

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

Date: 12.12.2011

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LOK SABHA

Thursday, 15th December, 1955.

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven
of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

12 Noon

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FORTY-SECOND REPORT

Shri Altekar (North Satara): I beg to present the Forty-second Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

MOTION RE REPORT OF STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with further consideration of the motion moved yesterday that the Report of the States Reorganisation be taken into consideration.

Shri Nesamony was on his legs yesterday. I might remind the hon. Member that he has already taken 15 minutes. He may cut short his remarks. Otherwise, it is difficult to accommodate the large number of Members who want to express their views in this House.

Shri Nesamony (Nagercoil): I represented to the Deputy-Speaker yesterday that the point of view which I am voicing would be voiced by me alone from Travancore-Cochin and that I should be given sufficient time to explain my point of view. I

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will crave the indulgence of the Chair, also to give me an extension of time, if necessary, if the Chair is pleased to do so.

Mr. Speaker: I believe hon. Members from every State wish to lay before the House as fully as possible their view points. But that will not be possible within the time at our disposal. Therefore, he may just be short. He need not drop any of the points but he may cut short his remarks or the arguments.

Shri Nesamony: I was submitting yesterday that the problem of Devikulam and Peermede is a human problem, and nobody has addressed himself to the solution of that problem. I gave instances of repression by the police. I gave the instance of the starting of the High Range Workers' Union, even though the President of the INTUC cancelled its affiliation to the INTUC. I say that this organisation will crop up like mushrooms at every election to break the solidarity of the South India Plantation Workers' Union which vindicated the stand of the TTNC and its objective.

In the two taluks of Devikulam and Peermede, there is only one High School. That was started by the Kannan Devan Hill Products Co., and it is managed by them. There are about 300 boys belonging to the Scheduled Castes and hill tribes who enjoyed all fee concessions up to May 1954. From this year those concessions are denied to these boys. These boys will have to discontinue their studies if these concessions are denied to them. It is a matter of serious import to the 63,000 and odd Scheduled Caste people who inhabit that area because it concerns their next generation. In spite of all the efforts that this Government is making to

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ameliorate their condition, the Travancore-Cochin Government is not prepared to help them, the next generation of the Scheduled Castes. Instances can be multiplied even up to the present moment.

[SARDAR HUKAM SINGH in the Chair]

From reports that we are getting—both from the papers and otherwise—the policy of repression and discrimination continues throughout Devikulam and Peermede. I am not going to multiply instances because the time at my disposal is very short. But the will of the people of Devikulam and Peermede, as successive elections have demonstrated, is that that area must merge with the Madras State.

During question hour in the Madras Legislative Assembly, Shri C. Subramanyam, Finance Minister, Madras Government, stated that the Madras Government had submitted a memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission demanding the merger of the 9 predominantly Tamil taluks including Devikulam and Peermede with the Madras State. Shri Patton Thanu Pillai, who was then the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, stated at Ernakulam at a public meeting that if there were no Central Government—the Government of India—Shri Kamaraj Nadar and Shri Subramanyam, would have invaded Travancore-Cochin. That was the attitude that was taken up by the Travancore-Cochin Government when the Madras State made a demand that these predominantly Tamil areas should merge with Madras.

Now, what is this demand? It is now interpreted to be a monstrous demand, opposed to all facts and history. I would just like to mention that this area did not form part of Travancore territory until 1889. Shri Nataraja Pillai, whose statement in the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly was quoted by Shri A. M. Thomas, had said that Shri T. K. Velu Pillai, who wrote the State Manual has stated that the Raja of Punjar was the descendant of Pandyan kings.....

Shri Kottukappally (Meenachil):
The Raja of Punjar is a Travancorean.

Shri Nesamony: This is according to the Travancore State Manual. The historian of the Travancore-Cochin State says that the Raja of Punjar was the descendant of the Pandyan kings and that he used to sign as 'Meenakshi Sundaram'. It is in evidence that tax was being collected by the Raja of Punjar through petty chieftains called Manadirs, and receipts had been issued under the seal of 'Madurai Meenakshi Thunai'. So this area had been under the sway of the Naiks of Madura under the Pandyan kings, and it had never been a territory of Travancore till 1889. The precursors of the modern KDHP—Kannan Devan Hill Products Company—when they first entered into an agreement, executed the agreement with the Raja of Punjar. That was in 1879. The Secretary of State for India when he executed the agreement on behalf of the Periyar Lake Project, executed it in favour of the Maharaja of Travancore. When the agreement was renewed and the lease was extended in 1889, it was executed in favour of the Maharaja of Travancore. So it is clear that during that period—1879-1889—this change took place. It is said that the Maharaja of Travancore got it on a lease from the Raja of Punjar. Whatever that may be, till 1935, there was absolutely no access from the Travancore area to this area of Devikulam and Peermede. It is borne out by the Census Report of 1951, that this area is approachable from the Madurai district through the passes of Thevaram, Kudalur, or Kumli, Bodinakkannur, Kambam, and Shivagiri. These are the passes through which trade flowed. That is admitted. As it formed part of Madras State, these people came and settled there and have now their habitation there.

The Commission has stated that the population there is migrating, that it is a floating population. I say it is not stated as to who stated that view-point before the Commission. It is

not stated how they got the figures whereas in the case of other matters, they have indicated that such and such State or such and such organisations have stated a certain viewpoint. We are led to believe that interested capitalists who make themselves rich by the labour of this population, and the anti-Tamil Praja-Socialist Government, which was then in power in Travancore-Cochin, might have submitted these things to the Commission. They say that this will relieve congestion in the littoral area. The area of the Kerala State has now been increased. It is 14,080 sq. miles. The area of Travancore-Cochin is 9,154 sq. miles and more than 5,000 sq. miles of territory is being added to this area. There is no room for colonisation of Devikulam and Peermede. In the northern portion of Devikulam is the Anjanad.

This Anjanad consists of the villages of Maraiyur, Kizhanthur, Kottakomber, Vattavada, Kanthalur and Nachivayal consisting of 112 sq. miles and the KJHP company 215 sq. miles, the Cardamom area 215 sq. miles, the Game Sanctuary 305 sq. miles and the tea gardens 97 sq. miles and the Periyar lake has a water spread area of 13 sq. miles, the Catchment area being 305 sq. miles and that constitutes the game sanctuary as well. It is a very small area of forests and grass land that remains and so the argument that the people living in the littoral area will be relieved of congestion is absolutely unfounded. On the other hand, the P.S.P. Government started a colonisation scheme in Maraiyur in Anjanad with the evident intention of ousting the Tamil population from there. The same government started a colonisation in the cardamom area with the intention of ousting the Tamil people there—at Kallar—so that all these things have been done with the idea of ousting the Tamilians and that has been made clear on the floor of the Legislative Assembly by the then Chief Minister, when he said, 'If that programme of the PSP government had

been pushed through Shri Kamaraj Nadar would not have claimed these for Madras.' That was the attitude of the Praja Socialist Government then in power. It did not stop with that. In the debate on the States Reorganisation Commission's Report in the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai has said that the labourers from Madurai must be stopped, not now, but for ever, because the Malayalees and the people from Travancore-Cochin must secure work there. That is the attitude that lies behind the whole thing. That is the attitude that prompted them to demand the Devikulam and Peermede taluks.

Now, I would just refer to what made these protagonists of Aikya Kerala to start this movement for Aikya Kerala. Our hon. friend Shri Kelappan, as President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and the Aikya Kerala Committee presented a memorandum or an explanatory note on the answers to the questionnaire of the Linguistic Provinces Commission. I will refer to a certain passage which will show the animosity that dominated the Keralites at that time against the Tamilians:

"The multi-lingual miscellany called the Madras Province will have to be liquidated. It is a mere accident of British Indian History. It was never meant as an arena for Parliamentary Self-Government. Its recent history must teach us the lesson that Parliamentary autonomy ill suits its incongruous being. The competition among the linguistic groups transcends all party alignments and endangers its efficiency and usefulness. A Tamilian majority cannot continue for all time to be the arbiter of the destinies of the people of Kerala."

It is that spirit that dominates the colonisation scheme, that dominates Peermede and Devikulam must get to the request that was made that

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the Kerala State. It is said that Kerala would not be a viable State; if Devikulam and Peermede are taken away. It will be a deficit State or economically backward. In the Five Year Plan that is now proposed for Travancore-Cochin State the revenue surplus for the coming five years is estimated at Rs. 14.7 crores. I say that the anticipated deficit or the statement that it will not be viable is absolutely unfounded. It is said by the Commission that the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress granted that the two *pakuthis*—especially this area—are absolutely necessary for the economic well-being of this place. May I be permitted just to quote a line or a few sentences from the memorandum which we submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission which has now turned out to be an argument against us?

"The Assembly Constituency of Devikulam comprises the whole of Devikulam Taluk except Pallivasal Pakuthy where the Hydro-Electric Works are located. It comprises also the whole of Peermede Taluk except Peruvanthanam Pakuthy which includes the township of Mundakayam and the rubber estates owned by Syrian Christians mostly. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress has no objection to exclude these two Pakuthis from the area that is now sought to be merged with the Madras State for purposes of a settlement."

This passage is now being taken hold of by the States Reorganisation Commission and that is being used as an argument against us to say that we have more or less granted that this area is absolutely necessary for the economic development of the proposed Kerala State. I submit that it is a twisting of the facts that we have put forward before the Commission. This area is absolutely necessary for the development of the projects of the Madras State.

As I submitted, the Periyar Dam has 13 sq. miles of water

spread area plus a catchment area of 305 sq. miles. It becomes an absolute necessity for Madras because it pays a royalty for the waters that have been impounded at the Periyar lake to irrigate 190 thousand acres of paddy land in the Madurai district. The Government of Madras wanted to start a Hydro-electric project in the Periyar headworks near Peryakulam but the Praja Socialist government in charge at that time would not give them sanction unless they paid another royalty for the use of the water to develop electricity. The foundation stone for the Periyar Hydro-electric scheme has been laid at Peryakulam. There are two other schemes which are to be included in the Second Five Year Plan of the Madras Government; the Alady Dam Upper Periyar Project at an estimated cost of Rs. 7.75 crores and the Pambaiyar Scheme at an estimated cost of Rs. 14.5 crores and the Periyar Hydro-electric project for which the foundation stone has been laid is estimated to cost Rs. 7.98 crores. There is yet another project, the Parambikulam Upper Alayar project at a cost of Rs. 13.2 crores. I understand that the Travancore-Cochin Government would not allow the officers of the Madras Government to pass through their territory to go to the Upper Alayar project or to make a survey and fix the site to put up a dam within the Madras territory itself. I find, on the other hand, the Travancore-Cochin Government has absolutely no scheme included in the second Five Year Plan for the development of the waters of any of the streams that are flowing down from this area. Therefore, it is an actual necessity for the Madras State and I submit that these two taluks should be merged with the Madras State.

There are two other taluks which I have mentioned, the Chittur taluk which is an enclave within Coimbatore district in the Madras State. Claim is made for this taluk on behalf of the villages which border the

Coimbatore district; and it is now being proposed to be part of Kerala.

So far as Neyyatinkara is concerned there is one Assembly constituency where our candidate has been elected and he represents us. We have constituted Panchayats in various villages. We challenged the correctness of the 1951 census figures. We tried to educate our people to make proper enumeration when our leaders were arrested and a case was launched under the Police Act. That is the way Government has been dealing with that area and I therefore submit that these taluks should be merged with the Madras State.

Finally, it is the human problem in this area that we want to be considered in this matter. You go and ask the tea bushes of the Devikulam Taluk and they will tell you how they were planted by the tender fingers of the Tamilians fed by the bones and ashes of their ancestors, nurtured by the blood of the Tamilians and watered by the sweat of their brow. They would say that this is Tamilnad. So far as the Southern Taluks are concerned, my friend, Shri Thomas, was saying that Thovala did not return a Travancore Tamil Nad Congress member but the fact is that the candidate set up by the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress from the Nagercoil Constituency which includes Thovala, was returned as a Member to the Lok Sabha with a thumping majority and I can say that my friend has not a candidate to put up for that area as against the Tamil Nad Congress candidate. So, it is a human problem and I request the House to take note of it and take a decision consonant with the true facts of the case.

Shri S. K. Patil (Bombay City—South): At the very outset of my observations, I endorse the approach that has been recommended by the hon. Home Minister, the approach of restraint, the approach of mutual understanding and the approach of helpful criticism which he rightly called the approach of Panch Shila. So far as this Report is concerned, I

must say, whatever might be the opinion of people who were parties to the controversy, the S.R.C. have done, in my opinion, the best job of the very delicate responsibilities that were entrusted to their charge. Here was a Commission composed of three of our top-ranking public men whose ability, impartiality and sincerity of purpose were beyond challenge. It, therefore, becomes our duty to regard these recommendations not only carefully but also very seriously. Technically, the hon. Home Minister was right when he said that this sovereign Parliament has the last word, but the technicality apart, it is impossible. It is difficult for this Parliament to set aside or to tinker with any recommendation of the S.R.C. unless we have an alternative which has been mutually agreed to. It is a very fundamental proposition in my view which this Parliament has to bear in mind. It is very easy when we consider solutions piecemeal that something might suggest to you, but here is a Commission that has gone into the whole matter very carefully for a period of 18 months, examined 1,52,000 documents, and also considered nothing less than 2,000 memoranda. They had the opportunity which even all of us put together, the Members of Parliament, would not have. I am merely saying so because when these suggestions are made that this should be changed and that should be changed, it is very difficult to do so, and if we start by repudiating some of the conclusions of this Commission, we shall be stultifying ourselves in this respect that after having appointed a Commission so competent and so able, we on our own set aside their recommendations and did something on our responsibility in the absence of that fullness of knowledge which the Commission had the advantage to have. Therefore, my first proposition would be that we have got to stick to the recommendations of the S.R.C. in all cases 100 per cent and tell the parties to the dispute to come before us with agreed solutions. If

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we accept that proposition, our difficulty would be less. You cannot go on appointing Commissions after Commissions. During the five years from 1948 to 1953, as many as three different Commissions were appointed—the middle one was not a Commission it was called the J.V.P. Report, but it was even more than a commission so far as its importance went. Therefore, if you go on repeating this experiment again and again, it is impossible for us to come to any solution. Our obvious duty or rather the obvious duty of this sovereign Parliament is that consistent with its sovereignty, it shall not tinker or lightly treat the recommendations of the S.R.C. We shall be also wrong if we do so without an agreement between the parties concerned; we shall be setting a wrong example to posterity if we repudiate the findings of Parliamentary Commissions and still continue to agitate, thereby endangering our national unity.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Shahbad South): It was not a Parliamentary Commission; it was a Government Commission.

Shri S. K. Patil: But that does not make any difference so far as the importance of that Commission is concerned, and, therefore, it becomes our duty to seriously consider those recommendations except that when we want to depart, the departure shall be, as I said, as a result of agreement between the parties to the dispute.

An Hon. Member: Not necessarily.

Shri S. K. Patil: Some of us thought, before this Commission was appointed, that it was unnecessary to appoint the Commission; many of us even publicly expressed ourselves that in a free India it was not necessary immediately to proceed with the linguistic division of the country. There may have been a feeling, there may have been an agitation in the past, but the circumstances had changed; India had become free; we had

not even given a trial to our experiment of national unity, secularism, for a period of eight years. This was a very short time indeed, and, therefore, we thought that had we waited for 10, 15, 20 or 25 years—I had put up a proposition at least for this generation—heavens would not have fallen. And the reason was that it was not merely a mad proposal; there was a method in that madness and that method was that now in free India, liberated after so many years, brought up in an atmosphere of national unity, evolving a language of our own which is national and which is now taught to our youngsters, possibly in the second generation, we would have never thought of dividing the country on linguistic basis.

The national unity would have grown and possibly if any re-drawing of the map was necessary, it would have been merely for the purpose of facility of administration. That could have been done even now, but when the passions are very hot, if we proceeded with it, the results were going to be the same as we are experiencing now. Therefore, we said, "leave it to the next generation". Those people who have fought together on the common battlefield as many of us did begged of them that so far as our generation goes, they should not make this beginning. If we could exist with the so-called unnatural pattern of the States for a period of 175 years, would it be impossible for a free India to continue it for some time more in order to assess our feelings of national unity and secularism? And in that time if we had developed, possibly there would not have been any demand for this linguistic division.

Many people have been saying things which some of us said a few years back. The biggest support comes from our revered leader Rajaji. He says that for 25 years this should not be taken up. Our friend, Hon. Tyagi made a similar suggestion. I

am really sorry that these big friends of mine say it now. Had they added their very powerful voice to the not so very powerful voice of mine two years back, surely or possibly, things would have been a little changed and we would not have had the Commission and its recommendations would not have come. But that is past history.

As practical men we have now got to accept what has come and find out as to how best we could implement the recommendations. It is for us to see that we assimilate whatever the recommendations are and so implement them that there shall be the least trouble to the national unity and our country's prosperity.

Now, it is not in this country alone but even outside India that there has been considerable notice taken of the recommendations of the SRC. I remember even in countries like the U.K., U.S.A. and Canada, newspapers have been openly writing that this is the acid test—an acid test for the first time—to the youngest democracy of this world—the acid test through which India has to pass. If India survives this acid test and emerges triumphant out of this test, it shall be a complete success of our secular experiment that we have been trying.

I have explained my personal views; they have been given expression as President of the National Unity Platform throughout the length and breadth of the country—that is not to appoint this Commission. And even after the appointment, I lost no opportunity in approaching them by all manner of memoranda and begging them to make a strong case that in this tension for at least 20—25 years, this reorganisation scheme should not be taken. It has not happened and I am not sorry about it—even if I am sorry, the change has come and we have travelled a long way. There is no retracing the steps or retrieving the position now. We have got to make the best of the solution that has been made available.

From that constructive point I am looking at the recommendations of this Commission.

It must be remembered, as has been pointed out by the hon. Home Minister more than once, that the object or purpose of this Commission was not to produce a formula which was based mainly on linguistic considerations. Again and again this point has been stressed by the Prime Minister, by the resolution of the Government and by even the Commission. It says that its purpose was not to divide India on linguistic basis. If I remember right, the Prime Minister said on the 22nd December 1953 categorically that what was sought was the welfare of the people—not of the constituent States that would be formed; that is only one part, but—of India as a whole. Even the Resolution of the Government made it abundantly clear that in considering the reorganisation of the States, there were other important facts which have got to be borne in mind. The first essential consideration is the preservation of the unity and security of India. Financial, economic and administrative considerations are almost equally important not only from the point of view of any one State but the whole of India. Not only that. When the Commission went into this question, they also referred to the same fact again; and again the Dar Commission in 1948 came to the conclusion that the linguistic provinces purely on the basis of linguism were highly undesirable. The J.V.P. Committee went still further and they said that although the linguistic consideration might be an important consideration, it was not the sole consideration. In the new set-up of things—that is in free India—what was before 40—50 years back had radically changed. Things which were important before have become less important today. Therefore, we were promised again and again by all these successive commissions and committees that along with other considerations, linguistic

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consideration would be taken note of. The Kalyani Resolution of the Indian National Congress went still further and gave some other directions so far as this important problem was concerned. The Resolution among other things said: unity of India, national security and defence, cultural and linguistic affinity, administration, commerce, financial considerations, economic progress of the States and the nation as a whole—these were all necessary before we divided India on any basis.

Now the Commission went into it. Many people saw the Commission. It considered the difficult problem and gave its findings. Now, consider. On a question on which there was a tearing campaign all these 25 years, did anybody expect in this country that the Commission would produce a rabbit out of the bag which would please everybody—a miracle solution to which no objection could be taken? It was impossible in the very nature of things. I have not seen any controversy as acrimonious and as bitter as the controversy that rages round this important question of linguistic division. Therefore, any solution that could be found and that has been found is, in my view, a compromise solution. It is clear that after considering everything you cannot please everybody; therefore, do something which is sound in itself and which will satisfy to some extent the clamour of the people but more than that which will not impair the national unity of the country and which would ultimately be conducive to the largest good of the country. That is exactly the view that the Commission took and they came to certain conclusions. They have said:

"We now summarise our final views on the role of language as a factor bearing on the reorganisation of States. After a full consideration of the problem in all its aspects, we have come to the conclusion that it is neither pos-

sible nor desirable to reorganise State on the basis of the single vest of either language or culture, but that a balanced approach to the whole problem is necessary in the interests of our national unity."

In accepting that balanced approach they had certain very important factors to which we must not shut our eyes. The balanced approach according to them would appear to be to repudiate the home land concept. I speak this language and therefore it becomes my home land. I remember the famous debate in the House of Commons when some member speaking on the Home Rule for Ireland waxed eloquent and said: "We want Home Rule for everybody—Home Rule even for hell." Up sprang Lloyd George: "Hell, I concede. Here is an hon. Member who wants Home Rule for his own land and therefore, I am prepared to give it." This concept of home land is there. I come to Delhi. If the language of Delhi is not spoken by me and I do not talk it then it is not my home land because I come from somewhere else. The Commission has very positively, categorically and strongly repudiated that concept.

The second was to reject the theory of one language—one State. That is also sometimes impossible. You may have it in some places. Exceptions are there. A thousand years ago the time was different; or it was so even a hundred years ago when the means of communication had not expanded and modern world had not come into being. People who used to live together and were linked together spoke the same language. Nothing else was possible. But to talk that in the year 1955 when communications have so much improved and when in half an hour's time you can go from State to State and in a few hours time you can go to another country—to talk of that in a time like that and to imagine that there should be still that concept of one language—one State is, indeed fantastic. You can also consider that

In this country God had not or man has not so devised things that there should be people who really are equally or equitably distributed, speaking the same language. Here is this big elephant of Hindi speaking people—I mean no offence to them. There are as many as 15 crores of people. Is there any demand for a Samyukta Hindi Province? If a demand really comes for a Maha Hindi or a Visal Hindi then it would be ridiculous. You cannot have a State for 15 crores of people; it will be nearly half of India: it will be bigger than most of the European States except Russia. Therefore the Hindi speaking people have to satisfy themselves naturally by having 4 or 5 States as they have got a big population.

Somebody was talking yesterday of Andhra in which I am vitally interested. They are my friends. Now, I should like to tell them one thing. I am not concerned whether they will have Visal Andhra or not; surely, they should have it and I shall share the joy when they have it and I will go there for the celebration. But, in a population of 3 crores and 6 million people—he was forgetting a few millions yesterday when he was speaking—if supposing for the sake of administrative convenience there are more than one State, it is not so very wrong. Whether that should come or not is a different matter to me.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

But, speaking from a national point of view, even if for the sake of administrative convenience or any other convenience there are more than one State, it is not so very wrong. But, I should not be interpreted to mean that I am against Visal Andhra or any thing like that.

Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali): Thank you.

Shri S. K. Patil: Whatever it is, there are more than 30 million Tamils. We Maharashtrians are 35 millions. Now, of that 30 million or 35 million if it became necessary for the sake of

administrative convenience or for any other reason to have more than one State, so long as it is a State in which that language is predominant surely we should not find fault with it. Therefore, the Commission has, I say, repudiated the theory of 'one language, one State'. There can be more than one State speaking the same language, as the Commission says, "without offending the linguistic principle". Then, they also say that realisation of unilingualism at State level would tend to bring particularist feelings. These are all things that I am explaining in order to bring home to you that ultimately the solution of these three top-ranking public men of our day was a solution that was based on the totality of circumstances and not merely to the people in particular parts and those who were clamouring for independent States. They said that the recommendations are based on the totality of circumstances and an overall assessment of the solutions proposed. Therefore, you see here that in the light of those problems which they had to face we have got to consider the individual cases now.

Having said all that now I come to the State of Bombay. The State of Bombay was a good State, a very happy State, and, I may say, the most prosperous State, I would even say that it was the most efficient State. Possibly some of you may say: "No, our State was not less efficient." But, I am quoting the words of the Commission when I say that "the State of Bombay was one of the most progressive States in this country". When all this din and noise which this controversy has created dies down it shall be recognised one day that the progressive character of our State was entirely dependent upon the fact that we were a multilingual State and not a unilingual State. We dovetailed into one another. There were some qualities which are inherent in us, the Maharashtrians who were in a majority in that State—44 per cent. of the existing State. There were

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some qualities among the Gujeratis who were about 35 per cent. of the population of that State. There were yet some very very fine qualities in my Karnataka friends who were also as many as 56 lakhs in our State. There were also other people. When all these qualities were combined we had a composite character, a composite culture and our life had become composite for which the other name is the 'secular State'. If there was any State existing in India which could be truly called a secular State where all these languages and all these religions had blended themselves to create a composite and most efficient society, the name of that State is the State of Bombay.

