

(Secretary)

Clause 3.

4. Page 1—

for clause 3, substitute:

"3. *Unlawful possession of railway stores.*—If any person is found, or is proved to have been, in possession of any article of railway stores reasonably suspected of being stolen or unlawfully obtained, and cannot account satisfactorily how he came by the same, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to five years or with fine or with both."

MOTION RE REPORT OF STATES
REORGANISATION COMMISSION

The Minister of Home Affairs
(Pandit G. B. Pant): I beg to move:

"That the Report of the States
Reorganisation Commission be
taken into consideration."

The motion that I have just made is
non-controversial.....

Shri Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh
Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West):
You are moving it in eclipse.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I, on my part at
least, have no desire to evoke any con-
troversy or to indulge in it unneces-
sarily. My purpose today is only to
request the hon. Members of the House
to let the Government have the benefit
of their views on that Report. This
Report is of great significance. The
occasion on which we have started dis-
cussion today may similarly prove to
be one of historical importance.

The Report was published about nine
weeks ago and at the very outset I
should like to place on record the
appreciation of the labours of the
members of the Commission, on my
behalf, on behalf of the Government
and, if I may say so, also on behalf
of this House. The members were
eminent men who had attained dis-
tinction in various fields of activity

and who were widely respected and
trusted for their experience, conscious-
ness impartiality, intelligence, ability
and competence to handle difficult and
intricate issues. The Commission had
an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court as
its Chairman. The recommendations
made by such a Commission necessarily
carry great weight. The country has
given the best thought to that Report
and the principles on which it is based,
the specific recommendations that it
has made and the proposals that are
embodied in it for the implementation
of the recommendations in every way.

Naturally the attention of the coun-
try has been rivetted on the Report
since its publication. Not only in the
cities but in the remote corners too it
has aroused considerable interest.
Even far off and far flung States like
Manipur and Tripura have been re-
sounding with its echoes. In some
places, it has given rise to passions,
heat and even embitterment of senti-
ments. That too is not altogether a
strange feature because the issues with
which this Report deals, touch the life
of the people intimately and closely
and it is not at all unintelligible that
some persons, because of their tem-
peramental differences or because of
their very strong convictions, have not
been able to exercise such restraint as
the consideration of a matter of this
type deserves and demands.

The Report, as had been repeatedly
stated here and also outside, has to be
considered and examined dispassionate-
ly and calmly and in a rational way.
Any other approach will be leading
almost to conclusions which will
neither be sanguine nor helpful.
Though the Report has attracted consi-
derable attention and people every-
where have given their best thought to
it, on the whole, life has been running
its even course and except in one or two
places there has been no ripple at least
on the surface. It is regrettable, how-
ever, that in one of the foremost cities
of our country, there were some violent
out-bursts but they were confined only

been the case upto this time. It shall be my endeavour to discuss this report as calmly as possible without bringing in the question of party or of group or of any region.

In order to understand this fully, one has to look to the genesis of this Commission: how it was appointed and why it was appointed. The House will remember that this Commission was appointed after the separation of Andhra. The separation of Andhra and its formation into a State was preceded by certain tragic events.

A good man with the best of intentions went on fast unto death in order to expedite the formation of Andhra State. He was allowed to make a martyr of himself. This had repercussions in Andhra and there was looting and arson; lives were lost and crores worth of property was destroyed. This had a lesson for the Government. If the Government had given effect to the report of the Jawharlal-Vallabhahai-Pattabhi Committee, all these ugly events may not have happened. Why did the Government not give effect to Jawaharlal-Vallabhahai-Pattabhi report? Government demanded a condition which it was impossible to fulfil. That condition was that there should be an agreed solution about the boundaries of the two provinces of Madras and Andhra. However, Government realised that this was not possible and proceeded with the work of separation of Andhra.

Two conclusions flowed from this. One was that the Government realised that there could be no agreed solution. In the absence of an agreed solution there were two alternatives left to the Government. One was to impose its own solution upon the country and another was to appoint an impartial committee to go into the whole matter. The latter course was adopted by the Government.

People also learnt a lesson from what happened in Andhra and it was a very bad lesson that they learnt. They thought that as soon as confusion was created, Government came

down and accepted what had been demanded. That was a very very bad precedent set and the Government could have been careful to see that no such impression was created.

The Commission was appointed. What was its task? Its task was to examine all the relevant facts in connection with the re-drawing the map of India, collect evidence, sift it and give its recommendations. The terms of reference of the Commission were not that the map of India was to be re-drawn on a linguistic basis. If that had been the case, their task, however difficult, would have been easier. But it contained other matters also. This was proper because India, though it is a federation, is a unique kind of federation. The federating units never existed as sovereign States. Whatever federal elements were added to the unitary Government of India, were for administrative convenience and afterwards as a measure of devolution of power. Therefore, to make language as the criterion for the re-drawing of the map of India would have been neither scientific nor would it have been helpful.

The terms of reference contained the condition that the units should be viable—not in terms of current budgets but in terms of an expanding economy. Then there was the question of administrative efficiency and geographical contiguity. The Committee was also to consider the cost of social dislocation that would result.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma (Kanpur Dist.—South cum Etawah Dist.—East): To which Committee is the hon. Member referring?

Acharya Kripalani: The Commission. Then of course the wishes of the people also could not be neglected. Above all there was the question of the unity of India on which depend the prosperity and defence of India. With all these terms of reference, I submit it would be impossible to satisfy the different and conflicting claims of all the areas or groups. I must also submit that when this Com-

[Acharya Kripalani]

mission was appointed, no objection was raised to its personnel. The Committee began its work—wherever I say Committee, it means this Commission.

The Commission began its work by inviting opinions. It got a plethora of memoranda. It moved throughout the length and breadth of the country, and collected evidence. I am afraid the memoranda that they received were not very helpful to them because many of them contained partisan claims, put forward by interested parties.

Not only this. Often there was agitation wherever they went. About this, the Commission says:

"The States, whether they are reorganised or not, are and will continue to be integral parts of a Union which is far and away the more real political entity and the basis of our nation-hood. Secondly the Constitution of India recognises only one citizenship, a common citizenship for the entire Indian people, with equal rights and opportunities throughout the Union. It may seem that we have merely stated what should be obvious to all. It is, however, patent that if the implications of these important facts had been fully appreciated and generally accepted, the question of territorial distribution would not have developed into a major national problem of disquieting proportions. It has been most distressing to us to witness, during the course of our enquiry, a kind of border warfare in certain areas in which old comrades-in-arms..... (Remember this comrades in the battle for freedom) have been pitted against one another in acrimonious controversy, showing little appreciation of the fact that the States are but the limbs of the same body politic and that territorial readjustments between them should not assume the form of disputes between alien powers. Deliberate efforts to whip up

popular frenzy by an appeal to parochial and communal sentiment; threats of large-scale migration; assertions such as that, if a certain language group is not allowed to have an administrative unit of its own, its moral, material and even physical extinction would follow as an inevitable consequence; and finally incidents such as those in Goalpara, Parlakimedi, Ludhiana and Amritsar; all point to an acute lack of perspective and balance."

This is the opinion of the Commission about what happened during the course of its tours. With this background I submit that the leaders should have been more careful in expressing their opinions about the work of the Commission and its recommendations. At least the leaders in the Government should have been more careful because they had appointed the Commission; but, I am sorry to say, that this was not done. The authorities gave certain opinions which opened the doors for discussion and agitation. It was said that some of the recommendations of the Commission were astounding, they were surprising, and yet what was surprising in those recommendations was not stated. The result of this was that if anybody had a pet scheme that had not been accepted by the Commission it was thought that that was the surprising portion of the Commission's Report. This created confusion, a confusion which need not have been there, which need not have been created. If anybody wanted to say that certain proposals of the Commission were astounding he should have definitely stated what were the astounding recommendations of the Commission. To make a general statement like that was very disconcerting.

Not only that. There is another thing for which I must blame the Government. Instead of giving opinions if they had called a meeting of the leaders of groups and taken counsel with them, it is quite possible there would have been no agreement,

to a day or perhaps a few more afternoons. In another place, obscure and hardly well-known, there was an ugly scene. But for these incidents, on the whole, the people have maintained their usual self-control and dealt with the problems that they have to face from day-to-day without being swerved from the right path. The activities in the constructive field have not suffered in any way even on account of the various issues brought to the forefront by the Report affecting diverse groups.

12 Noon.

The Prime Minister has, ever since the publication of this Report, laid foundations of a number of big industrial projects. It is a testimony to the innate nature of our people that though the issues involved in the discussions are intricate and delicate, and though in some places passions have been excited, they have nonetheless behaved with dignity and attended to their duties in a calm, peaceful and unruffled manner. Not only have we noticed this even course of things going on in an undisturbed way but we had, during this interval since the Report was published, the privilege of welcoming some distinguished guests who have travelled all over the country and have been received everywhere in a very cordial way. People have shown their capacity to do the right thing and to see everything in a correct perspective. What is needed today is a balanced approach towards the problems with which the Report deals. So far as the public is concerned, it has shown the way that should be adopted in matters of this type. Millions are affected by the Report, but they have been following the course of their everyday life with grace and have been giving due respect to those who deserve it.

- The last few weeks have synchronised with the visit of distinguished statesmen from Russia and also the King of Saudi Arabia. Everywhere, in spite of the discussions that we have been continuing, they have received cordial welcome. I had the pleasure of reading this morning the statement that has been issued by the leaders of our

country and Russia. They refer therein to the policy which we have accepted, to the principles which are embodied in that sacred doctrine of Panch Shila and the methods of settlement by negotiations even in international field, to which we have committed ourselves. It seems to me a proper reminder of the way we must settle our own problems. Even where we are concerned with issues which do not come within our domestic sphere, we are determined to solve and settle them by negotiations and by means which should be peaceful. It is all the reason therefore, why we should settle all our problems by agreement. That is our hope, and that is our desire. The decisions will bear upon the lives of a large number of people in the various States that exist today or that will be carved in the manner suggested by the Commission. It is necessary that proper atmosphere should be created so that the new States may start function in a fruitful way. If they have to begin their work in inflamed, embittered conditions, then the future will not be as bright as we would like it to be; at least some time will be wasted. Yesterday this House passed the Constitution (Amendment) Bill unanimously. That indicates that this is a national endeavour, and all hon. Members are determined to reach satisfactory solutions and to see that concrete shape is given to them within the minimum time possible. The background seems to me to be sufficiently propitious. So we can go forward with hope and courage.

I came across some suggestions which have appeared in the pages of some papers to the effect that this Report should be put in cold storage and that no action should be taken on it for 10, 15 or say 25 years. Some people perhaps would like it to be buried completely. I do not at all suspect the motives of the persons who have expressed this view. They think that this Report may create trouble in the country, that we may not be able to carry out the programme of reconstruction to which we are pledged and wedded, that other hindrances may be created in the process of re-drawing

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of the administrative map of India. I think that is a counsel of despair. I also feel that that is not in the series of events which have led us to this stage. This is not a document which has been sprung on us unexpectedly. The demand for the rationalisation of the administrative boundaries of States in this country is an old one. It was made even more than forty years ago. The Congress accepted the principle in 1920 and Congress provinces were carved on that basis shortly thereafter. It is admitted that the provinces that were formed during the days of British imperialism had hardly any rational, cultural or economic basis; they were determined by the vicissitudes of the fortunes of the British in this country. They were only interested in maintaining their strangle-hold and they did not take any particular care in seeing that the cultural, economic and other aspects were kept in view in demarcating the boundaries of the States.

This fact was realised even by the British administrators themselves. In the Report of 1919 which was issued by Chelmsford and Montague, it was suggested that the States should be reorganised. After that when another Commission came here that view was further ratified. But, so far as the Congress is concerned, it had been repeatedly reiterating its faith in the cultural redistribution of the States so that the people and the administration might come closer, and facilities in the matter of education might be rationalised. In other ways also, for example in the matter of trade, business etc., persons living within a State might have full facilities so as to be able to transact their business in as simple and straightforward a manner as might be possible.

The question was further considered when the Constituent Assembly was formed. The Dar Commission was appointed to examine it especially with reference to certain States such as Karnataka, Kerala etc. Andhra was then a part of Madras Presidency. That Commission went into the question and it laid down the principles which should be kept in view in the forma-

tion of new States. It laid emphasis on the point that while language was an important factor to be kept in view, there were other considerations which ought not to be overlooked and which deserved, on all such occasions, a very correct appreciation and appraisal. It is only by balancing the various factors that sound decisions would be reached. But, that Commission earnestly advised the Constituent Assembly not to break up the States as they then existed, at that stage of our political development.

Later on the J. V. P. Report was published. As hon. Members are aware the Congress appointed a Commission consisting of the foremost leaders of our country. That Report dealt with the problem in a very piecemeal way and it again reiterated the canons which one should keep in view in determining issues of this type.

After that, again in accordance with the recommendations of the J. V. P. Report, the State of Andhra was formed about two years ago. A declaration was made on the floor of this House by the Prime Minister and in pursuance of that declaration that State was constituted.

Now, that did not, however, put an end to the wishes, the longings and the urges of the people who had been pressing for the formation of what was then styled as 'linguistic provinces'. The Government then decided to appoint a Commission to go through the entire ground. They realised that piecemeal settlement of these problems would not be satisfactory. In fact, the States are so related, inter-connected and inter-linked that changes made in one would react on the other, and those on the other on the next neighbour. So, in order to settle all these outstanding issues in a satisfactory way at one and the same time this Commission was appointed, and I venture to submit that it was not appointed a day too soon.

Those who now ask for the shelving of the Report ignore the history of the problem and the various stages which have led up to this consummation. It would leave the issues hanging, prolong

the suspense which uncertainty brings and cause greater damage than the difficulty which seems to be involved today in the discussion of these issues and in their peaceful settlement. It also betrays in a way the lack of faith in the Parliament and in the people of the country. We have to our credit great achievements. There is no reason why there should be any feeling of nervousness. We want to settle all problems and the more difficult they are the greater the challenge, and we are prepared to take any challenge with which we may be faced. We want to leave for posterity a greater, stronger, smoother, advancer and prosperous India than it is today. We would not willingly and deliberately postpone any issues simply because of the difficulty involved in their solutions. The Parliament itself has handled many difficult matters. The Hindu Succession Bill is under consideration these days and it has already passed through one House. The Untouchability Bill was passed the other day and so was the Companies Bill. Many other achievements have been attained. In the international field the country has reached a status which can only evoke a sense of pride and jubilation in every citizen of the country. The principles and the policies that have been enunciated by our Prime Minister have been adopted by most advanced countries. He has given a lead to them; his words are listened to with respect and attention by the leaders of other countries which are known as great powers. I was reading today the remarks that appear to have been made by one of the distinguished visitors to this country that India deserves to be the leader of the comity of nations and that there is every reason why she should be given as distinguished a place as any other nation might be occupying in the World Councils today. So, with all these advantages, with all its achievements, we can certainly afford now to deal with the domestic issues too. I personally have no feeling of diffidence nor one of dismay. I am certain that we will be able to stick to our programme and to do so with the goodwill

and co-operation of all sections of opinion in this country and to launch the new States in accordance with the decisions taken by Parliament in the first week of October next. That is our wish and that is our hope and we are determined to see it through. That can, however, only be possible if all of us combine together and apply ourselves to this difficult and intricate task in a co-operative spirit.

The proposals of the Commission are known to the House. I am thankful to the Lok Sabha Secretariat for the analytical summary and a map that they have prepared. That will give in a succinct form the contents of the Report which, as hon. Members are aware, can be roughly divided into three parts. The first one deals with the principles on which the recommendations are based. Those principles were, to some extent, indicated in the resolution that was issued and in the statement that was made on the floor of this House when this Commission was appointed. First and foremost importance was to be given to the unity and security of India. Other considerations, those relating to language, culture, financial viability, economic self-sufficiency, administrative convenience, etc., were also to be borne in mind in solving the problems which had been referred to the Commission. The position that we occupy is related not to the States but to India as such. We have the privilege of belonging to a great country but a country cannot be great simply because it has a huge population nor because of its 'big nation' size. It is the unity of the people and it is their pursuit of common ideals that give a country the strength that raises it in the eyes of others and enables us to order life in the manner it considers best. So, that is undoubtedly the main condition which must be fulfilled in any scheme of reorganisation that we may make. The unity of India is not a new fangled political notion. It has been there from times of yore. In the midst of the rich variety that we see in our country, there has been a fundamental unity that has sustained the people, their

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synthetic culture, and contributed to their advancement. We have to guard against fissiparous tendencies, against disruptive forces that are still at work. So, it becomes all the more necessary that while dealing with this question of reorganisation of States no bitterness is aroused and no new cleavages are fomented. It is essential that these problems should be viewed in a balanced way and with a determination to maintain, preserve and promote the unity of this great and ancient country. Anything that tends to disturb that unity will do greater harm than any advantage that might accrue from the rational reorganisation of the States: and this unity has to be not only political but also emotional. Persons living within the same State or in the neighbouring States have to realise that the salvation of all lies in the sweetness of their relations and in their being imbued with the genuine spirit of fellowship and comradeship. After all, our Constitution recognises only the citizen of India. Our citizenship is not related to political or other reasons. One can enjoy the rights only as citizen of India and all other divisions must be viewed in that light. They should not in any way impair that basic sense of citizenship. Sometimes, in the discussions and controversies that have been provoked by these proposals people seem to forget the elementary fact that though floating on the surface, this is more important than anything else that we may do. We have also to remember that there are still adverse forces interested in aggravating our difficulties. The problem of Goa is before us. Our neighbours in the East and the West are not as friendly as we would like them to be. So, let us not be involved in petty quarrels and let us be determined to solve all domestic issues in a becoming way with dignity, with suavity and with grace. Without a spirit of accommodation and determination to maintain the prestige of the country not only in the eyes of our own people, but also outside, we may not be able to achieve all that we desire. So, we have to bear all these

various principles in mind while taking decisions.

Language decidedly is a very important factor which is intimately and inextricably connected with culture. It reflects the mind and also to some extent the spirit of the people. Language can be a uniting factor; but, if viewed in a narrow way, linguistic divisions can also be sources of danger. For, if we are to be caught up in isolated islands separated from each other, then the strength of the country, instead of being enhanced by these arrangements, will be further impaired. We reconcile ourselves to this demarcation of the boundaries of the States, only with a view to raise the strength of the country. It is to give the greatest satisfaction, to prepare the ground to satisfy the wishes and the appetite of the people, so that they may live together in friendliness and concentrate on the real task of reconstruction. After all, what we need is the growth, the development of every single citizen in this country. We want everyone living in this land to have the fullest scope to rise to the maximum height of which he is capable. So, whether we be in one State or another, we have to create conditions which will conduce to the fulfilment of this aim. Anything short of that will not give us the combined strength which we desire. So, while emphasising the efficacy and even the potency of the linguistic principles, we must also admit that it has its limitations. The Commission has said that the principle which was advanced by some about 'one language, one State' is impracticable. It is obviously so. In our country, though there are linguistic groups in majorities in certain areas, still people speaking the language of that particular area also live in other States and in other regions. In fact, I have examined the figures and I find that even in States which must be regarded as unilingual States, the minorities exist in large numbers and in substantial proportion. In Assam, almost 50 per cent. are non-Assamese speaking people. In other States that are now to be formed, the percentage of the people whose language will be

different from the language of the majority varies from 6 per cent. to 30 or 35 per cent. So, we have to see that in forming these States, no aspect is given undue importance and no relevant factor is ignored. If things are viewed in that light, I would hope that there will be no difficulty in reaching agreed conclusions. We all wish to promote, to foster the growth and development of every language. Fourteen languages are mentioned in the Constitution; but there are even others which do not find a place there. There are, I think, about 2 or 3 crores of people in our country who do not speak any of these 14 languages. Yet, they have a right to unfettered growth as much as those who have the privilege of belonging to these recognised linguistic groups.

The suggestions made by the Commission are worthy of respect. They have dealt with the matter with great care. They travelled all over the country from one end to the other. They received thousands and thousands of representations, met numberless deputations and also examined hundreds or perhaps thousands of individuals. The Report bears the stamp of their objective, balanced, unprejudiced and impartial approach. The recommendations of the Commission are not the last word and it is open to the House to make such changes as might be considered necessary and likely to produce better results. But, we should not lightly tamper with those recommendations, because, none of us has given as much of time and thought to the problem as the Commission had the opportunity of doing.

The Commission, as is known to the Members, has suggested the abolition of the institution of Rajpramukhs. It has also proposed that there should be only one class of States and the different classes, such as A, B and C should not continue hereafter, and that there should be States and Centrally Administered Territories. The number of States that they would like to see after formation comes to sixteen and the Territories that they have suggested are no more than three: Manipur,

Deihi and Andamans and Nicobar. The States that they have suggested are, as I said, sixteen including Jammu and Kashmir. Some of the suggestions relate more or less only to the readjustment of boundaries. Not that they are unimportant. In the case, for example, of Bihar and Bengal, the area is pretty large and there are strong sentiments which have even led to emotional upheavals on both sides. But, the proposals relating to the adjustment of boundaries are of a minor character and it is not necessary, I think, for this House to give too much of time to that. Some of them will certainly call for consideration.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

But there are a few others which, if not trivial, are of a minor character and can be well left out of discussion here.

Some new States are proposed to be formed such as Karnataka, Kerala, the Bombay State, which, according to the Commission should continue as a bi-lingual State. Then, there is the State of Vidarbha which is to be formed out of the existing Madhya Pradesh. As a result of the splitting of Hyderabad, there will be the new State of Telangana which if combined with Andhra will result in the birth of Visal Andhra as it is called. There are other States which are affected more or less. But, some of them, I think, are of a non-controversial nature.

The Press has given considerable attention to the proposals. The reaction produced by the report was, I think, satisfactory. The suggestions made by the Commission have been almost accepted in many cases. I am leaving aside the border disputes for the present. But, the bigger questions have been to a large extent settled. There are two or three important, far-reaching and complex issues, however, which have got to be fully resolved.

The Commission has suggested the formation of the bi-lingual State of Bombay.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

The Karnataka districts are to be taken out of the existing Bombay Presidency or State, Marthwada from Hyderabad is to be attached to it in the south and Saurashtra in the north. That is the suggestion of the Commission. When I read the report I was personally greatly impressed by two of the proposals contained in it. One is about this bi-lingual State of Bombay. It seemed to me to be a very wholesome sort of a solution of a baffling problem. The city of Bombay, which is the gateway of India and the commercial capital too, has well occupied a conspicuous place not only in our industrial and commercial, but also in our public life. So, it would continue to occupy that place in a big State without being severed from the other parts with which it has been combined for many many years. That seemed to me to be an original idea. Anyway, it had not struck me. I felt really greatly relieved when I saw this. But, it has not commanded itself to all those who are interested in the matter. We want a satisfactory solution. The Congress Working Committee has given an alternative proposal. I will not discuss the merits of these proposals. Our endeavour is to bring about a peaceful settlement which would satisfy all concerned and ensure the progress and the maintenance of the prestige of Bombay and of every part that is at present comprised in the State of Bombay.

The report also recommended that Telangana might, for the present, remain separate, but it could decide after five years, by a two-thirds majority, to join Andhra. It would perhaps be better, according to some people, if such a merger or unification were made now, so that all might concentrate on the work of reconstruction from the day the State is reformed and no one might be harassed by the idea of later changes coming after an interval of 5 years. About the State of Vidarbha there

was the question whether it should remain separate or join Maharashtra or the bi-lingual State of Bombay. These points were considered to the extent we were able to do so upto this stage. And there seemed to be, a difference of opinion in this regard too. We hope that it will be possible to compose all differences so that what emerges ultimately may not only be acceptable but may give complete satisfaction to all concerned.

There is the proposal in the Report about the merger of PEPUSU and Himachal Pradesh in Punjab. The people of Himachal Pradesh seemed to be anxious to concentrate on their development for a few years more without merging their identity in any other State. That question too has to be considered. In the Punjab, all the other issues have been raised; the problems are complicated, and they are not purely of a linguistic character, but are coloured by other sentiments, and perhaps political aspirations or ambitions. So, the question of Punjab needs further attention.

