

Tuesday, 28th August, 1951



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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1951

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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

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PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Tuesday, 28th August, 1951.

*The House met at Half Past Eight
of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

STATISTICS

*577. **Shri Sidhva:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the names of Ministries where statistical departments exist and the cost of maintaining such departments;

(b) whether the Planning Commission have at any time considered this question and if so, their view about the statistics maintained by the Government of India; and

(c) whether the Planning Commission ever considered the re-organisation of the statistical departments with the object of getting reliable statistics?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Prof. S. N. Mishra):

(a) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 27.]

(b) and (c). In certain important respects the Planning Commission has found the available statistics to be inadequate or incomplete. The entire subject is at present being closely examined.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether these statistical departments also do any research work in statistics or they merely go on adding statistics as they are available?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: Research work is the most natural function that the statistical departments are expected to perform.

Shri Sidhva: There are two statistical departments attached to the Commerce and Industry Ministry, located one in Simla and the other at Calcutta. May 227 PSD.

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I know whether one is located at Calcutta for want of accommodation in Delhi or whether it is because they are able to get better statistics at Calcutta so far as commerce and industry are concerned?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: So far as the accommodation of that statistical section at Calcutta is concerned, I think it has been situated there since before the war and there would be a great dislocation in work if anything is done to shift it at present.

Shri T. N. Singh: The Cabinet has a special statistical section attached to it; decision to have it was taken last year, as far as I know. May I know whether that section is doing interpretation of statistics and, if not, what kind of work is it doing at present?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): There is no special statistical section as such attached to the Cabinet—there is a Statistical Adviser attached to the Cabinet and he is also functioning in the Planning Commission. In fact, that section did not develop because the Central Statistical Organisation was being built up; that is a kind of nucleus around which it should be built up as a separate organisation (naturally connected with the Cabinet office) under Prof. Mahalanobis. The Central Statistical Organisation is being established and that is a co-ordinating agency of all other statistical organisations under the Government of India.

So far as the Calcutta office is concerned, it is not a Government of India statistical organisation but an old, well-established statistical Institute which has done extraordinarily good work and which is functioning as a kind of semi-official body with official help, of course, and which the Government of India and other State Governments patronise and from which they get help; it will continue to remain there.

Shri T. N. Singh: This organisation at the Cabinet level was created for purposes of co-ordination. A point was raised whether it will also interpret the statistics of the various sections. May I know whether this organisation or the Adviser is also doing the interpretation of statistics or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said, it is the Central Statistical Organisation that is undertaking that work, not any particular section of the Cabinet office. Undoubtedly, its chief function is not the bare collection or compilation of statistics but its interpretation also.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if the Government have considered the recommendations of the Estimates Committee on statistical sections and, if so, what action have they taken on those recommendations?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I may inform the hon. Member that so far as the recommendations of the Estimates Committee are concerned, they are naturally very useful and the Planning Commission is conscious of them. I have stated that the Planning Commission has now undertaken a detailed examination of this question; in their final report the Planning Commission are likely to make full use of them.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether it is the intention of the Planning Commission to have one central organisation for statistics for all the eleven Ministries, or the present statistical sections of the eleven Ministries will continue and the Planning Commission will guide them?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: So far as this question is concerned, as the hon. Member knows even in the President's Address a reference was made to the Central Statistical Organisation which has started functioning since early this year; that organisation is expected to co-ordinate all the functions. But so far as the other functions performed by the other statistical sections are concerned, I do not think the hon. Member will seriously suggest that this new organisation will take over all the functions without any loss of efficiency of work.

INDIANS IN BURMA

*578. **Shri Sidhva:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Indians in Burma who have adopted Burmese nationality; and

(b) the facilities which exist for Indians in Burma to return to India in the event of their desire to do so?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri Satish Chandra): (a) The Government of Burma have not yet announced these figures but it is understood that the figure is not likely to be very large.

(b) Facilities exist for Indians in Burma to return to India if they so desire, in the shape of regular sea and air services between the two countries. In the case of Indians who are destitutes, the Indian Embassy in Burma arranges for their repatriation to India.

Shri Sidhva: May I know the total number of Indians in Burma?

Shri Satish Chandra: The Indian population in Burma is estimated to be between six and seven lakhs.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether there is a large number of temporary staff in services in Burma and the Government of Burma do not intend to make them permanent on the ground that they should leave Burma? If so, may I know whether the Government of India intend to take any steps to protect their interests?

Shri Satish Chandra: The Government of Burma have given the option to all the Indians living in that country to opt for Burmese nationality if they so like. Those persons who will opt for Burmese nationality will be given the full privileges of Burmese citizenship and those who do not make that option will be treated as foreign nationals. That is still in the process of being done and there is no finality about it so far.

Shri S. N. Das: What is the number of Indian nationals who are still in the service of Burma Government and what is the number of those who have been discharged?

Shri Satish Chandra: I have no figures with me just now.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : जो भारतीय बर्मा से यहां वापस लौटने की इच्छा रखते हैं उनके वापस आने में, उनके सम्पत्ति इत्यादि लाने के सम्बन्ध में तो कोई बाधा नहीं है ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Is there any restriction imposed on Indians who want to come back to India and to bring any property etc. with them?]

श्री सतीश चन्द्र : कुछ शर्तें और रुकावटें इस सम्बन्ध में हैं, लेकिन भारतीय नागरिकों और दूसरे विदेशियों के बीच कोई

डिसक्रिमिनेशन नहीं है। जो दूसरे विदेशियों के साथ बरताव है वही हिन्दुस्तानियों के साथ है। जो लोग बरमीज़ नैशनैलिटी के लिये आप्ट कर लेंगे उनके लिये यह संवाल पैदा नहीं होता। जो अपनी इण्डियन सिटीजनशिप को कायम रखेंगे, उनके लिये वही सुविधा होगी जो दूसरे देश वालों के लिये बर्मा में है।

[**Shri Satish Chandra:** There are certain conditions and restrictions in this connection, but there is no discrimination between Indian citizens and other foreign nationals. Indians are treated in the same way as other nationals. But this problem does not arise in the case of those persons who opt for Burmese citizenship. Those, who maintain their Indian citizenship, will be getting the same facilities as are available to other foreign nationals.]

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know what special efforts the Government of India or our Embassy at Rangoon has taken to bring back those Indian nationals who are blocked in the disturbed areas of Burma?

Shri Satish Chandra: The disturbed areas hardly have any administrative machinery of the Burmese Government; these are in the hands of insurgents. As soon as the control of the Burmese Government is restored and the administration begins to function again, Indians there will have the option either to opt for Burmese citizenship or to stay there as foreign nationals or to come back to India.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): May I add a word in order to clarify the point raised by my hon. friend? In spite of the disturbed state in Burma and the difficulties that the Indians there are facing, very few Indians who are even in the insurgent areas have expressed a desire to come back to India.

Shri Kamath: After the Deputy Minister will not the Prime Minister say something to give the finishing touch?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the need arises.

MIGRANTS RECEIVING DOLES

*579. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the percentage of migrants from East and West Pakistan that are re-

ceiving doles as on the 31st July, 1951; and

(b) how many amongst those that are receiving doles are children, women and physically infirmed?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) East Pakistan displaced persons—3.8 per cent.

West Pakistan displaced persons—0.7 per cent.

The last figure relates to 31st May, 1951.

(b) Nearly 70,000.

Shri S. C. Samanta: How many of these displaced persons are living in relief camps and how many in transit camps?

Shri A. P. Jain: In the West, 24,000 are living in infirmaries and aided institutions and 11,000 in relief camps and aided institutions, that is, not residing in homes. In the East, all of them are living in homes.

Shri S. C. Samanta: How many of them are in receipt of cash doles?

Shri A. P. Jain: We have now adopted the system of giving cash doles to everybody. There may be an exception here and there.

Shri S. N. Das: What is the number of those who are getting this relief as a temporary measure and what is the number of those who have been accepted as permanent liabilities?

Shri A. P. Jain: These are all permanent liabilities, except that if we can possibly train some of them, or as many of them as possible, they can then be rehabilitated.

Shri B. K. Das: What is the position about the new arrivals, that is to say, those who have been taken in the transit camps? Are they also receiving doles?

Shri A. P. Jain: Everybody who comes to the camp is receiving doles.

HINDU TEMPLES IN CHITTAGONG

*582. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the starred question No. 4981 dated the 7th June, 1951 regarding the acquisition and requisition of Hindu Temples in Chittagong by the Government of East Bengal and state whether Government have received any reply from Pakistan in the matter and whether the Government of East Bengal have agreed to release the temple compounds?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): No reply has so far been received from the Government of Pakistan or the Government of East Bengal in reply to the representations made by our Branch Office at Calcutta and the Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca. The Government of East Bengal however issued a detailed press note on the 20th of June 1951 in which it has been stated that certain plots of land belonging to temples and other places of public worship had been acquired but they have assured that the sanctity of places of public worship had in every case been scrupulously respected and that *bona fide* objections when filed had been upheld. The press note goes on to say that only such portions of the land belonging to the Ashrams have been acquired or are proposed to be acquired for a public purpose as are not required by the Ashrams for their own use. It has also been stated by the East Bengal Government that it is obviously not possible for Government to accept the view that every piece of land belonging to a place of public worship, even though it is not required for its own use, must be considered sacrosanct and must not be taken over by Government for any public purpose, however urgent.

Shri A. C. Guha: What is the meaning of the expression 'public purpose' used in the East Bengal Press Note?

Dr. Keskar: I have stated the interpretation put by the East Bengal Government on these acquisitions. We ourselves are not very clear as to what they mean by 'public purpose'.

Shri A. C. Guha: Have Government been in correspondence with the East Bengal Government or the Pakistan Government regarding this matter?

Dr. Keskar: Yes, Sir. The Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca has been corresponding with them regarding this question and I would like to draw my hon. friend's attention to the views expressed by the West Bengal Government regarding this question, where they maintain that these lands were sources of revenue for the maintenance of the places of public worship mentioned, and they being in the nature of religious endowments or trusts it is not possible for places of public worship to exist without these lands.

Shri A. C. Guha: Is it not true that those lands acquired by the East Bengal Government are within the compounds of the temple or ashram and are often used for religious congregations?

Dr. Keskar: Yes, Sir.

Shri Kamath: Am I to understand that the East Bengal Government issued this Press Communique without replying to the Government of India's communication on the subject?

Dr. Keskar: Yes, Sir. They issued it without replying to our communication.

Shri Kamath: Has Government made it clear to the East Pakistan Government that this action on their part has been contrary to the spirit and letter of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 8th April 1950?

Dr. Keskar: I think Government has drawn attention to the irregularity of the proceeding.

Shri B. K. Das: Is any portion of this requisitioned land in the actual possession of the East Bengal Government? Are they using these portions already?

Dr. Keskar: The fact is that in the beginning allegations were made that land belonging to four places of public worship, three temples and one ashram, were requisitioned by the East Bengal Government. The East Bengal Government denied the report and said that it was absolutely false. Later on, when the allegations were repeated, they admitted that not only had they issued notices, but they had acquired lands belonging to three of the places mentioned here.

Shri B. K. Das: But are they in possession? Are they using them?

Dr. Keskar: Yes, they are at present using the lands belonging to three of the four places mentioned.

Shri Chattopadhyay: Did the Minorities Minister visit this place and what is his report on the subject?

Dr. Keskar: I am not aware whether he has visited. As far as I am aware, he has not visited.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know for what purpose the East Bengal Government are using these lands?

Dr. Keskar: I do not know for what specific purpose the lands are at present being used. But they were acquired for an important public purpose.

Shri A. C. Guha: In view of the fact that the Land Acquisition Act has been the same both in India and Pakistan, i.e. in West Bengal and East Bengal, is it not true that under that Act a land or property belonging to a religious trust cannot be acquired?

Dr. Keskar: I am not able to say whether at present the Land Acquisition Act in Pakistan is the same. It is not possible for me to say that off-hand.

सेठ गोविन्द दास: इस सम्बन्ध में क्या भारतीय सरकार ने हमारा जो दूतावास है उसको कुछ लिखा है और उससे कोई रिपोर्ट मांगी है, और क्या कोई रिपोर्ट इस सम्बन्ध में वहां से आई है ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Have the Government of India asked for any report from our Embassy in this connection and whether any report has been received from them?]

डा० केसकर: आनरेबिल मेम्बर को मालूम है कि ईस्ट बंगाल और वेस्ट बंगाल के मामले में जो एग्जीमेण्ट हो गया है उसके मुताबिक जो कुछ ऐसे मामले आते हैं वे फौरन हमारे जो माइनारिटीज के मिनिस्टर कलकत्ते में हैं उनके पास चले जाते हैं। वह ईस्ट बंगाल की गवर्नमेण्ट को लिखते हैं, उनसे लिखापढ़ी करते हैं, और कभी कभी वहां जा कर भी बात करते हैं। इस मामले में, जैसा कि मैं ने कहा, फौरन लिखा गया, रिमाइण्डर भी भेजे गये, लेकिन अभी तक उसका जवाब नहीं आया है। बल्कि उसके जवाब में ईस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेण्ट ने अखबारों में एक प्रेस नोट जारी किया जिसके कुछ उद्धरण मैं ने अभी पढ़े।

[**Dr. Keskar:** The hon. Member might be aware of the fact that according to the agreement between the Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal, all such cases are at once forwarded to our Minister for Minorities in Calcutta. He enters into correspondence with the Government of East Bengal and sometimes even goes there to have personal talks with them. In this matter also as I have already stated, urgent action was taken and many reminders were sent, but no reply has been received as yet. Instead of sending any reply to us the Government of East Bengal issued a Press Note to the newspapers, some portions of which I have already read out to you.]

REHABILITATION IN ASSAM

*588. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Sri Prakasa Committee have concluded their enquiries into the question of rehabilitation of East Bengal displaced persons in Assam;

(b) whether they have submitted their report to Government; and

(c) if so, what are their findings and what action Government intend to take on their recommendations?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Yes.

(b) The report is awaited.

(c) Does not arise.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know whether this Committee was entitled to enquire into the conditions of the whole of Assam or only the Kachar area?

Shri A. P. Jain: By its terms of reference, the Committee was meant for the whole of Assam but the Committee could not visit Kachar. Some representatives from Kachar did appear before the Committee.

Shri A. C. Guha: When is the report likely to be submitted to Government and when will it become available to us?

The Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Shri Sri Prakasa): May I say that I myself regret the delay that has occurred in the submission of the report? It is due to the fact that we were awaiting some further information from the Government of Assam. All that has come now and I hope to submit the report in a week's time.

EXPORT OF WOOL TO U. S. A.

*588. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether India exports wool to the United States of America; and

(b) if so, how much wool was exported to the United States during the year 1950-51?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) 8.9 million lbs.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the trend of the Indian wool export to U.S.A.? Is it on the increase or on the decrease?

Shri Karmarkar: The exports in 1948-49 were 3 million lbs.; in 1949-50—10 million lbs.; and in 1950-51—8 million lbs.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether India also imports wool or woollen goods from the U.S.A. and if so, what is the annual value?

Shri Karmarkar: I have no ready information on that point. But largely our imports of wool are from Tibet, in addition to our indigenous production. It is not from the U.S.A.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know whether we import any wool or wool yarn from outside?

Shri Karmarkar: We do import considerable quantity of wool from Tibet. But we are mainly exporters of wool.

Shri A. C. Guha: What about wool yarn?

Shri Karmarkar: I would like to have notice of that question.

Shri A. C. Guha: Have Government considered the possibility of converting raw wool into woollen yarn in this country instead of exporting it as raw wool.

Shri Karmarkar: It is a very interesting suggestion; but I think it is not practicable immediately.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: May I know whether Government have placed any restrictions on the export of wool and if so what percentage of the total produced is being allowed to be exported? What are the reasons for these restrictions?

Shri Karmarkar: As the hon. member is perhaps aware we have put a ceiling upon export of wool. According to our estimate the net availability of wool in India is 55.7 million lbs. Our net requirements are 39 million lbs. So we have a balance of 16.7 million lbs. We have already agreed to an export of 16 million tons, which leaves a small margin of .7 million lbs. as a cushion if necessity arises.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: May I know what was the effect of the imposition of export duty on wool and whether the recovery of the duty has had some unsatisfactory result on our export trade?

Shri Karmarkar: The net result has been an earning for Government. That has not adversely affected any interests.

Shri Kamath: Has the import of Tibetan wool increased or decreased since the conclusion of the Indo-Tibetan Treaty?

Shri Karmarkar: The Treaty was signed on the 23rd of May 1951 and it is yet too early to note the results on our exports and imports.

SEALING OF KHOKHRAPAR ROUTE

***589. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Government of Pakistan have suggested that the Khokhrapar route to West Pakistan *via* Jodhpur be sealed; and

(b) if so, whether the Government of India have taken any action in this regard?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) At the Indo-Pakistan Secretariat level Conference held in New Delhi on the 18th to 20th June, 1951, the Pakistan representatives suggested discontinuance, beyond Barmer, of rail traffic as well as other means of transport as an experiment in an effort to discourage the movement of intending migrants by this route.

(b) It was explained to the Pakistan representatives that the proposal was not likely to serve the end in view. While the Government of India would continue its campaign of reassuring the minorities specially in Uttar Pradesh, and in this respect they would be considerably helped if the Pakistan Press desisted from its propaganda regarding acute economic distress in India and the possibility of a war on the Kashmir issue, they felt that any use of force would not only fail to solve the problems which had already been reduced to negligible proportions, but may also disturb the equilibrium that was undoubtedly being achieved.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Is it not a fact that the Pakistan Government has suggested the grant of journey permits through Khokhrapar route on a reciprocal basis.

Shri A. P. Jain: I don't think there was any such suggestion.

ORGANISATIONS CO-OPERATING WITH U. N. O.

***590. Shri S. N. Das:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the names of non-Governmental organisations for cooperation with the United Nations Organisations functioning in India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): Two non-governmental organisations in India enjoy consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and these are the All India

Women's Conference, Bombay and the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi.

Shri S. N. Das: May I know whether any of these organisations get any financial help from Government.

Dr. Keskar: In regard to the first organisation, the answer, as far as I am aware is 'No'. In regard to the second, I would like to have notice of the question.

Dr. Deshmukh: What assistance do they get from the United Nations Organisation.

Dr. Keskar: Bodies which enjoy consultative status do not necessarily get financial help. I do not know whether at present they are getting any help from the United Nations.

Shri S. N. Das: May I know if it is the desire of the Government of India to encourage the establishment of such organisations which cooperate with the United Nations?

Dr. Keskar: Certainly, Sir.

Dr. Deshmukh: Would the hon. Minister be pleased to define what is meant by 'organisational cooperation'?

Dr. Keskar: That is for my hon. friend to explain.

Shri Kamath: How many kinds of cooperation are there?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Such cooperation as circumstances permit.

FINANCIAL AID TO NEPA MILLS

*591. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Planning Commission have considered the matter of financial aid from the Centre to Nepa Mills in Madhya Pradesh;

(b) if so, on what terms and conditions, if any, such aid has been recommended by the Commission; and

(c) whether Government have taken a decision in the matter?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Prof. S. N. Mishra): (a) The Nepa Mills have been included in the five year plan of the Madhya Pradesh Government. The Planning Commission has not specifically considered the question of financial aid for this project, but a reference received on the subject from the Madhya

Pradesh Government is under the consideration of the Ministry of Finance.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) No decision has yet been taken.

Shri Kamath: What, Sir, is the gist of the communication received from the Madhya Pradesh Government which the Parliamentary Secretary says is under consideration of the Finance Ministry at present?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: Obviously it relates to the financial assistance required by the Madhya Pradesh Government for this project.

Shri Kamath: How much assistance has been asked for by the Madhya Pradesh Government in this regard?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I speak subject to correction. It is probably Rs. 1.74 crores.

सेठ गोविन्द दास: क्या माननीय मन्त्री जी को यह बात मालूम है कि नेपा मिल्स का काम बहुत दूर तक चल रहा है और इस सम्बन्ध में यदि मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार को जल्दी सहायता नहीं मिली तो इस चलते हुये काम के बन्द हो जाने की या रुक जाने की सम्भावना है, ऐसी हालत में गवर्नमेण्ट इसका निर्णय कितने दिनों के अन्दर करने की आशा करती है ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Is the hon. Minister aware of the fact that sufficient progress has been made by the Nepa Mills and if no immediate financial assistance is given to the Government of Madhya Pradesh there is likelihood of this work being abandoned or stopped for the time being? How long will the Government take to come to a decision in the light of the present circumstances?]

प्रो० ऐस० ऐन० मिश्र: मैं समझता हूँ कि फ़ाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर अपनी फ़ाइनेन्शियल पोलीशन को इम्प्लामिन करके इसके बारे में कोई जल्दी ही फ़ैसला करने वाले हैं, इसलिये आनरेबुल मेम्बर जिस खतरे की सम्भावना समझते हैं, वह शायद नहीं पेश होगा।

[**Prof. S. N. Mishra:** I think the Minister of Finance is going to take a decision on it very soon after examining the financial position and therefore,

there is little likelihood of the occurrence of the development as apprehended by the hon. Member.]

Dr. Deshmukh: Has the Government's attention as well the attention of the Planning Commission been drawn to the fact that the Nepa Mills are one of the biggest industrial enterprises in the country. In view of the importance of the products of the Nepa Mills, may I know why so far no serious attention been paid to it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is a matter of opinion.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know, Sir, how long the request of the Madhya Pradesh Government for financial aid been pending with the Finance Ministry?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I may inform the hon. member that it must not be for more than about a couple of months. A decision is going to be taken very soon and there need be no anxiety on that score.

Shri Hussain Imam: May I know if any expert examination has been made of the cost accounting and capital structure of the Mill that is going to be floated?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I think the Chief Minister of the Madhya Pradesh Government met the Planning Commission with all his experts. This question was thoroughly examined and the Planning Commission after going into complete details of the project has come to the conclusion that it is commercially a sound proposition.

Shri Kamath: Has the Madhya Pradesh Government in their communication to the Planning Commission—either in the latest or in an earlier communication—indicated as to when the Nepa Mills are likely to go into production?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: As originally scheduled, it was to go into production in 1952; but now it is not likely to go into production before early 1953.

Shri Kamath: Apart from the Nepa Mills, is Government contemplating the financing any other newsprint project in India?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I do not think, Sir, any other project has seriously been mooted so far.

LISBON CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

*592. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether a report of the proceedings and resolutions adopted at the

recent Lisbon Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce has been received;

(b) who represented India at the Congress;

(c) whether questions relating to Asia, and particularly to India, were discussed at the Congress; and

(d) if so, with what result?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) It is understood that it is not the practice to issue formal proceedings. A copy of the resolutions adopted at the Congress has been received.

(b) A list of the Indian delegates is placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 28.]

(c) and (d). Not specifically. The result of discussions was embodied in the resolutions adopted.

Shri Kamath: Have the resolutions been considered by the Government here and is any action being taken on them?

Shri Karmarkar: There were no specific points for our consideration. But we have taken due note of the deliberations of this important world body.

EVACUEE TRADE CONSIGNMENTS HELD UP IN PAKISTAN

*593. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state what is the entire valuation of evacuee trade consignments held up in Pakistan since partition for want of export permits?

(b) How many such consignments and of what States are held up in Pakistan?

(c) What are the conditions, if any, on which release is being made by the Government of Pakistan?

(d) What was the reason for this unduly long detention of these consignments?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) and (b). Information is not available.

(c) A Statement is laid on the table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 29.]

(d) Detention of the consignments is due to:

(i) Non-issue of export permits by Pakistan authorities;

(ii) delay in fulfilling customs formalities;

(iii) non-issue of permits under the January 1949 Agreement by Pakistan authorities.

In a large number of cases specially of consignments booked by rail the stocks have either been requisitioned by Pakistan authorities, or looted or decayed in transit. Wherever stocks were not lost or requisitioned the Pakistan authorities either sold off the consignments and adjusted the sale proceeds under the Railway Regulations against freight and demurrage etc. or asked for such heavy charges that evacuees could not take delivery even in Pakistan.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: What is the value of consignments re-exported to India under the May 1951 Agreement between Pakistan and India?

Shri A. P. Jain: The figures are not available.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: May I know the reason why there have been no releases under the January 1949 and the June 1950 Agreements—whether it was due to reluctance on the part of Pakistan or there were no materials for release?

Shri A. P. Jain: Mostly it was due to the reluctance on the part of Pakistan to implement the Agreements.

INDIAN CLOTH IN TIBET

*594. **Shri Amolakh Chand:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Tibetan Government has made a representation to the Government of India regarding the defects of distribution of Indian cloth there and has temporarily suspended the distribution of Indian cloth; and

(b) if so, what action Government have taken to have the Indian cloth market there improved?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) No such representation from the Tibetan Government has been received by the Government of India.

(b) Does not arise.

Shri Amolakh Chand: May I know the number of bales exported to Tibet in 1951-52?

Shri Karmarkar: I have the figures for the period from February to June and I find that a total of 2,566 bales have been released for Tibet.

Shri Amolakh Chand: May I know if there is a complaint that Indian

cloth, although superior in quality, is highest in price?

Shri Karmarkar: We are not aware of any complaint, but that is a fact as the hon. Member knows.

Shri Amolakh Chand: Is there any Indian distribution machinery in Tibet?

Shri Karmarkar: I am not aware of that at the present moment, but I shall find out.

Shri Sidhva: May I know whether the Government of India has made any contract with the Government of China for the supply of a large quantity of coarse cloth?

Shri Karmarkar: I think my friend has travelled from Tibet to China.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is beyond the point.

Shri Sidhva: He should have said so instead of saying that I have travelled from Tibet to China.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He says it is enlarging the scope of the question.

DYES FROM TAMARIND SEED

*595. **Shri Amolakh Chand:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) the number of licences issued for manufacturing Dyes for textile industries from tamarind seed testa in the year 1951; and

(b) the estimated increase in production of Dyes on account of the licence fee of Rs. 200 per firm?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) I presume the hon. Member's intention was to refer to licences to manufacture dye from tamarind seed testa under the Government owned patent on the subject. No such licence has so far been granted in 1951.

(b) I am unable to give any estimate. There has so far been no manufacture of the dye in accordance with the patented process, and Government has not received any firm offer to exploit the patent.

WAR REPARATIONS

*596. **Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to refer to the reply given to my supplementary question on starred question No. 3386 on the 23rd April, 1951 regarding recovery of war reparations, and state what is the total value of war reparations under all categories claimed by Government from (i) Germany and (ii) Japan?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (i) Undivided India originally calculated its reparation claims against Germany at Rs. 490 crores. By the "Agreement on Reparation from Germany, on the Establishment of the Inter-Allied Reparation Agency and on the Restitution of Monetary Gold" concluded at Paris on the 14th January 1946, to which India was a party, the Signatory Governments agreed among themselves that their respective shares of reparation, as determined by that Agreement shall be regarded by each of them (subject to certain reservations) as covering all its claims and those of its nationals against the former German Government and all its agencies. Under this Agreement as subsequently modified by a Protocol dated the 15th March 1948, India is entitled to 2.39 per cent. of Category B reparations (i.e. Industrial and other capital equipment removed from Germany, merchant ships and inland water transport) and 1.65 per cent. of Category A reparations (i.e. all other forms of German reparations). It is probable that eventually India would receive German reparations to the total value of 10.4 million U.S. (1938) dollars.

(ii) As regards Japan, undivided India originally estimated its reparation claims at Rs. 2,800 crores, but it is unlikely that anything like this sum will be received. The position will be clearer if and when a Peace Treaty has been concluded.

Shri Raj Kanwar: The war came to an end six or seven years ago. When is the claim of the Government of India with regard to war reparations against Germany and Japan likely to be finally settled?

Shri Karmarkar: I think it will be settled soon.

Dr. Deshmukh: Am I to understand that nothing whatever has so far been received from Japan nor any calculations made of the estimated reparations that we are likely to receive?

Shri Karmarkar: I think that is the correct position.

Shri Kamath: In view of the fact that the Indian people were not a party to the war against Germany and Japan and with a view to creating the necessary psychological atmosphere for peace today and as a gesture to the people of Germany and Japan, is not Government contemplating foregoing further reparations from Japan and Germany?

Shri Karmarkar: I would like to have notice of the question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think it is a suggestion for action.

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): So far as Japan is concerned it has been repeatedly stated clearly. So far as Germany is concerned I am not quite clear what the present position is, but as far as I know whatever we had to receive we have received. I do not think any further question arises.