Therefore, when this State was sought to be divided, there was an agitation by our Maharashtrian friends that they wanted a State for themselves of people who speak Marathi language. I have no quarrel with them. They have got every right to expect such a State; when everybody is demanding a State why should they be out of it? In this big race when everybody has got something, surely 35 million people should not be deprived of their natural rights of having a State or more than one State for themselves.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): What a fall!

Shri S. K. Patil: Now, imagine, when you think of this natural desire, let us explain or try to understand what is this natural desire. The natural desire of the Marathi speaking people was that they were scattered in many contiguous areas—of course, they are scattered all over the country, but you cannot pick them and bring them together—and if in that scattering they had to remain a minority in any particular State that portion should be separated and they should come together. What I am claiming just now is this, whatever might be the solutions which the Commission might have offered in other

respects, so far as the State of Bombay is concerned the solution that they have offered is really the best solution under the circumstances. They have considered every problem; they have considered the sentiments of the people and ultimately they have come to a conclusion on which it is impossible for this Parliament to improve.

Now, presently I will tell you how they have done it. The population, as I said, of the Marathi-speaking people is 35 millions out of which about 5 million people or even more are scattered in other States which cannot come together. Even in the residuary Telangana or Visal Andhra, whatever it becomes, there shall be more than a million Marathi-speaking people. You cannot recall them; they are there interspersed in the population. In the residuary Madhya Pradesh that is made, there would be more than a million Marathi-speaking people and you cannot take them out. So far as the contiguous areas which were likely to be brought together in a geographical unit were concerned, let us consider whether the Commission has or has not accomplished that task. I say 100 per cent. that task has been accomplished. As many as 11 million Marathi-speaking people—mark these figures '11 million people'—six millions residing in the existing Madhya Pradesh and 5 million people or a little less than that—47 lakhs—residing in the existing Hyderabad have been brought together now in order to fulfil the great dream and desire of the Marathi-speaking people that they should be brought together. Now, you see how it has been done. Six million Marathi-speaking people in Madhya Pradesh are to be included in the population of Vidarbha which is going to be 76 lakhs. But, all of them are not Marathi-speaking people; there are only these 6 millions. These 6 million people now form 29 per cent. of the population of the existing Madhya Pradesh.

Therefore, you can say that they were in a minority and therefore they had a natural desire that they should be in a majority, they should go in with the Marathi-speaking people so that they should not be in a perpetual state of minority. What has been done by the Commission is, the Commission has, for reasons which have been explained by them, made Vidarbha an independent State with 76 lakhs of people of whom 60 lakhs or more than 75 per cent. are Marathi-speaking people. They have been taken from an inferior position—I mean numerical inferiority—and have been brought not only into a superior position, but a 100 per cent. Marathi-speaking State. So far as the five million people of Hyderabad are concerned, those five million people make 24 per cent. of the present Hyderabad. You can naturally say that they are in a minority position. Twenty-four per cent. or five million people—Marathi-speaking—have been brought and added to the Bombay State so that Bombay State may have, instead of 15 million Marathi-speaking people, more than 20 million Marathi-speaking people in one State. This has been accomplished in order that the dream of Samyukta Maharashtra should, as far as possible, be met. It was possible for the Commission to do something else. Yesterday, some friend got up and said—if I mistake not, it was Dr. Lanka Sundaram—“Oh, imagine this small State of 76 lakhs on the one side and a State with six crores and thirty lakhs—Uttar Pradesh—on the other,” and so on and so forth. Apart from that disparity which the Commission has not necessarily been responsible for—they did form a separate Vidarbha—it has not been responsible for the other thing. It will be realised by this Parliament that it was possible for the Commission to distribute this five million people of Hyderabad, and at least 30 lakhs of them should have gone naturally to Vidarbha, because these districts were the districts that adjoin the Vidarbha terri-

tory. Then the population of Vidarbha, in that case, would become 1 crore and 5 lakhs instead of the present 76 lakhs. But then what would have happened if you do not want this population? That would have deprived the population of Marathi-speaking people in the existing State. Therefore, the SRC very wisely, very considerably, put all the five million in Bombay State, instead of distributing those people between Vidarbha and the present Bombay State, so that the percentage of the purely Marathi-speaking people could shoot up from 44 per cent. in the existing State to 48.5 per cent. in the new State that has been proposed. If luckily that population was a little higher—I wish it was higher so that it could be six or seven million—we would have got more than 50 per cent, but it was not within the competence of the Commission to increase the population of any particular State. Therefore, all this population was brought in and they made it bigger than what it stands today. Now, the proposed Bombay State will have a predominantly Marathi-speaking population—53 per cent. Imagine that the remaining 47 per cent. are Gujerathis and others put together. They have given such a State. You may ask, why it was not possible for them to join these six or seven million people of Vidarbha with the existing State so that the State becomes a vast or a much bigger State. If it was possible for them to do it, they should have done so. There was nothing wrong, but I wish to tell you why they did not do so. If it was done, the Bombay State, instead of the population of 4 crores and 2 lakhs, would have a population of nearly five crores. But the biggest problem and always the insuperable problem that the Commission had had to face was the position of the city of Bombay. The city of Bombay was the attraction for everybody. Everybody claimed the city of Bombay. The city of Bombay has been so. Therefore, it was difficult for the Commission to put it separately. Otherwise, if the two

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groups were to stand separately, they would have made one whole State of Maharashtra on the one side with a Maharathi-speaking population of about 30 million, and another State of Gujerat with 15 million on the other. But the position of the city of Bombay was extremely difficult to decide. In the words of the Commission:

"The most difficult problem, however, which the separation of the Maharashtrian and Gujerati regions of Bombay would pose is the future of the city of Bombay".

As I said, this city of Bombay is claimed by everybody, and it is the attraction of everybody.

An Hon. Member: What about you?

Shri S. K. Patil: All these interruptions do not help either them or me. The hon. Member will hear a good lot about himself at the end of this!

So, the city of Bombay is the attraction of everybody. It has been built upon the labour of everybody. Everybody has claimed it and said, "Why not we remain in the city of Bombay." In the city of Bombay, today, which has a population of three and a half million, we have got about 44 per cent—43.6 per cent to be exact—of Marathi-speaking population, and not more than 18 per cent of Gujerati-speaking population. But does anybody remember that it is a city with a cosmopolitan population in every respect? As many as half a million of them are from northern India. As many as half a million are from Southern India. Practically the whole of Parsee-Community in this world—80 per cent. of them—are in the city of Bombay. The total population of Parsees is just 100,000.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt.—West cum Rae Bareilly Distt.—West): 125,000.

Shri S. K. Patil: He is within that 25,000! Then there are about 125,000 Christians from Goa and other places. What I am emphasising is, it was a most difficult task for the Commission to decide as to what should be done about the city of Bombay. If they wanted to give it to Maharashtra, surely they could have done so, but there was a clamour from everybody and there was the claim for it by everybody. Now, I wish to say in all humility that apart from the people that are now claiming the city for themselves, if there is anybody or any single race that has really contributed towards the city of Bombay, towards what it is now, towards its prosperity, towards its position today, it is the minutest of the community of this country, namely, the Parsees. It is those Parsees who had equal if not greater right to the city of Bombay. Apart from them, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Marathis, the Gujerathis, everybody, have contributed during the last 100 years and more towards the prosperity of the city of Bombay. Therefore, it was extremely difficult to decide about it.

Shri R. N. Reddy (Nalgonda): With regard to the other cities also, the condition was the same.

Shri S. K. Patil: I never interrupted him. I am just referring to the city of Bombay. He can reply while he gets the opportunity of speaking. Therefore, the Commission came to the conclusion that if everybody had an eye on the city of Bombay as the central thing, the only possibility was that the State of Bombay could be made a bilingual State. You might ask me, "How is it that by the addition of Vidarbha it will not remain a bilingual State?" There seems to be a little misconception in this House and in the country also about the word 'bilingual State'. It has become something like a very mysterious animal that nobody knows what it is exactly. Many people imagine that the

word bilingual means 'by' and 'lingual'. The point is, where two languages are spoken, the State becomes bilingual. From that standpoint every State is bilingual and every State is multi-lingual too. But what is the test of bilingualism? Bilingualism, when applied to a State, in practical politics, means that with two languages, but the State must be a balanced State. There must not be 60 per cent. or 80 per cent. of the population speaking one language and a small population forming another group speaking another language. You do not get a bilingual State in Assam. Assamese is not spoken, as was said already, by more than 50 per cent. of the people there. It is not even 50 per cent. Well, we do not call it bilingual, then, because other people or communities are so small that in comparison to the Assamese people they are really nothing. Therefore, the test of a State being bilingual lies in that State being a balanced one between the two groups. Therefore, the S. R. Commission, while creating a bilingual State of Bombay, saw to it that, while they gave a predominant majority to the Marathi-speaking section, the State remained a balanced one. I wish to tell the House the figures regarding percentages. 48.5 per cent. of the population in the proposed new State of Bombay are purely Marathi-speaking; 35 per cent. purely Gujarati-speaking, and about 17 to 18 per cent. speak various languages. Well, the Marathi-speaking people are in a preponderating majority. I wish they were a little higher in numbers than they are today, but it was not within the competence of the Commission to add a few more people to a State. Possibly, if the border disputes are really resolved, and resolved in favour of the MPCC's proposals, even that thing can be achieved, and they could become a numerical majority completely. They did something which was eminently practicable and which was eminently reasonable. There was nothing really against the in-

terests of the Marathi-speaking people; they are in such a preponderant majority. If you see the population figures of that State, you will find that 21.3 million, i.e. about 53 per cent. of the population come from predominantly Marathi-speaking areas. Here is an opportunity for my friends today. When they are going to have a complete Vidarbha State which is 100 per cent. Marathi, part of their dream will be realised. I am sure that State is going to be the most progressive State. It is not mere local parochialism which makes me say so. It was efficient before; it is going to be doubly efficient hereafter. Imagine a State with a population of 4,02,00,000, with an area of 151,000 square miles—next to the proposed M.P.—with a budget which will be something like Rs. 125 crores, a single State in which all communities of different religions will live together with relations of brotherliness and in which the Marathi people will be predominant, because they form the majority. Imagine what control of the administration they can expect to have. In national interests and in the interests of the Marathi speaking people, they should have accepted the solution which the S. R. C. offered. Did they accept that solution? They said, "No; we do not want that". If Vidarbha is added to this bilingual Bombay State, Marathi population would have been 56 per cent. and the Gujarathi population would have been depressed to 28 per cent. or so. Therefore, if the tempers had not been frayed and if this acrimonious controversy had not been raised, then possibly sitting together across the table, we could have convinced the Gujarathi-speaking people without abusing them and without finding fault with them and without even doubting their motives of our desire to live together. We would have told them, "Look, here, we can try this experiment for a few years." But they started with agitation. Fortunately for the past few weeks the atmosphere is still.

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But we have seen what kind of agitation and controversy was roused all round, especially in the city of Bombay.

1 P.M.

The hon. Home Minister did not give any opinions on many questions, because he wants to listen patiently to what the House has to say. But on one particular point, he gave his opinion. He said that personally he would like to have Bombay as a bilingual State. Here is that opinion and I think every Member of the Congress High Command wants a bilingual State in the State of Bombay. Apart from my prejudices to linguistic divisions which I have never disguised all these 4 or 5 years—I have not changed a little bit all these years—taking the totality of circumstances, even I thought that the solution offered by the S. R. C. was the best. Therefore, I accepted it. The Chief Minister of the Bombay State, Shri Morarji Desai, accepted a bilingual State even though he is convinced that the Gujarati-speaking people are only 35 per cent. as against the 48 per cent. of Marathi-speaking people. Still he says, let us live together. For the past 100 years and more, the Gujarati-speaking people and the Marathi-speaking people have been living together. May I ask, if under the foreign rule, they have lived together supplementing and complementing each other, is it impossible for them in a free State to continue to live together and show to the rest of India an example of secularism for the unity of this country? Here is an opportunity which anybody would have jumped at. This kind of opportunity comes very rarely. But, that opportunity was kicked away. When the whole of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress was about to pass a resolution that Bombay should have a bilingual State, at that time my friends of Maharashtra—I am not critical about them; I am only making a factual statement—made it appear that they would rather prefer this

partition formula of three States to a bilingual State as suggested by the S. R. C. They wanted to have a predominant majority over the administration of that State and over the beautiful city of Bombay. They kicked away the opportunity given to them and they said, the relations between the Marathi-speaking people and the Gujarati-speaking people were fouled and they could not live happily together. I do not accept that the relations between the Marathi-speaking and Gujarati-speaking families have become foul simply because a few politicians have started quarrelling. I entirely agree with my friend Acharya Kripalani when he said yesterday that all these problems are created by politicians and not by the common folk. They have nothing to do with it. Even assuming that their relations are fouled, how does the position improve with the addition of Vidarbha? If they say that the two people cannot stay together, surely they cannot stay together even after Vidarbha has been added on. That I am afraid, looks like the power politics. Otherwise, surely the question of foul relations should not have come in. May I ask, is it within the competence of the people of this generation to do whatever they like regardless of its effects on coming generations? We are here today; we may not be here after five years and certainly all of us will not be here after 50 years. Therefore, the future of any State should not be really destroyed by the unreasonable attitude of some of us. Is it not our duty and obligation to the posterity that we behave ourselves, subordinate our personal desires, personal ambitions and even personal emotions and try to reach a decision which will strengthen the unity of India? They could have accepted this bilingual State. Even now, it is open to them to accept it. Although we have traversed farther away from it, even now it is not too late. They can request the Working Committee even now to help them.

This sovereign Parliament, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and our Prime Minister will help them if they really come to that decision in the larger interests of the country. Let them forget for a while all their acrimonious controversies they raised all these days. After all, there is the nation as a whole, the primacy of which has to be recognised by every one of us. Let this generation be proud of what it has done to this country, to strengthen the national unity. Not merely the people of one State, but all the 370 million people of this country should vie with one another, so that their country shall be great. There is an opportunity even now.

There is the claim for Samyukta Maharashtra. As a Maharashtrian, I have got the right to look to the permanent interests of Maharashtra and not merely to the interest of Maharashtra for the next five or ten years. I am not worried who becomes the Chief Minister in the next election; but I am worried about what is going to happen to Maharashtra during the next 100 years. Maharashtrians have been brave people who have stood by the country; they were the pioneers of the Liberation Movement right from 1857. They have done so many sacrifices for the country. They must have the position of advantage and that position of advantage has been completely given to them by the S.R.C. If you take the bilingual State even now and administer it for five years, you will have demonstrated to the rest of India not only that the Maharashtrians are a brave people, but they are also people who can hold the scales even between community and community and religion and religion. There can be another demonstration of secularism of which India and our Prime Minister are so proud. At the end of it, if they behave well, when all this acrimony dies, all this controversy dies, they can ask Gujerat, can we not take also Vidarbha? We have not quarrelled, and we are not likely to quarrel in the future. All that is possible. All the

wounds, big as they are, are capable of being healed. Do not think of making the relations more and more bitter. There should be an attempt at going nearer each other; not talking across the table, but sitting round a table and so talking amongst yourselves as to make a friendly solution possible.

People are asking me, if these three States are there, how is Bombay different from the rest of the cities? I have heard that argument from more than one person. How is Bombay different from the rest of the cities? Here, I may tell you something which is not my own. Could you point out a single city in India in which apart from the population, you have such a cosmopolitan composition of population? Calcutta has a large population but the majority of it is Bengali. Bombay is unique in many respects. In most of the cities there is no doubt, cosmopolitan population. In the capitals of provinces, other people are also there. Therefore you call it a cosmopolitan city. In Bombay, we have as many as four big religions; people in lakhs belonging to different religions mingle with one another. What really sustains them and makes them behave as responsible citizens is their sense of civic responsibility in which they all believe and which they try to implement in their life. As many as 12 languages are spoken in the city of Bombay. You may say that in other cities also many languages are spoken. In Bombay, 12 languages are being spoken, by not less than 100,000 persons each. Each would have made a city by itself. According to the international definition of a city, 100,000 people make a city. The Bombay Municipal Corporation has opened schools in all these languages. We do not regard ourselves as belonging to this language or that language. As soon as 20 children are prepared to learn in a language, we open a school for them. It is a city in which half a million people from North India, half a million people from South India, Gujaratis, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, everybody live together as common citizens. They

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have made it by the sweat of their brow, all put together in order that that city may be great. Everybody thinks in terms of common citizenship. There is a fear that if this city becomes the capital of a unilingual State, the interests of that particular language will predominate. That is natural. Remove that fear. That fear is not incapable of being removed. How can you expect to remove that fear even before you try the experiment? If you take the bilingual State of the S.R.C., run the administration and succeed in running it for five years, there will never arise an occasion for the cosmopolitan character of the city to be disturbed.

You will see, that Bombay city was the only city picked out, 35 years ago to have a special Provincial Congress Committee in the whole of India. Could anybody point out any single city in India which was given the status of having a Provincial Congress Committee? Why was it given? Who gave it? It is very significant to note that the Indian National Congress gave it. The man who made that award that the city was cosmopolitan and that it could not be really included in any unilingual State, was no less a person than Shri N. C. Kelkar, one of the greatest exponents of the culture of Maharashtra and what is best in Marathi literature. It was given to him to decide that this city must have a special Provincial Congress Committee. Unanimously it was adopted by the Indian National Congress. Did he not care that the Culture of Maharashtra was going to suffer? What is all this talk of culture. I do not understand. Everybody seems now to talk of culture only for controversy. I never see culture being mentioned otherwise. Culture is not a quality that becomes bad when it comes into contact with somebody else. I cannot understand that. Is it not up to us to see that while we maintain our own cultures, we evolve a composite culture which is Indian culture, which is Bharatiya culture? Are we not going to say to the world that this is my culture? Retain your

culture. I am for it. I have done more than anybody else to promote and propagate Marathi culture in my own humble way. But, may I ask, is that really so very contradictory to the culture of other people? In the name of culture, do not deceive the people. It is not for culture that we are demanding a State. It is not for civilisation that we are demanding a State. It is not for language that we are demanding a State. If you go on analysing,—I am not merely speaking for the Marathi-speaking people—in the last analysis you will find that it is a battle for power; who is going to have this, that or the other. Let us critically analyse the position. I appeal to you, for God's sake, forget the past and let us build a glorious future.

People are asking, if three States are formed, how this little tiny city State of Bombay is going to progress. How anxious they are? I am very glad that they are anxious as to how our city State is going to govern itself. I hope the city State may not be forced on us. That was my desire and prayer I was opposed to a city State and I still oppose it if I have a choice. In my memorandum, from every platform as the President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, I have said that we do not want a city State. But, if we are forced to the position of being the capital of a unilingual State, then alone, because there is nothing else left, we shall go in for a city State. Now, the formula has been given by the Maharashtrians. They do not like a bilingual State. They say that this will be better. How can this solution be better? In a sense Vidarbha belongs to you. It is 100 per cent. Maharashtrian. Why do you throw away Bombay to have Vidarbha which is yours? Would it not be more political and more practical to take Bombay now? Vidarbha is there for the mere asking whenever you want. Even if you do not do that, it is 100 per cent. Maharashtrian and it is part of you. Even as a practical proposition, you do not approach that subject in that way. Having rejected and kicked away Bombay, you ask, why don't you

give Bombay to us. When we gave it to you, you did not want it. How is it that you are now coming back and asking that Bombay should be entirely yours? Bombay belongs to everybody. It belongs more to the Marathi people. Geographically, it is contiguous to Maharashtra. Forty-three per cent. of its population, a single group, is Maharashtrian. The dominance of the Maharashtrian or Marathi-speaking people on the Bombay city will also continue. But, it should continue in a cosmopolitan, secular atmosphere. There is no danger at all if it continued in that way.

I hear some loose talk that all the workers of Bombay who make a majority of the people of Bombay are against it, because a few demonstrations were staged at the instance of somebody. You understand who they are. How can it happen? My hon. friends must be interested in knowing this. In the city of Bombay, the population of what is called workers is not more than 25 per cent. Seventy-five per cent. are other people. Therefore this 25 per cent. of workers are going to make it impossible for the 75 per cent. of the other people to enjoy the citizenship of Bombay. Do they really want to do that? Are all these destructive tactics spontaneous to the people of India unless somebody comes and says, go there, we shall have *morcha* procession, etc.? That is not really fair. That should not be entertained even for a moment. When did trade unionists and all these people, communists and socialists start believing in linguism? That is really a very interesting experience to me. I thought they were international, they were universal, even higher. I really thought they believed in the principle of trade unionism. Now, they talk of linguism. They say it is the first principle. They are going to teach the workers linguism. Not even Karl Marx, nor Lenin nor Stalin, not even Panch Shil; linguism is going to be their banner. This is all tactics. Let us clearly understand that before we decide what we are going to do.

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Another fear that is really entertained is this: They say, your water, your electricity is in Maharashtra. If an atom bomb is thrown, what will happen? Supposing they stop your water, what will happen? What fantastic nonsense we are speaking in this country which has declared itself a Sovereign Democratic Republic? Is there any one State, much less a city, which is so very self-reliant and self-sufficient that it can meet every single need by itself? I am talking here of the dependence between one State and another, there has to be dependence even between one country and another. The world is trying to come together, so that they should be inter-dependent. While that is the tendency in the modern world, where society is trying to cling together, and when we are talking of one-world government, that time you have chosen to tell us that because the waterworks and the electric works are there in your place, you can stop the supply to Bombay any day and make city's life impossible! Suppose the Bombay people say, we are producing about 80 per cent. or more of cloth for everybody, if you do not listen to what we say, we shall ask you to go naked. Do you mean to say we shall say like that? We shall not. There are many other things also that Bombay produces. Again, take the case of the Sindri factory. Do you mean to say that Bihar can adopt the selfish attitude of saying, the Sindri factory belongs to us, and therefore, we shall not give even a single ton of fertiliser from our factory to any other State.

In a modern world, in a modern society, in a free India that proclaims itself as the sovereign democratic republic, should we talk things of this description? Should even the economists go down so low as to entertain feelings of this description, and say that because we are different States, possibly the electricity may be stopped some day, or the water may be stopped some day? I submit that that is not a fear which is real in any sense; my hon. friends have taken a lot of your time on that unnecessarily.

[Shri S. K. Patil]

May I appeal to you once again in the name of national unity? I am not approaching this question at all in any emotional manner. So far as this matter is concerned, there could have been three approaches. The first is the emotional approach. We have played on that emotional approach for these thirty or forty years. The second is the practical approach which is dictated by the States Reorganisation Commission. And the third approach is the impossible approach. That impossible approach is, no matter what happens to national unity, no matter what happens to the States, we, a few people in this generation, talk in the name of thirty-five million people, and dictate that something should happen which would be a permanent ruin to this great land of ours. I humbly appeal to my Maharashtra friends once again. In fact, I am of their blood, I am of their marrow, I am with them, I have grown with them, in fact all that I have done in my life is for the service of that great Maharashtra and my country. I appeal to my friends once again and say, here is an opportunity, the whole of India is asking you in the name of the nation, in the name of national unity, and in the name of national progress, to please try this experiment. If you fail in that experiment, then that is a different matter. The whole of India will assist you in the graceful implementation of that experiment. Here is the Parliament that will guarantee that; in the largest interests of the country, that should be done.

If you do not want to do that, if you feel that your relations are so bad that the family shall not unite, that the divorce is complete and final, and that there shall not even be permission to marry again, should such an opportunity come, then, accept this three-unit formula. That formula is not bad. Try to become good neighbours of each other. There is so much of inter-dependence in all these three States. As I have said earlier, the Gujeratis and the Marathis are

alike in every matter, culturally, economically and even socially. They have dovetailed into one another in their habits. It is because there are some Gujeratis amongst them, that the Marathis have lost certain of their habits, and similarly it is because the Marathis are amongst them, that the Gujeratis have lost certain of their habits. Let them now become one family once again, supplementing and complementing one another and let us make efforts to come together, so that we shall make a composite and good family. Let that good family which has remained and prospered in our country for the last hundred years remain and prosper in the same manner for another thousand years, and thereby demonstrate to the world and to this country that this experiment of secular democracy that our Prime Minister, the Constitution and the Parliament have started is a real success and that if anybody has implemented it in the real spirit and made a real success of it, then it is the composite State of Bombay.