These are the main States to which the Report refers. I need not say anything more about them. But there is one part of the Report which seems to me to be of considerable importance, but which has not yet received the attention that it deserves. That part relates to the safeguards that linguistic minorities should have in the predominantly linguistic States. As I have said a few minutes ago, it is necessary that there should be elbow-room for every citizen, whatever his language, and there should be unfettered scope for advancement for every citizen. In order that everyone living in a State, whatever his language, may have equal opportunities of self-expression and self-realisation and self-development, it is necessary to provide adequate safeguards. I shall not go through them, but they deserve very careful consideration, for if proper and effective safeguards are provided, that will reassure people who are at present

concentrating and laying emphasis on the linguistic aspect; further, if every person has the opportunity of growing to his full stature, whether he speaks one language or the other, the problem is simplified to some extent.

There are at present several restrictions in the matter of employment, in the matter of education, and in some places in the matter of possession or enjoyment of land. They do not fit in with the spirit of our Constitution according to which, every citizen of India should have the opportunity of enjoying all rights, privileges and amenities in every part of India. But it has not been so everywhere, and the Commission have drawn special attention to that aspect. There have been some complaints about public appointments. So, the Commission have made some suggestions about appointments to the Public Service Commissions. I may, however, state here that these proposals were discussed with the Chief Ministers, but some of them did not meet with their approval. Still, the Parliament is seized of them, and it can express its views in the way it considers sound and proper.

Then, there is the question of the procedure to be adopted and followed after the decision on the formation of these new States has been taken. The new States will be formed, let us assume in October. So, some interim arrangements will have to be made; some sort of Legislatures will have to be provided, unless the President takes over the administration everywhere, which does not seem a feasible proposition. So, Parliament will have to take a decision as to how these interim Legislatures should be constituted. Similarly, there will be other matters relating to the reorganisation of services, the division of assets and liabilities etc. on which will depend the formation of the new States. All these will have to be looked into and considered. They may come at a later stage, but I wish

that the House may be pleased to give thought to all the parts of the Report and not to the proposals relating to the reorganisation specifically of certain States. Those proposals are of great significance especially to those who will be directly affected by them, but the basic principles and the safeguards are of general application, and must be viewed in that light as being of still greater importance.

I started by saying that the Report dealt with matters which did not come within the limited purview of any party. In fact, within every party, I think, there are different trends of thought, and different groups too. So, the problem has to be considered in a national spirit. It is only thus that sound conclusions will be reached. And I hope that when the House has debated the suggestions that are contained in this Report, we will have made one further advance towards our goal. It will serve as a milestone in the road which we have been traversing and which is steadily leading us on to realms of prosperity and spiritual, moral, ethical and cultural self-fulfilment, not only of individuals but of the nation.

1 P.M.

So I would appeal to the Members to set an example again. Some people say that we are on our trial, that the nation is on its trial. I do not myself share that view. The nation has accomplished many tasks which were more complicated and more intricate. We had only a few years ago 600 States in this country which had a different form of administration, which were scattered all over the length and breadth of this land. Yet by the genius, the organising capacity and the unique skill of Sardar Patel, all those States were reorganised. There was not any insuperable difficulty. What we have to do now is, in a way, not more but less difficult, because here we all are now used to a particular form of administration. The cultural affinities are

[Pandit G. B. Pant]

there binding us all together. We all realise the importance of maintaining the great prestige and reputation of our country, and the issues, in a way, are simple. So I appeal to all Members, to everyone in this House, to deal with the matter in a becoming, graceful, calm and dispassionate way so that the credit and the reputation of this great House may be further enhanced and raised and we may be worthy of the trust that has been reposed in us by the people of our great country. ✓

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission be taken into consideration".

Before we start with the discussion, I should like to know from the hon. Members who have proposed amendments as to whether they would like to move them. Dr. Lanka Sundaram has tabled two amendments.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): I beg to move:

(1) That for the original motion the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, regrets that the Commission—

(a) has rejected the linguistic principle as the sole criterion for the reorganisation of States; and

(b) did not make its recommendations to ensure a suitable balance of power between the North and the South; and

in consequence, this House requests the Government to remedy these two defects in the recommendations of the Commission before it proceeds with their implementation."

(2) That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission,—

(a) regrets that the Commission has not adopted a uniform set of norms in their proposals for creation of the States by making their recommendations for the creation of Vidarbha and Telangana (Hyderabad) States side by side with the new Madhya Pradesh State and the suggested retention of the present Uttar Pradesh State; and

(b) consequently, this House requests the Government to proceed forthwith with the creation of Visal Andhra, Samyukta Karnataka, Aikya Kerala and the Punjabi-speaking States, besides appointing a series of Boundary Commissions to settle once and for all disputes relating to border territories and bi-lingual areas etc."

Shri Madhao Reddi (Adilabad): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, approves of the recommendation contained therein about the formation of a separate State of Telangana which will be known as Hyderabad State with the following modifications:—

(1) this State should consist of nine Telugu speaking districts, Tandur and Kondangal Tehsils of Gulberga district and Alampur and Gadwal Tehsils of Raichur district of the present State of Hyderabad;

(2) the multi-lingual district of Bidar should be divided and the Telugu speaking area should be merged with this State;

[Shri Madhao Reddi]

(3) a Boundary Commission should be appointed for suitable adjustments of the borders of this State; and

(4) it should be provided that the unification of this State with Andhra should be made possible if the Legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State formed after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1957, expresses itself in favour of such unification."

Mr. Speaker: Amendments moved:

(1) That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, regrets that the Commission—

(a) has rejected the linguistic principle as the sole criterion for the reorganisation of States; and

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of the present Uttar Pradesh State; and

(b) consequently, this House requests the Government to proceed forthwith with the creation of Visal Andhra, Sanyukta Karnataka, Aikya Kerala and the Punjabi-speaking States, besides appointing a series of Boundary Commissions to settle once and for all disputes relating to border territories and bi-lingual areas etc."

(3) That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, approves of the recommendation contained therein about the formation of a separate State of the Telangana which will be known as Hyderabad State with the following modifications:—

(1) this State should consist of nine Telugu speaking districts, Tandur and Kondangal Tehsils of Gulberga district and Alampur and Gadwal Tehsils of Raichur district of the present State of Hyderabad;

(2) the multi-lingual district of Bidar should be divided and the Telugu speaking area should be merged with this State;

(3) a Boundary Commission should be appointed for suitable adjustments of the borders of this State; and

(4) it should be provided that the unification of this State with Andhra should be made possible if the Legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State formed after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1957, expresses itself in favour of such unification."

The discussion will, of course, be common to the Report as well as the amendments.

[Mr. Speaker]

Before we proceed further, I would like to say a few words giving hon. Members my mind about the conduct of this debate. There is a lot of material and lot of points, and if the debate is to be useful, we should try and channelise them so far as possible. After I had made an announcement on the 9th instant in connection with the debate on this Report, I have received a very large number of communications from hon. Members stating the various points that they desire to urge and the names of the hon. Members who would like to speak with reference to those points, or otherwise participate in the debate. I am sincerely thankful to all the Members who have taken pains to send me their communications. But, if I may say so, the communications have taken a line different from what I had in mind and what I had suggested. I had desired to have names of speakers representing a particular view or set of views with points involved in those views. Instead, I have got a very large number of names of Members who would like to speak on the various points. Obviously, in spite of the best desire of the Chair to give everyone a chance, it may not be possible to accommodate such a large number of Members as have communicated their names and points.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam):
What is the number?

Mr. Speaker: Two hundred. I am more anxious to have before the House and the Government the various views, and not necessarily to give an opportunity to every Member to say something in respect of what has already been said once by representative speakers. All the same, the Chair will try its best to adjust, as far as possible, to give opportunities to as many hon. Members as possible. By the very nature of things, the debate cannot be arranged with strict demarcations of the subjects or the points for discussion or the sequence of those discussions. All the same, I think, if hon. Members are agreeable,

we can have a rough outline of the debate, both for the points as also for the sequence. Some points or references are bound to be overlapping and it will be impossible to have a clearcut division in respect of each subject or each point. All the same, if hon. Members are inclined, we may adopt some such procedure as I state hereafter for division of those points and speakers as also for sequence of subjects.

I may again say that the Chair does not want to lay any rule about this. We shall be able to evolve some better method as the debate proceeds. The anxiety of the Chair is to ensure that every point of view is given an opportunity to be stated on the floor of the House. The Chair has visualised the following broad aspects, aspects which it may call general aspects arising from the Report, such as principles of reorganisation, whether language should be the only factor or otherwise, how far considerations about economic conditions of a proposed State, its viability etc. should be taken into account—this discussion of the aspect will not include any specific proposals about formation of any particular State—; considerations of the unity of the Union and its defence, the economic progress of the entire country and the various schemes of economic betterment in the form of river valley projects etc.

I am stating the general points as have struck me:—the most desirable size of a State, both with reference to the area as also to the population; whether there need be only one State with reference to one language; whether there could be composite States, and safeguards in connection with proposals for composite States.

Then there are specific issues with regard to concrete proposals about various proposals of the Commission. These mainly refer to the following points:—composite States of Bombay, Punjab and PEPSU; abolition of Part C States where there are legislatures—this will also include the question of proposals regarding

Centrally administered areas which have no legislatures, such as Manipur and Tripura, and their future—; the creation of Visal Andhra or a separate State of Telengana; revision of some States in respect of some border districts which are proposed to be taken from one State and added to the other; for example, proposals in respect of Bihar and West Bengal and Karnataka, at present part of the Bombay State; creation of new provinces of Madhya Pradesh, Vidarbha, coupled with the disappearance of some existing States like Madhya Bharat and Himachal Pradesh and others.

Besides the above, there are a number of other points which are either incidental or of a minor nature, though important. To my mind, it will be better if we could organise the debate in such a manner that we first discuss the general aspects and then the cases of specific States such as the present Bombay State, case of Vidarbha, case of Maha Punjab and the case of Visal Andhra or Telengana. I have already referred to the areas which are either Part C States or Centrally administered. We may then go to the question of border States which, to my mind, need not be discussed in detail at the present stage. However, it may be necessary to give broad indications as to why the boundaries should be settled in a particular way and not in a certain other way. Hon. Members will appreciate the difficulty that every Member will get only one chance to speak and if any Member tries to cover the entire topic each of them will have to be given so much of time that there will be hardly any time for other Members to put their case before the House. With a view to give as many Members as possible an opportunity to present their views on the various aspects and to avoid repetition, I request hon. Members desirous of speaking to be as brief as possible and not to repeat what has been said before. My idea at present is to give the House an idea as to how my mind is working in the

direction of conducting the debate. There is no finality about it as we shall be reviewing the position as the debate proceeds and adjusting according to the needs of the discussion and the general wishes of the House.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy (Salem): There should be a time limit.

Mr. Speaker: I have already stated when I made the announcement that half an hour will be the limit. But I think, even if I say so, if we could have a representative speaker from a group, he may have to be given some more time, not very much more, but as he represents a group—not in the sense of Parliamentary parties, but group means sharing the same views—he may have to be given some more time. The hon. Members will have to remember that. Otherwise some hon. Members may not get an opportunity and though I will be sorry I will be helpless about it.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon cum Mavelikkara): This is a very important subject on which every Member of this House wants to speak. So my humble submission is that the time that may be allotted to each speaker may be according to groups.

Mr. Speaker: That point was considered by me and in view of the complicated nature of the problems I felt that it will not be possible to split up the time in that manner. Every Member who gets some time must just confine within that time. Rather than partition time amongst the Members, I am desirous to see that it is partitioned for the purposes of representing as many views as there are existing on the report. That is how my mind is working.

Shri Radha Raman (Delhi City): You should devote separate days for separate aspects.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member, when he makes a suggestion, should see that if I adopt that I must allow some Members at least to speak twice or thrice in the debate. That is neither desirable nor proper.

[Mr. Speaker]

Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah): Among the proposals that you have discussed I do not see a proposal for Dakshina Pradesh.

Mr. Speaker: I am not referring to that because Chair is not concerned with this or that. The Chair is only giving directions about the merits. I am merely stating the line as to how the debate should be conducted. If the hon. Members who participate want to raise such points, they ought to raise such points.

Pandit G. B. Pant: In the case of the observation that you just made, you have not referred to Part IV relating to linguistic minorities. It has been left out.

Mr. Speaker: I have not mentioned it prominently. But I have stated at one place "safeguards". That is what I have said. But I am thankful that the attention of the House is invited by the hon. Home Minister to this aspect.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: The discussion is spread over a period of two weeks. What is the position with regard to the amendments? Will it be taken notice of from this moment or will they be moved at every stage?

Mr. Speaker: I think, constitutionally speaking, I should not prevent any amendments coming in. But the practical difficulty will be that the Members who have already taken part in the debate will be deprived of the opportunity of having their say in respect of the new amendments. I should, therefore, appeal to the Members not to file any new amendments. But it is a matter of their choice if they want to do so. I may tell the difficulty. If the debate goes on for 9 days I do not know how many amendments will be coming in from day to day. But I do not mind if any amendments are coming in.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): The real difficulty will be for those who would be called upon to vote when moving the motion. I

would like to know whether once a particular amendment is put to the vote and it is negatived by the House at this stage, will it mean that in the future when the Bill comes up the opinion of the House will be regarded to have been categorically reflected by this vote?

Mr. Speaker: That point also is a point for the hon. Members to bear in mind. I had an idea of inviting attention to this point when the time for voting came and not at present. It may be that the idea of an amendment is to invite pointed attention to a particular aspect in the form of amendments. But it will be a difficult thing to say as to what will happen if the House negatives the amendment. As I have said in my first announcement here, my idea is not to come to any particular decision now. However, we will discuss it later on.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad): Is it not the position that according to our Rules when a matter is decided, it cannot be raised only in the same session?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member will see the propriety of the point raised by Shrimati Renu Chakravartty. Surely, anything that the Government will do for the implementation of this measure is not coming up in this session. But it will be rather awkward and embarrassing; but the Government should have consideration for the views expressed by this House. That is more important than the right of the individual Members to move amendments. That is how I think. It is a matter of propriety.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): As a matter of fact, this opportunity was given to the House for expression of opinion on this report. We are not discussing this point in respect of the Constitution (amendment) Bill. The States will also be consulted for this purpose. I think that the motion should be that "the report will be taken into consideration for ascertaining the views". There is no question of any amendment being put to the vote of the

House now. I would, therefore, rather appeal to those who have moved any amendments to take back their amendments. This opportunity should be utilized only for the purposes of giving their views.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): I thought that it was the general desire of the Business Advisory Committee that this stage should be utilised for the purpose of pin-pointing the more representative opinions on the different important aspects in the reorganisation scheme throughout India and it is not the stage when we should press anything to a division so that on some important matters Government might be willing to accept our views having regard to the cogency of the arguments. But if an amendment is negatived in the House, then it may imperil the legislative judgment or the final judgment of the House and may preclude the possibility of its inclusion in the Reorganisation Bill itself.

Mr. Speaker: There is also another aspect to it, namely, that the State Legislatures have not yet fully expressed their opinions in all cases. The Government are receiving them and it will not be proper for this House to come to any decision without knowing the opinions in the States. But these are all matters of propriety and I cannot bar a Member from tabling an amendment; I can only appeal to Members not to have any amendments. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava has already done it. Every Member will have that right and whether he should exercise it or not is a different matter.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I have given notice of two amendments and I would like to say a word before requesting the House to allow me to withdraw them. The object in my giving notice of the amendments was to pin-point certain aspects of the matter and the right of withdrawal is there in respect of a motion. If it is the decision that they should not be on the Order Paper, I am prepared to withdraw them.

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to give that decision, because it affects a fundamental right. I am not going to decide that it shall not be on the Order Paper. As I explained at first, I would appeal to Members not to table amendments to this.

Shri Lokenath Mishra (Puri): In your analysis, you have made an omission about the boundary disputes in which Bihar and Orissa are involved. Why is it that Orissa is a State which has nothing to say in the matter of this boundary dispute? I would suggest that discussion may go on State-wise so that we may put forth our claims definitely before the House. Otherwise, I am afraid the fair claims of Orissa will go by mere lapse.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member will see the difficulty which I pointed out. Though we are dividing the points into general and specific, it will be difficult to have a particular scheme or particular division of the subjects. That is my difficulty which I have already explained to the House. Whatever I have stated here is not exhaustive, it is only illustrative. I am not touching all possible points that are likely to be taken up. Let us see how the debate proceeds and adjust things.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: We are perturbed by the expression repeated by the hon. Home Minister—minor boundary adjustments. But that is a very important matter, a matter of life and death for a poor State like Orissa and also for a poor State like that to which I belong. What I am now pointing out is that I am very earnest that there should be no amendment moved and no amendment voted upon. May I appeal to Dr. Lanka Sundaram to set the precedent and to withdraw his amendments?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I have declared my point very clearly. It is not

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

meant for taking a vote on it but it is only meant for pin-pointing certain aspects of the matter in the discussion. I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendments.

The amendments were, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: There is still one other hon. Member, Shri Madhao Reddi.

Shri Madhao Reddi: Before I withdraw my amendment I would like to submit that this is an unusual procedure that we are adopting. We are discussing the matter and leaving it without giving any directives to Government in framing the Bill. As no decision will be taken by the House, there is no point in giving any amendment.

Mr. Speaker: He may bring out those points in his speech. As I said, there is this question about the propriety of the House taking any decisions before the reports or the proceedings of all the legislatures are available to hon. Members and to Government.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi):
rose—

Shri Madhao Reddi: I have already agreed to withdraw my amendment and beg leave to withdraw it.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: May I know from the Chair whether when once the decision has been taken by Parliament with regard to Bellary in regard to the boundary dispute, it will be open for the S.R.C. Bill again to change the decision of the House.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is raising the same point which I explained twice. My first appeal that there should not be any amendment and there should not be any decision

now was made for the reason that if once a decision is taken, it will be placing this House and Parliament in a very embarrassing and awkward position. The Members' view points may be stated in their speeches.

Shri C. K. Nair (Outer Delhi): May I make a request to the hon. Home Minister who in his opening address has remarked practically about every State and its position, but omitted the Centrally administered areas, about which we need some clarification?

Mr. Speaker: What he said need not be considered at this stage. He may reply when he gets a chance to speak.

Acharya Kripalani (Bhagalpur cum Purnea): I have listened to the learned speech of the hon. Home Minister. I am very glad that he ended with an optimistic note that the discussion on this Report will be carried on in a calm atmosphere. The subject that we are discussing today is so controversial and it has so powerfully excited the emotions of the people that it becomes rather difficult to say anything which will satisfy everybody.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Whatever one may say, if it goes counter to the preconceived interests of a group or a party, one is suspect and one is likely to annoy dear friends. Under such circumstances it will be the path of wisdom to remain silent. But even this advice of perfection is not open to us when vital issues concerning the welfare of the nation are involved. Therefore whatever the consequences to individuals, one has got to speak.

The Report that is based upon investigated facts and sifted evidence by a group of impartial persons, if it is to be fruitfully discussed, must be discussed in a dispassionate, calm and reasonable atmosphere free from emotion, passion, prejudice and prepossession. But I am afraid this has not

but it is also quite possible that these leaders might have issued directions for the conduct of agitation about the recommendations. This at least the leaders, if they had been called together, would have considered as their a minimum duty. Even this was not done. Why? Because, it is considered that Congress is the country and there is no national problem which cannot be solved by it, in which anybody else need be consulted. Even on an innocent thing like the Ambar Charkha the Congress met as if nobody else has anything to do with Ambar Charkha. Everything is to be decided by the Congress, all national issues, without reference to any other party. Nothing would have been lost if a few leaders belonging to other groups had been called and there would have been consultation of how at least the agitation in the country was to be directed.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Prestige.

Acharya Kripalani: My friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee says, it is a question of prestige. Prestige is a very old thing and we thought it disappeared with the foreign rule from India.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West): Reborn again.

Acharya Kripalani: Now, let us see the objections that have been raised. I am sorry to say that the objections that have been raised are not based on linguistic considerations only. Wherever a group or a region has found it to its advantage to repudiate the linguistic idea, it has repudiated it. For instance, with regard to Kerala, there are people in Malabar and in the rest of Kerala who are against an Aikya Kerala based upon language.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara-Reserved—Sch. Castes): Question. I do not think so.

Acharya Kripalani: Well, I am talking about what I think and not what the hon. Member thinks.

Shri Velayudhan: Think about Uttar Pradesh.

Acharya Kripalani: I will come to Uttar Pradesh.

Why do the people of Kerala agitate? They want a south-western coast State and in that they do not think of language at all. Why do they want that? It is because they think that it will be more viable and because there will be future development. So, the language question does not come in so far as agitation in Kerala is concerned.

Then there is **Visal Andhra**. As long as the recommendations of the Commission had not seen the light of day, every Andhra whether he was in Hyderabad or in the new State of Andhra stood unanimously for a Visal Andhra; but as soon as the recommendations were made by the Commission that there can be a State of Hyderabad the Andhras have forgotten their linguistic affinity towards each other and they want that there should be two Andhras: one Hyderabad and one Andhra that already exists. Why? They tell you very frankly that the coastal people are clever and they will swallow the Hyderabad people.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Who told you?

Acharya Kripalani: It appears that, as in the Government services so in all walks of life, cleverness is a disqualification; the less intelligent the people the better.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: That is why you migrated to Bihar?

Acharya Kripalani: Then there is Samyukta Maharashtra which has never been popular so far as the Marathi portion of Madhya Pradesh is concerned. In spite of the commonness of language they want Vidarbha and if ever Vidarbha is obliged to go into one linguistic State of Maharashtra it will not be because it wants to go but because Congress thrusts it upon them. It will be a question of party discipline and not because the people want it. Therefore, I say that this language question has become a cloak under which people want to have certain advantages. It is not a real issue.

[Acharya Kripalani]

Not only that. There is a pocket in Rajasthan which has very little of Punjabi speaking population. After the partition the Punjabis migrated there and even today also it has about 20 per cent. Punjabi speaking population; yet the Punjab of Sikh conception must have this pocket also.

An Hon. Member: It is Ganga Nagar.

Acharya Kripalani: I did not remember the name; it is Ganga Nagar. That portion is wanted by Punjab of the conception of our Sikh brothers. So, the question of language is not paramount even according to the contestants.

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): That has been given up; that is not wanted.

Acharya Kripalani: That is what you say, but it is written in the Report. The Report says that the Sikhs wanted it.

Sardar Hukam Singh: The Report says that it has been given up.

Acharya Kripalani: Then, in this hot atmosphere, in this hot-house of provincialism, new specimens are being evolved very quickly. We have never heard that there are people like Harians. With due deference to our Chairman, we had heard of Haryana bullocks. Of course, bullock is a very sacred animal in India even today. Many of the Members present here owe their seats to the sacredness of this animal! If all of a sudden, new specimens of humanity are evolved, then it will be very difficult to satisfy all the claims.

Another difficulty arises from the fact that many of the contestants who want linguistic provinces equate language with culture. It would appear to me that this is a very superficial, artificial view of things, because, in India, culture was never identified with language. It was never identified with political unity. It was also not identified with

complete identity of interests. The word 'culture' means a basic values of life in the political, in the economic and more so in the social, spiritual and moral fields.

श्री अलगराज शास्त्री: कल्चर में वाणी का बड़ा महत्व है।

Acharya Kripalani: Yes; but India has been existing with a single culture in spite of various languages. To equate culture with language is not only a wrong view, but, if I may say so, it is a perverse view. The so-called provincial cultures are only variants of one Indian culture. The sources of Indian culture are the same practically everywhere; they are not different. The sources are first of all our sacred books, the vedas, the upanishads, the Gita, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the law books. All these are common to the whole of India. Can anybody say that there is a Maharashtrian Gita, a Gujarati Gita or there is a Tamil Gita and a Telugu Gita? It would sound nonsense, but this nonsense is being talked of from day to day in our country without understanding the meaning of the word culture.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Is not the Bible common to the whole of Europe and yet they have different cultures in Europe?