Shri Kamath: Is India pressing her claims still further with regard to reparations from Germany and Japan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In regard to Japan we have never pressed and we are not now pressing—in fact we have stated clearly that we do not want any reparations.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not over so far as Germany is concerned.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not quite certain about the present position in regard to Germany except whatever we have received. I do not think there is any chance of our getting any more.

Shri Hussain Imam: May I know if the hon. Minister for Commerce and Industry can tell us if the 10 million dollar worth of goods have been received or have been handed over to our agents on the Continent?

Shri Karmarkar: I think I shall ask for notice.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: But the hon. Minister has already answered that it is probable that eventually India would receive that.

TRADE WITH BRITAIN

*597. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the total values of India's imports from and exports to Britain in the years 1949-50 and 1950-51?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): A statement showing the total values of India's imports from and exports to Britain in the years 1949-50 and 1950-51 is placed on the Table of the House. Since it is a short statement I might as well give the figures. During 1949-50 the imports were of the value of Rs. 149,41 lakhs and exports Rs. 115,46 lakhs. The balance of trade was—31.3 crores. In 1950-51 our imports were of the value of Rs. 122,74 lakhs and exports Rs. 137,60. Our balance of trade was 14.86 crores.

STATEMENT

Value (in lakhs of Rs.)

Year	Imports	Exports	Re-exports.
1949-50	149.41	115.46	2.65
1950-51	122.74	132.94	4.66

Year.	Total of exports and re-exports.	Balance of Trade.
1949-50	118.11	-31.30
1950-51	137.60	-14.86

NOTE.—Inclusive of the supplementary returns of Exports amounting to Rs. 5.23 lakhs, commodity-wise details of which are not available.

Figures are provisional.

Source:—Accounts relating to the foreign sea and Air borne Trade and Navigation of India for March, 1951.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the value of machinery imported from Britain last year, that is in 1950-51?

Shri Karmarkar: The value of machinery and mill work imported during 1949-50 was Rs. 60.74 lakhs and during 1950-51 it was Rs. 51.66 lakhs.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether the import figure from Britain also includes the value of Australian wheat which was diverted to India?

Shri Karmarkar: Subject to correction, I do not think so.

Shri Hussain Imam: May I ask if Government could indicate what part of it formed the Imperial Preference and what was outside that?

Shri Karmarkar: I should like to have notice.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know some of the main items of export and import and their value?

Shri Karmarkar: It is a fairly big list. I do not mind reading a part of to satisfy the hon. Member.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would only say that if such lists are wanted, they

may be asked from the Minister and he has no objection to give them. Let him place it on the Table of the House.

Shri Karmarkar: They are easily available in any issue of the monthly sea-borne trade.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The details of the break-up of the figures of imports during the two years may be placed on the Table of the House.

Shri Karmarkar: I will place it on the Table of the House.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO WEST BENGAL

*598. **Shri Amolakh Chand:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state what extra financial help has been sanctioned for the West Bengal Government to meet the situation arising out of the heavy influx of displaced persons to West Bengal from East Bengal in the months of June and July, 1951?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): Expenditure on relief in camps incurred according to sanctioned scales is debitable to the Government of India. The expenditure on displaced persons going into camps will thus be automatically borne by the Government of India.

Shri Chattopadhyay: Is the expenditure in connection with these migrants borne by the Central Government or a part of it is borne by the Provincial Government?

Shri A. P. Jain: The question is a very vague one. In fact, we give most of the money as loans or as grants in regard to various schemes of the State Governments. I believe that the hon. Member wants to know how the losses are borne in the Eastern Region. In that region the losses are borne cent. per cent. by the Central Government.

Shri B. K. Das: May I know if any new plan has been decided upon as regards the present influx of refugees as a result of the recent visit of the hon. Minister?

Shri A. P. Jain: Yes. A new plan has been evolved and I gave some details of it in a Press Conference at Calcutta the other day. Briefly speaking, the idea is that we want to eliminate the transit camps. The new migrants will be taken straight from the Railway Station to the site of colonization. They will be put up under canvas tents and they will help in the reclamation of land, building

of hutments and so on and against the work they will be paid wages. It is possible that some of them may, to begin with, not be able to earn enough wages and there a certain element of subsidy may come in.

Shri Amolakh Chand: May I know if in view of the unexpected extraordinary influx of refugees from East Bengal, whether the West Bengal Government demanded more money and if the Government of India contemplate to help them?

Shri A. P. Jain: Yes. The West Bengal Government had demanded more money. I had approached the Finance Ministry for a supplementary grant but the Finance Ministry did not agree. Now the question for us is how to meet this extraordinary demand for money. It may be that we may have to reduce the amount of loans which were originally provided for in the Budget.

Shri B. K. Das: May I know how much of that amount has already been given to the West Bengal Government?

Shri A. P. Jain: The scheme is like this: When the refugees come, they have to be sent to the camps and the doles are paid by the State Government and after a month or so, when the accounts are audited, the State Government is re-imbursed by the Central Government. The influx started 2 months ago and I am not sure whether any of this expenditure on these new migrants has yet been audited and re-imbursed by the Central Government.

Shri A. C. Guha: The hon. Minister stated that these refugees are taken straight to the rehabilitation centres. May I know how many of these centres are in West Bengal and how many in other States?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have requested the State Governments to find out new sites for colonization. The West Bengal Government is doing it. I have also requested the Governments of Bihar and Orissa to do the same for the refugees coming to West Bengal. Of course, in Assam and Tripura the new influx has not started, but unfortunately, if it starts, then, Assam and Tripura have also to do the same. I have requested them also to locate new sites.

Shri A. C. Guha: Have any sites been selected in Bihar and Orissa and if so, where are these sites located?

Shri A. P. Jain: No sites have so far been selected in Bihar and Orissa. I have requested these Governments to do so.

Shri A. C. Guha: In that case, may I know if the 75,000 refugees that have been calculated to have come within the last two months or so have all now been taken to sites in West Bengal?

Shri A. P. Jain: This question assumes some wrong premises. Every migrant who comes to West Bengal does not necessarily go to camp. It is a fraction of the total number of migrants that come to West Bengal who go to camps. During the last 2 months and twenty days, i.e., June, July and 20 days of August, the total number of persons who came was about 70,000. Of these only 20,000 have gone to camps. It is that section of migrants who ordinarily go to camps that will be taken direct to rehabilitation sites. As for the others they disperse and find accommodation for themselves. No question about those persons arises.

Shri A. C. Guha: Do Government keep any record of those migrants who do not go to the camp and do they make any arrangement for their rehabilitation?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They do not want to.

Shri A. P. Jain: The rehabilitation of these persons takes place through projecting certain schemes of rehabilitation. We have got the loans scheme. Anybody who wants may have a trade loan or a business loan or an industrial loan and he has to apply for it. Similarly we have the training scheme and anybody who wants it, has to apply. Similarly we have schemes of rural rehabilitation. If any person who has not gone to a camp, wants to settle on land, he has to apply for it. It is only for the camp population that we make arrangements ourselves because we have to feed them from day to day and we are interested in dispersing them. As for others they will have to apply and take advantage of one or the other schemes of rehabilitation.

STRIKES IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

*602. **Shri Rathnaswamy:** (a) Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state how many man-days were lost owing to strikes in the textile industry during the months of May and June, 1951 in the whole country?

(b) How many labourers were involved in such strikes?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): (a) and (b). The required information is as follows:

Name of Month.	Number of workers involved	Number of man-days lost
May 1951	24,915	88,87
June 1951	39,002	1,22,125

Shri Rathnaswamy: Of these strikes, may I know what was the longest period for which a strike was in operation?

Shri Jagjivan Ram: I have not got here details of individual strikes. These stoppages of works relate to the industry of cotton and jute and other textiles.

Shri Rathnaswamy: May I know whether the hon. Minister has any information as to the number of strikes in Madras in the textile mills in the Madras State alone and what are the man-days lost thereby?

Shri Jagjivan Ram: I may inform the hon. Member, all these information are contained in the Indian Labour Gazette which is published every month by the Ministry of Labour and it is available in the Library.....

Shri Sidhva: They are sent to Members of Parliament also.

Shri Jagjivan Ram: So any member who wants all these details can consult that paper and he will get all the information.

Shri Rathnaswamy: Is the Government aware of the award given in respect of B. and C. Mills strike a couple of years ago and which award is not acceptable to the workers of those Mills?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How does that arise out of this question.

Shri Rathnaswamy: I just want to know.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may want to know many things, that do not arise out of the question.

PENICILLIN FACTORY

*604. **Shri Sidhva:** (a) Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state when the construction work of the Penicillin

Factory of the Government of India will be started?

(b) What will be the total capacity of production of Penicillin from this factory?

(c) What is the annual total requirement of the country in Penicillin?

(d) What are the prices of Penicillin at present in Delhi?

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): (a) It is expected that the construction work will be started towards the end of this year.

(b) 3.6 million Mega Units per year to start with rising to 9.0 million Mega Units per year.

(c) 5.3 million Mega Units, but the demand for this drug is likely to increase with the increase of Public Health activities.

(d) The price varies from Rs. -/15/- to Rs. 1/8/- for vials of 1 lakh units, Rs. 3/11/- to Rs. 7/2/- for vials of 10 lakh units depending upon size and make.

Shri Sidhva: When is this factory likely to be completed?

Shri Gadgil: The programme is: specifications to be completed and procurement to be begun by end of October 1951; last order to be placed and delivery in United States completed by suppliers by December 31, 1952; building to be ready by January 1953; equipment delivered at plant site 1st April 1953; erection completed 1st October, 1953; production started December 1, 1953; plant in full production December 31, 1954.

Shri Sidhva: Is the supervision and control to be with the Government of India or the Government of Bombay?

Shri Gadgil: I have already answered that question on two occasions; the control remains with the Government of India.

Shri Sidhva: May I know how much of this amount that is to be invested will be contributed by the W.H.O.?

Shri Gadgil: I can say approximately; it is about 60 to 70 lakhs.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know whether this concern will be run as a Government department or as a company or as a Corporation?

Shri Gadgil: I have already stated it is a State enterprise pure and simple to be run with technical assistance of the W.H.O. authorities.

Shri Hussain Imam: May I request the hon. Minister to correlate the unit of production with the unit of prices? How many units are there in a mega unit?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are going too much into details.

Shri Hussain Imam: He has stated the price per lakh units. The production is in mega units. I want to know what is the relation between mega units and the unit of price.

Shri Gadgil: It is too technical for me to answer offhand.

Shri Rathnaswamy: Is it a fact that efforts are being made to manufacture penicillin from certain indigenous plants like drumstick?

Shri Gadgil: I have read about it in the Papers.

Shri Kamath: Is it a fact that at present the landed cost in India of Japanese penicillin is much cheaper than European and American penicillin and if so, did the Government take any steps to consult Japanese experts in this matter before setting up a factory?

Shri Gadgil: As regards consulting Japanese experts, the question does not arise because a decision has already been taken. As regards landed cost, I require notice.

Shri Sidhva: There are various qualities of penicillin. Some are superior and some are inferior. Is the hon. Minister aware of it

Shri Gadgil: Everybody is aware of it.

COTTON-WASTE (EXPORT)

*606. **Shri M. Naik:** (a) Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the quantity of Cotton-waste annually exported from India to other countries?

(b) To what extent does export of Cotton-waste help India in earning foreign exchange?

(c) Is there any industry established or proposed to be established in India in order to utilise this material?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) and (b). A statement showing the exports of cotton-waste from India during the last three fiscal years together with value of foreign exchange earned is placed on the Table of the House.

(c) Spinnable types of wastes are being utilised by the textile mills which have got the necessary equipment for such spinning. The other uses of waste are wadding for tailors, mixing with wool after chemical and mechanical treatment by means of special machinery. No such special type of machinery is, however, available in India and as such waste cannot be utilised for the above purpose. Waste can be used as a raw material in artificial silk manufacture. This use has, however, not yet been developed in India.

STATEMENT

Year	Quantity (in 000 cwts.)	Value (in lakhs of Rs.)
1948-49 .	1016.7	515
1949-50 .	1512.6	822
1950-51 .	1306.6	1,241

Shri M. Naik: Is there any quota fixed for the annual export of cotton waste?

Shri Karmarkar: Such a ceiling is normally fixed. As for the ceiling this year, I should like to have notice.

Shri M. Naik: Has there been any increase in the export quota this year?

Shri Karmarkar: I should like to have notice.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has not got that figure.

Shri Kamath: What percentage does this cotton waste form of the waste of all kinds in India?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Next question.

Shri Hussain Imam: Could the hon. Minister indicate whether the proportion of cotton waste to cotton consumed by the mills is on the increase now?

Shri Karmarkar: No.

Shri Hussain Imam: Or on the decrease?

Shri Karmarkar: Just now on the decrease.

Shri Hussain Imam: May I know whether any complaints have been received that even good cotton is converted into waste for purposes of export?

Shri Karmarkar: There is no truth in that.

Shri M. Naik: Is there any truth in the allegation that in the name of cotton waste raw cotton and other cotton goods are exported outside?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is exactly what the hon. Minister has just now answered that it was so last year and that it has gone down this year.

Dr. Deshmukh: May I know if the hon. Minister is aware that cotton waste is sold at a higher price than good cotton?

Shri Karmarkar: Not so, now, I think.

**DISTRIBUTION OF TIN PLATE, STEEL, ETC.
IN TRAVANCORE-COCHIN STATE**

*607. **Shri R. Velayudhan:** (a) Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state whether the Government of India have received any complaints regarding distribution of tin plate, steel and steel sheets to merchants in the Travancore-Cochin State?

(b) What is the quantity of tin plate, steel and steel sheets allotted to the Travancore-Cochin State in 1951?

(c) What is the check that the Government of India have got on the Government of Travancore-Cochin in the distribution of these materials?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Yes, in regard to tinplate only.

(b) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 30.]

(c) Distribution arrangements of the State quotas of iron and steel is left entirely to the State Government and Government of India do not normally interfere. I should add that in this particular case, we have recently made a recommendation to the Travancore-Cochin Government to reconsider their decision asking two firms of exporters of cashew nuts to take tin plates from a third firm. That is very recently, by letter, dated 23rd August of this year.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know in regard to the answer to Part (a) of the question what was the nature of the complaints received from the merchants or from the Government of Travancore-Cochin?

Shri Karmarkar: I was just referring to the precise nature of the complaint. There are two principal exporters of cashew nuts and they manufactured their own tin boxes for purposes of packing them. They were asked by the Travancore-Cochin Government to get their requirements of tin plate from a third firm. This was, according to the first two firms of exporters a hardship and since their requirements were being fulfilled by these two firms, we have recently recommended to the Travancore-Cochin Government to reconsider their original decision asking these two firms to get their tin plate requirements from a third firm. As I said, we have left the whole matter to the State Government.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether the Travancore-Cochin Government have allotted an excessive quantity to one of the two merchants which was not the legitimate quota which he deserved?

Shri Karmarkar: That was not so.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether the two merchants had represented directly to the Government of India about the injustice done to the new quota holder because of the excessive quota allotted to the particular merchant?

Shri Karmarkar: As I said, the complaint was that they were not being given the quota to which they were entitled; not that the third firm was getting more, but that they were getting nothing.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, the question list is over. Let us go back to the absentees one after another. Mr. Kesava Rao. (Not in his seat). Sardar Hukam Singh. (Not in his seat.) Mr. Jnani Ram.

Shri Jnani Ram: No. 586.

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): This is definitely encouraging absenteeism. Suppose I had left the House as the Member was not present, what happens? You should call the Member to order also.

Shri Kamath: What happens to the Minister when the Member is present and the Minister is absent? A minister must be present throughout the Question-hour.

An Hon. Member: The Question-hour is over.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the Question-hour be over. A question has been raised. I am really surprised that the hon. Minister should have said this. What is done is this. Questions are called one after another and when

an hon. Member is not in his seat, that question is passed over. If all the questions are not exhausted, he is not called. Today it happens that the questions in the list have been completed. We are going back, and the questions of absentee Members are called one after another. What does the hon. Minister mean by that?

Shri Gadgil: My point is simply this. If the list is exhausted, suppose the hon. Minister on the assumption that the Members are not present, has left the House and has gone; what is the position?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The position is this. When I call the questions of absentees one after another, and when the absentee Member is once again on his legs and is here, the hon. Minister must answer that question.

Shri Gadgil: On several occasions the Chair has ruled that the Minister must not be absent when a question is being put, and very often the Minister has been called to order. I only want the same or equal treatment to be extended to hon. Members who are absent when their names are called.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A Minister is a greater representative than the others. I can read out a previous ruling where the Chair has said:

"I propose to adopt the practice followed in the British House of Commons where, if time allows, questions that have not been answered in the first round are called a second time. I also propose to adopt the House of Commons practice in this connection in its entirety, that is to say, in future those members who hold authority to put questions of other members will be permitted to do so in the second round only. I trust that this change in practice will not act as an inducement to members to come late during the Question-hour."

Of course, the hon. Member also will note that they must be present when their questions are called, otherwise the penalty is that the question is not likely to be put. To-day unusually we have completed the first round and so could come back. Otherwise they would have gone without any supplementaries being put. The hon. Minister evidently wanted to inform the hon. Members that they ought not to complain hereafter if he is absent at his will.

An Hon. Member: Why not complain?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That evidently is his intention; but it should not be allowed. (*Interruptions.*) Order, order.

Nothing more is necessary now. The hon. Minister has unnecessarily raised this point here.

Shri Kamath: What about the question which was called by you?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: But the question-hour is over now.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

SALT EXPERT COMMITTEE REPORT

*580. **Shri Kesava Rao:** Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state:

(a) what are the main recommendations of the Salt Expert Committee; and

(b) whether any of the recommendations have been implemented?

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): (a) A statement showing the main recommendations of the Salt Experts Committee is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 31.]

(b) Yes. The important recommendations already implemented include (i) the abolition of local intermediaries in the distribution of salt from the Government Salt Works, (ii) the appointment of Swiss experts to prepare a scheme for the development of the Mandi Salt mines, (iii) continuance of the Zonal Scheme of Distribution, and (iv) the setting up of a Salt Advisory Committee.

STEEL (DISTRIBUTION)

*581. **Shri Kesava Rao:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) what is the basis of allotment of steel to various organisations under the Iron and Steel (Control of Production and Distribution) Order 1941;

(b) whether there is any change in the policy of distribution during the current year; and

(c) whether any priority is given to certain organisations and schemes at the time of allotment and if so, what are the organisations and schemes?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Allocation of steel is made once a quarter. After meeting normal maintenance requirements, allotments are made on considerations of urgency and importance of the demands.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) Demands of Defence Services, Railways, agriculture and rehabilitation are accorded special treatment.

PURANA QILLA QUARTERS

*584. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the number of displaced persons residing in the Purana Qilla quarters;

(b) the size of room or rooms allowed for a normal family;

(c) the amenities—such as lights, conservancy and sanitation—provided;

(d) the rent charged for one unit; and

(e) the contribution made by the displaced persons themselves for construction of these quarters?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) 3,776.

(b) A single room tenement measuring 14'×10' or 12'×12'.

(c) Conservancy, sanitation, water supply and street lighting have also been provided.

(d) Rs. 12 per mensem.

(e) No contribution was made by the refugees in the construction of these quarters. In this connection the attention of the hon. Member is invited to the reply given by me to question No. 158 on 20th November, 1950, in Parliament.

DISPLACED PERSONS' HOUSES (DEMOLITION)

*585. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state the number of residences of displaced persons demolished in Delhi?

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): About 2,100.

TAX UNDER COAL MINES STOWING ACT

*586. **Shri Jnani Ram:** Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state:

(a) the amount of tax realised under the Coal Mines Stowing Act up till June 1951;

(b) the amount spent by the Board; and

(c) the Collieries where stowing work is being carried on?

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): (a) The amount of excise duty realized under the Coal Mines Safety (Stowing) Act, 1939, upto the 30th June 1951 is Rs. 3,67,55,648.

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(b) The amount spent by the Board upto the 31st March 1951, is Rs. 2,56,36,981.

(c) A statement showing the names of collieries to which assistance for stowing operations during 1951-52, has been sanctioned by the Coal Mines Stowing Board, is placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 34.]

INDO-TIBETAN TRADE

*587. **Shri A. B. Gurung:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state whether the trade between Tibet and India has been adversely affected after the Sino-Tibetan Treaty?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): The Government have no information so far. Statistics of India's trade with Tibet after the Sino-Tibetan Agreement are not yet available.

KEROSENE OIL

*599. **Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi:** Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state the total yearly consumption in India of kerosene oil as also its various sources of supply?

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): The present yearly consumption of Kerosene is about one million tons. Apart from a small indigenous production, the requirements of this product are met from imports from Iran, Bahrein Islands, Saudi Arabia and the Far East.

SODA ASH

*600. **Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the total yearly consumption in India of soda ash as also its various sources of supply?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): Estimated yearly consumption—1,24,000 tons.

Sources of supply—

(a) Indian:

(i) Messrs. Tata Chemicals Ltd., Mithapur.

(ii) Messrs. Dhrangadhra Chemical Works, Dhrangadhra.

(b) Foreign:

The United Kingdom, British East Africa (Kenya Colony), U.S.A., Italy and Pakistan.

ASSAULT ON SEWADARS IN GURDWARA NANKANA SAHIB

*601. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government have received any information about the recent reported assault by a Pakistani mob on the Sewadars in Gurdwara Nankana Sahib in West Punjab?

(b) Is there any truth in the reports that the Sewadars have been injured and the Guru Granth Sahib sacrilaged?

(c) Have Government lodged any protest with the Government of Pakistan?

(d) If no information has so far been received, do Government propose to consider the desirability of directing our High Commissioner to visit the Gurdwara and report the actual facts?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) The Deputy High Commissioner has been informed by the Punjab (Pakistan) Government that no assault by any mob or otherwise has taken place. Information, has, however, been received that some firearms were taken away by the local police from the Gurdwara at Nankana Sahib in the last week of July.

(b) No.

(c) A strong protest has been lodged with the Government of Pakistan with regard to the seizure of the firearms from the Sewadars and they have been requested to restore them. A reply is awaited; but meanwhile the Punjab (Pakistan) Government have informed our Deputy High Commissioner that in a search five unlicensed arms and some ammunition were found and taken away.

(d) Does not arise, but if necessary the Deputy High Commissioner at Lahore, who is nearer, will be directed to visit Nankana Sahib to contact the Sewadars and enquire about their welfare.

TEA GARDEN LABOUR

*603. **Shri Venkataraman:** Will the Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the supply of rice to the tea garden labour in Assam and West Bengal has been stopped;

(b) whether it is a fact that the tea garden labourers of Assam have threatened to leave the tea estates; and

(c) what steps Government are taking in this matter?

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): (a) I understand that the quantity of rice has been reduced and replaced by other cereals, viz. wheat, milo, etc.

(b) It has been brought to my notice that in certain tea gardens workers demanded repatriation because of reduction in the scale of supply of rice.

(c) Because of the difficult supply position of rice, it will not be possible for the Government to supply only rice in ration. Reduction in the quantity of rice will be replaced by other cereals like wheat, milo, etc. Labour leaders and Unions' co-operation has been sought for explaining this position to labour.

INDIAN SENTENCED TO DEATH IN MALAYA

*605. **Shri Biyani:** (a) Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government are aware that a young 23 year old Tamil youth has been sentenced to death by the Malayan Federal Government for possessing a rifle without licence?

(b) If so, have Government taken any steps to get the death sentence commuted?

(c) If so, what steps have Government taken and with what result?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar): (a) Yes, Sir. Possession of a fire-arm without a licence is an offence punishable with death under the Emergency Regulations in force in Malaya.

(b) and (c). The Representative of the Government of India in Malaya has been instructed to support the mercy petition of the condemned person should the latter decide to make one.

ADULTERATION OF TEA

125. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether in the middle of July 1951 there was a sort of crisis in the Calcutta tea auction market due to the convictions of some tea firms at Calcutta on the charge of adulterating tea;

(b) if so, the subsequent action taken to relieve the crisis;

(c) whether the existing law has to be relaxed so as to allow what may be technically called "adulterated tea"; and

(d) if so, the reasons therefor?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The firms charged for adulterating tea are Messrs. Gordhanbhai Ambalal and Co. and Lipton Ltd., both of Calcutta. Pending clarification of definition of tea under the Calcutta Municipal Act, the Calcutta Corporation will not launch fresh prosecutions with regard to teas containing stalk and the Corporation will also arrange to take adjournments in pending cases to enable the Government of West Bengal to examine the matter.

(c) The question of relaxing the existing law does not arise as it is a question solely of interpreting the existing definition.

(d) Does not arise.

METALLURGICAL COAL

126. Shri A. C. Guha: Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state:

(a) when Government have received the report of the Committee on the conservation of metallurgical coal;

(b) whether Government have taken any action on the report or whether Government have taken any step for the conservation of metallurgical coal;

(c) whether any metallurgical coal is being exported; and

(d) if so, to what countries, of what quality and at what price?

The Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Gadgil): (a) In June 1950.

(b) The steps to be taken for conservation of metallurgical coal are under active consideration by the Government and the Planning Commission.

(c) Yes, Sir, to a limited extent.

(d) (i) Japan only,

(ii) Selected 'B' 66 per cent. and Grade I 34 per cent.

(iii) Rs. 30/7/- per ton F.O.B. Calcutta.

HOUSES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

127. Shri A. C. Guha: Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the housing schemes undertaken by Government for the East Bengal displaced persons in different States;

(b) the number of houses and tenements already constructed for the East Bengal displaced persons in different States; and

(c) the number under construction during the current financial year?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) to (c). The

information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

EXPORT OF WOOL

128. Shri Gansambhikhi: Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Special Officer for the development of woollen industry has recommended to the Government of India to impose restrictions on the export of wool from the Madras State; and

(b) if so, what steps Government propose to take in that regard?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) and (b). Development Officer (Wool), of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has not made any such recommendation. However, on the advice of the Joint Drugget Industry Advisory Board for Madras and Mysore, movement of tannery wool only produced in Madras and Mysore States is restricted except to Bangalore, Wallajah and Salem vide Notification S.R.O. No. 964, dated the 23rd November 1950, issued by the late Ministry of Industry and Supply. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 32.]

CUSTODIANS AND CUSTODIANS-GENERAL

129. Shri Raj Kanwar: Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Deputy and Assistant Custodians-General appointed under section 5 of the Administration of Evacuee Property Act, 1950, showing the dates of their appointment and the salaries and allowances drawn by them;

(b) the number of Custodians and Additional, Deputy or Assistant Custodians appointed in the various Part A, Part B and Part C States to which the above Act applies under section 6 thereof; and

(c) the total number, State-wise, of evacuee properties vested in the Custodians of the various States under section 8 of the Act?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) Deputy Custodian-General—1.

Appointed with effect from 17th April, 1950 at Rs. 1,800 P.M. (fixed).

Assistant Custodian-General—1.

Appointed with effect from 17th October, 1949 at Rs. 1,050 P.M. plus dearness allowance. The post is being held in abeyance since 6th January, 1951.

(b) and (c). Time and labour involved in collecting the information will not be commensurate with the result achieved.

PAPER

130. Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi: (a) Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the total number of wholly Indian enterprises manufacturing paper?

(b) What has been the capacity of production in each of the years 1948, 1949 and 1950 as also the actual production in each of these years?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) There are 18 paper mills in India of which 13 are controlled by Indians.

(b) The installed capacity and actual production of the paper mills are as follows:

Year.	Installed capacity of all the 18 mills (in tons)	Installed capacity of the 13 mills controlled by Indians (in tons)
1948	105,000	53,000
1949	110,000	56,000
1950	118,900	61,690

Year.	Actual production of all the 18 mills (in tons)	Actual production of the 13 mills controlled by Indians (in tons)
1948	97,905	49,084
1949	103,194	50,330
1950	108,907	54,773

MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION (STAFF)

131. Prof. K. T. Shah: Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the number of (i) Gazetted, and (ii) non-Gazetted officers, clerks and Class IV servants in his Ministry and its attached and subordinate offices on:

(i) 15th August, 1947; (ii) 31st March, 1948; (iii) 31st March, 1949;

(iv) 31st March, 1950; and (v) 31st March, 1951; and

(b) the number of officers, clerks and Class IV servants appointed temporarily in the first instance and subsequently (i) made permanent, (ii) retired or (iii) retrenched, during each of the years 1947-48 (post-partition), 1948-49, 1949-50 and 1950-51?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): (a) and (b). The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

CLOTH PRICES

132. Shri Kshudiram Mahata: Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a statement showing the prices of cloth produced in 1951 as compared with the prices of cloth in 1943-44 when cloth control was first introduced?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): A statement showing prices of representative varieties of cloth as on 1st July 1951 as compared to those in 1943 is placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, annexure No. 33.]