With these words, I make this humble appeal to them even at this stage. I hope that the cumulative voice of Parliament and the nation will prevail and ultimately we shall have a solution which shall be acceptable and in the best interests of everybody concerned.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Before I call upon other hon. Members to speak, I would like to say that in pursuance of the principles or the lines of action that the Hon. Speaker has laid down before the House so far as this debate is concerned, I have laid down in consultation with him the following principles in regard to the calling of hon. Members.

The first category will consist of Members who want to speak on general principles. However, so long as they are members or citizens of any particular State, they cannot avoid some particular reference to their own

State. Those hon. Members will be called first, because they lay greater emphasis on general principles and only incidentally talk about other things.

The second category will consist of Members who deal with division and relinquishment, and the new States of Punjab and PEPSU. We would like to hear one for and one against, and likewise also in the case of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.

मुरारे: तृतीयः पन्थाः ।

Then, there is the third category. They will be Members dealing with redistribution in new Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.

The fourth group will be consisting of Members who want to deal with addition or subtraction to existing States, that is, with the States of Andhra, Telangana, Travancore-Cochin, the merger of Nagercoil in Madras, and Vidarbha.

The last category will consist of Members dealing with Part C States, Delhi and other existing Part C States, and new States, and boundaries and minorities.

These are the general categories. We had disposed of yesterday, of course, not permanently, the question of the merger of the Tamil areas in Travancore-Cochin with Madras or Malabar. Two persons from that State spoke yesterday on this matter, one for and the other against. Then, we came to the question of Vishalandhra. One hon. Member spoke for Vishalandhra, and the other against it. So, that question also has been disposed of, and hon. Members have spoken. It is not that they have completely exhausted. I am talking only of the first round. Let us give an opportunity later.

Then, in regard to Bombay, Shri S. S. More spoke yesterday. And today, Shri S. K. Patil also has spoken. I would like to hear Shri Gadgil immediately on the same question.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): I am thankful to you for having called me now. But the arrangement that, I understood, was agreed to was that I was

to speak on Monday. But if the House so desires, I shall certainly speak. I must have the full text of Shri S. K. Patil's speech, for partly I was not present in the House to hear him. I would therefore greatly appreciate if you could call me to speak tomorrow; if you call me tomorrow, I shall certainly speak. But I believe that eloquence does not alter facts.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I do not want to hustle Shri Gadgil. If he had been present here, I would have requested him on behalf of the whole House to speak immediately. Hon. Members do not take notes of everything that is stated here. That is the difficulty. If we can hear both sides, then a proper impression would go round. But in as much as Shri Gadgil is not prepared, I do not want to call upon him to speak today. But he will be prepared to speak tomorrow.

Hereafter, I shall call hon. Members according to these groups, one for and one against: if a third State or a third interest is there, or an important interest is there, then a Member dealing with that interest also will be called. Let us have the first round in this way. Then, we can have a second round, and then a third round with respect to the same matters and also other matters.

Shri Lokanath Mishra (Puri): When will Orissa come?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Orissa comes under boundaries.

Shri Joachim Alva (South Kanara): Could you kindly give an opportunity for expression of views, to Shri Nijalingappa from the Karnataka group?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No hon. Member need make a recommendation in favour of another hon. Member. I know all the Members.

Shri Thanu Pillai (Tirunelveli): The hon. Speaker, when he announced the policy in regard to calling of names, did not say that he would be asking us to give names for general discussion and discussion with regard to particular States separately. But now you have formulated some principle,

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according to which you will call one Member on one side and the other Member from the other side. In that case, we shall not have an adequate opportunity at all. We have not received any advance notice about the new formula that you have laid down. So, I would suggest that we must be given opportunities to speak, and we should not be going on the principle of one Member from this side and another from the other side.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members have given certain names already. Such of them as could be called will be called. I am only trying to give a perspective to the House, by enabling it to hear matters both for and against, when any particular State or any particular idea is taken up. Otherwise, what will happen is that we would be hearing something for a particular proposal at the beginning of the debate; in between, many other things may come in, and only at the conclusion of the debate the arguments against may be advanced. The result would be that the House would have forgotten the points for, before it hears the points against.

Shri Thanu Pillai: In regard to the merger of the Tamil areas, two Members from Travancore-Cochin have spoken already. But no Member from Madras has spoken so far.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is only the first round.

Mulla Abdullabhai (Chanda): In which round will Vidarbha come?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That will come under 'Addition'.

Now, I shall call Shri N. C. Chatterjee, who will speak on general matters, and in particular regarding Bengal.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): I am happy that the hon. the Home Minister, in his introductory speech, agreed with me that the suggestion.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I interrupt the hon. Member for a minute? After Shri N. C. Chatterjee, if he is speaking generally—I do not know if he is going to speak on all matters or

particularly matters between Bengal and Bihar and Bengal and Orissa—I am going to call Members from PEPSU and Punjab.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): After him, someone from Bihar may be called.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not from Bihar.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: You said, one for and one against. If you proceed on that basis, you and the House will immediately have the figures available.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. I will close the Bengal-Bihar boundary—one for and one against.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I was expressing my satisfaction that the hon. the Home Minister agreed with me that the suggestion to put the SRC Report in cold storage was a counsel of despair.

Sir, I listened to the impassioned and eloquent speech of Shri S. K. Patil from Bombay. He pleaded the case of Bombay with remarkable ability. If Bombay is in danger, my unfortunate State of Bengal is in greater danger.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Calcutta should be like that.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Purnea cum Santal Parganas): Speak like an Indian, not like a 'Mashabhate'.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am sorry my friends are interrupting me. I am pleading on behalf of vivisected, partitioned, and tragically divided Bengal which has lost two-thirds of its territory, which has lost the districts which produced Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das as well as Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan. Bengal which had produced the greatest martyrs, the greatest fighters and the greatest revolutionaries, is in great distress. I yield to none in my appreciation of Maharashtra. We are obliged to Maharashtra for standing by Bengal during the dark days of Imperial repression and the dark days of the boycott agitation. But, Sir, Bengal is bleeding today. I have got no enemy. I shall take a pan-Indian view

of things. I can assure my hon. friend, the Minister opposite, as well as every single Member of this House, especially my respected friends from Bihar and Assam, that I will take a national point of view, I will make a national approach and I shall convince them that in the interest of the country as a whole—national interest demands it—something should be done to rehabilitate Bengal. I shall satisfy this House on that point. I am so confident. This is not a new demand which we are putting forward on behalf of Bengal. This is not a thing manufactured because of this Commission. This is a demand which was put forward by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the West Bengal Chief Minister, the Congress as well as every political party unanimously. Unanimously we demanded something—those areas. I shall satisfy this House that the demand is nothing new, not manufactured for the purpose of creating controversy and bitterness. This demand is exactly the same demand which was stated by the leaders of Bengal and by our national leaders. I shall urge the hon. Home Minister as well as this House to rise to the occasion.....

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Who are the leaders?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Please do not interrupt.

I shall appeal to them to rise to the occasion and discharge their national responsibility in this crisis. They are the trustees and beneficiaries; they gave us a pledge; the Congress had given a pledge—the Congress unanimously passed a resolution which I shall read out—; the leaders of Bihar also issued a statement after the partition of Bengal had been annulled that something was done which had not been fair. I shall ask these trustees, these beneficiaries—they are the trustees, they are the beneficiaries of dismembered Bengal—that they should undo the wrong which they pledged themselves to undo. They should redress the injustice which had been done.

I listened very carefully to Acharya Kripalani's speech. It seems that his

was a belated effort; it was a *post mortem* operation. What is the good of saying today that there should be no discussion or no approach to this problem of regional distribution of States on a linguistic basis? The organisation, to which I belong professes the glorious ideal of Akhand Bharat. I yield to none in my desire to build up India and to maintain India's unity and integrity. The primacy of the nation is our highest ideal. That can never be imperilled for any consideration. India's safety, India's security, India's national integrity can never be allowed to be imperilled by any kind of fanaticism or parochialism. I come from Bengal, the province which produced Rabindranath Tagore. The immortal song of Tagore says:

Aih bharater mahamanaber sagartire

This proud India, Mother India, has been the great synthetic force, the shore of the ocean of humanity. Have we not adopted the song of Tagore as our National Anthem—

जन गण मन अधिनायक.....

What is that national anthem? Don't you sing it everyday. Weren't you singing it the other day at the Rashtrapati Bhavan when you were giving a party to the distinguished visitors from Russia?

पंजाब, सिन्धु, गुजरात, मराठा, द्राविड-
उत्कल बंग.....

Is not our Indian nationalism based on the recognition of the regional cultures? There is nothing incompatible—that is my humble submission—between national unity and regional languages and regional cultures. Through the millennium India has tried to evolve a synthesis, a grand reconciliation. That is why India lives today, that is why India survives; whereas Babylon has perished, old Egypt has perished, Assyria has gone into the limbo of oblivion, the great Roman Empire has vanished. But India still lives because of some dynamic and vital force in her. What is that vital force? The

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force to assimilate, the capacity to absorb. As Vivekananda has said and as Rabindranath has repeated, that the cardinal principle of our Indo-Aryan civilisation is absorption, not conflict, reconciliation, not vivisection. Therefore, we have absorbed, and we have different cultures welded into a distinctive Indian pattern. I see nothing wrong, I see nothing dangerous in having linguistic States formed, subject to certain essential safeguards—that on no account will the frontier States or the strategic States be imperilled, that on no account shall we allow linguistic fanaticism to put in peril in any way the safety of the country. Subject to essential safeguards of safety and security and economic viability and financial stability this can be done. The organisation which I represent has advocated this stand. And I submit that that is fair and proper.

This Commission has itself stated—and rightly—'do not at all belittle the idea of formation of linguistic States'. It has stated—and I maintain, rightly—Sir Fazl Ali is right; also Dr. Kunzru and Dr. Panikkar are right—that this demand for the formation of linguistic States has been an organic evolution, and has been the result of the national movement in this country. They have pointed out in language which is really worth quoting, that the greatest political organisation in India, the Congress, accepted this position and fashioned its constituent units on a linguistic basis and it was then only that it was possible for the Congress to become a dynamic mass organisation. That is the verdict of the SRC.

There is a good deal in what the hon. Minister said. It does not matter whether the Parliament or the Government appointed the Commission, but it was composed of an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court and two distinguished men in public life. It is our duty not to condemn them in intemperate language. I ought to tell you that immediately this Commission was appointed, representative people from a contiguous State came to me and asked my opinion as to the desirability of boycotting this Commission. I advised them

not to do so. An organisation, the head of which is one of the greatest followers of Mahatma Gandhi, wanted my advice. With all the emphasis I could command I firmly told them that it was not proper to boycott this Commission. I assured them that it was much better to put the case properly before the Commission, although they had various grievances and they were suffering from a sense of frustration. I think I was right. But, I ought to tell you that when I criticise this Commission I do so not in the spirit of a carping critic but I do so because I am honestly convinced that they have gone wrong on certain vital things. I am honestly convinced that the Parliament would not be justified in accepting the Commission's recommendations as they stand without substantial modifications in certain respects.

I have spent practically all my life in law and as a humble votary of Themis I had something to do with the administration of justice. But, I can assure you and every hon. Member of this House that no honest judge dislikes or resents an appeal. I had the privilege to sit as a member of a Division Bench along with one of India's greatest Judges, Chief Justice Sir Trevor Harries. Whenever a question of giving leave to appeal to the Judicial Committee or the Federal Court or the Supreme Court came up, that great Judge, who was the Chief Justice of Calcutta, who was the Chief Justice of Lahore and also the Chief Justice of Patna and a Judge of the Allahabad High Court, would say, 'I do not mind anybody going up for the purpose of testing my judgment'. I think that is the correct attitude. No honest judge should resent it at all and say that there is some reflection on his integrity. It is not a reflection on his integrity if the people from Maharashtra or the people from Bengal or from Orissa say that justice has not been done to them. There is no question of any imputation on their ability or honesty. Let not a word be spoken to cast any imputation of that character. It would be much better if we can carry on our deliberations

without any passion and without any emotion.

The deliberate policy of the British Imperialists was to cripple the Bengali race and that is why they inflicted that curse of partition on us. They first attempted the vivisection of the Bengali race. What was the crime of Bengal, what was the crime of the Bengali race? The crime was to produce Surrendra Nath, Bepin Chandra, Aswini Kumar, Abdur Rasul, great fighters for India's freedom. They did not fight for the freedom of Bengal; they were not fighting for any community; they were not approaching in any communal spirit the problem of emancipation. They were fighting for the complete liberation of Mother India from the shackles of British Imperialism. That is why the British Imperialists deliberately tried to throttle and cripple the Bengali race and they succeeded and they inflicted the partition. Against that Bengal rebelled. I must say that on the darkest day of Bengal the Maharashtrians stood by us. Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak stood by us, Gopalkrishna Gokhale stood by us, the great Punjab leader Lala Lajpat Rai stood by us and the unanimous voice of India backed by all patriots of all schools and of all sections compelled the British Imperialists to annul that partition. When that partition was being annulled the British Imperialists said, 'We are going to annul this partition but we shall do one thing'. And, what did they do? They deliberately tried to make the new Bengal, the province which they were creating after the annulment of the partition, a Muslim majority province. In this Commission's Report itself you will find a paragraph wherein it is definitely stated that the British Imperialists behaved unfairly, that they behaved dishonestly, that they behaved improperly and they wanted still to cripple the Bengalis and to perpetuate their policy of divide and rule. Therefore, deliberately to create difficulties, they took away certain Bengali-speaking areas and gave them to contiguous States, and made undivided Bengal a Muslim majority area, not that they loved the Muslims but they wanted

to perpetuate dissensions and to create difficulties and to teach a lesson especially to the Hindus because they were the vanguard of the national struggle.

At that time the Indian National Congress passed a resolution unanimously and the session was held at Calcutta. I am reading that resolution:

"That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieut. Governor-in-Council and prays that in readjusting the present boundaries Government would be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

That realises that what the Britishers were going to do or were doing was not proper. This resolution was moved by a man who is well-known, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. It was seconded by a distinguished Bihari leader Mr. Parmeshwar Lal. May I read only one portion of his speech? There was no parochialism. They realised that what was being done was not proper. They were resenting the British attempt again to cripple the Bengali race. Mr. Parameshwar Lal said:

"The second part of the Resolution calls upon you to record the fact that in the redistribution, when it comes actually to be carried out, so far as Bengal is concerned, the Bengali-speaking tracts be kept in the main province of Bengal. This is not a principle with which any Bihari will quarrel."

This resolution was passed unanimously. I hope this is a proposition with which no Bihari today will also quarrel. It cannot be quarrelled about. It is not a question of argument. It is a deliberate wrong which the Imperialists inflicted and the Congress resolved that that should be undone. A few days later, on the 4th January, 1912, a statement was issued by 5 distinguished leaders of Bihar, Messrs. Deep Narain Singh, N. Fakharuddin, Sachhidananda Singh—many Members of this Parlia-

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 ment knew him—Lala Nandakishore Lal and Mr. Parameshwar Lal. In that Statement they did not agree with what the Britisher had done. They made the following observations:

"In accordance with the Resolution of the last Congress the sound principle would be that enunciated therein that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar."

They made it pretty clear so that the Britishers cannot play with this resolution of the Congress. The Britishers had the knack of setting up community against community and province against province. Therefore, the Bihari leaders took particular care exactly to point out what they were saying, that the Britishers were unfair and should give back to Bengal what had been snatched away from Bengal unfairly and improperly. To quote that statement again:—

"... the portions of Purnea and Malda to the east of the river Mahananda which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar—should go to Bengal and the rest of these two districts come to Bihar."

Sir, that is what exactly they were saying. That is what exactly Shri Bidhan Chandra Roy is asking for. Do you charge him with parochialism, do you charge him with colonialism, do you charge him with a sinister motive against any province? He is simply repeating what the Bihari leaders then had said. We have demanded that some portion of Kishanganj and Purnea and some portion of Malda should come to us.

Pandit S. C. Mishra (Monghyr North-East): According to your report it must come to Bihar.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: "The Portions of Purnea to the west of Mahananda"—we are demanding that this portion which is now in the Bihar State should come to us; statement goes on:

"Such tracts in the Santhal Parganas, where the prevailing language is Bengali, should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district remaining in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhoom and Pargana Dalbhoom of Singhbhoom district are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal—the rest of the division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

This is what the Congress had said and this is what the Bihar leaders had said and that is exactly what we are now demanding.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I make a suggestion? The hon. Member may take me as one of the Members here. As any lawyer in a court of law sets up his case, if you say that this is what we want, this is what the Commission has stated, these are the arguments for and against, then we can follow it. Then there may be perorations. Every one of us can look into the Report, but if the hon. Member can indicate what is it that the Bengalis want, what is it that the Biharis say, what is it that has been given now, and what are the points for and against, then we may know the position exactly.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: We want facts for and against, not only for.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the case of Bengal? What is the case of Bihar? What is it that has been given? In respect of all these, what are the points for and against? If this interrupts the hon. Member's speech, I will withdraw all that I have said.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am obliged to you. We want the whole of the Manbhoom District.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: We are ready to give up the whole of Bihar.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Only one portion of that district has been given to us. That district consists of two Sub-divisions—Sadr Sub-Division called Purulia and Dhanbad Sub-Division. The Commission recommends that the portion of the Sadr Sub-Division, ex-

cluding Chas thana, should be given to us. What we are asking is that the whole district of Manbhum should come to us. That means that from this Sadr Sub-Division, Chas has been improperly taken away and that should come to us, as also the whole of Dhanbad Sub-division should come to us.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: We offer the whole of Bihar to him.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is not so fortunately placed. Is it on the ground of population that you claim this?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: We have proved and this can be established that the whole district is predominantly Bengali-speaking.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: No.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The Commission have themselves said that they give to us the Purulia Sub-division on two grounds, firstly, that it is a Bengali-speaking area, and secondly, that there are certain irrigation projects which cannot be finalised and these require that this territory should come to Bengal.

In the 1931 Census, you will see that it is a predominantly Bengali-speaking area and there is absolutely no difficulty about taking those figures. In the 1951 Census, in certain areas they tried to put up the figures, which had been challenged. I am not saying this because I belong to Bengal, but you will be amazed that it is something remarkable, that it is a biological marvel that in Purulia, the big chunk which has come to us or which has been allotted to us, the Hindi-speaking population has increased by 707 per cent as compared to the 1931 Census figures. I am reading from the Congress's Memorandum which was submitted to the Commission and they have given the figures. It is an amazing thing that in Purulia, the Hindi-speaking population has increased by 707 per cent over the figures of 1931. The Commission itself has pointed out that this is something extraordinary and they also say that the 1951 Census figures have been challenged by both Bengal and Bihar.

Shri M. P. Mishra (Monghyr North-West): So also the 1931 figures.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: No, that is not correct. Here is a clear statement which was issued in 1912 that the whole of this district or Manbhum should come to Bengal. With regard to Dalbhum in Singhbhum District, there has been some confusion and it seem that the Commission has also made some confusion between the Bengal claim and the Orissa claim. I ought to assure this House that there is absolutely no conflict between the Bengal claim and the Orissa claim. We demand both Dalbhum and Manbhum to be part and parcel of Bengal; we want that portion which is predominantly Bengali-speaking and which, the Bihar leaders said, should come to us. That was in the statement which I read out to you.

The Bengal Government and the other political parties have also demanded certain areas of Santhal Parganas. The Bihar Government exactly know what we want because they have issued a brief analysis of the State Reorganisation Committee Report relating to the border adjustments between West Bengal and Orissa. The Government of West Bengal had claimed certain portions of Purnea, Santhal Parganas, the entire district of Manbhum and the Dalbhum portion of the Singhbhum district, as also Chas thana. The Government of Orissa asked for the transfer of the entire Sadr Sub-division of Singhbhum, and Seraikelia and Kharsawan. Now, what Bengal has got is clearly two tiny bits, one from that Manbhum area and the other in Kishenganj in Purnea. But what we have asked for is a bigger area in Purnea so that there can be contiguity between the southern sector and the northern sector. Kindly remember that this is given to us because the Commission has come to the conclusion that in order to have proper integration, proper political integration, there should be geographical contiguity. The northern part and the southern part have been severed, and there should be some corridor or link so that we can have access and there can be proper integ-

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ration of both parts of the State. The Commission points out this and that is what I am asking the Parliament to consider. This is vital because there is separatist tendency in this area, the hilly area of Darjeeling and the other area contiguous thereto. They have also pointed out that the separatist tendency should be checkmated and therefore they say that it is proper that there should be this integration and unless that is done, it will put India's safety and security in peril.

I ought to read out to you the speech of Shri Rajagopalachari on this point. He pointed out that we should not treat Bengal's claim on a parochial basis. Rajaji, then Home Minister, replied as follows:

"Let us, as the hon. mover of the resolution did, place it on a very definite simple ground. Here is a province which is divided into two unconnected parts. Here is a southern part of West Bengal Province, and here is Darjeeling in the north and in between there is no connection, and let us have some connection. That was the proposition. It is not a corridor problem as was eloquently and graphically put, bringing before us all the pictures of the corridor problems of Germany and of Poland. It is a totally different thing. They want an administrative improvement in the matter of communication. It is really a question of communications and of bringing about a state of things whereby our general defence position and administrative position may be improved. This is the real and legitimate aspect in which we should understand this resolution. And from that point of view I must on behalf of Government be ready to tell the House that the Government will have to consider this and must consider it very seriously and do all that is in their power. Let there be no mistake. It is not a Bengal problem. Nor is it a Darjeeling problem. It is an Indian problem."

2 P.M.

I ask the hon. Members to consider it from this point of view and accept the humble suggestion put forward by Bengal in this matter. If you want really that there should not be any disruptive tendencies in those areas, it is absolutely essential that there should be political integration and geographical contiguity established.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is not the hon. Member advancing arguments against what is given in the SRC Report?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The SRC has given this portion—that is in Kishenganj. Only we want to point this out. Dr. Roy's Government and the Bengal legislature have demanded a slightly bigger area in that portion so as to make this corridor or this contiguity effective.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why did not the SRC give it?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I do not know. I could not cross-examine them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let it not be understood that I am against any particular State. Anybody would like to know this—I mean any person who is disinterested. The question was before the SRC. What are the grounds on which they have refused to give this? The position is now obvious. Why did not they accept it?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: If you look at the map you will find this. I will hand over a copy to you.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have got a map.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: That is not the map. The Bihar Government has itself prepared a map. If you look at that map you will find that contiguity is not established with the district of Darjeeling. What the Government of West Bengal and the Legislature are demanding is that it should be expanded by a slight bit so that the contiguity may be established and the corridor may be effective.

Shri A. Ghosh (Burdwan): If I may be allowed to interrupt the hon. Member, the map prepared by the Parliament Secretariat is incorrect. It is very narrow. My hon. friend Shri Chatterjee is referring to a map. There is contiguity according to it. (*Interruptions.*)

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: When the area is joined to the Hindi State it will be all right. (*Interruptions*)

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: You will see in this map that we have got this little bit. What we want is only this bit, in addition in that section. You find Darjeeling on the top. There is no contiguity which takes us upto Darjeeling.

Shri A. Ghosh: May I request that this may be officially noted? I am submitting that the copies circulated to us are not correct as recommended by the SRC.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Whatever the hon. Member says is recorded.

Shri A. Ghosh: It is written there: "as recommended by the SRC"; it is there on the top of the map. That statement is not correct.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will ask them to check it up.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: That is what I am submitting. Communal bogey is sought to be raised in that area for the purpose of depriving Bengal even of this portion.

Dr. Roy's latest proposals are contained in his statement, The portions Bengal wanted are:

"Firstly portions of Kishengunj sub-divisions and Gopalpur with Mechi and Mahananda as the western border should be transferred to West Bengal. This would provide a link between the districts of Malda and Dinajpur on the one hand and the North Bengal' districts on the other and would give facilities for construction of feeder roads from these districts to the main national highway."