Acharya Kripalani: They have different cultures. You will please hear me out, and then you will know why I say this. Not only this, but there are other sources of Indian culture, the contribution to this country by Islam, and the contribution made by the West, which gave us the ideas of democracy and freedom. These are common in all parts of India. Not only this, but our great men were all Indians. Can anybody say that our great men from the most ancient times, from the times of Buddha and Mahavira were provincial or that they belonged

to a particular province? Take the case of the Acharyas. Will anybody say that they belonged to particular provinces? Then there were our great saints in the middle ages—Guru Nanak, Kabir, Tuka Ram. All of them belonged to India. They never belonged to a province. You cannot say that a great man of France belonged to England. You cannot say that a great man of Germany belonged to, say, Czechoslovakia or any other country in Europe. So I say that this is a unique country in which there has been one culture throughout the ages and one culture remains. I submit that these so-called provincial cultures are merely variants of one culture which is called Indian culture and it is the same even now. In respect of our modern great men, is it possible for anybody to say that Raja Ram Mohan Roy or Tagore or Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa or Swami Vivekananda or Arabindo Ghosh or Maharshi Ramana or the great Tilak or Gandhi were all provincial people? Not only this. I venture to say that even in this House there will not be many people found who will know what the birth-place of the great Sankaracharya was.

An Hon. Member: Kerala.

Acharya Kripalani: You say Kerala. I ask the man who has said "Kerala" to tell me where Vallabhacharya was born. Let him tell me. Let him tell me where Swami Dayanand was born. He will not know. We do not know even this.

An Hon. Member: Gujarat.

Acharya Kripalani: I submit that even the educated people do not know these things. I challenge anybody to say where Vallabhacharya was born. A few of you may know, who may be Vaishnavites, but most of you do not know. We have never thought in these terms. I say every great man in India produced in any part of the country is a great man of India. This is not so in Europe to which Shri S. S. More referred.

This is a unique case. You have to deal here with a unique phenomenon here; and I say you are going to take away, detract from the culture of India by thinking that there are such things as provincial cultures. I tell you that if you bring in this question of different cultures, you will produce confusion in India, as is the case where they are fighting against each other.

Not only this. I tell you that when a foreigner comes to India, he does not find so many different cultures. He finds only one Indian culture represented in all parts of India with its variations. This is a big country, and on account of geographical conditions, on account of environment, some minor customs and institutions differ, and they may not be the same, but basically, our culture is the same. Therefore, to equate culture with language, I think is a very short-sighted policy and is a very dangerous policy.

Then you must understand that in India, throughout the ages, there has been this culture and it has not cared for political unity; it has not cared for the different languages. It is one and the same. But supposing, even granting, that the provincial cultures are really different cultures in the scientific sense of the word.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: They are not.

Acharya Kripalani: They are not. But granting, we have different cultures and languages, I submit, they are all bound with the overall unity of India and they are based upon our common interests. We have common interests and we cannot forget that. Even if we forget everything else, we cannot forget that we have common interests in spite of the fact that some people deny that we have a common culture. We have different languages, of course, which is a matter of consideration in the question of education, in the question of administration, etc., but language is not the sole consideration on which the unity of India need be disturbed.

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2 P.M.

Then there is a more dangerous talk. People begin to talk of their homelands'. It takes my breath away when people do not take a lesson from what happened as a result of partition. What was the Muslim League talking about? It was talking about the homeland for Muslims. What happened as a result? The result has been disastrous both for the Hindus and the Muslims. If we talk in the international language of 'homeland', then there can be no minority in any province. You will have to shift your population or you will have to take guarantees from each other. A Bihari cannot go to Bengal and a Bengali cannot go to Bihar. A Marwari cannot go to Calcutta and South Indians cannot go and flood Bombay and Calcutta as stenographers and typists. Supposing even that is possible, is it possible that bilingualism can be avoided? As I have stated, there will be minorities everywhere. This minority question is a very important one. I want you to realise how this minority question arose. It arose during the British days when the country was conquered piecemeal and those who became enslaved first became the masters of their brothers, because they had acquired the knowledge of the English language quicker. They had taken to foreign education quicker and they went into the administrative services and they were put in charge of their neighbours. It became an imperialism under an imperialism. This is one of the defects that we inherited from foreign rule, but need we perpetuate this defect? Unfortunately, that defect has been accentuated. The Report itself says:

"Unfortunately, the manner in which certain administrations have conducted their affairs has itself partly contributed to the growth of this parochial sentiment. We have referred earlier to the domicile rules which are in force in certain States, governing eligibility to State

services..... When such devices as domicile rules operate to make the public services an exclusive preserve of the majority language group of the State, this is bound to cause discontent among the other groups, apart from impeding the free flow of talent and impairing administrative inefficiency. We were greatly concerned to observe that in one State for instance, domicile rules were applied not only to determine eligibility for appointment to the public services, but also to regulate the awards of contracts and rights in respect of fisheries, ferries, toll bridges, forests and excise shops. The conditions to be satisfied for acquiring a domicile in this State are also generally such as to deserve some notice. These conditions are...."

I must say that some of those conditions have not been included by us even in our Citizenship Bill:

"(a) Ownership of a homestead in the State"—we have not mentioned it in our Citizenship Bill.

"(b) residence in such a homestead for ten years"—this also we have not put in our Citizenship Bill:

"(c) a clear intention to live in the State till death"—even that condition has not been put in our Bill.

"(d) renunciation of the old domicile which is to be established by such circumstantial evidence as whether the applicant has landed property or other interests in his native place, or whether he pays frequent visits to that place"

These are some of the domicile rules prevailing in some States. They are clearly against our Constitution which prescribes common rights and common privileges for every citizen. It is not for everybody to go to the High Court to establish these common rights. It should be

the duty of the Central Government to see that no harm is done to the minority groups and to see that no individual in a minority group is denied the common rights. This is not a question of linguistic minority alone. If there is a region which is less developed, then that region which is more developed begins to exploit it. Let us not confuse ourselves and think that the minority problems are purely and simply linguistic problems. I agree with the Home Minister that the most important part of the Report is the safeguards for minorities. The Commission has made recommendations about this minority question. They have suggested some very valuable safeguards. In the heated controversies that have been let loose over the details of reorganisation, the highly instructive section of the Report has altogether been lost sight of. The Commission has rightly pointed out that it is impossible to rearrange the States in such a way as would leave no minority groups in any area. In providing safeguards for minorities, the Commission says that "We have to see that minority consciousness is not perpetuated". The Commission has made various suggestions like education of the minorities through their mother tongue, use of different languages within a State at different levels of administration, a common Public Service Commission for more than one province, and 50 per cent. of the entrants into services to be outside the State. I hear that the Chief Ministers had met together and raised objection to this recommendation.

Pandit G. B. Pant: Not to this.

An Hon. Member: It was for common cadre of services.

Acharya Kripalani: They have only cut their noses to spite their faces. They do not know that there are certain talents that cannot be found within the confines of one province. The Commission has said that one-

third of the Judges of the High Court should be from outside the province; a permanent body to go into the alleged neglect of backward areas whether linguistic or otherwise; formulation of a clear policy about location of industries and distribution of development expenditure and the Governor to have power to inform the Centre if any injustice is done to the minorities. All these, I submit, are very valuable rights. The Commission has also said that steps should be taken to see that the domicile rules made in some States do not infringe upon the idea of common citizen. This is the most important part of the Report, but it has received very scant consideration on account of the heat created by the proposals for redrawing the map of India.

As far as this minority problem is concerned, let us be self-analytical and find out who have created this minority problem. I say, Sir, that we, the politicians and educated men have created this. So far as the poor people are concerned, only when we excite them do they fight. If we do not excite them, there is no question of minority at all. They have their own great problems to solve and these problems are hunger and ignorance. I was recently in Bihar in connection with the Bhoodan movement. I moved in the area which is considered to be a disputed one; the dispute is not that it should not be in India but whether it should be in Bengal or Bihar. Both people are dear to me. With Bengal I have very sweet relations.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: You are a Bihari.

Acharya Kripalani: I am a Bihari, I have lived there; not only that, I have served Bihar; not only that, I have been in the jails of Bihar, a thing which some of the new Members cannot boast about.

Mr. Chairman: Both were dear to you; why should there be dispute?

Acharya Kripalani: So far as I am concerned, I have never felt a stranger in any State. This is a certificate given to me by Gandhiji himself. He said, "Kripalani is a person who, when he is in a province, identifies himself with the people of that province." As I said, I have very sweet and delicate relations with Bengal. I was in Gujerat for years and I may tell my Maharashtrian friends here that all my higher education I had in Bombay and Poona.

Some Hon. Members: You have forgotten U.P.

Acharya Kripalani: I shall tell you about U.P. I have lived the best part of my life in the U.P. But, one thing about U.P. Having lived so long, the hon. Home Minister will excuse me, I have not been able to understand the language that is used in U.P. What do they say? When they say No, do they mean No or Yes? When they say Yes, do they mean No or Yes? They will tell you 'आप', 'आप' is first person singular, first person plural 'आप' is second person singular, second person plural; 'आप' is third person singular, third person plural. If you ask them,

"यह किस का शहजादा है ?"

they will say,

"आप ही का है", "यह किसका दौलत-खाना है?" "यह आपका गरीबखाना है।"

That is the language used there. Therefore, they make the best politicians. Where language has no meaning, you will get the best politicians. You can get the meaning you want from any words you use.

Let us be serious. I submit that we the educated have created this minority problem. As I said, when I was on the borders of Bihar, I went to the disputed areas called Manbhum and Singbhum. I heard the language that the villagers were speaking. It was a language which was neither

Bengali altogether, nor Hindi altogether. It was a village dialect.

An Hon. Member: Bhojपुरी.

Acharya Kripalani: Bhojपुरी. It is a village dialect which perversely both the parties claim to be a derivative of Bengali and Bihari, forgetting that both Bihari and Bengali are the children of mother Sanskrit. They forget this fact only to get a little territory to themselves. How to themselves? Are not the Bengalis brothers of the Biharis? Whatever might have taken place in the past, are we not living in one country? I say, we the politicians, we the educated are responsible for the divisions that are found in India so far as the minorities are concerned. The poor people do not know these things. Do you know the ignorance of the poor people? You will not believe me, but I tell you the truth. This is what happened before the chief workers of Bhoodan in Bihar. I asked the people, do you know by whom you are being ruled? They neither knew the name of Shri Sri Krishna Sinha nor did they know the name of Shri B. C. Roy. It is a matter of indifference to them whether they starve under Shri Sri Krishna Sinha or Shri B. C. Roy. How does that matter to a starving man? Then, I asked them, what do you understand by the 'vote'. They said, we do not understand anything about the vote. I asked, 'why did you give vote?' They said, somebody came and asked. Who is that somebody, I asked. The reply was, we gave the vote because the Government wanted it. I asked, who is the Government? "सरकार कौन है" Will you believe me, they told me, you are the Sarkar. "सरकार आप है।"

I can only say, if I were the Sarkar, they will not have to give this answer. "Suppose a Minister dies, unfortunately,"—(fortunately for the aspirants), I made bold to ask them, "who will be the Minister?" They told me, his son or his brother will be the Minister. In Bihar, I asked, have you heard of Rajendra Babu? The reply was, No. I asked them, have you heard about

Jawaharlal Nehru? The reply was, No. Only in one place a man got up and said, "He is the King in Delhi". I know that this world figure who is known throughout the world, is not known to the poor villagers when you go into the interior; I am not exaggerating, I am not in the habit of exaggerating. Only one man got up and said, "yes, Jawaharlal, is our Raja in Delhi." This is the democracy you have got. Universal ignorance; universal vote.

So far as the poverty of India is concerned, it is absolutely galling. You have got to see that. I say, so long as we have one hundred and one interests in India and they are different and conflicting, we will be fighting amongst ourselves. Only when there is one supreme problem which we must solve or perish, will we be united. Such a supreme problem was that of national independence before it was achieved. Then, we stood united. We never asked for the freedom of one province. If I had asked for the freedom of my province Sind, that exists no more. But, I asked for the freedom of the whole of India. So did many of my colleagues here. Today also, we have a supreme problem if we will recognise it. It is the problem of the ignorance and poverty of the masses. Both these are inter-related and the fate of our democracy, even of our common culture, depends upon the quick solution of these problems of poverty and ignorance. The Father of the Nation recognised this even before Independence was achieved. It was because of this that he propounded his schemes of constructive work. He often said that there is one supreme interest in the whole of India and that is the interest of the masses, and that any interest that is in conflict with this must yield place to it. If this interest is made supreme in the lives of the political leaders and the educated, there will be no communal, caste or provincial interests; there will be no differences; there will be no conflicting interests; there will be one supreme interest, an all-India interest to which we must all address ourselves. May

we, Sir, have the strength and the wisdom to recognise this supreme interest and work for it, to the good and glory of our nation.

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Shri A. K. Gopalan: (Cannanore): I am glad that I am speaking after the hon. Member Acharya Kripalani because I am placing before this House certain views that are slightly different from those which have been expressed by my hon. friend.

Today we are discussing a subject which, in my opinion, we should have discussed 8 years ago when the Congress came to power. There are several issues on which there may be differences, and there are differences. But, even today, the difference is not as far as the redistribution of States is concerned. The difference is about what are the main principles on which there should be redistribution. As far as the question of redistribution of the States is concerned, a case for redistribution is there. That is the reason why I say that this redistribution of States and the principles on which redistribution must be made, ought to have been discussed before when the Congress came to power. The case for redistribution of the States is already established, because the structure of the State today is not based either on geographical or economic or linguistic or any other basis. It is by accident with the growth of the British Power in India that the present structure of the States has come into being. If there was any object in having the boundaries of the States as we see today, it was to create disunity among the people of India and also to create disunity between one State and another. On the question of redistribution of States, certainly there is no difference; I shall deal with the other point, what are the main principles for the redistribution of the States.

I am one of those in this House who even today believe that the redistribution of the States must mainly be on

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the basis of language. If this principle had been accepted and the redistribution of the States had been on the linguistic basis, taking also into consideration the other aspects that had been explained, I am sure that the quarrels that have come up here today and also the other disputes may not have been there. It is possible that there may be some quarrels and disputes. But we would have been able to eliminate the quarrels, and settle the disputes, if we had adopted language as the basis of the redistribution of States. I want to prove that. I want to show how till 1947-48, the Congress Working Committee, the Congress leaders and, as my hon. friend Acharya Kripalani has pointed out, even the Father of the Nation, were of the view that the redistribution of provinces must certainly be on the linguistic basis. Till 1947-48, this is what the Congress had adopted both in their Working Committee's resolutions as also in their election manifestoes. It was only when the Dar Commission was appointed, that a violent departure from this principle was made, and it was only after that that all these troubles started. I shall presently show how from the very beginning, that is, from 1905 onwards, in the formation of the Congress provinces, the main principle of the redistribution of provinces was the linguistic basis, and how a departure was made after 1948. In fact, even as late as 1st February 1948, an article written by Gandhiji appeared in the *Hurijan* in which he had stated:

"The Congress Working Committee had been discussing the question of reconstitution of the provinces on a linguistic basis. The Congress had already adopted the principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they came to power, as such a redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of the country."

He had also written in the same article:

"The redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic basis was

necessary, if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. A linguistic redistribution should give an impetus to education and trade."

I have quoted this only to show that the main consideration all along has been the linguistic basis, but it is only afterwards that a departure has been made. I do not say that there should be no other considerations at all, but I say that this should be the main consideration.

We find that in practice also, this principle had come into existence. In 1905, there was the partition of Bengal, and it was on the linguistic principle that that partition was opposed. Even as late as 1945, the partition of Bengal was opposed on that ground, because under the partition the Bengalis who were speaking one language were to be divided. Indirect support was lent by the Congress to this, and so we find that once again, it was the linguistic principle that was at work. The Congress had accepted this principle in 1908 when the Congress Province of Bihar was created, and again in 1917 when the Provinces of Sind and Andhra were created. From the point of view of administration, and also for the convenience of the Congress organisation, the Congress said that Sind must be a separate Province, that Andhra must be a separate Province and also that Bihar must be constituted into a separate Province. Though the Congress was not in power at that time, yet this was a departure from the previous pattern, for the formation of these Provinces was not based on the boundaries of the existing Provinces.

It was only in 1920 that the Congress had declared at its Nagpur session for the first time the linguistic redistribution of the Provinces as a clear political objective; and that was adopted also by the Congress for the purposes of its organisation. So, we find that for the first time the Congress had accepted the linguistic principle for the redistribution of the provinces, and had also declared that whenever new Provinces were to be

formed for the purpose of administrative Convenience and the organisation of the Congress, the linguistic basis must be the main consideration.

Then, there was the All Parties Conference in 1928. I shall quote certain extracts from the proceedings of the All Parties Conference which will clearly go to show that definitely it had been stated that the main consideration for the redistribution of Provinces must be language, and the other considerations, though they are there, must be bypassed. I am reading only certain portions, which are of very great importance.

"What principle should govern this redistribution? Partly geographical, partly economic and financial; but the main consideration must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned."

So, they did not say that economic, financial, and geographical considerations were not there; they said that those considerations were there, but they added that the main consideration must be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned.

Then again, they said:

"A democracy must be well informed, and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them. It is inconceivable that a democracy can do this if a foreign language is largely used. It becomes essential therefore to conduct the business and politics of a country in a language which is understood by the masses. So far as the provinces are concerned, this must be the provincial language."

Then, they go on to say something more about the language question. Next, they say:

"Another principle which must govern the redistribution of the Provinces is the wishes of the people

concerned. We who talk of self-determination on a larger scale cannot in reason deny it to smaller areas, provided of course, this does not conflict with any other important principle or vital question. The mere fact that the people living in a particular area feel that they are a unit, and desire to develop their culture, is an important consideration, even though there may be no sufficient historical or cultural justification of their demand. Sentiment in such matters is often more important than fact. Thus, we see that the two most important considerations in rearranging provinces are the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority. A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which should include the geographical position, the economic resources and the financial stability of the area concerned. But administrative convenience is often a matter of arrangement and must necessarily bow to the wishes of the people."

From all this, it is clear that the All Parties Conference definitely said that the main principle for the redistribution of Provinces was language, and that administrative convenience or financial viability was only a secondary consideration.

Between 1928 and 1947, the Congress reaffirmed its adherence to the linguistic principle on three occasions. The first occasion was during the Calcutta session in 1937, when it recommended the formation of the Andhra and Karnataka Provinces. The second occasion was when a resolution was passed at Wardha in 1938, giving an assurance to the deputation from Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. The third occasion was in 1945-46, when the Congress issued its election manifesto saying that administrative units should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis.

In 1945-46, for the first time, there was an attempt at qualifying the

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linguistic principle. It was in 1948 that the first violent departure came. The Dar Commission was appointed in that year, and they made a violent departure from what had been stated before. They listed the following as the tests which a linguistic area should satisfy before it could be formed into a province, namely, financial self-sufficiency, administrative convenience, the capacity for future development, and also the new slogan, the unity of India and the security of India. So it was in 1948 that the new slogan unity and security of India shadowing the principle that the redistribution of the Provinces must be mainly on the basis of language, was adopted.

I should like to deal with this question of unity and security of India somewhat in detail, for very often there is an attempt to confuse the whole issue with this slogan. My hon. friend Acharya Kripalani said only a little while ago that if these redistribution of the States were on a linguistic basis, then a Bihari would not be able to go to Bengal, that a Bengali would not be able to go to Bihar, and that a steno-typist from the south would not be able to go to any other place. But I would like to point out that redistribution of the States does not mean partition. If some boundaries for the different States are fixed, saying, up to this it is Kerala, up to this it is Bengal or up to this it is Samyukta Maharashtra, then that does not mean that the people who speak in a particular language and live in a particular State should not go out to the other States where a different language is spoken.

During the time that the foreign rulers were here, they had kept certain boundaries. As I said before, there was no principle at all in arranging the boundaries—whether one boundary must be changed on this ground or another boundary must be changed on that ground. There was absolutely nothing like that. Today, it is only a redistribution of the boundaries; it may be that sometimes more places may be included or some

areas may be excluded. So to say that if there is redistribution of States on the basis of language, culture and tradition, certainly there will be trouble is not right. If people speaking a common language want to join together and form one State, that does not mean that the unity and security of India will be disturbed. If by any action—not only by the redistribution of States—the development of India is hindered, then certainly we shall have to consider that.

So it was on the basis of language—which principle was accepted in 1918—that the State of Andhra was formed. In the terms of reference of the Commission, the main stress was on the unity and security of India and not language. I will try to show by reading some portions in the SRC Report that the main consideration before the Commission, according to the terms of reference given to them, was not the redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis but on some other basis. It was on this basis that there was confusion. But take the State of Karnataka which is proposed to be formed. What is the basis? I say the basis is language. The basis is the basis of language. So Karnataka State is formed. Kerala is formed. Tamil Nad is there. All these States are there. The basis is the basis of language, although they say it is not so. As for as the other considerations are concerned, as far as financial viability is concerned, as far as the economic question is concerned, I will show where they differ. But here let us take the point about the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India. Bengal is there. That province is formed on the basis of language. U.P. is there; there also they speak one language. So before the redistribution of provinces, Bengal had been there, U.P. had been there. They are remaining there even today as linguistic States. Has this gone against the unity and security of India? When people having one language talk of a common language, culture and tradition, does that go against the unity

and security of India? That only strengthens the unity and security of India. So when we say that the principle of redistribution of States should be the linguistic principle, you counterpoise it by saying that if there is a linguistic State, there will be disunity among the people, there will be danger to the security of India and so on. That is not correct.

As far as the unity and security of India is concerned, I want to draw the attention of this House to what is stated in the SRC Report. They have referred to one view which they heard, which must also be understood.

"It will be unrealistic to disregard the patent fact that there are in India distinct cultural units; the unity of the country, therefore, should not be sought in terms of an imposed external unity but a fundamental unity recognising diversity of language, culture and tradition of the Indian people".

We say we want unity. Without unity, we will not be able to achieve anything. We want unity to preserve our freedom and independence. We want unity to build up our country. We want unity so that as far as the colonial forces are concerned—places like Goa and others—we will be able to drive those forces away and make those places parts of our country. We want unity for everything. Without unity, nothing can be done. But when we have unity, do not forget also that there is something that is inherent in that—there is a small diversity. I do not say that this diversity must be strengthened to such an extent that it jeopardises our unity. But, as the Commission say:

"It will be unrealistic to disregard the patent fact that there are in India distinct cultural units, the unity of the country, therefore, should not be sought in terms of an imposed external unity but a fundamental unity recognising diversity of language, culture and tradition of the Indian people".

We have a common tradition, a common culture, which is opposed to the culture of other countries. But even among ourselves, there are different languages; there is also difference in culture; there is also difference in tradition. The dress of a Bengali, the dress of a Punjabi, and the dress of a Malayali are different. The food of a Malayali is different from that of a Bengali or a Punjabi. Therefore the food is different, culture is different, tradition also is different. So within the common tradition, common culture and common unity, there are these small differences. We must certainly be able to strengthen those small cultures, those languages and those traditions that are there within the larger unity of India. They must be strengthened in such a way that the overall unity of India is developed and strengthened. So we do not say: 'Come on. Let us now separate. There are different cultures', as Acharya Kripalani said. We do not say 'India is not one; there are different languages; so let us fight with each other'. It is not that. If there are people in an area who speak a common language, who have got one culture and tradition, instead of dividing them and making them fight against themselves, let them combine themselves together and that combination, that unity in culture and tradition will be a small unity within the larger unity of India, the larger culture of India. So far as the unity and security of India is concerned, what we say is that there must be some unity among the people speaking the different languages within the larger unity of India.

But what is the position today? Take the people who speak Kannada. They are now divided into four regions: one part is in Hyderabad, one in Bombay, one in Madras and the other in Mysore. The development of the people living in the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras is different from the development of their counterparts in Hyderabad or Bombay or Mysore. So in order that they may have one unity and one culture, there has to be a redistribution of the States concerned to bring them under one State. But

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what is the position today after the SRC Report? One State says: 'No, this part is ours. We want it'. The other State says: 'No, this is ours. We will not leave it.' That is not the question. The question we have to consider is the development of India and the welfare of the people of India as a whole. Some adjustment must be there on the basis of the principle of linguistic unity for the redistribution of States. Each state must help its brother states. This is essential for the welfare of the States as a whole. As far as the question of unity is concerned, there are some States which are deficit and some which are surplus. The SRC Report says 'That area has no financial viability. It is a deficit area; so that cannot remain separate'. Then they say, 'Vidarbha is there. That is a surplus area. So it must not be added to Samyukta Maharashtra'. Unity of India demands that each State must help the other. If Vidarbha is a surplus State that is the very reason why it should be merged with Samyukta Maharashtra so that the deficit as well as the surplus States may join together and contribute to the development of the whole portion. That is what unity demands. Otherwise, each State will consider itself as sovereign and the surplus State will say to the deficit State: 'I am surplus. So I will enjoy. You will have to suffer because you are deficit'.

