

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

Dated.....24.11.53

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

1675

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Thursday, 27th August, 1953

*The House met at a Quarter Past
Eight of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

9-25 A.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

**REPORTS OF TARIFF COMMISSION ON
CONTINUANCE OF PROTECTION TO DRY
BATTERY INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT
RESOLUTIONS ETC.**

**The Minister of Commerce and In-
dustry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):**
I beg to lay on the table a copy of
each of the following papers under
sub-section (2) of section 16 of the
Tariff Commission Act, 1951:—

- (i) Report of the Tariff Commission on the continuance of protection to the Dry Battery Industry (1953).
- (ii) Ministry of Commerce and Industry Resolution No. 5(2)-T.B./53, dated the 15th August, 1953.
- (iii) Statement explaining the reasons why a copy each of the papers referred to at (i) and (ii) above could not be laid within the prescribed period.

[Placed in Library. See No. IV. R. 39(5).]

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(iv) Report of the Tariff Commission on the continuance of protection to the Hydroquinone Industry (1953).

(v) Ministry of Commerce and Industry Resolution No. 8(3)-T.B./53, dated the 15th August, 1953.

(vi) Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification No. 8(3)-T.B./53, dated the 15th August, 1953.

(vii) Tariff Commission's letter No. TC/ID/E-78, dated the 26th/28th May, 1953.

[Placed in Library. See No. IV. R. 11 a(25).]

ANDHRA STATE BILL—Concl'd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the Andhra Bill. Yesterday I said the third reading would be finished by 10-15. We are starting only at 9-30. I will call upon the hon. Minister to speak at 10-15 in the meanwhile hon. Members must finish their speeches. I will allow five minutes each.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): If you will see the records you will also see that you agreed to give one whole day to the third reading and I respectfully submit that the House has not cared to give the Bill that amount of time. I feel that it is very unfair to the

[Shri Frank Anthony]

Members who are opposed to this Bill not to be allowed that much time. You had agreed to give one whole day to the third reading.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The words are used very easily—"unfair" and so on. We originally fixed seven days for this, but I gave 9 days. I am going to 9½ days. There is no meaning in saying "unfair" and so on. Hon. Member was not here yesterday. For the general discussion we had allowed three days, and three days for the second reading. We had decided on seven days in all for the passing of the Bill.

I would have given an opportunity to all hon. Members who wanted to oppose this Bill because that would have had preference over any others.

Shri Frank Anthony: Hon. Members expected a full day and that is what fell from your own mouth.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I said seven days in all. Seventh Schedule. Sections 47, 48 and 49 which had been reserved to be considered within this time consumed a portion of the other time. Therefore, we have to cut down the third reading.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am sorry you have categorically stated that one whole day would be given to the third reading.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Originally I said so. But having regard to the huge amount of work before the House and to the fact that I have already increased the time to 9½ days it is open to me to change what I said originally.

Pandit S. C. Mishra (Monghyr North-East): Sir, I was saying that the desire of the masses to get rid of exploitation and not the desire of the politicians to have a preserve for exploitation is the driving force behind this demand for new linguistic States. I am sorry to note that though the advisers of the present Government did for them so many things in the past,

they only take up the operative portions of the gone loras now. I need not say much myself about what I am contending now. I will read from their bibliography. They have themselves said. "It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic units of Government that by making it possible to conduct the business of legislature in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English."

Here in a nutshell is a desire of the people to get rid of exploitation. They think that if their affairs were conducted in their own language they would have a chance to know something and to give their contribution to it. I have seen that the Home Minister, though he has been piloting this Bill, has never accepted even by a slip of tongue, that they have accepted this principle and they will further expand it. But it always seems that they wish to say that it is an experiment and that they have a desire to do nothing else. If their wish is that they should keep themselves engaged and keep their opponents engaged in such superfluous things, then I say it is super tactics, but then may God save this present generation and this country from such leadership. But if they have a desire to achieve something, then, they must proceed quickly and finish these things.

The manner in which these Bills are being placed in the House, I must say, does not at all contribute to the appeasement of the feelings of the masses. Before the carving out of this new State, we have the example of Bihar having been carved out in 1911, Orissa and Sind having been carved out in 1936-37. We have seen that no such treatment was meted out to any of these new States created at any time. It looks as if they are treating this new State like a step child. They have a perfect right to say, "Sonny! you have been brought into this world not because I wished

it, but because your ugly father wished it". Well they have got every right to say this. Hindu Code Bill or no Hindu Code Bill, the queen of Delhi is already married to the ragged tagged man of Hindustan.

He may be naked, he may be half fed, but power has been captured in his name, not in the name of educated people, nor in the name of Rajahs or Maharajahs. But if they say that as this State has been brought into being by the pressure of the masses, they are going to treat it ill I say they are inviting trouble on their own heads. Therefore, if we have to proceed on some principles I will request you to give more consideration to these matters.

I am sorry to find in this House certain friends who can never understand what is the advantage of having provinces on linguistic basis.

Mr. Anthony Eden for example—(Some Hon. Members: Mr. Frank Anthony) I am sorry, somebody calls him Mark Antony—Mr. Anthony for instance said something. I am sorry our great leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not here. I would have told him that nobody can help getting thrilled on the pronouncement of the language of his cradle. I think everyone of us is familiar with the reaction which we get immediately we hear the voice that we have heard in our cradles. But perhaps these two people who were brought up by English *ayahs* and who do not know the vernacular cannot understand these feelings. If you talk to the man in the street in his own language he will open his heart to you and have confidence in you.

श्री अलगू राय शास्त्री (ज़िला आजम-गढ़—पुर्व व जिला बलिया—पश्चिम) :
साप क्यों नहीं बोलते हैं ।

सरदार हुक्म सिंह : (कपूर्वला-भटिण्डा) :
साप नहीं समझते, सब समझते ह ।

Pandit S. C. Mishra: I have heard the appeal of the Home Minister

that we should have a common language for everybody. And I want to see the day when Hindi shall be the most popular language in India. But when some people talk of "fissiparous tendencies" and this and that. I simply say they do not know India. Shankaracharya was living in the southernmost part of India and he had conquered the whole of India not by sword. What was the reason? The culture of India is one. Therefore I say that all these talks are nonsense.

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): Sir, let the hon. Member withdraw that word.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is impartial. He has not said which part.

Pandit S. C. Mishra: All these talks of "fissiparous tendencies" etc. are beside the point. By this process of carving linguistic States you are uniting India. So long as you do not do this, India will not be united.

What have we seen? I wish the Congress President were here. They have gone back upon their promises. What has it produced? It was a very sorry spectacle. There are recalcitrants among their own members. You would have marked it, not from the Opposition side, but from that side Member after Member was saying "Our companions in the Congress can go to any length. They can manipulate. They can change records". Each one of them was in fact saying "I accept our companions have become dishonest". I wish the Giant Atlas who carries the whole world of the Congress on his shoulders had heard this. Anybody can go and find out what the Congress people are saying about themselves. They say "Each one of our leaders is capable of dishonesty, interpolation", and so on. The record is there.

Shri Bhagwat Jha (Purnea cum Santal Parganas): It is in your mind.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us confine ourselves to the Andhra State Bill!

Shri Bhagwat Jha: He has already said that he is talking nonsense.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I take it the hon. Member has finished.

Pandit S. C. Mishra: That I cannot bring sense to those people—I accept. But sense is already dawning in spite of me. It has already dawned upon them.

When giving them a new province, they could at least treat the Andhras better. If they could not give them the Secunderabad or Hyderabad districts they could give them ample money. Even that would have shown that there was some sincerity behind this Act. They could have said: we are bringing this Act and immediately it shall be followed by this Act and that

Therefore, once more I beseech them on behalf of the progress that awaits us, in the name of that progress which this generation wants, "Please change your attitude, get forward quickly". First of all, give the Andhras enough to become self-sufficient and proceed with the creation of those other States which are awaiting to come into the world.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): It is a wonder of wonders that I rise to congratulate the Congress Government on this measure which they have brought before this House for the formation of the Andhra Province. (Some Hon. Members: Hindi.) My pleasure. But I must say that just like their predecessors and preceptors, the British Government, they have missed the bus. After all it is a belated and half-hearted measure, and therefore my congratulations are also belated and half-hearted.

It is a very long story, this question of linguistic provinces, and I find that there is nothing in this Bill to enthuse the non-Andhras like Kerala, Karanatakas and Maharashtrais and also Andhras because their dream is a Visal Andhra with Hyderabad as the capital. But after all I would advise my Andhra brethren to re-

member the maxim "half a loaf is better than no bread" and to work up this Province which they have now got with the best of ability and with the co-operation of others. And as the oldest, perhaps, of the Members in this House—in years though not necessarily in wisdom—I will bless them

Shri Bogawat (Ahmednagar South): Is it a confession?

Dr. N. B. Khare: Take it any way you like. You may regard me a fool if you like; I don't mind.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: No, no. It is generosity.

Dr. N. B. Khare: I bless them. Yesterday my comrade Mr. Gopalan—(An Hon. Member: Your comrade?) Yes, yes, my comrade in this House and yours also!—Mr. Gopalan quoted lines after lines to the discomfiture of the Home Minister.

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): None whatever.

Dr. N. B. Khare: That is bravado, nothing else. For, what were the pronouncements of the Rashtriya Saba bhaktas in the past? These big drums of Congress have without doubt accepted linguistic principle. You know, the drums make a big noise but they themselves are empty! It is not that they have kept themselves idle before bringing this Bill. They have rearranged the territories of some States according to their whims and fancies and created bitterness. Take for instance Baroda, Kashmir or Sirohi. Baroda was abolished and merged into Bombay on account of the whim of a Congress High-up. Kashmir got similar fate for some reason. Sirohi State which is an organised State was disintegrated into two. The southern half was joined to Bombay State and the Northern half to Rajasthan. What for? Because Southern half contains Abu which is a hill station and it must be there for the prospective Maha Gujerat province. Why don't they do it in respect of Hyderabad?

If they really want linguistic provinces they cannot escape the division of Hyderabad State. I cannot understand. Without doing that they cannot have linguistic provinces, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Visal Andhra. Why should the Nizam be there in spite of his sins of commission and omission? I am surprised at his existence up to this day—I do not mean his physical existence. I on the *gadi*. I am surprised. I sometimes think that His 'Exhausted' Highness is a son-in-law of the Congress organisation.

जामातः दशम गृहः।

All the nine *grahas* when then enter into a *Rasi* they move about, but this tenth *graha*, *jamata*, when he enters the *Kanya Rasi*, he is a perpetual fixture.

If they want linguistic provinces they must disintegrate Hyderabad first.

Then some people talk glibly about provincialism and parochialism when we demand linguistic provinces. I can't understand that. Look at the arrangement in India. North of the Vindhyas, all provinces are linguistic: Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat. But, you go south of the Vindhyas: jumble of all languages; poly-linguistic provinces. If we have a grievance over it, we are not to blame. We must have them, we shall have them, I tell you.