Secondly the portions of Santhal Parganas in which lie the catchment area of Ajoy and the areas in this district which have got predominant Bengalee population should be transferred to West Bengal.

Thirdly, the whole of Manbhum district should be transferred to West Bengal because of the overwhelming predominance of Bengalee population in this district as also because such a transfer provides facilities for development of the River Kanshabati.

Fourthly, the sub-division of Dalbhum which the Commission have admitted contains overwhelming population of Bengali-speaking population should be transferred to West Bengal. Fifthly, the district of Goalpara should be transferred to West Bengal."

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The D. V. C. area also.

Shri Debeswar Sarmah (Golaghat-Jorhat): From where is the hon. Member quoting?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am reading from the latest statement of Dr. Roy which is given in all papers in Calcutta including the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 11th of December. If the hon. friend wants I can give him a copy of it.

Shri Debeswar Sarmah: Is it the view taken by the Bengal Assembly?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: It says here:

"The West Bengal Cabinet on Saturday formulated concrete proposals for altering the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission....."

This House may remember that there were great difficulties and the people of Goalpara were subjected to some kind of humiliation and the hon. Home Minister had to take some steps. Now we maintain that this is a Bengali majority area and there is contiguity with Bengal.

Shri Brohmo Choudhury (Goalpara-Garo Hills—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Have you visited the place?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I ought to know something of Assam. What I am pointing out is this.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Any lawyer practising in the Privy Council does not go to every State to see things for himself.

Shri Debeswar Sarmah: The hon. Member claims to know something of Assam. We admit it (*Interruptions*) An unkind cut from the son-in-law of Assam.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Having taken away the daughter; he now wants some land.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am appealing to my Assam friends to remember that Goalpara is a Bengali-majority area and that they have been demanding it—not now, but for years together. It was attached to Bengal for many years—for centuries together. With regard to Assam, the Commission itself found out that the Bengali-speaking people there had many grievances and apprehensions. As a matter of fact the Cachar people—77 per cent of them are Bengalis—demanded merger with Bengal or to be integrated with it. In any event the Commission suggested that in order to improve the lot of the Bengali-speaking population and to allay their apprehensions, Tripura should be merged with Assam so that the people of Tripura, Cachar and the Bengali speaking people of Goalpara combined together would come to about 20 per cent of the population. So that there may not be further chances of discrimination.

Shri Debeswar Sarmah: May I ask one information from hon. Shri Chatterjee? Will he agree for the formation of a State with Bengal, Bihar and Assam? We shall accept it. Will he accept it?

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: You can make Calcutta the capital like Bombay.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I know that hon. Member was at one time the Speaker of the Assam Assembly. But he is neither the Chief Minister nor the Prime Minister. I do not know what sanction he has behind him.

What I am pointing out is this. The Commission itself says that the Bengali-speaking population has legitimate grievances and apprehensions and therefore, they wanted Tripura to be brought into Assam so that the percentage and the ratio of Bengali-speaking people could go up.

So far as Goalpara is concerned, they have made one very important observation. With regard to census figures they have pointed out, there are big variations which could not be explained. They have been tampered with. I am reading, Sir, paragraph 707 on page 191 of the Report. There it is said:

“...the number of Government primary schools in Goalpara district with Bengali as the medium of instruction has fallen from 252 in 1947-48 to 1 at the present time.”

This is a very very significant statement. I had the privilege of appearing for the Assam Congress before the Boundary Commission and I know there was a lot of dissatisfaction. Thank God we could get Cachar and also get Badarpur and part of Karimganj. I pleaded very strongly, but there is some force in the observation made that if Assam leaders had been active Sylhet would not have been lost and there was some kind of implied consent or connivance due to which it was lost to India. Therefore, there is legitimate apprehension now that the people of Tripura are saying they do not want to go to Assam. Cachar people are saying that if Tripura is kept under the centre they should be treated similarly and they cannot possibly accept the position of being kept under the mercy of a Government which had not been dealing with us squarely.

Now with regard to Goalpara the position becomes difficult because as

hon. Members must know the West Bengal Government had not been asking for Goalpara at the earliest stage. But, now they have changed their mind having regard to the change in the circumstances. Now that Tripura may not be going to Assam they are asking for it, the whole Bengal Assembly has asked for it and all parties have asked for it.

Shri Brohmo Choudhury: They will ask for the whole of India.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: You ought to know, that when the partition of India was effected the biggest casualties have been Bengal and Punjab. My friend says that Bengal wants the whole of India. Nothing of that kind. It is an unfair remark to make. We are the biggest casualties the most tragic casualties of India's independence. When the Radcliffe Award was made Bengal had to deal with two crores and 10 lakhs of people and East Bengal would contain the rest. What has happened after that? You all know what has happened. Over 35 lakhs of people have been thrown out of East Bengal. Most of them have come to us. Now I am pleading for these uprooted, displaced, homeless humanity. Will you not do something for them? You may laugh at it and say they can go anywhere in India. But, they want a natural and congenial habitation. They have had difficulties in other areas and therefore they are asking my Government, and my Government is pleading, my State is pleading and all my people are pleading that let this uprooted humanity have a habitation of their own in the areas which were taken away unfairly from Bengal.

Shri M. P. Mishra: You want Labensraum?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I think that is a just claim. I maintain that it is a fair claim. You should have sympathy for them. Their problem is not Bengal's problem. I remember I had organised an East Bengal Conference which met in Calcutta on the eve of India's Independence. The Prime Minister and the then Home Minister

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel assured them that if there was any further trouble India will stand by them. That colossal problem is still pursuing us. In spite of pacts and treaties, Pakistan has not behaved well with the minorities. What has happened is that out of the 8 lakhs of Muslims who left West Bengal about 7 lakhs have come back. So, we are having the exodus both ways, but we are happy that they have come. But what has happened is 35 lakhs of people have come and even now the tempo of exodus has not abated. Therefore, what I am saying is that in this crisis it will not be fair to raise the communal bogey in Kishanganj and I am sorry that has been done. As a matter of fact, certain interested parties are trying to excite passion.

Shri M. P. Mishra: Are you the President of Indian Communalism?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Every hon. Member must be very serious in these matters. It pains everyone. The fact remains that Bengal has suffered; whether it will suffer or gain at the expense of Bihar is another matter. I believe when the hon. Member is saying that one of the States that has suffered most in this partition to win freedom is Bengal there is no doubt about it. Hon. Member here from Bihar need not interrupt. Every hon. Member here should think how best to provide a remedy for it. It may not be in the manner in which it has been suggested by the hon. Member, but other hon. Members must hear patiently and not interrupt and make ridicule of the whole thing.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Sir, I am obliged to you.

At a big meeting in Calcutta mostly attended by distinguished Muslim leaders Janab Nur Mohammed Ansari of the All-India Momin Conference, strongly condemned the Bihar leaders' effort to misguide the people of Kishanganj. He said that the slogan raised by them was entirely a false propaganda which was being carried on to achieve some selfish aim. He said:

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"Both the Government and people were following a secular policy. Communal discrimination was a thing of past in this State."

Then Janab Sheikh Mohammed Jan, M.L.C., in his speech said:

"The slogan was not raised by the Muslims of Kishenganj but by others. The Muslims there had been made only scapegoats."

He felt that Muslims in West Bengal lived in a very congenial atmosphere and enjoyed full religious and other freedoms.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Where does he come from?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: So far as I know he is a distinguished Calcutta merchant who has dealings also with Bihar.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: That is what I wanted to get from you.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Then, he goes on to say:

"There were now 6 million Muslims in West Bengal. So if another million were added to their strength by way of Kishenganj's merger with this State their position would be more consolidated and they would have a larger voice in the administration."

The report which I am reading also says:

"Janab Shamsul Huq, M.L.A., the octogenarian leader of Calcutta Muslims, in his feeble but impressive voice, also supported the views expressed by the different speakers of the meeting."

Then the Calcutta Muslim leaders issued a statement in which they deprecated this kind of agitation. I think that is a bogey which ought not to be raised.

I am strongly supporting Orissa's claim to Kharsawan and Saraikella.

What I am saying is that justice had not been done to them. I have read this Report carefully and I find that their claim has been rejected on the basis of the judgment contained in the report of the O'Donnell Commission. The O'Donnell Commission rejected it because there was no contiguity and not because the Oriyas were not in a majority. It admitted that the Oriyas were in a majority but they rejected it because at that time there was no contiguity. But today the political map has completely changed. There has been integration of States and therefore to quote that Report and say that these difficulties are there is not proper. They have all been finished after the integration of the States. The political map has been altered.

I am also supporting their claim to the Sadar Sub-Division of Singhbhum. There is absolutely no conflict from any quarter. From all authentic reports we find that Oriyas are in a majority there.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: What is the percentage?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I will give you the percentage if you want it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I can see from the Report that the percentage of Oriya population in the rural portion is only 26 per cent.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Which paragraph are you reading, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Paragraph 624.

Shri B. C. Das (Ganjam South): What is the percentage of Biharis, Sir?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Paragraph 624 of the Report says:

"The Orissa claim to these areas rests mainly on the ground that Oriya is the largest single language group. The two States, however, have formed part of the Singhbhum district since May, 1948, and the historical affinities of the two States with the

Porahatraj in Singhbhum district, on the one hand, and with the administration which was in charge of the Chota Nagpur division, on the other, are held to justify the decision to include them in Bihar."

That is what they are saying. Then they said:

"As has been pointed out elsewhere in this report, language, by itself, does not, in our opinion, provide sufficient justification for breaking up a district. In the case of this district, the Oriya-speaking population is only 26 per cent."

With great respect, I should say that they have made a complete mess of it. If you look at the map, you will find that Orissa does not want the whole of Singhbhum district but they want only that portion which is Oriya-speaking. In the entire district Oriyas may come to 26 per cent of the population. But they do not want Dhalbhum which is predominantly Bengali-speaking but only Seraikella and Kharsawan and the Sadar which are Oriya-speaking and the Sadar Sub-division. As I said, they have made a confusion of it, by thinking that the demand of Orissa was for the whole district. They do not want the whole district. They only want Seraikella and Kharsawan and the Sadar sub-division.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Now they want the whole of Singhbhum.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: No. You are putting something to help Bengal, I know.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Old brotherly affection.

An Hon. Member: Against the common enemy.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: In spite of the impassioned speech delivered by Shri S. K. Patil, I am strongly supporting the claim of Samyukta Maharashtra. I am doing this on three grounds. I think it is a slur on any

race or people, especially on the great Maratha race, to be told that if a big city like Bombay is placed under the Maharashtrians, then the industrial elements will not be fairly treated. I think that is a very unfair verdict which they are pronouncing. Throughout the history of the great Maratha race in India, it has never been said that they were doing anything improper or unfair to the industrialists. I shall quote from paragraph 421 of the Report which says:

"The likely psychological dissatisfaction of the Gujarati and other communities, in the event of Greater Bombay forming part of Maharashtra, may be very great, and it will be unwise to hope that the industrial and commercial life of the area will remain unaffected".

I think this is an unfair verdict. To say that simply because if the Maharashtrians have that State, then all the industrialists would run away from that area or something will be done improper and discriminatory. There is no justification for this kind of judgment being pronounced. In paragraph 418 the Commission said:

"...but we cannot lightly brush aside the fears of the other communities".

What fears? Did the Marathas do anything improper? There is nothing to fear. The fear is that the Maharashtrians will create trouble after Shri Morarji Desai. That is the picture which is painted. The Report further says:

"After taking into account the mixed population of the city the fact that its future development depends on the co-operation of the different language groups, and the views and apprehensions of the minor language groups even though these may appear to be exaggerated, we have come to the conclusion that its special position should be recognised".

Every industrial city is bound to be, to some extent, multi-lingual and must

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have various kinds of people living there. It would be a dangerous precedent if you apprehend that the Parsees, the Gujaratis, the Marwaris, the Muslims and the Memons would not live peacefully simply because Maharashtrians are a dominant factor there. It would be a dangerous precedent if you apply that principle. You know that in the big cosmopolitan city of Calcutta, the commercial life is mostly in the hands of non-Bengalis. Can they say tomorrow, "Well, we do not like the rule of Dr. B. C. Roy and we must all come under Pandit Nehru or Pandit Pant"? This precedent will be really stimulating or encouraging dissimilar tendencies which are not to be encouraged at all. We must put down such ideas. I think that ultimately it would be desirable to give legitimate satisfaction to the Maharashtrian people, who want their aspirations to be fulfilled. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das said, "I want full Swaraj." But for what? Swaraj is only a means to an end. What is that end? "The fullest opportunity for self-expression, self-development and self-perfection." That is democracy. Therefore, if they want it, why don't you let them try? After all, industry, trade and commerce and other things are to a considerable extent controlled by the Centre. My friend Shri S. K. Patil was continually saying, "Look at Bombay. What a wonderful thing they have done." What they have done is, they have given training to boys in the schools in more than one language or in more than about ten languages. The same thing is happening in Calcutta. What is the speciality about Bombay? We are happy that that is being done in Bombay. But, if I remember correctly, there was a case taken up by the Bombay Government to the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court struck down the Bombay Government's educational policy as *ultra vires* and inconsistent with the Constitution. What I say is, it is the Bombay Corporation which is giving that kind of education. If Shri Patil had been here, I would have appealed to him not to take up this at-

titude, and to come to Kakasaheb Gadgil, and if he is not reasonable, let them go to another Maharashtrian leader.

Shri Gadgil: I claim to be very reasonable and that will be certified by my leader here.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am very happy to know it. I read one brochure about Bombay where it is suggested that Kakasaheb Gadgil had been saying that all capitalists would be wiped out from Bombay when Maharashtrians get into power. I do not know whether he said that.

Shri Gadgil: I said that the rich people as a class will have to be liquidated because that is the programme of the Congress. It wants a classless society and I merely interpret the Congress programme.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why did not Shri Gadgil wait until he got Bombay?

Shri Gadgil: The evil consequences of wealth and consequently of power, were referred to.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I can assure Kakasaheb Gadgil and assure all my friends that the capitalists will adjust themselves and are adjusting themselves. They will manage. As a matter of fact, in an important committee meeting over which I think the Finance Minister presided—Shri Pataskar was there—we were speaking of it. Then I put it: "Why don't you demand and have a judicial tribunal in respect of certain matters, because Governmental concentration of power may lead to executive despotism." They said, "We can manage the Ministers much better". Whether it is the Gujarati or the Maharashtrian, the big capitalists of Bombay will manage them all right. There is no danger.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West): As the Marwaris do in Bengal.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: If you encourage such things, tomorrow the Marwaris may play a different tune.

Now, I am also supporting the formation of Visalandhra. One of the best things that this Commission has done is the liquidation of Hyderabad. I should like to pay a tribute to Shri Fazl Ali and his colleagues on this. I was presiding over an important conference at Hyderabad and I said that the best thing that should be done for India and also for this country is to liquidate this State of Hyderabad. I am glad the citadel of feudalism and the citadel of many other undesirable things is being liquidated. But what is the need of having a duality or dyarchy of Telugu-speaking areas? If you want really an Andhra State do it today. If you postpone it for five years, then nothing would be done during these next five years and the energy and resources will be taken away and be completely absorbed in that affair.

I was reading the speech of Marshall Bulganin or, I think, of Mr. Khrushchev. They were saying that the best thing that should follow Independence is to release the creative energy of the people. That is why the people are demanding viable States. We want the States to be really democratic. You remember what Pandit Motilal Nehru and others said on the question of linguistic States. There has been no better speech than that of Pandit Motilal Nehru on this subject. I hope Acharya Kripalani, who is an *ex-President* of the Congress and who was talking against the Congress all along yesterday, would read it again, and my friends in this House should also read it. The great Subhas Chandra Bose was also on that committee which produced that report. He added something which was also important. The report, signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Messrs. Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. S. Aney, Mangal Singh, Shuaib Quareshi, Subhas Chandra Bose and B. R. Pradhan unanimously recommended that the redistribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis on the demand of the majority of the population of the areas concerned, subject to financial and administrative considerations. Netaji

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Subhas Chandra Bose added a note and the Nehru Committee says:

"Our colleague Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is satisfied that the Oriya speaking areas should be amalgamated and constituted into a separate province, if this is financially possible. He is further of opinion that the demand for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Assam and Bihar and Orissa is a reasonable and legitimate one."

The Commission itself had quoted one portion of the Nehru Report and have pointed out why the Nehru Committee wanted linguistic States. In page 18, para 54, it is said:

"The question of redistribution of provinces was also examined by the Nehru Committee of the All Parties Conference, 1928. The Committee lent its powerful support to the linguistic principle in the following terms:

"If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area, difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area, all these factors will help in the general progress of the province."

Therefore, in order to make democracy more effective and in order to liberate the creative energies of our people, it will be much better if polyglot areas can be done away with as much as possible. Mr Patil was saying "what a wonderful State we have in Bombay!" I do not want to make invidious distinctions and I would accept that there is good administration in Bombay. The Commission at page 45 of their Report

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have said that the Composite States have not been successful for the purpose of increasing loyalty to the State and also for the purpose of harnessing men's energies. May I read para 159?

"In States having more than one developed language, there has been no marked tendency in the past to develop a sense of loyalty to the State. There was never any noticeable Madras sentiment when the State was a composite one. On the other hand, such loyalties as did develop within the area were based on languages. The same holds true about Bombay and Madhya Pradesh."

I am supporting the claim for Visal-andhra. Integration will be very desirable and it will be one of the finest States. I am sorry I have taken up so much time of the House. I do not have time to go into the question of other States, but I would like to say that there is a great grievance from the people of Madhya Bharat, because it is being liquidated. Unfortunately, there was some quarrel about the question of capital between Gwalior and Indore; but they have been punished by the State being completely exterminated out of existence.

I honestly say one thing, not because I want to satisfy anyone, but because I feel it. The day the Commission's Report was out or the day after, I had an opportunity and I wrote to the Prime Minister that for the purpose of satisfying Bengal, for rehabilitating oppressed humanity, you have got to give us something from Bihar. But there can be mutual adjustment between Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which is so big, almost a leviathan.

Some Hon. Members: We are ready.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I have not finished my sentence. Uttar Pradesh can also have something from big Madhya Pradesh. There are certain areas in Madhya Pradesh which may be linked to Uttar Pradesh.

There is only one more State to which I want to refer and that is

Punjab. The Chief Minister has issued a.....

An Hon. Member: No time-limit for Mr. Chatterjee?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The whole House is listening with interest.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I will take only two minutes more.

Shri Debeswar Sarmah: Let him have all the time he requires; but we should also have some time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members from Bihar and Assam have already spoken while he was speaking.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: If I may strike a serious note, I am very much perturbed over the situation in Punjab. The Chief Minister has issued a statement that the communal situation is serious and something should be done to settle the quarrels between the Sikh and Hindu communities. The Sikhs form an integral part of the Hindu community; Sikhs are not outside the Hindu community. Every time Master Tara Singh and other Akali leaders came to me and discussed with me, the position had been made perfectly clear that they formed an integral part of the Hindu community. If this spirit can be fostered something can be done and it will be very good for the Punjab. The other day I had a discussion with Pandit Pant and also the Prime Minister. I am told—I hope I have been wrongly informed—that the cleavage is now filtering down into the rural masses. That is a very serious thing and that should be stopped as early as possible. I made an appeal before and I make an appeal even today that the great Sikh and Hindu leaders of Punjab should sit together and try to solve the problem of Punjab between themselves without leaving it to the Prime Minister or the Home Minister and without bringing in any third party.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur): Why not do the same with Bengal and Bihar also?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The difficulty is this; I wish to be quite candid. I have very great respect for Mr. Sharma, but what is happening today is just like what the Britishers have been doing. They gave the communal award, the Mussalmans were given a preponderant majority, much beyond what they desired or what they ought to have got. Then the Britishers said, "sit down and settle it among yourselves." That becomes difficult but not when it is *tabula rasa*. It is much more easy to do it when it is in the melting point. As a matter of fact, I appeal to Sardar Hukam Singh and also to Masterji and other leaders to remember that Panjab is a frontier State, and it occupies a position of strategic importance. Our enemies are sharpening their knives and imperial and colonial powers are trying to help them. Therefore, I appeal to Sardarji and Masterji to remember that it is a State which should not be in any way weakened; it should be strengthened so that it will be able to resist any possible aggression from outside.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: When my hon. friend was speaking, he started in such an emotional manner that I thought I had lost the case already. But, I was convinced after all that facts are stronger than emotions. I was reminded then of a story of an old lady who was praying to the Sun Lord. She said, O Lord, whatever you may possess, please pass on to my son; if there is anything left, you may please make it over to my daughter-in-law; for the rest of those who pray, I would not ask you to beg and borrow.

This question, in my opinion, has been taken up in a manner which, I personally feel, does not deserve so much heat or emotion. Bihar and Bengal have been together for a long time. The stamp of Bengal one can see even after about 43 years of separation in civil courts, Bar associations and educational institutions. We owe a great deal to those great leaders of Bengal who were able to give their best not only to

their province, but to the country as a whole. This is one side of the picture. The other side of the picture is that Biharis in Bengal suffered side by side, and fought shoulder to shoulder during what is known generally in those parts as the Calcutta killing. When the D.V.C. scheme was under consideration, it was a very important point for a poor province like Bihar to decide whether it could afford the submergence of about 1 lakh acres of land and nearly 50,000 people being uprooted. Bihar agreed to that. Not only that, but we agreed to bear almost one-third of the expenditure. Any one who is conversant with the D.V.C. scheme will be able to tell this House and agree with me that the irrigation facilities, flood protection measures, eradication of malaria and the availability of electrical energy help largely West Bengal. Bihar, for its share gets some electrical energy. But, in spite of disproportionate advantage Bihar did not deviate from the position which it took and should have taken, namely, to co-operate in this matter with Bengal and the Central Government and the scheme went through.

There was another scheme known as the Mayurakshi scheme. Here again, Bihar had to lose 27,000 acres of land and 21,000 of its people were uprooted. Under this scheme, so far as Bihar is concerned, they had nothing to gain whatever. Even in this controversy about the national highway running through Purnea, Bengal needed some land in Bihar to connect it to the national highway in Bengal and Bihar readily conceded this and allowed the connecting road-link to run over its own territory. If you look at the map, as I have no doubt Shri N. C. Chatterjee must have done, you will find that about 27 miles of road runs through Bihar territory in order to connect the national highway running in West Bengal. It will thus be seen that there is no reason to apprehend or even to doubt that Bihar would lag behind, if Bihar feels that the need of West Bengal is

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such that without conceding to them certain points, it would not be possible for West Bengal to maintain itself. But, this is always subject to two considerations namely: (i) the need must be real and (ii) it must not be an expansionist policy. In this light, I would ask the House to examine what the proposals of the S.R.C. are.

The S.R.C. have recommended that a portion of the Purnea district known as the Kishanganj sub-division should be transferred to West Bengal. They have also suggested that the Purulia sub-division of Manbhum district except one thana should be transferred to West Bengal. In making these recommendations, the Commission have very clearly stated that this has been recommended in order to meet needs of the State of West Bengal, that is connecting the two portions, namely the northern and southern portions of West Bengal. While my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee was explaining this aspect of his case, I felt that he wanted even more territory than what the S.R.C. had recommended for having this link between the northern and southern portions of West Bengal. I was not only taken aback but shocked. In fact, this link could be possible even now because there is a national highway running throughout this area. I have no doubt that even Shri N. C. Chatterjee will not say,—in fact, he has said that the psychology of a corridor should not be created between the different parts of India. We may call them different States for the time being. He himself does not accept this principle. If there is a national highway running through this area, why should there be any apprehension of any link not being there. Even if this does not satisfy Bengal, and if they want a road running in their territory, then I may suggest that the two Chief Ministers should sit down together, and they may be able to find out a solution. After all, this is not the only road. There are other roads in this area running past the boundaries of Bihar on the one side and

West Bengal or East Pakistan on the other side which could be given to West Bengal exclusively and they may control it if that alone would satisfy their needs. I feel very strongly that the question of corridor or national highways or railways or river communications should not be considered on a provincial basis at all.