CONDUIT PIPES AND ACCESSORIES

133. Shri Radhelal Vyas: (a) Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state whether our country is self-sufficient in conduit pipes and conduit accessories?

(b) If not, what steps have been taken by Government to achieve self-sufficiency?

(c) What are the yearly import figures for the conduit pipes and accessories for the years 1940 to 1950?

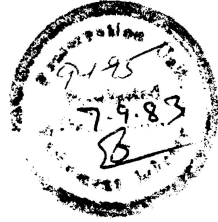
(d) From what countries have they been imported?

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmarkar): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Every encouragement is given to parties who evince interest in the development of this industry. It is expected that self-sufficiency will be attained through the implementation of production programmes already approved, provided raw material is available.

(c) and (d). No information is available, as import figures and the sources of imports are not recorded separately for conduit pipes and conduit accessories.

Tuesday, 28th August, 1951



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME XIV, 1951

(6th August, 1951 to 29th August, 1951)

Fourth Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1951

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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

1427

1428

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Tuesday, 28th August, 1951

*The House met at Half Past Eight
of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

9-32 A.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

- (i) RECOMMENDATION BY I.L.C. CONCERNING VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS INCLUDING DISABLED PERSONS; AND (ii) ACTION PROPOSED TO BE TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE RECOMMENDATION.

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): I beg to lay on the Table (i) a copy of the Recommendation (No. 88) concerning the vocational training of adults including disabled persons, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its thirty-third session held at Geneva in 1950; and (ii) the statement indicating the action which the Government propose to take on the Recommendation. [Placed in Library. See No. P-199/51.]

**OCCUPATION OF TWO ISLANDS IN THE
BRAHMAPUTRA BY PAKISTAN POLICE**

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I beg to lay on the Table a statement containing the information promised during the discussion on Shri H. V. Kamath's Adjournment Motion on the 10th August, 1951 regarding the occupation by Pakistan of certain islands in the Brahmaputra in Goalpara District of Assam.

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STATEMENT

The boundary between India and Pakistan in the neighbourhood of South Salmara Police Station in Goalpara District in the State of Assam runs across the bed of the Brahmaputra for a distance of fifteen miles. The boundary cuts across a number of islets in the river, the position of these islets changes from year to year due to fluvial action. Daikhowachar and Salapara are two such island villages forming part of Gauripur Raj Estate, who survey the land on the islands every year before and after the rains. Revenue from these two islands has been collected by Gauripur Raj Estate for many years and criminal jurisdiction has always been exercised by South Salmara Police Station, before and after the Partition.

2. On the 10th of May, the Gauripur Raj Estate Kanangoo and his two companions were arrested by East Bengal Police while surveying land in Daikhowachar and Salapara. They were released after a few days. In June the East Bengal armed police occupied Daikhowachar and Salapara thereby encroaching into Indian territory. In last week of June East Bengal armed Police also trespassed on Behalarchar island in Indian territory and attempted to recover *chowkidari* tax but did not occupy the island.

3. The District Magistrate, Goalpara asked the District Magistrate, Rangpur (East Bengal) for a joint enquiry and for the withdrawal of the Pakistan Police immediately after the occupation of the islands in June. The Government of Assam, to whom the matter was reported, had to examine the geographical and factual position which took some time. On the 25th July, 1951 the Government of Assam telegraphed the Govern-

*Papers laid on the
Table*

ment of East Bengal and asked for early instrumental survey of the area. The East Bengal Government acknowledged this on the 26th July, 1951 and said that they were looking into the matter and would take action after ascertaining the position. Normally such cases are taken up directly between the State and Provincial Governments and are taken up between the Governments of Pakistan and India only if agreement cannot be reached.

4. Reports and comments about this matter appeared in the Press from the 27th July, 1951 onwards. The Government of India wired to the Government of Assam on the same day, viz., 27th July asking for the facts. A telegraphic reply was received on 28th in which a detailed letter was promised. This letter was received on the 31st July, 1951. According to this the Government of Assam were awaiting a further reply from East Bengal. The Government of India therefore also waited for a few days, but since no further progress was reported, they wired to the Government of Pakistan on 9th August and asked for withdrawal of the East Bengal Police pending demarcation of the boundary by joint instrumental survey.

5. The East Bengal Government agreed to joint inspection by the Directors of Land Records of East Bengal and Assam and by the Deputy Commissioners of Rangpur and Goalpara. The joint inspection was fixed for August 11. The meeting took place on the 11th and it transpired that at the time of aerial survey of the boundary certain ground marks had been fixed on the boundary during plane table traverse carried out jointly by survey parties of India and Pakistan during the last winter. According to these ground marks, the boundary cuts across the islands of Daikhowachar, of which just over half the length of 2½ miles lies in India and the rest in Pakistan. The whole of the island of Salapara lies in India. The Director of Land Records, East Bengal, did not, however, accept the boundary as indicated by these ground marks fixed jointly. The two directors therefore agreed to do a theodolite survey of the Char areas. The theodolite survey is expected to commence from 22nd August, but is estimated to take

several months in the present conditions when there is very little dry land to fix intermediary marks.

6. At the meeting the two District Magistrates of Rangpur and Goalpara agreed that East Bengal Police will withdraw from the two islands and Assam Police will withdraw from another island, Nilakhia, in the vicinity, subject to approval of the Governments. As East Bengal Police have not yet withdrawn the Assam Government is asking the East Bengal Government that either East Bengal Police should withdraw behind the provisional boundary and the area on Indian side of this provisional boundary should be handed over to Assam Police or the status *que ante* be restored by East Bengal Police withdrawing entirely from both islands to which no Assam Police will be sent during the survey.

GOVERNMENT OF PART C STATES
BILL.—contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the Government of Part C States Bill.

Hon. Members will remember that we have now spent some time over this matter. In the original discussion some time was spent and after the Bill has come back now we have spent two days on this matter. It will be useful to have some kind of a timetable when discussing it further.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Only one day was spent on it, for the other day was taken up by the hon. Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: But the hon. Minister is also a person interested in this Bill. We have spent two days and I think two more will be enough for the whole Bill to be dealt with. Let us try to finish it within to-day and to-morrow. I suggest this so that hon. Members may have some idea of the time which we may take over this matter and give proper priorities so far as the clauses are concerned. If it is not humanly possible to complete it in two days, we may take a third day; but we shall see.

Shri Kamath: That means we have two days excluding to-day?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, including to-day, for to-day has not yet commenced as far as legislative business is concerned.

Dr. Deshmukh (Madhya Pradesh): Why not request the Government to reconsider the whole Bill and bring forward a new one?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I do not know if the hon. Member is voicing the view of the Part C States. Yesterday Shri Munavalli was on his legs.

Shri Munavalli (Bombay): Sir, yesterday I was referring to the statement made by the Prime Minister on the adjournment motion moved by Prof. Ranga when the House rose for the day. Speaking with reference to the merger of Coorg I wanted to show that in the fitness of things Coorg needs to be merged because Coorg is part and parcel of Karnataka and Coorg is intending to be merged with Mysore. And Mysore also welcomes that step because it has passed a Resolution in its Constituent Assembly that the neighbouring areas, if they intend to merge with Mysore are quite welcome to do so. So under these circumstances, there was no other go for the people of Coorg but to merge with Mysore, for the people themselves desire this merger. Moreover, unlike in the case of Bhopal there is no difficulty in the way of this merger of Coorg with Mysore on account of any covenant. In the case of the merger of Bhopal there is the covenant in the way. But in the case of Coorg there is no such covenant. Moreover, it would be a step further towards the unification of Karnataka if Coorg is merged with Mysore. However, I am surprised to find that when the Prime Minister made his statement welcoming the desire on the part of the public to have linguistic provinces and stating that if there is agreement on larger issues between the neighbouring States the Government will go ahead with the formation of these linguistic provinces, our hon. Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Rajagopalachari comes with a statement the very next day that here there is a fear just now, rather there is a threat hanging over us—this linguistic division. I protest very strongly against this expression of view. I do so because I think when our Cabinet announces a policy and one of its members strikes a discordant note it creates an impression that it is not definite about it. Here is the Prime Minister making one statement and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs almost the next day comes out with a divergent view about the same matter. Under these circumstances I am at a loss to know what the Government really intends to do. Will they get the confidence of the people if they

go on giving divergent views like this? How can they expect to get the co-operation and confidence of the people?

In short, the formation of the linguistic provinces has become an acute problem with the people and it is very much agitating the minds of people in South India and the very adjournment motion of Prof. Ranga itself shows that the problem is there in the Andhra, Karnataka and elsewhere. Something shall have to be done and must be done. But at this very time when this Bill is brought before us, I find that Coorg is given a separate place with responsible government and it is to be kept as a separate entity altogether. This is another impediment in the way of the formation of the linguistic provinces, especially in the way of the unification of the Karnataka. I therefore request the Government to take note of this. If it lays down one policy and acts in a diametrically opposite way, then the people will not have that faith in them as the Government expects. That is why I wanted to bring this to the notice of the hon. Minister that the divergent views expressed by him were not at all proper under the circumstances. Personally he may be against the formation of the linguistic provinces and he may have his own views. But the Cabinet is collectively responsible to the people and to this House and he ought not to have expressed a view different from the one expressed by the Prime Minister.

Lastly I plead that Coorg should be merged. I do not say that it should be merged without taking the express views of the people of the State. I have reliably come to know that the people of Coorg would also like to have a merger. Instead of having these petty States, they should try to see that they are merged with the neighbouring States and thus reduce the burden of expenditure. If Coorg is kept apart there will then be the Chief Commissioner, his staff and all the other paraphernalia. If it is merged it will be so to say a Taluk which will be administered by one mamlatdar and much of the expenditure will be cut down. It can be done similarly with the other States.....

Dr. Deshmukh: Pandit Bhargava will have a Deputy Commissioner.

Shri Munavalli: There will be another advantage to those people also. Instead of becoming diminutive Ministers they can become Ministers of larger units if Coorg is merged with Mysore or Karnataka. That is why I request the people of Coorg that they should be liberal enough to support the

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cause which has been so long upheld by the people of Karnatak. I hope the arguments I have advanced will convince the Minister and he will take such steps as will satisfy not only the people of Coorg but the people of Karnatak and Mysore as well.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Merger is only an incidental issue. He is elaborating that argument and is opposing the Bill on the ground that it will interfere with merger later. He is also speaking on linguistic provinces in general. How are they relevant?

Shri Munavalli: As regards, the Council of Ministers and the powers of the Chief Commissioner I would like to say a word. The last word will be with the Chief Commissioner instead of with the Council of Ministers. The Chief Commissioner is all in all in judicial and quasi-judicial matters. He will preside at every meeting of the Council of Ministers and in some matters nothing can be done by the Council of Ministers without the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner. With regard to Delhi on certain questions, whether they refer to New Delhi or not, the Chief Commissioner's decision will be final and only when there is a divergence of opinion between the Council of Ministers and the Chief Commissioner, the matter will be referred to the President, whose decision will be final. Although it seems that some powers have been given to the Council of Ministers, still I feel that a substantial autocracy has been created, so to say, by making the Chief Commissioner the supreme head of the State. This will not be liked by many of us. However, I must say that the hon. Minister Mr. Gopalswami Ayyangar has gone a long way to meet the wishes of the representatives of Part C States in this House. I thank him for showing so much regard for the wishes of the representatives of Part C States and trying to meet them wherever possible. For all that he has done I congratulate him and I support the amendment of Mr. Sidhva.

Shri Sarwate (Madhya Bharat): The proposed amendments give six out of the ten Part C States mentioned Legislative Assemblies and responsible government. This raises some very fundamental questions on which this House must come to a definite conclusion as also the Government. If for certain reasons it is deemed desirable that units not viable, which cannot carry on the administration in a modern and efficient manner through their own resources, are to be maintained, such as

Delhi, Cutch or units in the border areas, let those units be alone kept in the Bill and all those units which have to be merged at one time or another should be dropped outright from the present Bill.....

Pandit M. B. Bhargava (Ajmer): On a point of order, Sir, may I know what is the scope of the discussion at this stage? The House has already adopted the consideration motion, which means that the House has accepted the principle of the Bill. The question before the House is what should be the measure of responsible self-government which should be granted to the Part C States. After the consideration motion has been adopted it is not open to any Member of the House to raise the very principle of the grant of responsible government or whether these States should exist as separate entities or not.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Punjab): The whole House should express itself on the point and not only some Members from Part C States. Your ruling will also determine the scope of the discussion and that will regulate the discussion.....

Shri Sarwate: May I submit that to make a suggestion that certain things should be dropped from the Bill is not out of order. It is always within the scope of the discussion either on an amendment proposed or any Bill before the House. I am perfectly within my rights to suggest to the Mover to drop certain portions of his Bill.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The proposal before the House is that there should be Legislative Assemblies and Councils of Ministers in certain Part C States and it is open to the House to say 'Yes', or 'No'. In that connection the question of merger is very pertinent. Unless a Member is able to discuss the question of a future or a present merger as being possible he cannot give his views on the Bill. The entire question so far as Part C States are concerned is before the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is not the point raised. There is no objection to referring to the question of merger in arguing for the deletion of any particular State on the ground that persons who are able to create vested interests might see to it that there is no merger in future. To that extent I have been allowing references to merger to strengthen their arguments or as an alternative to this Bill.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There is no amendment as regards merger.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not able to follow the hon. Member. A number of States are sought to be regulated by this Bill. Mr. Sarwate's amendment is that two or three States might be dropped and with respect to that a point of order has been raised.

The point of order relates to this: when once the principle of the Bill has been accepted at the stage of consideration, is it open to move an amendment now to delete from the scope of the Bill particular portions, particular States? I think that is the point of order, but let me be clear first as to whether that is the point.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: The hon. Member was entering into consideration of whether certain units are viable or not and as such whether they should be merged or they should remain separate. My point of order is this: at this stage when we are considering the Bill clause by clause it is not open to any Member to go to the very root of the question because having adopted the motion for consideration the House has accepted that these ten States are to subsist as separate entities. The only point open for consideration at this stage is whether a particular measure of responsible government should or should not be granted, or whether there should be a Legislative Assembly or a Council of Advisers or not—that is the only limited scope now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no good elaborating points like this; the simple point has to be stated. I have understood the point of order.

Pandit Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh): What is it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The point of order is this. There are a number of States mentioned in the Bill and some hon. Member wants to omit a particular State for various reasons. For instance, Capt. A. P. Singh wanted to omit Vindhya Pradesh.....

Capt. A. P. Singh (Vindhya Pradesh): Now there is another amendment of mine which replaces the two old amendments consequent upon the new amendments moved by the hon. Minister. The old amendments Nos. 73 and 74 are out of order on account of the new amendment that I have given notice of.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no question of it being out of order. It is open to hon. Members to give up any amendment that they move.

Capt. A. P. Singh: It becomes superfluous.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: "Superfluous" is absolutely different from "out of order". The simple point here is whether it is open by way of an amendment to exclude any particular State from the scope of the Bill. That is the narrow point. I do not see there is any point of order. On the other hand, I am against it; it is open to any hon. Member to say that certain States may be excluded—though at the consideration stage a number of States have been brought within the purview of the Bill, it does not mean that the House is not entitled to exclude from the Schedule, if a Schedule had been attached, any State. The reason may be that it may stand in the way of future merger; another reason may be that it may be elevated to Part A. For one reason or another it is open to hon. Members to table amendments to exclude any State from the operation of the Bill.

The hon. Member may go on.

Shri Sarwate: To continue the thread of my argument, I say that Part C States are divided into two kinds: one is that some States are to remain as units in future permanently; another kind is those States that are temporarily there as separate units but which at some stage or other are to be merged with certain other Part A or Part B States. Now I submit and appeal to the Mover that those States which are to permanently remain as separate units only should be retained in this Bill; the others should be omitted from the purview of this Bill. My reasons are as follows. It is a recognised principle that the status of all units in a democratic federation is equal. So even if these small units are not viable and they have not sufficient resources to carry on their administration on modern lines, it is the duty of the Centre to supply them with necessary funds to enable them to carry on their administration. Let that be clear and let us for once make up our minds that these units are to continue whatever be the cost to the Centre. This is one point on which we have to be very clear.

My second point is that those units which are to be merged at some future date with some other States should be omitted from this Bill. It has been very significantly and very rightly observed that better is the enemy of the best. If you are satisfied with something because it is better than the present stage of things and you accept it then you are undone. The entire

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initiative and urge for reform goes and the power of inertia sets in then and things continue indefinitely. Let me take a simple instance. Under article 371 of the Constitution control of the Centre over Part B States is to go. It was assured to us so often that all those Part B States which are efficient in their administration would be excluded from the purview of that article, that is they would not be under the control of the States Ministry. I read in a Mysore journal a statement of the Chief Minister there that this change was going to take place in the case of Mysore "very shortly" and six months have passed and nothing has happened. There are other States whose administration is suffering because of interference or fear of interference from the Centre. Therefore, my submission is, let us take a lesson from other instances and once for all decide that we should have the best and nothing less than the best—we shall not be satisfied with better. I appeal to all those C class States.....

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: They are not C class.

Shri Sarwate: By C class I should be understood to mean Part C States. The Bill as it is would give Legislative Assemblies to these States with certain curtailed powers, and there would be a Council of Ministers presided over by the Chief Commissioner. It is evident that this would involve certain extra expenditure and burden on the Centre. Here I invite the attention of the Chair and of the Mover to Rule 57 of our Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business which says that a Bill involving certain extra expenditure should be accompanied by a financial memorandum. This has not been done, though I think it is imperative, and I think the Bill should not have been proceeded with unless the requirements of that Rule were fulfilled. However, I am not taking objection on that score. I wish the hon. Minister would now at least give us a financial memorandum showing what is the expenditure in respect of each of these units at present incurred by the Government, what are the revenue receipts in respect of them, and what would be the extra expenditure which his proposals would involve. It is very necessary to do so for the House to come to a conclusion because it would be one of the considerations which would ultimately influence our decision.

10 A.M.

Among the five or six States involved in this Bill and to which Legislative Assemblies are to be given, one is

Vindhya Pradesh. The case of Vindhya Pradesh stands apart from the rest. Once Vindhya Pradesh was a Part B State. When we passed the Constitution, it was a viable unit, that is, its revenues were considered to be sufficient to meet the expenditure required to maintain a modern standard of administration. But certain developments took place later on and it was said that Vindhya Pradesh was not managed properly. Therefore, it was demoted from Part B to Part C. The best remedy for this is to drop Vindhya Pradesh from this Bill. It is not difficult for Government courageously to bring an amendment of the Constitution. The only consideration that it would involve is that Vindhya Pradesh should be transferred from Part C to Part B, and let this constitutional amendment be passed by this very House. Compared to the very important amendments we passed in the last session, this one is a very much less contentious one. Therefore, let the hon. Minister take courage in both hands and drop Vindhya Pradesh from this Bill. If he is satisfied that by holding elections according to the electoral rolls now prepared a set of Ministers would come who would be able to manage the unit efficiently, then his logical step is to drop Vindhya Pradesh from this Bill and bring a constitutional amendment to confer Part B status on it. I think that the hon. Members from Vindhya Pradesh should not be satisfied with the present proposal. Let them not say: "We are compromising. We are taking whatever is given; otherwise, nothing would be given." Let them not be in that complacent mood. Let them make up their minds and say that they are not prepared to accept this.

The Minister of States, Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): May I ask my hon. friend a question so that he may clarify the suggestion he has made? He said that this particular State had been demoted from Part B to Part C because of the conclusion that the administration was unsatisfactory. I am the inheritor of this state of things. Does he say that I should have courage now to drop this State from this Bill and ask that this particular State about which the opinion was that the administration was not satisfactory should be promoted from Part C to Part B by a courageous amendment of the Constitution? If he does give credit to the Government for having come to the conclusion which justifies the demotion, where is the courage that I am to summon in order to say that this State should go back to Part B by an amendment of the Constitution?

Shri Sarwate: I have not been quite able to follow; if the objection is to the word 'courage', I will put it in another language. I have no objection to do so, so long as my purpose is served.

To go on with my argument, there are four or five other States. Regarding them I suggest that they may be merged, because they are not viable. But because certain other considerations prevail, Government say that the merger cannot take place now. For instance, it is said that Ajmer cannot be merged into Rajasthan at once, because it would lead to so many administrative difficulties. It is said that the level of efficiency in Rajputana is lower than that of the Ajmer Civil Service. If these two levels are mixed, it is said that it would create chaos. May I in this connection draw the attention of Government to the fact that the Madhya Bharat Union was formed of 22 units. Suppose we take the measure of efficiency as 100 units, the level of efficiency of these different units ranged somewhere between 80 and ten per cent. The lowest unit was a small principality where there was almost no civil service, except a few servants. The highest unit on the other hand had High Courts, Public Service Commissions etc. If these 22 units could be merged and formed into one Union with a stroke of the pen and with absolutely no intervening time, I do not see why two units like Ajmer and Rajasthan cannot be merged straightway. After all there cannot be so much difference between the efficiency of Ajmer and the efficiency of Rajasthan. After all I.C.S. servants from the Government of India are working in the Rajasthan Government. In my opinion, therefore, there cannot be any difficulty worth the name in merging the two. In judging this issue the only consideration should be whether by imposing an intervening time we are enabling the final stage to come speedily. That is the only consideration that should prevail and no other. Therefore, I submit that the hon. Members from Part C States should not be satisfied with this Bill. Let them with one voice say that they are not going to have it. You appoint a Commission, some agency by which this process of merger can once for all be decided. If it is to be decided after the General Election, let us wait for six months. Nothing would be lost. Four years have already elapsed. After all, this question of merger is not so very difficult as it appears and I am sure with the statesmanship and skill which the hon. Minister of States possesses,

assisted by the Home Minister, he can solve this question of merger if given time. They want time and they are afraid of this, namely, that people are murmuring. So, I say 'Let us help them.' Let us say that we are content to wait for six months more and they can go on with their final scheme of merger. Let it be decided once for all. If Bhopal is to be merged with Central India or Central Provinces, let the Ministry make up its mind and ask the people of Bhopal if necessary, and then arrive at a decision. Some-time ago, it was said in this House (I believe from the Government Benches) that Bhopal was going to be merged with Madhya Bharat. If that be so, are the people of Bhopal really so impatient that they do not allow any rest to the hon. Minister? I do not think they are so impatient. If they are not, then let them make up their minds and come to the rescue of the hon. Minister and tell him that they are prepared to wait. The same is the case with Coorg and certain other States.

Now, I come to those units which are to be retained as units but which have not necessarily got the required resources. In their cases, some temporary arrangement is made in this Bill which to my mind is unsatisfactory. Let us give them whatever we have to give them, not in instalments but in one whole. If you intend to give them anything, then make up your mind to give them that thing unconditionally. If Delhi is to be given self-government, give it. But you do not do that, with the result that people keep on agitating. That serves nobody's purpose. Let us therefore make up our mind on this question. Arguments such as the ones very often mooted that these small units have not the resources should not stand in our way. It is an accepted principle of democracy that whatever be the size of a unit, or whatever be its resources, it must be able to enjoy the full benefits of democratic Government. Once this principle is accepted, whatever is necessary ought to be and must be done. Statesmanship today is not lacking in our country that we cannot find out what would be the proper, efficient and satisfactory arrangement of democracy in that particular unit.

For Kutch also a Council of Ministers is proposed. It is said that at a certain point of time, Government may by notification extend to that State certain other provisions of the Bill. This sort of promise creates an expectancy—a state of mind in which expectations are raised. At the same

[Shri Sarwate]

time you are not able to fulfil them. I would, therefore, urge upon the States Ministry to give up this kind of statesmanship. Let them not raise hopes which they are not able to fulfil. If hopes are raised they should be fulfilled at once.

In the Definitions I find that "State" means every State, except Bilaspur, which means that Cooch-Bihar is also included within the purview of this Bill.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does the hon. Member come from any Part C State?

Shri Sarwate: I come from a Part B State, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Any hon. Member is entitled to speak on the Bill. But more opportunity must be given to Part C States Members.

Shri Sarwate: I have nearly finished. I chose to speak because I am interested in Part C States.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The whole House is interested—there is no doubt about it. But I would like to give preference to hon. Members from Part C States.

Shri Sarwate: What I was saying was that the provisions of this Bill would extend to Cooch-Bihar also.

Shri Chattopadhyay (West Bengal): Cooch-Bihar is now merged with West Bengal.

Shri Sarwate: But the Schedule to the Constitution has not been amended to that effect. In that case I have nothing to urge.

Shri Poonacha (Coorg): Sir, the arguments that have been advanced in support of Mr. Sidhva's amendment have largely been outside the scope of the Bill and I should say in some respects on hypothetical grounds.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Sidhva's amendment relates only to Ajmer and Bhopal. There is no mention that Coorg may be omitted.

Shri Sidhva: Some hon. Members are in favour of inclusion of Coorg as well. If it comes to that we will include it later.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: As at present there is no danger to Coorg.

Shri Poonacha: Unfortunately, arguments have developed to a large extent outside the scope of the Bill. I say that for the reason that the present Bill has come up in its present form before this House after long delibera-

tions and discussions—I might even say from the very beginning of the Constituent Assembly.

I might, in brief, refer to certain developments and deliberations that took place when the Constituent Assembly was in session. This question of Centrally administered areas was then referred to the Union Constitution Committee as it happened to be under the direct jurisdiction of the Union Government. The Union Constitution Committee at that stage recommended that these centrally administered areas should be governed as under 1935 Act. That actually created a good deal of disappointment in the Constituent Assembly as such and Members coming from Part C States took this as the very negation of the newly-won independence India had achieved. It was represented to the Constituent Assembly that this matter should be reopened again and further examination was necessary. In pursuance of that demand the Constituent Assembly by a resolution decided to constitute a special committee called the Chief Commissioners' Constitution Committee of which our revered leader Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was the Chairman and the Minister in charge of the present Bill was also a member. It included two other members of the Constituent Assembly and the three members coming from the Chief Commissioners' provinces of Coorg, Ajmer Merwara and Delhi. That committee after good deal of deliberation and discussion submitted a unanimous report. I do not propose to take the time of the House in detailing its recommendations, but I would like to mention that that report formed the very basis of the present chapter relating to Part C States, particularly articles 239 and 240. Dr. Ambedkar while moving those particular articles before the Constituent Assembly explained that the Pattabhi Committee Report, as it was then called, could not be adopted—if I were to use the language of my friend Captain Awadhesh Pratap Singh—*mutatis mutandis* but that a most accommodative formula could be got by adopting articles 239 and 240. That is to say, those articles by virtue of their being framed in the present form were quite capable of giving authority to Parliament to legislate in an appropriate manner for such kind of administration that was best suited to these areas. So, instead of providing elaborate provisions in the Constitution itself provisions were made which gave power to Parliament, the supreme authority of the land to provide such necessary

machinery for the proper administration of these areas. Therefore, that Report formed the basis of articles 239 and 240.

After having adopted those provisions in the Constitution the next stage came for demanding the actual implementation of article 240 and we the Members coming from the Centrally Administered Areas, which are now called as Part C States, were agitating from time to time, during Budget debates in this House and on such suitable occasions for democratising the set-up in Part 'C' States. So, from time to time the attention of this House was pointedly drawn towards one fact. It was this: whether, after adopting the Constitution of free India, the people of Part C States should go without any share in the day-to-day administration of their State, whether the people of the Centrally Administered Areas should not have any voice in the day-to-day administration of their Province. That was the pointed issue which was raised from time to time, and from time to time this House fully appreciated that point of view and I should say this House accorded its sympathies and whole-hearted support to that demand. From stage to stage that demand from the representatives of Part C States was given support in this House.

I would like to draw the attention of this House to the debate that centered round the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 1950 where a system was evolved to give representation to these Part C States in the Council of States. And that system as it was envisaged at the beginning was completely contrary to spirit contained in article 240. After a good deal of fight the entire scheme was changed and the House was pleased to accept the new scheme that was sponsored by Dr. Ambedkar constituting certain electoral colleges with an assurance that these electoral colleges or such of the electoral colleges that would be constituted in those areas would possibly be given some legislative functions too. What I mean to say is that the course of the fight stage by stage, both in the Constituent Assembly as well as in this Parliament, was focussed towards the ultimate goal of seeing that the people of Part C States should have their due share in the administration of their own areas.

Then the final stage was reached when a non-official Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava here in this House was discussed, and the Government

was then pleased to announce while replying to that debate that they were prepared to bring in appropriate legislation to accommodate the wishes of this House in respect of giving administrative responsibilities or reforms to Part C States.