I know the ghost which troubles us. I am a Maharashtrian. We live in three States: Hyderabad, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh and I belong to the Madhya Pradesh. I know it as a fact that we are nowhere in a majority. Therefore, the Government of the day, naturally give us step-motherly treatment. No one can deny that. I do not want to go into the details. I am mentioning only a fact. You may take it for what it is worth. There is the demand. If you really do not want linguistic provinces, why do you worry about it? You have got so many provinces in India based more or

less on linguistic principles, and so many legislatures. Small half-penny, two-penny provinces like Bhopal have got legislatures. What an absurd idea? Large overhead charges and too much of expenditure. I should say, scrap all these provinces and legislatures and have only a few administrative zones; abolish all these legislatures which are hot beds of and, if I may say so, symbolise only all India corruption, cupidity, etc.—I say, scrap all of them. Have only this legislature. Let the President appoint Commissioners or Governors or whatever you may call them and with the help of advisers they may carry on the administration. That would be better, more efficient and less corrupt than these. If you do not do this, then, you cannot escape the formation of linguistic provinces. Choose one of the two alternatives. That is all I have to say and nothing more.

सेठ बिन्धु दास (मंडला-जबलपुर दक्षिण) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय सब से पहले तो मैं डाक्टर काटजू साहब को इस बात पर बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने आन्ध्र के सम्बन्ध में एक विधेयक रखा और अब कुछ ही क्षणों के बाद वह कानून बन जाने वाला है।

मैं भाषावार प्रान्तों का बड़ा भारी समर्थक रहा हूँ और आज भी मैं भाषावार प्रान्तों का बड़ा भारी समर्थक हूँ। कल श्री गोपालन जी ने जो बातें कहीं उनमें अनेक से मैं सहमत हूँ। कांग्रेस की नीति सन् १९२० से ही भाषावार प्रान्तों के पक्ष में रही है और कांग्रेस के संगठन में प्रान्तों का विभाजन उसी प्रकार हुआ है। उस विभाजन के बाद जो कांग्रेस का कार्य करते रहे हैं उन्हें इस बात का अनुभव है कि उस विभाजन से यथार्थ में जिन जिन टुकड़ों में कांग्रेस की प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ बनायी गईं उनमें कितना अच्छा काम हुआ है। डाक्टर लखे साहब के इस कथन से भी मैं सहमत हूँ कि जब उत्तर भारत में करीब करीब भाषावार प्रान्त हैं

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

तो फिर दक्षिण में हम वहां के लोगों की इच्छा के अनुसार इस बात को क्यों जल्दी से जल्दी नहीं निबटा देते। या तो जिस तरह से रेल के ६ जोन हो गये हैं उसी प्रकार हम सारे देश का विभाजन कर डालें या फिर हम भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना करें, और यदि भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना होती है तो मैं इसके पक्ष में भी हूँ कि उस भाषा के बोलने वालों के जितने क्षेत्र हैं वे उन प्रान्तों में मिला दिये जायें। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि एक तरफ तो आप आन्ध्र का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ आप हैदराबाद को जैसा का तैसा रखना चाहते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि केरल, कर्नाटक और महाराष्ट्र की मांग को भी आप बहुत दिनों तक न टाल सकेंगे। यदि आगे चल कर कर्नाटक, केरल और महाराष्ट्र प्रान्त बनता है और यदि आपने आन्ध्र प्रान्त बना दिया है तो हैदराबाद की वर्तमान परिस्थिति कैसे रह सकती है यह भी मेरी समझ के बाहर की चीज है। हमें कहीं न कहीं तो तर्कपूर्ण कार्य करना ही पड़ेगा। और यदि हम यह नहीं करेंगे तो असन्तोष रहने वाला है तथा कभी संतोषपूर्ण हालत होने वाली नहीं है। यदि आपको यह भय है कि अलग अलग भाषावार प्रान्तों के होने से भारत की एकता का नाश होगा तो इससे मैं सहमत नहीं हूँ। यदि आप हिन्दी को उसका उचित स्थान केन्द्र में देंगे यदि आप अन्तर्प्रान्तीय कार्यों में उसका उपयोग करेंगे, और इसके लिये भी जो हिन्दी का समुचित स्थान है वह उसको देंगे यदि आप प्रान्तों में हिन्दी की शिक्षा को अनिवार्य कर देंगे तो भाषावार प्रान्तों के बनने पर भी, भारत की एकता का कभी नाश नहीं होगा। यदि आप यह सब करने को तैयार नहीं हैं और केवल एक आन्ध्र प्रान्त बना देना चाहते हैं और आन्ध्र प्रान्त में भी जहां जहां तेलगू भाषा बोली जाती है उन सब

हिस्सों को आप आन्ध्र में सम्मिलित नहीं करना चाहते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हम कोई तर्कपूर्ण कार्य नहीं कर रहे हैं। कांग्रेस ने भाषावार प्रां. निर्माण की नीति को स्वीकार किया है। कांग्रेस ने अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी के गत अधिवेशन में ही फिर से इस सम्बंध में एक प्रस्ताव भी पास किया है। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि जब हम भाषावार प्रान्त बनायें तो कुछ दूसरी बातें भी हमारे सामने आनी चाहियें और उन पर भी हमको ध्यान देना चाहिये। उन पर ध्यान दिये बिना हम भाषावार, प्रान्तों को नहीं बना सकते। यदि हमको देश का पुनः विभाजन करना है तो हम को सब बातें देखनी होंगी। एक तरफ तो उत्तर प्रदेश जैसा बड़ा प्रान्त है और दूसरी तरफ अजमेर, कुर्ग, भोपाल, दिल्ली और विन्ध्य प्रदेश जैसे छोटे छोटे टुकड़े हैं। मैं तो आपसे कहूँगा भाषावार प्रान्तों को बना कर भी यथा साध्य बड़े बड़े प्रान्त रखना चाहिए यह बड़े प्रान्तों का युग है, छोटों का नहीं क्योंकि छोटे प्रान्तों से आर्थिक विकास के लिये अनेक अड़चनें आती हैं। मैं अपने प्रान्त का दृष्टांत दूँ। यदि महाराष्ट्र प्रान्त बनता है तो हमारे प्रान्त का क्या होगा? मैं समझता हूँ कि उस समय महाकोशल, मध्यभारत, विन्ध्य प्रदेश और भोपाल को मिला कर एक बड़ा प्रान्त बनाना चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश के झांसी डिवीजन के चार बुन्देली जिले भी इस प्रान्त को दे दीजिए।

डा० काटजू : और उसका कैपीटल जबलपुर रखा जाय।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : कुछ भी नाम रखिये और कहीं भी राजधानी रखिये। मैं डाक्टर काटजू साहब को यह बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि संकुचित विचार रख कर मैं ३३ वर्ष से सार्वजनिक जीवन में नहीं रहा हूँ। मेरा दृष्टिकोण व्यापक है। मैं तो यह मानता हूँ कि

या तो आप इस देश के चार पांच बड़े बड़े टुकड़े कर दें, और अगर आप इसी प्रकार के प्रान्त रखना चाहते हैं तो आपको भाषा-वार प्रान्त बनाने पड़ेंगे और उनके सिवा जो दूसरे क्षेत्र हैं उनका भी आपको ठीक विभाजन करना होगा। साथ ही देश की एकता के लिए हिन्दी का जो उचित स्थान है वह उसे आपको देना पड़ेगा। इतना कह कर मैं हृदय से इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri Frank Anthony: I, perhaps, am going to enjoy the uniquely unenviable position of being the only person to oppose this Bill outright. I know that my attempt is going to be a lone and forlorn one. But, I am not without the hope that people like me may ultimately attract the saner elements in this country into resistance; people without any political axe to grind, and without any motive of personal self-aggrandisement, may attract them into an awareness of the unlimited dangers of the policy to which the Home Minister has committed this country. May I say this, Sir, that I was convinced more than ever after hearing the Home Minister, that the Government had conceded the Andhra State in a mood of weakness or vacillation, or even in a mood of political opportunism. (*Some Hon. Members:* No, no.) I listened to the Home Minister as long as I could; I heard him for 25 minutes. During all that time what the Home Minister did was to regale the House with details as to why the Andhra State should not have been brought into existence at this particular juncture. I would like to ask the Home Minister this: What was the particular urgency for this measure in the context of the economy of the country? Would the Andhras have been exterminated? Would our economy have disintegrated and fallen to pieces if this mal-formed, deformed and truncated State does not come into existence on the 1st of October? (*Interruptions*) I am sorry, I have not got the time; if I had, I would like to reply to every hon.

Member categorically. Those of us who are outside the arena.—I am outside the arena so to speak and it is an axiom that the on-lookers see most of the game—many of us—feel strongly that Government has been stampeded into this, beaten a retreat in the face of political blackmail, by fasts, riots and violence. Another line of argument, and perhaps categorically emphasized, was that this promise was made by the ruling party about thirty years ago. We were given the impression: Here is a ruling party which is not only sensitive, but tremulously sensitive to all its promises and it is honour bound to implement them. I say with all respect, this line of argument struck me as being so much political cant and hypocrisy. What about other promises, equally vital promises, by the ruling party, promises which affect not a small area like the Andhra State but the whole country? What about the separation of the executive from the judiciary? Your motive here, I am sorry to say, is a political motive because it does not suit you to separate your power-drunk executive from the judiciary: something which will give real meaning and significance to independence. You forget about that much more vital and much more sacred problem and from political motive you implement this mal-formed State. Our only problem is the economic rehabilitation of the country and that alone should have absorbed all our energies. What does Indian history show over and over again? History has a way of repeating itself. What are the forces and bonds which have united India? The three bonds which still keep the Indians more or less as a single nation are the unified administration introduced by the British, secondly the person and personality of Jawaharlal Nehru, and thirdly, a common medium of expression between the leaders of the country. The first two are extremely transient. Already the mortar of unity of the administrative machinery is crumbling under the impact of regionalism. A vote-catching competition is going on among all the political parties for

[Shri Frank Anthony]

the services to be regionalised. Unfortunately Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, —I am sorry to say he is not here— has been unable to resist that.

Then there are the language fanatics who, without wisdom and statesmanship first to substitute in the place of this common medium of expression. Some single national language, are weeping over English. . . .

Seth Govind Das: Remember the Constitution.