The other question which naturally agitates the minds of the people both in West Bengal and Bihar is with regard to the settlement of the refugees. If you have gone through the report of the Commission, as I have no doubt you Sir and many Members have done, you will find that the Commission have not only stated very clearly, but have even asked for a guarantee from the West Bengal Government that no refugee will be settled on any portion of Purnea which is going to be transferred because it is already densely populated. The Commission says that what is needed is really a connecting link between the two portions of West Bengal and not a large area with a view to settling refugees there. If I am not mistaken, I think the West Bengal Government have agreed to give this guarantee.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): It is there in the report.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: The Muslims in the district of Purnea are perhaps the largest single unit of muslims concentrated in one place. Although perhaps in West Bengal, the actual number may be larger, they are not in one place. Purnea is perhaps the only place in the whole of India where a large number of Muslims have settled in one place in one district. You can well appreciate what will be the feelings of the Muslims inhabiting that area if a part and an important part of the Community is dislocated and transferred to some other area. At the present moment, on account of their numbers in one area, they can bring to bear on the Government a certain weight and get their grievances remedied. If they lose even this, they have naturally good reasons to feel apprehensive.

श्री बी० जी० ईशाराबाद (गुना) : एक मुस्लिम स्टेट बना दो ।

श्री श्यामनंदन सहाय : आपका कहने से मुसलमान यहां से चले नहीं जायेंगे । चाहे आप कोशिश करते करते थक जाइयें, इस मुल्क में हिन्दू, मुसलमान, पारसी, ईसाई, सब लोग रहेंगे । और जो लोग आप के ख्याल के हैं वे हिन्दुस्तान के दुश्मन हैं । मैं भी हिन्दू महा-सभा में बरसाईं रहा हूँ और काम कर चुका हूँ । कुछ आप ही को हिन्दुओं के तरफ से बोलने का हक नहीं है ।

श्री बी० जी० ईशाराबाद : आपने यह अच्छा ही किया जो हिन्दू महा सभा को छोड़ दिया

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Sir, The wish of the people has indeed great importance and has been given great importance everywhere.

The Report itself deals with this question and in many cases where the Commission thought that perhaps it might be possible or even better to make certain arrangements, they have not recommended them, because they felt that the people were not in favour of the change.

My hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee has read out extracts from the statements of certain *janab sahebs*. But they all come from Bengal. If he had read out statements of citizens of Bihar, of Muslims from Bihar, then I would have certainly attached great weight to them. It is not that I minimise the importance of the gentlemen who have made these statements, but naturally they are only outsiders, even though they may be Muslims and are not in position to speak about the case of the Muslims of Purnea. I would like my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee to come with me to the Kishenganj sub-division, and if he can have even one per cent. of the population there to support this transfer from Bihar to Bengal, then so far as I am concerned,

I—and I have no doubt, many men in Bihar—would be agreeable to the desires of West Bengal. But I can assure my hon. friend that it is not merely for the purposes of making out a case that I am saying so. I have recently been to that area, and I know what feelings of apprehension are already there in the minds of the Muslim population of that area. It will, therefore, be undesirable from all considerations that this transfer should take place. After all, men are not cattle to be transferred from one place to another. They have got their wishes, and those wishes must be respected.

Shri M. Khuda Baksh (Murshidabad): What are the apprehensions of the Muslims there?

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Now, there are so many apprehensions. Why fight shy of them? I would not like to go into the details now for want of time, but if my hon. friends from Bengal would talk to me, I shall put the whole thing clearly before them.

Shri M. Khuda Baksh: Why only for the Members? You should say it for the whole House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are they more fond of Bihar than of Bengal?

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: They appear to be. And the reasons are very plain. The whole of Purnea is full of Muslim population. If you are taking away Kishenganj, please imagine what will happen? There are Muslims who have their relations and their entire connections in Kishenganj. There are Muslims who have got their houses in Kishenganj and lands on the other side of the Mahananda river; and there are also Muslims who have got their lands in Kishenganj and their homes on the other side of the Mahananda river. If you are going to take away Kishenganj, then that means that these people will have to deal with two Governments.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is their mother-tongue?

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Urdu, absolutely. That is another point to which I want to draw your attention.

So far as this area is concerned, in the S.R.C. Report, it has been said that the West Bengal Government should make a special provision for education and also for the official work of the Muslims in this area in Urdu.

Now, imagine the position of the Muslims here. They will have to learn Urdu. They will have to learn Bengali, because they will have to deal with the Bengal Government at the district level, at the Commissioner's level and also at the State level. They will also have to learn Hindi because that will be the national language.

Now, why is it urged that this transfer should take place? The first reason is that Bengal has not got enough land for the settlement of refugees. Secondly, they want a link. And that link is being given or is being arranged.

My hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee said that Bengal bleeds. I ask him, will he have contentment only when Bihar also bleeds. I have no doubt that cutting up is easy. But the whole question is whether any readjustment is needed and could be possible, in order to meet the real needs and not the expansionist needs of a particular State. That is my contention in this connection.

Now, unfortunately while linguistic considerations weigh with them at one place, they do not seem to attach importance to them at another place. You must have noticed yourself that in the matter of Purulia, it has been contended that the Bengali-speaking population should be transferred from this area to the other area. But that consideration received absolutely no sympathy when the case of Purnea was taken up. In this portion of Purnea which is proposed to be transferred to Bengal, there is no question of any Bengali-speaking population at all. Should that not also weigh with our friends from Bengal and also with the Central Government? If we attach to linguis-

tic considerations the importance which our friends have given to it, then on that ground alone, I would say that this proposal should not be pressed.

As to the link, I have already stated that a link should be given to Bengal, although my own view is that it is not at all necessary, because there is a National Highway which fully meets the needs. After all, we are not two separate countries; we are not two separately-run governments. We are divided into different States only for the purpose of administrative convenience. To concede, therefore, a corridor or a link or a particular rail running through that area, will, in my opinion, be disastrous.

My hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee said that the area to be transferred in Purnea is not big enough and that something more perhaps might have been given. May I inform the House that the area proposed to be transferred is 800 square miles—I am talking of Purnea alone—and the population there is something like 3.85 crores?

Before I conclude my submissions about Purnea, I would like to emphasise one thing, and I would like to draw the special attention of House and of Government to that aspect. We may do anything we like. Parliament may even decide ultimately to merge once again Bihar, Assam, and Orissa with Bengal and have a province as in the old days. Certainly, Parliament may do so. But I say for God's sake, for the sake of the Nation, please do not encourage this idea of a corridor being given from one State to another. This demand and mentality has created a hell of a trouble in this world. Let us not therefore introduce it in this country. Also, do not allow national highways, railways and river transport to be considered as belonging to any individual State. They must belong to the Centre, and the Centre must control them. If for any reason any State creates a difficulty, I think the Centre must be able to handle it. If a corridor is given, then it would create a situation, which

I have no doubt our friends here might not perhaps be foreseeing today.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: They want a road.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: We are giving a road alright. But they want a corridor. They are not satisfied even with the 800 square miles area which is proposed to be transferred. They want something more.

3. P.M.

With regard to Purulia, the S.R.C. has considered the demands, and the arguments put forward both for and against. And they have stated clearly in para 663 of their Report that the arguments were more or less balanced. But they found that there was a river known as 'Kasai' which on account of flooding portions of Bengal was creating a situation which deserved the attention of the two States. In view of that, the Commission have suggested that although other considerations did not weigh with them, the consideration about the Kasai river was important and that, therefore, the catchment areas of the Kasai river falling in the territory of Bihar should be transferred to Bengal to enable Bengal to control and train it and to take necessary steps with a view to protect its territory. Now, in the first place, this question of catchment area, again, is fraught with serious difficulties and is likely to create serious problems. Which is the State may I ask where rivers pass whose source and catchment area lie only in that State? If you take any river flowing through any of the States, in many—if not in all—States in India you will find that the catchment area is in one State, the source is in another State and the river flows past different States—sometimes more than one or two. That being so, I feel that it would be again laying down a very very dangerous principle to agree to give catchment areas of a river to the State through which it flows. That, however, does not solve the problem. Even if this principle is laid down, that does not solve the problem of Bengal. It is our duty to solve that problem. I concede that on

account of the Kasai river, Bengal suffers to a certain extent. But permit me to tell you that even Bihar suffers. The Government of Bihar had put up a scheme costing nearly Rs. 5½ crores before the Planning Commission in order to control and train this river. The scheme is already under consideration. It will thus be seen that this Kosai river is causing trouble both to Bengal and Bihar. My submission is this. We have got an agency, a very good agency....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the name of the river?

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Kasai.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Butcher.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: The Sanskrit name was Kansavati. Of course, 'kans' is there. This is however no Hindi translation of 'Kansavati'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Therefore, it gives trouble.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: It gives trouble not only to Bengal but also to Bihar. That is why the Bihar Government has already got a scheme costing nearly Rs. 5½ crores to control this river. That is before the Planning Commission and will probably be included in the Second Five Year Plan. But, as I said, the problem is there. It cannot be minimised. There is no point in saying that both Bengal and Bihar should suffer. My submission, therefore, is this. Next door, we have got a very good agency, almost the very best that we have in this country, the DVC. The Damodar Valley Corporation has been tackling rivers which have created serious trouble in areas covered both by the States of Bihar and Bengal. The DVC is not a long way off. I say that they have got the best trained personnel, they have got the experience, they have got expert advice available. They have a big staff for river training which neither Bengal nor Bihar can have individually as States. Therefore, I say, hand over this river to the DVC, ask them to do the best they can to protect both Bihar and Bengal. By handing over the river

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to the DVC, the latter will solve all the problems, and it will not necessitate the transference of population or area, and it will meet the real need of the province. This, I submit, should be accepted. Because, after all, if the headache is the Kasai river, leave it to the doctor who can treat it best. The doctor, in this case, is the DVC, because, as I said, both Bengal and Bihar combined cannot produce the experts with that technical knowledge and experience which the DVC have.

While the SRC have not based their recommendations on linguistic consideration that aspect also has been attracting the attention of many friends—even speeches made here today would indicate that there are people for and against it. But my hon. friend, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, has already given great importance to the consideration of this aspect. He has referred to the Motilalji Report, to what Parameswarlalji said and what Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha said and so on and so forth. I shall go into them presently. But even if we accept the contention that linguistic consideration must be a matter of paramount importance, let us see how far this position obtains even in the Manbhum district. My hon. friend, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, has as we all know, even gone beyond the recommendations of the SRC. He says, 'give us the whole of Manbhum.' Well, I do not blame him, if he is casting his....

An Hon. Member: Lusty eyes.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: ...I will not say 'lusty eyes', I may say, 'eyes', on Dhanbad. That is the real problem. Let us be frank about it. Dhanbad is a coal area. Dhanbad has been with Bihar for a long time, supplying coal to the whole of India.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Fast depleting.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: You want to have the balance that is left now. So actually, the question is not one of Bengali-speaking people, the question is of Dhanbad being handed over.

Now, it has not been stated in so many plain words. But let us analyse it, on the considerations that have been placed before this House by Shri Chatterjee. He has referred to linguistic minorities, what should be their number; he also referred to the Motilalji Report and other reports. Let us take the census records. Of course, he may challenge the census now. But after all, if we take the census figures for the last 40 years, we will notice ourselves what changes have been made. At present, we have no data other than census. And let it be known that the census is not conducted by any provincial government; it is conducted under Central Government supervision. Therefore, at present we have got no other data. If we take the census figures, it will be found that in the whole of the district of Manbhum, the Bengali-speaking population—not the Bengali population—comes to 43 per cent only. If we take the Purulia sub-division including the Chas revenue Thana, then it comes to 52 per cent. If we take out the Chas Thana from the sub-division, then in Purulia Sadar sub-division it comes to 55 per cent. That means that in the Purulia area which is proposed to be transferred, the Bengali-speaking population—not the Bengali population—is 55 per cent.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I did not probably make myself clear. Kindly refer to paragraph 644 of the Report. What I wanted to say was that the mother-tongue data of the 1951 census have been challenged by both Bengal and Bihar.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: That is another matter. Challenging is an easy matter.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: But by both.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: I do not know.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: On page 40 of the 1951 Census Report (No. 4), incorrect figures have been given. The total is about 945 or so, and it has been mentioned as 1,000 or so.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: The position today is that, according to the

census, the population speaking Bengali in the whole district of Manbhum is 43 per cent. of the total. May I ask whether even on the basis of the linguistic consideration, my hon. friend can ask for the whole of Manbhum? He, of course, is a great advocate, an *ex-Judge*, one of the premier lawyers in the Supreme Court here. So he said very carefully 'the largest single unit'. This will be a new proposition, in the consideration of redistribution on a linguistic basis, namely, largest single unit. It may well be a proposition in a Parliament to form a government, but this question does not arise so far as redistribution of States on a linguistic basis is concerned. For linguistic redistribution, there must be a preponderating majority of people speaking one language.

In this connection, I will draw the attention of the House—Shri Chatterjee referred to different committees and commissions; I do not want to take you through the whole of them—to what was known as the Dhar Commission. This Commission unequivocally stated that on all border areas there is bound to be some difference of percentage among the different language groups. That is, if in one census you have got 55 per cent. of Bengali-speaking people, perhaps, in another census you will have 55 per cent. of Hindi-speaking population. Therefore, this small difference in figures should not be a ground for realignments, for transferring certain territory from one to the other. The Dhar Commission has said that there must be at least 70 per cent. of the population speaking one language and then only the question of transfer could be considered. This point was considered by what was known as the JVP Report. It also fully subscribed to this view. This SRC has also fully subscribed to it. It has not only subscribed to it but has gone one step further and said that this cannot be the only consideration. The majority, they say in a particular tract, of people speaking one language cannot be the sole criterion and there must

be other considerations also. So, looking at it even from linguistic consideration, I have no doubt that an eminent jurist like Shri Chatterjee will agree that there is no case for the transfer of Purulia on this account. He may ask for Purulia on other grounds but there is certainly no case for the transfer on the ground of the Bengali-speaking people there.

Let us analyse the Bengali-speaking people in Purulia. As I have stated, it is about 55 per cent. of the population. You will find that they constitute, generally of the—the Kurmis—Kurmali is the language—the Bhoomiys Santhals and so on and so forth. The equivalent of these castes is not found in Bengal. They have been in Bihar and they are really Bihari castes. There are no Kurmis in Bengal. I do not think Shri Chatterjee will challenge me on this there are no Bhoomiys either. If you take the Ghosh and Chatterjee etc. they would not constitute more than 5 to 7 per cent. of the population. So, a distinction has to be made between Bengali-speaking people and the Bengalis. In this connection, I think Shri Chatterjee did not agree with most of what Acharya Kripalani said yesterday. I think there is one thing which even he will accept. As an impartial observer who has no special interest in Bengal, Bihar or any other province—he treats all the States as his own—he also said that in this area where he had been recently, there was neither Bengali-speaking population in a majority nor Hindi-speaking population in a majority, but the local dialect was the most predominant spoken language. That being the case, it will be appreciated and I hope the House will take note of the fact that even in this area where it is claimed the Bengali-speaking people are in a majority, the stand is not really substantiated by the figures or by the description of the population living there.

Our friend has laid great stress on certain statements made by leaders of Bihar with regard to this Bengali-speaking area for transfer from one

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place to another—from Bihar to Bengal. Of course, I have no knowledge about this. This statement was supposed to have been published about 40 years ago in some Bengali paper. I have tried in Bihar to find out whether any such statement was issued by the late leaders. But, unfortunately, not one of them is now alive and therefore I have not been able to find out the accuracy or the correctness of this statement. But, I can give you statements which, I have no doubt, no one in this House will dispute. In 1948, the late Shri Nalini Ranjan Sarkar said that an emphasis on the linguistic and racial ground in support of the claim was imprudent and even unpatriotic and argued that the transfer of Bihar territories to West Bengal was sought on economic grounds rather than on linguistic or racial grounds.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: He wanted all these areas and something more.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: In 1952, Dr. Bidan Chandra Roy himself, speaking on this question in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, placed an emphasis on the need for additional space for rehabilitating the displaced persons of East Pakistan and maintained that no readjustment of boundaries should be asked for on the linguistic or cultural basis.

Now, these are two great leaders of Bengal whose statements and assertions I have placed before this House. My friend has drawn our attention to the statement of Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha and others. In that connection, I would draw his attention to the memorandum which Dr. Sinha submitted to the Constituent Assembly in which he has unequivocally stated that these portions of Bihar should not be transferred to Bengal.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Look into that.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: I have read it and I have no doubt Mr. Chatterjee must have read it also. (interruption). That is the position

with regard to the statements made by our leaders in the past. I cannot vouch for their accuracy but I have certainly placed two statements before this House which can be verified from the records of the Legislative Assembly of Bengal.

This is one aspect of it. The other aspect of it, for our Bengali friends to see, is the serious difficulties for Bihar if the proposed transfer is effected. If Manbhum is transferred to Bengal, Bihar will be faced with two other difficulties. We have got a scheme for training and controlling the river Subernarekha which will have to be given up—this has been causing great hardship to us—and the resultant irrigation facilities will have to be given up. The water-supply of Jamshedpur will also be dislocated. Then, if we have to go from Dhanbad to Ranchi or from Jamshedpur to Ranchi—just as you are having difficulties in going from Darjeeling to Dinajpur—we will have to traverse a distance of at least 300 miles as against much shorter distance at present.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Give the whole thing.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: That is very simple. I had no doubt in my mind about it and I was rightly reminded of the story of the old lady. There are other claims also. I do not know why my hon. friend has not laid any great emphasis on them. They are for certain portions from Santhal Parganas and Dalbhum and what not. Some friends from Bihar said, 'Why not have Bengal and Bihar as one once again?' If that pleases my friends from Bengal, so far as I am concerned, I will not stand in the way of it. My friend Mr. Chatterjee asked a previous speaker about the sanction behind his views. This is the sanction which all Members of this House possess. The sanction behind Shri Chatterjee is also the same.

As far as Orissa's claim to Serai-kella and Kharaswan is concerned, this matter has been dealt with at great length in the past. At one time they

were made over to the administrative control of Orissa by the Central Government. The Central Government went into the whole question again under the guidance of the late Sardar Patel and decided that it should go to Bihar, and it has since been transferred to and remained with Bihar.

So far as these two States are concerned I will only inform the House that they formed part of the Porahat State and that remained in Bihar.

Shri R. N. S. Deo (Kalahandi—Bolangir): Borahad State was an Oriya State.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: We are giving pensions and subsidies to sons and sons-in-law of that States and probably the hon. Member himself must be receiving something.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: May I know from the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University....

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Bihar University, not Patna University.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both the hon. Members must ask question through me. Any question that has to be put should be put through this channel.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am looking at you and through you I am asking a piece of information from the Vice-Chancellor of the Bihar University. Is it correct that the schools at Seraikella and Kharsawan were under the Utkal University and not under the Bihar University or Patna University, and that the Patna University never wanted them to come under its dispensation?

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Not that the Patna University did not want to take them over, and there is no question of Patna University at all. It was a school and not a college and so it was under the Board of Secondary Education, and the Board of Secondary Education has now introduced Oriya teaching in all the schools in Seraikella and Kharsawan and the

Bihar University has introduced the teaching up to the university stage in Oriya in the Ranchi College, so that there is no difficulty in the matter of teaching so far as the educational institutions are concerned.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): Before the merger, were the schools under the Utkal University or the Bihar University? The hon. Member said that they were under the Board of Secondary Education. Was it under Utkal or Bihar?

An Hon. Member: There are many other speakers waiting to speak.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: That is the position so far as the imparting of education in Oriya is concerned. The State of Bihar has rendered all possible assistance and so has the University.

These are the few facts which I have to submit before the House. As my friend, Shri Chatterjee, has mentioned about the different States sitting together and deciding the issues, all that I will say is that so far as Bihar is concerned, it is not my desire merely to say "no" to what Bengal says but her claim will be considered by us provided the demand is not of an expansionist nature. As long as their needs are real and as long as they can be met by us, I have no doubt that the leaders of Bihar and Bengal will put their heads together and settle them, and no one will be happier than myself if such a settlement is reached.

Shri Bansilal (Jaipur): Before another hon. Member is asked to speak, may I make a request? Many of us have given our names to express our opinion on this very important subject. The manner in which the discussion is proceeding indicates that Members are taking more time than the maximum allotted time of half an hour per head. We must be assured that we will all get our chances to speak something on the subject. The warring groups may have more time, there is no objection to that,

[Shri Bansilal] /

but those who want to offer some remarks on the Report should also have their chances to speak. Some procedure must be evolved by which we will also be enabled to have our say on this important subject.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Every Member may or may not have the chance, but I can certainly ring the bell just at the end of thirty minutes. Any hon. Member may carry on for an hour a speech which he can finish in half an hour. We have been a little more indulgent in the case of the leaders of particular groups. Excepting one or two of the leaders who have not spoken, nobody will be allowed to exceed half an hour. If hon. Members get up and say "I am not in favour of this proposal, I support that proposal, and these are my arguments" in two minutes, then I can try to distribute the time over all Members of the House. If the hon. Member is supporting it, he need not say elaborately why he is supporting it. So, let hon. Members have one eye at me and the other eye at the clock. What is going to happen in the future is already indicated.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Gulberga): I have to deal with....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is not audible and so he may come to the front.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: I may not be in the House next time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not in the front benches, but somewhere else.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: I have to deal with a multiplicity of States and I would crave the indulgence of this House for a few minutes more than the half hour allotted to every Member of this House.

I take this opportunity of congratulating the members of the States Reorganisation Commission on this very valuable and precious document and for having given to us very rich ideas to ponder over. The labour which they have put in and the intelligence which they have exhibited is something which invokes appreciation on

the part of every citizen of India and every Member of this House.

I am in fullest agreement with the findings of the S.R.C. and the general approach which they have made. This Commission was appointed to reorganise the States of India as enduring political units, mainly, principally and essentially on the basis of language. Other considerations had to be taken into account, they had their own essential values and inherent worth, but the most important factor for the reorganisation of the States was the language. I am quoting from the Report itself, on page 40, paragraph 143:

"The objective, therefore, of community of language between the people and the government is not only wholly unexceptionable but also highly commendable. The essential point to remember, however, is that if we pursue it as an abstract proposition and not as a practical administrative issue, we are apt to lose a sense of perspective and proportion."

I entirely agree with the approach of the Commission in this respect. However anyone in this House or outside may desire it to be so, irresistible impacts of circumstances and situations were such that the solutions which the S.R.C. has put forward are mostly on the basis of language. Out of the 16 States which they have recommended, 13 States are essentially linguistic States, and whatever the S.R.C. has omitted or deleted or the lapses which they in their own wisdom have allowed, have been amply rectified by the Congress Working Committee. Mahagujrat comes into existence and something less than Samyukta Maharashtra also is visualised. Therefore, I would submit to this House and to the hon. Members to remove from their minds the idea that the formation of the linguistic States is something which is sinister, which cuts at the root of the unity of India. With all deference to Members who have expressed their opinion here, if I may be permitted to say so, it does not in any way visualise the

homeland for any linguistic group. The citizenship of India is one. We are under the same common Constitution. As Indian citizens our homeland is not Punjab for the Sikhs; it is one for the Sikhs, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Andhras, Kannadigas and Tamils. There is one homeland for Indians as Indian citizens. Whether we are Maharashtrians or Gujaratis or Andhras or Tamils or Malayalees, let us erase this wrong notion of homelands. No one who has been the protagonist of linguistic States has ever harboured the idea of a homeland and therefore it would be an insult to our intelligence and patriotism to say that when we demand Maha Gujarat or Samyukta Maharashtra or Visalandhra or whatever it be we are in any way short of the full Indian citizenship.

I would like to refer to one of the very—I do not say, strange but—queer notions. I should say that with all deference to my revered and esteemed friend Acharya Kripalani. He wanted to show that language could not be equated with culture. None in this country need learn a new lesson about our culture. We know that Indian culture is one. But Indian culture is a synthesis of so many shades; it will be nothing if these different shades fade away or are weakened. There is nothing uniform in the Indian culture. It is the unity of the various shades that has made what is called the Indian culture. If you weaken the traditions or the language of the Gujaratis or the Andhras or of the rich Tamilian literature, to that extent you weaken the Indian culture which is a synthesis of all these. I, therefore, submit that culture or the expression of the personality or of the individuality of a component part can be expressed to the fullest extent only through the same language. Language is the medium of expression. Therefore, when a linguistic province or State is demanded it is for the fullest expression of the individuality of that particular area, of that particular people whose expression is going to

make or enrich what is called the synthesis of Indian culture. I do not want to deal with this aspect of the question at any great length.