My idea in referring to these stages, in the Parliament as well as in the Constituent Assembly, is to say that this House evinced such keen interest so far as the demands of the people of Part C States were concerned and they accorded their full support to those demands that the people of Part C States should have their due share in the day-to-day administration of their areas.

It would be very interesting to read out here the names of the Members who actually gave notice of the non-official Resolution demanding responsible government to these areas. My hon. friend Shri B. N. Munavalli is one of those who gave notice of that non-official Resolution—I mean to say who actually supported the sponsoring of this Bill. And now that the Bill has come up in its final form conceding a certain measure of responsibility to the people of Part C States, I wonder how he can now turn round and say "Let these areas, X, Y or Z, be dropped out"—while he himself in his own Resolution wanted that in all these areas where popular Ministries were not functioning immediate steps should be taken for the constitution of popular Governments and popular Ministries.

Shri Kamath: He is entitled to change his mind.

Shri Poonacha: Of course that right is there to everybody.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: By his proposal he wishes that you may get the status of a Part A or Part B State.

Shri Poonacha: My friend Mr. Sarwate also is one of the sponsors of that particular Resolution which I mentioned just now in passing.

In regard to the provisions of the present Bill it has been suggested that the names of Bhopal and Ajmer be dropped out and that they should be merged. I wonder whether hon. Members who advocate this proposal of merger have ever understood the feelings of the people of these areas behind this demand of merger. Merger in my opinion is not a happy term. I would much rather like to substitute it by the word 'amalgamation'. Merger, of course, is to get oneself sub-merged. I should say emphatically that the people of Part C States would never

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like, or would certainly resist, a kind of merger or sub-merger. I am sure the House also would not feel happy that they should be simply sub-merged.

Shri Sidhva (Madhya Pradesh): But you agree to that?

Shri Poonacha: 'Merger' is not the term.

Shri Kamath: Union.

Shri Poonacha: I would very much like it to be substituted by the word 'amalgamation'. With regard to amalgamation, no doubt there have been agitations in most of the Part C States for amalgamation with a neighbouring unit, but not unconditionally. It was with certain special conditions attached to it. Conditions wherein they wanted certain safeguards, certain guarantees so far as their own customs and privileges were concerned, certainly certain conditions and safeguards in respect of administrative set-up and in respect of representation. They were not at all prepared to have a sort of straight-forward merger or a neck-push, if I may put it so, which means, where they were simply left to the sweet-will or whatever it is—of the absorbing unit. If you are to approach that problem from that point of view of merger, I would certainly tell you that the opposition from these areas will be absolutely intense. It could not be done as an *ex parte* business. It should be, of course, after the conditions being made known to the people and their views ascertained and their being satisfied and only after such an agreement so that their interests are not jeopardized or completely extinguished. It could not be simply explained or debated or advocated here in this House without the other party in the picture. The matter will have to be referred to the people. Therefore the provisions in the Constitution in Articles 239 and 3 and these things will have to be got done by a certain procedure which means that you should ascertain the wishes of the people and only after satisfying them, certain things may be done. All this is left to the future. So far as this Bill is concerned, as I was mentioning earlier, it is the outcome of certain deliberations and discussions that took place from time to time and stage by stage. It has now reached a certain stage and I am surprised that certain Members now want to stand up and say that some States should be dropped. Do you mean to say that these States should again go back to the position of being

ruled by one man, the Chief Commissioner? Should I take it that hon. Members who seek for the deletion of certain States from the list now would entertain the idea of these people being subjected to one man's rule? (*An Hon. Member*: Nobody says so.) Is that the sense of the House? I am sure that would not be the sense of the House? Then what does it mean? (*Interruption*). What it means now is that these States should now go back immediately to the system of one man's rule and they should not have their due share in the administration of their province. As I said the other things could only be done by ascertaining the wishes of the people. Therefore, much of this argument which has been advanced in my opinion is quite outside the scope of the Bill and the Bill as it stands is more or less an outcome of continued deliberations. And now the time has come for this House to finally pass this legislation and not to stand against it and create any kind of impediments or obstacles.

Certain arguments were raised in respect of the financial position of certain States, or viability as it is known. It is true that the Centre was responsible for the financial arrangements of these States excepting perhaps Coorg. Coorg has been having its own financial arrangements separated from that of the Central finances ever since 1924. I might mention to this House that the State of Coorg has never been a burden on the Central Exchequer any time, and that being so, I am quite confident that it will also be possible for Coorg to run on similar lines hereafter too. So far as other States are concerned, the question is not so as to be an entire burden on the Central finances. Hereafter, it is contemplated that each of these States will have its own Consolidated fund. That means that the strain on the Central finances will gradually be a lessening one. That ought to be so and my own feeling is that if you concede these reforms to these areas, I should say that they would not be a regular burden on the Central finances; but on the other hand they would give much relief and I am also confident that a good deal of economy could be effected in these areas. A good deal of retrenchment could also be effected in these areas and the present rate of expenditure could be brought down considerably and a balanced budget could be achieved in most of the States. Hence the argument advanced about the viability of these States could not be sustained for the present.

The other point raised was a hypothetical one. According to Dr. Pattabhi if this scheme to constitute what is termed by him as diminutive minister-ships in these provinces is accepted, it might create impediments in the amalgamation of these areas with neighbouring units. This is purely hypothetical. It is not a thing which is directly concerned with the Bill; it only presupposes that this scheme might well stand in the way but it all depends upon the terms on which you seek to amalgamate these areas with neighbouring units. Therefore, my submission is that any kind of talk about merger or amalgamation should only be with due reference to the people concerned and getting their approval in that respect and not in a fashion which might be called *ex parte*.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari): I ask for permission to speak because my hon. friend, Mr. Munavalli went hammer and tongs for me and I should display some degree of courage in response to that attack having been present in the House. The provocation was.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members who speak, ought not to leave their seats and go away. Very often it is complained that Ministers are not in their seats. It must equally apply to hon. Members.

Shri Rajagopalachari: I see that he is not here. Mr. Munavalli made a deep impression on me. I should deal with him first, if you will permit me. He took the provocation from what I said the other day on a totally different occasion and subject. I tried at that time to moderate the linguistic fanaticism which I certainly do not approve of. Linguistic claims are one thing, but fanaticism is a different thing and because I tried to moderate fanaticism, I appear to have provoked Mr. Munavalli to take the time of the House over a totally different issue on this occasion when my hon. colleague is already feeling very tired of such long speeches being delivered at this stage of the Bill over and above those delivered at the first and earlier stage. I shall not keep the House very long except to explain this. Mr. Munavalli was speaking about the linguistic doctrine. I have been a student of this doctrine for some time, and if hon. Members.....

Shri Kamath: Have you elevated this matter to the position of a doctrine?

Shri Rajagopalachari: If Members are ready to elevate it to fanaticism, I think I will be doing it some good by treating it as a doctrine.

I have been a student of this doctrine for some time: not a few months, but for some years. In fact, I may disclose a fact, which is not generally known that when first the Congress organisations were formed in 1920. I recommended to our departed and dear leader that it should be on the basis of language, for at that time, we were engaged in language, on platforms, in agitation and things like that. But, the position is slightly different when we come to administration. Language is only one of the things that go to make up good administration. But, I shall not deal with the point in a laborious manner just now. I shall only deal with the point raised.

This doctrine of language division has many interpretations. I have heard very eminent supporters of linguistic provinces put forward a formula like this: we have no objection to many States speaking one language; but we have objection to one State enclosing many languages. That is to say, one language one State. Interpreted this way, it means, no multi-language States. But, the argument that was put forward by Mr. Munavalli took me to a different interpretation. He seems to think that wherever one language is spoken, it should be amalgamated into one State. That is to say, Maharashtra from one end of the Marathi speaking country to the other end. Many other consequences may follow if that doctrine is adopted. Mr. Munavalli and others seem to forget that Coorg is now a separate State. It has its Legislative Council also. It has been working for some time although under certain restricted conditions. It is a separate State. Are we now to entangle the present proposals with the formula, one State one language. In the sense that wherever you may find a person speaking Kannada, he should go into the big Karnataka province? That is a totally different problem. But, the whole of Mr. Munavalli's argument was based on this. I am sorry, he is not here.

Shri Munavalli: I am here, hearing you.

✓ **Shri Rajagopalachari:** I am glad he is here and I had an opportunity to explain my position. In very great humility I wish to ask hon. colleagues of mine in this House not unnecessarily to mix up issues. It is hard enough to decide issues when disentangled. But, the more we entangle them, mix them and amalgamate them, the more difficult, answers become and the more unsatisfactory any answer becomes. Let us try to divide and analyse; let us not try to confuse and mix up

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various things. If Coorg is there and if Mr. Munavalli could tolerate the existence of Coorg in the present condition, surely, he should be able to tolerate it in a slightly improved condition and not make the better the enemy of the good, to use a phrase which was quoted by another hon. Member.

Shri Munavalli: Even the Government could do no better than to merge, when the people want it.

Shri Rajagopalachari: Let us not further entangle by talk across the seats. My position is perfectly clear. I do hope that if the hon. Member does not agree with my proposition, he will kindly think over and then come to a conclusion and on a suitable occasion, give vent to his opinions. We cannot convince one another straight off in the course of a minute's discussion. I hold to a certain proposition that language is one of the many things that go to make for good administration, when we are responsible for administration and not for effective agitation. There was a time when agitation had to take the place of force and of compulsion. Therefore it was thought that all attention should be paid to agitation. We have now to deal with men, their comforts and their requirements. Language is not the only thing that will do it.

That takes me to what was said about the better and the good. Very often it is true that the better is the enemy of the good. It is not the other way about. Good is never the enemy of better, for man is bound to ascend and not go down. But, the better is the enemy of the good very often because in view of the bird in the bush, we let go the bird in the hand, to use another phrase in answer to this phrase about the better and the good. My hon. friend Mr. Poonacha, in fact, brought it out nicely in a different way, without intending it. He said: let us have no merger, but an amalgamation. What is the difference between a merger and an amalgamation? Hon. Members know what an amalgam is. Very often, we do not get an amalgam at all. The two things may look very much alike; but we do not get an amalgam. You can beat together lead and silver as much as you can. You can only cheat the people; you do not get an amalgam. You can put brass into gold. You won't get an amalgam; you can only cheat the people. Sometimes, we do get an amalgam. We hoped Travancore and

Cochin would be an amalgam. But lo and behold, what is happening. Merger on the basis of language has a standing warning before you in Travancore-Cochin. I am not hopeless. They speak the same language and have the same manners. Not only language; but customs, traditions, and even personal laws are almost the same. Yet, there are difficulties. We must not therefore be in a hurry for the better. I am still hoping that Travancore and Cochin will be beaten out into an amalgam; but, we want a hammer for it and it requires a hard pressing machine. Therefore it is that my hon. friend and colleague wants certain restrictions and a certain pacing in respect of this matter. When we bring about changes, we should not be in a great hurry. You should not think that every attempt made to restrain by way of caution is an attempt to retain power to oppress the people. It is necessary, not for vested interests, but in order not to create difficulties in the way of further improvement, to have restrictions and restraints and that is the very justification that my hon. colleague may probably elaborate at greater length later on.

Shri Kamath: May I submit, Sir, that Mr. Poonacha was opposed more to sub-merging than to merging.

Shri Rajagopalachari: These words need not confuse us. Whether it is to be merger involving sub-merging or amalgamation involving pressure from outside to make a union where it does not exist before, all these things finally result in one thing: that we should not be in a hurry, that we should pace our progress and not think that the bird in the bush is always better than the bird in the hand.

There is too much talk of taking the opinion of the people everywhere. The plebiscite idea is very good when we deal with different fighting nationalities. But, when we have taken the Government of India into our own hands after turning the British out, are we still to go on taking the opinion of the people on various issues, in various taluks? What will it amount to? It will be tantamount to a confession of defeat and to a confession of having told stories when we were talking to the British. We represent the people. We have a right in Parliament to consider and decide for the people. We should not go back to the idea of a plebiscite for making administrative divisions. Then, we will have to demilitarise the area; we will have to take away all the officers and the policemen who correspond to the military forces in the plebiscite areas; in

order to take a free vote. Then, I get telegrams that so and so is influencing the voting. Surely, I must ask you, with all confidence, not to be talking of taking the opinion of the people too often. Wherever there is real difficulty, Ministers and Parliament know how to take the opinion of the people. It is not by voting on every separate issue or by referendum that we carry on the administration. That would be simply impossible.

About Coorg, Delhi, Ajmer, Bhopal and others, after prolonged debates and consultation, after even I might say tiresome reiteration of arguments and considerations,—we met again and again—my hon. colleague and I, at our respective ages, have come forward with a consolidated proposal for the acceptance of the House. It has the largest measure of acceptance. But, if one or two areas are taken away and are asked to be taken away, it will again confuse the issues and people will compare the one with the other. For instance I will refer to the case of Coorg which happens to fall in my Ministry. Coorg has had a Legislative Council. If you put up legislatures in other States, what reason is there for not treating Coorg also like that? The better is indeed the enemy of the good that we are proposing. It may be taken clearly as understood that both of us, and the Prime Minister included, are clear in our minds that any future proposals regarding merger or any other proposals for better and more efficient administration and the like, cannot be barred and should not be taken as barred by what we now propose as being necessary for the immediate present—even if it be for two or three months. I want hon. friends who talk of the general election to understand this. It is not a party matter. It is a matter for the whole Government—these general elections—and we must not mix up the issue of merger or non-merger with our sending the best men to Parliament, whoever they may be. A local issue should not be raised to the position of being able to deteriorate the general result. I beg of Members to bear in mind that this Bill is not going to come in the way of any proper and well-considered proposals for the improvement of boundaries or of administration or methods of administration.

Thakur Lal Singh (Bhopal): Will not the local legislatures come in the way?

Shri Rajagopalachari: They will not. The Members of the local legislatures should be expected to be as good as the Members of Parliament in their own spheres. We do not stand in the

way of reform or of improvement just because we have the power in Parliament. Certainly we must give the benefit of the same expectation to the members who will come into the local legislatures.

Shri T. N. Singh (Uttar Pradesh): I would like to know, Sir, whether after the creation of these small States there will not come into existence certain vested interests which will in turn oppose merger? After all that is the human factor.

Shri Rajagopalachari: I do not want to have any discussion; but I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not believe that smallness is necessarily bad. I do not believe that a small area is less competent to govern itself than a big area. On the contrary, our limited energies and limited talents may be better suited for smaller governments than for the governments of larger areas. At the same time I have very grave doubts whether every town could be made into State. Every city, because of concentrated population can get a certain number of people by counting of heads, but that does not necessarily mean that it can stand by itself. If for instance, Madras city should be made into a separate State, what will happen if the villages do not send vegetables or fruits to the city? These difficulties will have to be taken into account. It has to be viable, but 'viable' is not the word. Proper and efficient administration can exist if you have a certain number of component parts. A certain amount of rural area is necessary for the urban area to stand by itself. Similarly a certain amount of urban area is necessary for the rural areas also. What is best has to be decided upon after taking all the elements into account, and Parliament is best suited to take all these into account. At the same time, whatever may be the nature of the qualifications required will also be considered by Parliament at the time the proposals are made. We need not be living in an atmosphere of apprehension that when we do something, we prevent something else.

Shri Ghule (Madhya Bharat): Then why were the Indian States which were sufficiently large merged together? And why is it that the man who did all this is still being eulogised?

Shri Rajagopalachari: I am sorry that I made that statement. No statement of mine should be taken for absolute truth or as absolutely correct. I will explain. I do wish to be correct. I wish to be truthful and precise. When I say that taking into account

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our limited talents and capacity, smaller States would be better than larger ones; it does not mean that everything small is good and the smaller it is the better it is. That is not the case. Sometimes we want a mixture, an amalgam. But my personal inclination is—it is not the Government's policy—but I can speak for myself and with personal knowledge of the Prime Minister's also, that we on the whole are inclined to think that full responsibility given to smaller units will produce better results than any other kind of experiment. That does not mean that the smaller it is the better, or the larger it is the worse. And as regards the appeal to the memory of my deceased friend and colleague and partner, that is not right. Nobody is commenting on what he did. What he did was perfectly right when he did it. What we do now, in that, we must put our best energy and examination, before we take any particular step.

Shri Sidhva: What is the meaning of "small unit"? That has to be interpreted.

Shri S. N. Shukla (Vindhya Pradesh): Sir, I want to support the amendment moved by my hon. friend Capt. A. P. Singh and at the same time oppose the amendment moved by Shri Sidhva.

As regards Vindhya Pradesh, I want to lay before the House certain facts which will help in the solution of the problem now before the House. Vindhya Pradesh was a Part B State and a popular Ministry was working there. On account of certain difficulties the popular Ministry was dissolved and substituted by a nominated Ministry. But after some time, even that nominated Ministry was done away with and Vindhya Pradesh was unfortunately reduced from the status of a Part B State to that of a Part C State. Why that was done is best known to the Government. But as we read it from the papers, and also from contacts with the Government, we understand that there was the intention to merge Vindhya Pradesh with some area. But why was this punishment given to Vindhya Pradesh is not yet known. But the punishment was decided upon and it was to be inflicted. The people of Vindhya Pradesh stoutly resisted the merger move and after some time that idea was given up. When Shri Sarwate asked the Government to take up courage and deal with the Part C States, I think the Treasury Benches were just a little upset by the use of that word. I would not make use of that word "courage", but I would suggest that in tackling

the problem of the Part C States, Government has for a long time shown the greatest indecision that was ever possible. At one time it was said that the Part C States would be merged with other areas. At another time it was said that they will not be merged. Then after some time it was said that some interim arrangement would be set up in the Part C States. And then even that idea was given up. And lastly there was the question of bringing a certain degree of democratisation in the Part C States.

All these changes in the attitude and ideas of the Government about the Part C States go amply to show that Government was always indecisive about the future fate of these States. Vindhya Pradesh was reduced from being a Part B State to a Part C State for being merged. It could not be merged. Now, justice demands that Vindhya Pradesh should again be restored to the status of a Part B State. The people resisted and opposed the Government and there were firings and people were killed. There was so much of maladministration and injustice there. But a large section of the people also remained silent under the impression that they would not oppose the Government, that on public platforms they would not make violent and fiery speeches. But they came to the Government and had consultations with the late Sardar Patel and they told Government that the people of Vindhya Pradesh did not like merger. But because they did not make violent and fiery speeches from platforms, they were attacked and abused and maligned because it was said that they were in league with the Government. It is a matter of pride to be always supporting the Government or to be with the Government. There was a stage when we were decidedly for and with the Government. Now our demand is that Vindhya Pradesh should again be restored to Part B. It is not demanding anything which we do not deserve, because we were already a Part B State.

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It is said that there are certain constitutional difficulties for restoring Vindhya Pradesh to Part B. They may be there but when the question of giving a status to any State comes up the question of constitutional difficulties should not come in the way. There was a constitutional difficulty about the abolition of *zamindari* and the Constitution was amended. There were constitutional difficulties about freedom of speech and freedom of the press and the Constitution was amended suitably. Now when the question

of restoring a State to its former status comes up the Constitution comes in the way. If the Constitution comes in the way it should be amended and that we have always demanded from the Government.

It has been said by a person of the highest authority in the Government, namely the Prime Minister, that it is not possible to change the status or restore Vindhya Pradesh to Part B but it is possible to put it under Part A. Why is it not possible to restore it to Part B? The fear is expressed that we will have a *Rajpramukh*. I say that any *Rajpramukh* who is a constitutional head will be decidedly a hundred times better than a Chief Commissioner. We do not fight shy of the fact that there may be *Rajpramukh* if our State is restored to Part B. If we get a *Rajpramukh* we will be saved from all those indignities to which we are subject now.

We asked the States Minister to set up interim governments in Vindhya Pradesh and in other Part C States. That was recently done in PEPSU and Rajasthan. Why should it not be done in Vindhya Pradesh? We were told that PEPSU was in Part B and therefore it could have a popular set-up whereas Vindhya Pradesh being a Part C State, a pariah, it cannot have a popular set-up. What is the logic behind it? In clauses 2 to 10 there was a proposal for having interim set-ups and now it has been given up and substituted by other provisions. We are denied every thing in the name of being a Part C State. Therefore we would request you to raise our status if possible. If the Constitution comes in the way, certainly amend it. It will be amended a thousand times, as there are so many flaws in it. Nobody can be perfect and therefore a time will come when the Constitution will have to be amended and if so, why not just now?

The amendment of Capt. A. P. Singh most probably, I am not sure, may be declared out of order or the House may vote it down. I would request the Government to consider this problem. It is not an ordinary one. It concerns our basic existence and the ideals and principles for which our great organisation, the Congress, has stood for so long.

The other amendment placed before the House was one by Mr. Sidhva that Ajmer and Bhopal should be deleted. There was a time in our own constitutional development when the integration of all the States was going on, and almost all the people of the Indian States were nervous. They were thinking that they were going to be

integrated with this or that Union but by some chance or logic best known to the Government these States have survived. They asked again and again "Merge us: we want to be merged." Bhopal raised the cry and there was a cry in Coorg as well. But no decision was taken and rather a statement was made on the floor of the House by the States Minister and later by the Prime Minister that these areas will not be merged but would be later given a popular set-up. Even then there was the idea that in Part C States there will not be legislative assemblies. They were envisaged only for Vindhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. After arguing the matter for long and after convincing the Ministry of States we came to the conclusion and even the Government and the Cabinet agreed that Part C States should have legislative assemblies except Manipur, Tripura and Cutch, for which it is provided in the Bill that this Act should be extended at a later date. Therefore we have arrived at a situation which is satisfactory as far as Members from Part C States are concerned. Most of them are satisfied. Now the argument is advanced, why should they not be merged? One reason mentioned by some hon. Members for merger is that these are deficit States. There are so many deficit States in India, then why not merge them? Every year there is a new budget in April and some State or other is deficit. But if a Part C State has the chance of being deficit, it is said that it should be merged. It is not a reasonable or correct approach, that a State which is deficit should be finished for ever. If that should be the argument, most of the States will go away and there will be one unitary government.

It is said that if Legislative Assemblies are given there will be created vested interests. I ask, are not vested interests created in other provinces or States? Suppose I raise the question that U.P. is too big and must be broken into three provinces. They will rise in revolt against the Central Government, if it should suggest it. They will say that they have their vested interests, that U.P. is their home land, mother land or native land. So many sentimental grounds will be put forward for keeping an unwieldy province like the U.P. intact. At the same time when the question of giving democratic reforms to Part C States is put forward, it is said "Do not give them: it will create vested interests." It was said about Bhopal that if it is given a Legislative Assembly it will create vested interests and it may not be possible to merge Bhopal later. Is there any idea in the minds

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of Government to merge Bhopal? If so they should take an early decision. If they have not taken any decision up to this time then I think the position is quite clear and we should get these Legislative Assemblies. But if there is any move to merge these Part C States again, I want to make it clear to the House, it will not be a bragging on my part but I say that the people of these Part C States will stoutly resist any merger move which may be initiated by anybody in the country. We are not going to tolerate these things—these things are dead and they should not be revived again. But if they do come up before the public and the country again, then even according to you there are people who will not consent to merger, on account of the creation of vested interests. I say the interests have been created—you have promised them Legislative Assemblies and you have told them they will have Councils of Ministers. There are people in Bhopal, there are people in Coorg who are saying that with the time approaching they will also be called Home Ministers, Foreign Ministers.....

Shri Gopalaswami: No Foreign Minister.

Shri S. N. Shukla: I mean the Minister to deal with the Central Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Have the States already become so foreign to the Central Government?

Shri S. N. Shukla: I mean relations with the Central Government. There are certain things that are already there. For instance, article 371 is still there. All these things are there, vested interests have been created. There is no point in saying they will be created—they are in existence. So, there is no question of merging these States.

I do not claim any authority for saying that there may be any change in the provisions of the Bill which are so salutary and which should be passed by the House. One friend said that the provisions of the Bill come in the way of the creation of linguistic States; they are very keen about linguistic States and they think their existence depends upon the extinction or upon the death of a particular State. Karnatak will come into existence when Coorg will die; therefore they say let Coorg die so that Karnatak may come into existence. That is not logic unless it is a selfish logic. So whether linguistic States come into

existence or not, whether the deficit position of these States continues or not we stand for democratic rights which had been guaranteed to every citizen of India and we shall not rest satisfied unless we get those democratic rights because it is our birth-right.

श्री आर० ऐस० तिवारी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं रियासत मंत्री माननीय गोपाल-स्वामी जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि जिन्होंने स्वर्गित बिल को सुधरे रूप में फिर से भवन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है। लेकिन इस बिल में इस की जो धारा समाजों का निर्माण किया है उन धारा समाजों के लिये स्वतन्त्रता का रूप नहीं दिया गया, बल्कि इस में हर जगह पर लैफ्टिनेंट गवर्नर (Lieutenant Governor) और चीफ कमिश्नर (Chief Commissioner) का हस्तक्षेप हर स्थान पर दिखाया गया है। इस कारण से उस में बहुत कमी आ गई है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री माननीय सिधवा और पट्टमी सीतारमया जी के संशोधन का विरोध करता हूँ क्योंकि उन्होंने भूपाल, अजमेर, ऐसी रियासतों, के लिये ऐसम्बली बनाने के प्रयत्न का विरोध किया है। दो चीजें एक साथ नहीं हो सकती हैं, जैसा कि रामायण में कहा है :

“दुइ न होंही इक संग भूवाल,

हंसब ठाई फुलाउब गालू” ।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बहुत ठीक ।

श्री आर० ऐस० तिवारी : या तो सरकार उन को मर्ज (merge) कर दे या अगर उन को मर्ज नहीं किया जाता है तो उन को उत्तरदायी शासन दिया जाना चाहिये। जब वह मर्ज करने के विरोध में होते, मर्ज नहीं करने देते, तब सरकार के लिये और सिधवा साहब के लिये वह संशोधन लागू हो सकता था कि इन को

उत्तरदायी शासन न दिया जाय । लेकिन यह दो चीजें एक साथ नहीं हो सकती हैं ।

श्रीमान् महोदय, मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि भारतवर्ष के गणराज्य होने के बाद अब कोई भी रियासत या कोई भी जगह ऐसी नहीं होनी चाहिये थी कि जहां घारा सभाओं न बनाई गई हों । जिस वक्त गणराज्य की घोषणा हुई थी उसी वक्त सारे भारतवर्ष में यह चीज सब के लिये लागू हो जानी चाहिये थी और सब लोग इस की आशा करते थे । परन्तु हमारे लिये तो आज भी यह चीज कठिनाई से आ रही है और कठिनाई से ही उमे हम पा रहे हैं । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि माननीय मिनिस्टर महोदय इस बात पर अवश्य ध्यान दें कि वह अब किसी भी राज्य को ए० बी० सी० के दर्जे में न रखें और उन सब को समान लेवल (level) पर लावें, जैसे कि हमारे माननीय पंडित जी ने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा है । अब हमें वह समय लाना चाहिये कि जिसमें ए० बी० सी० का दर्जा नहीं रहेगा ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारी छोटी से छोटी रियासतें हैं उन को या तो विलय कर दिया जाय या उन को हर जगह पर स्वतन्त्रता का अधिकार प्राप्त हो । तभी उन रियासतों का, वहां की जनता का, वहां की कई लक्ष जनता का, कुछ भला हो सकता है । अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो उन रियासतों की जनता को उन के सामने वही समय प्रतीत होता है जो ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के समय में था । मैं भी अभाग्यवश या भाग्यवश कहिये, एक पार्ट सी० स्टेट विन्ध्य प्रदेश का रहने वाला हूँ । वह विन्ध्य प्रदेश छोटी बड़ी ३५ रियासतों से बनाया गया था । और उस समय राजाशाही उमाना था ।

आज एक सरकारी चीफ कमिश्नर के आधीन वह शासन चल रहा है । वहां की जनता को इस कारण दो परेशानियां भोगनी पड़ीं । पहली राज्यों की परेशानियां और फिर दूसरे नौकरशाही की परेशानियां । बीच में वहां उत्तरदायी शासन हो गया था । लेकिन मर्जर (merger) होने के कारण या मर्जर करने के कारण सरकार ने उसे बी० पार्ट में हटा कर सी० पार्ट में कर दिया । बी० से सी० कर देने में कोई परेशानी नहीं आई, लेकिन अब उस सी० पार्ट विन्ध्य प्रदेश को बी० और ए० में लाने में कठिनाई हो रही है । संविधान का चेंज (change) करना कहा जाता है ।

श्रीमान् महोदय, श्रीमान् पंडित जी ने एक बार कहा था कि विधान ऐसा होना चाहिये कि लचर हो और समय समय पर उस में परिवर्तन किया जा सके । मुझे यह आशा है कि अगर ऐसी आवश्यकता सी० पार्ट को बी० और ए० करने में आती है तो उस लचर का इस्तेमाल अब किया जाय ताकि यह सुधार हो सके ।

कुछ सदस्य : लचर नहीं, लचक ।

श्री आर० ऐस० तिवारी : हां, लचक ।

श्रीमान्, हमारे यहां तो अब एक प्रकार से वहां कहावत सी हो गई है, हमारे लिये जो कि विन्ध्य प्रदेश से आते हैं, एक को पुत्र कहा जाता है, एक को सुपुत्र और एक को कुपुत्र । पुत्र उस को कहा जाता है कि बाप दादों की स्थिति को जैसी की तैसी चलाता रहे । सुपुत्र उस को कहते हैं कि बाप दादों की बात को आगे चलाये और कुपुत्र उस को कहते हैं कि बाप दादों की स्थिति से गिरा दे । तो हमें तो बी० पार्ट के रहने वाले जो सी० पार्ट में आये दिये गये हैं तो हम तो जनता के बीच में कुपुत्र के रूप में ही हो सकते हैं । हम बी०

[श्री आर० ऐस० तिवारी]

जनता वहाँ अच्छी निगाह से नहीं देख सकती है। इस लिये मैं तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर महोदय से और स्टेट मिनिस्टर गोपालस्वामी आयरंग जी से यह प्रार्थना कर्ना कि वह विन्ध्य प्रदेश और जितनी भी रियासतें नो० पार्ट में हैं उन का सी० पार्ट से नाम हटा कर उन को उत्तरदायी शासन का अंश ले जायें। यही मुझे प्रार्थना करना है।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri R. S. Tewari (Vindhya Pradesh): Sir, I thank Shri Gopalaswami, the hon. Minister of States who has again brought forward the postponed Bill before the House in an amended form. But the Legislative Assemblies of the States, as envisaged in the Bill, have not been given enough freedom and provision has been made for the interference of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Chief Commissioner at every step. This has detracted considerably from its usefulness. Sir, I oppose the amendments moved by Shri Sidhva and Shri Pattabhi Sitaramayya because they do not favour any attempt to set up legislative assemblies in States like Bhopal and Ajmer. There cannot be two things simultaneously, as has been said in Ramayana:

*Dui na hohin ek sang bhualu
Hansab thathai phulaub galo.*

(You cannot have both at the same time, a hearty laugh and a distended face.)