So as far as the unity and security of India is concerned, there are certain recommendations made in the Report which go against these two principles. Suppose a part of Bihar today goes to Bengal or a part of Bengal goes to Bihar, how does it affect the unity and security of India? The quarrel is about certain parts of Bengal and Bihar. Suppose it is decided that a certain part of Bihar goes to Bengal or certain part of Bengal goes to Bihar how does it affect?

Another question is about Hyderabad. Hyderabad is broken. There are people speaking 3 or 4 languages and it will consist of the people speaking those languages. The breaking up of Hyderabad will mean that there will

be only one unit speaking one language. It is the breaking up of Hyderabad that creates unity and it is not the keeping them together that makes for unity.

As far as Delhi is concerned, it had been said that power had been given to the people; they had been given the power of voting. If it is kept under the Central Government without taking away their fundamental right of election, the right of voting and the Assembly is taken away, how does it strengthen the unity and security of India? There was already an Assembly there and the people had power and that power is being taken away. By taking away that power and saying that it will be directly under the Centre, will it encourage the unity and security of India? I am sure that so far as the unity and security of India is concerned, it does not help.

There are certain principles on which, we believe, the redistribution of the States must be done. They are common language, common culture and the desire of the people of the area, the contiguity of villages and so on. If the redistribution of the States is taken on this basis, there would not have been such quarrels as we see today. I do not want to say more about language because I have already dealt with it and it has also been said by the hon. the Home Minister. As far as trade is concerned, as far as the working of the Legislature is concerned, it has already been shown that in the development of democracy in this country and in order to make the people also partners in it, reorganisation is certainly necessary on that basis.

Coming to the SRC recommendations shall point out certain things in the report. I do not blame those who made the recommendations because certain terms of reference were given to them and on that basis they have done a very good piece of work. There are certain good features. Everybody in India welcomes that.

The first feature, as it has been already pointed out by the hon. Home Minister is the abolition of the Rajpra-

mukhs. The Princely States are not there. They had been developed by the foreign Government so that the industrial progress and other development of the country may be hindered. So, one form of hindrance in the development of our country, that is feudalism and the rule of the Rajpramukhs, is not there. That is a very welcome feature of the recommendations.

The second is as far as the distinction between Part A, Part B and Part C States is concerned, it is not there.

Whatever may be the reasons, certain States have been proposed. The Karnataka State is proposed to be formed; Kerala is formed and also Tamil Nad is proposed to be formed. It may be said that the formation of these States is not based on the linguistic basis—because the terms of reference was not that—but on some other basis. Whatever it may be, we know that it is on the basis of language that these States are formed. These are the recommendations that are welcome to the people.

But, there are certain recommendations which have caused bitterness as far as the reasons for those recommendations are concerned, I am sure, no principle had been followed.

First look at the recommendation about Bombay. As far as Bombay is concerned, it is said that Bombay could not be a part of Samyukt Maharashtra and must be separate. What are the arguments that are brought forward? The argument is that Bombay is not only one of the big cities in India but is essentially a cosmopolitan multi-lingual city. It is not only Bombay, but Calcutta is also big, Madras is also big. They are also not only big cities of India but also cosmopolitan. The second reason is that the financial interest in Bombay city would be affected by the sudden change of Government. (*Interruption*). It is also said:

“Some expert evidence was also led before us to show how the commercial and financial interest of the Bombay city and of India

as a whole would be affected by a sudden change in the form of Government in Bombay.”

I want to know what would be the sudden change of Government in Bombay if there is Samyukt Maharashtra with Bombay. Has Samyukt Maharashtra got any separate constitution? It is the Constitution of India. I do not know what is the sudden change. There will be absolutely no change of Government, no sudden change when the Central Government is there and the other States are there. Samyukt Maharashtra with Bombay will also be there. I see no reason for a change in Government except for a change in the Cabinet; instead of A being there, B will be there. It will be the majority of one group or the other or it may be the majority of both the groups with a slight difference of one or two. It will be something like that. So, there will be no change in the form of Government. The whole constitution of Samyukt Maharashtra is not going to be changed which has nothing to do with other parts of India and the Constitution of India. There is absolutely nothing like that. It will only be a change in the Cabinet; instead of A, B and C composing the Cabinet, D, E and F may be there. That will be the only thing. So the view of experts that there will be a big change in the form of government which will affect the whole country is not there. Then it is said that it has been built up by the labour of all kinds of people and communities. Every country and the whole of India is built up by the labour of all kinds of people and communities. But there are others who are not recognised today for the building up of Bombay. Who are the main persons that built up Bombay? Consideration must be given to them, to almost 95 per cent of the workers that are today there in Bombay, and those who come to the factories. Those are the people who belong to Maharashtra area.

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

Another point that is given is that the importance of Bombay will go. I do not want to explain in detail. If Bombay is kept separate and is not included in Samyukt Maharashtra, it is then that the importance of Bombay will go. We cannot call Bombay a State; we can say it is a big municipality. It will only be a glorified municipality and the Gateway of India which is the attraction of the people from all over India as the hon. Home Minister said will become the gateway by which the people will not come but through which they will be going out of India. There will be no attraction left. I do not want to go into details. What will be the State of Bombay if it gets a separate status? The other day I saw those buildings which have been built at a cost of Rs. 62 lakhs. As far as the importance of Bombay is concerned, nobody from other parts of India will go to Bombay and there will be no attraction from the villages where there are people of Maharashtrian origin. If the interest of Bombay, if the importance of Bombay and if the development of India as a whole is to be kept in view, the only way is to have Samyukt Maharashtra with Bombay. The business communities are there in Calcutta the business communities are there in Madras; the business communities, which the S. R. C. Report says, are there in every part of India and there should be absolutely no discrimination. When those people who have money and can go to any part of India—if they have the money, they have the business there—are there, there is no question of discrimination of the business communities. We see in other parts of India, there is no such discrimination. There is the industrial city of Calcutta; there is the industrial city of Madras. At the time of the formation of Andhra State, there also this question was there and it was stated that in the case of the city of Madras as in the city of Bombay, there are businessmen and there are industrial magnates, but this question did not

come up when we discussed about the formation of Andhra. Here the question comes about the importance of the business community in Bombay, as if it is not important in the case of Madras or Calcutta. All these reasons are given in order to show that Bombay must be separate. I say that this separation is certainly to protect the vested interests in that place and not in the interests of the people. As far as that question is concerned, there is no principle at all, and the points that are brought forward to show that Samyukt Maharashtra must not include Bombay are not correct. The first thing done by the S.R.C. Report was that Samyukt Maharashtra must not be there, that Samyukt Maharashtra with Bombay must not be there. As far as Vidarbha is concerned, everybody knows that it is a surplus area and as far as Maharashtra is concerned, it is a deficit area. The argument is that we want to keep Vidarbha surplus because we do not want to trouble it. But that is against the fundamental principle that is enunciated. Is it the development of Vidarbha only or the development of India as a whole that is contemplated? Even from the very principle on which the S.R.C. says they have based the report—that is, the unity and security of India—I can say that that unity will not be there if you do this. It will be quite against that principle if you say that Vidarbha is a surplus area, the people there have got more money and so we do not want to add it on to Maharashtra. Where is the unity then? That goes away.

The second point advanced is about the question of land and tenancy. That is the very reason why Vidarbha must share it with Maharashtra. If Vidarbha is added to Maharashtra, certainly all of them will have the benefit of the land and tenancy. Let everyone enjoy the benefit. In the interests of the people of Vidarbha and those of Samyukt Maharashtra, so far as the land and tenancy question is concerned, Vidarbha must have been added to Samyukt Maharashtra and

Nagpur will be overshadowed by Bombay—I do not know how—and that is the reason why they say they do not want this to be added to Maharashtra.

I have only two or three more points to say. About the principle, what happened to Andhra? When we discussed about Andhra in this Parliament, we understood that the Government also was of the opinion that there must be a Vishal Andhra. Anyhow, the S.R.C. has said that after five years there will be the Vishal Andhra on certain conditions. What is happening today? There was the question of the capital of Andhra at Kurnool. Enough bitterness was created and enough disunity was created about the capital at Kurnool. So many crores of money have been spent on it. Instead, if the Vishal Andhra was already there, all this expenditure need not have been incurred. The policy seems to be to first create differences about the capital and then go on investing money into it. After five years, if Vishal Andhra comes into being, what happens to all this expenditure already incurred? All this money could have been used for other purposes, like the Ramapadasgar project. When Vishal Andhra comes in, the capital will not be at Kurnool, it will be at Hyderabad, and so all the money that is invested in Kurnool for making it the capital will be wasted. Also the heads that have been broken there cannot be got back. The heads of people were broken there and money was also spent and after five years you will have Vishal Andhra. Why should there not be Vishal Andhra now. Andhra is deficit because there is prohibition there. Telengana is surplus because there is no prohibition there. Because five crores of money are in Telengana and Andhra is deficit, let the two come together. That is the argument. I do not find any principle in that point also.

As far as Punjab is concerned, that is another question. The linguistic principle is not applied there and adjustment on the basis of that prin-

ciple, that is the principle of language, is not applied there and we know what is happening in Punjab.

On the whole, no principle was followed. The principle of unity is violated and of separation is encouraged.

I want to say a few words about the border districts. In many places there are the border districts and what is the principle adopted in their case? As far as Kerala is concerned, the principle of district is taken. If a village is taken as the unit, then the quarrels about the border areas will go because in contiguous area there are certain villages where the majority speak one language. As far as Gudalur is concerned, the majority of the people there are speaking one language. But this is not applied there. When it comes to Kasergode, the Karnataka people say that the whole of Kasergode must come. If there is the principle that the village must be the unit, then there will be no difficulty. There is a river there, and on one side there are two or three villages in the contiguous areas where Malayalees are in a majority. I say that so far as the border question is concerned, there is no principle adopted.

I have only to make one appeal as far as the unity and security of India is concerned. Certainly it is our duty now to see—especially of the Congress Government—that we must adjust as far as the boundaries are concerned. I request the hon. Home Minister to see that a spirit of adjustment is reflected in the States on the S.R.C. Report. It is the attitude of the States that is causing trouble, each State thinking that it is sovereign and does not want the help of any other State. I do not say anything now, but I will inform the hon. Home Minister on the basis of the discussion as to what things are happening in some States.

Let the States understand that no State without the help of another State can develop. No single State can develop by itself. The development of the people of India is all together.

3 P.M.

Till this morning we have been saying *Hindi Rusi bhai bhai*. Let us say *Kerala-Tamilians bhai bhai*; *Bihar Bengal bhai bhai*; *Bihar Janta Bengal Janta bhai bhai*; *Indian Janta bhai bhai*. Let us say that. Let us try to solve this question on that basis. Let us have that principle: we are all *bhais*—*Bengal bhai*, *Bihar bhai*, *Kerala bhai*, *Karnataka bhai*, *Tamil bhai*—all *bhai*. All I have to say is that the settlement must be on a definite principle so far as all the States are concerned. We have to look into the question without any selfish motive, it is the question of development of India as a whole.

The area of Kerala is 40,000 square miles. India can certainly be proud of her; 64 per cent. of Kerala's population is literate or educated. We are producing not only stenographers as my friend said but also others—people in other walks of life, who are useful and who are doing their best for the development of India. But as far as industrial development is concerned, it is the poorest country. When the sister States of Kerala and Tamilnad discuss about the problems of redistribution of the boundaries, let them take the condition of Kerala and take also the contribution of Kerala to the nation. It is on the basis of each other's help that one can progress. The Tamilian, Karnataka and the Kerala should not fight with each other; they should feel that they are a part of India. The principle may be language or any other. There must be this one main principle also—that of helping each other and considering the position of the other State and making adjustments. If the Government takes lead in this and tells the State Governments—the Congress Governments—that this principle must be observed,

there will be no difficulty at all. As far as we are concerned it is this principle of adjustment that we have to place before the House today.

Shri Nesamony (Nagercoil): May I ask one question?

Mr. Chairman: Seth Govind Das.

Shri Nesamony: Will the hon. Member tell us by applying the principles which he has enunciated, to which State Devikulam.....

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I do not want to answer any question that will raise passions and create trouble.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Let the hon. Member proceed.

सेठ गोविन्द दास (मंडला-जबलपुर-दीवण) :
आयोग ने, जो प्रतिवेदन हमारे सामने उपस्थित किया है, मैं उस प्रतिवेदन का हृदय से समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जिस समय यह आयोग नियुक्त हुआ था, मैं ने उस समय इस का हार्दिक स्वागत किया था। आयोग ने जिस प्रकार का प्रतिवेदन हमारे सामने उपस्थित किया है, उससे अच्छा प्रतिवेदन वर्तमान परिस्थिति में कदाचित् हमारे सामने आना सम्भव नहीं था। यदि हम इस युग के इतिहास को देखें, तो हमें जान पड़ता है कि इस युग में कितनी बड़ी बड़ी बातें इस देश में हुई हैं और वे भी किस प्रकार से हुई हैं। हम ने स्वराज प्राप्त किया एक नए ढंग से जिस ढंग से हम स्वतंत्र हुए, दुनिया का कोई देश उस प्रकार स्वतंत्र नहीं हो सका। उस के बाद हम ने अपना संविधान बनाया। हमारा संविधान दुनिया के अन्य देशों के संविधानों को ध्यान में रख कर अवश्य बनाया गया, परन्तु उस संविधान में भी अनेक विशेषताएँ हैं, जिस प्रकार की विशेषताएँ हमें दूसरे संविधानों में दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होतीं। उस के पश्चात् हम ने बालिग (वयस्क) मताधिकार के आधार पर देश भर में चुनाव लड़े। प्रजातंत्र का जितना बड़ा प्रयोग इस देश में हुआ -

[संठ गोविन्द दास]

एसें दश में कि जहां सों में से अस्सी पचासी आदमी अपना नाम नहीं लिख सकते—उतना बड़ा प्रजातंत्र का प्रयोग आज तक दुनिया के किसी देश में नहीं हुआ है।

उस के बाद हम ने अपने दश के नक्शों के सम्बन्ध में एक आयोग नियुक्त किया और उस का प्रतिवेदन हमारे सामने मौजूद है। मैं आज—जब कि हम जीवित हैं—हम को ये महान घटनाएं उतनी बड़ी न मालूम होती होंगी, परन्तु जिस समय इस युग का इतिहास लिखा जायगा, उस समय ये घटनाएँ, जो इन थोड़े से वर्षों में घटित हो रही हैं, एक विशाल मन्त्रव्यवस्था—केवल इसी देश के इतिहास में नहीं, बल्कि संसार के इतिहास में।

गांधीजी को मैं एक त्रिकालीन महापुरुष मानता हूँ जिस प्रकार हमारे यहां अवतारी पुरुष और ऋषि मुनि होते रहे हैं, उसी प्रकार गांधीजी थे। आप देखें कि जितने कार्य हो रहे हैं, वे कितनी दूर तक उनका अनुसरण करते हैं। कांग्रेस गांधीजी के पहले भी चलती थी, परन्तु गांधीजी ने कांग्रेस में एक नया जीवन डाला। यह ठीक है कि भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना के सम्बन्ध में प्रयत्न १९०४ से चल रहे हैं, परन्तु इस विचार को एक व्यावहारिक रूप गांधीजी ने तब दिया जब १९२० में उन्होंने कांग्रेस के विधान में भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना के सिद्धान्त का समावेश किया। गांधीजी एक ओर एक महान विचारक थे, तो दूसरी ओर वह एक महान कर्मठ व्यक्ति भी थे। वह केवल विचार-क्षेत्र में ही विहार नहीं करते थे और बिना विचार किये जिस प्रकार की मूर्खतापूर्ण कृतियां होती हैं, उस प्रकार की कृतियां भी उनकी नहीं थीं। एक ओर वह विचार करते थे तो दूसरी ओर वह उन विचारों को कार्य रूप में परिष्कृत करते थे। कांग्रेस के नवजीवन तब मिला, जब गांधीजी ने कांग्रेस के जीवन में एक कर्मठता डाली और कांग्रेस से उन्होंने कुछ करने को कहा। भाषावार प्रान्तों की बात चाहे १९०४ में शुरू हो, लेकिन उस विचार

को मूर्त रूप तब मिला जब १९२० में कांग्रेस संगठन ने भाषावार प्रान्तों के पुनर्विभाजन को स्वीकार किया। अभी अभी श्री गोपालन ने भाषावार प्रान्तों का जोरदार समर्थन किया। कम से कम एक बात में मैं श्री गोपालन से सहमत हूँ कि भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना का सिद्धान्त एक ठीक सिद्धान्त है। इस में और अनेक बातें तो निहित हैं ही, परन्तु एक बहुत बड़ी बात भी निहित है जो मैं आगे कहूँगा। अभी कृपलानी जी ने कहा कि भाषा का सम्बन्ध संस्कृत से नहीं है। इस बात को मैं स्वीकार नहीं करता। भाषा का बहुत बड़ा सम्बन्ध संस्कृत से है और राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग की रिपोर्ट में भी एक स्थान पर यह कहा गया है!

"Culture in its general sense is a social heritage of moral, spiritual and economic values expressing itself in the distinct way of life of a group of people living as an organised community. It covers language, habits, ideals beliefs and even the vocational pattern of society."

इसमें आप देखें उन्होंने भाषा को पहला स्थान दिया है। यदि हम भारत के इतिहास को देखें तो हमें ज्ञात होता है कि भारतीय संस्कृति और उसकी एकता को संस्थापित रखने में सबसे बड़ी अगर कोई चीज थी तो वह संस्कृत भाषा थी। कृपलानी जी ने आपका अवतारों की बात कही, ऋषि मुनियों की बात कही सन्तों की बात कही, आचार्यों की बात कही और कहा कि वे अखिल भारतीय थे। ठीक कहा उन्होंने परन्तु आप अधिकांश ऋषि मुनियों, अवतारों, सन्तों, इन सब के उपदेशों को देखिए, उनके जितने उपदेश हैं, उनके जितने कथन हैं, वे अधिकांश संस्कृत भाषा पर अवलम्बित हैं इसी लिए वे अखिल भारतीय हो सके। आज यदि भारतवर्ष एक है तो इसका प्रधान कारण यह है कि आज भी जिन १४ भाषाओं को हमने अपने संविधान में स्वीकार किया है, उन १४ भाषाओं में एक ही भाषा

[संठ गोविन्द दास]

को छोड़कर शेष सारी भाषायें संस्कृत से निकली हैं। इसलिए यह कहना कि संस्कृत का और भाषा का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता। आज तक संस्कृत की पूरी परिभाषा किसी भाषा में भी नहीं हुई है। वह एक इतनी बड़ी चीज है कि जिसकी परिभाषा शायद एक मंत्र से सम्भव भी नहीं है। एक विद्वान ने संस्कृत की एक परिभाषा की है, दूसरे विद्वान ने उसकी दूसरी परिभाषा की है। मैं इस बात को मानने वाला हूँ कि संस्कृत का भाषा से बहुत बड़ा सम्बन्ध है। यह सबसे बड़ा कारण था कि जिसकी वजह से मैं ने भाषावार प्रान्तों का समर्थन किया था। यदि भाषावार प्रान्तों का निर्माण न होता तो इस देश में क्या होता? इस देश में यह होता कि जिन प्रान्तों में एक से अधिक भाषायें होतीं उनमें वह बालों को बड़ी कठिनाई होती। आप दक्षिण के प्रान्तों को ले लीजिये, आन्ध्र को लीजिये, तामिलनाडु को लीजिये, कर्नाटक को लीजिये, दक्षिण भारत की विधान सभा का अधिवेशन देखने का मुझे सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है। आन्ध्र प्रान्त में रहने वाला सदस्य जिस भाषा में बोलता था, तामिलनाडु वाले उसे नहीं समझते थे, तामिलनाडु वाले सदस्य जिस भाषा में बोलता था उसे केरल वाले नहीं समझते थे, केरल का सदस्य जिस भाषा में बोलता था उसे कर्नाटक वाले नहीं समझते थे। और यदि हमारे यहाँ भाषा के अनुसार प्रान्तों का पुनर्विभाजन न होता तो गुलामी से पिछे छुड़ाने के बाद भी हम अंग्रेजी भाषा के गुलाम रहने वाले थे और जिन प्रान्तों में एक से अधिक भाषायें थीं उन प्रान्तों की विधान सभा में, उन प्रान्तों के न्यायालयों में, उन प्रान्तों की शिक्षा संस्थाओं में, हर बात में अंग्रेजी का स्थान रहने वाला था। इसलिए मैं भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना के पक्ष में अन्य बालों के कारण तो था ही, परन्तु मुख्यतः इस पक्ष में मैं इस कारण था कि इस देश में गुलामी समाप्त होने के बाद भी कम से कम भाषा की हमारी गुलामी न रहे जाय। मनुष्य में और

पशु में यदि कोई सबसे बड़ा अन्तर है तो वह अन्तर यह है कि निसर्ग ने जो ज्ञान शक्ति मनुष्य को दी है वह सृष्टि के किसी अन्य प्राणी को नहीं दी। उस ज्ञान, शक्ति का विकास शिक्षा से होता है और शिक्षा का मूल आधार भाषा है। इसलिए मैं भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना का सदा समर्थक रहा हूँ।

अब यदि आप इस आयोग के प्रतिवेदन को देखें तो चाहे उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार न किया हो कि वे भाषा के अनुसार प्रान्तों का विभाजन कर रहे हैं, परन्तु यथार्थ में उस प्रतिवेदन में भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्तों का विभाजन नहीं है तो और क्या है? केवल दो प्रान्तों के विषय में ऐसा नहीं हुआ है। एक बम्बई के सम्बन्ध में और दूसरा पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में। परन्तु पंजाबी भाषा और हिन्दी भाषा, इन दो भाषाओं को अलग अलग मानना मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। यदि आज आप हिन्दी की दूसरी उपभाषाओं को देखें, भोजपुरी को देखें, अवधी को देखें, बृजभाषा को देखें, बुंदेलखंडी को देखें और पंजाबी को देखें, तो जितना अन्तर उन उपभाषाओं का एक दूसरे से है उतना ही अन्तर पंजाबी और हिन्दी का है। इसलिए पंजाबी भाषा को हिन्दी से बृहत् मानकर साम्प्रदायिकता को उत्पन्न करना एक गलत बात है। इसलिए यदि हमारे आयोग ने अपने प्रतिवेदन में पंजाब के सब को ऐसा रखा तो मैं तो यह मानता हूँ कि उसका बटवारा भी भाषा के आधार पर हुआ है। हूँ बम्बई की कुछ समस्यायें अवश्य हैं। परन्तु इतने बड़े देश में यदि किसी एक प्रदेश की कोई समस्या रहे जाय और शेष प्रदेशों की समस्यायें हल हो जायें तो उस समस्या का कोई महत्त्व नहीं रहता। इसलिए चाहे आयोग ने इस बात को स्वीकार न किया हो कि वह भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्तों का विभाजन कर रहा है, लेकिन यथार्थ में भाषा के आधार पर ही प्रान्तों का विभाजन किया गया है। इसलिए, सभापति महोदय, जिस समय इस आयोग का प्रतिवेदन निकला उसी समय मैं इस पक्ष में था कि इस प्रतिवेदन को जैसा का

तैसा स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिए। आप एक ओर एक विशेषज्ञों का आयोग नियुक्त करें, उन विशेषज्ञों को आप यह अधिकार दें कि वे सब बातों पर विचार करें और जब उनकी रिपोर्ट आए तब आप उसमें मैन मंस निकालें, यह उचित बात नहीं है। यदि इस दश में यहाँ बहूँ इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ पंचायत हस देख रहे हैं तो उसका मूल कारण मेरी दृष्टि से यह है कि हमने आयोग के प्रतिवेदन को जैसा का तैसा स्वीकार नहीं किया है। अभी भी मैं शील करता हूँ कि.....

श्री गिहानी (धाना) चाहे किसी प्रान्त के साथ उस रिपोर्ट में अन्याय हो तो भी ?

