims put forth by the proof the demand of West tagonists Bengal for the transfer of certain border areas of Bihar.

Our colleague Shri N. C. Chatterjee has, in my opinion made a rather sentimental appeal in support of the "expansionist policy" of West Bengal, on the plea that it was "a vivisected, partitioned, tragically divided" State which had "lost twothirds of its territory". He also tried to rouse the emotions of the hon'ble members of the House in the name of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das as well as Jatindra Mohan, as also by saying that "Bengal is bleeding today". But, in a serious matter like the reorganisation of States, cheap sentiments can hardly be of any avail. We have to consider various aspects of

this complicated problem, coolly and dispassionately, as suggested by our leader, Pandit Nehru.

Shri Chatteriee referred to A resolution of the certain Indian National Congress moved by Shri T. B. Sapru and adopted in 1911, which is said to have been supported by a joint statement of some eminent Bihar leaders. including the late Dr. Sachidananda Sinha, suggesting that certain portions of Bihar should be transferred to West Bengal, on the ground that they were Bengali-speaking. It is true that Shri T. B. Sapru moved a resolution at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, in 1911, requesting the Government 'to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration'. But he has also added that "I should be very slow in giving my personal opinion in any matter relating to the re-adjustment of a province with the geography of which I was not perfectly and personally familiar". He only supported the broad principle that in any scheme of redistribution of boundaries, Bengalispeaking areas should be placed under Bengal. It may also be pointed out that when the new province of Bihar and Orissa was separated from Bengal in 1912, that is, after the said resolution of the Calcutta Congress. Manbhum and other areas claimed by Bengal were placed under Bihar. Yet, no resolution was adopted, protesting against the decision at any subsequent session of the Congress. Moreover, when the Congress adopted the principle of linguistic provinces in 1920, and the Congress provinces were carved out accordingly, the areas now placed under Bihar, including Manbhum etc. formed parts of the Congress province of Bihar and no part of the border districts of Bihar claimed by West Bengal was included in the Congress province of Bengal.

As to the views expressed by Dr. Sachidananda Sinha and other Bihar leaders, I am sorry to have to state that none of the signatories of the said joint statement, alleged to have been published in the Bengalee

of Calcutta, is alive today and, as such, it is not possible to verify the correctness or otherwise of the statement in question. But we have unimpeachable evidence to show that Dr. Sinha held quite different views on this issue. He submitted a memorandum to the President of the Constituent Assembly in 1948, on this question, in the course of which he unequivocally stated that 'there is no area in Bihar which has a majority of Bengali-speakers'. He examined in detail the linguistic Manbhum, position of Dhalbhum, Purnea and the Santal Parganas and concluded that West Bengal had no claim whatsoever on any of those areas. In view of this, the joint statement alleged to have been published in 1912 are not to be relied upon.

As to the suggestion of Shri Chatterjee that West Bengal suffered due to the partition in 1947, I should like to point out that this suggestion is entirely wrong and contrary to As a result of the partition, facts. West Bengal got about 40 per cent, of the total area of undivided Bengal and 36 per cent. of its population. The density of population in undivided Bengal was 772 per sq. mile, which was reduced to 709 per sq. mile after the partition. Out of a revenue of Rs. 44 crores West Bengal got a revenue of Rs. 31 crores although it got a population of only 21.8 millions out of 60.8 millions. Thus, the per capita revenue of West Bengal was nearly doubled and West Bengal emerged from the partition as a stronger unit, economically and financially. No area of Bihar can, therefore, be transferred to West Bengal on this ground.

Shri K. P. Sinha (Patna Central): I want to deal with the claims of West Bengal over territories of Bihar. West Bengal claims that as a result of partition, it has been crippled and its economic and financial position has gone down. It also wants additional space on the ground of the rehabilitation of refugees. It particularly claims a portion of the District of Purnea for a link between north and south Bengal. The SRC has recommended a part of Kishangunj Sub-division and

the Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum minus Chas Thana to West Bengal. The part of Kishanguni Sub-division has been proposed to be transferred to West Bengal in order to provide a link between north and south Bengal. The Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum has been recommended for transfer to West Bengal on the ground that West Bengal needs the river Kasai for irrigation-cum-flood control measures. I show below how the claims of West untenable and how the Bengal are recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission for transfer of a part of Kishangunj Sub-division and the Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum are wholly wrong.