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar): Very good.

Shri R. S. Tewari: Either the Government should merge them or if they are not merged, they should be granted responsible government. Had they opposed the idea of merger or not allowed merger to take place, then the Government and Shri Sidhva would have been justified in moving the amendment that these States should not be granted responsible government. But these two things cannot go together.

Sir, I would submit that after India achieved the status of a Republic there should not have been any State or region where a legislative assembly was not set up. That should have been done at the very time when India was proclaimed a Republic and as a

matter of fact people expected that to be done. But, for us that thing is coming with many difficulties even today and we are getting it with no easy efforts. I would submit that the hon. Minister should certainly see that no State is placed in any category whether it be A, B or C. They should all be brought to the same level as has been suggested by our hon. Panditji in his statement. We should now try to bring about that stage where A, B and C categories do not exist.

I would like to submit that those States in our country which are very small should either be merged with the neighbouring States or be granted the right of self-government. That alone can lead to the welfare of the lakhs of people living in those States. If this is not done, the people of those States would have little cause to find a change between the present time and the days of the British Government. I am also—fortunately or unfortunately—a resident of a Part C State, namely Vindhya Pradesh. Vindhya Pradesh was formed as a result of the merging of thirty-five big and small States. You know those were the days of the autocratic rule of the princes. Today a Chief Commissioner is running the administration of the State. Therefore the people of these States had to undergo double hardship—once under the princes and again under the civil servants. For some time, in between these two administrations, a democratic government was also set up there but owing to the merger or in pursuance thereof, it was bereft of its Part B status and placed in Part C. They had no difficulty in reducing its status from B to C but now when it comes to raising its status to B or A, they find it to be a difficult job and say that it would mean changing the Constitution.

Sir, the hon. Panditji once observed that the Constitution of a country should be flexible so that changes might be made in it whenever necessary. I think if that necessity arises in changing Part C into Part A or B then that *lachar* (flexibility) should be used now so that that change might be effected.

Some Hon. Members: Say *lachak* and not *lachar*.

Shri R. S. Tewari: Yes, *lachak* (flexibility). Sir, there is a sort of proverb current in our State for us, who come from Vindhya Pradesh. You know the kinds of sons a father may have. One is called a *putra* (a son) the other a *suputra* (a worthy son) and the third a *kuputra* (an unworthy

son). *Putra* is one who may just keep the affairs going as they were in the time of his father and forefathers, *suputra* is that who by his doings adds to the reputation of his family and *kuputra* is that who brings a bad name and discredit to the family. So, we, of a Part C State, who have been degraded and placed in Part B, can only be known as *kuputras* amidst the people. The public cannot look on us with a respectful eye. Therefore I would request the Prime Minister as well as Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the hon. Minister of States, that they should remove Vindhya Pradesh and all other States from Part C group and make efforts to set up responsible Governments in those States. That is all I wanted to submit.

Shri Ghule: The Government by bringing this Bill and all these amendments forward have put the Members of the House in a very anomalous position. If we oppose the amendments we are branded as unrepresentative and undemocratic, but we see a positive danger in supporting the amendments which have been put forward by the hon. Minister. What is the danger? The danger is this. We, in the last two years, have been following a policy of consolidating India into as big units as possible. By passing these amendments, we shall be forming small units in the country, many of which would not be viable. I agree with Mr. Sarwate that only those units which are viable should be given Legislative Assemblies. Those that are on the face of them not viable should not be given this luxury.

Sardar Sochet Singh (P.E.P.S.U.): What is your criterion of 'viability'?

Shri Ghule: It is obvious. Those States which cannot maintain the paraphernalia of these Legislative Assemblies, High Courts, Ministries, Public Service Commissions etc. with their own resources are not viable and the rest are viable. My hon. friend who comes from Part B State must know that in the All India States Peoples' Conference a definition was framed that a State comprising more than five lakhs of people or something like that and having an income of over Rs. 20 lakhs should be supposed to be a viable unit. I do not think units such as Bhopal, Coorg and Ajmer can maintain all these paraphernalia.

Shri Dwivedi (Vindhya Pradesh): Why not PEPSU, Saurashtra etc.?

Shri Ghule: If they are not viable, then they come under this definition and should be included. Government should give thought as to whether these

units could survive with their own resources; if they could not, then legislatures should not be given to them. They can wait for six months. I do not say that the process of merger should not be started. It is long due and should be started. But Government should bring in an amendment of the Constitution for that. They wanted *Zamindari* abolition. They brought an amendment of the Constitution. Why cannot they bring in a similar amendment for the merger of these small units?

Shri J. R. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh): That can be done without any constitutional amendment.

Shri Ghule: Then so much the better. That process should be begun. An assurance should be given to Part C States people that the process has been started and they would be merged with the neighbouring States within six months. This is the only solution of the problem.

The provinces of India were not formed with foresight by the Britishers. They went on acquiring lands and areas, and from time to time they formed them into units. But we see the difficulties of this process today. Some provinces are big; some are small. Some provinces speak four languages; others speak only one. These difficulties we are facing today. It is very difficult to solve them. Demands for linguistic provinces are the result of the formation of the provinces without any basis. But we are, I am afraid, committing the same mistake by creating small units. We are creating difficulties for people who will come after us. My hon. friend stated that no vested interests would be created. I say definitely that they would be created. When Sardar Patel started his historic tour, he first went to Orissa and merged the Orissa States with Orissa Province. At that time there were demands from people who were Congress Ministers in the States that their States should not be merged.

Shri Dwivedi: Are there not vested interests in Part A States?

Shri Ghule: Sardar was a strong man and their demands could not hold water before him. With his strength, he merged those States with Orissa. If the Sardar could merge 500 or odd States and gain the consent of those Princes, cannot our present Minister of States and Minister of Home Affairs gain the consent of one man, the Nawab of Bhopal and the consent of some Members of Parliament who come from such States where there is no question of gaining the consent of any Prince?

[Shri Ghule].

In respect of Bhopal, it is said that a covenant has been signed that for five years to come that State would remain as it is. In the last session this question was discussed and the Minister of States had stated that the Nawab of Bhopal was agreeable to merge his State in the neighbouring province if it was shown that it was in the interests of the people of Bhopal. I am very sorry that the Minister of States or the Home Minister has not been able to convince the Nawab that the merger of Bhopal with the neighbouring State is in the interests of the people of Bhopal. The day before yesterday, the hon. Minister stated that there were two sections in Bhopal and that some people do not want merger. In Ajmer also he said there were two sections. I ask where there are not two sections. You go to a village, or travel in a bus or tram. You will see people expressing the opinion that the Britishers should be called back. Do you propose to call the Britishers back simply because they hold this opinion? Similarly, there are very many people who do not want Congress rule. They are fed up with it. They want the Britishers back? Are you going to bring Britishers back because they want them back? Similarly, in Bhopal there may be—and there are—some people who oppose the merger. They were Ministers before and they are the creations of the Nawab to oppose the merger and to oppose the Government of India's stand. Therefore, this argument does not appeal to me. What is the sense in saying that the covenant cannot be changed. I know of at least one case in which Princes who had signed a covenant agreed to change it at the behest of the late Sardar. We can amend the covenant of Madhya Bharat, but we cannot amend the covenant which has been signed by the Nawab of Bhopal? Is that so? I think that Government should address themselves to the task of persuading the Nawab of Bhopal, and my own opinion is that if they had done it seriously, the covenant could have been changed. In the case of merging Ajmer with Rajasthan, where is the question of gaining the consent of any Prince? The Government do not want it. As to why they do not want it, I do not know. I was unable to find a single argument in the speech of the Minister of States for keeping Ajmer separately. In regard to Coorg it is said that for so many long years it has remained separate and therefore it should continue to remain separate. So many States in India remained separate. Why were they merged? Because, it was in the interests of the country. Similarly, do

you think that Coorg remaining separate is in the interests of the country? Do you think that Ajmer remaining separate is in the interests of the country? Do you think that Bhopal remaining separate is in the interests of the country? If the country is consolidated, if the policy of the late Sardar is to be followed, then all these small units which are not viable should be merged and Government should seriously address themselves to this task. It might take three months, six months or eight months. I would ask my hon. friends from Part C States to wait for six months in the larger interests of the country. They should not seek ministership or jobs. My hon. friend Mr. Shukla rightly said that vested interests have already been created. Perhaps, this is the reason why hon. Members from Part C States, while in private talk they oppose this Bill, do not oppose it on the floor of this House. I have not seen a single Member opposing this Bill here. I think they want to satisfy their people. A position has been created by the Bill brought forward by the hon. Minister that these people cannot oppose the official amendment, because if they do, then their people would say, "Government was ready to give us rights and you opposed them." We, who do not belong to the Part C States have been placed in a very anomalous position in relation to this Bill. If we oppose the amendments, we are branded as undemocratic. That is not so. We do want these people to get their rights. There are two ways of doing it: one is by keeping them aloof and forming them as separate entities; the other is by merging them with the neighbouring States. If they are merged they will not be deprived of their rights.

Shri Dwivedi : Wherever merger has taken place, the conditions of the people have become more deplorable.

Shri Ghule : Is the Government going to undo it then? If that is so, let the Government come forward and say that the policy followed by the great Sardar was a wrong one. You separate Indore from Madhya Bharat, you separate Travancore from Cochin.

Shri Dwivedi rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Hon. Members should not exchange arguments.

Shri Ghule : For some time to come you shall have to face some difficulties. But after that I am sure they will emerge successful and prosperous. There is no other way. You have to think for yourself as to which is the right policy. Is the policy of consolidating India into viable units the right policy or the policy of establishing

small independent units? If Government are convinced that the policy of integration is a wrong one they should at once declare openly that the policy up till now followed was a wrong one and they are repenting about it, they are repenting over what our late Sardar did and that is why they are creating separate units now.

I am really sorry to oppose this official amendment. I support the principle behind Mr. Sidhva's amendment, and would even suggest the inclusion of Delhi and Coorg in his amendment. I would request the Government to think over the matter twice and entreat them not to create difficulties for the people who will be adorning those benches afterwards.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पार्ट सी० स्टेट्स के सम्बन्ध में जो यह विधेयक आया है, और इस सम्बन्ध में जितनी कार्यवाही शुरू से ले कर आज तक हुई है, वह सब बिल्कुल नाजायज़ है, बिल्कुल अनुचित है और अन्याययुक्त है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब अंग्रेज़ चले गये तो भारतवर्ष का प्रत्येक खंड स्वतन्त्र हुआ, और प्रत्येक वह इलाका जिसको राज्य कह सकते हैं, वह स्वतन्त्र हुआ, प्रत्येक व्यक्ति स्वतन्त्र हुआ और ऐसा नहीं हुआ कि अंग्रेज़ लोग किसी एक व्यक्ति या समाज को देश का मालिक बना कर चले गये हों, ऐसा नहीं हुआ, सारे देश के लोगों ने बैठ कर ऐसा कोई कायदा कानून भी नहीं बनाया है कि इस देश में कोई जमात मालिक करार दे दिया गया हो और सारी जनता उस की सब्जेक्ट्स, (Subjects) टेनेन्ट्स (Tenants) अथवा रयत के समान हो। आज जो यह मैं सुनता हूँ कि उन को अधिकार दिया जायगा, उन को अधिकार मिलेगा और इस के लिये पार्ट सी० स्टेट्स के भाई लोग बहुत खुश हो रहे हैं, कि उन को यह अधिकार दिये जा रहे हैं। यह सारी बातें सुन सुन कर मझे बहुत तकलीफ़ होती

है और समझ में नहीं आता कि यह जो भारत सरकार बनी है, और जो मंत्री लोग काम कर रहे हैं, उन लोगों का दिमाग़ इतना खराब क्यों हो गया है और ये लोग अपने को इतना बड़: क्यों समझने लग गये हैं? किस कानून के अनुसार उनको यह अधिकार मिला है कि ऐसे बिल लावें? हमारे भाई पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव कहते हैं कि कांस्टीट्यूशन (Constitution) के मुताबिक़ मिला है, तो मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह कांस्टीट्यूशन भी आप का नाजायज़ है।

पंडित एम० बी० भार्गव : आपका भी तो उस विधान के बनाने में हाथ था।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : हां, उस में मेरा वोट खिटाफ़ गया था। ए०, बी० और सी० स्टेट्स का जो क्लासिफिकेशन (classification) हुआ है, वह बिल्कुल नाजायज़ है। जैसा मैं ने पहले कहा हर एक इलाका स्वतन्त्र है। और यह जो अभी हमारे भाई घुले साहब ने कहा कि छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स अलग अलग न रहनी चाहियें और इन को मर्ज (merge) कर देना चाहिये, यानी मिला देना चाहिये, तो मैं उन से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि सन् १९१४ के योरोपीय युद्ध के पहले योरोप में कोई कोई शहर स्वतन्त्र था, और एक एक नगर स्वतन्त्र था, रोम पहले नगर था, बाद में वह रोमन एम्पायर (Roman Empire) हो गया, एथन्स भी पहिले स्वतन्त्र नगर था, पीछे उस का साम्राज्य हुआ, यह दूसरी बात है। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि अधिकार तो हमारे देश में हर एक इलाके को है कि वह चाहे तो स्वतंत्र रहे, उसको इस का पूर्ण अधिकार है। यहां गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया (Government of India) कोई मालिक नहीं बनी है, कि वह किसी को अधिकार दे, मुझे तो यह सुन कर

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

कि अधिकार दी जाने की बात ही रही है और लोग उस में खुशी से बहस भी करते हैं कि हां यह हम को अधिकार मिल रहे हैं और ऐसा समझ कर बाग बाग भी होते हैं, सरकार को वधाई देते हैं और धन्यवाद भी देते हैं, बड़ा दुख होता है कि आखिर यह सब क्या गोल माल हो रहा है।

उचित यह है कि शासक वर्ग सरकारी शान छोड़ें, सरकार होश में आये और मैं परमात्मा से मनाता हूँ कि उन लोगों को अक्ल दे। यह जो सरकार है, मंत्रिमंडल है, यह मूर्ख मंडली है, अथवा क्या है, समझ में नहीं आता है। मैं तो यह मानता हूँ और सब को यह मानना होगा कि हर एक इलाके को हक है कि वह जैसा शासन चाहे अपने यहाँ चलाये, उस को इस का अधिकार है।

Dr. Deshmukh: On a point of order, Sir, the hon. member has called the Ministers a group of fools. Is it parliamentary?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : मेरी समझ में तो यही है। और यह भी आपत्ति करने वाले मेरे मित्र को मालम होना चाहिये कि यह एक विचार है।

Shri T. N. Singh: On a point of order, Sir, I believe you can call a man foolish, but you cannot call him a fool.

Shri Gopalaswami: May I say a word on this point of order?

Unfortunately, I have been unable to follow the language of my hon. friend the speaker. If he did say what he is credited with having said, I can only admire the wisdom that has enabled him to use such an expression in an assembly of fairly respectable persons like Parliament. I do not propose to object to it. He is accustomed to levity of language. Let him have it to the full extent.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I can say only this much. It is one thing to say it is unparliamentary and another thing to

say one ought to be chary of using such expressions. In other Parliaments they begin to fight with each other and quarrel. They use so many words of abuse. But we are trying to avoid all that. A casual reference at what the Government are doing may be all right, though the language in which it has been put need not have been used. It is open to any hon. Member to say that the Government is not wise or that it is even foolish. But to say that the Cabinet is a council of fools is not proper.

Capt. A. P. Singh: He has not said that. He has said "moorkh" which means only ignorant.

Shri Sivan Pillay: May I know whether he is withdrawing the word?

Shri R. Velayudhan: It is not unparliamentary.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : उपसभापति महोदय, श्री गोपालस्वामी आयंगर ने जो दो अल्फाज इस्तेमाल किये हैं, तो मैं कहूंगा कि उन को भी होश में आ कर बात करना चाहिये, और उन को भी इतनी शान नहीं होनी चाहिये कि वह ऐसा समझें कि उन्हीं के पास विज्ञान (Wisdom) है, उन्हीं के पास अक्ल है और दुनिया में किसी के पास अक्ल नहीं है, इस तरह उन के बोलने पर मैं भी प्रोटेस्ट (Protest) करता हूँ और इस पर भी आप को फैसला देना चाहिये।

Dr. M. M. Das: But he has not called you a fool which you have called the Government.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप को जवाब दे दिया।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : मैं ने जो कहा है बहुत ठीक कहा है। जब हम एक इंडिविजुअल (individual) मिनिस्टर को फूल कह सकते हैं, तब सारी जमात को क्यों नहीं कह सकते ?

Shri Sidhva: Sir, he is saying the opposite of what you have said.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I was saying that you can even call it foolish but to say that the whole Government or the whole Cabinet is a fool or "moorkh mandli" is not right. The hon. Member need not have said so.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति जी, जब एक मिनिस्टर को इस तरह से कहा जा सकता है, तो सम्ची गवर्नमेंट को भी मूर्ख कहा जा सकता है। खैर मैं यह कहे देता हूँ कि मैं किसी को तक्ज़ीफ़ देने की नीयत से नहीं कहता हूँ। और यह ठीक बात है कि अगर कोई भाई मेरे ऐसा कहने से नाराज़ हाते हैं, तो मुझे तक्ज़ीफ़ होगी। मैं आखिर कैसे चुप रह सकता हूँ, जब लोग इतना अनर्थ करते हैं। आखिर वे अपने को किस का मालिक समझते हैं, और किस ने उन्हें देश का मालिक बनाया? वह पार्ट सी स्टेट्स को अधिकार देने वाले कौन होते हैं? सय स्टेट्स के लोग खुद स्वतन्त्र हैं और उन को अख्तियार है कि जैसी सरकार वह चाहें अपने यहाँ बनायें और अपना राज्य कार्य चलायें। हाँ यह ज़रूर बात है कि हम सारे लोग मिलजुल कर ऐसे अपना कार्य चलायें जिस से खर्चा भी कम हो और शासन भी सुन्दर रीति से हो सके।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would like him to say whether he is supporting the amendment moved by the Government or supporting the amendment moved by Shri Sidhva. What is it on which he is speaking?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति जी, मैं ने पहिले ही कह दिया है कि इस सम्बन्ध में शुरू से ले कर आखिर तक जितनी भी कार्यवाही हुई है, वह सब नाजायज़ कार्यवाही हुई है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is all irrelevant. There is no good going over like that. The hon. Member must confine himself to clauses 1 to 10 and the amendments that have been moved, for

and against, or the original clauses. I think what he says is far beyond the scope of the present clauses.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : जैसा कि मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कह चुका हूँ जितनी कार्यवाही यहाँ पर हुई है उस सब का विरोध करता हूँ, और इस का अर्थ है कि उस के सम्बन्ध में जितने अमेंडमेंट्स (amendments) हैं या जो बिल है, उन सब का मैं विरोध करता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The principle of the Bill has been accepted by the House.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : यह ठीक है, लेकिन इस के मानी यह नहीं है कि अगर हाउस किसी चीज़ को मान ले तो हम लोग भी जो इस को ठीक नहीं समझते हैं, उन को मानने लगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : एमेंडमेंट के त्तारे में बोल सकते हैं, और कुछ नहीं।

An Hon. Member: He is supporting it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Supporting what? He is opposing both the amendment of Shri Sidhva as well as that of the Government. What is it that he is supporting?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : लेकिन अगर कानून की बात है तो, न समर्थन करते हुए और न विरोध करते हुए भी मेरा इस सम्बन्ध में बोलने का हक है। यह कोई ज़रूरी नहीं है कि मैं किसी का समर्थन करूँ या विरोध करूँ।

श्री सिधवा : तो आखिर बात क्या है? आप का इरादा क्या है?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बात तो मैं कह रहा हूँ और आप समझ रहे हैं। इस वक्त मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि सारे संसद् के लोग, हर प्रकार के दल के

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

लोग, हम लोग मिले जुले और ऐसा कोई रास्ता निकालें कि देश का कोई खंड अलग रहना चाहे तो भले ही अलग रह सकता है यह उस का अधिकार है लेकिन मैं भी मानता हूँ कि यह अच्छा नहीं होगा। लेकिन हम लोगों को या सरकार को कोई हक नहीं है कि किसी खंड को हम जबरदस्ती कर के किसी के साथ रखें। उन की मर्जी ले कर उन्हें जहाँ मिलाना हो वहाँ मिला दें, यह सही है, लेकिन अगर उन को अलग रहना है तो अलग रहें।

एक बात यह मैं कहता हूँ कि जैसा अभी कहा गया है कि छोटी छोटी स्टेट होंगी तो वहाँ छोटे छोटे मिनिस्टर होंगे, बहुत से छोटे छोटे अधिकारी वर्ग होंगे तो लड़ाई झगड़ा होगा, यह बात भी बहस में आई है कि जिस वक्त विधान परिषद में बातें हो रही थीं तब यह भी बातें आई थीं कि जितनी प्राविन्सियल गवर्नमेंट (Provincial Governments) हैं उन सब को तोड़ दो, उन के बजाय देश में केवल एक ही केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट हो। ऐसी भी बात हुई थी। अगर हम इस तरह से करना चाहें तो सब लोग मिल जुल कर वैसा भी कर सकते हैं कि एक ही भारत सरकार हो और सब जगह उसी का शासन प्रबन्ध हो। तो ए०, बी०, सी० क्लास के क्लासिफिकेशन (classification) की कोई जरूरत नहीं रहेगी। लेकिन विभाजन भी करते हैं तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है, और मुझे दुःख है इस बात के लिये, कि मंत्री लोग अपने को मालिक समझें और इस प्रकार का ह्याल करें कि आप मालिक बन गये और समझें कि हर एक अधिकार भारत सरकार को है। ये लोग एस्सूम (assume) कर लेते हैं कि ये लोग मालिक हैं, कोई

उन को बघाई देता है, तो कोई धन्यवाद देता है इसलिये कि यह अधिकार वे दे रहे हैं। यह अधिकार देना का मैं आप को हक है न अधिकार है न किसी के लेने का सवाल है। जहाँ जैसा लोग चाहें उस तरह का शासन होना चाहिये। यह दूसरी बात है कि हम लोग सलाह कर के समूचे देश को चार खंडों या पांच खंडों में या कितने ही खंडों में कर लें। लेकिन जो कुछ आज कल चल रहा है, और क्लासिफिकेशन है कि भारत सरकार अंग्रेज सरकार का उत्तराधिकारी हो कर चाहे जो दे चाहे जो न दे, यह न होना चाहिये और मैं इस का विरोध करता हूँ और मैं अर्क करता हूँ कि जरा सोचिये कि इस तरह का तर्ज कयों होना है। अभी जैसा गोपालस्वामी ने कहा "लेविटी आफ लैंग्वेज" (levity of language) अर्थात् शब्द। उन को भला बुरा कहने का क्या अधिकार है, क्या बड़प्पन है। लेकिन मुझे दुःख होता है तो कहना पड़ता है। मालूम होता है कि कोई विदेशी सरकार है उस ने सारे देश को जीत लिया है। उस को अधिकार है कि सारे देश को साथ रखे या न रखे। यह बिल्कुल खराब बात है। मैं तो कहूँगा पार्ट सी स्टेट्स के भाई लोगों से कि आप सब लोग तैयार हो जाइये। अच्छा होगा कि आप आस पास के लोगों से मिल कर रहें। मैं उसे पसन्द करूँगा, और अगर नहीं तो आप की मर्जी है, आप अपने यहां असेम्बली बना लें और अपनी स्वतन्त्रता घोषित करें। आप सब को अधिकार है कि आप जैसा चाहें विधान बनायें और अपना शासन प्रबन्ध करें। मुझ को और कहना नहीं है लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी गड़ बड़ बातें चलती हैं वे सब नहीं होंगी चाहियें। सब कुछ सलाह से होगा तो वाजिब ही है।

(English translation of the above speech)

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, I submit that this Bill regarding the Government of Part C States, as well as all the proceedings that have taken place in this connection from the beginning till today is totally invalid, unfair and improper.

Sir, when the British left the country, every section and every part of India that may now be called a State and every person of India became free. It did not happen that the British made a certain person or a party the sole master of the country and then left, nor have the people of the country sat together and passed a law declaring a certain party or a group of persons as the administrators of the country and making the rest of the people their subjects or tenants. Today it gives me much pain when I hear that certain States would be given some rights and that my hon. friends from Part C States are very happy that they are being given these rights. I do not understand why and how the Government of India and its Ministers have lost all sense and why they have assumed themselves to be so big and powerful. What law has given them the right to bring forward Bills like this? My hon. friend Pandit Thakur Dass Bhargava says that the constitution has given them the right but I would say that even the Constitution is invalid.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: But you also took part in the making of that Constitution.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Yes, but I voted against it. The classification of States as A, B and C is absolutely unfair. As I said earlier, every part of the country is independent. Now, my hon. friend Shri Ghule said that tiny States should not remain independent but should be merged with the neighbouring States, but I would like to tell him that before the European War of 1914, practically every city of Europe was independent. Rome was a city in the beginning, it was some time later that it developed into the Roman Empire. Similarly Athens was also an independent city; it is a different thing that after some time it expanded into an empire. All that I mean is that every part of our country has a right to be independent and self-governing, if it chooses to be so. The Government of India has not been made the sole authority to decide by itself whether such and such State can be granted this right or not. I am really distressed when I find that the grant of this right is a subject of discussion

and that people joyfully say that they are being granted these rights. They feel immensely happy about it, congratulate the Government and thank them. I am really perturbed for what is all this hanky-panky. The proper course would be that the administrators shed their overbearing manners, and that the Government come to its senses. I pray God to bestow wisdom on them. I do not quite understand whether the present Government is a *Mantri-mandal* (Cabinet of Ministers) or a *Moorkh Mandli* (Cabinet of fools). I believe and everybody must share their belief with that every State has a right to choose and run the kind of administration which it likes best.

Dr. Deshmukh: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon. Member has called the Ministers a group of fools. Is it parliamentary?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Well that is what I feel and my hon. friend who has raised the objection should know that it is just an opinion.