Shri Frank Anthony:...and I regret that you are giving this hostage to disintegration. What has my hon. friend the Home Minister said? He asked Shri Gopalan to accept this as a solemn act. He has used it to initiate a still greater process of disintegration. My hon. friend the leader of the Communist party has threatened you in so many words that this is only the beginning of your trouble. You have made a man-made problem for this country. It is going to satisfy only those people who are engaged in unseemly controversy for the spoils of office. It is going to satisfy the unemployed element in your legislatures. Unfortunately, there is always a very large unemployed element in your legislatures. They see in their own legislature an opportunity for lucrative and more permanent employment. It is going to satisfy the unabashedly communal elements in Andhra, who think in terms of loaves and fishes of office. (*An Hon. Member:* No, no.) My hon. friend said: "No". What is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander. Why, when Mr. Hukam Singh asked for a Punjabi-speaking State, did somebody raise his hands in horror? Why, when the Sikhs make that demands, do you raise your hands and say: "This is a communal demand"? Why—I am not pleading anyone's case. I am only arguing by analogy,—why, when 16 millions in Uttar Pradesh, do not ask for a separate State but only ask for a small measure of cultural autonomy to teach their mother tongue once again you call it a communal demand? But when your co-religionists

ask for a separate State you endow it with noble and lofty motives. When your co-religionists demand it, it assumes the refinements of a natural, irrepressible and cultural urge. That is what is happening.

10 A.M.

If you really want to serve the linguistic minorities set your face against linguism. The greatest guarantee of a linguistic minority is not a linguistic State but a multi-lingual State. Whenever you place one language in a position of unchallenged supremacy, then the people whose mother tongue happens to be that language will oppress and destroy the real linguistic minorities. It is happening in Uttar Pradesh. It will happen in Andhra and it will happen in every linguistic State. This means not cultural autonomy for the linguistic minorities—it means cultural death.

One of our poet friends, with typical poetic hyperbole, referred not in lyrical but hysterical language to what he described as a festival of culture being ushered in by linguistic States. Fortunately, neither poets nor madmen are the best judges of hard bitten political or administrative problems.

What was going to happen to the Andhras if they did not have a linguistic State? Were they going to be physically exterminated. Was their culture going to be extinguished? This is so much political cant and hypocrisy. Telugu is one of the major regional languages. The Telugus have already achieved cultural autonomy. They have their schools and colleges. So this is not a cultural but a political cry.

Today the country is bleeding to death. Millions and Millions of people are starving or are near starvation. Every penny we had we should have spent on food, clothing and housing. Today you are indulging in cheap political tomfoolery. What is going to happen? You are going to spend crores and crores of rupees

on Andhra. You will not only drive national unity into the background but into ultimate oblivion. (*An Hon. Member: No. no.*) My hon. friend says 'No, no', but let him face the reality. When Andhra comes in, my hon. friend will not be able to go to Madras. The Dravidakazhakam will drive him out. When you are canalising your emotional feelings into narrow regional tendencies you will drive out all thoughts of one nation and one language. That is what is going to happen. I pray to God I may prove to be a false prophet.

Mr. Justice Wanchoo has calculated the Andhra State as a deficit State. He has calculated the deficit as Rs. 5 crores. Today the political bandwagon represent a rake's progress. When all our politicians get into saddle, you will see more and more expenditure which the British never dreamt of all the pomp of imperial barons and the paraphernalia of so-called democracy, the importing of hordes of Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, hordes of gilt-clad chaprassis. Let your political "nouveau riche" get going. Let them have all their political sops and your deficit will not be five but fifteen crores. There is this utter perversion of priorities in this country. The Finance Minister is here: one of the wickedest acts he did was to take away the food subsidies: he made the food of the people dearer just to save fifteen crores: yet without bolting an eye lid we are prepared to waste as many crores in starting an unnecessary, deformed State. You are performing not an act of folly but an act of treason. Fifty years from now the Home Minister will be indicated by posterity and be damned. He won't be there; he has a facile manner of dismissing a problem by a wave of the hand; by oversimplifying it, he won't be there to exculpate himself even partially.

I blame all the parties, the Praja Socialist, the Communist and others; they are all playing the same game.

They know it is a problem of language—a highly emotional problem. It is like the Muslim problem of 'Mohammedanism in danger'. It is an irrational problem. They know that an emotional, irrational problem can be exploited by political adventurers as a vote-catching device. I am sorry the Leader of the House is not here. I have got a very great regard for him. I did expect that he at least would have said: "Let us stop this disintegration and disruption of the country", but in a moment of weakness he has agreed to this.

Privately, at any rate, they will admit that they should not release these centrifugal forces.

But publicly they are all engaged in vote-catching. That is what is going to happen. You do not have the strength, you do not have the statesmanship, the courage to say: "Let the Communists vote-catch as much as they like. Let the Praja-Socialists compete with them. We will at this state, at any rate, stop any tendency to encourage centrifugal forces. We will concentrate on one thing, and one thing only, and that is to give our starving people some food, our naked people some clothes, our unsheltered people some shelter."

Shri Ramachandra Reddi (Nellore): At this stage I have got very few words to express. Mr. Frank Anthony's guns boomed, but not a single bullet was fired. I have not heard a more irrelevant speech, than that we have so far been treated to on this occasion.

The names of Dr. Katju and Mr. Deshmukh will go down in history as the great architects of this Andhra Bill. They have yet a great responsibility to discharge, as great many things have to be done yet. We cannot but appreciate the services of the officers, of both the Centre and the Province, for having expedited the proceedings that led to the formation of the Andhra State. They must have done their duty with the best of intentions, under the instructions of

[Shri Ramachandra Reddi]

both the Central and the local Governments. What is left there is a goodwill that has to be developed both internally in the Andhra State and externally.

A lot of controversy has been raised on the floor of this House, and it looked as if there was going to be a battle of brickbats, but fortunately everything has ended smoothly and calmly, and we are now in a position to exchange bouquets. Controversies have been, to some extent, mellowed down by the able exposition of the situation by the hon. Finance Minister. There are still opportunities given to examine the basic principles or the basic reasons for these controversies. I would only urge upon the Government, and especially the hon. Home Minister, to expedite the constitution of the Boundary Commission, the high-powered Boundary Commission that he has promised. Very many things have to be done by that Commission, and we wish that Boundary Commission would be able to solve so many questions that have been mentioned on the floor of this House and that are agitating the minds of others who are anxious to form their linguistic States. I am sure the several areas which want Linguistic States to be formed would co-operate with the Boundary Commission, and would not raise new issues to make the position of the Boundary Commission very difficult. I only invite the co-operation of all concerned, not only the Central and local Governments, not only the co-operation of the several sections in the Andhra area, but also of those people who are anxious to form their own linguistic states, viz., the Kannidagas, the Malayalis, the Maharashtrians and probably the Tamilians also. In fact, the time might come when there will be, for the sake of efficient administration a federation of some of those linguistic areas in the South consisting of the Tamilians, the Andhras, the Kannadigas and the Malayalis. I wish that the Central Government would not

hesitate to do their part in setting up the several linguistic States for which there has been agitation.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): The House has still not recovered from the shock sought to be administered by my hon. friend, the modern Don Quixote, the Lone Mariner, Mr. Frank Anthony. Until I heard his speech, I thought that the only King Canute is the hon. Home Minister. He is no longer so. Now, he has got good company.

Having listened to the fervid eloquence of my hon. friend Mr. Anthony, who unfortunately does not have roots because he has no constituency, he is in the most happy position...

Shri Frank Anthony: All India is my constituency.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Sir I am reminded of the British poet,

"and calm of mind, all passions spent"

This is the mood in which I would like to approach this debate on the third reading of this Bill on the Andhra State. I am in this mood on account of the S.O.S. sent to me yesterday before the third reading began—and I may as well take the House into confidence about what in other circumstances, would be top secret—by my hon. friend Dr. Katju. This is the note he sent to me yesterday. "Valedictory speeches tomorrow. Will yours be valedictory or maledictory? I am told it is the latter." (Sd.) K." So, Sir, immediately with the obliging assistance of one of the commissioners of this House, I sent him a love letter. I wrote as follows: "I will be the incarnation of sweet reasonableness and a good patriot". And I hope, Sir, that now that this din and bustle of controversy, the attack and counter-attack, sometimes leading to rancour, are all over, they will become memories, mostly pleasant to most people, perhaps poignant to a few.

I would like to make one statement, and I am sure my hon. friends, particularly from Tamil Nad and Mysore would not grudge me this point, viz., the Andhras have fought in this hon. House for full nine days a hard battle, a relentless battle. Let it be said by History they have fought with clean hands. They have no malice towards anybody. At the time of separation, at the time of home-making, we should know where exactly we stand. That exactly is the point, and I am sure my hon. friends from the South, particularly, as I said, from Tamil Nad and Mysore, would not grudge me this point. Even today, the Andhras are prepared to sit round a table and discuss matters, thrash them out, because the Andhras, with a proud patriotic record of half a century in the freedom struggle, are patriots, they are Indians first and Andhras next. I hope this hand of friendship will not be rejected.

This Bill has been sponsored by two doughty spokesmen of the Government of India. One is my hon. friend Dr. Katju,—I have gone through the entire record as carefully as I can in the written word,—and the other is my hon. friend Mr. Deshmukh. The attitude struck—and I say with great respect to my hon. friend Dr. Katju—by the Home Minister was that of a Solomon come to judgment. He said: "My conscience is clear. Trust me, I have done all that is humanly possible for you people. I am a friend of the Andhra Desh. What is your grievance? Why do you talk about assets and liabilities? What are they? I do not know what they are." In fact, I have got the record of the speech made by him yesterday. He said in part: "It is all bosh". If you were here I do not know what you would have said in your ruling.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why is it repeated then?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: With your permission. Referring to the contro-

versy about the assets and liabilities, Dr. Katju said:

"It is all bosh, you take it from me, all bunk—people saying that they have got suspicion."

My hon. friend has chosen to surround himself with eternal darkness. He is afraid of figures. He reminded me of a couplet from Milton's 'Samson Agonistes'. In the evening of his life, I would like to make a present of this couplet to my hon. friend Dr. Katju:

"Dark, dark, dark, irrecoverably dark.

Total eclipse, the sun to me
Is dark and silent as the moon!
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave."

That was the darkness with which my hon. friend Dr. Katju has surrounded himself.

Now I come to my hon. friend the co-sponsor or the co-defendant of this Bill, my hon. friend Shri C. D. Deshmukh. My hon. friend Shri T. S. A. Chettiar said that he is a good son-in-law and so he will support Andhra Desh. There are sons-in-law, and I know at least three of them in this hon. House in places of high eminence. There is the Damad-e-Hind, then there is the Demad-e-Uttar Pradesh, and now we have got the Damad-e-Andhra. There are sons-in-law and sons-in-law, and usually they take away, and do not give. In this case, my hon. friend the Finance Minister not only has taken a precious burden away from Andhra Desh, but also a sum of s. 3,000 a month along with it, to be spent in Poona. He is a liability, and not an asset to us.

In fact, if I am not mistaken, the hon. Finance Minister—I have gone through the entire record of the proceedings—has struck up the pose of a pious and virtuous mother-in-law, trying to do justice between daughter-in-law. Now what do mothers-in-law do? Normally they say: "Look here, my motive is pure, I speak from experience, I am just, do not dispute my decision." That is why

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he quarrelled with me yesterday and said that he resented my statement that Andhras feel a just and genuine grievance that the accounts have not been made available to them.