After partition West Bengal got two-thirds of revenue of undivided Bengal and about one-third of the population. Undivided Bengal had a revenue of Rs. 44 crores and a population of about 60 millions. After partition, West Bengal got a revenue of 31 crores and a population of about 21 millions. Per capita revenue of West Bengal was thus doubled as a result of partition. West Bengal got all the industrial areas and 99 per cent. of electrical energy generated in undivided Bengal.

It will, thus, be seen that partition did not adversely affect West Bengal.

As regards the economy and finances of West Bengal, the position in brief is this. West Bengal has 08 acre of land per agriculturist and Bihar has only 0.6 acre. 86 per cent. of the population in Bihar depend on agriculture. The figure for West Bengal is only 57 per cent. Only about 4 per cent. of the population in Bihar is engaged in industries. The figure for West Bengal is about 15 per cent. 22 per cent. of the population in Bihar are landless labour, the figure for West Bengal is only 12 per cent. Per capita revenue of Bihar is only about Rs. 8 and for West Bengal it is Rs. 25. 12 per cent, of the people in Bihar are literate. For West Bengal the figure is 24 per cent.

The facts and figures given above show that economic and financial [Shri K. P. Sinha]

position of West Bengal is superior and far better than that of Bihar.

So far as the question of rehabilitation of refugees is concerned, the Commission has said that there is no space resettlement of refugees in for the Purnea. The position is the same in Manbhum where an agriculturist has only 0.60 acre of land while an agriculturist in the bordering districts of Burdwan, Bankura and Midnapore has 0.82. 0.74 and 0.79 acre of land. Therefore, more land is available in the bordering districts of West Bengal than in Manbhum. Shri Megh Nath Saha, President of the East Bengal Refugees' Association has publicly declared that there is enough land available in Bengal, and there is no scope in Bihar for the settlement of refugees.

The national highways connect South Bengal with North Bengal. They are under the control of the Central Government and no State Government can interfere with the and traffic on movements of goods them The corridor theory is Indian nationalism. repugnant to About 97 per cent. of the population in Kishangunj are Hindi or Urdu speaking and only 3 per cent. are The people of Bengali speaking. Kishangunj Sub-division have social. economic and cultural ties with the people of the rest of Purnea and population is Bihar. The entire bitterly opposed to the transfer of a Kishangunj. About 1,500 part of persons have offered satyagrah on the issue of the transfer of a part of Sub-division to West Kishangunj courted arrest and Bengal and imprisonment. Lacs of people of the Kishangunj Sub-division opposed the transfer of any part of Purnea District to West Bengal on the 4th December, 1954, when there was a Political Conference at Kishangunj and on the 4th November, 1955 at Patna when there was a Muslim Conference there. It will, thus, be seen that there is no justification for the transfer of any part of Kishangunj Sub-division to West Bengal. The Central Government should respect the wishes of the people who do not want to go to West Bengal.

As regards the question of transfer of the Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum to West Bengal is concerned, it may be mentioned that the people of this Sub-division are dead opposed on this issue. After the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission were known the people of this area have held thousand of meetings and passed resolutions condemning them. They have offered satyagrah on this issue and courted imprisonment in over thousand cases. It is necessary that the Central Government should respect their wishes and reject the States Rerecommendations of the organisation Commission. The Commission has held that arguments of the Government of Bihar against the proposal of transfer of this Sub-division to West Bengal are well balanced. It has, however, held that in order to enable West Bengal to execute its irrigation cum-flood control measures on the river Kasai, the Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum should go to West Bengal. The Commission has also held that this river is of no real importance to Bihar. In this connection, it may be mentioned that Bihar has got a Project on this river to be executed during the Second Five Year Plan at a cost of Rs. 5½ crores. This scheme will provide irrigation to about 3 lac acres of land. The Bihar scheme will also help the Bengal scheme on this issue in its lower region. It is, thus, wholly wrong that the river is of no importance to Bihar. It is also clear that for the execution of the Project of West Bengal, there is no necessity of the transfer of the Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum to that State.