Shri T. N. Singh: On a point of order, Sir. I believe you can call a man foolish, but you cannot call him a fool.

Shri Gopalaswami: May I say a word on this point of order? Unfortunately, I have been unable to follow the language of my hon. friend the speaker. If he did say what he is credited with having said, I can only admire the wisdom that has enabled him to use such an expression in an assembly of fairly respectable persons like the Parliament. I do not propose to object to it. He is accustomed to levity of language. Let him have it to the full extent.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I can say only this much. It is one thing to say it is unparliamentary and another thing to say one ought to be chary of using such expressions. In other Parliaments they begin to fight with each other and quarrel. They use so many words of abuse. But we are trying to avoid all that. A casual reference at what the Government are doing may be all right, though the language in which it has been put need not have been used. It is open to any hon. Member to say that the Government is not wise or that it is even foolish. But to say that the Cabinet is a Council of fools is not proper.

Capt. A. P. Sirohi: He has not said that. He has said "moorkh" which means only ignorant.

Shri Sivan Pillay (Travancore-Cochin): May I know whether he is withdrawing the word?

Shri R. Velayudhan (Travancore-Cochin): It is not unparliamentary.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, referring to the words used by Shri Gopalswami Ayyangar, I would ask him that he should also talk sensibly and properly. He should cast aside that vanity which has led him to believe that he is the only man possessing wisdom and the rest are all devoid of it. I stoutly protest against his remarks and I hope you would give your ruling on it.

Dr. M. M. Das (West Bengal): But he has not called you a fool which you have called the Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have given my reply.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Whatever I have said is perfectly correct. When an individual minister can be called a fool, why cannot the whole cabinet be called like that?

Shri Sidhva: Sir, he is saying the opposite of what you have said.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I was saying that you can even call it foolish but to say that the whole Government or the whole Cabinet is a fool or "*moorkh mandli*" is not right. The hon. Member need not have said so.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, when one minister can be called like that, the whole Government can also be called a cabinet of fools. Anyway, I would like to make it clear that I am not saying this with any intention of injuring anybody's feelings and it will certainly pain me if any hon. friend of mine gets annoyed at what I say. But the fact is how can I keep mum when so much injustice is being done. After all whose masters they think themselves to be and who has made them the supreme authority in the country? Who are they to grant rights to Part C States? People of all States are free themselves and they have a right to set up any form of Governments they like in their States and run them. Of course, efforts should be made in the direction of enlisting the co-operation of all sections of people in regard to the functioning of the Government so that the expenditure might be minimised and the administration might also run on proper lines.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would like him to say whether he is supporting the amendment moved by the Government or supporting the amendment moved by Shri Sidhva. What is it on which he is speaking?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, I have already submitted that all the proceedings from the beginning to the end, in connection with this Bill, are invalid.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is all irrelevant. There is no good going over like that. The hon. Member must confine himself to clauses 1 to 10 and the amendments that have been moved, for and against, or the original clauses. I think what he says is far beyond the scope of the present clauses.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: As I have said, I oppose the whole proceedings that have taken place in that regard and that means I oppose all amendments moved in connection with the Bill.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The principle of the Bill has been accepted by the House.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: That is right but it does not mean that if the House agrees to a certain thing we, who do not think it to be right and fair, would also lend it our support.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He can speak only on the amendments. That is all.

An Hon. Member: He is supporting it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Supporting what? He is opposing both the amendment of Shri Sidhva as well as that of the Government. What is it that he is supporting?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: But, if it comes to rules, I have a right to speak on this subject even without supporting or opposing it. It is not obligatory on me to support or oppose anything.

Shri Sidhva: After all what is the matter? What is it that you intend to say?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Well, I am saying what I have to say and you are understanding it. What I mean to suggest at present is that all hon. Members of Parliament including all persons of the various parties should get together and find out a way whereby it might be possible that if any part of the country wishes to remain separate it can do so. It has that right but at the same time I also admit that it would not prove good. But we people or the Government have no right to merge forcibly any part of the country with the other parts. They may be merged with their consent but if they wish to remain aloof, there should not be any objection.

It has been said just now that if there are diminutive States, it would mean coming into being of diminutive ministers and diminutive officials which would lead to quarrels and clashes.

It was also pointed out that a suggestion was made in the course of debate in the Constituent Assembly that all the provincial governments should be abolished and instead there should be one Government at the Centre, in the whole country. This was also one of the suggestions. If we wish we can do that also by agreeing amongst ourselves that there would be only one Government of India which would run the administration of the entire land. This would render the classification into A, B and C classes unnecessary. But even if classification is done, what I mean to submit is and what pains me is when the Ministers think themselves to be masters and believe that the Government of India have all rights and all authority. These persons assume that they are masters. People offer congratulations and thank them, believing that it is they who are granting these rights to them. You have no authority to confer rights on them and there is no question of anybody's receiving these rights. The administration of a place or part of the country should be in accordance with the wishes of the people of that area. It is a different thing that we might, after consulting each other, agree to divide the whole country in four or five or more sections. But all that is going on at present, including this classification should not be there and there should also not be any such suggestion that the Government of India, being successors to the British Government might or might not grant anything. I protest against such things and request you to consider why an attitude like this has been adopted by you. Shri Gopalswami just now used words like "levity of language" etc. May I know what right and what authority have led him to cast aspersions on others. I must express myself when such things pain me. It seems as if a foreign Government has conquered our country and that it has the right to keep the whole country intact or not. This is really very bad. I would urge the people of Part C States that they should all be prepared. It would, of course, be better if they can live conjointly with their neighbours. That would be better but if they are not agreeable, they might do as they wish. They might set up their own assembly and declare their autonomy. They all have the right to make whatever constitution they like and run their administration accordingly. I have nothing more to say except that all these irregularities and anomalies should go. Only that would be proper which is done by common agreement.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आज जो तर्कीर हमारे माननीय मित्र श्री रामनारायण सिंह ने की है, उस को सुन कर मुझे बड़ा ही ताज्जुब हुआ। श्री रामनारायण सिंह हमारी उस कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली (Constituent Assembly) के बड़े बुजुर्ग मेम्बर थे। उन्होंने ने जिस कांस्टिट्यूशन के बनाने में हिस्सा लिया है उसी कांस्टिट्यूशन की बाबत अगर वह ऐसी बातें फरमाते हैं तो मुझे अफसोस के सिवा और क्या हो सकता है? लेकिन मैं उन की खिदमत में बड़े अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो बातें उन्होंने ने कहीं हैं उस से कहीं ज्यादा अधिकार पार्लियामेंट के पास मौजूद हैं। चुनावों में जनाब की तवज्जह कांस्टिट्यूशन की दफा २३९ की तरफ दिलाऊंगा, और खास तौर से पहले फिकरे की तरफ दिलाऊंगा। पहला फिकरा यह है :

"Subject to the other provisions of this Part, a State specified in Part C of the First Schedule shall be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner."

और वह हिस्सा २४० में पार्लियामेंट को अस्त्यार देता है, पार्लियामेंट को अस्त्यार है कानून बनाने का, पार्लियामेंट को अस्त्यार है वहां लेजिस्लेचर्स (Legislatures) के तमाम फंक्शन्स (functions) को डिटरमिन (determine) करने का। वहां यह दिया है :

"a Council of Advisers or Ministers, or both with such constitution, powers and functions, in each case, as may be specified in the law."

जिस के माने यह है कि दफा २३९ के अन्दर जो प्रोविजन्स (provisions) हैं वह दफा, २४० के मातहत हैं।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: मैं आप के साथ इसमें शरीक नहीं हूँ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भायबं: मैं बड़े अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ बाबू रामनारायण सिंह की खिदमत में कि आप कान्स्टिट्यूशन के बनाने में शरीक थे। उस में यह लिखा है कि कोई न किसी को कुछ दे रहा है न ले रहा है। न गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया (Government of India) पार्ट सी० (Part C States) को कुछ दे रही हूँ जैसा अपनी बहस में उन्होंने कहा है। गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया को वह मूर्खमण्डली कहते हैं, वह इस ख्याल पर मदनी हूँ कि गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया किसी को दे सकती है या नहीं दे सकती हूँ, या सी पार्ट वाले भीख मांगने आते हैं। यह बिल्कुल गलत है। इस में यह लिखा हुआ है कि पार्लियामेंट ऐसे लेजिस्लेचर्स बना सकती है जैसी उस की तबियत हो और यह २४० दफा के मातहत है। इस के माने यह है कि पार्लियामेंट अगर कानून बनाना चाहे, लेजिस्लेचर को पावर (Power) देना चाहे, चाहे कितनी ही बड़ी पावर हो, चाहे ए बी स्टेट्स जैसी हो, तो इस पार्लियामेंट को अख्यार है कि चाहे जैसा कानून बना दे। मैं इस वास्ते अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ बाबू रामनारायण सिंह जी से कि चूँकि वह गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया से नाराज हूँ, क्या वह यह ख्याल करते हैं कि कोई गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया से भीख मांगने के लिए कासाये गवाई ले कर आयागा और वह भीख डाल देंगे? अगर आज सी पार्ट वाले कहते हैं कि हम श्री गोपालस्वामी जी के ममनून हैं, मश्कूर हैं, इस से आप यह ख्याल करते हैं कि गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया के पास आटोक्रैटिक पावर्स हैं (autocratic powers) हैं कि किसी को हाँ कर दे या ना कर दे। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह मुनासिब नहीं है।

आप खुद इस कानून को बनाने वाले हैं और इस को न समझें, और गवर्नमेन्ट पर कीचड़ उछालें कि बाहर से गवर्नमेन्ट आई है और उस के सामने लोग हाथ जोड़ कर जाते हैं। जो कान्स्टिट्यूट असेम्बली आप ने बनाई थी, उस ने जो कान्स्टिट्यूशन बनाया उस के प्रिम्बल (preamble) में लिखा है कि यह कान्स्टिट्यूशन हम हिन्दुस्तान के लोग अपने आप को देते हैं। यह गवर्नमेन्ट किस की है, यह हम लोगों की है, यह सारे हिन्दुस्तान की है। आप का यह ख्याल कि यह गवर्नमेन्ट उसी तरह से कार्रवाई करती है जैसे पिछड़ी गवर्नमेन्ट किया करती थी दुस्त नहीं है। आज दफा २२९ और २४० से यह हाउस पाबन्द है, और गवर्नमेन्ट पाबन्द है और इसी लिए यह बिल आया है। मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि हम कोई इन तरह के अख्यारात नहीं दे सकते जो अख्यारात हम ने आज ए, बी, सी स्टेट्स के लिए मुकर्रर किये हैं। पार्लियामेंट को पूरा अख्यार है कि जिसे चाहे अख्यार दे। आप बहस कर सकते हैं कि इनको यह अख्यार दो, लेकिन यह कहना कि आप चाहे जो हुकूमत कायम कर लें, गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया को परवाह न करें, यह बगावत का सबक देना अच्छा नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप हिन्दुस्तान से मुहब्बत करने वाले हैं, आप हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले हैं, यहाँ आप की अपनी हुकूमत है, मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया के खिलाफ ऐसा कहना कि अलाहदा स्टेट बना लें, यह मुनासिब नहीं है। मुझे मुआफ़ करेंगे मेरे दोस्त। मुझे उन से यह सुन कर दुःख होता है। इस वास्ते मैं ने यह उन की खिदमत में अर्ज कर दिया।

अब मैं असली मजमून की तरफ़ आता हूँ। आज जो सबाल हमारे सामने है वही यह नहीं है, जैसा कि हमारे पार्ट सी० स्टेट्स के

हमारे कुछ भाई इस बिल के खिलाफ बोलते हुए कहते हैं, कि पार्ट सी स्टेट्स के साथ इन्माफ़ न किया जाय, यह गलत है। अगर हम को यह चाइस (choice) दी जाय कि इन स्टेट्स का मर्जर (merger) नहीं होगा तो आप इस बिल के साथ क्या करना चाहेंगे ? तो मैं कहूंगा कि हम यह चाहेंगे कि इस बिल की सारी खामियां दूर कर के इस को जल्द पास कर दिया जाय और जहां तक पार्ट बी और पार्ट सी स्टेट्स का ताल्लुक है वह पार्ट ए० स्टेट्स के बराबर हों। यही हमारे मैनीफ़ेस्टो (manifesto) में लिखा है और हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा है और इसी ख्याल से हमारे गोपालस्वामी साहब एक सुघरा हुआ बिल लाये हैं। यही हमारे सारे मिनिस्टर चाहते हैं :

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Not in all respects?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I will come to Delhi very soon.

Sardar Sochet Singh: He is in New Delhi.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि आज हमारे सामने सवाल यह नहीं है कि पार्ट ए स्टेट्स या गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया पार्ट सी स्टेट्स को क्या देना चाहती है। यह सवाल कतई गलत है। देखना यह है कि मौजूदा हालात में हम को किस स्टेट को क्या पावस देनी चाहिये। मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करता हूँ कि मुझे यह देख कर दुःख हुए बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि पिछले चार वर्षों में हम ने ठीक तौर पर अब तक इस बारे में फ़ैसला नहीं किया है। मैं इस हाउस में यह कहता रहा हूँ और फिर आज मौक़ा देख कर दुहराता हूँ कि हमारे जो अम्बल दरजे के लीडर हैं उन को मिनिस्टर विदाउट पोर्ट-

फ़ोलियो (Minister Without Portfolio) बनाया जाय और उन के सुपुर्दे आल इंडिया इम्पाटेंस के सवालत किये जाय, जैसा कि पहले श्री गोपालस्वामी आयंगर को बनाया गया था। और पंजाब का मामला उन के हाथों में दिया गया था। वह आसाम तशरीफ़ ले गये थे और सवालत को हल किया था। मैं बराबर कहता रहा हूँ कि हमारे सब से बड़े लीडरों को मिनिस्टर विदाउट पोर्टफ़ोलियो रखना चाहिए और जो आल इंडिया इम्पाटेंस के सवालत हैं उनको उन के चार्ज (charge) में दिया जाय। लेकिन वह मेरी अर्ज कबूल नहीं हुई और उसी का नतीजा हम आज देख रहे हैं। आज मैं देख रहा हूँ कि हमारे राजा जी तशरीफ़ ले जाना चाहते हैं और हमारे गोपालस्वामी आयंगर साहब भी अलग होना चाहते हैं, मगर हम उन को नहीं छोड़ सकते। मेरी अदब से गुज़ारिश है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के सामने बड़े बड़े सवालत हैं। यह आल इंडिया क्वेश्चन्स (All-India questions) उनके वास्ते छोड़ दिये जाय

✓ **Shri Rajagopalachari:** On a point of order, I would like to say that the hon. Member ought not to go into that. He is asking me to stay on but we cannot be replying to all that.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Am I irrelevant? I have not caught what the hon. Minister stated.

✓ **Shri Rajagopalachari:** I am not saying that it is irrelevant. I beg of him not to go into that subject.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : I think as a national of India, I have got certain rights on all the nationals of India and much more on him than on anybody else, and this is my humble proposal.

मैं अब भी यही अर्ज करूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के मुफ़िकल सवालत के वास्ते यह बहुत जरूरी है कि हमारे बड़े बड़े आदमी जिन्होंने सारी ज़म्म हिन्दुस्तान की ख़िदमत में बिताई है

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवत]

उन को मिनिस्टर विदाउट पोर्टफोलियो बनाया जाय और वह सवालात उनके सुपुर्द किये जायें ।

एक वक्त था कि श्री मुकुट बिहारी लाल सब से ज्यादा यह कहते थे कि अजमेर का मर्जर कर दिया जाय । पुनाचा साहब का भी यही ख्याल था कि मर्जर कर दिया जाय और इसी तरह से भूपाल के वास्ते तो हमारे ठाकुर लाल सिंह साहब की अब भी यही ख्याल है । मैं अदब से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इन चार वर्षों में यह मर्जर क्यों नहीं हुआ । क्या वज्रहात थी कि यह नहीं हो सका । मैं अदब से गुज्जारिस कर्ना कि अगर आज श्री मुकुट बिहारी लाल यह कहें कि वह अब मर्जर के हक में नहीं हैं या अगर पुनाचा साहब कहें कि वह मर्जर के हक में नहीं हैं तो यह उन की जिम्मेदारी नहीं है । जब राजस्थान का मर्जर हो रहा था उस वक्त अजमेर का फ़ैसला नहीं किया गया । अगर उस वक्त अजमेर को मर्ज कर दिया जाता तो वह राजस्थान की राजधानी हो सकता था अगर आज मर्जर किया जायगा तो अजमेर की पोजीशन कुछ और ही होगी । अब आप इलेक्शन (election) कर रहे हैं । वहाँ मिनिस्टर बन जायेंगे और फिर अगर आप दो तीन बरस के बाद मर्जर करना चाहेंगे तो जनता आप के साथ नहीं होगी । इसी तरह ज्यों ज्यों आप ज्यादा देर करेंगे मामला पेचीदा होता चला जायगा । मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप यह कह दें कि हम को आयन्दा इन का मर्जर नहीं करना है, तब तो हम इस सवाल को देखें कि आया हम इस को किस तरह से हल कर सकते हैं । इधर आप उन को सेल्फ गवर्नमेन्ट (self-government) भी दे रहे हैं और यह भी कह रहे हैं कि मर्जर फिर भी हो सकता है । हमारे गोपालस्वामी साहब

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ने बताया कि उन का मर्जर इस लिये नहीं किया गया था कि वहाँ कुछ लोग मर्जर के खिलाफ़ थे । हमारे कान्टीड्यूशन में दफ़ा २३९ और दफ़ा ३ हैं जिन के मातहत यह लाज़िमी है कि लोगों की राय पूछी जाय लेकिन यह दर्ज नहीं है कि उन की राय में मुआफ़िक़ ही अमल किया जाय । कितने ही ऐसे मौक़े हुए कि आप ने राय नहीं पूछी और न उस वक्त पूछी जानी चाहिये थी । जब बडौदा को मर्ज किया गया तो किस की राय पूछी गई थी ? जिस वक्त पविचमी पंजाब से पचास लाख आदमी पूर्वी पंजाब में आ गये और वहाँ की सारी इकानमी (economy) को अपसेट (upset) कर दिया तो वह किस से पूछ कर आये थे ? जिस वक्त पांच लाख आदमी आसाम के अन्दर आ घुसे तो वह किस की इजाज़त से आये थे ? लेकिन मैं फिर अर्ज यह कर्ना कि जितना ही आप ने इस मामले को लम्बा किया है वह ख़राब होता चला गया । मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप पांच बरस के बाद मर्ज करना चाहेंगे तो मुश्किल होगा । सिर्फ़ यही नहीं कि वहाँ वेस्टेड इंटरेस्ट (vested interest) पैदा हो जायेंगे लेकिन इस से वहाँ के इलाक़े में एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हो जायगा कि लोग फिर मर्जर को ढ़बूल नहीं करेंगे । जैसा कि श्री मुकुट बिहारी लाल ने कहा कि जो रियायतें उन को मिल रही हैं उन को देखते हुए वह बी पार्ट स्टेट में नहीं मर्ज होना चाहेंगे । चार वर्ष पहले यह उस के हक में थे । क्यों कि वह जानते थे कि इसका सही इलाज मर्जर ही था, मगर वह मौक़ा अब हाथ से जाता रहा । मेरी निगाह में भी इन का सही इलाज यही है कि इनका मर्जर किया जाय । मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप यह कह दें

कि हम इन को मर्ज नहीं करना चाहते तो हम इस बिल को जो हमारे सामने है पास करें। लेकिन जब आप कहते हैं कि मर्जर इज नाट रूल्ड आउट (merger is not ruled out) बल्कि दो या तीन महीने में भी मर्जर हो सकता है या दो तीन साल में मर्जर हो सकता है तो हम किस तरह इसे और क्या समझ कर इसको पास करें? क्या हम वहां वे लोगों को जवाब देंगे कि हम ने उम्मीदें की थीं लेकिन अब उन को पूरा नहीं कर सकते। तो मैं अदब से गुजारिश करूंगा कि यह मुनासिब नहीं है।

इस के अलावा जो बाकी तीन चार स्टेट्स हैं उन के बारे में आप ने किन वजूहात से इस तरह का फ्रंसला किया कि उन को इस में शामिल न किया जाय हम को मालूम नहीं है। जो वजूहात हाउस में बतलाई गई हैं वह इतनी तसल्ली बरखा नहीं है कि इन रियासतों के साथ इस तरह का सलूक किया जाय। मैं नहीं समझता कि वह वजूहात ऐसी हैं कि जिन की वजह से इन तीन रियासतों त्रिपुरा, मनीपुर और कच्छ को इन सब चीजों से महरूम रखा जाय। मैं ब्रावू रामनारायण-सिंह साहब से मुत्तफिक हूँ कि जब आज़ादी की लड़ाई लड़ी गई थी तो वह सिर्फ़ ए और बी० ब्लास की स्टेट्स के लिए ही नहीं लड़ी गई थी, बल्कि वह तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए लड़ी गई थी। इन इलाकों के लिए हम यह नहीं सुन सकते जैसा कि सन् १९१९ के ऐक्ट में कहा गया था : प्रोग्रेसिव रियलाइजेशन आफ़ रेसपॉन्सिबिल गवर्नमेन्ट (Progressive realization of responsible government) अगर कहा जाय कि यह छोटे इलाक़े हैं तो क्या इन से छोटे इलाक़े जैसे कुर्ग में रेसपॉन्सिबिल गवर्नमेन्ट नहीं दे रहे हैं? आप कहते हैं कि यह बाडर (border) की स्टेट्स हैं। तो क्या आसाम और पंजाब बाडर

की स्टेट्स नहीं हैं? यह कोई वजह नहीं है कि यह कह कर उनको महरूम किया जाय। यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह छोटी स्टेट्स हैं और इस वास्ते वह सेल्फ़ सफ़ीशेंट (Self-sufficient) नहीं हो सकतीं। तो फ़ाइनेन्शियल आसपेक्ट (financial aspect) को छोड़ कर मैं कहता हूँ कि और कोई वजह नहीं मालूम होती कि क्यों इन को यह हक़ न दिये जायें। और अगर कोई और वजूहात हों तो मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि उन पर रोशनी डाली जाय। अभी राजा जी ने कहा कि यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि जितनी स्टेट बड़ी है उतनी ही वह अच्छी है, बल्कि उन्होंने तो कहा है कि छोटी स्टेट का इन्तिज़ाम ज्यादा अच्छा होता है। अगर यह राय दुरुस्त है तो मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि मैं इस बात का हामी हूँ कि उन को और ज्यादा हक़ दे दिये जायें ताकि वे अपना इन्तिज़ाम अच्छी तरह से कर सकें। लेकिन अगर यह राय गलत हो तो क्या वजह है कि उन स्टेट्स को भी मर्ज नहीं किया जा सकता, मनीपुर और त्रिपुरा को। जहां तक त्रिपुरा का ताल्लुक है वह तो बिल्कुल आसाम के साथ ही मिला हुआ है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि मुझे त्रिपुरा जाने का मौक़ा मिला था। सात सौ मील तक उस का बार्डर ईस्टर्न पाकिस्तान से लगा हुआ है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि किसी ने नहीं सोचा कि उस का क्या होगा। कच्छ का इलाक़ा निहायत अच्छा है और आबादी काफी बड़ी है, गवर्नमेन्ट आफ़ इंडिया ने कोई वजह नहीं बयान की कि क्या वजह है कि वहां यह हक़ नहीं दिये जा सकते। मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि क्यों मनीपुर और त्रिपुरा को उन हक़ से महरूम किया जाता है जिन के लिए हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी लड़ा और जिस के लिए हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी समझता है कि वह हमारे सब भाइयों को मिलने चाहियें।

[पंडित ठाकुर द.स. भंगव]

इस के अलावा जो इंटरनल (internal) रियासतें हैं, मैं भोपाल के ऊपर अपनी ठीक राय नहीं देना चाहता, मुझे उस के बारे में ज्यादा नहीं मालूम है। कहा जाता है कि गवर्नमेंट ने इस तरह का कावेनेंट (covenant) कर लिया। अब कावेनेंट कर लिया या नहीं कर लिया, मैं तो एक चीज जानता हूँ कि हमारे कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन में भोपाल वालों की राय का लिहाज जरूरी है। लेकिन मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या क्या कोशिशों इन चार पांच वर्षों में की गयीं कि उस में तबदीली हो सके। शुरू से यह सवाल हमारे सामने है कि वहां के लोग मर्जर चाहते हैं। और दरअसल आज ठाकुर लाल सिंह साहब जब देखते हैं कि और स्टेट्स को कुछ मिल रहा है तो क्या कहें। सिवाय इस के कि हम को भी दे दिया जाय, और कोई बात कोई भी आदमी कह ही क्या सकता है? दरअसल इस तरह की हालत बन गयी है कि जैसे अजमेर, भोपाल के जो मर्जर की राय रखते हैं यह लोग दुश्मन हैं और यह मालूम होता है कि जो इस बिल के हक में हैं वह दोस्त हैं। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हम को मिसअंडरस्टैंड (misunderstand) न किया जाय। हम लोग दरअसल चाहते हैं कि सब इलाकों के लोगों को, अजमेर और सब जगह के लिए, सारे हक मिलें। अगर गवर्नमेंट का यही आखिरी फ़ैसला है कि मर्जर नहीं हो तो फिर हमारे लिए और कोई चारा नहीं है कि हम यह देखें कि तमाम पूरे हक उन को मिलें।

इस लिए मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, जनाब वाला, कि आया मर्जर होना है या नहीं, गवर्नमेंट को फ़ौरन पहले इस का फ़ैसला करना चाहिये। अगर गवर्नमेंट का फ़ैसला है कि मर्जर नहीं होना, तो मैं तो अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप की

जो पार्ट सी स्टेट्स हैं यह कोई कैदियों की क्लासेज नहीं है, ए, बी, सी, इन को पूरे हक होने चाहियें। मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि उन को पूरे हक दिये जाय और मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप जो ज्यादा हक देंगे तो आप हरगिज नहीं पछतायेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि पालिटिक्स (politics) में तर्जुमा करने की बात नहीं है। ऐसे अस्तियार देना कि चीफ कमिश्नर और प्राईम मिनिस्टर की जूमत पैजार हो, अच्छा नहीं है। चीफ कमिश्नर और प्राईम मिनिस्टर को इस तरह अस्तियार देंगे तो दो तलवारें एक म्यान में नहीं रह सकतीं। इस में सिवाय तकलीफ के और कोई बात नहीं हो सकती। इस लिए इन दोनों सवालों को अलहदा किया जाय। अगर मर्जर नहीं करना है तो इस बिल की अच्छी और बुरी जो बातें हैं उन पर सोच विचार करना चाहिये। और अगर मर्जर होना है तो मैं अदब से गुजारिश करता हूँ कि इसमें एक एक मिनट की देर करना इन लोगों के साथ और मुल्क के जनरल इंटरैस्ट (general interest) के साथ बेइंसाफी है। और जो चार वर्ष होगये इसमें सरकार ने क्या किया यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। हम इस बात के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं कि यह देर किसी तरह से जस्टिफ़ायबल (justifiable) है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस बिल में जो क्लॉज दो में और क्लॉज एक में जिन दफ़ात का हवाला है वह किस तरह से आयद की जाती हैं और उन का क्या असर है। जब वह तमाम क्लॉजेज आबैं तो आयन्दा फिर बहस होगी और मैं उन के बारे में अपने रुयालात पेश करूंगा। लेकिन मैं अभी जनरल तीर पर अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस के हक में हूँ कि, जैसा कि हमारे हलैक्शन मनीफ़ेस्टो (election manifesto) में भी दर्ज है, ए, बी, और सी में किसी तरह की कोई तमीज वाजिब नहीं है, सिवाय इसके