सेठ जीबन्ध दास: अभी भी बहुत समय नहीं बीता है, हमें इस प्रतिवेदन को जैसा का तैसा स्वीकार करना चाहिए, यदि हम उसे जैसा का तैसा स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे तो भविष्य में भगड़ बन रहेगे।

फिर आप यह भी देखें कि आयोग ने जो चीजें आपके सामने रखी हैं वे कितनी खानचीन कर रही हैं। आयोग अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहता है कि उसके पास जो मैमोरैंडम इत्यादि आये उनका संख्या १,४२,२५० है। फिर आयोग १०४ स्थानों पर गया और उसने २५,००० मील की यात्रा अपनी जानकारी के लिये की। अब मैं आप से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जिस आयोग ने इतना श्रम उठाया हो, इतने मैमोरैंडम (ज्ञापन) पढ़ें, इतने हजार मील की यात्रा की हो, इतने अधिक स्थानों को गया हो, उस के प्रतिवेदन पर हम स्वयं बिना उस तरह की जानकारी के जिस तरह की जानकारी कि आयोग के पास थी, हस्तक्षेप करें और उसको स्वीकार न करके उसमें इधर उधर परिवर्तन करना चाहें, तो क्या यह खेद की बात न होगी ?

मुझे उस समय बड़ा हर्ष हुआ जिस समय मैं ने सुना आयोग की रिपोर्ट में यदि कोई परिवर्तन होगा तो तब होगा कि जब उस परिवर्तन के सम्बन्ध में उस क्षेत्र के लोग एक मत हो जायेंगे। यह भी नहीं हुआ। पहले

श्री मं इसके विरुद्ध था कि उस रिपोर्ट को जैसा का तैसा स्वीकार न किया जाये। फिर जो यह वचन दिया गया कि उसमें परिवर्तन तब होगा कि जब उस क्षेत्र के लोगों का एक मत हो जायेगा, दोनों बातें नहीं हो रही हैं।

हम यह भी देखें कि किस तरह के व्यक्तियों का यह आयोग बनाया गया था। जो महानुभव आयोग में नियुक्त किये गये उन में अच्छे व्यक्ति इस आयोग में नियुक्त नहीं किये जा सकते थे, विद्वता की दृष्टि से, अनुभव की दृष्टि से और निष्पत्ता की दृष्टि से। तीनों दृष्टियों से इस प्रकार के आयोग में जिस प्रकार के विद्वान, जिस प्रकार के अनुभवशील और जिस प्रकार के निष्पक्ष व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता थी, उस प्रकार का यह आयोग बना। फिर आयोग की जो रिपोर्ट (प्रतिवेदन) हमारे सामने आई, उसमें भी एक, दो स्थानों को छोड़ कर आयोग सर्वसम्मत था। आयोग की जो सिफारिशें सर्वसम्मत हुई थीं, उनमें हमने क्या परिवर्तन किया ?

एक माननीय सदस्य : शब्द "आयोग" मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि इसका क्या मतलब है ?

सेठ जीबन्ध दास : "आयोग" शब्द के लिए अंग्रेजी भाषा में कमिशन शब्द है। लेकिन आपने बहुत दूर बाद यह पूछा। आयोग शब्द तो मैं कितनी बार बोल चुका हूँ अगर आप पहली ही बार इसको पूछ लें तो आपकी इतनी दूर तक इसके लिए व्यर्थ मैं भटकना और हँसन नहीं होना पड़ता कि आयोग से क्या मतलब है।

अभी आचार्य कृपालानी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि इस आयोग के प्रतिवेदन के परचाए दश का वायुमंडल बड़ा गर्म हो गया है। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें चीकने की, आश्चर्य करने की या दुःख पाने की कोई बात नहीं है। यह गर्मोहट तो बतलाती है कि इस दश में जीवन है और इस दश के लोग जीवित चीजों को कुछ अच्छी तरह से देखना चाहते हैं और उसके सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहते हैं। अभी मैं ने इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ

[संठ गोविन्द दास]

विदेशी पत्रों के विचार पढ़ें। उन्होंने इस बात पर आश्चर्य प्रकट किया है कि इतना बड़ा काम भारतवर्ष में होने जा रहा है और भारतवर्ष के वायुमंडल में इतनी कम गर्मी आई। इसीलिए यह जो गर्म वायुमंडल है, इसके लिए कोई खेद करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। बम्बई इत्यादि एक, दो स्थानों पर कुछ दुर्घटनाएं हो गईं। वे एक खेद की बात अवश्य हैं परन्तु इतने बड़े देश में इस प्रकार के प्रतिवेदन के पश्चात् यदि एक, दो स्थानों पर इस तरह की कोई बात भी हो जाय तो इस पर हमें आश्चर्य नहीं होना चाहिए।

अब सब से पहले मैं बड़े और छोटे प्रान्तों के सम्बन्ध में कहूंगा। मैं इस बात के पक्ष में रहा हूँ कि हमारे जो प्रान्त बनें, वे बड़े प्रान्त होने चाहियें। एक तरफ उत्तर प्रदेश के सदृश प्रान्त हो और दूसरे स्थान पर विन्ध्य प्रदेश, अजमेर और भूपाल इत्यादि के सदृश प्रान्त रहे, यह उचित बात नहीं है। हमने देखा कि २० प्रान्तों के स्थान पर आयोग ने १६ प्रान्तों की सिफारिश की है। जहां तक हमारे मध्य प्रदेश का सम्बन्ध है, मुझे इस बात पर बड़ा हर्ष है कि मध्य प्रदेश के लिए हमारी महाकांशल प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी ने जिस प्रकार का मेमोरेण्डम (ज्ञापन) दिया था, वह प्रायः वैसा का वैसा स्वीकार किया गया है। आयोग ने जबलपुर को राजधानी बनाया था और बहुत कुछ विचार करने के पश्चात्। उन्होंने किसी प्रान्त के सम्बन्ध में राजधानी की बात नहीं कही, परन्तु इतने बड़े प्रान्त के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने राजधानी की बात कही है। कांग्रेस की हाई कमांड को उसको बदलने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी। जबलपुर को मैं हर दृष्टि से भूपाल से कहीं अधिक उपयुक्त मानता हूँ, इतने पर भी मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कोई कटुता नहीं लाना चाहता। भूपाल कोई विदेश का स्थान नहीं है, कोई विदेश से आई हुई जगह नहीं है, भूपाल हमारे प्रदेश का हिस्सा है और वहां पर भी भारतवासी रहते हैं

और उस मध्यप्रदेश वाले वहां रहते हैं जो अब बनाया जा रहा है। भूपाल हमारा हिस्सा है। मैं साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार की कटुता ग्वालियर और इंदौर के सम्बन्ध में हुई, उस प्रकार की कोई कटुता इस चीज को लेकर हमारे मध्यप्रदेश में उत्पन्न होने वाली नहीं है। यह आश्वासन मैं अपने भूपाल के निवासियों और मध्यप्रदेश के दूसरे निवासियों को देना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषय में जो कुछ निर्णय होगा उसे हम सब लोग सिर झुका कर स्वीकार कर लेंगे और स्वीकार करने के बाद हमारा एक ही उद्देश्य होगा कि हम अपने नये प्रान्त और अपने भारतवर्ष के सच्चे निर्माण कार्य में एक नये साहस और एक नये उत्साह के साथ जुट जायें। मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि जिस हिन्दी भाषा भाषी मध्य प्रदेश का निर्माण हो रहा है और जो प्रदेश कि इस देश का सब से बड़ा प्रदेश होगा, वह कुछ दिन के बाद शायद एक ऐसा प्रदेश हो सकेगा कि जिस पर लोग स्पर्धा करेंगे और ईर्ष्या करेंगे।

अन्त में मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करने के पूर्व इस आयोग के प्रतिवेदन का समर्थन करता हूँ लेकिन इतनी बात फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि आयोग के प्रतिवेदन में जो बातें कही गई हैं, उनको जैसा का तैसा मानना आवश्यक है।

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: As I listened to this debate so far, the impression has gained upon me that today, in this Parliament, we have come to experience a new atmosphere of approach in the most complicated and difficult problems involved in the re-distribution of the country on a predominantly linguistic basis. The House will recall that on the 7th and 12th July, 1952, immediately after our elections to this House, there was a debate on the linguistic States organisation. I am quoting from page 3692 of the proceedings of the 12th July, 1952. On that day, the Speaker had the following to say:

"I think this practice of talking and taking the whole debate so

lightly as though we were staging something by way of drama or some theatrical performance is really deprecable".

I said a minute ago that I have come to sense a new atmosphere of approach to this problem and for this I am certain that the hon. Home Minister whom unfortunately I do not see here—because of the luncheon interval perhaps—is personally responsible. He has attempted to spread an atmosphere of sweet reasonableness. He is a pastmaster in the art of understatement, an understatement even to convince people who are violently opposed to him in his views and policies.

After that, I heard the most remarkable speech, which in portions has taken us back to the Gandhian spirit, of Acharya Kripalani, and then also I have listened to the fervid eloquence of my hon. friend Shri Gopalan and the torrent of Hindi oratory of my dear old friend, Seth Govind Das.

An Hon. Member: Not old.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I would like to make two preliminary comments on the opening speech of the hon. Home Minister as he moved the motion today. I have carefully listed down the words and I am sure the official records will bear me out. He has studiously avoided, in his one hour and five minutes' speech, any reference to linguistic redistribution. On the other hand, the hon. Pandit G. B. Pant used the word—a peculiar word, or phrase: "cultural distribution". (*Interruption*). I would beg of the House to allow me to proceed. I have listed down the words, and they would bear verification. It struck me as something extraordinary; extraordinary because it comes from a man of a senior status—a statesman—for whom I have the greatest personal regard. Then, at one place in his speech—again I noted down the words here—he spoke of the "so-called linguistic provinces". I think in between these two phrases which the Home Minister has chosen to employ

while moving the motion for consideration in regard to the S.R.C. Report, you will find, shall I say, the drama and tragedy of the problem of India of the past few years. I wish he has unashamedly resorted to the old classical phrase, "linguistic re-organisation of India" which has been bequeathed to us by Bapu—Bapu to all of us, to every one in this country—Mahatma Gandhi, and who, for 30 long years has made this concept not only famous all over India and the world but made us believe passionately in its consummation.

The second point I would like to make about the Home Minister's statement this morning is in regard to another phrase he used, namely, that this debate of subject is non-controversial. I wish it is non-controversial. Then he said it is national issue. I wish the Government is in particular have considered this as a national issue. I do not belong to any party as the House very well knows and I may here say this, without any qualification at all, that the entire method of approach of the Government so far as the linguistic States are concerned, has been defective from the beginning. Why should they not consult the other political parties before they arrive at decisions? In fact, I had occasion to talk over it with the Speaker in another connection. I said, the Commission was appointed by an announcement in this Parliament. They have submitted their Report and the Report has come before the Parliament. But before that, the Working Committee of the All India Congress Party has announced certain "decisions"—mark the word, Mr. Chairman, "decision". In other words, all that we will be discussing in this honourable House from today till the 23rd of this month will be of little or no avail, once the Working Committee is going to stick to its decisions. I want an assurance from the Government benches in the course of the reply to this debate that we will not be merely asked to rubber-stamp the decisions of the Working Committee. You talk of the

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sovereignty of the Parliament. (*Interruptions*). I have noted down another phrase of the Home Minister—"it is open to the House to revise, reject or modify the recommendations of the S.R.C.". It is only a constitutional quibble. Here the Working Committee of the ruling party has announced its decisions on a large number of issues; one or two still remain. I am most anxious today that we will not be asked merely to rubber-stamp the so-called decisions of the Working Committee on some of the main recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. These are the two preliminary points I wanted to make.

I am here to say that this is a historic occasion and I am sure that each one of us assembled in this House is pledged before God and man that we will rededicate ourselves for the greater glorification of this country with the result that the atmosphere which prevailed in this House in July, 1952 when the linguistic question came up for the first time is no longer there. There is a sweet reasonableness prevailing now. My hon. friend Mr. Gopalan has said that none of us are willing to imperil the security of the people of India, even though each one of us is passionately attached to certain issues to be decided in one way or the other. I am bound to be slightly autobiographical, and I am sure the House will bear with me. For four long years, I have been the subject of calumny in this country, being the President of the All India Linguistic States Conference for four years. I have got the record here—one hon. Member of this House called me *linguo-maniac*; another Member during the general debate called me *Vibhishan*, as stabbing the Prime Minister of India, my elder brother, in the back. These two gentlemen, curiously enough, were translated to the other side almost within a few hours of the debate in July, 1952. It surprises me now that these two gentlemen are among the

principal protagonists of the Vidarbha movement and the Karnataka movement. In fact, I have been called "Jinnah No. 2", as though I did something wrong by trying to bring all the political parties on the same platform. I had the pleasure of working with the late Syama Prasad Mukherjee, Sucheta Kripalani—Acharya Kripalani was not here in this House then—and Dr. Rama Rao Deshmukh of the other House, people connected with all political parties. What the Congress told the country in its election manifesto in December, 1951, has now been completely forgotten, with the result that it has been given to some of us here to carry forward the movement after the election was over the Congress forgot that it had said. The pledge taken in 1920 about the concept of linguistic redistribution has been forgotten. I am glad that we are here discussing today in an atmosphere of understanding and co-ordination in the approach of one party to another—both the Opposition and the Government. We have come to a stage where once and for all this vexed question of linguistic redistribution will be solved. If it is solved that will be the happiest moment in my life and I hope that it will be the happiest moment for all the other hon. Members in this House also.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure everyone of us should behave as an Indian first and last. I am an Andhra, as the House will remember, and I do not want repetition of instances like the martyrdom of Potti Srimulu. Again, a few weeks ago, there were threats of fast till death in certain parts of the country. I am sure everybody will agree that we will not gain anything by this sort of threats. I am here speaking with a sense of responsibility. Take the question of Andhra and Tamil Nad. For thirty long years there was almost bitter enmity between Andhra and Tamil Nad, but that has now been completely forgotten after the separation of Andhra, I want the House to recognise

it. Of course, each one of us will consider our claims genuine, but once decisions are taken, they must be respected. I am not going to discuss every recommendation of the S.R.C. Report, but I am sure the House will permit me to deal with one or two important points. The House will permit me to say with my knowledge of Indian History for the past 5,000 years—both recorded and unrecorded—one thing. As an old Urdu phrase says: “हनुज दिल्ली; दूरस्त”

Delhi is always distant from the rest of the country. During these 5,000 years, the Centre became weak and the outlying portions of India have been changing from time to time with changes in the Government. I am sorry the States Reorganisation Commission has not said a word about the decentralisation of the Government of India and the dispersal of some of the Government departments to various parts of the country. In these days, of course, there is no lack of communications but, without the decentralisation of the Government of India and its dispersal to various States, it will certainly not be possible for this country to look to the future for which we are planning. I am only saying it as an illustration, but I do not see any reason why our Army Headquarters should not be moved to Hyderabad. I mean, a certain amount of decentralisation is absolutely necessary. I regret to say—and I say it very emphatically and unashamedly—that the balance of power between the North and the South is not properly set up in the recommendations of the S.R.C. The Commission has made a recommendation for a Vidarbha State and a Telengana State side by side with the retention of Uttar Pradesh, that leviathan of India whose limbs cannot move and a bigger leviathan in the shape of the proposed Madhya Pradesh. I want only to direct the attention of the House to this basic point, namely, that there is no parity between the North and the South. I am most anxious that on this solemn occasion when we are discussing together the

reorganisation of this country on a linguistic basis, we must be clear about one aspect. The South has always been distant from the North; let us bring them together. If they are not brought together now, it will be too late tomorrow. I am sorry I have to use the term “balance of power”; but what I meant was the concentration of political power in the North. There is no parity between the North and the South.

Shri Lokenath Mishra: From where do you begin South?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I am not opposed to Hindi; Hindi as the language of the nation, Rashtra Bhasha, is something different. But I am taking of the political implications of the manner in which the system of Government is set up. I am sorry to say that so long as U.P. is left untouched, there will not be parity between the North and the South. The House will remember that for the greater part of my life, for 20 long years, I have been living in the North, though my constituency is in the South. I have been in the North and I have seen the manner in which the North has been dominating over the South. It used to be said, “India, that is Bharat, that is U.P.” These are claptrap slogans in the marketplace. I want to point out to the House that the manner in which the Government of this Country is organised will have to be reconstructed, so that North and South could have parity.

An Hon. Member: From where do you begin the south?

Mr. Chairman: Order, order; let him proceed in his own way.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I would like to say only a couple of words, about the Commission, its terms of reference, the manner in which it has gone about its work and about one or two of its recommendations. I had occasion to say in Ambala on the 30th of April this year, as the President of the Linguistic Convention; that I was not happy that the manner in which the Commission has done the

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work. Each one of the three Commissioners—two of them are my personal friends for more than 30 years—have declared and taken up positions as such against linguistic States,—I can quote records—before and after the time when the Commission was actually investigating. That is a small point. The real point is that the manner of recording evidence, of collecting people to give evidence was really wrong. I speak as a witness. I protested in writing and verbally to the Commission. No record is kept of the statement of the witnesses. The stenographer sits in a corner and he writes a summary. I spoke for 1 hour and 40 minutes, I remember. I do not know what was put in my mouth. I asked for a copy of the record; it was not given to me. I think that is the experience uniformly of all the people, with the result that the report is like the proverbial curate's egg, good in parts and something else in some other parts. Finally, I do not like the manner in which a man of the standard of Sardar Panikkar should have permitted himself to say in Madras a few days ago that the intention of the Commission in making a recommendation about Visal Andhra 5 years hence was, it could be had today, not five years hence. I cannot understand the logic. He said so in Madras the other day. Here is one example of the slipshod manner in which the Commission has set about its work. You will find, regarding Telengana, they say that it is a surplus State and if you add it to Andhra, which is a deficit State, it will not be viable and so on. Before the year is out, by 1956 or 1957 or somewhere about that, there will be total prohibition in this country. Five crores of rupees represents the excise revenue out of Rs. 17 crores of Telengana. If Visal Andhra cannot come into existence for another year or two in any case. If this excise revenue is not available, which is deficit, which is surplus? Actually, to my mind, as a student of economics and financial affairs, it occurs to me

that today money has no meaning in this country. With a target of Rs. 4,000 crores in the Second Five Year Plan, and Rs. 2,224 crores sought to be spent in the First Five Year Plan, with 40 to 60 per cent. of the budget of every State supported by Central subventions in so many ways, money has no meaning. I hope that this sort of specious arguments will not be permitted to come in such numbers and that uniform norms will be laid down for all cases.

I agree with Pandit Pant that sufficient attention has not been bestowed on Chapter IV of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission. There is a subordinate type of citizenship available to certain important linguistic minorities in various parts of the country. As an illustrative list, I would like to mention the longstanding dispute between Bengal and Bihar in respect of Singbhum and Manbhum and Saraikella. That has got to be solved. I am perfectly aware of the psychological atmosphere of a Bengali when he looks at this question with reference to these areas. Bihar's individual needs must be reconciled with those of Bengal. Secondly, there is a dispute between Andhra and Orissa with respect to a number of places. We have 11 lakhs of Andhras in that area. We have been denied that, a point which Pandit Pant spotlighted. It has got to be solved. There are Andhra areas in Madhya Pradesh, in Bastar and Chanda. There is the dispute between Andhra and Kannada, Tamil Nad and Kerala, Maharashtra and Gujarat, for example in respect of Dangs to give a solitary example, between Rajasthan and Bombay as regards Mount Abu. I can go on adding. My greatest difficulty with this report is this. Nothing has been said so far as to the manner in which these boundary disputes and inter-State disputes are going to be solved. There is no provision made so far. I do hope that by the time the Government makes up its mind with regard to the draft Bill, a suitable machinery a boundary commission or a series of

boundary commissions will be made available so that all these points are completely solved on an honourable basis.

Two words about Visal Andhra. I want Visal Andhra now. As an Andhra, I am bound to say that. I have no more arguments than were used by the Working Committee in its policy circular to the various Members of Telengana who have been brought here several times in the past month or two. I want Visal Andhra today. The unification of the 3½ crores of Andhras who inhabit the Krishna-Godavari basin, which is the rice bowl of India, cannot be delayed any longer. The second point is, all the boundary disputes, some of which I have spotlighted, whether it is in regard to Kolar Gold fields or Chingleput district in Madras, or any other place,—Orissa has to get certain areas from Andhra—have to be referred to a series of boundary commission. Thanking the House for the indulgence shown to a lone Member of this House—I belong to no party—I would like to say, let us re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of reconstruction of India to the greater glorification of India. Let us state our case with zest, even with passion, but within limits. Let everything be done in a manner which not only intensifies the patriotic feelings of the people of this great country, but also which will go to the strengthening of the fabric of this nation. If India perishes, none of us in this House or outside can live.

Shri S. S. More: I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak in this very important debate at this early stage. I need not refer to the disputes which are prevailing between different sections owing allegiance to different languages in this unfortunate country. Acharya Kripalani, in his very long speech, propounded some propositions to which, as a student of political science, I could not subscribe. He was trying to be very original. But, if we look to the scientific literature on this point, language and culture, we find

that language is closely associated with culture. Language has deep roots in the past. It flows like a river carrying a certain amount of soil and the tradition of the areas and ages through which it passes.

I feel that in this country, the unity idea about which Acharya Kripalani was talking, is a recent creation and a creation of the Britisher. Why did he unite India? The country was under feudal influence. So many dynasties had come into existence. They were fighting like two cocks. All along we were having small pockets. The whole country was split into different pockets. It was the Britisher who came to this country with a unified system of administration. He thought it necessary to give it one uniform system of administration because that was the only way by which he could exploit the country. Along with a unified system of administration, he gave it some political unity and that political unity was responsible for creating a body like the National Congress, which could harness that political unity for furthering the cause of national struggle. We must thank the Britisher, as Shri Daddaboi Naoroji and Shri Ranade have thanked them, for creating this political unity. Does that mean that we are united in our social conception? Does that mean that we are united in our traditions? Does that mean that all the heroes for whom I have the greatest reverence are the same all over the country? I am pained to state that in this great country, the difference between an Assamese and a man who comes from the lowest tip of the country is as wide as the difference between an average Englishman and an average German....

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri S. S. More: ...and as wide as the difference between an average Englishman and an average French.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): That is wrong Question.

Shri S. S. More: It is a question by a Hindu Mahasabhaite who looks

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upon religion as the basis of one nation.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Yes.

Shri S. S. More: I am not subscribing to that view. I was referring to the past. In order to solve our present problems, we have to look to the future as well as to past. In looking to the past, we look to the growth of sentiments of the people. These sentiments have to be taken into consideration if we want to have a solution for the future. If you go in a bureaucratic manner, if you go in an autocratic manner, to iron out differences created by the past, you will come to grief. The Britisher in 1857 tried to bring some of his very advanced ideas to this country, but he did not take into account the prevailing sentiments of the people; and the rebellion of 1857 was the result. Then they started soft-pedalling the country and gradually introduced so many social reforms. Now also, this country has to go the same way.

My submission is that if you want to solve all these differences and take this country not only to a political unity, not only to a sort of administrative unity, but to a unity which shall be social in its conception, to an economic unity based on uniform development, and to a unity based on the socialist pattern that we want to go to, then you will have to earn the confidence of the people. You will have to demonstrate that you are going ahead in a progressive way with the consent and support of the people. If any section of the people get the impression that there is some machine located at Delhi, which is out to flatten down all differences, iron out all differences, then you would create a spirit of antagonism. And particularly, I can speak for Maharashtrians.

The Maharashtrians have done their best during the past. They have done their best during the spread of the national struggle, and I say that they are yet prepared to do their best for the future of the country. But the Maharashtrian mind is a peculiar mind. You have to approach the

Maharashtrian, and you must understand the mental make-up of the Maharashtrian.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): Volatile.

Shri S. S. More: If you flatter the Maharashtrian and approach the Maharashtrian mind in a very appealing manner, then nobody can beat him in his generosity, and he will be prepared to part with the last rag on his back. But if you try to deal with the Maharashtrian with bullets and other coercive things, then I say that you are playing a dangerous game with forces which are more devastating than the average atom bomb which has been invented now.