I am only sorry that the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu was necessary for this Bill which will go through the final stages in the next few minutes. This could have been avoided. All of us went and spoke and urged people at the highest level in this Government to avoid that tragedy. Today I am sure, in the next few minutes, wherever it is, Potti Sriramulu's soul will rest in peace. The rebellion and revolt of the Andhra people could have been avoided. I am sorry that the whole gamut of my hon. friend, Dr. Katju's speech was to the effect that linguism was fissiparous and so on, which was repeated by my hon. friend here parrot-like—I refer to Mr. Frank Anthony. But let me tell him as an Andhra, and as the president of the All India Linguistic States Conference, that the people are on the march, and even two thousand Canutes like him cannot stop it. The South is in revolt. Therefore do it now, tomorrow will be too late.

An Hon. Member: Where is the revolt?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Regroup the people predominantly on a linguistic basis, which fortunately happens to coalesce with a geographical basis—there are the watersheds of the Krishna and Godavari rivers, and there is the cotton belt of Maharashtra etc. Impart strength and cohesion to this country. Let it not be too late.

I am not satisfied with this Bill, but I accept it. This is only a first step. Mine is a truncated State, but this will be first step towards Vishala Andhra. Let him disintegrate Hyderabad today. Tomorrow will be too late.

Finally, I would say, let the Boundary Commission come immediately, let there be no dilatory tac-

tics. I beg of this House to give the Andhras its blessings at a time when we, for the first time in 2000 years, are re-embarking on house-keeping, I am sure this House will give us on behalf of the Andhras, the blessings that we desire.

I support the motion for the third reading.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): I rise to support this Bill with a mixed feeling. My feelings are as mixed as the economy of the hon. Finance Minister. I rejoice that the Congress has partially at least redeemed the promise it had given to the people, while fighting the national cause. If you go through the history of the national struggle, you will find a long chain of promises which the Congress had suffered itself, to give to the people. I believe the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was also one of the major promises. The Congress leaders thought that they could enlist the support of the people in our national struggle, and drive away the exploiters, the Britishers, by giving the people various assurances, and one of the reasons for the cohesion of the people, which brought all people speaking different languages, and different sections having different cultures together on the national plane was this major promise of the reconstruction of provinces on a linguistic basis. I know my hon. friend Dr. Katju at this stage of his life, has a grand memory for forgetting all relevant facts. He is particularly forgetful of promises which really contributed to the success of the national struggle. My hon. friend Mr. Gopalan yesterday quoted exhaustively from the report of the Nehru Committee of 1928. I propose to point to a Congress declaration which was made in an earlier period, at the Madras session, in 1927.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Hon. Member has got only five minutes.

Shri S. S. More: I will cut my coat according to the cloth of time available.

"This Congress is of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand, and that any province which demands such reconstitution on a linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly.

This Congress is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Utkal, Sind and Karnataka into separate provinces."

This was the promise given as far back as 1927. More than 25 years have elapsed since then. The Congress Government has come into power on the basis of these promises. It was a sort of valid agreement entered into by the Congress with the people. So far as the people's part is concerned, they have already done their part. But the other party to the contract, namely the Congress, has not fulfilled its promises.

I said earlier that I support this measure with a mixed feeling. I rejoice over the fact that the Andhra State has been created. I give all my good wishes and sympathies to the Andhra people. I know they are embarking on a journey which is bound to be arduous and possibly hazardous, but they go with our sympathy. They go with many disadvantages created by Government and other interests concerned. They go with many disabilities, but with all that, they carry the sympathy and the hearty good wishes of many of us.

At the same time, I cannot refrain from expressing the sorrow that I feel. I am reminded of a story in this connection. There were two friends who were ripe for marriage. Both of them had given up hopes of marriage. But somehow, one of them got married, and the other fellow remained without marriage and full of grief and despair because it did not come into offing. The latter congratulated the former on his marriage with tears in his eyes. I am in like predicament now. I am glad that Andhra is created but I am pained that

Samyukta Maharashtra is very remote. While we the Maharashtrians and Kannadigas are not getting the fulfilment of the promise given to us in this 1927 resolution, somehow, the time has come for the formation of the Andhra State alone. The promise to reconstitute provinces on linguistic basis was one and the same, in respect of Karnataka, Andhra, Utkal etc. But the fulfilment of the promise has been distributed into so many instalments. I am reminded here of the preamble of 1919 Act, 'Progressive Realisation of local self-Government'

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): Not local, but responsible self-government.

Shri S. S. More: I accept the correction. If the Congress tries to fulfil its reasonable and rational promises in such instalments, people will be full of despair and frustration. The way in which the Andhra State has been created is nothing but a positive encouragement to violence. When the Andhra people were peacefully demanding a separate province for themselves, the Government did not realise the necessity of conceding their demands. Some of the rowdy elements—I am not blaming all the Andhra people—resorted to violence, and Government finally conceded their demand. As far as Maharashtra is concerned, I do not know what to tell my hon. friend Dr. Katju: If we start indulging in violence, I do not know what will happen to this country because we have professional fighters. I am trying to appease the people, who yearn for the formation of the Maharashtra province, by resorting to a process of deduction.

'Let everybody be separated; after such separation what remains will be Maharashtra'. I take your permission, Sir, to tell Dr. Katju that that sort of logic will not keep the Maharashtrians passive for a long time. The restive Maharashtrians have remained in peace for a very long time, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, who happens to be the son-in-law of Andhra, has redeemed his promise to his wife's relations. Sir, it is a common ex-

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perience that when a man is married, the mother's relations go to the background and the relations of the wife assume the upper hand. Shri C. D. Deshmukh wields an important position in the Cabinet. I would rather request him to persuade Pandit Nehru to concede Samyukta Maharashtra, I heartily wish, that Samyukta Maharashtra be created in a manner of grace and good feeling. Otherwise, even Kaka Gadgil was forced to say that something evil will happen.

Shri Gadgil: No. no. Old lions are lambs.

Shri S. S. More: When lions are elected to the Treasury Bench, they become lambs; but when they are put back, they again become lions.

So, Sir, with your permission I want to give my blessings to the Andhra people. I say to them: 'Travel courageously, but cautiously. Let the fulfilment of your ambition reach its final goal and along with you other persons having the same national sentiment, the same national urgings will go'.

I cannot resume my seat without a reference to the speech of my friend, Frank Anthony. When I heard his speech, I was persuaded to believe that the whole of India had gone mad, that the world was completely flooded by the deluge of folly. But then I got the solace that though the whole world was going mad, India was going mad, Dr. Katju was going mad and that too in the company of Shri A. K. Gopalan, there is at least one Noah and that Noah is Shri Frank Anthony. And he is surviving the great deluge by sitting in his ark of wisdom. He is blaming us for our national sentiments. I may say, Sir, he is very consistent. When the Britisher was here, he was sailing with the Britisher and fighting against our national aspirations. (*Interruption*). Even when the Congress is in power, he is consistently keeping to his old tradition of cursing people for cherish-

ing national ambitions. Whenever there is a small Committee, he wants nomination as a representative of his community and he wants to get the advantage of it. When the whole people relying on the history of ages claim certain things in their own right and in fulfilment of the promises given by the Congress, Mr. Anthony has the courage—I won't say the cheek—to say 'All of you are going mad; you are seeking political concessions'. Political concessions! Was not the driving out of the British a political fight? Yes, it was a political fight. If you reconstruct the provinces on a linguistic basis as a political gesture to the people, it may lead to economic evolution of the country and economic regeneration of the people. It may be a political concession at the outset, but it is bound to lead to the economic development and cultural development of the people in the long run.

Again, Shri Frank Anthony represents a small community. He should try to assimilate and understand the feelings of the larger areas, the larger number of people. Then only will there be safety for minorities.

As far as Maharashtra is concerned we surrendered to the Britisher the last. The Britisher was intent on keeping us separate. Lest we rise in revolt, if united, we have been split up into three minority groups—one in Hyderabad State, another in Madhya Pradesh and a third in Bombay State. That artificial division should be undone. When Bhim was told 'Let Bhim smash Jarasandha', what did he do? He tore him to three pieces or two pieces and threw them to different directions so that they should not reunite and bring Jaras and to life again. That Bhim strategy should not be repeated again. The Maharashtrians should be granted their demand. We wait for it and we plead for it on our knees to Dr. Katju. He is the Nath of Kailas, and unless one goes to Heaven no one can touch his heart.

So we beg, Sir, in all humility that Samyukta Maharashtra and Samyukta Karnataka should be constituted as early as possible. You cannot solve the question of unemployment, you cannot solve the question of giving prosperity to the different areas by keeping all these heterogeneous elements together as in chain. Let U.P. also be split up into different regions. (Interruptions). We want provinces of normal and reasonable size. I would request that the whole of India be reconstituted and regrouped into different provinces where we shall be of equal might and equal quality. The 'C' class States have no reason to exist, unless they are designed for the distribution of spoils.

With your permission, Sir, I again thank you for your indulgence and I again wholeheartedly support what Dr. Katju has done, and I believe that this Bill shall be the first of the measures that are going to be similarly introduced on the floor of the House.

श्री टंडन (जिला इलाहाबाद—पश्चिम):

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय हम एक नये युग में आज प्रवेश कर रहे हैं और मैं इसी लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ कि जो आन्ध्र प्रदेश बनने वाला है उसके मंचालकों को अपनी शुभ कामना अर्पण करूँ।

हमारे मित्र श्री ऐंथनी जी नं कुछ गहरी चेतावनी दी है। मैं उनको बहुत ध्यान से सुनता था। उन्होंने निश्चय ही एक साहस का काम किया है कि जब बहुत अधिक लोग इस विधेयक के पक्ष में हैं तब उन्होंने उसके बारे में एक चेतावनी दी है। उनको भविष्य के लिए तरह तरह की कठिनाइयाँ दिखाई पड़ रही हैं। उनको यह भय है, यह अंदेशा है, कि इस प्रकार से देश का विभाजन देश हित में नहीं है और इससे अलग अलग टुकड़े बनने की प्रवृत्ति उत्पन्न होगी और साथ ही उन्होंने कहा कि साम्प्रदायिक प्रवृत्ति भी बढ़ेगी। इसमें साम्प्रदायिकता की बात वह कहां से ले आये वह तो कुछ समझ में नहीं आया।