Now I come to the most important question—a national issue—which had been exercising the minds of the Members of this House and also outside. That great national issue has been resolved. I mean the disintegration of the Hyderabad State. As one who has stood by that issue all along, I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the members of the Commission who have unanimously recommended the disintegration of Hyderabad State and also to those in the country who have helped us and encouraged us and guided us in making this an accomplishment. The strange structure of Hyderabad which could not guarantee the minimum cohesion that is necessary for democratic functioning has ended and it is all for the good of the nation. Only a negligible minority favoured the *status quo*. But the exigencies of the situation and the realities of the situation were such that the Commission made one of the boldest recommendations that they could have ever made. Therefore, I once again express my gratitude to the members of the S.R.C. Moreover, it was in the fitness of things that in this democratic age, the institution of Rajpramukhs should have been liquidated. It was something which could not fit into the democratic structure of India and which was an anachronism and therefore it is going and it has gone, I should say, unwept and unsung.

I would like to deal with two important issues which have engaged the attention of this House. Firstly, I come to Visalandhra. By the by, as one born in Karnataka area, brought up and grown in Maharashtra and domiciled in Andhra, I would be happy and I am happy at the formation of a full-fledged Karnataka State, Mysore—they call it. I am sure it will be recast into Karnataka. Bellary is there which legitimately appears to belong to Karnataka. The

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Boundary Commission is there. Kolar is there—preponderantly Telugu-speaking and it should go to Andhra....

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Do hon. Members want Swamiji to be inconsistent?

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: Anyway I am expressing my own opinion irrespective of what others say.

My friend Shri Heda has made a very able case for Telangana. To those who stand by the formation of Telangana, I want to put one proposition for their consideration. The deficit, and the surplus of the budgets, figures this way or that way, challenges and counter-challenges; whether one would win the election in a particular constituency or not—these are all secondary matters. I would appeal to the protagonists of Telangana not to stand in the way of the formation of Visalandhra—the aspirations of 360 lakhs of people. Let not history say that this Telangana State stood in the way—though mistakenly, in ignorance, not realising the vigorous—future that stands before the Andhra people—of the formation of Visalandhra. Let not history record that verdict. I am giving expression to these sentiments knowing fully what the situation in Telangana is. Members of the Legislative Assembly, hon. Members of this House and Ministers of the Cabinet should be consulted and are worthy of consideration; but above all these are the people who wish to have Visalandhra. Therefore, I would ask, not on any statistics and figures, why on earth should not all the Andhras come together and have their own State, an abiding State, a great Andhra State, and with all deference to all other States I can say that it will be one of the finest States in India. I, therefore, shall be most happy if even at this stage that is decided. Why are you afraid of your own brethren in the Sircars or Rayalaseema? If you say that you

are going to dominate us, deceive us or cheat us then we cannot have any faith in you. Then, I say, there is no answer. When I come forward, when Dr. Lanka Sundaram, comes forward, or for the matter of that any Andhra comes forward and says: we shall share our miseries and joys with you, if one says: "No, you are not going to do that. I have no faith in you"; well, that is lack of faith in the great Andhra race.

I would submit in all humility that this Residuary Hyderabad State, as it is called, has a sinister smell about it, and without going into the details I would give expression to a feeling, without any fear or frown from any quarter, that it will be a weak State and as such a danger to the Indian Union. Therefore, I would say that the question of Visalandhra should not be deferred. Here and now, when the reorganisation of States is being undertaken Visalandhra should come.

I have now to come to the most complicated and the biggest problem of Bombay State. In doing so I am, though made of a sentimental temperament, not going to allow myself to suffer under that influence. I would very humbly suggest certain ideas if I can do so and put forth certain views for the kind consideration of this hon. House. My esteemed friend Shri S. K. Patil—I did not want to mention the name in my speech, but since I happen to follow him I mention it—has given some very useful ideas with which I may not agree entirely. All the same, they are useful. Well, I cannot conceive and I have not been able to assimilate the idea of the bilingual State which he has visualised—I do not say, the proposed State in the SRC Report. He says that a bilingual State must be a balanced State. Now, I would like to submit to him and to all my friends that a bilingual State as is generally understood is a State composed of or comprising of two language groups. I am not one enthused over a bilingual State, I must admit it very clearly. Why are we demanding linguistic

States? It is not a question of Gujerathis-Maharashtrians, and in Hyderabad Andhras, Maharashtrians-Kannadigas. Our experience of a bilingual or a multilingual State is that the question of majority and minority is bound to crop up here, there are bound to be tensions and tensions, and the democratic life, in spite of the best motives and best efforts of the component parts, suffers, and as the States Reorganisation Commission has pointed out, which my esteemed friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee quoted here, the loyalties are weakened. So, if you want a vigorous and long abiding unit you must minimise these tensions. When an appeal was made that in the interests of the nation a chance should be given, an experiment should be made to have a bilingual State in Bombay—well, I am only interpreting the mind of the Maharashtrians and the M.P.C.C. Resolution—what was wrong in stating that the entire Maharashtra community should be included in that bilingual State? Is it not a just and legitimate aspiration?

An Hon. Member: It is in a majority.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: Therefore, I say, in a bilingual or multilingual State you think in terms of majority and minority and that cuts at the root of a smooth democratic life. Is it the fault of the Maharashtra people that they are 3 crores and 25 lakhs or 30 lakhs? Why should they not be included in the same administrative unit if for the sake of India's interests a bilingual State is considered to be necessary? I pose this to the kind consideration of the hon. Members of this House. Why cut off Vidarbha from Maharashtra? Why make Bombay into a separate State? All right; if Bombay's position necessitated a bilingual character at least bring all the Marathi-speaking people into that State. There is nothing unjust, nothing unfair in that and if you feel that the numerical strength of the Maharashtrians would be something

which cuts at the root of smooth growth of the other linguistic groups that is the exact plea for carving out a unilingual State. I fail to understand this conception of a bilingual State. If any of the hon. Members who would follow me are going to enlighten me on this aspect of the question I would be very glad to understand this proposition. What was wrong in all the Marathi-speaking people and the Gujerathi-speaking people coming under one administrative unit and working out the State of Bombay? Anyway, that is also past history.

Now, I would put certain propositions in regard to the question that is before us. Unfortunately, by the coincidence of circumstances, this proposition has been made a point of contention, bitterness and feud between the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis. I am very unhappy about it, most unhappy, because I have got the best of friends in the Gujarati community with whom I have worked. My friend Shri Balwant Rai Mehta and myself have worked in the liberation movement for years together. This question of the city of Bombay has been so shaped or has shaped itself in such a way...

Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada): Has been so shaped.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: ...that it has been made a point of contention between Maharashtra and Gujarat. As one bread and brought up in Maharashtra traditions, I would venture to submit a few questions. As my friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee pointed out, I fully share his view and many of the Communist friends also might share my view that this is a national problem and there are no party barriers in the approach to this question. Therefore, please do not dub me as a pro-communist in this respect, or as a pro-Hindu Mahasabha. I am telling you what I feel. I ask, what is this cosmopolitan character of Bombay city? I have heard the speech of Shri S. K. Patil with all the attention that it needed. You will

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha]

find the same cosmopolitan character in Calcutta. You may brush aside the argument for argument's sake but the reality is there. Calcutta is equally cosmopolitan as Bombay. I go further. Go to Hyderabad city. I can speak with greater confidence about Hyderabad city. It is as cosmopolitan as Bombay can be and more so. In carving out a separate State of Bombay, you are treading upon a dangerous path. You are treading upon a dangerous path and I would submit to this House that, if tomorrow the city of Hyderabad demands a separate State, what justification have you to deny it? I put this to the consideration of the hon. Members of this House. If the industrial, economic and other interests of the city of Bombay are likely to suffer—they would not suffer—do not mistrust this patriotic and virile community, as the States Reorganisation Commission has termed it. Do not mistrust it. If Bombay is the capital of Maharashtra, the Maharashtra Government is not going to consist of Maharashtras alone. In our discussions, we have put forth so many pleas. You can give over-riding powers to the Centre and see that the interests of industry and commerce in Bombay do not suffer. Well, that is an understandable proposition. Give all powers to the Bombay Municipal Corporation, much more than what any other Corporation has. "Bombay belongs to the nation", the Prime Minister said the other day. Yes; but Bombay also belongs to Maharashtra. Is there any contradiction between Bombay belonging to Maharashtra and Bombay belonging to the Nation? If that contradiction is there, please resolve it. If Ahmedabad, Madras and Bangalore can belong to the respective areas and also to the Indian Nation, why not Bombay belong to Maharashtra and India? I fail to understand. To this moment, there has been no convincing argument, and I would be happy if anybody enlightens me and the Members of this House on this particular point. That being so, I would like to know what are the apprehensions

and the misgivings. I do not want to go into the details and those unhappy incidents which have taken place. I am equally sorry for them. I would plead to everyone, who is working for a Maharashtra State, to give no shelter or to harbour no ideas of the events that have happened sometime back. After all, we are fellow-travellers in this democratic age, and let us all, shoulder to shoulder, build up this infant democracy that is India. Therefore, I would earnestly plead with my friends not to view this problem of Samyukta Maharashtra as something between the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis. Kakasahab Gadgil may go. Everyone has got the ultimate limitation of life. But the Maharashtrian people will be there. The Gujarati people will be there and they have to grow. My humble submission is that they can grow in friendliness and amity to their fullest stature if they are allowed to grow in all walks of life in their own language.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, I should like to say a few words before I call upon the next Member. There is the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission. It is not as if we are going to scrap it and then start everything afresh. Therefore, I have been calling upon Members who wish to express their views as to why the Report ought not to be accepted. And then, I call upon the Members who support it, either fully or in a modified form. That way, it will enable the Members to focus attention on the various points. It may be that in particular matters one may or may not agree. In that way, I am trying to regulate the debate. It should not be said that ultimately the main spokesmen were left out. I wanted Shri Nijalingappa to speak and then Sardar Hukam Singh to speak. After the Bombay State, PEPSU and Punjab are the important States. I have been looking to the watch also, but each one prescribes his own time? After these Members have spoken, I want

the Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh Spokesmen to speak. I looked out for Shri Nijalingappa but he is not in his seat.

Some Hon. Members: He is here.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): My point is this. The views of the Congress have been expressed. The views of the communists have been expressed. The views of the Praja-Socialist Party have been expressed. (*Interruption*). There may be no whip, but the order of things is there.

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): No, no.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The views of the Hindu Mahasabha have been expressed. The views of Akali leaders are to be expressed. The other parties are also there. If the debate is to be conducted on this line, I would request that before the range of discussion on these lines is over, the views of the Jan Sangh Party may be permitted to be expressed.

Shri R. S. Diwan (Osmanabad): It is not a question of political parties. It is a question of the people of the areas which are affected.

4 P.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is a happy blend like preparing tea or even cigars. I am trying to mix up political parties, minorities, boundaries, integration, disintegration and all these in a happy blend. I will call upon Mr. Trivedi: I will also call Shri Nand Lal Sharma, because he belongs to the Ram Rajya Parishad. After all, party is not independent of any State. The party stands for the whole of India, whereas others are a little less ambitious and they are prepared to confine themselves to particular States. I will call the party heads; they will speak not only for the whole of India, but also something for themselves. I am not forgetting anybody. Mr. Nijalingappa.

Shri Nijalingappa (Chitaldrug): There is a sub-committee meeting and

I am likely to go there. You may give the chance to Mr. Trivedi; I will speak later.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members have spoken on Visalandhra, Telengana, Travancore-Cochin, Nagercoil, Bombay, Maharashtra and so on. I have not come across any Gujarati gentleman who has spoken. The House must know what exactly is happening. Karnataka is a new State. So, I thought Mr. Nijalingappa also can speak now.

Shri Nijalingappa: I am prepared; but-I only said, I am called elsewhere.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Some Members came to me and said, "why don't you call Shri Nijalingappa?" But, when I call Shri Nijalingappa, he wants to go away to some other place. One Member has spoken for Karnataka and I thought there can be a speech against Karnataka. Like that the discussion can go on.

Shri Nijalingappa: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I thank you for giving me this opportunity....

An Hon. Member: You are compelled.

Shri Nijalingappa: I am grateful to some of the Members who have been suggesting my name to speak on behalf of Karnataka. It cannot be denied that I am one of those who have been passionately working for the formation of the Karnataka State. It does not mean that I am less anxious or less enthusiastic about the formation of the other States. Before coming to the Karnataka State proper, I will preface my remarks with extending a whole-hearted welcome, of course with a few modifications, to the S.R.C. Report. I think they have done a magnificent job of it. The problem entrusted to them was not only very difficult, but equally delicate. To the extent that they have been able to satisfy substantially all sections, our gratitude is due to them. I think I am voicing the opinion of the whole House here when

[Shri Nijalingappa]

I say that we owe to them a deep debt of gratitude and their names will go down to history.

Shri Chattopadhyaya: Not go down.

Shri Nijalingappa: It will go up and it will go down also. While saying so, I make particular mention of one recommendation which is significant and it is this. They have recommended the wholesale abolition of the Rajpramukhs. Possibly, history will record this decision for ages and ages together as one of the utmost significance. For milleniums together, we have been accustomed to think of Government always conjointly with rulers.

नाविष्णु पृथिवी पति, राजा ब्रह्मक्षदेवता ।

Whatever might have been history, at least we do not want that institution. As President of the Convention of Members of Parliament of Part B, Part C and Part D States since 1952, I am very happy to state that all our recommendations have been accepted by the Commission. Our demand was, firstly there should be no sort of distinction between one State and another and that the distinction between Part A, Part B and Part C States should disappear once and for all. That has been done. Our next demand was that the institution of Rajpramukhs did not fit in with our Constitution and with our democratic set-up. That has been accepted. I take this opportunity for paying a tribute to Sardar Patel, but for whose sagacity, drive and dynamism, but for whose personality, possibly we would be having all the 500 and odd States troubling us today. Therefore, no amount of gratitude is too much. He practically liquidated the entire institution of kingship. A few remain and they also do not fit in. I also take this opportunity for paying a tribute to the rulers themselves, because when the demand was made that they should give up their rights as kings, most of them willingly did so. Even today, when the recom-

mendations have been made, I find that there is no agitation in the country from anywhere that they should be continued. If I may reveal a secret, one or two of them even welcome it, because they feel as democratic as anyone of us and they do not want to continue as Rajpramukhs. It is for this reason that they also are entitled to our gratitude. They have made sacrifices, but possibly the country expects more sacrifices from them in the near future in building up our economy. I am sure they will make more sacrifices. But I think criticising them adversely does not help in the solution of this problem. There is, I am sure, nobody now seriously contending that this consideration must be postponed. It is illogical, it is unthinkable and it is unreasonable also. We have gone too far and I think the time is now ripe to solve this entire problem once and for all. Therefore, it is necessary that we should not think in narrow terms. We must think in broader sweeps and wider curves. Swamiji has been my colleague for the last 20 years and we have worked together as Members of the States' Peoples Conference of the princely States. I join him in his appeal to all those who think in terms of smaller States. This is just the correct time when we should solve this problem. I do not think that we can afford to allow either Vidarbha or Telangana to exist. I think we must solve this problem. Visal Andhra must be established at once. I appeal to my hon. friends in Hyderabad not to put in obstacles in the way, but to help in the realisation of this great objective and the cherished goal of the Andhras. Similarly, I would appeal to the Vidarbha friends to do likewise.

When we talk of Vidarbha, by implication, we come to the composite State of Bombay. I am personally of the view, whatever be said against it, that it is time also to have a Maha Gujarat State and a Maharashtra State. I think that also should be solved. In doing so, when we

come to the question of the Bombay city. It is rather dangerous ground. Of course, it is a ground on which everybody should be afraid to tread because it is very delicate ground. It is very controversial ground. Possibly both the Gujaratis and Maharashtrais may take us to task. It is a very difficult task to come to a final decision after having heard Shri S. K. Patil on the one hand and Swami Ramananda Tirtha partly on the other. We do not know the full facts. Even so, it is possible for the nation and to the contending parties to evolve a workable settlement.

[SHRIMATI SUSHAMA SEN *in the Chair*]

I am for having one Gujarat and one Maharashtra. The question of Bombay it is possible to solve. It is true that geographically it is in Maharashtra. Probably the Gujarati businessmen fear that their interests would be affected. I do not believe that there is any room for such a fear. Any State which causes that fear does not deserve to exist. I am sure there is no cause for fear even though the matters involved are so huge and so complicated. I am afraid of making up my mind and saying one way or the other. But, I feel we have not seen the other side of the picture. Therefore, I would appeal to the Members of this House and to the Government and to our leaders for whom we have respect that this matter deserves fuller consideration.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Vishakhapatnam): You won't give a verdict?

Shri Velayudhan: Be courageous.

Shri Nijalingappa: Courage sometimes is also a virtue not of the wise men, but of others.

Shri Velayudhan: It is hypocrisy too.

Shri Nijalingappa: Having said so much regarding the new States that are coming into existence, while I am of the view that it is better, generally speaking, that there should be one State for one language, we have also to see, even though there is one

language, whether there are States which are too big. I have read the minute of dissent by Dr. Panikkar about the U. P. So far as the new Madhya Pradesh is concerned, I feel it can be formed. But, I have no doubt considering the constitution set-up, whether the existence of a large State like U. P. is in the interest of the country. I would allow like to submit, whatever our present views might be about a particular thing or of particular individuals, we should not on any account allow the present to prejudice the future. Therefore, I would like to say that, if it is possible, even for the Hindi-speaking areas, to have a proper and more rational adjustment, it should be made.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: You mean U. P. should be cut up?

Shri Nijalingappa: I think Dr. Lanka Sundaram has got sufficient imagination.

An Hon. Member: Put in cold storage.

Shri Nijalingappa: So far as cold storage is concerned, we have become too hot to be put in cold storage. The matter must be solved once for all.

Regarding Karnataka, as Kan-nadiga, I am very happy that after 400 years, we are having a State in which most of the Kannadigas are going to live, develop and form part of a bigger State. When we are urging for our own States, let me make it clear, it should not be misunderstood that we are doing so not on any parochial basis or on account of narrow-mindedness. It is not the monopoly of those who speak against linguistic States to be patriotic. We are as patriotic as anybody else. But, it is a conviction with us that it is a better integration of the entire country and that it tends towards the unity of the country, its growth, its development and its solidarity. It is for this reason that we have been urging this even from before.

[Shri Nijalingappa]

So far as Karnataka is concerned, it has got a glorious history. It has great traditions. Its art, its architecture, its music are all well known. We built great empires. It is said that from the 8th century to the 11th century we were ruling quite a large part of India. We were occupying Gujarat; we were occupying Bengal; so many other areas. That is history. All of us can be proud of that. I am also proud of the achievement of the Andhras. The first address that was presented to the Bombay Governor was in the Kannada language. I am not going to claim it on that account. It would not be considered wise. One of our great bards, songsters, and Bhaktas of Kannada, was living in Pandharpur, Purandhara Dasa. Even the God is called Kannada Vittal. I am not going to claim that. That is past history. What happened during the last 150 years is a matter of great tragedy to us. We have come under various influences and suffered greatly. Tippu Sultan expanded his territory. Possibly it was twice or thrice the size of Mysore today. He had a maritime force at that time. He had it from the French. He was building ships. The British were terribly afraid of him. When he fell at Srirangapatam in 1779, the British, having taken possession of his area, cut it up into several bits. They particularly wanted that as few Indian States as possible should be maritime States. Therefore, Mysore was made a land-locked State. We lost the entire West coast. An area that belonged to Mysore at that time was given away for charity as it were, to Madras, that is the British. Some area was given to the Nizam and that area again was handed over by the Nizam to the Madras Government. We were treated as chattels. The result is, prior to 1948, we were under 22 administrations. Luckily, the Deccan States Princes agreed to disappear and they merged in the Bombay State. Even now, we are under 5 administrations. I do not think

any people are subject to the same disadvantages as we are. Except in Mysore, if you look outside, we are in a minority in Bombay, we are in a minority in Hyderabad, we are a small minority in Madras. Of course, there is Coorg. It is a small State and it does not count for much. Therefore, everywhere we are suffering. I do not want to say anything against any Government. But, it so happens, in democracy, after all, public opinion counts and number counts. Therefore, political wire-pulling also counts. It is for that reason that these areas outside Mysore, in spite of their rich and vast natural resources, have suffered. In Karnataka, which is very fertile and which possibly supplies about 35 to 40 per cent. of the cotton required for the Bombay mills, not a single mill which could be counted as such seriously, exists up till now. That is the position today. I cannot blame anybody. But, it happens. So far as democracy is what it is, minorities stand to suffer. It is for that reason that our demand has been insistent.

This demand grew first of all in Mysore itself. The basis for this demand grew in Mysore, in a conference in Bangalore in 1915. The Andhras began their demand in 1913, but we began our demand in 1915. They got their demand in 1953, and possibly we are getting it in 1955 or 1956. Since 1915, there has been a persistent agitation for the formation of a Karnataka State. There is a sort of suspicion here among many minds and among the hon. Members of this House also that Mysore is not in favour of this proposal. That is not correct. Mysore is in favour of it. Any obstruction today, or any objection or any discordant note which is there today has been sounded only during the last one or two years. Prior to that, both Mysore and Karnataka States went hand in hand in demanding the formation of this State. And the Mysore Congress, of which I was the president for some time, and during the course of the building up

and growth of which I have rendered my own humble service, has always stood by this ideal.

In fact, in 1948, after the coming into existence of responsible government in Mysore, friends in Mysore started demanding that for administrative purposes only the Pradesh Congress Committee may be separated for Karnataka. At that time, there was some obstruction, and there was some criticism from outside. Then, we passed this resolution at Birur, of which I am reading only a part:

"This session of the AMCC taking note of the fact that grave misunderstandings have arisen because of the recent resolution of the Mysore Congress regarding the formation of the State into a separate Congress unit, expresses the definite opinion that this resolution should not be taken as an indication of separatism, but that it was occasioned by practical reasons. It is of opinion that Mysore and other parts of Karnataka province should come together under one administration, and there will be no necessity for a different Provincial Congress thereafter. With this end only in view the Mysore Congress has been urging upon the Indian National Congress to recognise the Mysore State as a provincial unit. The Mysore Congress has always accepted the principle of formation of linguistic provinces as laid down by the Indian National Congress. Kannada territory, having been torn up to pieces, and placed under nineteen different administrations could not make all-round progress. All Kannada-speaking people are tied together by a common culture and heritage. Their economic interests are identical. Therefore, even now, the AMCC stands by the previous declaration that a united Karnataka under the constitutional rulership of His Highness the Maharaja is essential and inevitable."

Of course, now that does not arise. Then, they set up a committee, and the

members of that committee unanimously recommended.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is almost up.

Shri Nijalingappa: How many minutes more will be allowed for me?

Mr. Chairman: Five minutes more.

Shri Nijalingappa: I was under the impression that Members who put up particular cases will be allowed about one hour.

Mr. Chairman: Only half an hour has been allowed. One hour has been allowed only in the case of the leaders.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: He should be allowed more time.

Shri Altekar (North Satara): He should be given more time.

Mr. Chairman: How much more time does the hon. Member want?

Shri Nijalingappa: About half an hour more.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: He should be given one hour.

Shri Nijalingappa: I shall try to finish as early as possible. But I thought I could take the same time as was allowed to leaders of a particular group.

Some Hon. Members: He may be given one hour.

Shri Nijalingappa: So, it is the opinion of the House also that I should be given half an hour more. I am very grateful to them.

Shri N. R. Muniswamy (Wandiwash): Practically, Karnataka has been conceded. So, why go about the history behind it?

Shri Nijalingappa: There may be certain statements made, and I would like to meet them.

Again, in Subhasnagar, under the presidentship of the hon. Minister of Production, Shri K. C. Reddy, the Mysore Congress adopted the following resolution, which is significant:

"This session of the Mysore Congress declares itself in favour

[Shri Nijalingappa]

of the early formation of a Karnataka province comprising of the present disrupted fragments under various administrations. It is aware that the existence of an undemocratic form of administration in Mysore is a hindrance to the formation of such a province. This session also takes note with concern of the hurried demands of small States of the Deccan to form a union without consulting the people of those states. Such a union, while it militates against the formation of a Karnataka province is also bound to perpetuate autocracy in those small states".