कि जो मजबूरियाँ इन दफ्तर की बजह से रखनी पड़ती है। तो इस जिम्न में जिस तरह की काउन्सिल आफ़ मिनिस्टर्स (Council of Ministers) बनाई जा रही है उस के बारे में मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह एक क्रिस्म से पोलिटिकल हाइब्रिड (Political hybrid) चीज़ बनने जा रही है। आप मुलाहजा फ़रमावेंगे कि हमेशा, हर एक मीटिंग में, मौजूद हो कर, चीफ़ कमिश्नर को प्रिसाइड (preside) करना है। साथ ही उसको अस्तित्पार है कि वह जब चाहे आ कर तक्ररीर लैजिस्लेचर (Legislature) में कर सकता है। तो मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चन्द सवालों में उन में या प्राइम मिनिस्टर से मैं या काउन्सिल आफ़ मिनिस्टर्स में फ़र्क़ हुआ तो कैसे रिजाल्व (resolve) होगा। आप ने अपने पास इतने पावर्स रखे हैं कि वे बिल्कुल सफ़ हैं। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप इस हाउस के सारे दरवाजे, अन्दर के दरवाजे बन्द कर दें तो फिर बाहर के दरवाजे बन्द करने की क्या ज़रूरत है। आप ने जब इस हाउस के तमाम आउटलेट्स (outlets) को अन्दर से बन्द कर दिया तो कोई चीज़ बाहर खुली रहे या न रहे, उस का क्या असर हो सकता है? आप ने अस्तित्पार ले लिया है कि पालियामेंट को कानकरेंट पावर्स (concurrent powers) हैं। आप ने अस्तित्पार ले लिया है कि पालियामेंट में जो चीज़ पास हो जायगी उस के खिलाफ़ कोई कानून नहीं बन सकता। इस के अलावा आप ने अस्तित्पार ले लिया है कि प्रेसीडेंट को सुपरिण्डेंडेंस (Superintendence) कन्ट्रोल (Control) और डायरेक्शन (direction) का अस्तित्पार है और दुनिया भर के सारे अस्तित्पार आप के पास मौजूद हैं। लेकिन आप को इस पर भी सब नहीं हुआ। आप ने चीफ़ कमिश्नर को एक

ऐसा ढंग दिया है कि अगर कोई डिफ़रेंस आफ़ ओपिनीयन (difference of opinion) हो, तो वह अपनी राय के साथ हुकूम भी दे दे जो कि उस की राय के मुताबिक हो और फिर वह यहां रैफर (refer) होता रहे। मैं अदब से पूछता हूँ कि इतने सेफ़गार्ड (Safeguard) के बाद यह कहना कि वह हर एक मौक़े पर प्रिसाइड करे, हाउस में जब चाहे बोले, यह मिनिस्ट्री को बिल्कुल पगला बना देना है, यह क़तई बतजब नहीं है। जैसे एक मसल है, "ट्रस्ट बिगेट्स ट्रस्ट (Trust begets trust)"। यह नहीं हो सकता है कि पावर न दें और फिर उम्मीद करें कि पांच वर्ष बाद पावर देंगे। यह चीज़ कि सैल्फ़ गवर्नमेंट बाई स्टेजेज (Self-government by stages) यह स्टेजेज से नहीं दी जाने वाली है। दुनिया का तजुर्बा और हमारा तजुर्बा बताता है कि यह चीज़ मुनासिब नहीं है। इस तरह की चीज़ें रखना मैं समझता हूँ कि पोलिटिकली अन-साउण्ड प्रपोजीशन (politically unsound proposition) है।

इस वास्ते मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि जब हम ने पहले ही कांस्टीट्यूशन में ऐसी चीज़ें रखी हैं और फिर प्रेसीडेंट की और पालियामेंट की पावर रखते हैं, तो उस के बाद इन पावर्स का रखना क़तई ठीक नहीं है। इन से उन का काम ही नहीं चल सकता और रोच उन के झगड़े आप के पास आत रहें और आप उन को सुलझाते रहें, यह वाजिब नहीं है। इस वास्ते जो क्रमियाँ हैं उन के ऊपर मैं मामूली तौर पर अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ।

Ch. Ranbir Singh: We are discussing Clauses 1 to 10

पंडित ठाकूर दास भार्गव: मैं ने भी यही अर्ज किया था। आप ने ख्याल नहीं फ़रमाया।

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

शायद मेरे लायक दोस्त उस वक्त तुतवज्जह नहीं थे। मैं ने कहा कि क्लोज़ १ से १० हैं और उन में सेक्शन १ और २ में हवाला है कि बाकी जो क्लोज़ हैं उन पर वह एप्लीकेबिल (applicable) होंगे। इस बास्ते इस पर अर्ज करना जरूरी है। मैं ने प्रहले ही कहा है कि मैं कोई लम्बी बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता, सिर्फ जनरल प्रिंसिपल्स (general principles) पर अर्ज कर रहा हूँ। दर असल हमारी अप्रोच (approach) ऐसी होनी चाहिये कि हम जितने ज्यादा से ज्यादा अस्तियार दे सकें उतने हम को देने चाहियें। और इस तरह से लैजिस्लेचर को और मिनिस्टरों का पगला नहीं कर देना चाहिये।

इसलिए आखिर में मेरी सिर्फ इतनी ही गवर्नमेण्ट से गुजारिश है कि गवर्नमेण्ट इस को इस तरह से तय न करे कि जिस तरह चार सालों तक इस पर तवज्जह नहीं की। मुझ को याद है कि एक मौके पर सरदार पटेल के मकान पर एक होम की एडवाइजरी कमेटी (Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs) की मीटिंग थी। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारा असली इलाज मर्जर है। अब मुझे मालूम नहीं कि उन की बाकी पालिसी क्या थी और न मैं उस की बहस के लिए तैयार ही हूँ। लेकिन गवर्नमेण्ट आफ इंडिया ने आज तक नहीं कहा कि इस देरी की क्या वजह है। अब इस तरह की मशीनरी देने में यह छोटे छोटे एनक्लेव्स (enclaves) वनेंगे। २६ जनवरी से पहले जितने एनक्लेव्स थे वे सब अल-हवा कर डाले। हमारे यहां ए स्टेट्स के इलाके दूसरी स्टेट्स को दे दिये और बड़ी बड़ी तबदीलियां कर डालीं। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से यह चार स्टेट्स रह गईं जिन की आवादी भी बहुत थोड़ी है। या तो इन की तरफ तवज्जह नहीं हुई या शायद

यह चाहा कि जब-चाहेंगे इन का मामला तय कर डालेंगे। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अब आप जितनी देर करेंगे उतना ही (friction) होता जायगा। इस फ्रिक्शन लिये गवर्नमेण्ट को जल्दी ही इस को तय करना है। Let them come up here and tell their decision and we may proceed on that basis अगर आप को यहीं चीज करनी है तो फिर इस तमाजे से कुछ फ़ायदा नहीं है कि खिलौना दे दिया और फिर वापस ले लिया। वह खिलौना लेने वाले इतने लालच में आजायेंगे कि वह वापस नहीं देंगे और झगड़ा होगा।

एक सवत्य : तोड़ डालेंगे।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : हां, तोड़ डालेंगे, तब तो आप को फिर डी स्टेट की तरह लाना पड़ेगा। इस के लिए जो दुःख देने वाली चीज है वह यह है कि मैं नहीं समझ सकी कि गवर्नमेण्ट की पालिसी क्या रही और इन चार साल की देरी को वह किस तरह से जैस्टीफ़ाई करते हैं। ज्यों ज्यों देर होती है वैसे वैसे काम खराब होता है।

(English translation of the above speech)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, I was surprised to hear the speech of my hon. friend Babu Ramnarayan Singh. He was a Member of the Constituent Assembly. When he says such things about the Constitution in the making of which he himself, had a hand, I am much pained. But I should like to submit to him that Parliament possesses much larger powers than what he credits Parliament with. I would, therefore, draw his attention to Article 239 of the Constitution, especially to the first sentence which says:

"Subject to the other provisions of this Part, a State specified in Part C of the First Schedule shall be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner".

And that Part in Article 240 authorises the Parliament, Parliament has the power to make laws and to

determine all the functions of the Legislatures. It specifies:

"a Council of Advisers or Ministers, or both with such constitution, powers and functions, in each case, as may be specified in the law".

That means that the provisions under Article 239 are subject to Article 240.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I do not agree with you in that.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I would humbly submit to Babu Ramnarayan Singh that he was a party to the framing of the Constitution. It is mentioned there that it is not out of any charitable consideration that any rights are being given or received. The Government of India are not giving anything to Part C States as he has said. He has called the Government of India a "moorkh-mandli" and has accused them of acting on the assumption that all powers vest with them, which they can confer on someone or keep back, or that the Part C States people come to them to beg of them for powers. This is incorrect. The Constitution says that Parliament can create such Legislatures as it deems fit and this is given in Article 240. That means that if this Parliament wants to give powers to a Legislature, howsoever big those powers may be—whether similar to those of Part A or those of Part B States—it has the power to make such a law. Therefore, with due respect, I would like to ask Babu Ramnarayan Singh, since he is displeased with the Government of India, whether he thinks that somebody would come to them with a begging bowl and ask for alms and they would give alms? If Part C States express their gratefulness and gratitude to the hon. Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar that does not mean that the Government of India have autocratic powers which they can deny or distribute to anybody. I submit that when you yourself are a party to the making of the law and without understanding it throw mud on the Government imputing that people go to them with folded hands, is not a proper thing to say. The Preamble of the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly says, "We the people of India give to ourselves this Constitution". This is a Government representative of all the people in the country. The view that its actions are, similar to those of the former Government is unwarranted. This Bill has come up because the House as well as the Government is bound by Articles 239 and 240. I am not

prepared to concede that we are not authorised to give any such powers which we have assigned to Parts A, B, and C States. Parliament is fully authorised to confer power on whomsoever it deems fit. You may argue that such and such powers should be given to them; but to say that they are entitled to establish whatever type of government they like without caring for the Government of India is like counselling rebellion which is a bad thing. After all you are a citizen of India, you love your country, you have your own Government. It is not proper to ask them to form any kind of State they like. That is going against the Government of India. I hope my hon. friend will excuse me. But I was pained to hear these things from him and that is why I had to say all that.

Now I come to the actual subject. Speaking against the Bill some of our friends of Part C States said that it is not proper that justice should not be done to Part C States. If I am asked what would I do with the Bill if the matter of merger were finally decided to be given up, I would say that the Bill should be passed as soon as possible after removing its shortcomings and Parts B and C States should be given an equal status with class A States. That is there in our manifesto and that is what our Prime Minister has said and that is the motive behind the bringing of this Bill by the hon. Shri Gopaldaswami. All our Ministers also favour this.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): Not in all respects?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I will come to Delhi very soon.

Sardar Sochet Singh: He is in New Delhi.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: So I was saying that it is incorrect to say that Part A States or the Government of India want to give something as a charity to Part C States. The real question before us is as to what powers should be given to each individual State in the present circumstances. I am sorry to say that we have failed to take any definite decision in all these four years. I have been stressing it in this House time and again and I take this opportunity to repeat that our top leaders should be made Ministers without portfolio and they should be assigned the matters of all-India importance. The hon. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar had been thus appointed once and entrusted with the affairs in Punjab. He also went to Assam and solved the problems there. I

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

have always held that our top leaders should be made Ministers without portfolio and be given charge of questions of all-India importance. However, my suggestion was never accepted, the result of which is before us now. The position today is that Rajaji and Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar want to leave the Ministry, but we cannot spare them. I submit therefore that the big problems, the all-India questions that are poised against us in the country should be left to them.....

Shri Rajagopalachari: On a point of order, I would like to say that the hon. Member ought not to go into that. He is asking me to stay on but we cannot be replying to all that.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Am I irrelevant? I have not caught what the hon. Minister stated.

Shri Rajagopalachari: I am not saying that it is irrelevant. I beg of him not to go into that subject.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I think as a national of India, I have got certain rights on all the nationals of India and much more on him than on anybody else, and this is my humble proposal.

I would still say that the difficult problems of the country should be left to be solved by these persons who have spent all their lives in serving the country and that they should be made Ministers without portfolio and these questions be left to them.

There was a time when Shri Mukut Bihari Lal urged very strongly that Ajmer should be merged. Shri Poonacha also held the same view. Similarly, Thakur Lal Singh favoured the merger of Bhopal and is still of that opinion. I want to ask why did not this merger take place during these four years. What stood in the way of that proposition being carried out? If Shri Mukut Bihari Lal or Shri Poonacha express themselves against this merger now, I would say it is not their fault. When the process of merger was going on in Rajasthan, the fate of Ajmer was not decided. If it were merged at that time, Ajmer might have become the capital of Rajasthan. But its position would be different if it is merged now. Elections are shortly to be held. Ministries will be formed and if you would then try to bring about the merger, after two or three years, the people would not be with you. The matter would become more and more complicated as you go on delaying it. I want to submit that

if the Government finally declare that they are not going to merge them in future, we may then consider how this question can be solved. But on one side they are giving them self-Government and on the other they point out the possibility of their merger in the future. The hon. Shri Gopalaswami said that the merger was not brought about because some persons were against it. Articles 239 and 3 of the Constitution provide for ascertaining the views of the people but do not insist on action being taken accordingly. Several occasions came when the views of the people should have been ascertained but they were not and the time was probably such that did not warrant it. Were the views of the people ascertained at the time of the merger of Baroda? When 50 lakhs of people infiltrated into East Punjab from the West Punjab and five lakhs crossed into Assam upsetting the entire economy of these Provinces, had their views been obtained beforehand? I would stress it again that the Government are responsible for prolonging the matter so that the position has gone on deteriorating. It would be a hard task if they would endeavour to effect merger, say, after five years. Not only would vested interests be created there but also such atmosphere will come to prevail by that time that people in those areas would not accept merger. As Shri Mukut Behari Lal said, in view of the concessions they are getting now, they would not like to be merged with Part B States. Four years back they favoured it for they knew that merger was the only right remedy, but now that opportunity is lost. In my opinion too the only remedy is merger. If the Government were to decide now once for all against their merger, we could well have considered the Bill on that issue for its passage. But when they are not merging them now and say that the possibility of merger is not ruled out but that it can take place in two or three months or in two or three years, with what understanding shall we pass the Bill? Shall we answer these people that we did give them hopes but cannot fulfil them now? I submit that this is not proper.

Besides, we do not know on what grounds the decision not to include the remaining three or four States has been made. The grounds put forth are not so satisfactory as to justify such a treatment towards them. I do not think the reasons are good enough to warrant treatment on a different footing to the three States of Tripura, Manipur and

Kutch. I quite see in line with Babu Ramnarayan Singh that the battle of India's freedom was not fought for Parts A and B States only but for the freedom of the whole country. We are not prepared to tolerate a treatment to these States parallel to the wordings of the Act of 1919 that envisaged "progressive realization of responsible Government". You cannot put aside the matter by the plea that these are small areas; for, is not responsible Government being set up in a small area like Coorg? It is said that they are border States. Are not then Punjab and Assam border States also? So they cannot be ignored under cover of that argument. It can, however, be said that since these are small States, they cannot be self-sufficient. Except, therefore, for the financial aspects, I see no reason why these rights should not be given to them. If there are other reasons I would request that light be thrown on them. Just now Rajaji said that a larger State is not necessarily better off also. On the other hand, he said that smaller States can be better governed. If that is a right point of view, I would submit that more rights should be given to them so that they may govern themselves in a better way. But if that is not a correct point of view, I should like to know why Tripura and Manipur are not merged. So far as Tripura is concerned, it has a common border with Assam. I had once an opportunity to go to Tripura. Seven hundred miles of its border are adjoining with that of East Pakistan. Nobody has given thought to this aspect. The region of Kutch is quite a good region with sufficient population. The Government have given no reasons why these rights cannot be given to them. I am unable to understand why Manipur and Tripura are being deprived of their rights for which every Indian fought and for which every Indian aspires.

Besides these States, there are internal States. I do not want to express my opinion about Bhopal for I do not have sufficient knowledge about it. It is said that the Government have made a covenant with them. Whether or not a covenant has been made, I know one thing: that in accordance with the Constitution it is necessary to ascertain the views of the people of Bhopal. The question that the people there are in favour of merger is before us from the very beginning; but no efforts have been made during these four or five years to that end. And what else can Thakur Lal Singh say except that they should also be given these

rights when he sees that others are getting them? What else can anybody say? Indeed, the view has gained ground that those who are in favour of the merger of Aimer and Bhopal are their enemies while those supporting the Bill are their well-wishers. I beg to submit that we should not be misunderstood. In fact we want that people at all places, Ajmer and elsewhere, should be given all rights. If Government's decision against merger is final, we have no other choice than to assert that full rights should be given to them.

Therefore, Sir, the Government must first finally decide, and soon, about the matter of their merger. If their decision is that merger would not take place, then, Sir, I would submit that full rights should be given to all the Part C States for, after all, they are not like the A, B and C classes of prisoners. I am sure the Government would not have to repent by giving them more powers. It is not a matter of gaining experience in politics. To confer such rights as might lead to conflicts between the Chief Commissioner and the Prime Minister is not worthwhile. After all you cannot put two swords in one sheath. That would mean certain trouble. Therefore both the questions should be separated. If merger is not going to take place, all the merits and demerits of the Bill should be fully considered. If merger must be done, I would submit that any delay in it would be doing injustice to the interests of these people and the country. I cannot understand what the Government have been doing all these four years. This delay is not justifiable in any case. I should like to describe the effect of the Sections referred to in Clauses 1 and 2. But I would put forth my views in that connection when these Clauses would be taken up for discussion. However, in a general way, I want to submit that no differentiation is proper to be made among Parts A, B and C States, our election manifesto also promises that, except for the obligations to be observed by virtue of these Sections, the Council of Ministers going to be formed would merely be a political hybrid. You find that the Chief Commissioner is to preside over every meeting. He has also the right to address the Legislature if and when he may like to do so. I would, therefore, like to know how the differences that might arise between him and the Prime Minister or between him and the Council of Ministers would be resolved. Government have got sufficient powers which are so explicit. I do not understand, therefore, what would be the need of

[**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava**]

locking the doors from outside when you have already locked them from inside. When all the outlets have been closed from within, how can any outside thing have any effect? The Government have assumed many powers, namely, that Parliament will have concurrent powers, that whatever is decided here in Parliament is the final law, that the President has the power of superintendence, control and direction and many other powers. Even all that has not satisfied them. They have, therefore, placed at the disposal of the Chief Commissioner a procedure by which, in case of a difference of opinion, he can also give a ruling and in accordance with his own opinion, which might then be referred to the Parliament. I am of the view that the provision entitling him to preside over every meeting or address the Legislature whenever he likes is not at all a reasonable thing after so many safeguards have been provided. That is to make the Ministry a cripple. There is a saying: trust begets trust. It is not behoving to deprive them of their rights now and let them entertain hopes that these will be delivered after five years. Self-Government is not a thing to be given by stages. Experience has shown that it is not the right way. I consider such provisions to be politically unsound propositions.

When we have already made such a provision in the Constitution, and reserved the powers of the President and Parliament the provisions relating to these powers are quite uncalled for. It will not only handicap their work, but it would create disputes between them and the Government would have an extra burden of solving them. Therefore, I want to bring forth in a general way the defects of this Bill.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Punjab): We are discussing Clauses 1 to 10.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: That is what I did say. He did not hear probably my able friend was not attentive at that time. I said that reference had been made to Sections 1 and 2 in Clauses 1 to 10 that they would be applicable to the rest of the Clauses. So it was necessary to refer to that. I have already said that I do not wish to go into a lengthy discussion. I am only referring to general principles. Our approach should be on the basis of giving them all possible rights and not to cripple the Legislature and the Ministers in that manner.

In the end, therefore, I request the Government not to give shape to this matter in the way in which they have

been doing things for the last four years. I remember that in a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs held at the residence of Sardar Patel, he had said that the only remedy was merger. I do not know what was the rest of his policy, nor I am prepared for a discussion of it. But the Government of India never gave reasons for this delay. While the Government made far-reaching changes by integrating many areas belonging to Part A States with other States and wiped out all the enclaves that existed before the 26th January, they would simply be forming new enclaves by providing this machinery. Unfortunately, these four States were left out in the process of that integration; their population is also very small. Either attention was not given to them or it might have been thought that they could be dealt with easily later on. But the thing is that as you go on delaying, friction will also increase. So the Government should decide it without delay. Let them come up here and tell us their decision and we may proceed on that basis. When they have to do it it is no use keeping up this kind of show—like giving the child a toy and then taking it back. Those who take the toy would grip it fondly and would not return it and that would give rise to a dispute.

An Hon. Member: They would break it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: If they break it they may have to be classed as group 'D'. But the most painful thing is that there is no justification for the policy of the Government that has been followed these four years. With delay the position grows worse.

Pandit Kunzru: The Bill that was placed before us in May last provided for the establishment of Legislative Assemblies and a Council of Ministers only in two States—Himachal Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh. In the remaining part C States, excepting Bilaspur, there were to be only Councils of Advisers. None of these States that were to have Councils of Advisers could be provided with Legislative Assemblies and Councils of Ministers without an amendment of the law. The effect of the amendments placed before us by the hon. Minister of States is that most of the States will have Legislative Assemblies and Councils of Ministers. Only three States will have Councils of Advisers—Kutch, Tripura and Manipur. But even these three States may be allowed to have Legislative Assemblies and Councils, of Ministers at a later date.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA
in the Chair]

Again, that Bill did not provide in specific terms that the Ministers will be responsible to the legislature. Now, however, the principle of responsibility is going to be introduced for the first time.

The Bill was based on the statement made by the hon. Minister of States during the debate on the Resolution moved by my hon. friend Pandit M. B. Bhargava in March last. But the amendments go far beyond that step. Now, why has this been done? Formerly, in the Bill, the Chief Commissioner was to act with his Ministers. That is to say, the administration was vested in the Chief Commissioner acting with his Ministers. But now there will be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Chief Commissioner and there will be a Chief Minister at its head. It seems the Government wanted to assimilate the provisions of the Bill, as far as is constitutionally permissible, with the provisions relating to the other States. I tried to understand why it was that the Government made this change.

In the debates that took place in the Constituent Assembly and in this House in regard to the future of the Part C States, the report of the Committee presided over by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was referred to more than once. That Committee recommended that there should be Lieutenant Governors in Ajmer-Merwara, Delhi and Coorg, and that each of them should have a Council of Ministers responsible to the legislature. The report also recommends that certain limitations should be placed on the powers of the Legislature and the Ministry. Where there is a dispute between the Lt. Governor and the Ministry the matter should be referred to the President for his final decision. In addition to this the Parliament should have the power to legislate in regard to all matters included in the provincial legislative list. It is to have concurrent powers also not only in regard to matters included in the Concurrent list but also in regard to all matters included in the State list.

Another restriction was that all laws passed by the provincial legislature were to require the assent of the President. And the third restriction recommended was that the budget of the province after being voted by the provincial legislature will require the approval of the President of the Federation before becoming operative. Probably Government thought that they would be able to strengthen their

position if they could show that they had acted in accordance with the recommendations of the Pattabhi Sitaramayya Committee. But we saw yesterday that while several hon. Members thanked the Minister of States for having improved the Bill, almost every one of them criticised the restrictions recommended by the Pattabhi Committee. It seems that though only the Members belonging to Part C States spoke during the debate on this Bill in May last and severely belaboured the Government, Government thinking that their voice was the voice of Parliament became panicky and decided to bring about a radical change in the Bill.

I am not against powers being conferred on the people and the legislature in Part C States. But what we have to consider is whether in spite of the changes made by Government the arrangement that will come into force will be politically stable. As every Member has criticised the restrictions, which are many and serious though in accordance with the recommendations of the Pattabhi Committee, it is obvious that whatever is given now by Government may be accepted by the States concerned but there will be conflict and serious discord between the Central Government and the popular ministries and legislatures in Part C States. This is inevitable and Government I suppose realise that they will sooner or later be faced with intense agitation in these States for more powers. What are they going to do in that case? Do they propose to change the Constitution and raise Part C States to the level of Part A States or Part B States? Or will they resist the pressure that will be brought to bear upon them. I do not see how they can yield to the agitation and bring Part C States into line with Part A States. Almost inevitably they will have to refuse to go further than what they have done. What then is the idea in changing the provisions of the Bill in a radical manner? I think that the proposals of the Government do not seem to me to have been properly thought out and that they will bring not peace but further discord.

Let us consider the position of those States which according to the Minister of States and the Home Minister should be merged in the neighbouring States. Some hon. Members pointed out yesterday and some did today also that if Councils of Ministers and legislatures are created in Ajmer, Coorg and Bhopal, vested interests will be created which will resist the amalgamation of these States with the neighbouring States. Some hon. Members have regarded this fear as exaggerated. But I think that the words which fell

[Pandit Kunzru]

from my hon. friend Pandit M. B. Bhargava will illustrate this danger. He was for the merger of Ajmer and Coorg with the neighbouring areas in 1947 and said so in a minute that he appended to the Pattabhi Report. He made his position more explicit during his speech on the Bill in May last. He said:

"Then it is said that they may be merged. How can you keep the fate of lakhs of people hanging in the balance for years? You must take a decision.

If you are for merger, that must be decided here and now. It should not be deferred for a long time.

If you do not want to take such a decision, you are responsible for keeping them as a separate entity and therefore it is your responsibility to provide them with a democratic apparatus for carrying on the administration by the people, for the people and in the interest of the people."

But what he said yesterday showed a hesitation. He asked those who were for immediate merger whether they had considered how far behind the Part A States Ajmer-Merwara was in respect of social services and other matters: would not its development be endangered by its inclusion in the State of Rajasthan? He even went further and argued that under article 239 merger was not possible. While the President, he said, could carry on the Government of the State of Ajmer-Merwara through the Government of a neighbouring State, it could not be merged in another State! He thought that article 3 of the Constitution did not provide for the merger of one State in another or for the amalgamation, that is of two States.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: I never made any reference to article 3.

Pandit Kunzru: I heard him say that yesterday, but if he did not it is not germane to my purpose. But this shows the change that has come over my friend since the prospect of the establishment of a Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers opened out before him.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: It was I who moved the Resolution and demanded from the open House... How could you say that it has come to me now? I moved the Resolution on the 16th March on which the entire Bill has been sponsored.

Pandit Kunzru: I have quoted the very words that my hon. friend used

in that debate of the 16th March, 1951 and I am pointing out the discrepancy between his attitude then and his attitude yesterday. This shows in as clear and vivid manner as possible the demoralising effect of the amendments that the hon. Minister of States has brought forward. And I cannot understand how so perspicacious a Minister as my hon. friend, the Home Minister has agreed to them. (An Hon. Member: He has justified them). He has tried to justify the amendments for obvious reasons: one Minister cannot speak against another in the House.

Shri Munavalli: They do sometimes.

Pandit Kunzru: But I doubt whether they are wholly agreed on the subject in private. I am certain that my hon. friend, Shri Rajagopalachari could not easily have agreed to the moving of the amendments of which my hon. friend, the Minister of States has given notice. Why do you want to create more resistance to the amalgamation of Bhopal, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg in the neighbouring States? The hon. Minister of States told us the other day that his amendments did not imply that Government had changed their mind with regard to the future of these small States. I accept what he says, but Government because of the forces that he is now setting in motion may find itself in a few years in a position where they find it more difficult to resist pressure than they are finding now. So, from whatever point of view the question may be looked at, I cannot congratulate either the Ministers immediately concerned or the Government on their new move.

I should like to say a word now about the border States to whose strategic position the hon. Minister of States has referred in many debates. If you are going to invest them also with the paraphernalia of self-government that is going to be provided in the other States except Bilaspur, how will you continue to maintain your ultimate responsibility for the security of these areas as also India's in view of their strategic importance? So far as Kutch is concerned, it seems to me that it should after a certain amount of development be merged in Saurashtra. I doubt if it could remain apart from Saurashtra, though some limitation will have to be imposed on the power of the legislature and the Government there in respect of certain matters relating to Kutch just as under the Government of India Act, 1935, the N. W. F. P. was under somewhat greater control of the executive than the other Provinces. But as regards the other States, does my hon. friend the Minister of States envisage full responsibility for them in any foresee-

able future? If he cannot, I suggest that the provision made in the amendment that we are discussing for the extension of the sections mentioned in clause 1 to these border States is inopportune. No demand at any rate has come from these States for the rights demanded insistently by Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara.

Shri Gopalswami: They have come and very insistently too.

Pandit Kunzru: We have not heard their voice in this House. That is why I say that they have not insisted on being placed on a footing of equality in the matter of Legislative Assemblies and Councils of Ministers with other Part C States.

श्री भट्ट : जी लोग बोलते नहीं हैं उन को न्याय न दिया जाय ।

[**Shri Bhatt (Bombay):** No justice need be done unto those who do not speak.]

Pandit Kunzru: I thought that they were wise enough to recognise the difficulties of your position and not to press the Government to act in a way that would ultimately be contrary to their own best interests.