लेकिन हाँ ! यह अवश्य विचारने का प्रश्न है कि अलग अलग इस तरह से विभाजन करना कहां तक देश हित में है और कहां तक उसमें पृथकता की प्रवृत्ति पैदा हो सकती है। यह एक बात विचार की अवश्य है। लेकिन जब हम कोई भी काम जीवन में करते हैं तो उसकी नाप तोल करते हैं, उसके लाभ हानि को देखते हैं। एक बड़े देश का शासन कुछ-न-कुछ विभाजन ही द्वारा तो हो सकता है। लोग तो गांव गांव में पंचायत की मांग करते हैं। हमें तो गांव गांव तक जाना पड़ता है। इतने बड़े देश का शासन अधिकार को बांटने से ही चल सकता है और अधिकार जब बांटना है तब हम यह अपने अनुभव से देखते हैं कि अगर एक शासन के भीतर एक से अधिक भाषायें चले तो कितनी असुविधा होती है। इसकी कठिनाई को हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के भाई देख रहे हैं यद्यपि वहां केवल दो ही भाषायें हैं। मुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है कि मद्रास वाले किस तरह से अपना काम करते हैं क्योंकि वहां चार चार भाषायें हैं। उसका परिणाम यह होता है कि शासन और विधान के कामों में अपनी भाषा में साधारणतः कोई नहीं बोल सकता है। सब को यह भय रहता है कि हम जो कुछ अपनी भाषा में बोलेंगे उसको दूसरे समझ नहीं पायेंगे और इस कारण से उन्हें झझ मार कर एक पर-भाषा की, अंग्रेजी भाषा की, धारण लेनी पड़ती है। यह एक बड़ी कठिनाई है। जब हमें शासन बटवारा करके ही करना है तो भाषा के आधार पर करें यह तो, मुझे को ऐसा लगता है, कि उचित रीति है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हम को और बातों का भी ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा, व्यय आदि का, लेकिन कुल मिला कर एक उचित रीति यही है कि जहां पर शासन की एक इकाई एक भाषा बोलने वाली हमें मिल सके वहां हम उसे स्वीकार करें। आन्ध्र की मांग एक बहुत प्रबल और पुरानी मांग रही

[श्री टंडन]

है। मुझ को तो आन्ध्र निर्माण की बात ठीक लगती है।

उत्साह तो एन्थनी साहब ने बहुत दिखाया लेकिन मुझ को कुछ ऐसा लगा कि यह उत्साह और यह साहस भी सर्वथा उचित नहीं था और मुझे अंग्रेजी की वह कहावत याद आई कि एक प्रकार के ऐसे जीव होते हैं who rush in where angels fear to tread. मुझ को उन की बात में थोड़ा तथ्य लगा, लेकिन बहुत अधिक जो उन्होंने इस के विरोध में उत्साह दिखाया वह उचित नहीं दिखाई दिया। उन्होंने सेठ गोविन्द दास जी को चेतावनी दी कि इसमें हिन्दी का हित नहीं है। वह जानते हैं कि गोविन्द दास जी में एक दुर्बलता है, हिन्दी के पक्ष में। उसको ध्यान में रख कर उन्होंने कहा कि इस तरह से हिन्दी का भला होने वाला नहीं है। वह जानते हैं कि वह दुर्बलता मेरी भी है। लेकिन वह दुर्बलता राष्ट्रीय कारणों से है। मैंने सदा ही माना है कि हिन्दी ही हमारे देश को एक सूत्र में बांध सकती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे भाई अंग्रेजी के पक्षपाती हैं और ऐसे दस बीस और भी हैं जिनका ऐसा विचार है। लेकिन अंग्रेजी से हमारा देश एक सूत्र में बांध सके, यह बिल्कुल शक्य है, असम्भव है उसको बांधने के लिये हमारे देश की ही भाषा होगी। आज उस का विवाद नहीं है, वह हमारा संविधान निश्चित कर चुका है। उसमें कोई अन्तर इस कारण से पड़ेगा कि अलग कुछ इकाइयों शासन की भाषावार बनेंगी, ऐसा मेरा विचार नहीं है। मैं यह उचित समझता हूँ कि यह प्रयोग किया जाय। यह एक ऐक्सपेरिमेंट है। हम को जीवन में बहुत से प्रयोग करने पड़ते हैं। शासन में भी प्रयोग करने पड़ते हैं। मैं इस प्रयोग के, ऐक्सपेरिमेंट के पक्ष में हूँ। आज केवल आन्ध्र बन रहा है। हमारी सद्भावनाएं उन के साथ

हैं। केन्द्रीय शासन की सद्भावना भी उनके साथ है। उन की वास्तविक सहायता, आर्थिक सहायता भी, कुछ दिनों होनी चाहिये।

साथ ही मैं तो यह भी कहूंगा कि औरों के सम्बन्ध में अधिक विलम्ब नहीं होना चाहिये। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे कन्नड भाषी लोग कितने इच्छुक हैं, उत्सुक हैं। मैं सूत्र उसके सम्बन्ध में तैयार हूँ। मुझे तो कोई कारण नहीं दिखाई पड़ता कि इस में विलम्ब किया जाय। कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष की दृष्टियत से जब मैं कन्नड में चूमा और मैंने वहां इतनी गहरी मांग देखी तब मैंने तो स्पष्ट उन से कहा था कि मैं उन के पक्ष में हूँ। कन्नड भाइयों को मैं तो आश्वासन दे चुका था कि मैं इसके पक्ष हूँ कि कन्नड भाषी प्रदेश बनाया जाय, ऐसे राज्य की स्थापना हो। मेरे विचार में उनकी मांग के ऊपर भी, जैसे ही कुछ अवसर मिले, सुविधा मिले, केन्द्रीय शासन को ध्यान देना चाहिये। मैं और अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता। इसी प्रकार से अन्य भी प्रदेश जो भाषा के सूत्र के ऊपर बनना चाहते हैं, जैसे महाराष्ट्र है, केरल है, जिनकी मांगें हैं और हम सुविधा के साथ जिनकी इकाई स्वीकार कर सकते हैं—मेरा अपना कथन है कि उसमें हमें अब बहुत विलम्ब नहीं करना चाहिये। कुछ समय तो स्वाभाविक रीति से लगेगा ही। परन्तु यह मांग जो जनता की ओर से आती है उसके लिये यह कहना कि उसमें कुछ थोड़े से लोगों का स्वार्थ है, थोड़े से लोग पद चाहते हैं, यह उचित सनालोचना नहीं है। मैं तो इस भाषावार क्रम के पक्ष में हूँ। जो विधेयक डा० काटजू ने रखा है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और अपने आन्ध्र के भाइयों को अपना आशीर्वाद देता हूँ।

Shri Venkataraman (Tanjore): I rise to offer my felicitations to the

Andhra people and the Andhra State on the fulfilment of their ambition.

An Hon. Member: They will never accept your good wishes.

Shri Venkataraman: I feel I have a duty to speak and say this on this occasion, because it has been my lot to present the residuary State's point of view during the course of the whole debate in this House. And, in doing so, it might be that we might have offended or wounded the feelings of the people with whom we have been associated in close friendship for over centuries. I want the House to forget and also my Andhra friends to forget whatever might have passed in this House and start a new era of friendship, association and co-operation between the two States.

Mr. Anthony expressed some fears and so far as they go as fears, one might understand them. But, I do not think they are necessary consequences of partition of States. For instance, the new Andhra State and the residuary State of Madras will most certainly try to reduce expenditure to the minimum and improve the efficiency and make it possible for the States to function within the limited resources they have. Therefore, it does not necessarily follow that because you have introduced this new Andhra State or because you have introduced this new residuary State of Madras, you will have all the paraphernalia of 15 or 16 Ministers and 15 or 16 Judges.

An Hon. Member: You will have that.

Shri Venkataraman: In fact, my own feeling is that the new Madras Government may not have more than 5 or 6 Ministers and more than 5 or 6 Judges. We might even beg our Judges to work half an hour more every day and we might be able to manage within the limited resources we have.

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Shri Frank Anthony: You will have a new Governor.

Shri Venkataraman: I do not want to enter into a controversy at this stage, but, I say we need not take a very pessimistic view of the future before us. The Andhra State as well as the residuary State of Madras have plenty of resources which can be tapped, developed and projected in such a manner that the people of these two States can live very happily and in contentment and peace.

The only other point I want to mention on this occasion is this. In the course of our discussions on clauses, we have almost worried—if I may use the word—plagued the Home Minister and the Finance Minister and a number of others with our doubts and fears which may be imaginary or which may be real. Whatever it was, all our doubts and fears, we had to clear them with the authorities in the Government. And, if we had, in the course of that, troubled and worried them, we would ask them to forget that and bless this new State of Andhra and the residuary State of Madras not with mere words but with sufficient money for their future development.

Lastly, I wish to state that the composite State of Madras has done its best to the best of its lights in the past. If there were any mistakes in the past it is possible to rectify them under clause 51 which has been specifically provided for that purpose. But in doing that let us not try to start a series of claims and counter-claims; let us not try to rake up not the immediate past but the hoary past and carry on the quarrel for ever. If we close the chapter and that too as early as possible, the opportunities for co-operation between the two States will be greater and the two States will be able to function as effectively and in as friendly a manner as it has done so far.

With regard to the institutions about which there was some mention in the debate, I wish to state, Sir, that the institutions in Madras are open not merely to the people of one

[Shri Venkatanaman]

State, but to the whole of India. Our ophthalmic institution is considered to be the best in India and people from all over India come to our ophthalmic institution. There are some other very good institutions with very great traditions. I must say that all these institutions will be open to the Andhras as they would be open to any others in India. The only thing which perhaps we are not prepared to do was to make any reservation for any particular State. We wish to be understood in this matter and that is why I bring it to the attention of the House.

I cannot adequately express, with all my knowledge of English, the feelings of joy at the fulfilment of the great ambition of the Andhra people and I wish the new State all success and prosperity.

Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali): I reciprocate the feelings so warmly expressed by Mr. Venkatanaman. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all my Tamil friends for the sporting manner in which they took some of our attacks, and particularly our Mysore friends who in their traditional generous nature have taken some of our accusations in the proper spirit. I am very grateful in fact for the entire House for the very sympathetic manner in which they have considered our case.

There is one feeling—sometimes expressed by some members on the opposite side,—which I would like to resist. It is said that this Andhra province is extracted from this Government. I deny that. It is the Congress which has propagated the idea of linguistic provinces thirty years ago. It was great Congress men like Konda Venkatapayya Pantulu that started the Andhra movement. As lately as the thirties it was under the guidance of the late revered Motilal Nehru that the linguistic provinces were recommended. It is, therefore, fantastic to say that the Andhra province is extracted from this Government and I for one am

sure that many of our people—I speak for those for whom I can speak—are thankful to this Government for having given us this. It is true that they want Visala Andhra: it is the aching desire of everyone of the four crores of Andhras, wherever they are. I am sure this Government will soon see their way to fulfil that also. We Andhras are sometimes emotional but always very frank. In times of great events and times of great stress it is Andhras that have stood first and foremost in the national movement and, if ever,—Lord forbid!—a national crisis comes, we shall be the first to stand in the forefront. I would like to assure this House that Visala Andhra will be the first contented well-integrated State of this great Indian Republic.

Prof. Agarwal (Wardha): I am not one of those who believe that reorganisation of the States will necessarily lead to any disintegration of this great country, but it all depends on the right perspective. My hon. friend Mr. Frank Anthony spoke very frankly. But his frankness was rather misplaced.