I have already made my submission in writing to the hon. Prime Minister and other Members on the question of linguistic redistribution of the States. I do concede that this demand for linguistic reorganisation of the States had some relevance, had some proper import, concept, and foundation during a certain phase of our life. Today so many people are describing this linguistic demand as a mischievous demand. But I would like to say that even this demand was voiced and encouraged by the Congress itself under a certain set of circumstances. But things have changed, political conceptions have changed, and the entire political structure in the country has changed. And what was suitable under one set of circumstances will not be suitable under the new set of circumstances. If seasons change, we change our clothes also. Similarly, with changed conditions we have to change our ideas, slogans and demands.

Why did we say that linguistic provinces should be created? We said so because the linguistic affinity of the people had to be harnessed for the national struggle; and then, we extended so many promises. But with this Constitution coming into existence on 26th January 1950, a Constitution not of a federation, but of a unitary government—I raised these

constitutional issues on one or two occasions here, and Shri Biswas himself admitted that ours is a unitary Constitution, and even yesterday, Pandit G. B. Pant was frank enough to say that ours is a unitary State, and the so-called States are not federating or sovereign units, but only agents of the Central Government which is brought into existence under a particular Constitution for social, economic and political justice—it must be the pleasure of the Central authority, it must be the convenience of the Central authority, that must prevail in re-drawing the map of India. When you say that a unitary State has come into existence which is trying to give social, political and economic justice to the people, I would say that I am prepared to rest content with what has been promised by the Central Government, provided their kindly eyes reach every nook and corner, even the most backward areas and territories in this country. You must go on on a basis of uniformity. If you do so, then I am prepared to tell the Maharashtrians to rest content with what has been given. I know to what depth the mind of the Maharashtrians has been agitated. They met with a very heavy defeat in 1761 at Panipat, and I think the sense of frustration, the sense of regret, the sense of dissatisfaction, that is prevailing now in the nooks and corners of Maharashtra—I shall warn the Government to take notice of it—is as deep and as grave as the sense of frustration, or the sense of regret or the sense of something mixed with wrath, that we experienced in the 18th century after the defeat at Panipat.

So far as the Maharashtrians are concerned, the Commission say that they have tried to satisfy their aspirations. But how? By paying us a compliment that we are virile and valiant people. But I would like to say that these three men are not needed to give us any compliment. All the annals of history, all the pages of history made red with our blood, are there to bear eloquent testimony to us about our valour.

But what have the Commission done? They have recommended the creation of a small State of Vidarbha, and they say that this will satisfy the mind of the Maharashtrian, or the ambition of the Maharashtrian. The three-man Commission must have known the mind of so many other people, but I am sorry to say that they did not know at all the mind of the Maharashtrian. Otherwise, they would not have said that a small tiny State, economically feeble and politically ineffective will be the be-all-and-end-all of all the ambitions of the Maharashtrians.

All the same, what is worrying me is, what are we to do for the future. Are we to stage a bitter fight? Are we to stage a bloody fight, of which some rehearsals have taken place in Bombay? I am not going to blame anyone for that. So many people have lost their precious lives and spilt their blood there. My only anxiety is, warned by what has happened, what are we going to do for the future.

I am not convinced by the arguments of unity and security advanced by the Commission, because I know that the Maharashtrian will be the first man to defend the country if its unity and security come into danger. And even our enemies are quite sure that they cannot do any damage to the unity and security of our country, because they know that the fighting Maharashtrians are there, that the fighting Sikhs and Punjabis are there, and that the other fighting elements are there.

डा० राम सुबग सिंह (शाहाबाद—दक्षिण)
जीर लोग भी लड़ते हैं ।।

Shri S. S. More: I accept that, I am not prepared to see that in this country there should be martial races and non-martial races. Even that distinction has to be removed. Everyone must be made 'o fight' for the country's cause. But now only a few have taken upon themselves the responsibility of amassing wealth...

Shri B. D. Pande (Almora Distt.—North-east): Not to fight for Bombay only.

Shri S. S. More: ...while the many are left to the duty of fighting, to the duty of being labourers in the factories in order to enrich the country. Even this difference has to be removed, if we really stand for unity and uniformity in this country.

As far as my personal views go, I am not in favour of the three-State formula which has been evolved by the Congress Working Committee on the recommendation contained in the resolution of the Gujerat Pradesh Congress Committee.

4 P.M.

Will it solve the problem? I fear that it will complicate the problem, it will bring more difficulties in our way than solving the problem. Then what next? Of course, I stand, along with every Maharashtrian irrevocably for a *Samyukta Maharashtra* with Bombay as the capital of that State. But I am prepared to have a compromise. In a democracy, in a parliamentary democracy, we have to go by compromises. Compromise; at every stage, compromise, compromise, compromise. Debate, discuss and then come to a compromise—that is the order of a parliamentary democracy. Staging battles in the feudal way will not be any solution for the country's future problems. Therefore, I would suggest this. Let the Prime Minister take the lead. Why should he sit only at the Working Committee meeting and keep away from people who may not belong to the Congress? Let the Prime Minister, who stands for the Geneva spirit, who stands for world unity, who stands for peace between America and Russia, let him bring those high sentiments into play within the country, let him under his sobering influence bring the different warring elements in the country together. I can assure you that under his sobering influence, nobody—whether of the Congress or outside the Congress—will have any courage to take to extreme views. Let him bring them together at sort of round table conference. At present the sore-spots are, particularly, Punjab and Bombay. Let all the elements come

together. We say that we are trying to have a world federation. But there cannot be a world federation, there cannot be a national federation unless the federating spirit is there. If the people have not got the federating spirit, no Constitution, by itself, can bring into existence a federation. It ought to be a federation of the heart and not of the physical bodies automatically huddled together. If this fusion of the hearts of the Gujerati and the Maharashtrian in Bombay and the Hindu and the Sikh in the Punjab is to take place, then some sobering, some towering personality, who is detached from the filth of this provincialism must stand up as the guiding deity and find out whether a solution is possible or not.

We talk about the Geneva spirit. Why should we not have the same spirit at Delhi? Why should not have the same spirit at Bombay? Or is it that the Geneva spirit has to remain perpetually out of this country? Is it that there cannot be any Geneva spirit at Bombay? Is it that there cannot be any Geneva spirit at other places? My Gujerati friends are fearing that if all Marathi-speaking people are linked with them, they will be reduced to a hopeless minority. But can there be a permanent majority of linguistic groups? What we are agitated and what we shall be agitated about will be economic problems, and on economic problems, the 'haves' from Gujerat will have the solid support of the 'haves' from Maharashtra. Then linguistic differences will not come in the way. Then there will be a solid front of the 'haves-not' from Gujerat and the 'haves-not' from Maharashtra and other territories. The distinction on social and economic problems will be not Gujerati *vs.* Maharashtrian, but the 'haves' *vs.* the 'haves-not', the progressives *vs.* non-progressives. They are going to be the future two camps in this country. If we have to proceed to a socialistic pattern, the 'haves-not' from every part of the country will have to go ahead together.

As far as cultural matters, linguistic matters are concerned, I would plead that in different States linguistic groups should be given a sort of cultural autonomy. Take, for instance, England. England, Wales and Scotland have come together for ages. But have they ceased to be different nations? The Welsh people and Scottish people say, 'We are different from the English people and the Central Parliament is riding roughshod over us'. Therefore, they have developed a convention that if any Bill is to be passed in its application to Scotland or Wales, it is referred to the Members of Parliament coming from Scotland or Wales, as the case may be. Let us have a similar convention. I need not give the blueprint in all its details. I only indicate in a broad manner, the lines on which we should proceed. Let the Gujaratis have something by way of cultural autonomy; the Maharashtrians will have no finger in that pie. Similarly, let the Maharashtrians proceed with the development of their language and culture without interference from the Gujaratis. If this sort of arrangement is developed, I do not think the respective cultures will come into conflict; I do not think the linguistic claims will come into conflict. After independence, many persons have developed a sort of vested interests; personal ambitions have become a sort of vested interests. In order to get their own personal ambitions properly served, they put on a linguistic garb. The frog in the pond feels that he is the lord of all he surveys. He is not prepared to allow the pond to develop. (Interruption). My friend Shri Trivedi is very anxious to prompt me. But, he must realise that I am not likely to yield to the promptings of *Janasangha*.

I know that some of the Maharashtrian leaders, some of the Bombay leaders, some of the Gujarat leaders are trying to be victims of their own sense of prestige. They are entrenching themselves in a position where compromise is becoming increasingly difficult. I do not question their

motives; I do not accuse them. It is human nature. When I act in a niggardly manner, somebody else responds in the same way. It is, as Panditji has said on many occasions, faith and generosity which evoke a response of faith and generosity. As far as the Maharashtrians are concerned, I feel that as far as faith and generosity is concerned, they do not lack in these two virtues but these two reservoirs of faith and generosity will have to be unlocked for the benefit of the county by the key which only Panditji possesses. Whatever the different leaders may say, I feel that Panditji can have that sobering influence and that influence ought to be there. These are the only sentiments which I want to express. I would request, through you, Mr. Chairman, this House and Panditji to take a detached view of the matter. This matter should not be treated as if it is only for the consideration of the Congress people and that non-Congress people should be kept outside...

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): Non-Congressmen cannot be trusted.

Shri S. S. More: The respected leaders from the Congress group are now grouped in two warring camps and challenge and counter-challenge has become the order of the day. I do not know whether all our sanity has gone to Geneva for the purpose of that conference. And, if it has gone there, it must have gone there without any visa. I am too much worried though I am a single individual. Some of the Congress leaders feel that it is their father's property and they alone are interested in how it is to be partitioned. We, who do not belong to the Congress, have also claims: we are also agitated over this matter. I know the Maharashtrian mind. I know they have a sense of frustration, a deep sense of something being done to their disadvantage. As long as that sense is there it will be very difficult to remove that sense of injustice. And even when party discipline and party whip force any solution on the Congress leaders

[Shri S. S. More]
from Maharashtra they will be accepting that solution in a sullen and dissatisfied manner, smarting under a sense of injustice, smarting under some wrong done to them. Merely whipping on this occasion will be of no avail.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): Whipping has gone.

Shri S. S. More: My friend Shri Gadgil says whipping is abolished. Whipping is abolished from the statute-book, I know, but it is not removed from his mind and eventually—whatever may be his view—he will submit to the whip of the Congress.

Shri Syamanandan Sabaya (Muzaffarpur Central): So, you say that he will ultimately be whipped?

Shri S. S. More: So, my submission is this that we should say what we have to say frankly and bluntly. At the same time, I would make one request that the Congress or the ruling party should not go ahead implementing this particular measure in a steam-roller manner. We may have differences in this matter but these differences will be of people animated with the common desire for the unity of the country or people who are prepared to offer their willing and full co-operation for bringing together the whole of this country under developing prosperity, irrespective of whether that part of the country is linked with the rich Gujaratis or under poor Maharashtrians. I feel that if any sanity and soberness were required during the last 200 years, it is on this occasion; if any real and genuine need for an attitude of compromise is necessary, it is on this occasion.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi (Hamirpur Distt.): What is your suggestion?

Shri Raghunath Singh (Banaras Distt.—Central): What is your concrete suggestion?

Mr. Chairman: He has said it thrice; he has given his solution.

An Hon. Member: It is not clear.

Mr. Chairman: It will not be clear.

Shri S. S. More: My submission is to summarise what I have said, that nothing should be done from Government benches, nothing should be done in this Parliament simply because we are sovereign. It is good that we are sovereign. But we should not behave like autocrat sovereigns. We should bring all sections of the people together to realise their responsibilities regarding the future, evolve some spirit of sober approach to this problem and make them reach some agreement which they will be interested in implementing with strong arms and willing hearts.

Shri Heda (Nizamabad): I thank you for giving me an early opportunity to express my views. You know that there are so many recommendations which the States Reorganisation Commission has made. But there has been great controversy and a good deal of debate on three points. One is Bombay touching the Bombay city, another is Punjab touching Himachal Pradesh and third is the residuary Hyderabad State, and the present Andhra State, which is called Vishalandhra versus separate Telengana.

Sir, as a spokesman of the Telengana group, I hope, according to the ruling of the Speaker, I may be allowed some more time. Before I go to the specific point of Telengana and its merits, I would say a word or two about the general features of the S.R.C. Report. There has been unanimous appreciation of the work done by the Commission and the labours they have put in. There is no doubt about it. I would not like to go into details as to how many memoranda they received, how many witnesses they examined and all that. But, I would mention here two or three of their general recommendations which are of a very significant nature and they will go a long way in solving our problems that may arise or that have started arising now.

[Shri Heda]

The first recommendation is about the abolition of the Rajpramukhship. As I come from a State where there is a Rajpramukh, I have nothing particular to say against the person who occupies that position today for his activities as Rajpramukh but this much I must say that as a Rajpramukh he had not been useful to the people to any extent. Governors and Rajpramukhs are there, I think to cheer up the people, to tone up the administration and to create an enthusiasm and co-operation between the people for the good of the people. This has been noticed not only in Hyderabad but in other places also where there are Rajpramukhs that whatever their abilities, whatever their education and all that may be, they have not been useful in this regard. Therefore, I hail this recommendation and hope that Governors that may be appointed whether it is separate Telengana or whether it is Vishalandhra, they would be such who would be able to take up the onerous duties that these recommendations have suggested.

Another recommendation that should commend itself to every one of us is about the abolition of the three categories of States, Part A, Part B and Part C. We are feeling a sort of stigma that we were being called Part B State. It was very difficult to realise that Hyderabad should have B status while so many other small units were being called A States. We were feeling this at every stage. I am glad that now that differentiation in the categories would not be there and there would be one type of States and others would be territories.

The third thing, and it is very important, is one on which I am glad the Hon. Home Minister has laid special stress, and that is about the safeguards to the linguistic and other minorities. The recommendation has specifically asked the Governors to feel this responsibility and carry it out. I would not deal at any length with these points. In the same

manner, the recommendation about the services, creating 3 new categories of all India services as well as the suggestion that 50 per cent. of the services should come from the other States, are welcome suggestions. I hope that that will create a very healthy atmosphere because we find that power politics are there even in service and the services are trying to indulge in it. Many times many high-ups in the services associate themselves with this group or that group and that creates still greater difficulties. Many times we have to feel that if a public utility work has to be done we have to find out who is the Secretary and to which group he belongs and then make a move. But this condition that 50 per cent. of the services should come from the other States is a very wholesome condition and I hope this would solve the problem.

I come to the merits of the case. So far as Telengana is concerned, I need not go into the details. The greatest proof is the recommendation of the Commission itself. They went into so many documents, so much of evidence and they took practically all aspects into consideration and they have recommended that the residuary State of Hyderabad consisting of 9 Telugu-speaking districts and one multi-lingual district—all these 10—should remain as the residuary State of Hyderabad and it would be called the Hyderabad State, though, generally, the area is known as Telengana.

However, here I may state a few points in brief. The first point made against us is that Telengana is too small in size. The case is not so. The size of Telengana is more than 45,000 square miles and its population is 113 lakhs. When people say that Telengana is a very small State, I have tried to probe into their minds and see what they feel and I find that they equate Telengana with Coorg, Cutch, Himachal Pradesh or some Part C States. They naturally forget that there are smaller States which have been recommended by the SRC.

Apart from that, there is already a State existing which is smaller in population than the Hyderabad that is proposed. So, my point is that it is not small.

The Commission in their bulky report has used two or three words. One of them is 'unwieldy'; I will not deal with that. The other is, 'large size States'. I will not deal with that either. They have pointed out practically by their own recommendations particularly about Vidharbha and Telengana that these are the sizes that would be called medium sized or model sized States. Therefore, I would first stress here that the size of Telengana is not so small as people imagine. Its size is good, 45,000 sq. miles and 113 lakhs of population and I may state here in passing that it has a revenue of Rs. 19 crores.

Now I come to the other consideration, that is the language. We had been agitating for linguistic States. Our idea in the olden days was one language one State. It was the idea when we were feeling that the State should be as large as possible but at that time we felt that the Centre would always remain with the Britishers and it is only the States that would come into the hands of the people's representatives. With that view we propounded that idea, and I think we were quite right at that time. Now the times have changed and the people have advanced.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

So far as the linguistic States are concerned, I am prepared to accept that language should be one of the very important bases, in fact the only basis, for creating new States. But if you look at Telengana, it has only one language, that is Telugu, which is predominant. There are not going to

be two languages as official languages. The idea of one language one State is certainly going to be fulfilled and unilingual State it is going to be. So far as linguistic consideration is concerned, it is fully met. There is no bitterness in my mind or heart with other languages, but I may say if Hindi, which is one of the Indian languages and which has got the greatest number speaking it, can have more than one State, the second language that has got greater numbers speaking, that is Telugu, can also have more than one State. Why should it not have two States? Hindi, the first or foremost language spoken here can have and will have more than one State; similarly, Telugu which is second to Hindi in numbers should also have more than one State. In this regard, the Commission itself has stressed certain points and one of them was to reject the theory of one language one State, which is neither justified for linguistic homogeneity nor is practicable. In Telengana, Telugu being the only language spoken predominantly, the language consideration is fully met.

So far as financial viability is concerned, I am very glad that they have started realising it and nobody says that Telengana is going to be a weak State. I was happy that Shri Gopalan in his speech today referred to the fact that Telengana was going to be a surplus State; his plea was that as Andhra was a deficit State, let the surplus State of Telengana be joined to Andhra. The point that he accepts, namely, that Telengana is going to be a surplus State, is itself enough to convince everyone. The Commission also has stated that so far financial viability of Telengana is concerned, there need be no apprehensions. The Bureau of Statistics of the Government of Hyderabad was asked by the Government of Hyderabad to prepare certain figures about the present Hyderabad State and the proposed Hyderabad State. They have prepared those figures and on those figures I have based my calculations.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it from the Hyderabad State Government?

Shri Heda: It is the Bureau of Statistics, Government of Hyderabad. According to those figures, the proposed Hyderabad State will have an income of Rs. 19 crores, while its expenditure will be about Rs. 17 crores. I may state here that both the income and the expenditure are taken as actuals and are not taken according to the population basis. For example, 60.05 per cent. of the present Hyderabad State population is going to be in the proposed Hyderabad State, but the income is not taken according to that; the actuals are taken. In the same way, expenditure figure is the actual figure. Nowhere expenditure is taken according to the 60.05 per cent. So, the residuary Hyderabad is going to be about Rs. 2 crores surplus. If a moot question is asked and very rightly asked, it is: what about the excise income? No doubt the excise income in the residuary Hyderabad State will be as large as Rs. 6 crores. Some of my friends who do not agree with me sometimes say that the figure is Rs. 5 or Rs. 5½ crores. I may say that it is not Rs. 5 or 5½ crores, but it is Rs. 6 crores. Even after we deduct the Rs. 6 crores of our income out of the Rs. 19 crores, Rs. 13 crores is there for a population of 1,13,00,000, which is very good and can compare very well with the first three or four States which are surplus or have got very good revenue in India. The question may be asked that if the Rs. 6 crores go away, then there will be a deficit of Rs. 4 crores immediately. That is true. The Prohibition Enquiry Committee has given a recommendation that by 1st April 1958 there should be complete prohibition. If that prohibition comes, if the whole of our income of excise goes away and the present expenditure remains, of course there will be Rs. 4 crores deficit. But that is not the whole story. The very same Prohibition Enquiry Committee has stated that for the whole of our country there is an excise income to the tune of Rs. 45 crores, and prohibition

should be introduced in such a way that the States may be able to raise their income, and if the States are not able to raise their income to the tune of Rs. 45 crores, then the Centre should give them grants. The Central and State Governments would sit together and think out a way of gaining Rs. 6 crores or to curtail some of their expenditure. In the matter of expenditure, again I may say that the scale of pay in Hyderabad is higher, and because of the peculiar situations through which we had to pass two years before the police action, during the police action and immediately after the police action, there is a feeling that we have got some surplus staff. I am not thinking of retrenchment. The Government that makes bold to say that we do not allow even a factory labourer to be retrenched as a measure of rationalisation, how can they allow any retrenchment. But the Central Government and the State Government can sit together and decide these matters between themselves. Anyway I am glad to note that the country has started realising that so far as financial viability is concerned, Telengana is a surplus State and it will remain so.

I come to the economic progress. Whatever may be the reason, nature has been very kind to us and the prospects are very good. So many raw materials are available, coal and other minerals, and so many developments took place and today we find that the residuary State of Hyderabad, that is Telengana, is economically well advanced. We have got so many coal mines and other mines, we have got sugar factories, paper factories, rayon, textile and so many other factories. I may roughly state here that we have got about one lakh factory labourers in our State. After the police action, it so happened that no expansion would take place. The result had been that the increase in the population of labour continued and there is a feeling that this unemployment would increase if further economic or industrial progress does

not take place. The point here is to create chances for this industrial expansion in the residuary Hyderabad State or in Vishal Andhra. I am not happy over the state of affairs in Vishal Andhra, but the fact remains that the present Andhra is not industrially developed. They have got very few factories—and the factories, apart from the shipyard, are very small. So, if there is a big Andhra State, naturally that Government would think of spreading the industrial development to other portions of the State and those places where there are no factories at all would get a preference. The leadership or the ruling party that would come, would also come from that area which is bigger in population and therefore, it must have a predominant voice. Therefore, there is an apprehension. If we are able to exploit and utilise the raw material that we have got, there will be further industrial expansion. Instead, if it is merged with an area which is industrially backward, where there are unfortunately no industries, it is just possible that there may not be many chances of industrialisation.

Take for instance coal. It is there in Singareni. There was a case of establishing a fertilizer factory. It was thought that the fertilizer factory should be established at Bezwada and that coal might be taken about 100 or 125 miles to Bezwada. So these clashes do occur: even when there was a separate State to look after the establishment of these factories in Telengana. Government could not be successful. What will happen when there is no separate State? The Government that is supposed to be in charge of Telengana would certainly prefer Bezwada itself or some other place there. Their reasoning will be: since we have got no factories, there should be some industrialisation at our place.

I now come to one point—administrative efficiency. The point is whether administrative efficiency is greater in a large State or in a small State. The SRC has itself given great

consideration to this point. In paragraph 212, they have in short put the points in favour of the smaller States. From the practical experience, we cannot say whether a large State like Bombay was not efficient or a small State was not efficient; that is very difficult to say. If we just think pragmatically it is quite clear that the smaller area in charge of somebody would be manageable much better. Moreover my friend Dr. N. M. Jaissoorya, who is taking interest in my speech is always against red-tapism. I would ask him whether there will be more red-tapism when there is an unwieldy, big State or will it be so when there is a small well-knit unit. Moreover communications in Hyderabad State are developed in such a way—a crossing of the river is there—that if the residuary Hyderabad State is kept separate there would be greater administrative efficiency.

I now come to the other point—people's wishes or popular support. There are two aspects to this problem. One is merit and the other is what the people want. So far as the merit is concerned, the SRC recommendation is there and I have tried in my humble way to put some arguments in that favour.

So far as the wishes of the people is concerned, there is an argument generally advanced: should we ascertain the wishes of the people of a smaller area? It is difficult—true. But Hyderabad is not a small area. If we read the spirit of paragraph 228 of the SRC report, we will find that the wishes of the people of different areas should be regarded as a factor that has to be considered along with other important factors, such as human and material resources of the areas claiming statehood, the wishes of the substantial minorities, the essential requirements of the Indian Constitution and the larger national interests. All the other aspects are there and therefore, the wishes of the Hyderabad people should prevail.

If we look at the wishes of the people there, what do we find? I am

[Shri Heda]

glad that the SRC recommended in our favour. The Working Committee of the Congress Party who desired to give us some advice felt that there should be Visal Andhra. The Working Committee is a great democratic body and they have clearly stated that their advice is subject to the wishes of the people concerned—the wishes of the people of the residuary Hyderabad or what we strictly call Telengana. How is this to be found out?