The transfer of the Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum will dislocate communications between Dhanbad and Jamshedpur, between Dhanbad and Ranchi and between Muri and Jamshedpur. This transfer will also tag to West Bengal Dimna Nala which is in the Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum and it supplies water to Jamshedpur. It will, thus, be seen that the transfer of the Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum to West Bengal is thoroughly unjustified.

I have now dealt with the claims of West Bengal over other areas of Bihar and the claims of Orissa over the District of Singhbhum as the Commission have rightly rejected them.

Dr. Ebenezer (Vikarabad): There is nothing to get excited about the reorganisation of the States. One cannot just understand all this excitement and agitation, except that the inflamed passions are stimulated by some underlying motives. Things are to be taken dispassionately, calmly and in the perspective of the larger interests of the nation as a whole-nation that is to live within harmoniously and the world around for peace, prosperity and progress.

As an Indian first and a representative of Hyderabad State, I wonder it my humble duty to voice the true interests and the other opinions that should impel the future of Hyderabad State in the reorganised India. The present States had a haphazard growth stretched in decade with an eye on the foreign interests. The history of Hyderabad stands no exception to this. The present Hyderabad State has no linguistic or cultural or political reasons to exist as a separate viable unit. Rather, Hyderabad is the only State in India that is least homogeneous and uncomfortably placed under the present circumstances and with a view on national considerations, Hyderabad deserves to be radically reorganised. The S.R.C. report has done well by recommending the disintegration of the State. But its recommendation to keep the residuary Hyderabad alive for five years appears strange. To keep such a momentous decision pending possesses a tragic note. It would keep stimulating and infuriating the passions, yet fluid. It would set in motion an ambiguous struggle and invest the democratic energies in chaotic channels. One wonders as to how far it is justified 524 L.S.D.

to keep the fire kindling and let the constructive energies be wasted in unseemly channels. Why beat a living sore in the heart of Southern peninsula? Nation as a whole cannot afford to keep such momentous decisions pending for such long time. There is nothing to doubt that Vishalandhra. the case for which has been duly endorsed by our beloved leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Congress Workwould be a viable ing Committee, economic unit and the progress of our next Five Year Plan would facilitate a great deal. The residuary State would be deficit and thus form a drab on the Plan progress. It would in the course of years grow under-developed in comparison with other bigger States and thus be harmful for the residuary State itself. To decide in favour of Vishalandhra after five years would decision for residuary be a costly Hyderabad State itself and the nation as a whole. The pending decision to fissiparous would give rise and provide immense tendencies headache and persistent difficult problems to the High Command and the Government at the Centre. Also a small State like residuary Hyderabad by its very physical smallness and economic handicaps is bound to feel uncomfortable. I have a special reason argue a case for Vishalandhra to because I myself belong to minority community. In a bigger State the minorities shall form a more solid group and shall have their rights better protected than in a smaller region where their sentiments are apt to be more rashly over-run. Thus the political and economic interests of minorities shall be justly protected, and cause a feeling of security, which our institutions so heartily seek to Vishalandhra assures a safeguard. different future to Hyderabad itself with Hyderabad as the capital of Vishalandhra. The unfounded fears opponents must stand disof some pelled. The formation of Hyderabad as the capital offers enough guarantee for Hyderabad security and progress.

Further every State must possess a glorious past and glowing traditions for a legitimate pride and existences [Dr. Ebenezer]

Hyderabad gave a sad picture of feudalism and slavery-Vishalandhra has a historical and cultural identity to offer. Residuary Hyderabad has no cultural or political or economic identity and State without an identity is bound to lapse and develop a psychologic inferiority complex which it would be difficult to wipe off at any stage. Vishalandhra promiser later a legitimate growth. Indian history has witnessed fluctuating periods predominance of local patriotism and national glory alternatively. Whenever the former sentiments were in uscendance, India faced every conceivable calamity. To let history repeat itself and learn no lesson from history by giving vent to local and personal sentiments would be tragic indeed. It is time to get rid of "frogin-the-well mentality". It is time to rally our energies for prosperity and strengthen our revered leader's hands for a struggle for peace in the world. Panditji is the best referendum. Leave the matter to him to decide.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 23rd December, 1955.