The Congress has always stood for a proper reorganisation of the States, because we believe that the States as they exist today are administrative monstrosities. The Britishers came to this country and carved out of this great land States as they liked, as they conquered territories.

The Congress has always said that in this process of reorganisation, language will necessarily play an important part, though not the only part. The latest resolution passed at Hyderabad made it very clear that the Congress will stand by that policy and although we do not want to encourage any kind of narrowness of outlook merely based on language, we do feel that from many points of view language is one of the very important factors. Of course, financial and economic factors, the factor of national

security are others. But we do want that this country should be properly reorganised as early as possible. Therefore, we have welcomed the announcement of the Prime Minister that soon a Commission will be appointed—I hope it will be sooner than later—which will go thoroughly into this question, not from the policy point of view, because we have always accepted that policy, but in order to study the whole question from the point of view of India as a whole. We do not want that States after States may come up as isolated events, creating troubles. For example, when Andhra was created first we thought that it will be the easiest. That was the only consideration. But, unfortunately we found that some unforeseen troubles started. The impression went round that the Government of India acceded to the creation of the new Andhra State because of violence or fasts. I would like to say with all the earnestness and emphasis at my command that this is a thoroughly wrong notion. I think if these disorders had not occurred Andhra would have come into being perhaps much earlier. Therefore, let nobody think that they will force the Government of India to have new States merely under threats either of fasts or of civil disorders and I will also say with all the emphasis, as one who has tried to study in some respects what Gandhiji stood for, that these fasts for the creation of new States are the most un-Gandhian. Vinobha Bhave has said so often that this is not the time, this is not the way in which we should try to indulge in fasts only for the creation of new States and trying to arouse strong feelings. But we do wish all God-speed to the new Andhra State. I believe that the creation of these new States on the basis of administrative and language convenience will foster the unity of India. The Andhras and Tamilians who perhaps may oppose the introduction of Hindi now because they feel that justice is not being done to them, will take to Hindi as the symbol of national unity with more enthusiasm.

While we discuss these things, I would earnestly appeal to all friends here that while they talk in terms of creation of new States let them emphasise the underlying unity of India. We are proud of the Indian culture. Let us not talk too enthusiastically about the regional culture. Of course, every region has some good points, points of language, literature and so on. But essentially we all stand for one great Indian culture of this land and the more we emphasise it the better. When I go to some parts of the country I find a tendency among some people to sing songs of the different regions. Now it is not a very healthy tendency. We must begin with 'Vande Mataram' and then we may sing our regional songs. That is the way in which we can create a better spirit. Of course Mr. Frank Anthony was rather pessimistic, but what he said has some truth in it, because if we do not look at the whole problem in the right perspective there are some inherent dangers. But I am sure that this country is great enough, the people of different regions are great enough not to indulge in activities of parochial nature and when the new States will be created, I am sure, they will favour unity. This country will rise to its full heights and will show to the world that we always believe in Indian culture and unity and that we can rise equal to the occasion.

I will also say one thing to the Andhra friends. I have been very much pained to hear that some people still think of scrapping prohibition. When they think of a new State and they think of the expenditure they say, what good is prohibition? For heaven's sake let the Andhra State not scrap prohibition which is our fundamental faith. Let the Andhra State be a Sarvodaya State and let it try to follow some new pattern of administration. Why can't we have a good capital in Kurnool, simple capital with small buildings but decent and comfortable buildings and, therefore, let us not talk too much in grandiloquent terms and think of increasing our expenditure and scrapping prohibition.

[Prof. Agarwal]

There is just one thing more and I have done. Although we do want to create new States, we do not want to upset the Five Year Plan. Let that always be in our mind that ultimately the basic problem in this country is poverty and unemployment and whatever we may do we must have restraint; we must have balance of mind and a sense of proportion so that we might not upset the very plan which is our hope for the future.

Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda): This is a moment of consummation of the age-long desires of the Andhras and a moment when the thing for which they struggled, sacrificed and laboured has after all come into being. At this moment I will be failing in my duty if I do not pay homage to all those departed souls who worked with great enthusiasm, with great sacrifice for the realisation of this moment. We today who are alive have at least a chance of being able to participate in the fruits of their struggles but those put in selfless work, without such hopes for generations. It must be an occasion when we must pay homage to these people.

Now, Sir, I speak as one of the Andhras and I am depressed with the many surrounding circumstances that really are grouped together in the way of proper functioning of this Andhra experiment. Every one of you knows that this is a State which is created as an experiment and they would watch this experiment and then the fate of other provinces depends upon the success of this experiment. We have started under the auspices of what is most depressing. Well, at a moment like this, as an Andhra, I cannot but feel that we must discharge the responsibilities that are involved in the formation of this State and fulfil the dreams of those who sacrificed their lives. We have started, Sir, as I said, with very unpromising surroundings. We are thrown into the wilderness. We do not know where we are: no city for the Capital or headquarters. Practically it is like the experiment of the

old Congress offices when they were being raided. People went with an umbrella; sat under a tree and then called it the Congress office. We are today driven into a situation of almost that kind.

Without any financial resources and with heavy debts on our shoulders we have to work this new experiment successfully for the fulfilment of the hopes of other sections of the country.

Here I would appeal again to the Central Government, that it is their responsibility who have put us into this situation, depriving us of one part of the country Madras City because some people complained against its inclusion and finally leaving us without any money, to please provide us with sufficient funds and then we will certainly combine our efforts to make this experiment a success.

And then I would only say one other thing and that is this. In the course of the formation of this Andhra province, many occasions arose when we had to place our case for just and equitable treatment before you. In this struggle we had naturally to cross swords with our neighbours, Kannadigas on the one side and the Tamilians on the other. I would beg both these brothers and neighbourly States to look upon us as their former brothers. We have absolutely no ill-will towards any one of them. We have been only placing the difficulties that are in our way and it is because of that we made out a case before you and now that that moment is over I would beg of them to be very sympathetic towards us. They have promised goodwill but goodwill merely in words won't do. They must genuinely and sincerely feel on their part that we desire and deserve their continued goodwill.

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In this goodwill there is one thing. You know, unfortunately, in our Andhra country, even today there is no unified leadership. Even today there are so many other matters which we can well decide for other to copy. Some of our

experienced friends did mention it and I too feel on this occasion that we should emphasize the formation of village panchayat autonomous units and reduce our expenditure, and carry democracy into the villages and thus save the country.

And only one other thing and that is this: The experiment will only succeed if all of us, who have this responsibility, cast away communal feelings. When the whole world is watching us, it will be a big disappointment and shame to us if this part of the nation does not really progress. There are plenty of resources with us. What is required is some more time and good neighbourliness of all who will not create public opinion against us and then say, "Oh, the Andhra country is gone" and so on. You may individually feel happy about it; but it will reflect on the country as a whole. If the experiment fails all of you will suffer and we will suffer the most. Therefore, as one of the Andhras, I feel it is a moment not for jubilation but it is a moment for taking over a serious responsibility which we must discharge with firm determination.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज (शोलापुर-रक्षित-अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : मुझे कहना तो बहुत कुछ था लेकिन आज चूंकि दस दिन बाद मुझे यह अवसर मिला है और समय बहुत कम है इस लिये अधिक न बोल कर केवल थोड़े से सजेसन देना चाहता हूँ।

यह आंध्र विधेयक स्वीकृत कर के सदन ने भाषावार प्रान्त रचना का तत्व मान्य कर लिया है। इस लिये हाई पावर कमीशन की नियुक्ति यह अधिवेशन समाप्त होने के पूर्व हो जानी चाहिये जिस से कि इस तत्व का समस्त भारत में प्रयोग हो सके।

दूसरा मेरा सजेसन यह है कि इस समय भारत में भाषावाद से भी अधिक जातीयवाद प्रबल है। हर एक प्रान्त में एक न एक जातीय राज्य होने का भय है जैसे ही भाषावार

प्रान्तों की रचना हो जायेगी हर एक प्रान्त में जातीय राज्य बनाने के लिये प्रयत्न होने लगेगा जैसे महाराष्ट्र में भराठा राज्य, आंध्र में रेड्डी राज्य। इस का फल यह होगा कि उन प्रान्तों में जो अछूत जाति के अल्पसंख्यक और दलित व्यक्ति हैं उन की स्थिति और भी खराब हो जायेगी। इस कारण उन के संरक्षण का प्रबन्ध अवश्य होना चाहिये यह मैं अपने होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कह देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि आप तो कैलाशपति हैं, और हमारे देश-मुख साहब देश के मुख हैं। खाली मुख या खाली कैलाश को नहीं बल्कि दोनों को ही एक साथ ठीक तरह से चलना है। इस लिये हमारा जो भय है उसका समाधान होना चाहिये। जो अछूत जाति के लोग अल्प संख्या में हैं उनका क्या होगा? जिस वक्त पंजाब में हिन्दी और पंजाबी का सवाल पैदा हुआ उस समय अछूतों पर बहुत अत्याचार और जुल्म हुए। यह भी मैं हाउस के सामने कहना चाहता हूँ।

और महाराष्ट्र में भी गांधी वध के बाद जो कुछ मारपीट हुई उसमें हम में से कुछ को कष्ट उठाना पड़ा। दंगा करने में हम सम्मिलित नहीं हुए इसके लिये हमारे लोगों पर अत्याचार हुए। तो ऐसा होना चाहिये कि हम अल्पसंख्यकों को पर्याप्त संरक्षण मिलना चाहिये। अक्सर देहातों में हम लोग अल्प संख्या में हैं और हमारे साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं किया जाता है। तो हम को यही भय है। वैसे तो भाषा-वार प्रान्त ठीक हैं और हम भी चाहते हैं कि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र होना चाहिए लेकिन हमारे जो विभिन्न पार्टियों के नेता लोग हैं उन से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा करने में अल्प संख्यकों को पूरा संरक्षण मिलना चाहिए। हम भी चाहते हैं कि हमारी संस्कृति का विकास हो और हम इसके खिलाफ कोई पोलिटीकल प्रोपेगेंडा नहीं करना चाहते

[श्री पी० एन० राजमोऽज]

हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा देश सब प्रकार से समृद्ध होता चाहिए और बम्बई, विदर्भ महाराष्ट्र, मराठवाड़ा, राकबनाना और निजाम को जल्दी से जल्दी अलग करना चाहिए। विशाल आन्ध्र भी बनना चाहिए और हैदराबाद का विभाजन करके, मराठवाड़ा, विदर्भ और बम्बई को मिला कर संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र बनाना चाहिये यह मेरी प्रार्थना है।

अभी बाउण्डरी कमीशन की बात कही गई। यह जो कमीशन बनेगा, इसमें अल्प-संख्यक लोगों के प्रतिनिधि को भी लेना चाहिए। आज कल यह होता है कि बड़े बड़े लोग लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कर लेते हैं और जो अल्प-संख्यक हैं उनको कोई नहीं पूछता मुझे दलित वर्ग का होने के कारण समय भी तीन मिनट का दिया गया जब कि दूसरे लोग काफी काफी समय तक बोले हैं। गोपालन जी और अन्य पार्टी के तो लीडर हैं वह तो आधा आधा घंट बोले हैं। लेकिन मुझे तो इतना कम समय मिला है। तो आपने कोई ठेका नहीं ले रखा है। हम को भी उचित समय मिलना चाहिए। यही मुझे हाउस में निवेदन करना है और मैं विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I should not fail to call a Kannada gentleman, Mr. Joachim Alva.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): We of this generation have witnessed two world-shaking events. One was when one man got a State without firing a shot! The other was when the man who worked for a State all his life got a shot into his heart. It was said of Mohammed Ali Jinnah that he got Pakistan without firing a shot. And the man who yearned and died for the freedom of India, Mahatma Gandhi, when the dream of Free India was about to be fulfilled and India was cut into two, he received a shot into his

own heart. So also, be it said to the glory of Sriramulu that he carved out a State for the Andhras by the supreme sacrifice of his life. It will be an event which will be remembered for a long time to come. Few of us have the guts to go hunger-striking. The spirit may be willing but the flesh is weak and not strong for the occasion.