The hon. Home Minister had done very well in replying to a question on this point. The wishes of the people would be found out by three or four ways. The first and foremost is the voice of the representatives of the people, either in the State Assembly or in Parliament. I would admit that so far as the former is concerned, a majority of the M.L.As. who came from Telengana were in favour of Visal Andhra. That majority is not very big. So far as the Members of the Lok Sabha are concerned who are directly elected in the same way as the Assemblies, there are 15; out of whom there are eight in the Congress. Of these seven are in favour of separate Telengana and I do not know the minds of the Opposition Members. I know that the P.S.P. spokesman is in favour of Telengana; it was the first organisation to give expression to this idea. Therefore, we will find that a majority of the Members here are in favour of separate Telengana whereas a majority of the Assembly Members are in favour of Visal Andhra.

An Hon. Member: How much is that majority?

Shri Heda: The vote was not taken and so it was not clear. There are not less than 40 and not more than 42 in favour of Telengana and not less than 54 and not more than 56 in favour of Visal Andhra. It is something like that. My friend was there in the freedom fight and he can speak to me and get it. But the M.L.As. are there and their views are specific and clear; there can be difference over that. The wishes of the people can

also be found out by the resolutions of political organisations. The most important and the most representative body is the Congress. So far as that is concerned, it has by a majority of 78—80 per cent. of its delegates given a verdict in favour of a separate Telengana. The second important political party is the Communist Party.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): The Chief Minister is a Congressman.

Shri Heda: He is. Where is the doubt? The second important party, the Communist Party, has got such a rigid discipline that they generally say—they take pride in saying things with one voice—they are in favour of Visal Andhra but in their heart of hearts, it is difficult to say what we will find. Anyway it is, I take it, in favour of Vishal Andhra. (*Interruptions*).

An hon. Member: They have no heart because they deny it.

Shri Heda: The third important political party is the P.S.P. and it wholeheartedly supports a separate Telengana; rather it is the first organisation which openly expressed this idea. So far as independent members and other small parties are concerned, about 80—90 per cent. of them are in favour of Telengana.

Shri B. Y. Reddy (Karimnagar) Who are they?

Shri Heda: Apart from this, different organisations have expressed their views, conventions have taken place, besides public meetings, resolutions and telegrams; deputations have come over here to make their point very clear that the people in Telengana are in favour of a separate Telengana: the Commission have nowhere said that the people of Telengana want a separate Telengana but they have said that the view in favour of Visal Andhra is not crystallised. That got crystallised after the Working Committee's advice. But they have said that they will go according to the wishes of the people. The view

is quite clear if you look at the demonstrations, hartals and other things that take place in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. They are only the people in Telangana would be benefited to a large extent than any other people if there is Vishal Andhra. In spite of that fact the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad showed their wholehearted support for the separate Telangana. The Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad passed a resolution and peaceful demonstrations took place when the Prime Minister arrived there and he had a word of appreciation. (*Interruptions*). My friend can come and have a talk with me any time he likes but here my time is short.

The fourth factor that the Home Minister said about ascertaining the wishes of the people was the Intelligence Service. I am glad that the Central Intelligence is doing its best. I am told they are going into the villages trying to find out the wishes of the masses. I do not know what their conclusions would be, but one thing I feel and I must give expression to it. Somehow or other, for what reasons it is very difficult to say, the attitude of the Press, whether in Hyderabad or in the City of Delhi, was very antagonistic so far as the Telangana matter is concerned so much so the resolutions that we passed, the meetings, that we held, the hartal that was so successful, all these things did not get any publicity anywhere and they were rather blacked out. I do not like to state anything further on this point because I may be said to be a concerned party; party I am, no doubt, but I would like to be fair. So many public meetings and functions were held there that the Press in Hyderabad or the All India Press should have reported them quite well.

One thing I should say and that is, so far as the wishes of the people

are concerned it is very very clear now. Anybody who goes to Hyderabad and speaks to any section in Hyderabad will find out that.

An Hon. Member: In the city or districts?

Shri Heda: City or districts, you go to any corner and you will find out that.

Before I close I would like to make another point. So far as the language is concerned Telugu is spoken in Telangana and the same thing is spoken in Andhra. But there is one difference and that the States Reorganisation Commission has not taken into account. In the whole of Telangana, even in the districts and in the villages, people can understand Urdu and Hindi. They may not speak Hindi in their replies but they understand the language all right. You can go and speak to them in Hindi. Swami Ramanand Tirth who had been President of the Hyderabad State Congress for a long time had been addressing all his meetings in Hindi and the people were understanding them. In Andhra the first language spoken is Telugu, the second language that is understood there—I think I may be wrong—is English and not Hindi.

An Hon. Member: No. You are wrong.

Shri Heda: I am happy if I am wrong. But, in Hyderabad the first language that is spoken—especially in Telangana—is Telugu, and Urdu or Hindi is universally understood. That is the bias there and I should say that if a separate Telangana is created it would be the first State of its kind in India which is a non-Hindi speaking State and yet Hindi is appreciated and welcomed. Hindi is understood there in every corner and that would be a great point in its favour.

[Shri Heda]

Since myself and my friend Shri R. N. Reddy—I think my friend is not here—had been very great friends and we still continue to be friends I can quote one instance. He had issued an open challenge in the Hyderabad Press on this matter. He had asked a certain Minister from Hyderabad to vacate his seat. Shri Reddy said that he would vacate his seat in the Parliament and then both would contest and find out what the wishes of the people are in respect of Visal Andhra and Telangana. That was a very bold attitude and I wish some such thing takes place. But, so far as the wishes of the people are concerned the final judge is the Home Ministry.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If that Minister stands for a seat in the local legislature and Shri R. N. Reddy stands for a seat in the Parliament, then what will happen?

Shri Heda: If the Home Ministry accepts it as a measure of finding out the wishes of the people then I may give an offer to my friends whether they are in the Congress or whether they are outside the Congress and who are supporters of Visal Andhra. Since the parties would be involved in this issue we may not be able to judge it properly on one seat. There should be more than one seat. If it is for the Parliament let there be four to six seats and if it is for the Assembly let there be ten to twelve seats. Let those seats be contested on this issue of Visal Andhra and Telangana and whatever the verdict of the ballot is, we will certainly accept it. So far as that challenge against the Minister of the Hyderabad State is concerned the trick involved in it is that if my friend means a parliamentary seat then the Minister has to lose his seat in the Ministry as he will have to come here. So, it is a challenge to a person who is in the Assembly. A person can challenge another person in the Parliament and the question may be decided. So, so far as the wishes of the people are concerned our claim

is that 90 to 95 per cent.—let my Communist friends hear this—of the population in Telangana, particularly the nine Telugu speaking districts, is in favour of Telangana and there is only a very small section which is in favour of Visal Andhra.

Dr. Jaisoorya (Medak): What is the basis of your statement?

Shri Heda: I have given my own analysis. So, whatever the advice is the weight of that advice is there—So far our Andhra friends have not been able to persuade us and in this regard I may express a word of appreciation to the accredited leadership of the Andhra Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister. They were very democratic—and other leaders of Andhra also—when they said that they would welcome Visal Andhra but never without the support of Telangana.

Shri Keshvalengar (Bagalore North): What is your Chief Minister's attitude?

Shri Heda: You know it; I know it. Do you want it to come from my mouth? The Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra are very democratic because they said: "We do want Visal Andhra but not against the wishes of the people of Telangana. If the people of Telangana want it there would be Visal Andhra and not otherwise". That is the democratic attitude we want and I hope the same democratic attitude will be adopted particularly by those friends who do not come from Telangana.

Shri Raghuramiah (Tenali): My esteemed brother and colleague Shri Heda has spoken for Telangana. I shall also speak for Telangana, but an extended Telangana, a Visal Telangana, a Visal Andhra. It is really very surprising that while everyone of us during the course of the debate is going to urge for a little more taluq here, for a little more district there, for something more contiguous and of the same language, here is a friend

who stands up and says: "I do not want this district, I do not want this area, I do not want this population." We say we will come to you, we will merge in you, we want to become part of you, we want to glorify you, but he says: "I am afraid of it".

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): I am overwhelmed by this generosity.

Shri Raghuramalah: This, Sir, is something extraordinary which I with my ordinary reasoning am unable to understand. The culture of the area.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Which is going to be the capital of Visal Andhra?

Shri Raghuramalah: That is one point over which there shall be no dispute. We accept their capital Hyderabad as our capital. We lay no claims for another capital. All that glory that is ours will be placed at their disposal to magnify, to glorify the present City of Hyderabad.

The most important thing to remember in this matter is that the culture of the 3 crores of Andhras wherever they may be, whether this side of Krishna or that side of Krishna, whether on this side of Godavari or on that side of Godavari, is exactly identical. It may be that some friends may be speaking Hindi.....

Shri K. K. Basu: But, there is a difference between you and Shri Heda.

Shri Raghuramalah: You will realise that by the time the debate ends we will be friends and the difference will remain between you and me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members have to address the Chair and, therefore, if he means "you" there is no difference between me and him.

Shri Raghuramalah: I hope to remain always close to the Chair, Sir.

As I was pointing out, the culture is the same. It may be that some people this side of Krishna may understand Hindi a little more or Urdu a little

more than others. But, my friend Shri Heda was making out a case that if Telangana becomes a separate State then there will be a nice Hindi State or very soon it is likely to become one of the first Hindi States in the south. That is exactly the reason why we want to join Telangana. We want to learn Hindi and we want to become the greatest Hindi State in the whole of South India. Why deprive us of that privilege? That is exactly one of the reasons. My friend was pointing out another thing and that itself shows what little rationalism there can be behind it. I do not doubt his *bona fides*. I do not doubt it.

An Hon. Member: Do not look at Shri Heda.

Shri Raghuramalah: Because my friend Shri Heda was referring to this matter, I am replying. I have my own logical and rational conclusions for Visal Andhra. He was having some misunderstandings in his mind. On the one side, they wanted some fertiliser factory somewhere in Hyderabad while the Andhras wanted it at Vijava-wada. Sure. And that is exactly the situation which would never have arisen had he and I been in one State. We would have urged for the best place irrespective of local considerations. If some areas in which you live, in Visal Andhra, happen to be best suited for the fertiliser factory, I would be the first man to come and back him up and say, "this shall be the place and there shall be no other place in the whole of Andhra for this factory". It is exactly to avoid this conflict between places which are culturally identical that Visal Andhra is necessary. But he has not said one word, and no person propagating for Telangana will ever say one word, against the cultural unity of the three crores of people. It has been the dream of Andhras: the dream not of 30 years, not of 50 years, but ever since the Andhras inhabited this country, they wanted to be one with the rest of their brethren. That dream has never been so far realised except for a short while during the historical times of the past. We were divided

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between the Nizam and the other powers, and for a long time Andhra was under the jurisdiction of the Nizam. The so-called ceded districts are nothing but territories which till some years back had been under the Nizam. The fact is that you should remember that in Visal Andhra, there is no separation of the Telangana people from the Andhra people. If the State of Visal Andhra is not formed now, it is a bus which my Telangana people will miss for ever. It is not a question of five years. We are not going to keep this problem boiling any longer. We must close it down here and now.

An Hon. Member: Let us decide it now.

Shri Raghuramaiah: I do not know whether, when we speak here, we speak with an eye on the glorious future. Let us not be carried away by momentary passions. Let us have a historical perspective. If there is to be a linguistic distribution of the States of India, let there be some logic about it. Let there be some finality about it. What is it that you are going to do after five years which you are not going to do now? We had a section of people even in Andhra—not all but some of the Rayalaseemas felt very vehemently over this matter. (Laughter). My friend is laughing. He is one of them. I say that the people of Rayalaseema will lose heavily. I do not think today he would say that, and I do not think Shri Heda will say that tomorrow. But they said, and my brethren in Telangana today are afraid that the coastal districts are richer, prosperous, the people there are more educated and more vocal, that they would swallow up the Telangana people. It is now discovered after two years of rule in Andhra that nobody has swallowed anybody. Everybody is alive. That is a fact. Everybody is getting fat! Nobody is swallowed. They want safeguards if they want to join Andhra. Who wants the safeguards? Is it the Rayalaseema people or the coastal friends? I do not want to go into the details of the

case, because we feel we are all one. There is no doubt that at any rate many of us feel and are anxious to see that the glory of this country lies in its unity and that we should no longer talk of linguism and separatism. I am sure the two parts will unite. The same thing will happen tomorrow.

Now, the Telangana spokesman has talked about the present self-sufficiency of Telangana. I do not doubt it. If you have a limited ambition, you will be quite satisfied, of course. If you are satisfied with a population of about two crores with whatever development schemes you can have, then it is all right. But why should you limit your ambition? Why not have your ambition at four crores? Why not you feel that the whole of Andhra is yours?

Then, my Telangana spokesman was talking about a sugar factory and of a coal-mine. We have also sugar factories in Andhra. We have also got cement factories. We have also got paper factory. But why don't you feel that our factories are yours? Why this conflict? I want my factory and you want your factory. Why this 'you' and 'me'. It may be that the same situation may not continue for long. If prohibition comes, it would mean a loss of Rs. 5 crores to them. Why not? Prohibition is bound to come and, may be, the sources of revenue on this side of the Krishna river may increase enormously. But who knows? Then, will it not be possible for my friend from Telangana to say "Now, we want to come in, we want to come to you". Is it possible? Why not you do it now?

About income also, I shall say that we shall share whatever we have. Never mind you have four annas less than us or we have four annas less than you. But if the basic principle is that every cultural group or linguistic group should be united together, what is the difference if I gain or lose half an anna or you gain or lose half an anna in the daily average output? It makes no difference.

There are also fears in regard to the services. The Telangana people say that, especially with regard to the educated young men, their standard is not so high as in the Andhra territory and that in recruitment to public services they might have only a secondary place. The leaders of Andhra are prepared to give every assurance possible that in the matter of recruitment, there can be a separate cadre for the people from Telangana and that they could be governed by that cadre. When you are coming to us, then, it is our duty to protect your interests, as much the duty as anybody else, and especially so because you and I will be brothers in arms.

Acharya Kripalani: Now, what are you?

Shri Raghuramaiah: I do not know what we are now without Acharya Kripalani. I suppose we are still Congressmen. Now, the people of Rayalaseema were also less educated. Still there has been a Public Service Commission doing the recruitment work for both the areas, throughout Andhra. I do not think any friend will get up and say that the Rayalaseema people have suffered by way of inadequate recruitment to the services. The Public Service Commission has taken every precaution to ensure that there has been proper representation from every part of Andhra, and I am sure the same thing will happen tomorrow. The Andhra leaders are prepared to consider and discuss any other safeguard in particular, apart from the services and apart from the development schemes, or, even regarding the development schemes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is there any information in the possession of the hon. Member that the Maharashtrians and the Karnatakas who also form part of the Hyderabad State are afraid that they may be overlooked in their new States?

Shri Raghuramaiah: Absolutely none. As I said, I am amazed that any of them should be afraid if they are to go into a little bit of territory here

or there. For example, here is Telangana which does not want a little more territory. It is something extraordinary. Shri Heda has said it. Of course, I do not doubt his *bona fides*. He is the *bona fide* spokesman of a *bona fide* party with *bona fide* faith.

Shri Mohiuddin (Hyderabad City): Why did the Andhras insist on separating from Madras if this were the attitude?

Shri Raghuramaiah: We wanted separation from Madras and we wanted the Madras City for ourselves. In the case of Madras and Andhra, it was different. In every way, there has been difference. But in regard to Andhra and Telangana, even the words are the same. Telugu, Telangana; Andhra is Telugu; Telugu is Andhra. They are the same words. It is really amazing how a case for Telangana is made out. At the same time, I do not doubt the hon. Member's *bona fides*.

An Hon. Member: Do not rub it in.

Shri Raghuramaiah: It is our duty, and it is the duty of every responsible Andhra to remove those fears. What I am trying to say in my own humble words is to assure them that our leaders are anxious that whatever fears they have, they are prepared to remove them.

Of course, broadly speaking, I agree that no group of people should be coerced. That is certainly a fundamental concept which we should all accept. But the question is, how to find out. Here is a majority of M.L.A.'s from Telangana who say that they are willing to come in. Can we say that Members of the legislature do not represent public opinion? Here are the majority of Members of Parliament representing that area saying that they can come in. Can we say that they do not represent the majority opinion? If the majority of members from the local legislature

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and the majority of Members representing Telangana in Parliament—both put together—are against Telangana, I for one would say, “Have it in your own way.” But it is an open thing. The majority of members of the Hyderabad Legislature—the Telangana group—and the majority of Members of Parliament representing that area—of course we shall know it in course of time—are for Visal Andhra. Therefore, there is no question of coercion, here. I am quite sure that just like the people in Rayalaseema, tomorrow my brothers in Telangana will also feel that the whole of Visalandhra is theirs.

5 P.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Would there be any conflicts regarding the river valley projects?

Shri Raghuramaiah: It is an open matter and everybody knows it. I wish to point out that so far as river valley projects are concerned, there is absolutely no doubt. All the arguments are in favour of Visalandhra. All the river valley projects that are there will benefit both the Telangana and the Andhra areas. If hon. Members care to look at the map, they will see that Telangana and Andhra are only on the right and left sides of the rivers Godavari, Krishna and so on. Every project must necessarily be a joint project catering to the population on either side of the river. But the trouble we are having with the Tungabhadra project is this. My friend Mr. Nijalingappa is there; I am very happy to work with my Mysore friends but the difficulty is that the head-works lie in that State whereas the lay-out is here. By turning a little screw, they can stop the whole water. That is the trouble. They had a joint board for the Tungabhadra project, but it did not work and there was trouble in getting water this side. So, for national security it is necessary that the head-works also must come here. Just like Rayalaseema, Telangana also is a backward area. Hon. Members will recollect my friend Mr. Lakshmayya getting up and saying, “in the name of the people of Rayalaseema” and so

on. My point is that the Tungabhadra is the only source of water-supply to the backward area of Telangana. I say that a real injustice has been done to the poor people of Bellary. There everybody knows how the Telugu people suffer. The Chief Minister there went on stopping all elementary schools.....

Shri Nijalingappa (Chitaldrug): No, no.

Shri Raghuramaiah: There have been complaints from the Telugu people in Bellary. How can you say “no”? I am speaking subject to correction, but I was told that even for recruitment to services, they have been trying to neglect Telugu employees as much as possible. Whether these details are correct or not, the fact remains that the Telugu people in Bellary who have been sent to the Mysore State are most unhappy. Everybody knows that Justice Wanchoo is a great man known for his impartiality. He went round the whole area and he gave the judgment that Bellary District must go to Andhra.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: Temporarily.

Shri Raghuramaiah: Even temporarily, you do not give it to Andhra. The most rational thing to do about Bellary is to give it to Andhra. Now, look at the injustice done to Kolar. Hon. Members must have read from the Report that 54 per cent. of the people there are Telugus.

Shri N. Rachiah (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Nobody is willing to go.

Shri Raghuramaiah: I do not know whether he comes from Kolar; but if he comes from Kolar.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I am glad that there is so much of good humour; but I am afraid that if hon. Members go on addressing one another, what is an erstwhile mirth may develop into something else. The hon. Member may kindly look at me and continue his speech.

Shri Raghuramaiah: I have been pointing out that the most important

thing is the head-works and unless the head-works of the Tungabhadra project come to Andhra, there will be enormous difficulties and the poor people of Rayalaseema and other backward areas will be without water. I went to a particular State where even to call oneself a Telugu man in the street was an offence. I do not want to mention the name of that State because there will be some heat over it and it is not my purpose to create heat. I say that such cases are there. That is why the Constitutional safeguards mentioned.....

Shri Neswi (Dharwar South): Does the hon. Member know that Telugu people are spread all over India and nobody knows that they have been treated like that? Why not mention the name of the State? You must be correct about the facts you mention.

Shri Raghuramiah: If my friend is very particular to get that information, I will tell him privately. As I said, I do not want to generate heat by mentioning the name of that State. If my friend wants it, I will tell him privately.

I wish to say only one thing in conclusion. When everything is settled, constitutional safeguards are of the highest importance. We should never mind whether a bit of the territory goes to some other State or whether a bit of it comes to our State. We must remember that the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas is the patrimony and heritage of everyone of us. That is very important. Whatever be our temporary differences, by the time the debate ends, by the time the decisions are made and by the time the decisions are implemented, we shall have forgotten the heat which is bound to be created as a result of the discussions here. I for one would like to assure my hon. friends from Telangana, once we are allowed to come into their fold, they will be very happy with us. I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): I am glad that the House is in a very

pleasant mood and I hope the House will give me indulgence when I speak about Kerala, the most lovely part of the country, ever green and ever smiling.

The hon. Home Minister rightly stressed the importance of the States Reorganisation Commission's report and also paid a tribute to the three distinguished Members who formed that Commission. I am proud to own one of the Members of the Commission as a distinguished son of my State. But, although his inclusion has been beneficial for the country at large, it was disadvantageous to my State. It is said that a person who is placed in the position of a Judge must not only act judicially, but he must also appear to act judicially. The latter part of the principle I am afraid, has been observed to such an extent as to sacrifice the former that lovely Kerala has been given to us in a mutilated form by the Commission. There is a plan drawn according to the recommendation of the Commission which has been put in the Central Hall of our Parliament House. For a person from Travancore-Cochin, it will not be very difficult to spot out where Kerala is. But, even for me, it was very difficult to know where Kerala was in the plan. When you draw the boundaries of a State according to a plan, that can only be done according to the scale. That is exactly the reason why I found it difficult to spot the place.

As hon. Members are aware, among the recast States, Kerala is the smallest. It has got an area of only 14,980 square miles with 13.6 million people as its inhabitants. The next in area, if you go up from the lowest rung in the ladder is West Bengal with an area of 34,590 square miles with a population of 26.5 million people, so that the disparity between the State in the lowest rung of the ladder and the next is more than double, as you can very well see.

Whatever differences one may have as to the detailed working of the principles that have been adopted by the Commission, I do not think that

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with regard to the general principles that they have laid down, one can have any quarrel. They are unobjectionable. The main considerations that they placed before themselves, according to the report, are (i) preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India, (ii) linguistic and cultural homogeneity, (iii) financial, economic and administrative considerations, and (iv) the successful working of the National Plan. It is dangerous to over-emphasise any one of these aspects. I would submit that it is an overall assessment of the factors bearing on each question that we have to take into consideration. My hon. friend Shri A. K. Gopalan stressed the importance of language. I am afraid, in his speech, he has given undue importance to the factor of language, though it is necessarily an important factor. According to me, with regard to the basic approach that has been laid down in the Commission's report as well as in the speeches that have already been made, one cannot have any quarrel. Whether this area is included in this State or another State is immaterial because all the States are integral parts of the Union. There is the other aspect also, the aspect of common citizenship so that one must feel that any part of India is his own, so that there must be a feeling of oneness. All the same, as has been stated by my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee this morning, in the carving out of some of the States, border adjustments are matters of life and death. That cannot be denied. Reorganisation has been resorted to as a means to an end. The one basic factor that we have to bear in mind, the first consideration in fact, is national security of India and a feeling that, whether one part is in one State or another, it does not matter because they are integral parts of the Union. But, we should not stretch that too much to the detriment of the other important consideration, viz., the component parts have opportunities of development. That is a basic factor which cannot be ignored.

If that paramount consideration is at any time or at any stage relegated to the background for other sentimental considerations, I would say that the Commission has failed in its mission. I would say that, if the recommendations are accepted in toto without this consideration being borne in mind, the Government itself would be failing in its mission. It has to be borne in mind that the existence of a weak State among the States to be formed by reorganisation, with meagre resources, insufficient living space for its inhabitants, will weaken India as a whole. No weak link in the chain of Indian States should be tolerated. It is not only my concern as a citizen from Travancore-Cochin. It is, I would say, the concern of each and every Indian that there should not be a weak link in the chain of States.

Another factor which you have to bear in mind is that no change should be made unless it is a distinct improvement. The major part of Kerala as emerging from the reorganisation proposals, is in Travancore-Cochin. The State of Travancore-Cochin has been formed by the integration of two States. When any area is sought to be separated from an existing State, what we have to bear in mind is whether that area had been in that State on account of the vicissitudes of British rule or the unnatural conglomeration of territories in the States during and after the Moghul period. Shri A. K. Gopalan rightly stressed that there has not been any rationalisation at all in the matter of distribution of States during the British rule. If that is so, it has to be amended. What is the case with regard to Travancore-Cochin? With regard to Travancore the territories forming part of it have been jointly in existence for centuries past. It has been pointed out in the Commission's report that even though a State has been formed on account of the vicissitudes of the British rule, the very fact that it has been there for 100 or 150 years has to be taken into consideration. If that is the case, what of a State whose existence or whose

make-up was not due to any of these factors, but which, on account of other circumstances has been there jointly, for centuries past? It is a matter of regret that proper consideration has not been given to this aspect by the Commission.