One hon. Member referred very briefly to the amalgamation of States in a number of Unions,—for instance Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat—and said if the policy of the Government was to allow small States become autonomous, why were these unions of States created. Some of them had a fairly efficient administration. If, however, Government thought that they were too small to form efficient units of Government, how was it that the Government was making arrangements in connection with the Part C States, except Bilaspur that would tend to the permanence of the present state of things? The hon. the Home Minister made a reply which seemed to me to be feeble, if not altogether irrelevant. It seems to me that Government have acted in haste and in fear. It gives me no pleasure to say this about two such respected Ministers as the Minister of States and the Home Minister. But considering the policy carefully, one is sorrowfully driven to the conclusion that Government have said to themselves—we have enough difficulties to contend against now; let us ease the situation for the present and we shall consider future difficulties when they arise. They have tried to purchase present peace at the cost of the future interests of these States and India.

Just one word more, Sir, before I sit down. The hon. the Home Minister said in the debate in May last that all these States were deficit States and that the Central expenditure on them amounted to about Rs. 5 crores, while the proceeds of the income-tax collected in these States would amount to about Rs. 40 lakhs only. Now it is clear as many hon. Members have pointed out.....

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Does the hon. Member mean that collection of Income-tax from all Part C States amounts to Rs. 40 lakhs?

Pandit Kunzru: This is what I understood the hon. the Home Minister to have said in his speech on the 26th May.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I may inform him that collection from Delhi alone is about rupees five crores.

Shri D. D. Pant (Uttar Pradesh): That is all arrears of Income-tax from those who have evaded paying the Income-tax!

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: It is a question of facts. Let them refer to the Deshmukh Award and the allocation of Income-tax. From Delhi during the last three years the Income-tax has been in the neighbourhood of four, three and five crores of rupees.

Shri Sidhva: Does it include the arrears?

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Every year there is realisation of some arrears, but the total amount has been increasing steadily.

Pandit Kunzru: I have not looked into the figures. But I suppose my hon. friend the Home Minister took into account the income only from those items that are regarded as State items and not the total Income-tax collected in the Delhi State. The total Income-tax collected in no State belongs entirely to it.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: That is a different issue.

Pandit Kunzru: Of course it is a very important issue. Ajmer-Merwara, Delhi and Coorg cannot claim a special position on account of this in this respect.

✓ **Shri Rajagopalachari:** The hon. Member is referring to some answer that I gave. I presume, in answer to an interpellation.

Pandit Kunzru: No, no. This is what my hon. friend said during the debate on this Bill on the 26th May, so far as I remember. I think I have got the reference with me.

✓ **Shri Rajagopalachari:** The point is I must have been referring to the revenue of the State and not a territorial division or notional allotment to Delhi of a revenue derived by the Union.

Pandit Kunzru: The words actually used....*

I do not know whether I have escaped the wrath of Ajmer-Merwara, or of the Government. But I admit that I have been lucky.

An Hon. Member: You have the support of the House.

Shri J. R. Kapoor: I hope that good luck will follow.

Pandit Kunzru: It will, if the good wishes of the House are with me.

These were the words spoken by the hon. the Home Minister in his speech on the 26th May:

"Altogether their deficit is Rs. 500 lakhs but the Income-tax portion will come to about Rs. 40 lakhs..... I say the administration of these States will have to be done with some care."

✓ **Shri Rajagopalachari:** The hon. Member may take the reference to Income-tax in my speech to mean the Income-tax share that will be allotted to them according to the distribution of Income-tax to the various States after these States were treated as 'A' States. The total bill on this account will be reduced by the allocation of a share of Income-tax to them and that is the reference that I must have made.

Pandit Kunzru: I understood his words in that sense. I was saying that it is well known that the democratic form of Government does not lead to economy. It will by itself increase expenditure and when the demands of the people for the development of the social services and the administrative services increase and become insistent, the burden on the Central Government will increase considerably. I think, therefore that the Government should carry on their policy with regard to the merger of certain States as speedily as possible. I do not want that Bhopal, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg should be left in their present position. (*Interruption*). My hon. friend, Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta says: What will be the effect? I thought that he and the

*At this stage one of the blades of the pedestal fan broke and fell down near the hon. Member with a heavy noise.

representatives of the other Part 'C' States were fighting for constitutional power. The merger will certainly give them more constitutional power. (*Interruption*). I have said to Government that this merger should be brought about as early as possible and my hon. friend, Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta asked me: What would be the effect of this merger? It is because of this remark of his that I have to point out that whatever...

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: If my hon. friend will yield awhile all that I meant was that they have been clamouring for merger but merger was not given. What is the alternative? The effect will be that the *status quo* will remain; neither will there be a merger nor will there be responsible Government.

Pandit Kunzru: My hon. friend was either not present or was absent-minded, when I referred to the remarks of my hon. friend, Pandit M. B. Bhargava yesterday.

An Hon. Member: What was the result?

Pandit Kunzru: Pandit M. B. Bhargava welcomed the merger yesterday. On the other hand, he said to the advocates of merger that they were impatient idealists. That was what the hon. Member meant. He asked them to consider what the effect of the merger would be on the future development of Ajmer-Merwara. Obviously the perspective has changed.

Pandit M. B. Bhargava: What I said was that the implications will have to be investigated.

Shri Sidhva: After giving you the legislature.

Pandit Kunzru: This was not what my hon. friend said in May last.

The Government ought to take early steps to merge these States in the neighbouring areas and there is certainly no excuse for burdening tiny Coorg with a population of 229,000 with the paraphernalia of Self-Government. As regards Bhopal it is true that the covenant requires that the State should not be merged in any neighbouring State for five years to come, but I hope that the *passage* of my hon. friend, the Minister of States will soon bear good fruit and that his Highness the Nawab of Bhopal will agree to the amalgamation of Bhopal with Madhya Bharat. Government should make an earnest effort to bring about an amalgamation. On that point, I entirely agree with my hon. friend Pandit M. B. Bhargava and the representative of Bhopal. They cannot

indefinitely postpone the merger. Having decided on a policy, they must carry it out without avoidable waste of time. As regards the three States of Manipur, Tripura and Cutch, I have already said that in my opinion, the position accorded to them under the Bill should be maintained. Vindhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh which are in a special position should be provided with Legislative Assemblies and Councils of Ministers, although I am not in favour of all the amendments proposed by my hon. friend the Minister of States.

I have not said anything so far with regard to Delhi. The position of Delhi is a very peculiar one on account of its being the capital of India and the seat of the Government of India. I thought also that I might speak about it on another occasion when, doubtless, my hon. friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta will draw the attention of the House to the very difficult position of Delhi. We all sympathise with him and will doubtless try to find some way out of the difficulty. I do not want to deal with it now at length because that would lengthen my speech considerably. I shall therefore content myself with what I have said and refer to the case of Delhi on a later occasion.

श्रीधरी रनबीर सिंह : सभापति महोदय, मैं सिधवा जी के संशोधन का समर्थन करता हूँ, लेकिन समर्थन करने के साथ साथ मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि उन्होंने जो भेद भाव रखा है वह बहुत अच्छा नहीं है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि...

Shri Sidhva : I am prepared to accept Coorg also to be included in the amendment. There is already an amendment to that effect.

श्रीधरी रनबीर सिंह : शायद जैसा आप को मालूम ही है मेरा कोई बहुत ज्यादा वास्ता कुर्ग से नहीं है। मैं तो दिल्ली को चाहता हूँ कि आप दिल्ली को उम्मेदमेंट (Amendment) में शामिल करें और उस के लिये मेरा काफी वैलिड रीजन (valid reason) है। कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली (Constituent Assembly) में जिस वक्त आर्टिकल (Article) २३९ के ऊपर दहस हो रही थी उस वक्त

बहुत सारे दोस्तों ने अपने अपने खयालात जाहिर किये थे और उस वक्त भी बहुत ज्यादा दोस्तों की जो कि-मूख्तलिफ प्रदेशों से आये थे यह राय थी कि नई दिल्ली को छोड़ कर बाकी दिल्ली और दिल्ली के देहात को पंजाब के साथ मिला दिया जाय।

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta : May I draw the attention of the Chair to the fact that Delhi is not under discussion at the moment because clauses 2 to 10 do not refer to Delhi. That is why I have kept quiet so far. It would not be fair therefore to refer to that question now. When clause 26 is reached, that question may be taken up.

श्रीधरी रनबीर सिंह : मेरा खयाल यह है कि देशबन्धु जी का ऐतराज ठीक नहीं है। वह इसलिये कि दिल्ली का नाम जो है वह क्लॉज (clause) २ में है। यह दूसरी बात है कि देशबन्धु जी की राय में दिल्ली के बारे में इस वक्त बोलना ठीक नहीं है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि मुझे पूरा हक है कि मैं अपने खयालात का इजहार करूँ। यह बात ठीक है कि दिल्ली को एक प्रान्तीय सरकार का स्टेटस (status) नहीं दिया जा सकता। क्योंकि यह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट (Central Government) की सीट (seat) है। कई एक ऐसे मामलात हो सकते हैं कि जिन में मतभेद हो सकता है और जो कि आगे चल कर काफी दुःखदायी हो सकते हैं इसलिये मैं ने अपने सुझाव में रखा है कि नई दिल्ली जहाँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकारी की सीट है उस को अलहिदा रख कर बाकी इलाके को पंजाब के साथ मिला दिया जाय। इस की एक और भी वजह है और वह यह है कि आज की बात और है, पर जिस वक्त वहाँ से मेम्बर (Member) चुने जायेंगे और वजीर बनेंगे उस वक्त वह वजीर लोग इस बात की कोशिश करेंगे और मेम्बर भी यह कोशिश करेंगे कि प्रान्त ऐसा का ऐसा

[चौधरी रनबीर सिंह]
 बना रहे, क्योंकि अगर वह किसी दूसरे इलाके में मिला दिया गया तो न तो उस वक्त इतने मेम्बर बन सकेंगे और न ही उन में से इतने वजीर बन सकेंगे। अगर कोई दिल्ली शहर का या दिल्ली देहात का कोई वजीर बनाया भी जायगा तो वह मुश्किल से एक हो सकता है, और अगर यह प्रान्त अलग रहा तो तीन चार वजीर तो आसानी से बन सकते हैं, ४८ मेम्बर बनेंगे और तीन या चार वजोर होंगे। उन सब का मफाद इसी में होगा कि यह प्रान्त अलग रहे। अगर आज दिल्ली के लोगों से पूछा जाय तो मेरा यकीन है कि वह पंजाब के साथ मिलना पसन्द करेंगे क्योंकि दिल्ली शहर के आधे से ज्यादा आदमी पंजाब के रहने वाले हैं, जिन की बोली पंजाबी है और जिन को पंजाब के साथ प्रेम है। इसी तरह से देहात का जहां तक वास्ता है देहात के लोगों का रोहतक, हिसार और गुडगांव से मेल खाता है। उन का दूसरे भागों से इतना ज्यादा मेल नहीं है। वह भी यही चाहते हैं कि हम अपने भाईयों के साथ मिलें क्योंकि उन के जो प्रश्न हैं वह वही हैं जो कि रोहतक और हिसार के देहात वालों के हैं।

तो जो मैं उन का समर्थन कर रहा था वह इसलिये कि उन की मंशा यह है कि देश के अन्दर यह छोटे छोटे हिस्से न रहें बल्कि किसी न किसी बड़े हिस्से में उन को मिला दिया जाय। इस काम के लिये आज इलेक्शन (Election) से पहले बहुत अच्छा समय है। इलेक्शन के बाद शायद इतना अच्छा समय नहीं रहेगा। उस के कई एक कारण हैं। एक कारण तो यह है कि आज हाउस (House) में जितना बहुमत है पता नहीं कि आगे इतना बहुमत आने वाला है या नहीं।

श्री द्विवेदी : आन ए पाइंट आफ इनफार्मेशन (On a point of information)। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग ईस्ट बंगाल (East Bengal) से वेस्ट बंगाल (West Bengal) में आये हैं या जो वेस्ट पंजाब (West Punjab) से विन्ध्य प्रदेश या और दूसरी जगहों पर गये क्या उन जगहों को भी आप अपने में मिला लेना चाहते हैं।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक ही असेम्बली (Assembly) हो, लेकिन मेरी ख्वाहिश से क्या बनता है देश का। कांस्टीट्यूशन (Constitution) हम ने बना दिया है। इसलिये हमारे जो भाई उबर जा बसे हैं वह अपना रास्ता खुद बनायेंगे, उन की फिक्र मुझे नहीं करनी चाहिये। तो मैं आप से यह कह रहा था कि अगर आप की यह इच्छा है कि आप इन इलाकों को दूसरे बड़े इलाकों में मिलाना चाहते हैं तो इस के लिये जितना अच्छा समय इन छः महीनों में है उतना अच्छा समय फिर बाद में नहीं आने वाला है। सवाल यह है कि आखिर आज इन के मिलाने में आप को दिक्कत क्या है, सिवा एक भोपाल के जहां कि आप को वहां के नवाब की इच्छा की जरूरत है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि और किसी इलाके के बारे में आज आप के सामने कोई मुश्किल है। विन्ध्य प्रदेश को भी अगर यह हाउस आज चाहे तो मिलाने में कोई मुश्किल नहीं हो सकती है।

श्री द्विवेदी : पंजाब को भी मिला सकते हैं।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : जैसा मैं ने आप से कहा था कि मैं तो पंजाब को हिन्दुस्तान का एक हिस्सा नहीं बल्कि सारे देश की

एक ही यूनिट (Unit) देखना चाहत हूँ। लेकिन मेरी स्वाहिश से तो कोई फायदा नहीं है। मेरे भाई द्विवेदी जी को तकलीफ होती होगी। शायद वे चाहते हैं कि लोगों से पूछा जाय। मैं पूछता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की इतनी बड़ी रियासत जैसा की बड़ौदा को बम्बई के साथ मिला दिया गया। क्या उस वक्त किसी से पूछा गया था? मेरे यहां एक रियासत फरीदकोट थी। उस रियासत की जितनी अच्छी सड़कें थीं और जितना अच्छा तालीम का दन्तजाम था इतना न पंजाब में है और न पटियाला में। लेकिन उस को पटियाला के साथ मिला दिया गया। क्या वहां के लोगों से किसी ने पूछा था?

श्री द्विवेदी : वहां के लोगों से पूछिये कि अब उन की क्या हालत है।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : अगर आप उन से पूछना चाहते हैं तो पूछिये। यह तो लोगों के सामने खयालात पेश करने का सवाल है और जहां तक असलियत का सवाल है वह तो यह है कि यह उन की भलाई के लिये है और देश की भलाई के लिये है। आज हमारे भाई द्विवेदी जी को मालूम है कि हम तो यहां कानून बनाने में लगे हुए हैं, और दूसरे लोग जिन का तोड़ फोड़ का काम है वह लोगों को भड़काने में लगे हुए हैं। हो सकता है कि उन को आज लोगों के सामने कुछ शलत खाल पेश करने में कामयाबी हासिल हो जाय। तो जो लोगों से पूछने वाली बात है यह तो एक खाल है। मैं मानता हूँ कि इस में उन की भलाई है और मुल्क की भी भलाई है। यह तो सवाल को देखने का सवाल है। कुछ समय पहले हमारे भाई मुकुट बिहारी लाल जी बहुत ज्यादा इस के हक में थे कि अजमेर को राजस्थान के साथ मिला दिया जाय।

आज उन की स्वाहिश पहिले के मुकाबले में कुछ कम मालूम देती है। इस के कारण हैं। आज अगर शिड्यूलड कास्ट (Scheduled Castes) वालों से पूछा जाय कि क्या वह क्लासिफिकेशन (Classification) तोड़ने के लिये तैयार हैं तो वे इन्कार करते हैं। क्यों? क्योंकि इस में पोलिटिकल एडवांटेजेज (Political advantages) हैं। अजमेर की सात लाख की आबादी है। मेरे खयाल में शायद पार्लियामेंट (Parliament) में उन के यहां से दो मेम्बर आयेंगे। इसी तरह से और भी जो दूसरे प्रांत हैं उन का हाल है। कुर्ग में डेढ़ या दो लाख की आबादी है। वहां से भी कम से कम एक मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट में आयेंगे। यह जो पोलिटिकल एडवांटेजेज हैं इन को कौन छोड़ना चाहिगा। यहां जो मेरे दोस्त मेम्बर बन कर आयेंगे और जो वहां पर मेम्बर और बड़ी बनने लगे वह तमाम इस के हक में होंगे कि इन इलाकों को अलग रखा जाय।

श्री राजगोपालाचार्य जी ने अपनी बड़ी नेक स्वाहिश हाउस के सामने बताई। लेकिन उन की नेक स्वाहिश का क्या बनेगा, क्योंकि वह स्वाहिश स्वाहिश ही बन कर रह जायगी। उस के खिलाफ लड़ने वाले इतने होंगे कि हम कामयाब नहीं हो सकेंगे। और मैं तो समझता हूँ कि उस का सबूत हमें हमारी कांस्टीट्यूशन में मिलता है। आखिर कुर्ग की कितनी आबादी थी, उस की डेढ़ या दो लाख आबादी थी। उस के लिये कांस्टीट्यूशन के अन्दर हम को एक धारा रखनी पड़ी, उस के लिये एक आर्टिकल रखा गया, जब कि बड़ौदा जैसी रियासत के लिये किसी ने कुछ नहीं पूछा कि कितना अच्छा दन्तजाम है या क्या बात है। अगर आप यह चाहते हैं और आप

[चौधरी रनबीर सिंह]

का अगर यह ख्याल है कि इलेक्शन के बाद इन को इकट्ठा करने में आप कामयाब होंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह बिल्कुल गलत है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि उन को हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े हिस्सों में मिला दिया जाय तो उस के लिये जितना अच्छा मौजूं वक्त छः महीने के अन्दर है वह वक्त फिर उस के बाद नहीं आने वाला है। और इस छः महीने के लिये मैं तो उन भाइयों से जो कि पार्ट सी स्टेट्स (Part C States) से आते हैं, उन से कहूँगा कि आप छः महीने के लिये बरा और सन्न करें। उन्होंने साढ़े तीन साल तक सन्न किया है, छः महीने कोई चीज नहीं है।

दिल्ली स्टेट के बारे में, जैसा मैं ने पहले कहा था मैं समझता हूँ कि दिल्ली को अलहदा स्टेटस देना एक गलती होगी। इस सरकार में और दिल्ली स्टेट की सरकार के बीच में एक हमेशा का झगड़ा पैदा करेंगे।

श्री देशबन्धु गुप्ता : क्या आनरेबिल मेम्बर यह चाहते हैं कि दिल्ली को पंजाब में मिला कर सी C से डी (D) बना दिया जाय, ?।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : अगर आनरेबिल श्री देशबन्धु गुप्ता यह समझते हैं कि हम डी में हैं तो मैं तो उन्हें बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा डी बुरा नहीं है। हमारा डी आप को एकदम ए में ले जायगा, और आप का सी० बी० तक भी नहीं चलेगा। और आप डी में आते हुए मत घबराइये। मैं तो एक बात और भी कहता हूँ, हमारे दोस्त पुनाचा जी ने कहा था कि हम सब-मर्ज (Submerge) हो जायेंगे। तो इस सिलसिले में दिल्ली के लिये कहता

हूँ कि अभी वह चीफ कमिश्नर (Chief Commissioner) से रूल (rule) होते हैं और हम गवर्नर (Governor) से रूल होते हैं। तो हमारे और उन के अधिकार इस वकत एक से बना दिये गये हैं। तो आज जितना अच्छा समय है कि हम आपस में मिल कर बैठें और सब इलाका एक बन जाय, इतना अच्छा वकत फिर कभी आने वाला नहीं है।

(English translation of the above speech).

Ch. Ranbir Singh: Sir, I support the amendment moved by Shri Sidhva, but at the same time I cannot help saying that the discrimination which he has suggested is not good. I want that.....

Shri Sidhva: I am prepared to accept Coorg also to be included in the amendment. There is already an amendment to that effect.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: Perhaps, you already know that I have not got much concern with Coorg. I want that you should include Delhi in the amendment and I have got sufficient valid reasons for that. When Article 239 was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, many of our friends, who came from different States, were of the opinion that barring New Delhi the whole of Delhi and its rural areas should be merged in the Punjab.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: May I draw the attention of the Chair to the fact that Delhi is not under discussion at the moment because clauses 2 to 10 do not refer to Delhi. That is why I have kept quiet so far. It would not be fair therefore to refer to that question now. When clause 26 is reached, that question may be taken up.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: I think that the objection raised by Shri Deshbandhu is out of order because the name of Delhi occurs in clause 3. This is another thing that in the opinion of Shri Deshbandhu it is not the appropriate moment to speak about Delhi, but I think I have the right to express my views. It is true that Delhi cannot be accorded the status of a State Government because it is the seat of the Central Government. There might arise certain matters where opinions may be different and which may prove troublesome in the future.

I have, therefore, suggested that barring New Delhi, which is the seat of the Government of India, the rest of the State should be merged in the Punjab. There is one other reason for it as well. Leave the things as they are today, but when members would be elected and ministers would be appointed they would try that Delhi State should remain as it is because if it is merged in any other State neither could so many members be elected nor could so many ministers be appointed. If, by chance, ministers are appointed from Delhi city or the rural areas, the number might not be more than one but if this State retains its separate entity, three or four ministers could easily be appointed. There will be 48 members and three or four ministers. Their interest lies in this that the State should remain separate. I believe that if the opinion of the people of Delhi is ascertained, they would like to have their State merged in the Punjab, because half of the population of Delhi City consists of Punjabis whose mother tongue is Punjabi and they love the Punjab. Similar is the case with the rural population as they seem to be more attached to the districts of Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon than to any other part of the country. They want to mingle with their brothers for their problems are the same as those of the villagers of Rohtak and Hissar.

I supported him because his intention was that small parts should not be allowed to remain separate entities but should be merged in some big State or the other. This is the most opportune time to do it, before the general elections are held. It might not be so suitable after the elections are over. There are many reasons for this. One is that there might not be such a majority in the House as at present.

• **Shri Dwivedi:** On a point of information. People have migrated from East Bengal to West Bengal and also from the West Punjab to Vindhya Pradesh and other places. I would like to know whether he would like to have all those places merged in the Punjab?

Ch. Ranbir Singh: I want that there should be only one Assembly for the whole of India but, after all, my wish is not the only thing that counts. We have already framed the Constitution of the country; hence those of our brethren, who have gone and settled in those parts of the country would make their own way; I need have no worry about them. I was saying that if you want to merge these small parts in big States there would not come a more appropriate time than this period of six months. After all, what is it

that stands in your way in effecting the merger, except that in the case of Bhopal you have to obtain the consent of the Nawab. I fail to understand if there is any other difficulty in your way in the case of any other area. There will be no difficulty even if the House wants to merge Vindhya Pradesh.

Shri Dwivedi: The Punjab could also be merged.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: As I have told you before I do not want that the Punjab should exist as a separate part of India. On the other hand, I should like the whole country to become one unit. But, then, my wish alone does not count. Perhaps, my friend Shri Dwivedi might be feeling uneasy and may be desirous of ascertaining the views of the public. I want to ask whether anybody was consulted when such a big State as Baroda was merged in Bombay? There was a State Faridkot in our part of the country. We do not find such good roads and proper arrangements for education in the Punjab or Patiala as existed in that State. But it was merged in Patiala. Was the opinion of those people ascertained?

Shri Dwivedi: Ask those people how they are feeling now.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: If you want to ask them, I have no objection. It is merely a question of expressing your views before the public but as far as reality is concerned it is for their good and for the good of the country. My friend, Shri Dwivedi knows that while we are engaged here in framing laws, others who believe in destruction, are busy in inciting the people. It is possible that they might succeed in putting their wrong ideas before the people. Therefore, the ascertaining of the people's opinion is a mere fancy. It is beneficial to them as well as to the country. It is a question of judging the issue. Some time ago our friend Shri Mukut Behari Lal was very much in favour of Ajmer being merged in Rajasthan. But he does not seem to be so keen about it at present. There are reasons for it. Today, if you were to ask the scheduled castes whether they want to do away with the classification their reply would be in the negative. Why? Because there are political advantages involved. Ajmer has a population of seven lakhs. I think they would elect two members to Parliament. Similar is the case with the other States as well. Coorg has a population of 1½ or two lakhs. They would also elect at least one Member. Who would like to forego these political advantages? All my friends who

[Ch. Rambir Singh]

would come here as Members or those who would be elected to the State Legislatures and would be appointed ministers, would be in favour of these States being kept separate.

Shri Rajagopalachari has expressed his noble wish before the House. But who cares for his noble wish? It is bound to remain a mere wish. There will be so many to oppose it that we would not succeed. And I think, we get reasons for this in our Constitution. After all, Coorg had a population of 1½ or two lakhs and we had to provide an article for it in our Constitution while nobody even enquired about the administration etc. of a State like Baroda. In my opinion you are mistaken if you think that you would be able to merge them after the elections. If you want to merge them in bigger parts of India there would not arise any opportunity more suitable than this period of six months from now on. I would request my friends from Part C States to have patience for a period of another six months. In view of the fact that they have been patient for three and a half years another six months should not matter.

As I have said before, it would be a mistake to keep Delhi as a separate State. That would give rise to a perpetual conflict between the Government of India and the future Government of Delhi State.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Does the hon. Member want that from its present position of a Part C State Delhi should be relegated to the position of a Class 'D' State by merger in the Punjab?

Ch. Rambir Singh: If my hon. friend, Shri Deshbandhu Gupta, thinks that we are in D Class, I may tell him that our D Class is not so bad because our D would take you direct to A while your C would not take you even to B. Do not hesitate to merge in D. I would like to say one thing more, with regard to the remark made by our friend Shri Poonacha that they would all be submerged. In this connection, I would like to say that while Delhi is being ruled by a Chief Commissioner, we are being ruled by a Governor. Both of us have been brought down to the same level for the present. There would not arise any other opportunity more suitable than this, when we could come together and merge in one.

Shri Shankaraiya (Mysore): I rise to support the amendment of Shri Sidhva. This question involves a question of principle. The question is: in bringing forward a legislation before the House

whether the wishes of the people concerned should not be given effect to in that legislation? If we cast our eyes on what happened some time back we will find that from the very beginning almost all were urging for merger of all these States. Then the question of association of popular opinion with the administration was not there. But when this factor was not therein, almost all were unanimously of the opinion that all these small States should be merged with the neighbouring Provinces. This my opinion was also acted upon by the Government on several occasions, both during the life time of the late revered Sardar Patel and subsequently also. Our hon. Minister Gopalaswami Ayyangar has clearly stated that that was the policy of the Government also. Even in his opening speech, while moving these amendments, hon. Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar made it clear that the object of the Government was to ultimately see that all these small States are merged into the neighbouring provinces. Added to all this, let us know and consider as to what is the opinion of the public in these small States. As was admitted by the hon. Minister himself, in Bhopal almost all the people are for merger. So also in Ajmer and in Coorg. When that is the popular opinion, I would like the hon. Minister to explain what steps have been taken by the Government to implement this popular will. What steps have Government taken to see that merger takes place? On the other hand, we are surprised to find the present amendments being brought forward by the Government. These amendments come in the way of the ultimate goal of merger. As was pointed out by many hon. Members here, this offer has brought about a change in the minds of some hon. Members. When this offer was not there, most of them were for merger. But.....

Shri Gopalaswami: May I correct one impression of the hon. Member? Certainly no offer went forth from the Government. But the Government were asked to do certain things and they agreed. That is all. Does the hon. Member mean to say that the Government put forth this idea and then persuaded the people to agree to it? That I think would really be distorting the whole fact.

Shri Shankaraiya: Though I should like to be corrected by this, Sir, before accepting the suggestion made to the Government did the Government consider the effect of it in the larger interest of the country? I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether, before placing these amendments before the House the Government has taken into

consideration the will of the people and the previously accepted policy of the Government which were for merger as the ultimate goal. Their acceptance of these amendments has led to the change of opinion in some and this is the position created by the Government. Will this not lead to vested interests consolidating their position and trying to be a stumbling block in the way of our reaching the ultimate goal of merger? Have the Government given consideration to this aspect of the matter? I would like the hon. Minister to clarify.

Shri Gopalaswami: May I ask my hon. friend whether any vested interests could be created in democratic institutions?

Shri Shankaraiya: But may I ask whether merger would deprive them of the democratic principles and Institutions? On the other hand, they would be gaining greater advantages and they will have all the facilities of the larger States.

If instances are to be given, I would like to explain or put forward some of the facts relating to Coorg.

Mr. Chairman: Is the hon. Member likely to conclude in a minute or two?

Shri Shankaraiya: No, Sir. I would take about ten minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Then, we may adjourn.

The House then adjourned till Half Past Eight of the Clock on Wednesday, the 29th August, 1951.