We have passed a number of resolutions on this subject. Since I am pressed for time, I would not like to take the House through all these resolutions. But I may say that in 1949, the Mysore Congress Working Committee took a decision that the formation of a Karnataka State including Mysore is a necessity.

I am glad also to bring to the notice of this House the fact that on 11th November, 1949, the Mysore Cabinet have almost in identical terms approved this and taken a decision that the formation of the Karnataka State with Mysore is necessary, and that the Rajpramukh should be the constitutional head. Apart from the Rajpramukh being the constitutional head, the people of Mysore have been demanding a Karnataka State.

It is only recently that there is a cry that Mysore wants to remain separate. That cry is not universal in Mysore. It is only a small section of the people who have been crying. I may submit to this House that just as nature abhors vacuum, likewise human nature also abhors a change. It fights shy under pressure, either out of convictions or from outside. I would appeal to my Mysore friends. They are all my co-workers who have suffered with me, who have worked together with me, who have worked together with me, but a few of them are just now differing from us. There is no necessity to appeal to the people at all over this

issue, because I know the people are with this proposal; they are in entire agreement with this proposal. So, I would appeal to my Mysore friends not to queer the pitch at this time, when history is being written for the entire country and for the Karnataka State.

Having said that Mysore is entirely in favour of this, I would like to make one humble submission to this House. As I said before, on account of the disruption and the cutting up of the Kannada-speaking areas into various bits, they had to come under the influence of other linguistic groups. In the north, the Maharashtrians who were the most powerful people exerted their influence. And even today, I have visited a number of places beyond Belgaum, in South Sholapur, in Kolhapur, and in Sangli and other areas, where the people do not know how to write and read their mother-tongue, namely, Kannada, but they speak Kannada as well as myself. That has been my experience throughout. Therefore, it is that they have been urging even now that they should be joined on to Karnataka. Administratively, they have come under those influences during the last one hundred years and more, and they have suffered on that account.

Coming lower down to the east and to the north-east, the Andhras also have exerted a similar influence, and they have also been cutting into our areas.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What about Andhras in Mysore?

Shri Nijalingappa: I am coming to that.

Shri Bogawat (Ahmednagar South): What about the Marathi-speaking taluks?

Shri Nijalingappa: I shall come to them presently.

Coming lower down to the south, we have to contend with the Tamilians. They have not, however, made many inroads. I am glad to say that the Karalites have not done anything to

us, except that the S.R.C. have recommended that the Kasaragod taluk should be handed over to them.

Shri Achuthan (Crangannur): Legitimately.

Shri Nijalingappa: To some extent, you are true.

Therefore, on account of these inroads and influences of people, though not hostile to us, but at the same time not sympathetic to us, the Kannada people have suffered all along. Therefore it is that when we make claims to various areas round about, people feel surprised and say, 'What are these people? They want to grab everybody's'. But they forget the historical fact that everybody has grabbed us. Therefore, when we make a claim to something as our own, they feel astonished, astounded, possibly sometimes angry, very often upset.

I am going to just mention a few areas which are the bone of contention just now. I will take Kolar first, then Bellary. The Andhra gentlemen have possibly lost their case by claiming both together and then alternately.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What are the facts? Give us the facts.

Shri Nijalingappa: I will give the facts. Allow me to develop my case. The Andhras claim Bellary; they claim Kolar. They claim Kolar on the basis of language. Of course, the Kolar area has got a Telugu-speaking majority.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Hear, hear.

Shri Nijalingappa: That is true, it is a fact. But the more basic and important fact remains: that the Kolar people by themselves at no time have expressed a desire to go anywhere else but to remain in Karnataka.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: You say so.

Shri Nijalingappa: If my friend wants proof of it, if the hon. Members want proof of it, the entire absence of any statement from anybody of consequence from Kolar district to this day during the last 2½ months that they want to get out of Mysore is the proof. No person from that area, either Telugu or otherwise, no man of consequence from Kolar district has expressed a desire to go and join Andhra. That is because

of the long-standing relationship between us. We have worked together and because of those sentiments, they do not want to go. And it is also a fact that they understand Kannada as well. That is the position. I admit the fact. But what about the people themselves? If there had been a serious demand that they want to go, I for one would have accepted it. Can we drive people who do not want to go? But we want them also. It is said very correctly that language is not the only criterion. In Kolar, the Mysore Government has developed the gold mines. All that is mentioned in the Report. I do not want to go into details. Of course, people representing the Kolar area will possibly speak at some length and give more details, which Dr. Lanka Sundaram may want.

So far as Bellary is concerned, it is the most unfortunate district in the whole of India. Since 1921, it has undergone a number of inquiries, a number of decisions, all upto this day are in our favour? In 1921, Shri N. C. Kelkar, to whom a reference was made by Shri S. K. Patil, decided that of the 10 taluks, 7 taluks belonged to Kannada and 3 taluks, Alur, Adoni and Rayadurg, should go temporarily to Andhra. He said the next census must decide as to where these taluks must go. If he had finally decided it there, they would have gone to Karnataka. But he wanted to satisfy himself and the Congress High Command after the next census, the 1931 census. When that census came, of course everybody was interested in the struggle for freedom; nobody cared to worry about these small matters. That is the position. Barring these 3 taluks, the other 7 were added on to Mysore. The 1st October, 1953 was a gala day throughout Mysore to everybody. They were celebrating a feast. The whole of Mysore rejoiced because they thought that their own people are coming back to them. Before that there was a sort of agitation.

I would mention one significant fact without mentioning names. Before Andhra was formed, in March 1953, very important, very prominent leaders of Andhra came to me. Two of

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them are Ministers of the Andhra Cabinet today, one is a Member of this House and another a Member of the Upper House. They came to me and said: 'Well, we have now a quarrel regarding these three taluks. You claim them as your own; we claim them as ours. We shall come to an agreement. Areas that are adjacent to you and having a Kannada-speaking majority population—more than 50 per cent—should go to you; areas adjacent to us which have more than 50 per cent. Telugu-speaking population will come to us. As regards the remaining areas, we will sit across the table and decide even before October 1953.' That was what they told me. In fact, after that, I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister stating this position, and saying that therefore it is possible to demarcate these things. I wrote to the Prime Minister:

"Regarding three taluks, they cannot be given over to Andhra as they are disputed areas.....that the Kelkar award that was given was more in favour of Karnataka than Andhra.....I am bringing to your kind notice that Andhra leaders.....met me and agreed that they do not claim the 7 taluks, they do not press for their inclusion in Andhra..... Regarding the 3 disputed taluks, they said that the latest census or the census figures of 1931 can be consulted and villages of the three taluks adjoining Karnataka and adjoining Andhra should go to the respective areas according to the language. It is, I feel, possible to adjust the boundary equitably and if one official or commission is appointed, it would be amicably settled."

That is the position so far as these three taluks are concerned. Then, Justice Misra was appointed. I think he has gone thoroughly into the matter—there is no aspect of the contention which was not considered by him in detail and thoroughly. He said Andhra claim was surprising. The Andhras never claimed in 1931, nor at the Parti-

tion Committee, nor when the Andhra University Bill was passed, nor at the time of the Wanchoo inquiry. During all this period, no claim has been made to these 7 taluks. Now a claim is made, and the argument given is that it is because of the Tungabhadra dam, it is for the Rayalaseema area that this has to be transferred. I am sorry to say that this argument is rather strange. There is absolutely no reason on the linguistic basis for this argument; on the linguistic basis, they have no case.

Now, we shall take the Tungabhadra dam as it is. After all, it is one integral unit. It serves the entire Raichur taluk on the one side where about 5½ lakh acres are irrigated.....

Shri Thimmaiah (Kolar—Reserved-Sch. Castes): 5,80,000 acres.

Shri Nijalingappa: Yes. Then on the other side, the area is 3 lakh and odd acres, nearly half of which is irrigated in Bellary and the rest, about a lakh and a half, are in Andhra area. If these three disputed taluks are properly divided, possibly 20 per cent will go to Andhra and the rest to Karnataka. That is so far as the low level canal irrigation is concerned. So far as the high level canal is concerned, we do not know what is the position—it might be half and half. If the entire case is taken into consideration, the future Karnataka State is going to have an area of nearly 65 per cent—I am putting it on a very low side—and the rest will be in Andhra. If I may use a rather vulgar expression, can we allow the tail to wag the dog? It is something like that. Who should own it? Is it the people who irrigate 30 per cent or is it the people who irrigate 70 per cent of the area? It is significant. I am sure the Commission lost sight of the fact that on the other side in Hyderabad State, this project was irrigating nearly 6 lakh acres. Possibly, if they had bestowed some thought to this aspect of the matter, their decision would not have come out in this way. As regards more details about this, Shri Subramaniam

and others who would speak will furnish them. But so far as Bellary is concerned, this is the position.

Regarding other small areas, I will deal with them very quickly. My Malayali friends are interested in the Kasaragod taluk. Kerala is an unfortunate State. It has got the highest density of population in India, in the world

Shri Velayudhan: That is a good sign.

Shri Nijalingappa: I do not know. I am not sure. It seems the ozone from the sea, rice and fish have contributed to greater population. They enjoy all the three. Their population is fast growing. I feel with them that they must have some living space but on that account can they lay claim to areas which cannot possibly be given to them? I personally would be glad if they get more area. So far as Kasaragod taluk is concerned, it is possible to give nearly 60 per cent of the area to them. Some people have been claiming south of the Chandragiri river but I would say south of the Payaswaini river. That can be given to them; it is a smaller area and it is possible because there is the natural boundary to sever it. I appeal to them to agree to this. I have also told them that in the future Karnataka, if I can use my influence, I will use it in their favour and immediately the Karnataka State is formed, within 5 years I will promise them that at least 2,000 Malayalee families can be settled in Karnataka comfortably. Therefore, let them not worry about this small area. Let them take south of the Payaswaini river.

Coming to the north—I am appealing to my Tamil friends—just between the Nilgiris and Kollegal there is Talvadi Firka, a small area in Gobichettipalayam which is 1,500 ft. above the rest of the taluk. Ninety to ninety-nine per cent of the people are Kannada. The schools are Kannada, the people are Kannada, they are very near Mysore border; they go for education, for hospitals and for other conveniences to Mysore, they are dependent upon that State; and after all the population is very small, about 22,000. I

appeal to my Tamil friends to give up this area.

Then there are the Nilgiris again. It is also a moot question. I must admit that I have half a mind to give the Gudalur taluk to Kerala. But, I do not know what my Tamil friends will say. I am willing, along with my Kerala friends, to sit with the Tamil friends and discuss it with them and come to an agreement. I am saying this because people of that area, in the villages, known as the Badagas, are Kannada people. They come to us and tell us that we have neglected them. The Thodas, the original people of that area came to us and said that we must press their claims. I am not going into details.

Coming north, there are some areas about which there is a dispute between us and the Maharashtrians, for instance Belgaum district. I think my friends also claim the Karwar district. In this connection, I would like to mention one thing. In saying so, I am incidentally grateful to the Commission in that they have recognised a certain part as very important and that it should be developed as such, that is the Malnad area. Malnad area is 80 per cent Karnataka. It is an area which is full of possibilities. Its resources, I do not think, are possessed by any other area. That area is richer than any other State in India and it has been most neglected. It has great forest wealth, it has got untapped resources. Its ports are undeveloped; there are no roads, no railways. All the coffee you get is from that area, all the cardamom comes from that area and all the pepper is from that area and even all the sandalwood is from that area. The cashewnut is from that area, coconut is from that area.

An Hon. Member: Monkey-nuts from there.

Shri Nijalingappa: You grow monkey-nuts.

They have recognised the necessity for this development there. Karwar

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port has to come to Karnataka. Even there they claim that Konkani language is akin to Marathi. Others say it has nothing to do with that. Please allow me to read one sentence from a letter. This is a submission by the Konkani people. It says:

"This Conference resolves to request the Chief Census authorities of India that the Konkani language is an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi language; this was considered as an independent language in the Census held prior to 1941 and it should also be considered as an independent language in the Census of 1951 also."

This area is peopled mostly by those people. One more submission that I wish to make is this. It is possible to demarcate these areas. In Hyderabad also we have got in Bidar district some definitely Kannada areas. I am glad that both the Pradesh Congress Committee of Hyderabad and the Government of Hyderabad have been thinking in terms of separating the three areas and then partitioning it out, giving them to the respective States. This is my personal view. Bidar is one of such areas.

I may also submit that out of the areas given to us in Raichur and Gulbarga districts, two taluks which are predominantly Telugu-speaking are included in them. I for one do not want them. I am sure the people will also agree. I can make our people agree to this. It is possible. Why should we have with us people speaking a different language anxious to go out? It is not possible to remove all the minor linguistic areas because they are on the border. It is impossible in those areas where both the languages are understood. Therefore, a line has to be drawn. In doing so administrative convenience has to be considered.

There are also certain areas, for instance Belgaum city and Nepani town. Supposing they are removed from their present moorings, that

would be terrible for them. They would not get all the conveniences or development, which they are having today. Supposing Nepani is disrupted, what will happen? It is on the border of the linguistic States. It has a good market. What will be the definite advantage?

Shri Bogawat: Why the people of the area agitate very strongly?

Shri Nijalingappa: There is a strong agitation on either side. We leave it to the elders. I would beg of the House to consider all these matters and the implications arising out of the situation. Supposing you take away these areas, what would happen to these towns and markets? You would be disrupting the whole thing. Therefore, so far as towns are concerned they must be kept up as they are. There must be a different set of rules for them. No industrial or commercial town can be said to be a unit linguistically.

Take for instance, Bangalore. It is going to be the capital of Karnataka. The biggest group in Bangalore is the Tamilians. I must congratulate the Chief Minister of Madras. He said, 'I am not going to claim any part of Mysore or Bangalore because we are a big group there. Do you mean to say that I can demand a corridor from Bangalore to Tamil Nad? It is unwise. You are to remain there; you are people of the Karnataka State.' That is the attitude I am willing to take, my friends are willing to take and I appeal to all the Members to take. Of course, we have our elders here in whom we have entire confidence. We put our case before them; we will represent our cases to them and we will certainly accept whatever they decide and carry it through to the best of our ability.

My friend points out that I should read another sentence about the Konkani language. It says that Konkani is not a part of the Marathi language; it is considered by scholars to be derived not from Marathi but separately and earlier from another

Prakrit. It varies with the kind of speaker. The high-class Goanese speak it with Portuguese words; the Muslims speak that with Urdu and so on.

Shri H. G. Vaishnav (Ambad): May I know who is the scholar?

Shri Nijalingappa: I do not know who the scholar is. It is only what the writer of the Census Report says. This is an extract from the Census Report of 1931, Bombay State. (*Interruption*). What I feel I have stated. I have got only ten minutes more.

There are two other smaller areas. Then there are two other areas, namely, Hosur and Madaksira. Regarding Hosur, it is within about 25 miles from Bangalore and I do not claim it on linguistic basis because the biggest linguistic group there is Telugu, next comes Kanarese and then comes Tamil. The entire taluk is one mind that because they are so vitally connected with Mysore and Bangalore, they do not want to get out. Hosur Taluk has practically no geographical connection with Andhra. It is connected both with Madras and Mysore, but the administrative conveniences are all in favour of their joining Karnataka as it is adjacent to Mysore. There is a good case, the people want it and all other facts collected are in favour of this taluk remaining in Karnataka.

The Madaksira Taluk is an enclave. The S.R.C. Report definitely says that it is an enclave in Mysore State. They would be correct in giving it away to Mysore, but they say that they are not going to break up any part of Anantapur District to give it away to Mysore or Karnataka. They have added another reason, namely, that it would upset the Rayalaseema. I do not know where Rayalaseema now exists. Andhra is there and Vishal-Andhra is going to be constituted. Where is the question of bringing in Rayalaseema as a separate entity? When Bellary was taken away from it, Rayalaseema does not exist and its identity is gone. I

cannot understand how a case can be made out that Rayalaseema should be kept intact. Therefore, this small area being taken away from Anantapur District is not going to disrupt either the economy or the geography of Andhra. On the other hand, it would certainly help the people of that area, the majority of whom speak Kanarese, and desire to be included in the Karnataka State.

There is also the Akalkot Taluk; it was never a part of the Sholapur District. There are also certain other small points, but I have no time to deal with them now.

I have briefly stated all these because of the historic antecedents by which we have continued to suffer all along during the 150 years. Having said all this, I submit that we are building up a great State. At no time in its history was India under one rule. It never unfurled one flag; it had never a citizen of the country as its President. I, therefore, say that we are building up a large country and perhaps the highest achievement of India during this millennium is our democratic set-up. We have become completely free; we have removed all vestiges of vested interests. There are no rulers, no kings and possibly we will very soon have other interests removed. We are going to have a socialistic pattern of society, and in that society I feel that even though I may live in Karnataka, I am an Indian first and next only I belong to Karnataka. I am urging all these things when we build up these States because we must build them without bitterness. We must build up each State as a facet of a complete whole, so that the entire thing may develop and all may live together in amity and increase the stature of India in the international sphere.

Shri Bahadur Singh (Ferozpur-Ludhiana-Reserved—Sch. Castes): I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the S.R.C. Report, and especially regarding the formation of the Punjabi-speaking province.

[Shri Bahadur Singh]

I will deal with Northern India where the people demanded a Punjabi-speaking province, Greater Himachal Pranth and Hariana or Greater Delhi. The Commission was appointed because there was a great demand in the whole of the country, including Northern India, to be divided into provinces or States on the basis of language, culture, defence and some other considerations. The Commission has come out with this Report and it has made certain recommendations. Out of these, there are some recommendations which are incorrect and the High Command has taken such cases into their own hands and is rectifying the mistakes as far as Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra are concerned. As far as Northern India is concerned, the recommendations of the Commission are totally incorrect, contradictory and unconvincing. The people demanded Punjabi-speaking State, Hariana or Greater Delhi, but the Commission has recommended the formation of a Maha Punjab with the integration of Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh. No doubt there is a note by the Chairman regarding the retention of Himachal Pradesh for a certain period. At page 25, paragraph 93 of the Report, certain principles are laid down for the guidance of the Commission in the reorganisation of the States. The first is the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India. Then comes the linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Then comes the financial, economic and administrative considerations. Lastly, comes the successful working of the national plan. I most humbly submit that as far as Northern India is concerned, not a single principle out of these four has been adhered to. The Commission has flouted all the four principles as far as Northern India is concerned. So far as the preservation of the unity and security of India is concerned, by recommending the Greater Punjab, the Commission has not done any service to the country and to the people of that province, because security de-

pends upon the unity of the people that live there and it also depends upon the contentment, happiness and the satisfaction of the people who live in that area. As far as the formation of the Greater Punjab is concerned, the people of Himachal Pradesh, Hariana and a substantial population of Punjab are not in favour and have rejected Greater Punjab. I do not know how the Commission thinks that the integration of all these parts strengthen the security of the country. These are unwilling partners and the Commission has tried to tag them together against the wishes and sentiments of the people of these different areas.

Shri Anandchand (Bilaspur): Not of everyone.

Shri Bahadur Singh: My hon. friend has interrupted me and I can well understand the feudal element that is here. He can have his say when he gets his chance.

श्री भागवत झा बाबाद: अहो रूपम,
अहो ध्वनि ।

Shri Bahadur Singh: Some friends are trying to interrupt me. I am not afraid of the interruption but it just depicts the mentality which is working there. It is not something new and such a mentality should come out.

I must say that the people of these different States do not want to unite; they wanted to have separate States on the basis of cultural and linguistic homogeneity. It is not incorrect to say that the people of Hariana have got a distinct culture.

5 P.M.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly a member, Shri Devi Lal started speaking on this Report in the language of the Hariana people. Most of the members there could not understand and even the Speaker could not understand. They requested him to speak in a language which they could understand. He said: "This is my expression; peo-

ple in that area speak this language; it establishes that the people of Haryana have got a distinct culture and language."

* **Shri Hem Raj (Kangra):** It is dialect and not a language.

Shri Bahadur Singh: In Punjab, people speak in Punjabi and Hindi. According to the Sachar formula, Punjab has been divided into different parts according to the language spoken in those parts. So they speak different languages and have got a different culture. I do not understand why the Commission has taken the view that culturally and linguistically, it is homogeneous. There are the financial and economic considerations and the successful working of the Plan. I do not know why the Commission had skipped over these.

Himachal Pradesh is a backward area. Everybody knows it. As far as Haryana is concerned, it is also backward. People of Haryana fought against the Britishers in 1857 and the British imperialists just to give them punishment tagged them on to Punjab where they were in a minority. The people of Jullundur division had always been exploiting them and my friends from Haryana will agree with me that their progress has always been impeded by the commercial class—the urban people—who live in Jullunder division. Haryana is backward, Himachal Pradesh is backward and Punjab itself is depending on the Centre for aid. I do not understand when these deficit areas are attached to a little progressive area how the economical or financial position of the backward area is going to be improved. Let us assume that the Centre will give aid to the Punjab. There has been bitter experience of such aids. Himachal Pradesh does not want to have the same experience. That aid will not be spent for the development of Himachal Pradesh or Haryana but for the development of the other areas. I do not understand the principles which the Commission has taken into account while proposing the formation of the

Greater Punjab. So far as Northern India is concerned, it got totally confused and so it had nothing to give and paid heed to the propaganda of the urban commercial class whom we call banias.

The Commission has started a new controversy regarding the status of the Punjabi language. In paragraphs 518, 524, 526, 527, etc. it has dealt with this. It was not at all intended that the Commission should go into the status of the Punjabi language—whether it was a language or a dialect. Punjabi is a language recognised by the Central Government.

An Hon. Member: By the Constitution.

Shri Bahadur Singh: It has been recognised by the Punjab Government according to the Sachar formula. The Punjab University appointed an enquiry committee in 1932 and it said that that language was perhaps one of the oldest languages of Indo-Aryan parentage. The Constitution has also recognised it as one of the 14 regional languages. I do not know why the Commission has started a controversy and said that it is a dialect of Hindi. At one place it says that the Sachar formula should be adhered to; at another place it says that it is not a language. According to the Sachar formula it is a language. In para. 518, the Commission says:

"One strange result of this has been the repudiation by large sections of the Hindu community of the Punjabi language as their mother tongue. This led during the last Census operations to a situation in which the separate tabulation of Hindi and Punjabi-speaking people had to be abandoned."

This is what happened at the time of the 1951 Census. What happened at the time of the 1941 Census? At that time there was no such demand for a Punjabi-speaking province? Certain sections of the population of the Jullundur division insisted that Hindi was their mother tongue even when they spoke Punjabi in their homes. The Commission accepts

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that they speak Punjabi in their homes but they are not willing to accept it as their mother tongue because their ceremonies and festivals are in Hindi. They look at this from a religious point of view. Before I conclude this I would like to draw your attention to one thing. The 1941 Census Commissioner, Mr. Yeats, I.C.S., has said that sentiment that was attached to this question—Hindi or Urdu as the case may be—often led even worthy persons to feel that it should or should not be their mother tongue. Therefore, the Census Commission made a recommendation that the language figures could not be tabulated. It was the same case in 1951 also. In paragraph 520, they say that there is no language problem in the Punjab because they say that Punjabi and Hindi are akin to each other and are well-understood by all sections of the people. I most respectfully submit that only those who got their university education and whose medium of instruction was urdu could understand it and not the laymen. I just gave the example of an M.L.A. from Punjab whom even the educated persons could not understand when he spoke in his Haryana language. Mr. Grierson, in his book, on page 617 has said that Punjabi is distinct and has got the status of an independent language. It is particularly mentioned that people say that it is not, but in fact it is a distinct and independent language.

In para 524, the Commission says that the Hindus have never accepted Punjabi as their mother tongue even though they speak that language in their homes because their religious ceremonies and festivals are performed in Hindi. They say that this move is a communal one. They say that because this demand has been put forward by the Akali Party, it is said so.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): Why not make it a common question? Why make it an Akali question?

Shri Bahadur Singh: Because it has been put forward by the Akali Dal, that is why it is said to be communal.