A general principle that has been accepted by the Commission is that a district should not be divided except for compelling reasons. My hon. friend Shri A. K. Gopalan said that a village should be the basis of division or demarcation. I am glad that he has not said that a *desam* or an *amsam* should be the basis. If it is driven to that extent, one can even say that a house should be the unit of division. Whether the inhabitants of one house speak Telugu or Tamil or Malayalam should be the basis, if my hon. friend's argument is accepted. The Commission has rightly stressed the importance of not subdividing a district. But, I am sorry to state that hardly had the Commission stated that, hardly had the ink become dry after writing this sentence, the Commission has given the go-by to that principle. They have said to the public:

"In our scheme of reorganisation, we have adopted the district as the basic unit for making territorial readjustments."

At page 81 of their report the Commission have said:

"We have departed from this rule only when, for ensuring geographical contiguity or for some other important administrative or economic considerations, detachment of part of a district has become imperative."

But I should say that this principle has not been adopted by the Commission in the subsequent paragraphs. The Commission have recommended that the five taluks of Thovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam and Vilavancode (which form what is called the Nanjil Nad) and Shenkotta should form part of the Tirunelveli district of the Madras State. The argument that has been advanced by

the Commission is that these taluks should go to Tirunelveli district because of geographical contiguity.

I am sorry to state that even though the Commission consisted of a person hailing from Travancore-Cochin with an intimate knowledge of the physical conditions of these places, yet he has omitted to take into consideration the fact that the stretch of land on the Malabar coast from Kasergode to Cape Comorin with the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea on either side, forms a compact unit. This entire area which has been sought to be detached, as endowed by nature, lies to the west of the Western Ghats—the Western Ghats cover the entire eastern boundary and is well nigh impassable excepting at a few places. And when we think of Kerala, as known to the outside world, this area also necessarily comes in. It has been stated by the Commission that geographically this forms part of Tirunelveli.

Shri Nesamony: The Western Ghats touch Cape Comorin.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Yes, it touches, although the height will be less when it reaches there. It goes to the extreme south. The only road cutting across the ghats is the one at Aramboly pass.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is only 30 miles north of Cape Comorin.

Shri C. K. Nair: Not at all, only five or six miles.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You will notice further the coastal road does not touch Tirunelveli at all. The lie will indicate that Trivandrum, which is the district headquarters and also the capital of Travancore-Cochin is naturally and geographically contiguous to the southernmost part. The people of this area have all along been depending for higher educational facilities, both collegiate and technical, on Trivandrum. As far as medical aid is concerned, and as far as other facilities are concerned, this area has for centuries been depending on Trivandrum and its suburbs. You

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would appreciate the point better when I say that the mode of worship, the form of worship and the temple rituals etc. in the Kerala temples are different as compared with those in the temples in Tamil Nad. But you will find that there is absolutely no difference in the rituals and the mode of worship etc. in the temples in Kerala and those in the territory which is sought to be transferred to Madras.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy: Even the *gopurams* are Dravidian in type.

Shri A. M. Thomas: So far as administrative convenience is concerned, I do not think my hon. friend Shri Nesamony himself will dispute the fact that it is better to have Trivandrum as the headquarters rather than Tirunelveli or Madras.

Shri Nesamony: The Supreme Court is there to give us protection.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will have an opportunity, if he wants to speak.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You might remember that about two years ago, we had passed a Bill here to bifurcate the High Court of Travancore-Cochin and to locate a Division Bench at Trivandrum. That was done mainly to accommodate my hon. friend Shri Nesamony and others who hail from the southernmost part. If they have to go to the High Court, now they have to travel at the most only 60 miles, whereas if they have to go to Madras or Tirunelveli, I do not know how many miles they will have to travel. That, however, is an unimportant matter, and I would not lay any emphasis on this point at all.

One other aspect that I want to mention at this stage is how important this area is to the future of Kerala.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Was there not some firing somewhere there?

Shri A. M. Thomas: In fact, I did not want to refer to those unpleasant events, but since you have mentioned

it now, I shall just refer to that also at the proper place.

I was saying how important this area is towards the future of Kerala. Firstly, these taluks really form a surplus area in the matter of food, to the tune of nearly 30,000 tons of rice. Secondly the mineral sand of this area forms a unique wealth of Travancore-Cochin. There are at present four units on mineral sand working in Chavara, and two units in Kalkulam. They are complementary to each other, and therefore it is not possible to work the two units in Kalkulam separately as economic units. Further, there is a proposal now to work all these six units together, as a joint venture by the Centre and the State. So, it will not be proper for a third State also to be dragged in besides these two.

The third point that we have to bear in mind in this connection is that the salt utilised for consumption in the whole State of Travancore-Cochin is produced mainly from this area. It is an industry which has been fostered, nurtured and built up with State patronage and assistance. The argument that the Commission have advanced for retaining Kolar with Karnataka in paragraph 330 of Report is on all fours with the argument which I have advanced for retaining the southernmost part of the State of Travancore-Cochin with the future Kerala State.

Shri N. M. Lingam: What about the wishes of the people?

Shri A. M. Thomas: The only other factor is Linguism or the wishes of the people, as has just been stated by my hon. friend Shri N. M. Lingam. They may be two separate things, but essentially they form a single factor only.

One thing which has been taken notice of by the Report itself is that the wishes of the people, as expressed by the two elections that have been taken place in Travancore-Cochin, would indicate that this southernmost

part should go to Tamil Nad. But I do not think I need mention that in a matter like this, the results of voting would be very deceptive. Even assuming for argument's sake, that they are conclusive, I would say that out of these five taluks my hon. friend Shri Nesamony must give up his claim to Thovala, because at no time has a candidate won from that area in any of the recent elections on the TTNC ticket; and not only that, the candidate put up TTNC from that area had to lose his deposit also. That is why I submitted that these election results are no criterion at all. Further, you should also take into consideration whether the party which fought the elections on this stand got the majority of votes. It is not enough if their candidates merely won the elections, but we have to see whether they had got the majority of the votes. In the 1951-52 elections they did not get a majority of the votes. So, even if election results are made a criterion, my hon. friends must be prepared to give up their claim and lose on this score.

You, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, have referred to the matter of shooting. I am, therefore, tempted to refer to the proceedings of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly. When Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai, ex-Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, in whose regime this shooting took place, was speaking on this matter, Shri Kunjan Nadar, spokesman of the TTNC just intervened and said, "we should be grateful to you for the SRC reporting these five taluks in our favour". The meaning was that it was because of this shooting that they got those five taluks. You will see therefore the absurdity of the entire thing.

I would just read to you Shri Kunjan Nadar's interruption which is very interesting.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That only shows that they were not satisfied with the High Court.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You will find from the proceedings of the State legislature that with regard to the developmental works executed in that area, there is absolutely no complaint. There is no complaint of discrimination at all. When all these works that had been done were catalogued, one member just said that his complaint was that there were no Secretaries from the Tamil Nad in the Secretariat. That was therefore his only complaint.

You will find that in the matter of development works or any other matter the Tamil Nad people had absolutely no reason to complain at all. I am afraid the Commission also was a little influenced by the fact of this shooting. Otherwise, the following observation in para. 292 of the Report would not have been there:—

"The demand for Tamil-speaking taluks has a history behind it and has assumed a form that prejudices the political and administrative stability of this area. We have, therefore, considered it necessary, in the special circumstances of this case, to examine the Tamil claims to these taluks and to make recommendations about their future".

So that I should think that because of those unhappy incidents and because of these pressure tactics, the Commission also thought it better that that area should be given over to Madras. It was pointed out in the Assembly by Shri Thanu Pillai when the matter of shooting was raised, that shooting has taken place in other parts also, the shooting in Bombay for example, and asked: Has it been due to discrimination or victimisation?

Shri Punnose (Alleppey): Because there was shooting in Bombay, is it a justification for shooting in Travancore?

Shri A. M. Thomas: So that these arguments do not hold water at all.

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

When Shri Thanu Pillai was speaking, Shri Kunjan Nadar rose and said:

"Does the member know that we are extremely thankful to him for securing these five taluks?"

So that there is no logic or convincing reason; there is only emotional consideration and nothing else.

I would not take much more time with regard to this aspect. But you have also to bear in mind that though the Tamilians form the predominant section of the population there, it is essentially a bilingual area. You have to bear in mind too what exactly is the difference between Tamil and Malayalam.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Absolutely none.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Malayalam has been born out of Tamil and Sanskrit. The difference between Tamil and Ma'ayalam is little. For 'I go', we say in Malayalam "*Gnan Pokunnu*" and in Tamil "*Nan Pohiren*". This is all the difference. For this difference, whether we should separate those areas from Travancore-Cochin or not, is the whole question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Even brothers born of the same parents separate.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You have also to note that so many safeguards have been noted in the Report for the minorities. The Report of the Commission goes only to the extent of saying that at least till the primary stage care should be taken to give education in the mother tongue. As far as the so-called Tamil area of Travancore-Cochin is concerned, they can have medium of instruction as Tamil till the end of the collegiate stage. So that all the safeguards and more are now being provided as far as that area is concerned. There is absolutely no ground for any grievance on that score at all. In any view of the matter, I would submit that there is no ground for complaint.

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With regard to the Shenkotta taluk, it is said in para 294 of the Report:

"The Shēnkotta taluk is partly an enclave in Tirunelveli district of Madras State."

I have absolutely no quarrel with it. That enclave should certainly go to Madras, just as Fort Cochin, now an enclave in Travancore-Cochin, should go to the future Kerala State. But I submit the whole of Shenkotta taluk should not be merged in Madras. You will note from the map that the portion where Shenkotta taluk has been noted cuts into the heart of the Western Ghats and will really form a bulge into the Kerala State. The estates in the reserve forests of this area are of considerable importance to the future Kerala. Two rivers have their source in this area, and if this portion is tagged on to the Tinnevely district, there will be inter-State river problems. So far as the Shenkotta taluk is concerned, I have no objection to the villages of Sanboorvadakara, Klangad and portions of Elathur and Achenputhoo, now forming an enclave in the Madras State, being merged in that State. The entire area of the rest of the taluk should, on grounds of geographical contiguity, cultural affinity, economic necessity etc. continue to remain in Travancore-Cochin. In any case, there is no justification whatsoever to add any portion west of the Western Ghats which form the natural boundary between Madras and the Travancore-Cochin State to Madras State.

I will come next to the question of Devikulam and Peermade. I would submit that the Report has devoted certain valuable paragraphs to the consideration of this question—they are paragraphs 295 to 298. I have not so far heard any arguments either in the Press or on the platform, against any of the arguments that have been advanced in this Report for retaining Devikulam and Peermade in the future Kerala State. I would also invite the attention of this hon. House to the

observation made in the T.C. Assembly by Shri Nataraja Pillai himself a Tamilian, and who has been Finance Minister of Travancore-Cochin twice. You will notice that although he supports the SRC recommendation for separating the southern taluks from Travancore-Cochin and adding them on to the Madras State, as far as Devikulam and Peermade are concerned, he says:

"I would ask my friends who claim to know everything Tamil better than myself to quote any passage to prove that Devikulam and Peermade were in the Tamil area."

He further says:

"I would even go to the extent of saying that Dr. N. Subramonia Aiyar who was in charge of the census operations has stated in his report that all the hill tribes in this area spoke Malayalam. For example, the Uralis, Malavelans, Malapandarams etc. are all speaking Malayalam. And, those are the indigenous people."

He again says:

"As far as Devikulam and Peermade taluks are concerned, it was never, according to my knowledge, considered to be a Tamil area by anyone in South India."

These are the words of a distinguished Tamilian.

I do not want to take up the time of the House by advancing arguments in support of that. The Commission has done that. I would just mention only one or two aspects which may kindly be borne in mind. You will notice that this Devikulam and Peermade area is a plantation area inhabited mostly by labourers. According to the Census Report which was prepared as long ago as 1931, the majority of the emigrants are only temporary residents there. This agitation for separation started in 1947, whereas this report was prepared as long ago as 1931.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Report gives this area to Travancore-Cochin State.

Shri A. M. Thomas: The position was not different according to the Census of 1931 prepared by the Madras Government. "The large majority of emigrants are only temporary; some are permanent sojourners." Till the enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act recently in this area, the labourers used to be paid back for their passage, when the picking season was over, to their homes in Tamil Nad.

Shri Punnoose: That is so even now.

Shri A. M. Thomas: This would indicate that the personnel used to change and that there was neither continuous employment nor identity of labour; and that they always looked back to their homes in Tamil Nad as their permanent abode.

Another factor which you can notice is this. An analysis of the figures would indicate that among the permanent settlers in these two taluks, not much more than 20 per cent. in Devikulam and 12 per cent. in Peermade constitute the Tamil element.

Another factor is that Devikulam and Peermade constitute 12½ per cent. of the total area of Travancore-Cochin, and Travancore-Cochin has got the highest density of population. The addition of Malabar will not considerably alter the position. Colonisation and settlement of the surplus population in the littoral tracts is, therefore, an important problem facing the State. Already in the Devikulam area, the State is working a colonisation scheme.

So that bearing these considerations in mind, we will find that there is no basis for the stand of the Madras State that this area should go to them. On the other hand, I would submit it is a little improper also on their part to lay a claim to the territory of Devikulam and Peermade.

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

Within the few minutes at my disposal, I would just refer to another area, that is, Gudalur taluk, which now forms part of the Nilgiri district. You will find that although claim to Gudalur was put forward by so many responsible organisations and also in the memorandum of the Travancore-Cochin Government, the Report is silent about Gudalur, so that we must take it that it is an open question. The claim has not been considered at all by the Commission.

Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore): all by the Commission.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You will find whether that is untenable or not from the facts that I will presently place before you. You will find that according to the latest census 57 per cent. of the voters are Malayalees and among the non-Malayalee voters 12,035 are Marunadan chettiers who are the original inhabitants of Gudalur. Their culture is a mixture of Malayalam and Kannada and they form 26 per cent. of the population. In their customs and habits they cannot be distinguished from Malayalees. The rest of the population—Shri Lingam may just hear this—the rest of the population, Tamils and Kannadigas is only 17 per cent.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Do they observe the Marumakkattayam law?

Shri N. M. Lingam: I cannot accept the figures, Sir. The Malayalees are only 35 per cent.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Physically and geographically, Gudalur forms an integral part of Malabar. It was a part of Malabar and because Malabar district was a heavy district, a portion of it was tacked on to the comparatively light district of Nilgiris. You will find that even though it was tacked on to the Nilgiri district in 1877, Malayalam continued to be the court language and the medium of instruction in educational institutions. The voters list of the taluk was always published in Malayalam; but recently—a few months ago when

this dispute arose—it was changed to Tamil. The land tenure in Gudalur is the same as that of Malabar so much so that the Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvement Act was made applicable to Gudalur as early as 1933, while the other two taluks of the Nilgiri district have the same system of land tenure as that of adjoining Tamilnad.

Shri N. M. Lingam: I do not want to interrupt the hon. Member.

Shri A. M. Thomas: The Pykara Head Works and the two Power Houses 'Sinkara' and 'Moyar' are outside the Gudalur taluk.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member supports some portion and opposes some portion. The other hon. Member supports that portion which the hon. Member opposes. Would it not be proper to say, all right we stand on the *status quo*?

Shri A. M. Thomas: We have to proceed on the right lines; as stated by the hon. Home Minister, the SRC Report is not the last word on the subject.

Shri N. M. Lingam: I do not want to interrupt the hon. Member but I think I will have an opportunity to reply to that.

Shri A. M. Thomas: The Pykara Head Works and the two Power Houses 'Sinkara' and 'Moyar' are outside the Gudalur taluk so that that argument also would not hold water, that is, the argument based on that. The claim of Kerala to this taluk, therefore, rests on geographical compactness, physical similarity, administrative convenience and linguistic preponderance.

I have also one more point to say. Because I have no time I will leave that to some of my friends, especially hailing from Malabar, with regard to the question of Kasargode.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Kasargode has been given to Malabar.

An Hon. Member: To Kerala.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think Malabar means Kerala.

Shri A. M. Thomas: The entire area from Kasargode to Cape Comorin west of the Western Ghats should form part of Kerala and if any portion from that area is taken out it will be a mutilated Kerala and not a Kerala which was the cherished dream of the people inhabiting the western side of the Western Ghats.

Shri Nesamony: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am disposing of two persons one on either side of a State with respect to the different States. I think Vishalandhra to some extent has been done. Mr. Heda headed all the Members from Hyderabad.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: No, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The position is this. The Speaker wanted to know the names of those persons one for and one against. The first round will be over and there are the second, third and fourth rounds. We will have many rounds.

Shri Nesamony: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to make this maiden speech.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member wanted to be a maiden all along.

Shri Nesamony: Mine is the sole voice that speaks for the Tamilians of the Travancore-Cochin State. I am the only representative of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress which is referred to in page 83 of the Report of the Commission. The declared objective of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress is the merger of the nine predominantly Tamil taluks of Travancore-Cochin with the Madras State. Those taluks are Thovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyattinkara, Devikulam and Peermade and Shenkotta, and also

Chittur. Of these 9 taluks, the Commission has recommended the merger of 5 taluks, Thovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Shenkotta. The claim now remains for the remaining 4 taluks.

Before I proceed with our claim to the remaining 4 taluks, I would just like to reply to Shri Thomas who has raised certain points. I would like to dispose of them as quickly as possible because they do not deserve much consideration. (*Interruption*).

Shri A. M. Thomas: You must bear in mind that Shri Nesamony is a distinguished lawyer.

Shri Nesamony: You must compare the Travancore-Cochin territory with the adjoining Tinnevely district. If he had travelled through Aramboli, he would find for himself that there is a vast territory about 30 miles broad from Cape Comorin to Aramboli which is not obstructed by any mountain.

Then he may say the High Court is in Travancore-Cochin. We do not live upon litigation. When Pattom Thanu Pillai wanted to drive us out of the State and let loose a reign of terror, it was the Supreme Court of India that gave us protection. It was the High Court of Mysore that granted us our liberty. So, I would say that wherever we may have the High Court of Travancore, it is of no avail to us. We had to come to the Supreme Court half a dozen times so that it is absolutely immaterial to us where the Travancore-Cochin High Court is, whether it is in Nagercoil—in my own village—or whether it is in Ernakulam or whether it is in Kailash. It is absolutely of no use to us.

The reference is to the surplus district. From the documents and evidence before the Reorganisation Commission, it has come to the conclusion that it is not a surplus district as it is claimed by Shri Thomas out of ignorance. We pointed out to the Commission that on a population

[Shri Nesamony]

basis we have got 6 cents, of paddy land per head which would not be sufficient to keep an individual going on for a year. That has been accepted by the Commission and they say Nanjanad which is said to be the granary of Travancore-Cochin does not show that it is a surplus area.

Then the next is mineral sands. It belongs to the Centre. It is true that we have got deposits of thorium, monozite, zircon and other sands—an inexhaustible source—but it is not exploited simply because of the difficulty of finding labour for those people in these factories at Chavara.

Thovala has to be given up and our candidates failed—that was an argument that was put forward before the States Reorganisation Commission. Shri T. S. Ramaswami, was the representative of the P.S.P. at that time. When Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Shri Asoka Mehta came down there, they said that it must be merged in Madras. Quotations from his speech and election manifesto were produced before the Commission in which he said that this place must go to Madras, and it was on that basis that he stood for election and he supported the merger of that taluk with Madras. When this question came up again in the recent debates of the Travancore-Cochin Assembly, we demanded that these nine taluks of Travancore-Cochin State should merge in Tamil Nad. It was he who first moved the no confidence motion on the Patton Thanu Pillai Ministry though he belonged to the P.S.P. at that time, because they did not keep up the promise and it was the non-confidence motion moved by him that brought down Patton's Ministry.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now there is a change of government there and all will be well.

Shri Nesamony: No, Sir. I will come to that later. My friend, Shri Thomas, is not in the know of things so far as these problems are concerned. So far as shooting is concerned, what is it that we did? All that we wanted was that the people

in Devikulam must be protected against the repression of the police, against the atrocities by the police. We went on a deputation to Shri Patton Thanu Pillai when he was Chief Minister—not I, but representative members of my party who are members of the legislature.

They went to Devikulam and Peermade and made a study on the spot and then saw the Chief Minister. But he scorned and said "Are you coming to dictate to me"? All we wanted was the transfer of a sub-inspector who was causing havoc there. Shri Patton Thanu Pillai said that he is not going to be dictated to by us. Then we declared the 'Devikulam Day', on June 30, 1954, to bring popular opinion to bear upon the Government to reverse its policy of repression. The Government did not yield. On the 4th July, the day was observed in Devikulam and responsible members of my organisation including myself, and a member of the Council of States and an ex-Minister went to Devikulam to speak to our people and to see that a calm atmosphere was brought about there. We were served with an ante-dated prohibitory notice under section 144. We felt that it was our duty not to act like cowards and run away. We disobeyed that illegal and most arbitrary order, and in the statement issued we said that it is an illegal and arbitrary order and it was our duty to disobey it. I was very glad that people followed us; members of the municipality, members of the legislatures, presidents of panchayats, businessmen and leading citizens all over Tamil Nad followed us, and Shri Thanu Pillai's government was not able to accept that challenge that we set, namely, that this repression must cease. He let loose all his engines of oppression on us. The very fountains of justice were polluted, the whole executive, which is absolutely manned by Malayalees, the police, the magistracy and the judiciary were corrupt...

Shri A. M. Thomas: Is it proper for the hon. Member to mention that the whole judiciary there is corrupt?

Shri Nesamony: I say that half a dozen cases were taken to the Supreme Court of India against the decision of Travancore-Cochin High Court.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is rather difficult. Generally no aspersions ought to be cast on judges of any High Court. These people are now building an argument that they do not have confidence in the Travancore-Cochin High Court and that is one of the grounds for them to get separated. The judges are all honourable, but language seems to weigh not with these judges but generally in the abstract, judges from that area may be different from the judges from Tamil Nad area. Is that what the hon. Member means?

Shri Nesamony: Yes, Sir. The Supreme Court wanted the Advocate-General to have the case transferred and tried at Tinnevely. But he stated that the State of Travancore will not get justice at the hands of Madras as there is tension in Tinnevelly between Malayalees and Tamilians there. The case was finally transferred from Madras to Mysore, from where we got our liberty and our freedom.

Shri C. K. Nair: Not because the judges are corrupt but because the feelings were running high.

Shri Nesamony: That is why I say it is corrupt. Having disposed of that matter, I come to Peermade-Devi-ku'am. People speak of mountains and rivers; people speak of colonisation; but the human problem is not taken account of anywhere. As I observed, it is because of the repressive policy followed by Pattom Thanu Pillai's government that we disobeyed its order and went to jail. 434 persons, including 20 women, were arrested because security proceedings were started against them. You should go and see those 20 women who spent their days in the lock-up with men, 60 miles away from Devikulam-Mooattupusha and other places. You

should interview these women to know how they were treated. Any man of common sense and decency will revolt against it. That is highly revolting—434 men and 20 women. When these people were arrested and kept in the lock-up, we tried our level best to bring pressure upon the Government to stop it.

An Hon. Member: How did you do it?

Shri Nesamony: There is the Kerala INTUC and there is the Tamil Nad INTUC. The South Indian Planters Workers Union is affiliated to the Madras INTUC. The High Range Workers Union supported by the Government and the Kottayam District Congress Committee was functioning there. The present hon. Minister for Labour, when he was President of INTUC, cancelled the affiliation of the Kerala High Range Workers Union from the INTUC. It was supported by interested capitalists of Kottayam and the local capitalists to break the solidarity of the workers. In spite of the order of the President of the INTUC, this High Range Workers' Union crops up like a mushroom now and then.

6 P.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I know if the House is willing to sit for another half an hour?

Several hon. Members: No.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How long will the hon. Member take?

Shri Nesamony: Such time as the Chair is pleased to grant me. But I would like to have my full say. Probably I am the only person to speak on this from Travancore-Cochin.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then he may continue tomorrow.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 15th December 1955.