I am sorry my hon'ble friend Shri Anthony is not in the House. We of the Christian faith have much to be ashamed of. The followers of Christ who died on the Cross, His followers, especially the white followers have to be much ashamed of. Had it not been for the un-Christian acts of Christians in this country, I mean the white Christians, this country would not have witnessed the quarrels between the Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs in the last few generations. And even now they are carrying their machinations of pitting China against Japan, China against India and Russia, or Pakistan versus India with their own selfish ideas of material wealth and material advancement and amassment of as much gold and silver as they can get hold of.

As I said, I am sorry that my friend Mr. Anthony is not here. Why does the Queen of England go to Scotland to be crowned in a symbolic fashion? Scotland is a part of the United Kingdom. It is a tiny country. When the Queen is solemnly crowned with all her glory at Westminster in England, why does she go to Scotland to be crowned solemnly again? Only to satisfy the feelings of the Scots and to foster a feeling of nationalism. If these two small countries emphasise a kind of a linguistic division or affirmation, what about India with 350 million of population?

India is such a vast land. After all is said and done there are fifteen languages for the 350 million people. In 1787 when George Washington became the President of America there were only thirteen States. Today there are forty-eight States. And yet America

is able to assert herself in a united manner with all the forty-eight States.

We are twenty-seven States now—nine, eight and ten according to Part A, B, and C, respectively—under the articles of the Constitution. But on a linguistic division, we shall be fifteen States and no more! By this process of linguistic division we shall have fifteen States. Therefore we shall have lesser expenditure.

After all is said and done, today a process is set upon, a process under your valued and wise chairmanship—you have the brawn and brain of Andhra and Tamilnad together—and the hon. the Home Minister, coming from U.P. and who was nursed in the chambers of that great and eminent patrician amongst our patriots, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, the father of our Prime Minister. My hon. friend Shri Gopalan referred to the Nehru Report yesterday. I was one of the few persons in this House who had the honour of being present at the Bombay AICC in 1927 when Pandit Motilal Nehru was authorised to draft it, when Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar was the President. However I may tell my friend Mr. Gopalan that that report was torn to pieces by Pandit Motilal Nehru himself on the banks of the river Ravi at Lahore on the midnight of the last day of the year 1929 because the British Government was not prepared to implement it? What we demanded in 1930 we have now achieved, though today we have it in a crippled form, with a division of this land.

The march for linguistic provinces now cannot be stopped. I want to point out to my friend Mr. Anthony that we Christians, who have been accustomed to talk in English from the time we took up our brushes and even after death, have to understand that we are a minority of hardly a few lakhs. We must talk in the language of the people. (*Interruption*). I am not giving way. Whether you like it or not we have to speak in our regional languages. From today

every child will have to learn and speak in the regional language and the national language of Hindi and thereafter master English, German, Chinese or Russian. Three languages have to be learnt, without which no one will be a complete citizen.

The historic process is on. Today Andhra is born, and Karnataka is on its feet. You cannot deny to Karnataka what you gave to Andhra. I had the honour of accompanying the ex-President of the Congress, now hon. Member Babu Purushottamdas Tandon when he went down into Karnatak. He patiently heard the people there and has now strongly backed up their claims. With the other Kannada speaking areas joined to Mysore, a Karnataka State will have to be formed. I can tell you there will not be there in Karnatak, that kind of tantrums, machinations or hatred as we are seeing today. The people of Karnatak demand with one voice that Karnatak be formed forthwith and the Union Government can never ignore that demand. If perhaps the Tamilians who have the brain—and Tamil is one of the oldest languages in the world—had shown more tolerance and the Andhras more patience, there may not have been this fight that we are seeing today. Today we see a scramble for pots, pans and fans. When ushering in the new States there should be no such disputes or bickerings. We beg our Andhra brethren to regard themselves as a good daughter-in-law or rather a wife joining the husband or the son coming into his own house; we also beg that the Tamilians may be more generous in giving them all the requisite materials and help. The Andhras, even if they do not get it, will one day be strong enough by their own efforts and the Tamils none the poor for the giving. These are our wishes.

With these words I only wish to say that I am very grateful to you Sir, for giving me this chance to speak. This process of linguistic provinces is on and we shall build a united, strong India, irrespective of what my friend

[Shri Joachim Alva]

Mr. Anthony has said about dis-unity of the country. During the British regime there was unity only in the administration, and they pitted one section of the people against the other for keeping their own hold on this land.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Sir, I want to make one submission. Christians in our place speak Malayalam, not English.

Dr. Katju: I imagine the whole House will share my joy that this great debate is ending on a harmonious chord or a harmonious note. Many very difficult and controversial topics have been introduced. When my hon. friend, whom I admire so greatly, Mr. Gopalan, began, I thought—he said so—he was ending one debate and introducing another. He began with all sorts of provinces which we had in mind. I do not know what his schemes are. But, that is not the question today here. He quoted largely from the Congress literature. He said to us that he was a Member of the A.I.C.C. years ago. I do hope that he will leave his present company and come back to us. Perhaps he will find the atmosphere more congenial to fruitful effort rather than to destructive effort over there. He quoted largely from those resolutions. I have read them myself.....

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): And forgotten.

Dr. Katju: A lawyer never forgets. He may pretend to forget, but he never forgets, as you know. His is a very convenient memory. Please don't disturb me; I only want to speak for a few minutes.

We have all been brought up in those resolutions. We all know that it was due to Gandhiji's efforts that the Congress organisation was re-orientated on that divisional basis. Please remember also that he did not divide that organisation solely on the linguistic basis, but it was what I may call on organisationally more easy basis. But, what I wanted to em-

phasise was that the leaders who were responsible for all these resolutions.

Shri S. S. More: Have gone.

Dr. Katju: Would you kindly pause for a minute? You have a bad habit of interrupting. I expect much better from an old gentleman like you.

Shri S. S. More: Sir, I protest.

Dr. Katju: Well, I withdraw; let us have 'middle-aged' man. You must set an example to other younger people.

I was coming to this. The people who were responsible for these resolutions, as my hon. friend said, some of them are no longer with us. I remember with great reverence today Sardar Patel, one of the architects of present day India. When you are talking of all these resolutions, please remember,—It is only an academic point and I do not want to pursue it further—all these resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress when technically the regions known as Indian States, which covered 3/8ths of India, were not parties to these resolutions. Today, if you find the whole of India is represented here, it is mainly due to the efforts of Sardar Patel, and our great leaders, including the Leader of the House. What did they advise? It is rather curious that you go back to history, go back to 1923, 1927 and 1930. But, what did the very framers of these resolutions tell you in 1947, when India came into being?

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Cannanore): Here is what Sardar Patel said.

Dr. Katju: I know.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: What has he said?

Dr. Katju: You know what he has said.

What did he say when India came into being, when there was the great cataclysm, this great holocaust in 1947? There were all these Indian

States. The British were gone. They said to every Indian Ruler: you have had treaties with us; it is up to you now; you are all independent. There are small States in Utkal, Orissa; revenue 2 lakhs, revenue 50,000, revenue 3 lakhs; everybody became independent. Sardar Patel came there to the Government House at Cuttack. He assembled all of them. He said to them: you have all become independent; you have no treaties with us; you go ahead and run your administration; the only thing is this: up till now, you were depending on British arms, British army and British police to assist you; you have become independent; we will not give you that assistance. Any way that is beside the point in this discussion. The point that I am suggesting is this. Whatever the resolutions may be, Sardar Patel was a Member of that Committee known as the JVP Committee. What did he say there? I have had some talks with him. I was not in active politics because—Acharya Kripalani is not here, he has a poor opinion of Governors—I was in those days in Bengal. I used to come here once a year. I have spoken to Sardar Patel personally about all these matters, concerning all of us. We are all completely alive to the demands of the situation, to the march of time, march of the people. They go into the villages everywhere. It is not only you who go to Karnataka or Maharashtra. We are all familiar with them. We are all Indians. I have spoken to Sardar Patel. He said: you must wait a little; priorities come first. My hon. friend Mr. Anthony also said, priorities come first. He said; we must settle down, restore law and order. Could you imagine one crore of people—I have never read about it, I was a student of history in my days—such a tremendous migration of people, 5 million going from this side and another 5 million coming over here and spreading all over the land, Bengal, Punjab, etc.? He said: we have got to settle these things, we have got to consolidate our country, our freedom; these things will come later. He was not talking in terms of half a

century or 25 years. He said: wait for 5 years, 10 years. I am very sorry, all of us lament, I lament deeply personally, that Gandhiji has been taken away from us and Sardar Patel has been taken away from us. Because, being the founders of this great India, they would have guided us at this moment. Of course, hunger strikes, fasts and all that: who led us into all that? Mahatma Gandhi, our Bapu. He would have told us what are the topics for hunger strikes and what are not. My words do not carry any weight. His words would have carried weight; but he has gone. Similarly, if Sardar Patel had been here, he would have guided us. People call me a sort of successor, somebody said yesterday about Malcolm Hailey, somebody said Maxwell, but nobody said, you are a successor of Sardar Patel here. You go back to pre-British times and British times. I simply wait to hear that I am also a successor of Rajaji. These are the immediate predecessors and I am trying to follow in my own poor way their footsteps. Sardar Patel used to say: consolidation of the unity of the country; preservation of the unity of the country; preservation of the morale of the services; get them fixed up because they are the frame which runs the institutions. Somebody was talking about Ministers and all that. These are different matters; but we must have a good civil service. Those five years have now gone. I myself ventured to say two days ago that personally I cannot understand democratic institutions and Parliament elected on adult franchise in a sort of a multi-lingual atmosphere. Supposing in this House, very many hon. friends speak in the national language. I believe there must be about 100 Members here who say, we are unable to follow. But supposing you were to say that the national language is not known—and English, I entirely agree, has got no future here—supposing every one of us were to speak in our own regional language, what will happen? We speak here in order to make ourselves understood, not for the love of our own voice. We speak here for the

[Dr. Katju]

purpose of making ourselves understood, to bring other people round to our views, and to appreciate the other persons' views. Supposing we were to speak in our own regional languages, the thing would become a babel.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Even otherwise also it happens. Even if there are no linguistic provinces, if English goes out and they do not know Hindi, what will happen?