But the people should not look at this problem from the point of view of religion. Those who say, because their religious ceremonies are performed in Hindi, their festivals are performed in Hindi but they speak in Punjabi and therefore they are not going to accept it as a language are having a communal view. In regard to those who demand a Punjabi-speaking State and those who are against it, their approach is not common.

Coming to para. 526 and para. 527 of the Report I must submit that the Commission says that in Punjab the problem is not of language but it is about the script. I must respectfully ask the protagonists of Hindi whether they are willing to have a Roman script instead of Devanagiri for Hindi. There are certain scripts which are meant for particular languages. Let us have an Indian script. Are the protagonists of Hindi prepared to have some script from South India and some from North instead of Devanagiri? I repeat that there are certain languages which have got distinct and separate scripts which are suited for them only. If the people who speak Punjabi are not willing to accept its script it is not the fault of the Punjabi language; there is something wrong with those people who speak Punjabi and then deny that it is not their mother tongue. Only those people quarrel with the script. I submit that when the Commission had nothing to put forward it has unnecessarily entered into the language controversy.

Further more, the Commission says that the Akali Dal has demanded in regard to the Punjabi-speaking State areas which are not Punjabi-speaking. In this connection I submit that Mr. Grierson has attached a map to his book showing the regions of Punjab. We are prepared to accept that. Moreover, there is no difficulty in Punjab in regard to the boundaries. The Punjab Government has accepted according to the formula laid down certain areas which are known as Punjabi-speaking areas of Punjab and some areas in PEPSU which are known as Punjabi-speaking areas there. Let

these areas of Punjab and PEPSU be tied together and we do not dispute over that. Even then if the Commission says that there are certain areas which the Akali Dal is now demanding for the Punjabi-speaking State which are not actually Punjabi-speaking areas we are prepared to leave those areas.

Now I come to paragraphs 535 and 537 of the Report. The Commission says that if a Punjabi-speaking State is formed it does not solve any problem. It is incorrect and wrong to say that. If a Punjabi-speaking State is formed it does solve all the problems. Let us assume for argument sake, as the Commission has said, that it does not solve any problem, but may I humbly ask whether the new State that they have proposed will solve any problem? It actually complicates the problem. At present in the Punjab there is controversy about the script and language. The people of Haryana are complaining about exploitation by the people of Jullundur. When the people of PEPSU are added to it and the people of Himachal Pradesh are tagged to it that will complicate the issue. They have a distinct language and a distinct culture. As far as the language formula for PEPSU is concerned that is different from the formula that at present works in Punjab. In Himachal Pradesh they do not speak Punjabi at all. Therefore, the new State that is proposed will only complicate the issue. I do not know what consideration the Commission had before it when they tried to put unwilling partners into one house. I think they have not done any service in doing so.

Now I come to paragraph 519 and then paragraphs 539 and 540 on page 146 of the Report. The Commission says that if a Punjabi-speaking State is formed it does not solve any problem and that such a State cannot be formed because it lacks general support of the people of that area. The second point they say is that it does not eliminate any cause of friction. The third point they urge is that neither the language problem nor the

communal problem is solved by forming such a State. As a fourth argument they say that tension would increase if the Punjabi-speaking State as demanded is carved out. I say it is totally wrong. I would say that all these things which the Commission has said would come out in the new State they have proposed, not having carved out a Punjabi-speaking State.

As regards the first point, that it lacks the general support of the people of that area, I say that it is wrong. It is the urban people who are in a minority who have made that sort of propaganda. If the Punjabi-speaking areas of Punjab which I mentioned earlier and the Punjabi-speaking areas of PEPSU which are recognised by the Government are put together and a referendum or some such thing is taken we are prepared for the verdict arising out of that. We say that the protagonists of Greater Punjab are in a minority. The population of that area is 93 lakhs and out of that 38 lakhs are Punjabi-speaking. If you add to this the 17 lakhs sikhs from PEPSU it will come to 55 lakhs. There is a substantial section of Hindu friends who also supports this demand. If some friends say that we should take the case of Punjab as it is at present even then out of a population of 126 lakhs 50 lakhs of people of Haryana are against this Greater Punjab. They want a separate State for themselves. Then 38 lakhs of Sikhs do not want it. The Kangra District Board and Bar Association have passed resolutions about it.

Shri Hem Raj: You are mis-stating facts.

Shri Bahadur Singh: Let us not take that for the time being. Even if you take that out of a population of 126 lakhs only 38 lakhs are in favour of it and the rest are opposed to it. Therefore, those who plead that it is the demand of the minority people are totally wrong and their view is based on mischievous thinking and propaganda.

The second point that the Report mentions is that it does not eliminate

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any cause of friction. I must say that by carving out a Punjabi-speaking State the friction is actually removed. Unwilling partners are not tagged together. The people who shout too much now would only be satisfied so long as they are allowed to continue their exploitation. If they are stopped from doing that they would raise a hue and cry. The Commission says that the people of Punjab are not willing—at least a certain section of the people—to accept Punjabi as their mother tongue and that they cannot be compelled to accept it; whatever language they want they can speak. Instead of it the Commission should have recommended some kind of a remedy for such vicious thinking. On the one hand the Commission says that the people cannot be compelled and on the other hand the Commission has compelled the unwilling people of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh to come together. If the Commission could suggest some kind of a remedy and if there was any need of compulsion that should have been used in the interests of the country and the people who tell big lies in the open market should have been made to speak the truth with little compulsion. I think that sort of compulsion is not harmful in the interests of the country. Therefore, I would say that if the Punjabi-speaking State as demanded is carved out it does eliminate the cause of friction among the people.

As far as the communal and linguistic problem is concerned I was saying that the people of Himachal Pradesh speak Pahari, in Haryana a distinct language is spoken and the people in the Punjab have got Punjabi and Hindi. Therefore by taking all these areas the communal problem from which Punjab is already suffering is taken to other places also. So, the recommendation of the Commission brings more complications and if a Punjabi-speaking State is carved out then this controversy is not taken to Himachal Pradesh and Haryana, and the people who inhabit Punjab and tell lies will be made to speak the truth with a little compulsion.

As far as the tension is concerned, the tension will surely go when there is no communal question. The communal question is related to the linguistic question. I would like to enquire why in Northern India alone,—in regard to Punjab—a unilingual State has not been carved out. I fail to understand why and how the Members of the Commission reached a conclusion that the people who have proved to be good soldiers should be suppressed. By that, I do not say that people from other parts of this country are not good soldiers. I say that the people of Maharashtra were given a unilingual State. The people of Himachal Pradesh who are Dogras, and the people of Punjab,—the Sikhs, and the people of Haryana, the Jats, have all proved that they are good soldiers. The people of Haryana fought against the British Imperialists and they were sentenced for that 'crime' and our national Government still wants to continue that sentence, which was given to them by the Britishers.

As far as Maharashtra is concerned, the High Command has taken up that question and there remains only the question of Bombay State. Otherwise, the other States are going to be unilingual. But I do not understand why the principle of unilinguism, which has been applied to the rest of India, has not been applied to Northern India. Why this discrimination? In Northern India, the proposed State will not only be bilingual but a multi-lingual. This aspect creates certain doubts in the minds of the minorities living there, because of this discriminatory treatment which is given to them.

Now, to establish my case, I was saying that unilingual States should be formed in the north also. I may now refer to the discussion on the SRC Report that was going on in the Legislative Assemblies of Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh. A friend here said that it is not the demand of the people of those States....

Shri Anandchand: I said 'all the people.' I may correct myself now. I did not show any disrespect to the hon. Member.

Shri Bahadur Singh: I appreciate the democratic change in my hon. friend's brain. I was mentioning the Punjab Assembly, the PEPSU Assembly and the Himachal Pradesh Assembly. When the Report was being discussed in those Assemblies, the members who spoke in favour of the formation of linguistic States in the case of Punjab Assembly were 29 in number. In PEPSU, 36 members spoke in favour and in Himachal Pradesh, when the vote was taken, 34 members voted for the formation of the linguistic States. The number of members who spoke against the formation of linguistic States were 25 in the Punjab Assembly, three in the PEPSU Assembly, and in Himachal Pradesh, there were two, but when the vote was taken, there were four. The friends who voted and spoke against the formation of linguistic States belong to the group of my hon. friend, Raja Anandchand, who stands to be corrected many times. So, I say that when this Report was discussed and the representatives of the people in the Punjab Assembly, the Himachal Pradesh Assembly and the PEPSU Assembly have given a verdict against the recommendations of the Commission, the only solution which is needed for Northern India is the formation of Greater Himachal Pradesh, greater Delhi or Haryana and the Punjabi-speaking State.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken half an hour.

Shri Bahadur Singh: I started at 5 o'clock. I shall finish in two minutes. I request the Government to devote a little more attention towards this problem. I hope that as they have taken the problems of some other States into their own hands, they would take up the question of Punjab also into their own hands. It is not a difficult problem.

It is shown like that as a camouflage That is all. I say so, because there is no dispute regarding boundaries. The Punjabi-speaking areas have already been recognised. It is not a difficult problem there.

Yesterday, when the hon. Home Minister was speaking, he referred to the safeguards and said that due attention has not been paid to the chapter regarding safeguards. I would like to point out that no amount of safeguards and guarantees would satisfy the minority in the Punjab. I may submit that in the past, certain safeguards were provided and guarantees were given but they were repeatedly flouted by the Government under the very nose of the Central Government. Therefore, I urge that only a reasonable solution can satisfy the sentiments of the people. There are certain safeguards which are already there for the minorities, but there should first be a guarantee that these safeguards and guarantees would be implemented. And I suggest that that guarantee which would ensure the implementation of the safeguards and the guarantees should be nothing less than the formation of the Punjabi-speaking State itself. Then and then alone, the safeguards and the guarantees can work and can be implemented. Otherwise the fate of the minorities is not safe in the existing set-up of the Governments in that area.

Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla): It is my pleasant duty to pay my tribute to the talented members of the Commission who brought to bear upon their difficult subject, impartiality, thoroughness, clarity, foresight and objectivity. I rise to approve of their proposals in general and their proposals with respect to Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh in particular. This is a subject which in some parts of the country has engendered unnecessary heat warmth and vehemence. It has led even to untoward incidents accompanied by violence. The approach to subject on the part of certain leaders

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has been agitational, acrimonious. The criticism that has been levelled on this Report outside the House in certain cases is marked by being more carping than constructive: the approach has been more emotional than rational. Therefore, I feel that so far as this matter is concerned, when we are out to re-draw the map of this country, we should not lose sight of the broad perspective which has marked this Report.

I lend my support to the Report for one reason which in my mind is supermost and that reason is, that they have placed first things first. The primacy of the nation is an article of faith and any attempt whereby the primacy of the nation can be jeopardised, whereby the security of the State can be endangered, must be dangers from various quarters, to the dangers from various quarters, to the nation. Parochial patriotism is a vice to which most of us are prone. Then there are the narrow sectional loyalties. Then we have even regional particularism. Over linguistic, narrow matters, we are apt to quarrel and fight. Therefore, I feel that one thing that has to be borne in mind by all of us, by every citizen, regardless of his complexion or religion or language, is that national security should be the prime consideration and national security must under no circumstances be subordinated to any other considerations, howsoever weighty or important. But it is not merely a lip homage to national security that can establish it or assure it, but the various modes whereby it has to be secured have to be borne in mind. One of them is that we should have large well-administered financially viable and economically self-sufficient units.

So far as Punjab is concerned, all sorts of problems have been stated. These problems have been more imaginary than real. They have been artificially created with a view to camouflage the real intentions which dare not be openly revealed in their revolting nakedness. The proponents

therefore, have taken resort to "culture". A few minutes ago, we heard about Hariyani culture. They had resort also to "linguistic differences". These are matters which deserve to be closely scrutinised in order to expose their false claims and to show that their pretensions are hollow....

Ch. Rambr Singh (Rohtak): Or established.

Shri Tek Chand: I am indebted to my learned friend for his interjection. With regard to the language, so far as Punjabi is concerned, essentially there is no problem. People who belong to the same soil, who live in the same territory, whether they happen to be Sikhs or non-Sikhs speak the same language. But there is one difference. There is one distinction which has got a historical background. I am sure some of my friends will not see eye to eye with me, but Punjabi was the language of Muslims as much as of Hindus. The difference was only this. The Punjabi language when used by the Muslims was written in Urdu script; and when used by Hindus it is written in mostly in Hindi script and when used by Sikhs, it is written in Gurmukhi script. It was only the alphabet, the particular script which differed. So far as Punjabi literature is concerned, nobody can gainsay the fact that it has a rich literature. But please remember that so far as works in Punjabi literature are concerned, the largest number of works have been written in Urdu script. The Chief d'oeuvre of Punjabi literature, by Warris Shah was written in Urdu script. The next large number of works in Punjabi were written in Hindi script and last comes the Gurmukhi script. Therefore, it is really a matter of fight over the script and not a fight over the language, as spoken. Regarding this difference in script, in paras 520 and 521, the Members of the Commission have stated that there were three scripts. The difference is unreal. In Jullundur Division, that sanctum of

Punjabis, at the examinations 62.2 per cent. students appeared in Hindi and 37.8 per cent. in Punjabi. When it came to History and Geography papers, 73.5 per cent. chose Hindi as the medium of expression and 26.5 per cent. chose Punjabi. This, I am saying about the Jullundur Division where Punjabi is the language which is admittedly spoken. Therefore, to say that phonologically Gurmukhi script is specially suited to the Punjabi language is not accurate. Hindi script not only satisfies all the phonological needs of the Punjabi language, but it enriches it further and various inflections can be indicated better in Hindi script than perhaps in the Gurmukhi script. But whether you adopt Gurmukhi script in addition to Hindi script is a matter over which I am not ready and willing to raise a controversy. Both scripts are welcome. Let anybody write Punjabi in any script, whether it is Devnagiri script or Gurmukhi script.

A studied attempt has been made to accentuate the differences between Hindus and Sikhs. There are a few things about Hindus and Sikhs which it will be well for my hon. friends from Punjab to consider. There is no distinction of religion. A very large number of Hindus offer prayer and worship at the Gurudwaras just as Sikhs do. So far as the law is concerned, among the non-agricultural classes in Punjab, it is the same Hindu law—the mitakshara law. There is no different law for the Sikhs and Hindus. So far as the agricultural classes are concerned, the customary law is applicable equally to Hindus as well as Sikhs. So far as social relations are concerned, it is well known that inter-marriages between Sikhs and Hindus are very common. A very large number of Hindus have matrimonial relations with Sikhs and *vice versa*. Law is the same; language is the same and religion is the same. Why then has this wedge been driven today between Hindus and Sikhs? Claims are being made about home land, localised culture and so on. These things exist only in the realm of imagination of some

people who are out to create disruption. Otherwise, home land is one home land. The home is one whether he happens to be a Sikh, a Punjabi or a man from the South. It is the most dangerous thing to preach and to propagate that there is a Sikh home land, a Hariyani culture and so on. In this connection, I endorse the condemnation of the separate home land doctrine referred to at pages 44 and 148 of the Report of the Commission. There is nothing more dangerous than to say that Punjab happens to be the home land of the Sikhs. Punjab is the home land of everybody as much as all the rest of the country is the home land of the Punjabis. Anyway, let us examine and analyse the argument that Punjab is the home land of the Sikhs. If Punjab is the peculiar home land of the Sikhs, is that territory not the home land also of non-Sikhs? Therefore, even from a narrower point of view, all the people who reside have their homes, though the home land is the whole country and not a small territory. In this connection, it has been said times without number—it was mentioned even by my hon. young friend who preceded me—that the Sikhs have suffered at the hands of the majority community, safeguards are of no use, we want a separate State. I propose to examine this with thoroughness, to what extent and how far have they suffered,.....

Sardar Hukam Singh: He did not say that the Sikhs want a separate State.

Shri Bahadur Singh: I never said that we want a separate State.

Shri Tek Chand: To the learned amplifier of the statement made by the preceding speaker, I would counsel forbearance.

His is a community for which I have got very great respect. For their bravery, for their gifts of the brain and brawn, for their great qualities of mind and muscle, head and heart I have got nothing but the deepest admiration. They say they have suffered. Let us examine the extent of

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(their suffering. They are not even 2 per cent. in the matter of population as compared to the rest of the people of the country. To be precise, they are exactly 1.72 per cent. Let us see the extent of their suffering. In the Navy, they happen to be 8.9 per cent. as against the rest. In the Air Force, they happen to be 14.5 per cent. as against the rest. In the Army among the officers, they happen to be 21.7 per cent. as against the rest. I do not grudge them their predominance. They have established it by their great qualities. I would welcome them to raise this target even still higher. I am happy about it. When I mention these figures, my object is that the hon. Members of this House should not be misled that they have suffered as a result of some improper invidious distinction. I welcome statistics. If you have resort to statistics, you will find that they are over-represented and not under-represented. I am willing to assume that they are under-represented. If that is so, it should be the duty of the people of this country, it should be the duty of this House, it should be the duty of Government to see that any injustice, if it is real and if it is done to them ought not to be done. Every minority whether it happens to be enterprising, adventurous and brave as my Sikh brethren are or any other minority deserves to be treated with justice; not only justice, they deserve to be treated with generosity. Therefore, whatever is their due, not only that should be ensured, but they are entitled to a little more. In the field of competition, they are welcome. Therefore, if anywhere they have been treated unfairly, I have no doubt that it will be the sentiment of every fairminded citizen of this country that they should not be treated with injustice.

There is one little matter to which I wish to invite the close scrutiny of my hon. colleagues. I am not referring to any particular community. I am referring to the leaders of groups whether they come from the Sikh community or the Hindu community or any other community. They have

sown dragon's tooth. There is disruption in the offing. So far as the land of the Punjab is concerned, it is still crimson with blood that was shed in 1947. So far as the communal leaders are concerned, for their own little kudos, with a view to establish their petty influence, in order to have some political recognition and for their own selfish purposes, they are misleading the people. There is in fact no rift between the people. That rift is being created deliberately, diabolically, out of design. That is true of all groups who do not see eye to eye with the general good of the masses of the country. Agitation has been engineered. There are threats of direct action. There are threats of satyagraha. Even, there are covert threats of violence. I have no doubt that a perusal of the reports of the speeches and writings in the communal press, of both communities, will bear ample testimony to what I am submitting, that these people for their miserable little advantages, want these two communities to fly at each other's throats, want to tear them as under in order that their personal status may be established. I wish to say one thing about the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs in particular and I got it this morning from the utterances of Master Tara Singh. He said, that the Hindus and the Sikhs are branches of the same tree. Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Govind Singh sacrificed their lives in order to save the Hindu dharma. This is the conviction of Master Tara Singh. If that be so,—no doubt, historically it is so—what is the dispute?

An Hon Member: That was their own dharma.

Shri Tek Chand: Seth Govind Das said that they are brothers. Another distinguished speaker said this morning that the Sikhs and the Hindus, in the matter of religion, are alike, identical, exactly the same, and that their religion is the religion of the Hindus.

The language indulged in by some of the accredited party leaders is unfortunate; it is simply indefensible. It appears that they are out to

sabotage the security of this country. For instance, an ex-Chief Minister has remarked that the report of the Commission is "the death knell for the Sikhs." Examine them exactly the import of this expression when it is disseminated among all the Sikh masses. Could any responsible man, could the most violent opponent of this Commission's report permit himself to indulge in these expressions? These are the words of Shri Gyan Singh Rarewala. The General Secretary of Akalis says, according to this report "not only are all the Sikhs in grave danger of being wiped out, but even the Sikh religion is in danger". Could any man with any sense of responsibility indulge in these words? Then again a deputy-speaker says:

"We shudder to visualise its consequences".

I shudder at the men who are willing to create these consequences. I am not confining these juicy succulent bits of indignation to the leaders of the Sikh community only. Another Minister, a Congress Minister in a State says:

"Merger with Punjab would mean the death of Himachalese, and people would oppose merger tooth and nail."

I would like to pare those nails and pull out those teeth which used such irresponsible language in order to create a rift between the people for their own petty little gains and for their own petty mean kudos. This is the irresponsible language that has been indulged in order to create dissension and in order to disrupt the well-being of the common man who is not concerned with their importance or with their offices.

I have a few words to say about Himachal Pradesh. So far as Himachal is concerned, in the language of the members of the Commission, the agitation is engineered by vested interests. This is their conclusion, and it appears to be so. Some of the leaders from Himachal Pradesh who wished to perpetuate their importance some how or the other are willing to deprive

their people of the suffrage. They are willing that the people in Himachal should not exercise their rights and vote and that Himachal should lose the status of a State and become a territory. Now, why do they say so? They are the people who will be on the advisory council, when it is directly administered by the Centre, and of course, they will have their gain. But they are willing to deprive the people of their sacred right to vote, and reduce them to the status of a territory—cutting their nose to spite their face.

Then again it has been stated that they speak a different language, as if they are just foreigners. Pray, examine the history of Himachal. It was only a few years ago that there were 35 or 37 petty States known as the Simla Hill States, and they were known and administered as such, so far as the British Government side was concerned, by the superintendent of the Simla Hill States, who was no other than the District Magistrate of Simla. They say that they have got one *pahari* language. I challenge any hon. member to let anyone of them speak his *lingo* or dialect, and the other five will not understand. But that is because, being undeveloped, the area of their circumambulation was much smaller, and they could not go far beyond. But one thing I would say and that is that if Himachal is kept separate, Government will be unfair to the Punjab. I want Government to look once more at the map of the northern belt of India. The Himalayas are the crown not only of Punjab, not only of Jammu and Kashmir but also of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar Bengal and Assam. The corresponding hill areas of these parts do not speak the same language, because their dialects are bound to be different. Yet, there is no demand for merger of Himachal in Uttar Pradesh or the merger of the corresponding hill state to the north of Bihar, or Bengal or Assam.

Why is it that people who never formed a State, and who were part

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and parcel of very petty States some eight or nine years ago, were put into one State? It was on grounds of expediency and on considerations of emergency, that they were grouped together for the time being under one State called Himachal; and thus they earned for themselves the status of a different State, which they are willing to forgo today for the status of a territory.

I therefore counsel the Government that the majority report as it is deserves to be accepted, and Himachal has not established any right to being considered either as a separate territory or as a separate State. Now, the question is apart from their being separate, have they become financially viable. The Himachalese have their misgivings that Punjab is going to devour them. The learned speaker who preceded me comes from PÉPSU, and he had quite a number of tears to shed on behalf of Haryana and also on behalf of Himachal.

Dr. Satyawadi (Karnal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): He comes from Punjab.

Shri Tek Chand: What is the difficulty about Himachal? The difficulty is that they are undeveloped. And being undeveloped, they are very anxious for their development. I quite concede that, if, according to their ratio, they are entitled to a certain figure, I would counsel that double the figure should be earmarked for their development.

Those who have criticised this Report do not seem to have examined with thoroughness the latter portion of the Report dealing with safeguards. Therein, every conceivable safeguard has been provided, whereby minorities, linguistic, religious or territorial should not suffer. I have no doubt that it is not the desire of the Government of any State or the desire of the Union Government of the country that backward areas ought not to be

developed. I am of the view that enough and ample funds should be earmarked for the development of backward areas, whether they happen to be genuinely backward areas like Himachal or pseudo-backward areas like Haryana, from which hails my Whip.

Under these circumstances, no case has been made out either for a separate Himachal or for a separate Haryana or for truncating Punjab or for sundering PÉPSU from the rest of Punjab. It is worthy of being remembered. United Punjab had 29 districts, and the population was 3 crores. According to the majority report, instead of a State with three crores population, you are having a State with a population of 1.72 crores. It is not even two crores. Compare it with the population of other Part A States. If it is the intention of Government to further subdivide this State with a population of 1.72 crores into three units, because some people want to dominate in their own local areas, you will be doing injustice to yourself.

6 P.M.

Lastly, before I resume my seat, I wish to counsel the Government of India in all humility but with all the force at my command, that let there be an agitation, but let proper ways be adopted to curb that agitation. Do not placate those who are out to create trouble. Do not compromise where it is a matter of principle. Do what is just to those who are undergoing any disability. Their interests should be watched. Treat them justly, treat them generously, be magnanimous with them. There should be no compromise so far as principles are concerned. Do not surrender before agitation; otherwise, you will be creating a precedent—'agitate, misbehave and get what you want'. Do not be threatened by their threats.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 16th December, 1955.