Dr. Katju: I am only talking of today. If you go to composite Madras, there are four languages there. Go to composite Bombay. It is the same. You might remember in the last session we had one hon. Member speaking here. He began to speak. He did not know English. He did not know Hindi. He was a Harijan. We had a discussion, and Dr. Lanka Sundaram was acting as his interpreter. He said he wanted to take part in the debate on the Special Commissioner's report about the Scheduled Castes.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Scheduled Tribes.

Dr. Katju: It would not make much difference.

I do not want to go deeply into that. I say you cannot have democratic institutions functioning properly on a multi-lingual basis. My hon. friends are quoting largely very ancient resolutions of the Congress. I would ask Mr. Gopalan to read the most recent one. The Congress is not a static organization. Congress is a dynamic organization, functioning well. The ages are changing. First we had the steam age. Then we had the electric age. Now, we are in the atomic age, we are in the hydrogen bomb age. Therefore, I cannot say "Please go into Manu Smriti". You will say "What is Manu Smriti". Therefore, don't quote this is what the Congress said in 1923; this is what the Congress said in 1930. Why not see what the Congress said in 1953 at Hyderabad? We passed a big resolution.

Shri K. K. Basu: It is in the power age of the Congress.

Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada): You said just now it was not static, but dynamic. I can say that it is die-a-naemic.

Dr. Katju: Here is a poetical observation, a poetic interruption, and goodness only knows what poets mean. I do not know. I am a very prosaic person.

Shri S. S. More: You know only procedure.

Dr. Katju: Very well, I was coming to the Boundary Commission. My hon. friend made a great appeal to me about the All-India Boundaries Commission. He is a very suspicious individual. He said: "It is also a dodge. You may appoint a boundary commission goodness knows when—two or three years hence." He said: "Now definitely if you once announce here on the floor of this House that this All-India Boundaries Commission will be appointed within six months time, then there will be peace in the land." If you don't make that announcement, speaking about Malabar and Kerala and other provinces, he held out, of course indirectly, lots of threats, and he will see to it there will be this, there will be that. How did he gather that the All-India Boundaries Commission was not going to come quickly. Possibly we should do it in six months time, even earlier. I should like to have the All-India Boundaries Commission before the year closes, here in 1953 before this year closes. I should like to have it.

Shri Gadgil: That is the announcement by the Prime Minister.

Dr. Katju: Why did he say this. The leader of the Communist Party.....

Shri A. K. Gopalan: You have announced it now.

Dr. Katju: Therefore I say I want to make it quite clear, viz., that the All-India Boundaries Commission will come soon, and we want to have done.

with this problem. This All-India Boundaries Commission will examine the whole problem in one compact whole, not in compartments. We do not want to deal with Karnataka here, and then after two years with Utkal—a very favourite controversy—with which I am very familiar,—between Bengal and Bihar.....

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Shahabad South): They want to be joined together as the United Provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Dr. Katju: I do not know what Mr. Chatterjee feels here. There are my Bihar friends. I am prepared to join the whole of Bengal with Bihar. Will you take it? What more do you want? You get the whole of Bengal with Calcutta thrown in, and the jute mills and the textile mills. You go there.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister has said he will appoint a Boundary Commission. He is deciding in advance!

Dr. Katju: I was speaking, as I said, because I have to deal with these matters there in another context. I thought it might be a matter of satisfaction...

Shri R. K. Chaudhury (Gauhati): On a point of information. Would it not be much better to join the backward provinces like Assam with the United Provinces?

Dr. Katju: It is a question of knowledge of geography. I do not know whether Assam is contiguous to the United Provinces. There will have to be some sort of corridor, but you better go before the Boundaries Commission, and put forward that proposition. They might give it.

Now, Sir, the very remarkable speech and very frank speech made by my hon. friend Mr. Frank Anthony has attracted attention.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: Mr. Frank.

Dr. Katju: I have my own views in this matter. He said: "Look at the past. The multi-lingual States have

functioned". Of course, they functioned under the British regime with which my hon. friend has great ties of affection. I have also been present in the Legislatures which were constituted by the British. Up to 1892, Lord Lansdowne's time, it was completely despotic rule. Then we began with this school of local self-government and these Legislatures—these multi-lingual legislatures. There everybody spoke English. When my hon. friend is talking of multi-lingual provinces functioning, his idea is that the tie which binds them all together is the great English language in which he and I and many others of us have been brought up, in which all the Tamils have been brought up, all the Andhras have been brought up. That is the great language which binds us all. And as my hon. friend Mr. Alva said: "Just conceive for a moment that English disappears, what will happen?"

The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram): Why conceive anything?

Dr. Katju: It is probably beyond his conception. So far as I am concerned, I know. He talked a lot. Of course, it was a very fine speech. But when we are talking of culture, I personally think that it is of great importance, fundamental importance, that we should talk not about religions and faiths and sects and all that, but one Indian culture. And if there is any Indian here who says: "Not only is my religion separate, not only is my regional language separate, but I have a separate culture of my own", then, speaking not as Home Minister, but as an Indian, I say: "This country is not for you. Go elsewhere."—because, we must have one Indian culture, whatever it is. I am not saying it is going to be some sort of a despotism, some sort of a domination. We are going to have one composite culture to which every single Indian, every single community—Parsi, Sikh, Jain, Hindu, Muslim, everybody who is living here—makes a fine contribution, and becomes proud of it, proud

[Dr. Katju]

of that Indian culture. That is the ideal for which I live, and if my hon. friend Mr. Frank Anthony has got some other idea, because he was talking very much of culture, then I say he had better revise his notions, he had better take lessons from what is happening today. It is not so much that we should speak about, it is so much that we should think about. Read the newspapers. Go into the villages. My hon. friend Mr. Rajbhoj said something about the Scheduled Castes. When I hear those accounts, it pricks my heart, pains me considerably. You cannot find a solution by making speeches in Parliament or in the Legislatures, but we have got to find a solution in the villages themselves. You have got to carry on an agitation there for producing more and more amenities, more and more affection and more and more unity, for fostering this culture. Casteism, or communism or communalism—I said 'communism' also—or provincialism etc. is dead and gone. One thing which has caused me inexpressible joy is that even when the debate was in its most excited forms, from every side of this House, there was this pride in our great India, this necessity of having one united India, and that that unity shall under no circumstances be jeopardized. If you have this in your mind, then I say again that an all-India boundary commission will examine this matter and go into every question. If it is a settled question, it is a settled question. If the people of Karnataka want it, they are not going to rip it open. If it is a one-way traffic, it is a one-way traffic. If a thing has occurred, it has occurred. But the unity must not be jeopardized.

Coming to one particular matter to which my hon. friend Mr. More referred, viz., the great Maharashtra province, it so happened that he did not tell us anything about the Maha Vidarbha. Where do they come into the picture? I am hearing of all sorts of things.

Shri S. S. More: Refer it to the boundary commission. We shall see about it.

Shri Gadgil: Refer it for every state, and be done with it.

Dr. Katju: So, please do not blame the Government. Only the other day, I had a letter from the Chief Minister there, that they will not take these people. So, you better settle it with your brothers in Nagpur, and brothers in Amravati as to whether they will have a Maha Vidarbha or Maha Poona, or whatever it is, or where will they have their capital. I am not concerned with these matters, so I do not want to go on with this matter.

But as I said earlier, this debate ended with a very harmonious note, a very affectionate note, and I should like to end it again in that same note. I live in the hope that everything that has been said will be forgotten. It is now going to be 12 o'clock... (*Interruptions*).

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Does the hon. Minister want us to forget his promise about the boundary commission also?

Dr. Katju: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I think you must do something by way of rules or something else, to stop this habit of frequent interruptions. I seem to be the greatest victim of it.

I was speaking very seriously and saying that we shall all now pray that this great new State which is being formed will work well, and will draw lessons from the mistakes that have been made. Some people said in a very sarcastic tone—Mr. Anthony did it, and some other people also did it—that this movement is for getting ministerships and deputy ministerships. It was all, I say so without meaning any disrespect, not to my taste, and I suppose it was completely unfounded. I do not think that any one of us here is actuated by any such feelings. But supposing there have been mistakes of that description, I do hope that my colleagues and my friends and co-workers of all parties in Andhra Desh will, in setting up their home,

benefit from the mistakes made anywhere else. I remember when we started the Ministry in United Provinces in 1937—and the province remains the same today—we functioned with six ministers. Of course, now the work has changed enormously. This food business, this rationing business, the idea of a welfare state, the work of planning and development etc. have all increased enormously. But supposing you can do with less, and have economy, I am certain that the Andhra people who will take every matter into consideration, will show among themselves and to the rest of India a fine example of united effort. I hope not one discordant note shall be heard from Andhra Desh, not one single individual from Rayalaseema will come and say that in this new Andhra State, his interests have been neglected and have not received proper attention.

With these words, I beg to commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It now remains for me to put the motion to the vote of the House.

Shri S. S. More: I think it will involve some amendment to the Constitution, and a particular majority will be needed. I am just asking you the position.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Article 4 of the Constitution provides that so far as this matter of carving out a new State is concerned, it shall not be deemed to be an amendment to the Constitution.

Shri S. S. More: The Schedules will have to be amended in the Constitution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Article 4(2) of the Constitution reads:

"No such law as aforesaid shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of Article 368."

So, there is no difficulty in the matter.

Before putting this motion for the vote of the House, I want to express my thanks personally, for all the members, on all sides, the Government as well as the Opposition members, for the harmonious manner in which they have conducted the deliberations here, though this is a Bill which would naturally evoke admiration on the one side, and on the other provoke comments and discussion in a heated manner. Ultimately after the full picture is drawn, the old lines and crawls have already faded out. I hope the same kind of mentality will prevail in the other House, and ere long this will become an accomplished fact, and on the 1st of October, the new Andhra State will come into existence. It is my great pleasure now to place this Bill as amended, before the House, for its acceptance.

The question is:

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

The motion was adopted.

THE ESTATE DUTY BILL—Contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the clause by clause consideration of the Bill to provide for the levy, and collection of an estate duty, as reported by the Select Committee.

May I suggest that clause 2 may stand over, because it is the definition clause?

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt. cum Almora Distt.—South West cum Bareilly Distt.—North): Before you proceed further, may I know the programme of this discussion, clause by clause? On that depends the length to which an hon. Member will speak.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): They should not speak at all.

Shri C. D. Pande: Why not?